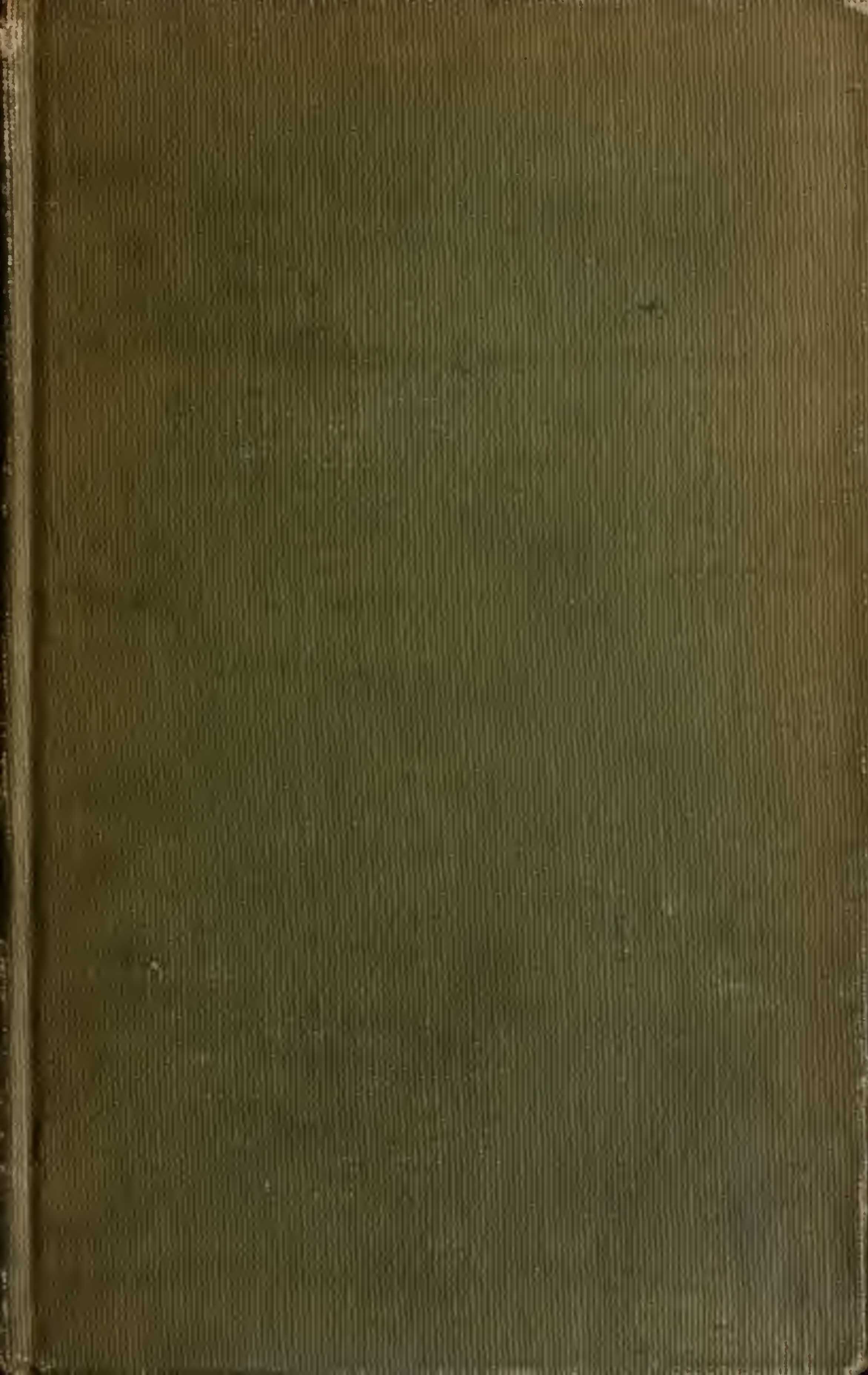


930 Sm62

Columbia University
in the City of New York

LIBRARY

A

HISTORY OF THE WORLD,

FROM THE

EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT TIME.

A HISTORY OF THE WORLD,

FROM THE

EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

PHILIP SMITH, B.A.,

ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL CONTRIBUTORS TO THE DICTIONARIES OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES BIOGRAPHY, AND GEOGRAPHY.

VOL. I.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

FROM THE CREATION OF THE WORLD TO THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP OF MACEDON.

Illustrated by Maps, Plans, and Engravings.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON & CO., 443 & 445 BROADWAY.
1865.

930
Sm62
v.1.

TO

HENRY MALDEN, M.A.,

LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON,

This Work is Dedicated,

IN ADMIRATION OF HIS PROFOUND AND ELEGANT SCHOLARSHIP,

AND

AS A TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE FOR THE LASTING BENEFITS OF HIS TEACHING.

PREFACE.

Since Sir Walter Raleigh solaced his imprisonment in the Tower by the composition of his "History of the World," the Literature of England has never achieved the work which he left unfinished. There have been "Universal Histories," from the bulk of an encyclopædia to the most meagre outline, in which the annals of each nation are separately recorded; but the attempt has not yet been made to trace the story of Divine Providence and human progress in one connected narrative, preserving that *organic unity* which is the chief aim of this "History of the World."

The story of our whole race, like that of each separate nation, has "a beginning, a middle, and an end." That story we propose to follow, from its beginning in the Sacred Records, and from the dawn of civilization in the East,—through the successive Oriental Empires,—the rise of liberty, and the perfection of heathen polity, arts, and literature in Greece and Rome,—the change which passed over the face of the world when the light of Christianity sprung up,—the origin and first appearance of those barbarian races, which overthrew both divisions of the Roman Empire,—the annals of the States which rose on the Empire's

ruins, including the picturesque details of medieval history and the steady progress of modern liberty and civilization,—and the extension of these influences, by discovery, conquest, colonization, and Christian missions, to the remotest regions of the earth. In a word, as separate histories reflect the detached scenes of human action and suffering, our aim is to bring into one view the several parts which assuredly form one great whole, moving onwards, under the guidance of Divine Providence, to the unknown end ordained in the Divine purposes.

Such a work, to be really useful, must be condensed into a moderate compass; else the powers of the writer would be frittered away, and the attention of the reader wearied out, by an overwhelming bulk, filled up with microscopic details. The more striking facts of history,—the rise and fall of empires,—the achievements of warriors and heroes,—the struggles of peoples for their rights and freedom,—the conflict between priestcraft and religious liberty,—must needs stand out on the canvas of such a picture with the prominence they claim in the world itself. But they will not divert our attention from the more quiet and influential working of science and art, social progress and individual thought,—the living seed sown, and the fruit borne, in the field broken up by those outward changes.

While special care is bestowed on those periods and nations, the history of which is scarcely to be found in any works accessible to the general reader, the more familiar parts of history are treated in their due proportion to the whole work. It is, we trust, by no means the least valuable part of the design, that the portions of history which are generally looked at by themselves,—those, for example, of Greece and Rome, and of our own country,—are regarded from a common point of view with all the rest; a view

which may, in some cases, modify the conclusions drawn by classical partiality and national pride.

The spirit of the work,—at least if the execution is true to the conception,—will be found equally removed from narrow partisanship and affected indifference. The historian, as well as the poet, must be in earnest,

> "Dower'd with the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn,
> The love of love;"

but he must also be able to look beyond the errors, and even the virtues, of his fellow-men, to the great ends which the Supreme Ruler of events works out by their agency:—

> "Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
> And the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns."

The vast progress recently made in historical and critical investigations, the results obtained from the modern science of comparative philology, and the discoveries which have laid open new sources of information concerning the East, afford such facilities as to make the present a fit epoch for our undertaking.

April, 1864.

DIVISION OF THE WORK.

I.—ANCIENT HISTORY, SACRED AND SECULAR; FROM THE CREATION TO THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE, IN A.D. 476. TWO VOLS.

II.—MEDIEVAL HISTORY, CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL; FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE TO THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS, IN A.D. 1453. TWO VOLUMES.

III.—MODERN HISTORY; FROM THE FALL OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE TO OUR OWN TIMES. FOUR VOLUMES.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

The subject proposed—Its unity—Province of history—Distinguished from philosophy and science, in its nature and its evidence—Illustration from the origin of the world, as regarded in the lights of history and science respectively—Relations of primeval history to astronomy, geology, physical geography, chronology, and theology—Methods of historical inquiry—Epochs and periods of history—Moments of origination and of development—Epochs of revolution and periods of repose—Example of a successful method in Gibbon's great work—Note on Scripture Chronology . . . . 3—12

BOOK I.

THE PATRIARCHAL AGE, AND THE ORIGIN OF THE NATIONS.

From the Creation to the Exodus.—B.C. 4004 to B.C. 1491.

CHAPTER I.

The Creation of the World, and the First State of Man.

The earliest historical records are in the books of Moses—Their original purpose and historical value—Mosaic account of the creation—Its mode of revelation—Its successive stages—Primeval state of man—Institution of marriage—Origin of language—Adam's study of God's works—The garden of Eden—Its probable locality—Condition and occupations of the first man—His creation in the image of God . . . . 13—18

CHAPTER II.

From the Fall to the Deluge; or, the Catastrophe of Sin.

First revolutionary epoch in history—Sin and grace—The fall of man—The curse and promise—Conflict of good and evil—Cain and Abel—The Cainite and Sethite races—Energy and lawlessness of the Cainites—Lamech's polygamy and murder—Religion of the Sethites—Intermarriage of the races, and consequent corruption of man—Moral and material condition of the Antediluvians—The deluge—Difficulties in the narrative—Destruction and restoration of the world—God's covenant of forbearance made with Noah—Traditions of the flood—Antediluvian longevity . . . . 19—26

CHAPTER III.

The Post-Diluvian World, from the Deluge to the Dispersion; or, Man's Second Probation and Fall.

The Noachic precepts—Abstinence from blood—Sentence against murder—The principle of law and the authority of the magistrate—Origin of civil society—The patriarchal constitution—Authority of the patriarch both civil and religious—Remnants of the patriarchal form of government—Incidents of the post-diluvian history—Noah's fall, and Ham's insult—The prophetic curse and blessings on Ham, Shem, and Japheth—Division of the Earth in the time of Peleg—Monarchy of Nimrod—City and tower of Babel—Confusion of tongues . . 27—32

CHAPTER IV.

The Division of the Nations.

PAGE

The common origin of mankind attested by the positive statement of Scripture—Collateral evidence of science, especially from language—Tripartite origin of the nations—Geographical survey of the lands first peopled—Central point in the highlands of Armenia—The triple continent of Europe, Asia, and Africa, viewed in its physical formation—The northern plain, the great desert zone, the mountain chains, and the subjacent countries—Basin of the Mediterranean—Outlying parts of the world—Distribution of the several races from the original centre in Armenia—The Mosaic history gives only the commencement of the process—Form of the record ethnic rather than personal—The Aryan and Semitic languages and races—Connexion of Shemite and Hamite races—Geographical distribution of the three families—Japheth—Ham—Shem—Languages of the respective races—Modern classification by races or varieties of mankind—The Caucasian—The Turanian—The Nigritian—The Malay—The American—Meaning of "Aboriginal" tribes—Concluding remarks . . . 33—57

CHAPTER V.

Early History of the Hebrew Race. From the call of Abraham to the Exodus.—B.C. 1921 to B.C. 1491.

The Hebrews not the most ancient nation—Reason for their precedence—The line of Shem to Abraham—Ur of the Chaldees, its probable site—Call of Abram and migration of Terah's family—First settlement at Charran—Abram's journey into Canaan to the valley of Shechem—Removal to Egypt and return to Bethel—Separation from Lot—The cities of the Plain—Expedition of Chedorlaomer—The tribes of the Canaanites—Abram at Hebron—His subsequent history—Birth and marriage of Isaac—Death of Sarah—Birth of Esau and Jacob—Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha—Origin of the nations of Moab and Ammon, the Ishmaelite and Keturaïte Arabs—Life of Isaac—Esau and Jacob—The Edomites—Jacob in Padan-aram—His return to Canaan—Affairs at Shechem—Journey to the south—Removal into Egypt—The captivity—Close of the patriarchal age—The Exodus—An epoch in the world's history . . . 58—66

BOOK II.

THE GREAT MONARCHIES OF THE EAST.

From the Earliest Egyptian Traditions to the Reign of Darius Hystaspis.

CHAPTER VI.

The History of Egypt to the Shepherd Invasion.—B.C. 2717? to B.C. 2080?

Antiquity of Egypt—Names of the country—Geography of Egypt—The Nile—Its inundation—Limits and area of Egypt—Ancient condition and productions—Advantages of its position—Relation to its neighbours—Original population—A mixed race, chiefly Hamitic—Authorities—Scripture—Greek writers—Monuments and Papyri—Egyptian writing—Manetho—Astronomical records—Date of the Pyramids—Egyptian technical chronology—Historical chronology—Traditional history—Rule of the Gods—First dynasty: Menes—Second dynasty: Queen Nitocris—Memphite dynasties: third, fourth, and sixth—High state of civilization—Heracleopolite dynasties: ninth and tenth—Theban kingdom: eleventh and twelfth dynasties—Invasion of the shepherds—Monuments of the early Pharaohs—Pyramids and tombs—Egyptian belief concerning the dead—Description of the pyramids . . . . 67—107

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF EGYPT FROM THE SHEPHERD INVASION TO THE FINAL CONQUEST BY PERSIA. B.C. 2080? TO B.C. 353.

PAGE

The shepherd kings, or Hyksos, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth dynasties of Manetho—Their connexion with the Scripture history—Question of the Exodus—Connexion of Egypt with Greece—Expulsion of the shepherds—Union of Egypt—The city of Thebes—Twelfth and thirteenth dynasties—Eighteenth and nineteenth, the climax of Egyptian power and art—Eighteenth dynasty: the Thothmes—Amenoph III.—The vocal Memnon—The sun-worshippers—Nineteenth dynasty: Sethee I.—Rameses II.—"Sesostris"—Asiatic conquests—Stelæ—Temples at Thebes and Memphis, and in Ethiopia—Colossal statues—Men-ptah—Twentieth dynasty: Rameses III.—Decline of the kingdom—Twenty-first dynasty at Tanis—Semitic influence in Egypt—Twenty-second dynasty at Bubastis—Assyrians—Shishak and Rehoboam—Zerah the Cushite—Twenty-third dynasty at Tanis—Obscurity and decline—Twenty-fourth dynasty—Bocchoris the wise—Twenty-fifth dynasty, of Ethiopians—The Sabacos and Tirhakah—Hoshea, king of Israel—Sennacherib and Hezekiah—Legend of the priest Sethos—The dodecarchy—Twenty-sixth dynasty at Saïs—Psammetichus I.—Greek mercenaries—Siege of Ashdod—Secession of the soldiers—Neko or Pharaoh-Necho—War with Nebuchadnezzar—Death of Josiah—Circumnavigation of Africa—Neko's canal—Psammetichus II.—Apries or Pharaoh-Hophra—Nebuchadnezzar in Egypt—War with Cyrene—Revolt of the army—Death of Apries—Reign of Aahmes II. or Amasis—His monuments—His character and habits—Internal prosperity—Intercourse with Greece—Psammenitus—Conquest of Egypt by Cambyses—The twenty-seventh, or Persian dynasty—Revolt of Inarus and Amyrtæus—Egypt again independent—Twenty-ninth and thirtieth dynasties—The Nectanebos, &c.—Final Persian conquest—Alexander and the Ptolemies . . . . 108—142

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HEBREW THEOCRACY AND MONARCHY.—B.C. 1491 TO B.C. 508.

Destiny of the Hebrew nation—Review of their history in Egypt—Joseph—The Israelites in Goshen—The oppression—Moses: as an Egyptian prince—His flight—His divine legation—The plagues, the passover, and the exodus—Heathen traditions of the exodus—March to Sinai—The Mosaic law—The wilderness—Conquest of Peræa—Death of Moses—Campaigns of Joshua—Division and settlement of Canaan—Times of the Judges—Servitude to the Philistines—Samuel, prophet and judge—The kingdom—Saul—David—Full conquest of the land—Jerusalem, the capital and sanctuary—Solomon—Israel a great monarchy—Building of the temple—Solomon's idolatries—Foreign enemies and internal factions—Division of the two kingdoms—Their separate history—Steady declension of Israel—Foreign alliances and idolatries—The prophets—Elijah and Elisha—Relations to Syria, Judah, Assyria, and Egypt—Captivity of the ten tribes—Their subsequent fate—Kingdom of Judah—Idolatries and reforms—Asa—Jehoshaphat—The high priest Jehoiada—Uzziah—Idolatries of Ahaz—The prophets, especially Isaiah—Wars with Israel and Syria—Hezekiah—Destruction of Sennacherib—Josiah—Invasion of Pharaoh-Necho—Nebuchadnezzar—The captivity—Condition of the Jews during the captivity . 143—187

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHALDÆAN, ASSYRIAN, AND BABYLONIAN EMPIRES.

Empires on the Euphrates and Tigris—Description of Mesopotamia—The great plain of Chaldæa—Its boundaries and extent—Its physical character—Inundations and canals—Climate—Natural products—Animals—Minerals—Brick-making—Biblical history of Chaldæa—Babel—Nimrod—The Chaldæan race—Their Cushite origin and language—Meanings of the Chaldæan name for a tribe, a

PAGE

nation, and a caste—Traces of a still earlier Turanian population—The dynasties of Berosus—Astronomical records contemporary with the beginning of the monarchy—Its epoch—Dynasty of Nimrod—Two divisions of Chaldæa, each with its tetrapolis—Cities sacred to the heavenly bodies—The Chaldæan temple-towers—Their design, form, materials, and ruins—Cuneiform inscriptions—Stages in the invention of writing—Interpretation of the inscriptions—History of the earlier Chaldæan dynasty—Nimrod, the founder—Urukh, the builder, the first king named on the inscriptions—Later Chaldæan dynasty—Chedorlaomer, the conqueror—Semitic migrations, Abraham and the Phœnicians—The "Four Nations" of Chaldæa—Check to Chaldæan conquests—Overthrow of the monarchy by the Arabs—Growth of Semitic influence—The Chaldæan caste and learning survive—Chaldæan art and science—Architecture, temples, houses, and tombs—Pottery—Implements—Metal-work—Textile fabrics—Arithmetic and astronomy—Weights and measures—The Assyrian empire—Greek traditions—The upper dynasty—Tiglath-Pileser I.—Sardanapalus—Shalmaneser I.—The black obelisk—Pul—Semiramis—The lower dynasty—Tiglath-Pileser II.—Shalmaneser II.—Sargon—Conquest of Media—Sennacherib—Esarhaddon—Babylon subject to Assyria—The Sardanapalus of the Greeks—Fall of Nineveh—Later Babylonian empire—Nabonassar and Semiramis—Merodach-Baladan—Esarhaddon—Nabopolassar—Wars with Lydia and Egypt—Nebuchadnezzar—Evil-Merodach and his successors—Nabonadius—League against Persia—Belshazzar—Fall of Babylon—Its later history . . . . 188—243

CHAPTER X.

THE MEDO-PERSIAN EMPIRE, FROM ITS ORIGIN TO ITS SETTLEMENT UNDER DARIUS HYSTASPIS.—B.C. 633? TO B.C. 531.

Description of Media—Its earliest inhabitants—The Medes an Aryan race and kindred to the Persians—Their relations to Assyria—Rise of the Median kingdom—Doubtful legends—Deioces and Phraortes—Cyaxares the true founder—His contest with the Scythians—Military organization of the Medes—Conquests of Cyaxares—Destruction of Nineveh—Rise of the Lydian empire—The nations of Asia Minor—The Halys an ethnic boundary—Affinities of the western nations—Early kingdoms in Asia Minor—Gordius—Midas—Troy—Lydia—Natural resources of the country—Mythical period of Lydian story—Dynasty of the Heraclids—Candaules and Gyges—Dynasty of the Mermnads—Conquests in Asia Minor—Attacks on the Greek colonies—Invasion of the Cimmerians under Ardys—Alyattes—Their expulsion by Alyattes—War between Lydia and Media—The "eclipse of Thales"—Deaths of Cyaxares and Alyattes—The tomb of Alyattes—Crœsus as viewed by Herodotus—His real history—Astyages the last king of Media—Reign of Astyages—Peaceful state of Western Asia—Origin of the Persian race—Description of the country—The Persian language—Religion of the Medes and Persians—Magian elemental worship, originally Turanian—Dualism the old Persian faith—Auramazda and Ahriman—Mixture and conflict of the two systems—Zoroaster—His doctrines and legendary history—The ten tribes of the Persians—Their military organization and general discipline—Dynasty of the Achæmenidæ—Their relation to Media—Legendary story of Cyrus—Transfer of the Median empire to Persia—Cyrus in the Cyropædia and in Scripture—The conquest of Lydia, the Greek colonies, and Babylon—Restoration of the Jews—Designs on Egypt—Wars in Central Asia—Death of Cyrus—Cambyses—Conquest of Egypt—His madness and death—The Magian Pseudo-Smerdis—Accession of Darius the son of Hystaspis—Survey of the Persian Empire—Note on the Behistun Inscription . . . . 244—298

BOOK III.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

FROM THE EARLIEST LEGENDS TO THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP OF MACEDON.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MYTHICAL AGE OF GREECE.

PAGE

Contrast of Asiatic despotism and Grecian liberty—Survey of the western world—Greece and Rome—Their part in the world's history—Earliest population of Greece and Italy—The Pelasgian race—Description of Greece—The Hellenic race and its four divisions—Earliest traditions—Stories of Egyptian and Phœnician settlements—The alphabet—How history deals with the mythical legends—Their character and construction—Legends of the gods—Jove and the Olympic deities—Apollo and the oracle at Delphi—Legends of the heroes—Hercules—Theseus—Minos—The Argonauts—Story of Thebes—The Trojan war—The Homeric poems . . . . 299—318

CHAPTER XII.

THE HELLENIC STATES AND COLONIES. FROM THE EARLIEST HISTORIC RECORDS TO B.C. 500.

Condition of Greece in the heroic age—Political and social changes after the Trojan war—Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus—Achæans and Ionians displaced—Colonies in Asia Minor, Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian—Crete—Extension of the Dorian and Ionian races—Historical epoch of the first Olympiad, B.C. 776—The Greek nation as a whole—The Amphictyonies and Amphictyonic council—The great festivals—Olympic games—Absence of political unity—The separate states of Greece—Argos, under Pheidon—Sparta and the institutions of Lycurgus—Conquest of Laconia and Messenia—Lacedæmonian supremacy in Peloponnesus—The tyrants in Greece and the Colonies—Early history of Attica—Theseus—Codrus—Abolition of royalty—Government by archons—The senate of Areopagus—Legislation of Draco—Cylon and the Alcmæonids—Legislation of Solon—Usurpation of Pisistratus—Expulsion of the family—Reforms of Cleisthenes—Wars with Sparta, Thebes, and Chalcis—The Athenian democracy firmly established—Other states of Greece—Colonies—In the countries north of Greece—In Asia—In Sicily and Italy—In Gaul and Spain—In Africa—Survey of Hellas at the epoch of the Persian wars—Progress of literature, philosophy, and art . . . . 319—379

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PERSIAN WARS. FROM THE IONIAN REVOLT TO THE BATTLES OF THE EURYMEDON.—B.C. 500 to B.C. 466.

Causes of the Ionian Revolt—Miltiades and Histiæus—Affair of Naxos—Revolt of Aristagoras—Aid sought from Sparta and Athens—Sardis burnt by the Ionians and Athenians—Defeat of the Ionians and capture of Miletus—Hippias at the Persian court—Failure of the expedition under Mardonius—His conquest of Macedonia—Preparations of Darius—Athens and Sparta alone refuse earth and water—Expedition under Datis and Artaphernes—Conquest of the islands—Preparations at Athens—Battle of Marathon—Fate of Miltiades—The Æginetan war—Foundation of the maritime power of Athens—Themistocles and Aristides—Xerxes prepares a third invasion—Progress of the expedition—Thermopylæ—Leonidas and the three hundred Spartans—Events preceding the battle of Salamis—Defeat of the Persian fleet—Retreat of Xerxes—Battle of Himera in

PAGE

Sicily on the same day—Mardonius in Bœotia—Battles of Platæa and Mycale—Affairs of Thebes—Liberation of the islands, Thrace, and Macedonia—The war transferred to Asia—Capture of Sestos—The leadership transferred from Sparta to Athens—Treason and death of Pausanias—Ostracism of Themistocles—Cimon and Pericles—Campaigns of Cimon on the Asiatic coast—Double victory of the Eurymedon—Unsuccessful campaign of the Athenians in Egypt . 380—453

CHAPTER XIV.

RIVALRY OF THE GREEK REPUBLICS. FROM THE CONFEDERACY OF DELOS TO THE END OF THE THEBAN SUPREMACY.—B.C. 477 TO B.C. 360.

State of Greece after the Persian wars—Rise of the maritime empire of Athens—Revolts of Naxos and Thasos—Affairs of the continent—Decline of Spartan ascendancy—Revolt of the Helots: third Messenian war—Athenian politics—Ostracism of Cimon—Advance of democracy—Wars with the Dorian States—The five years' truce—New wars—Battle of Coronea—Megara and Eubœa—Lacedæmonian invasion of Attica—Thirty years' truce—Ascendancy of Pericles—Brilliant epoch of Athens—Splendour of art and literature—Causes and outbreak of the Peloponnesian war—Its first period, to the fifty years' truce of Nicias—Invasions of Attica—Plague at Athens—Naval successes—Revolts of allies—Athenian statesmen and demagogues—Nicias, Demosthenes, and Cleon—Aristophanes—War of Amphipolis—Brasidas and Thucydides—Second period of the war, to the failure of the Sicilian expedition—Alcibiades—Third period of the war—Fortification of Decelea—Decline of Athens—Naval campaigns on the shores of Asia—Battles of Arginusæ and Ægospotami—Capture of Athens—The thirty tyrants—Counter revolution—Peace with Sparta—Death of Socrates—Spartan supremacy—Expedition of the younger Cyrus and the ten thousand Greeks—Lacedæmonian war in Asia—Agesilaüs—League against Sparta—Corinthian war—Battles of Coronea and Cnidus—Peace of Antalcidas—Olynthian war—War between Thebes and Sparta—Epaminondas and Pelopidas—Peace of Callias—Battle of Leuctra—Supremacy of Thebes—Invasion of Peloponnesus—League against Sparta—Battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminondas—General pacification—Agesilaüs in Egypt: his death—Decline of Thebes—State of Greece at this epoch—Orators at Athens—Affairs of Sicily—The Dionysii, Dion, and Timoleon—Art, literature, and philosophy . . . . . . 454—562

MAPS AND PLANS.

THE KNOWN WORLD AT THE DELUGE, ... To face Page 19
" " AT THE EXODUS OF THE ISRAELITES, . . " " 66
EGYPT AND PALESTINE, ... " " 143
THE TIME OF CYRUS, ... " " 244
MARATHON, ... " 388
THERMOPYLÆ, ... " 411
SALAMIS, ... " 425
PLATÆA, ... " 438
ENVIRONS OF ATHENS, ... " 468

ANCIENT HISTORY,

SACRED AND SECULAR.

FROM THE CREATION TO THE FALL OF THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE.

B.C. 4004—A.D. 476.

N. B.—In the period previous to the settlement of Chronology, we give the dates of Archbishop Ussher, as convenient, not adopting them as true. The chief systems of Scriptural Chronology are explained in a note appended to the Introduction.

INTRODUCTION.

"Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns."
TENNYSON.

THE SUBJECT PROPOSED—ITS UNITY—PROVINCE OF HISTORY—DISTINGUISHED FROM PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE, IN ITS NATURE AND ITS EVIDENCE—ILLUSTRATION FROM THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD, AS REGARDED IN THE LIGHTS OF HISTORY AND SCIENCE RESPECTIVELY—RELATIONS OF PRIMEVAL HISTORY TO ASTRONOMY, GEOLOGY, PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, CHRONOLOGY, AND THEOLOGY—METHODS OF HISTORICAL INQUIRY—EPOCHS AND PERIODS OF HISTORY—MOMENTS OF ORIGINATION AND OF DEVELOPMENT—EPOCHS OF REVOLUTION AND PERIODS OF REPOSE—EXAMPLE OF A SUCCESSFUL METHOD IN GIBBON'S GREAT WORK—NOTE ON SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY.

WE propose to relate the History of the World, from its earliest records to our own times. So arduous an enterprise needs the friendly consideration of the reader, and still more the aid of HIM whose providence is the living spirit of our theme. The work is undertaken under the conviction that the whole world has a history, as much as each separate nation. Amidst all the severing forces of climate, colour, language, interest, and animosity, our race forms a complete whole. One in its origin, one even in its true interests, it is destined to be one in its final consummation. And it is this that gives a unity to its history.

In so wide a subject, the province of the historian should be carefully distinguished from those of the man of science and the philosopher; for all knowledge of facts does not belong to history. Philosophy aspires to know the absolute truth of all things, both visible and invisible, that can be known by man. Science confines itself to those objective facts which are the results of the fixed natural laws which it seeks to discover. But history, while also dealing only with objective facts, views them in ever-changing action and in a connected series; not as a completed whole, the product of fixed laws. The subject-matter of science was determined when the Creator made the world; but history is ever in the making. In the former, if we know a law, we can with certainty trace its operation in a particular case; but this is

no longer possible when the human will and passions come into play. For then the most varied results are produced, according to the characters and circumstances of the agents; and it is these surprising changes that give life to history.

It is not denied that all the facts which have occurred in the world are bound together by those hidden laws, physical, moral, and spiritual, which constitute the whole moral government of God. Nor is the historian unconcerned with the working of those laws. The actions he has to relate are so connected with the motives of the actors, the external facts with their causes in human nature, that his subject must often be regarded in the light of science and philosophy. But these occasional excursions into another province should only furnish him with materials to illustrate his own.

If, indeed, it were possible, as some think, to determine a law to which even man's free agency is subject, such as that of fatalism, or if we could be content with the statistics of observed facts, as a substitute for any higher law, then the whole course of human actions throughout all ages would no longer constitute a history, but a science. What are now the facts of history, wrought out by voluntary agents, would then become a system of fixed phenomena, the necessary effects of a fixed law. We are not now called upon to discuss the truth of any such doctrines. Believing firmly in the Divine ordering of the course of human affairs, we believe as firmly that it is not given to man, in his present state, to trace the secret harmony of the Divine government with the liberty of man; and we are content to record the facts as they have occurred.

History is further distinguished from science by the evidence on which its conclusions rest. That evidence is the testimony of credible witnesses concerning past events; while science determines its truths by observation and experiment upon phenomena as they present themselves to its view. Science does indeed make a secondary use of testimony to discover the facts from which it reasons, while existing things often confirm historic testimony. Thus the line of demarcation is shaded off at its extreme edges, but it is not the less real.

The importance of these distinctions appears at the very threshold of our work. The whole fabric of human society is, to our minds, inseparably connected with the earth on which man dwells, and which has evidently been fitted specially for his use. The origin of this world, and of man himself, invites the enquiry

of all thoughtful persons; and as the opinions held upon these points involve belief or disbelief in God and His creative works, they affect the very foundations of religion and so of all social life. These questions can only be decided, in part by the light of science, in part by the authority of revelation. The latter, as the highest of all testimony, is the historian's only safe guide over the ground which lies beyond the unaided knowledge of man; but he will thankfully accept every illustration contributed by the former. It is not for him to reconcile the difficulties between science and revealed religion. He accepts the testimony of the sacred writers as he does that of any other credible witnesses, though with a more reverential faith. He uses the light of all the truth which science has certainly established for the interpretation of that testimony. All that is still to be settled he leaves to the philosopher and the theologian.

In attempting, therefore, to pursue our enquiries down from the very origin of our world, we must start from the testimony of revelation, that it was created by God, in a certain order, specially for the abode of man. Such was its "beginning," and the true beginning of human history, to the exclusion of all the mythical accounts given by poetry or false religion, and of all philosophic theories that are inconsistent with this plain statement. But, as to how many ages we should date back to that "beginning,"—how the revealed order of the creation, which is only stated in the most general terms, is to be reconciled with the indications furnished by geology,—what precise periods of time are meant by the "days" of the Scripture record,—with these and similar disputed questions, on which certainty seems at present unattainable, the historian is only concerned in so far as their entire neglect might lead him into positive error.

History gains much and loses nothing by being thus confined within its own limits. The historian accepts contributions from the various sciences, without assuming to review their foundations. The earth is presented to him as a member of the great "Cosmos," to which its relations are such as to sustain the being and to promote the order and happiness of the human race; but whether it was at first projected from the sun round which it moves,—how it was made to receive the life-giving light and warmth which form the spring of action and energy upon its surface,—and how those movements are regulated which preserve to man the sure changes of the seasons, and the signs which mark out his time,—all this he leaves to the Astronomer. So, too, he

listens with deep interest to the Geologist, explaining how the fused matter of our globe cooled down till it formed a solid crust, surrounded by a dense mixture of air and watery vapour; how a further cooling caused the water partly to settle on the surface and partly to float upon the air; how the disturbed forces of the central fire broke up the crust into hill and dale, and formed basins for the seas; how the rocks were deposited in successive layers from the waters, and were again and again heaved up into Alps, Andes, and Himalayas; how the surface thus prepared was clothed with the vast primeval forests, which purified the air while they grew, and then, once more submerged, became reserves of fuel for all future ages; and how the races of animals appeared in those successive series, which are attested by their remains still embedded in the rocks, till we reach Man, the last and crowning work of God. In all these revelations of science the historian sees many of the influences which help to explain the course of man's social and political life; but his business begins where that of the geologist ends.

The same is true of Physical Geography, a science which is the offspring of geology, and which comes into the closest contact with history. It is impossible for the historian to relate the movements of men upon the earth, without some description of the countries which have been their scene; but he leaves it to science to account for the conformation of these countries.

There is one science, however, which can scarcely be separated from history—the science of Chronology. The dates of events are but a means of giving a more accurate expression to their moving series, which it is the province of history to describe. To this the fixed epochs and methods of technical chronology are merely subsidiary; and the primary modes of reckoning time may be considered as a branch of astronomy.*

This discussion must not be closed without a few words on the relation of history to Theology, the science of sciences, the highest branch of human learning. The world is God's world; and its true history must begin and end with God. The division of history into sacred and secular, civil and ecclesiastical, however convenient, is arbitrary and unreal. Could we see each event in its true light, we should see all bearing some relation to the Divine purposes and plans. But as those purposes are only revealed in their broad outline and great end, as the details of

* See the Note at the end of the Introduction.

that plan are unfolded but slowly and obscurely, any attempt to regard all events from a theological point of view must defeat itself. So long as the historian writes in a spirit sincerely but not obtrusively devout, he may safely leave the religious lessons of the story to the devout reader. Nor will a wise historian abstain from any course more carefully than from gratifying his own zeal for the truth by offending the opinions of candid and temperate readers.

But the external facts that have sprung from the profession of religions, whether the true or the false, belong essentially to the province of the historian. No source has been so fruitful of events that have changed the fate of countries and the destiny of nations. In what spirit, then, should these incidents be related? The profession of calm indifference has proved but a veil for sarcastic incredulity. No man with a sound head and a warm heart can relate the call of Abraham, the legislation of Moses, the conquest of Canaan, the story of Pharaoh, or Nebuchadnezzar, or Cyrus, and the exploits of the Maccabees, and yet reserve the question whether the Jews were in truth God's chosen people. A Christian historian cannot but write of Christ as the Divine Redeemer, and of Mahomet as the false prophet. Nor can a Protestant conceal his opinion of the apostasy of the Roman Church and the blessings of the Reformation. But the historical and the controversial treatment of such matters must be kept altogether distinct. The controversialist has to make out his case by all fair means; but the historian is bound to render impartial justice to the motives and characters of the actors on both sides. Never must he depart from this course on any ground of supposed policy, or even of zeal for what he deems religious truth. What concerns him is the truth of the facts, not their consequences to any system of opinions. Candour and toleration are the vital breath of historic truth, and are never violated with impunity.

Such are the chief principles of historical enquiry. The methods of pursuing it are various. The great philosopher, Schleiermacher, has drawn a distinction between the longitudinal and transverse views of any series of historic facts. He means that we may either follow any one of the great trains of events which history presents, from its beginning to its end; or we may choose some epoch * at which to take a view of the then existing state

* We use this word in its proper sense of *a point of stoppage*. A *period* is the space between two epochs. The terms are often confounded.

of each separate nation. But it should be remembered, that the chain of history is not, so to speak, a bundle of parallel wires, each of which can be traced from its beginning to its end. Its strands are constantly intertwined in the most unexpected manner. To pursue any one alone, it must be artfully disentangled from the rest; and where this is impossible, others must also be described, to account for their interlacing with this one. Thus, for example, the history of Greece connects itself, at certain points, with those of Persia and of Rome; and these with a whole network of fibres that lead over Asia, Africa, and Europe. The only strictly "longitudinal" treatment of history is that which embraces the whole annals of the human race; and such a treatment becomes possible, when aided by the "transverse" method at well-chosen epochs.

Such epochs are not difficult to discover. The whole course of history is made up, as the same philosopher has observed, of distinct moments, or moves, like those of a game of chess, or of a military campaign. It is the observation of these moments, as distinguished from mere facts, that makes the difference between a history and a chronicle. They are of two kinds—moments of origination, and moments of progress or development. It is true that the philosopher, according as he believes rather in the direct government of God, or in the operation of fixed laws, might raise all events to moments of origination, or reduce them to moments of development. But the historian, taking a common-sense view of objective facts, recognizes the broad distinction between gradual development and sudden origination. His attention is arrested by those revolutionary changes which involve the destruction of what has been long developing, in order to a reconstruction by the force of some new element. He sees that all history is divided into epochs of revolution and periods of comparative repose. Thus he obtains a natural division of his subject into parts, all of which may be harmonized by the principle, that one supreme government regulates the whole. And, under each of these periods, he groups the external and internal facts of history, the striking events of politics and war, and the quieter but more important movements of civilization, morals, and religion. The chief source of difficulty seems to be in the want of coincidence between the epochs of the several parallel series which run through history. But the wider our field, and the broader our survey of it, the less will this difficulty be felt. The great landmarks in the history of the world can hardly be mistaken.

That a great and perplexed period of history, and therefore the

whole, may be treated with a due regard to its entire harmony, has been practically proved by the immortal work of Gibbon. What great historical mass was ever made up of more distinct elements—each with its own epochs more strongly marked, and with fewer epochs common to the whole series—than the story of the breaking up of the Western Empire into the medieval states? Who has not looked forward—with a despair as to the method almost equalled by his interest in the subject—upon the long story of the splendours of the Antonines and the vices and follies of their successors,—the bewildering revolutions, the wars upon the frontier, the torrent of barbarian invasion,—and the still greater changes which gave the world a new religion? Who can have hoped to grasp the progress of all these varied incidents in the East and in the West, and to retain a view of the scenes on which they were enacted, from the Tigris to the Hebrides, and from the Wall of China to the Libyan Desert? And who that has opened the first volume with such misgivings, has not closed the last of the first part with a satisfaction akin to that derived from some great mosaic picture, whose perfect unity makes him almost forget how many myriads of fragments have gone to make it up? Imperial Rome has almost insensibly vanished from the scene, and Italy has become a Gothic kingdom, surrounded by the monarchies of Europe in the first stage of their formation. The Queen of the East has arisen, as if by enchantment, from the waters of the Bosporus, and her splendour has again been overcast. Christianity has triumphed, but the triumph has been abused by her ministers. The West is ripe for Feudalism; and the East seems to await the doom of her idolatries from the sword of Mahomet. The work of art is perfect; the life of a generous enthusiasm is alone wanting:—"Vir clarissimus, sed quoad res divinas utinam felicior!"

NOTE ON SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY.

Independently of scientific evidence, and of the traditions and monuments of Egypt, Chaldæa, and other nations, the following are our *data* for determining the chronological relations of primeval history to the Christian era.

1. *From the Creation to the Deluge*, the generations of the patriarchs form our only guide. These, however, are given differently in different copies of the Scriptures; the sum being, in the LXX. 606 years longer, and in the Samaritan Pentateuch 349 years shorter, than in the received Hebrew text. The ancient chronologers give further variations.

2. *From the Deluge to the death of Joseph*, and thence to the *Exodus*, the patriarchal years are again our chief guide; but other data are obtained from various statements respecting the interval from the call of Abraham to the giving of the Law and the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt.* The main point in dispute here is, whether 430 years was the whole period from the call of Abraham to the Exodus, or only the time of the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt.

3. *From the Exodus to the building of Solomon's Temple*, the interval is positively stated in the received Hebrew text, as 480 years.† But the reading is disputed; it is alleged to be inconsistent with the 450 years assigned by St. Paul to the Judges; ‡ and the longer period is made out by adding together the numbers given in the *Book of Judges.* Some chronologers, on the other hand, compute from the many genealogies which we have for this period.

4. *From the Building of the Temple to its Destruction and the Captivity of Zedekiah*, we have the annals of the kings of Israel and Judah. Here the difficulties are so slight, that the principal chronologers only differ by 15 years in nearly 500.

5. THE EPOCH OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE is fixed by a concurrence of proofs, from sacred and profane history, with only a variation of one, or at the most two years, between B.C. 588 and 586. Clinton's date is June, B.C. 587. From this epoch we obtain for the building of Solomon's Temple the date of about B.C. 1012.§

From this point the reckoning backwards is of course affected by the differences already noticed. Out of these have arisen three leading systems of chronology.

1. The *Rabbinical*, a system handed down traditionally by the Jewish doctors, places the Creation 244 years later than our received chronology, in B.C. 3750, and the Exodus in B.C. 1314. This leaves from the Exodus to the building of the Temple an interval of only 300 years, a term calculated chiefly from the genealogies, and only reconciled with the numbers given in the Book of Judges by the most arbitrary alterations. Genealogies, however, are no safe basis for chronology, especially when, as can be proved in many cases, links are omitted in their statement. "When we come to examine them closely, we find that many are broken without being in consequence *technically* defective as Hebrew genealogies.

* Genesis xv. 13; Exodus xii. 41; Acts vii. 6; Galatians iii. 17.

† 1 Kings vi. 1. ‡ Acts xiii. 20.

§ The highest computation, that of Hales, makes the date B.C. 1027.

A modern pedigree thus broken would be defective, but the principle of these genealogies must have been different. A notable instance is that of the genealogy of our Saviour given by St. Matthew. In this genealogy Joram is immediately followed by Ozias, as if his son—Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah being omitted.* In Ezra's genealogy † there is a similar omission, which in so famous a line can scarcely be attributed to the carelessness of the copyist. There are also examples of a man being called the son of a remote ancestor in a statement of a genealogical form.‡ We cannot therefore venture to use the Hebrew genealogical lists to compute intervals of time, except where we can prove each descent to be immediate. But even if we can do this, we have still to be sure that we can determine the average length of each generation." § The violent efforts of the Rabbis to bring their shorter period into harmony with the Book of Judges have indeed been ingeniously converted from an objection into an argument by the recent German school, who follow their scheme, because it seems to them the most consistent with Egyptian chronology. These efforts to overcome difficulties of detail prove, it is said, that they had good reasons for clinging to the total. But surely their traditional total cannot be allowed to stand in opposition both to the 480 years of the Book of Kings and the 450 years named by St. Paul. Whatever may be the difficulty of reconciling these two numbers, they clearly point to a period much longer than that allowed by the Rabbis. The confirmation of the Rabbinical system by the Egyptian chronology involves somewhat of an argument in a circle. It rests mainly on the identification of the Pharaoh of the Exodus with Menephtha, the son of Rameses the Great, of the Nineteenth Dynasty, whose reign is computed from B.C. 1328 to B.C. 1309. But the only independent authority for this identification is an account of the Exodus, repeated from Manetho by Josephus, who justly regards it as of little authority.¶

2. The *Short* or *Received Chronology* is that which has been generally followed in the West since the time of Jerome, and has been adopted in the margin of the authorized English version, according to the system of its ablest advocate, Archbishop Ussher. Its leading data are, first, the adoption of the numbers of the Hebrew text for the patriarchal genealogies; secondly, the reckoning of the 430 years from the call of Abraham to the Exodus; and, lastly, the adhering to the 480 years for the period from the Exodus to the building of the Temple. As we are only giving a general account of these different systems, and not attempting their full discussion, we cannot now explain how the last datum is reconciled with the 450 years assigned by St. Paul to the Judges, or with the numbers obtained from their annals. It is enough to say that the

* Matthew i. 8. "That this is not an accidental omission of a copyist is evident from the specification of the number of generations from Abraham to David, from David to the Babylonish Captivity, and thence to Christ, in each case fourteen generations. Probably these missing names were purposely left out to make the number for the interval equal to that of the other intervals, such an omission being obvious, and not liable to cause error."

† Ezra vii. 1—5.

‡ Genesis xxix. 5, compared with xxviii. 2, 5; 1 Chronicles xxvi. 24; 1 Kings xix. 16, compared with 2 Kings ix. 2, 14.

§ Poole, art. *Chronology*, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

¶ We shall have occasion to return to this point under the history of the Jews in Egypt, Book II. chap. viii.

difficulties are not insuperable, and that the system of Ussher may fairly hold the place assigned to it, till some other be established on stronger evidence than has yet been made out. The great chronologer Petavius is in substantial agreement with Ussher; but, for reasons which cannot now be stated, he places the Exodus and the call of Abraham each 40 years earlier, the Deluge and the Creation each 20 years later, than Ussher.

3. The *Long Chronology* has been, in recent times, the most formidable competitor of the short system. Its leading advocates are Hales, Jackson, and Des Vignolles. With some minor differences, they agree in adopting the Septuagint numbers for the ages of the patriarchs, and the long interval from the Exodus to the building of the Temple. Their arguments for the former view are very ably answered by Clinton, who adopts the short period from the Creation to the call of Abraham, and the 430 years on to the Exodus, but reckons 612 years from thence to the foundation of the Temple. Since he wrote, however, the state of the question has been materially affected by the study of Egyptian and Chaldæan history. In both cases, and on independent grounds, an antiquity is now claimed for the commencement of the annals of these nations inconsistent with the received date of the Deluge in B.C. 2348. The era of Menes, the first king of Egypt, is placed about B.C. 2717, and that of the third Chaldæan dynasty of Berosus (the first which has any claim to be historical) about B.C. 2234. The weight of this argument of course depends on the value we may assign to the numbers of Manetho and Berosus, and to the astronomical calculations which are supposed to confirm them; questions to be considered as we proceed. It is on such grounds, as well as from the numbers in the Book of Judges, that Mr. Poole adheres to the long system of chronology.

THE FOLLOWING TABLE EXHIBITS THE PRINCIPAL DATES AS GIVEN BY THE LEADING MODERN CHRONOLOGERS.

	Short System.			Long System.		
	Ussher. B.C.	Petavius. B.C.	Clinton. B.C.	Hales. B.C.	Jackson. B.C.	Poole. B.C.
Creation . . .	4004	3983	4138	5411	5426	5421*
Flood . . .	2349	2327	2482	3155	3170	3159*
Call of Abraham .	1921	1961	2055	2078	2023	2082
Exodus . . .	1491	1531	1625	1648	1593	1652
Foundation of Temple.	1012	1012	1013	1027	1014	1010
Destruction of Temple.	588	589	587	586	586	586

* Or each of these two dates may be 60 years lower.

BOOK I.

THE PATRIARCHAL AGE, AND THE ORIGIN OF THE NATIONS.

FROM THE CREATION TO THE EXODUS.

B.C. 4004—1491.

CONTENTS OF BOOK I.

CHAP.

I.—THE CREATION OF THE WORLD, AND THE FIRST STATE OF MAN.

II.—FROM THE FALL TO THE DELUGE; OR, THE CATASTROPHE OF SIN.

III.—THE POST-DILUVIAN WORLD, FROM THE DELUGE TO THE DISPERSION; OR, MAN'S SECOND PROBATION AND FALL.

IV.—THE DIVISION OF THE NATIONS.

V.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE HEBREW RACE:—FROM THE CALL OF ABRAHAM TO THE EXODUS.

CHAPTER I.

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD, AND THE FIRST STATE OF MAN.

> "Glory to Him, whose wisdom hath ordained
> Good out of evil to create—instead
> Of spirits malign, a better race to bring
> Into their vacant room, and thence diffuse
> His good to worlds and ages infinite!"—MILTON.

THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL RECORDS ARE IN THE BOOKS OF MOSES—THEIR ORIGINAL PURPOSE AND HISTORICAL VALUE—MOSAIC ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION—ITS MODE OF REVELATION—ITS SUCCESSIVE STAGES—PRIMEVAL STATE OF MAN—INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE—ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE—ADAM'S STUDY OF GOD'S WORKS—THE GARDEN OF EDEN—ITS PROBABLE LOCALITY—CONDITION AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE FIRST MAN—HIS CREATION IN THE IMAGE OF GOD.

THE first nation of which we have a distinct history is the race of Israel; and the earliest existing records are their sacred writings. To estimate the historic value of the Books of Moses, and the illustrations which they need from other sources, we must bear in mind their immediate object. The people of Israel had been called out of Egypt, corrupted by her false religion as well as degraded by her tyranny, to receive the Divine law, which was to distinguish them from all other nations. That law, entrusted to their keeping, and illustrated by their history, was destined, in its perfect spiritual development, to regenerate the whole world.

Its foundation was laid in their relation to the true God, as His children and chosen people; and that God must needs therefore be made known to them, as the Creator of the world, and as the friend and guide of their forefathers. With this view Moses wrote for them, in the Book of Genesis, not a complete history of the primeval ages, but so much of that history as bore upon their religious and national life. And this record remains our sole direct authority for the earliest history of the world. It can be illustrated by the traditions of various nations, and by the researches of science, especially Ethnography and Comparative Philology; but the full exposition of such matters belongs rather to the antiquarian. It is only their established results that fall within the province of the historian. Nor is this the place to discuss the genuineness and historic credibility of the writings ascribed to Moses. This we assume as proved.

In relating the creation of the world, as the scene of the events of human history, Moses had the one object of ascribing it to God, in opposition to all the figments of false religion and philosophy. It was quite unnecessary for him to give a scientific view of its origin. His account is purely historical in its form. It is such an account as might have been given by a spectator; and the writer seems to have been placed, by a Divine revelation, in the position of a spectator. Just as the scenes of future history passed in vision before the eyes of prophets, leaving their interpretation to the events themselves, so the scenes of creation were probably exhibited to Moses in vision, simply as phenomena, leaving their interpretation to the discoveries of science. Only these leading points were clearly revealed:—that the matter of the world—the visible earth and sky, with all in them—instead of being eternal or fortuitous, was called into being by God. Upon a state of unproductive confusion, to which we commonly apply the name borrowed from Greek tradition, *chaos* (*i.e.* emptiness)—whether the first condition of the world or the result of some catastrophe—Light was called forth by His word. Then followed, in successive stages, the duration of which is left undetermined by the words "evening" and "morning," which seem to describe the alternations of darkness and light in the Mosaic vision,—the spreading abroad of the visible heaven, and the separation of the waters on the surface of the earth from the aqueous vapours above,—next, the severance of the great masses of land and water, and the clothing of the former with vegetation,—next, the appearance of the sun, moon, and stars in the heavens, not only to enlighten the earth, but to mark out times and seasons,—then, the creatures of the water, and the fowls of the air,—and lastly, the terrestrial animals, and man. All the living beings were created of fixed species, each with the power within itself of reproducing its own kind; all received the blessing of fertility; and to man was given dominion over the rest. The whole was crowned with the Divine approval as "very good;" and the cessation of God's creative work, to be succeeded by the maintenance of all things according to His laws, was marked by the institution of the Sabbath. Man's Sabbath, in which he rests from working for subsistence, and engages in the godlike work of "doing good on the Sabbath-day," is the sign and reflex of God's Sabbath of providence and grace.

A more particular account is then given of the primeval state of the human race. To the general statement that, in common

with the other animals, man was created male and female, is now added an account of the creation of the woman out of the man, which gives sanctity to the marriage-bond by the community of substance as well as nature. But this crowning gift was not bestowed on Adam, for so was the first man named, till his study of all other living creatures had proved their unfitness to furnish the companion of his life. The process by which this conclusion was reached shows us man already endowed from the very first with the faculties of observation and reasoning, and with the power of Language: for the names that he gave the animals expressed his views of their nature; and in this process he found an occupation akin to that study of God's works which is still a source of the purest pleasure. The labours of the naturalist are, in fact, a continuation of the process which began with Adam;—God presents every living creature to the view of man, and it is man's prerogative to give them names suited to their natures.

That this process was completed by Adam for all the denizens of all the climates, is one of those narrow literal views which justly incur the contempt of science. But yet it seems equally absurd to suppose that his sphere of observation was confined within such narrow limits as are suggested by the word "garden." The sacred writer's description of his "paradise," or "pleasure ground," implies an extent sufficient to give scope to the activities of a nature physically, as well as intellectually and morally, perfect. The locality of his abode is one of the vext questions of scriptural interpretation. Its description by names known in historical geography must have been intended to give intelligible, though very general, information. Thus much seems clear, that Eden lay about the head-waters of four great rivers, two of which were the Euphrates and the Tigris (Hiddekel). This condition seems to fix its site among the mountains of Armenia, south of the Caucasus, the very region which science and tradition concur to mark as the cradle of the noblest variety of the race subsequent to the Deluge.

In this beautiful and well-watered garden, planted by God himself, and kept ever fresh by a mist from the river—for as yet there was no rain, at least in that region—Adam enjoyed no fool's-paradise of dreamy indolence. His occupation of keeping and dressing the garden implies intelligent and steady industry. It was the easily productive nature of this work that distinguished it from the hard and scantily-repaid toil which is the curse of sin. His food was supplied by the fruits of the garden; for the animals

were not yet given him to eat. Of his intellectual culture we can form but faint conjectures, since nearly all our knowledge comes from the past, which did not exist for him. But we may be sure that his perfect nature had capabilities of knowledge surpassing any since possessed by his descendants; and that his direct communion with God, and converse with His new creation, laid broad and deep foundations for that wisdom, which he lived to transmit to seven generations of his children. But the direct process of his learning and the absence of those wants which are the spur of invention, forbid our regarding him as versed in art and science.

The highest distinction of our first parents was, that they were made in the image of God. It is not the province of history to enquire what relation of the human nature to the divine may be implied in this statement, or in the communication of life to man by the breath of God; but the purest consciousness of mankind testifies to his essential immortality. His processes of thought, especially as applied to the adaptation of nature to his wants, need only be compared with the design exhibited in the works of God, to prove that his intellect is like in kind, however infinitely inferior in degree, to that of his Creator. The converse of this argument, indeed, forms the foundation of Natural Theology. But it was chiefly the moral and spiritual image of God that was stamped on man at his creation, "the image of Him who created him in righteousness and true holiness." And so, when the Fall had marred this moral likeness to his Creator and Father, we are told that "Adam begat a son in his own likeness, after his own image." This likeness of man to God is the great central fact of human history. Its first bestowal reveals the destiny which God marked out for the race. Its loss was the first great catastrophe, and its recovery will be the final consummation, of the world's history. God, creating man in His own likeness, foreshadowed the coming of the Redeemer in the likeness of man, to reunite him to his God. Meanwhile all the scenes of selfish and murderous passion, which fill so large a space in the page of history, are examples of man's departure from the image of his God: all the acts of self-denying virtue and devoted love, which shed light upon the page, are but reflections of that Divine likeness which God did not permit even sin entirely to obliterate.

THE KNOWN WORLD
AT
THE DELUGE.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE FALL TO THE DELUGE; OR, THE CATASTROPHE OF SIN.

"It repented the LORD that He had made man on the earth, and it grieved Him at His heart."—*Genesis,* vi. 6.

FIRST REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH IN HISTORY—SIN AND GRACE—THE FALL OF MAN—THE CURSE AND PROMISE—CONFLICT OF GOOD AND EVIL—CAIN AND ABEL—THE CAINITE AND SETHITE RACES—ENERGY AND LAWLESSNESS OF THE CAINITES—LAMECH'S POLYGAMY AND MURDER—RELIGION OF THE SETHITES—INTERMARRIAGE OF THE RACES, AND CONSEQUENT CORRUPTION OF MAN—MORAL AND MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE ANTEDILUVIANS—THE DELUGE—DIFFICULTIES IN THE NARRATIVE—DESTRUCTION AND RESTORATION OF THE WORLD—GOD'S COVENANT OF FORBEARANCE MADE WITH NOAH—TRADITIONS OF THE FLOOD—ANTEDILUVIAN LONGEVITY.

HISTORY, we have said, is divided by revolutionary epochs. The first of these was the *entrance* of sin, as St. Paul emphatically calls it, thereby marking it as an intrusive element; while, in the same breath, he explains the mystery of its permission, to make way for the principle of *grace.* A recent historian of the French Revolution has not shrunk from proclaiming the antagonism between the "rights of man" and the doctrine that we receive all good from the grace of God. But the Scripture teaches that God will permit no such antagonism, and that the fall of man has left with God alone all the glory of his restoration. Holding out to man every inducement to obedience, and warning him of the fatal results of disobedience, God left him free to choose between them, and even provided a test by which he was to stand or fall. That test was suited to the possibilities of evil, which all subsequent experience has proved to exist in the human breast. The form which the trial assumed need not surprise us, if we only bear in mind how large a part of the Divine teaching is by actions. The presence in Eden of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, the appearance and address of the serpent to the woman's senses, and the eating of the forbidden fruit, instead of needing any mythical or allegorical interpretation, show us the reality of the whole transaction. Then, as now, the impulse of sin was perfected in an overt act. But the scene, though real, was symbolical. The neglect of the tree of life, and the wilful plucking of the fruit of knowledge of good and evil, is the same choice which man is ever making between the true source of

happiness—spiritual life—and the pride of doubting God, the lust of knowing and enjoying evil as well as good. The fascinations of the forbidden tree, which tempted the woman, are the same three sources of evil which have misled all her children—"the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life." The readiness of Adam to share his wife's transgression is the type of that companionship in evil which gives sin its chief hold upon our race.

Another power was concerned in the catastrophe; forming, indeed, its immediate cause. Already placed in direct communion with God, man was now solicited, on the other hand, by a spiritual being, who had fallen from happiness by that sin to which it became his malignant pleasure to tempt man. To omit the distinct recognition of Satanic agency from our narrative would be to deny one of the mainsprings of the world's history. This is not the place to dwell on the theological aspect of the question; but the teaching of Scripture is too well confirmed by our own experience of the malignant envy against goodness, the mischievous ingenuity in destroying it, and the eagerness to taunt and torment their fallen victims, which mark those whom the Divine word therefore calls the children of the devil. Whatever licence Milton may have given his imagination, his general conception of Satan's relations to our first parents is true; and the traditions of many nations, identifying the serpent with the principle of evil, bear witness to the form of the temptation.

The first human pair had thus chosen, and all their progeny have by their own personal fall confirmed the choice, between life in the light of God's favour, and independence of Him at the price of death. But the sentence was mitigated in itself, and a glorious promise was given of its ultimate reversal. While the fallen beings were already cowering beneath that sense of shame which is the first symptom and penalty of conscious sin, and afraid to meet the God whom they had till now loved, He called them, with the serpent, to receive their sentence. The grovelling form and habits assigned to the serpent were the type of the ultimate conquest of the evil spirit by the very offspring of the woman, who should not, however, achieve the victory without a deadly wound from his antagonist;—a clear promise of the Redeemer's destruction of sin by His own death. As for the human pair, the chief objects of their present life were still to be accomplished before they returned to the earth from which they had been taken, but to be accomplished amidst sharp suffering and

wearing toil. Still, in this curse there were the seeds of a blessing. The woman's pangs were to be consoled by the hope of the great Deliverer who was to be her seed: the man's toils were to be rewarded by the fruits which the earth would henceforth yield, though only to hard labour. The joys of Paradise must be renounced; but the whole earth was to be replenished and subdued. Access to the tree of life was cut off; but immortality in the fallen state would have been misery, and a far better immortality remained to be revealed. The best evidence that Adam understood the promise is seen in the new name he gave his wife, Eve (the *living*), as the mother of a truly living race, and chiefly of Him who was to be their life.

That the rite of *sacrifice* was now instituted by God himself, in confirmation of His promise, and as a type of the satisfaction for sin by the death of a substitute for the sinner, is inferred with the highest probability from the narrative. In no other way can we reasonably explain the death of the animals with whose skins God clothed Adam and Eve; and the story of Cain and Abel shows us the institution already established.

Adam and Eve went forth into the wide world, carrying with them the fallen nature and corrupt tendencies which were the present fruit of their sin, but with faith in the promise of redemption. Of this faith as well as of their shortsighted expectation of its fulfilment, Eve gave a proof at the birth of her eldest son, by exclaiming, "I have gotten a man, Jehovah." The whole subsequent history of their race exhibits the conflict of these two principles; and its first period, down to the Deluge, was a scene of steady decline, till redemption seemed hardly possible. The conflict appeared in the first generation of their children. Cain, the husbandman, and Abel, the shepherd, are representatives of the two great divisions of the human race, not so much in their occupations as in their characters. The command of God to offer sacrifice, not only in acknowledgment of His goodness, but as a confession of sin, formed a new test of obedience. We are assured by Paul that Abel brought his offering in faith; while the selfish pride of Cain's is proved by his resentment, his murderous revenge, and his sullen despair. While he went forth from his father's home and his father's God into the land of Nod (that is, *exile*), to seek a new abode on the earth, which had been cursed anew for him, and with his life only protected by the mark of God's displeasure, another son—Seth—was given to Eve in place of Abel; and these two became the heads of races morally and

spiritually distinct. Cain and his descendants built the first cities, and invented the arts of music and metal-work, which are associated respectively with the names of Jubal and Tubal-cain, whose brother Jabal took up the life of the nomad herdsman. But the restless energy that led them to these inventions was associated with the lawless ferocity that we see in their father Lamech's address to his two wives, the earliest piece of poetry on record, in which he avows the guilt of murder, and anticipates a vengeance many times as great as that of Cain.* But in the family of Seth the true worship of God was preserved. In the time of his son Enos, we are told, men began to call themselves by the name of Jehovah, avowing themselves His servants, as a protest against the increasing ungodliness. Enoch, the seventh patriarch of the line, is celebrated in antediluvian history for his close walk with God, his denunciations of the wickedness of his times, his prophecy of the coming of God to judge the world, and his "translation" from the earth without dying,—a sign that the promise of eternal life was already reversing the curse of death.

Meanwhile the distinction between the Cainite and Sethite races was gradually broken down by intermarriages, in which desire overcame the fear of God; for this is the only sober interpretation of the union between "the sons of God" and "the daughters of men." From these intermarriages sprang a race not of "giants," but of lawless men, by whom the earth was filled with violence. The utter dissolution of all moral bonds, and the recklessness of the Divine judgment, are referred to by our Lord, and more fully described by St. Peter and St. Jude; in each case as the type of a like state of unbridled licence which will precede the end of the world. Thus at each stage of human history it is demonstrated that the present order of things is doomed to pass away, not so much because the physical world is perishable, but still more because the degeneracy of man has reached, and will again reach, a depth incurable but by entire destruction and renovation. No progress in the material arts of life can ensure us against such moral declension. When we read of the inventions of the Cainite race, and reflect upon the opportunities furnished by antediluvian longevity for retaining that knowledge which the short-lived races of later men are ever losing and regaining, we may well believe that they had reached a material civilization still unknown to us. But later ages are not without the warning, that this is the very source of moral degeneracy. When the con-

* We have here also the earliest example of polygamy.

quest of matter is so far achieved as to enable man not only to use but abuse, that is, to use up the world for his own selfish pleasure, every moral restraint is removed, except the fear of God and the faith of unseen things; and this motive is felt but by very few. Those few were represented, in the world before the Flood, by one man only, NOAH, who was just and upright in his family, and, like Enoch, walked with God. So he was chosen to renew the race after its removal by a flood of waters. For there was this distinction between the treatment of the first and final apostacy of mankind:—In the latter, all that is mortal and material will be utterly destroyed by fire, as too corrupt for any milder remedy, to make way for a new heaven and earth, the abode of that spiritual excellence which alone is indestructible. But the Flood, so to speak, only cleansed the surface of the earth; and the rescued family, instead of receiving a new nature, did but make a fresh start, with all the evil tendencies of the old race, as their history soon proved. Wearied out with man's wickedness, and repenting of having made him (we do but adopt His own figurative language), God would not make the race extinct before His promise of redemption was fulfilled. That promise was the most precious of the deposits which Noah carried with him into the Ark.

For the rest, we are not called upon either to invent, or to explain away, difficulties which are not found in the sacred narrative. Once for all, let us speak out upon the subject. We accept the Bible as a record of the highest credibility, as truly the inspired Word of God, without encumbering our faith with theories of inspiration. We test and interpret its statements by the same rules of common sense which we apply to other historic records. In relating external events, we do not expect the historian to be precise about their hidden and intrinsic nature; just as we do not expect even the astronomer, in using the language of common life, to carry back the heavenly bodies beyond the visible sky. In a word, the language of historic description is, in the vast majority of cases, *phenomenal*, not *absolute*. It is a true account, if it truly describes the appearances of things to a spectator. But for a man to insist on understanding those appearances as absolute realities, and that according to the narrowest literal sense of the words used, is to impose fetters upon the sacred text, beneath which no secular historian could move a single step. The attempt thus to compel our faith is most unwise; but when the like method is insisted on to drive us to unbelief, we can scarcely speak of it with moderation.

It matters nothing to our understanding of the simple narrative of Scripture, whether the waters of the Deluge covered the whole globe, provided that they covered the small portion known to Noah, and peopled by the two existing races of men. We are left free to accept the plain proofs furnished by astronomy and mechanics, by geology and physical geography, that the Deluge could not have been universal unless the laws of all nature had been suspended. With this error vanishes that of requiring room in the Ark for all the species of animals, or indeed for any beyond those which the family of Noah would care to preserve, chiefly for domestic use and sacrifice. Reduced to this form, the problem of the Ark's adaptation to its use is narrowed within a compass that need not create alarm; and, feeling no necessity to work out its details, we trust more to the definite dimensions given in an authentic history than to the corrections of the acutest arithmetician. And in all similar cases, when the historical credibility of a record is once established on the broad grounds of evidence, we can afford to await the explanation of minute difficulties, without permitting them to unsettle our belief.*

A respite of 120 years, during which Noah, as a preacher of righteousness, reproved the world both by word and example, produced no amendment; and, even during the building of the Ark, they went on "eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, and regarded it not, till the day that Noah entered into the Ark, and the flood came and took them all away." The date of this memorable epoch was handed down by Noah to the very day. It was in the 600th year of Noah's life, on the 10th day of the 2nd month (B.C. 2349, Ussher), that he entered into the Ark with his wife, his three sons and their wives, with the clean animals by sevens, and the unclean animals by pairs, and God shut them all in. After a solemn pause of seven days, the sources of the earth's waters and the clouds of the sky were broken up at once, and poured forth their floods for 40 days and nights, covering the whole surface of the earth. The surprise and terror of this sudden judgment form a theme for the poet and the painter. It is enough for us to see in that unbroken sheet of water the first end of a world ruined by sin, and in the Ark, which floats alone upon its surface, not only the promise of a new history for our race, but the far higher type suggested by the Apostle Peter, of the salvation which God ever grants to those

* It may be observed, that the definite measures of the Ark prove that a metrical system was already invented.

who remain faithful amidst an ungodly world. The waters of the flood were at their height for 150 days; and as they began to abate, the Ark rested on some point of Mount Ararat, on the 17th day of the 7th month. It was not till the first day of the 10th month that the summits of the hills began to appear; and Noah waited 40 days more before he made those well-known experiments with the raven and dove, which, besides furnishing a fruitful theme for poetry, seem to indicate his observance of the Sabbath.

At length, on the first day of the 601st year of his life (B.C. 2348, Ussher), Noah removed the covering of the Ark, and looked out upon the earth now cleared of the flood; and on the 27th day of the 2nd month, at God's command, he left the Ark, with all that were in it. He celebrated his deliverance by a great burnt-offering of all kinds of clean animals; and God's acceptance of this sacrifice marks a new epoch in the history of our race. Standing by his own altar with his sons, about to go forth on to the renewed face of the earth, Noah's prophetic spirit might have anticipated the corruption which would soon call for the waters of another flood. But God assured him that the judgment was not to be repeated. The order of the seasons, and the produce of the earth, were secured by a Divine promise to the very end of time. Till that end, man was to live under the dispensation of God's forbearance, and so to work out his full destiny.

This promise was confirmed by the first of those *covenants*, or solemn agreements, by which it has pleased God to give a double security to our faith; and the remembrance of the covenant was perpetuated by the bright and beautiful token of the rainbow. It has been conjectured, that till the time of the Flood, the earth was still watered by the abundant mists that prevailed before any extensive cultivation of its surface.* If so, the rainbow would be as new a source of joy, as the deluge itself had been of terror. But even if this hypothesis be rejected, and it be granted that the rainbow had often appeared before, it now received a new significance, which it has ever since borne, for the devout beholder.

The memory of the Noachic Deluge is preserved in the traditions of nearly every people of the earth; and most of the heathen mythologies have some kind of sacred ark. These traditions,

* This applies, of course, only to the countries known to the antediluvians. Geological evidence of rain elsewhere, and at another stage of the world's history, has no connexion with this statement.

which are, in most cases, far too minute to be explained by any mere local inundations, attest a common origin from Noah. It is remarkable, too, that they are simpler and more distinct in proportion as we approach the original seat of mankind. Thus, the Chaldæans, the people who formed the most ancient perhaps of all nations, placed a general deluge in the reign of Xisuthrus, whose alleged place in the succession of their kings (the tenth) corresponds to that of Noah among the generations of mankind. This tradition corresponds to the scriptural account, in the divine warning (by the god Kronos or Saturn),—the preservation of Xisuthrus and his family, with all kinds of animals, in a great ark,—the destruction of all the rest of mankind,—the thrice-repeated experiment with the birds, and the final resting of the ark on a mountain in Armenia. The Persian tradition is less clear than that which is found at the extremities of the world, among the Chinese in the East, and the Mexicans in the West. All are acquainted with the Greek legend of Deucalion and Pyrrha.

We do not consider it necessary to discuss the question of antediluvian longevity. There is nothing improbable in the enjoyment of great length of days in the first vigour of our race; and the Scripture certainly marks the shortening of human life as at once the fruit and the penalty of sin. We can see one great use of such longevity in the more rapid peopling of the earth, and another in the transmission of knowledge by a very few steps over a very long period. Thus, according to the numbers of our received text of the Bible, Adam was more than 60 years the contemporary of Noah's father, Lamech; and Shem, the son of Noah, died only 24 years before the death of Abraham. Shem may therefore have related to Abraham what Lamech had heard from Adam. But, in accepting these genealogies as possessing historic credibility, we are not bound down to any definite chronological results obtained by adding together their numbers, which differ, as we have already seen, in the different chief copies of the Scripture. The same remark applies to the Post-diluvian patriarchs.

CHAPTER III.

THE POST-DILUVIAN WORLD, FROM THE DELUGE TO THE DISPERSION; OR, MAN'S SECOND PROBATION AND FALL.

"Heroes and Kings, obey the charm,
Withdraw the proud high-reaching arm,—
There is an oath on high,
That ne'er on brow of mortal birth
Shall blend again the crowns of earth,
Nor, in according cry,

"Her many voices mingling, own
One tyrant Lord, one idol throne:
But to His triumph soon
He shall descend, who rules above,
And the pure language of His love
All tongues of men shall tune."—KEBLE.

THE NOACHIC PRECEPTS—ABSTINENCE FROM BLOOD—SENTENCE AGAINST MURDER—THE PRINCIPLE OF LAW AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE MAGISTRATE—ORIGIN OF CIVIL SOCIETY—THE PATRIARCHAL CONSTITUTION—AUTHORITY OF THE PATRIARCH BOTH CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS—REMNANTS OF THE PATRIARCHAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT—INCIDENTS OF THE POST-DILUVIAN HISTORY—NOAH'S FALL, AND HAM'S INSULT—THE PROPHETIC CURSE AND BLESSINGS ON HAM, SHEM, AND JAPHETH—DIVISION OF THE EARTH IN THE TIME OF PELEG—MONARCHY OF NIMROD—CITY AND TOWER OF BABEL—CONFUSION OF TONGUES.

WHEN Noah and his family left the Ark, to people the world anew, God repeated to them the blessing He had pronounced on Adam: they were to be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and to subdue all living creatures beneath their government. But their new state was marked by new laws. All the animals were granted to them for food, as the herbs and fruits had been granted to Adam; nor were they restricted to those afterwards defined by the Mosaic law as clean. No reason is given for this change; but, coupling the principle, that laws are made for existing practices, with what we know of the antediluvian age, we may view it as an example of God's condescension in permitting practices which it would have been hard for human nature to give up. This opinion seems confirmed by the emphatic prohibition against the use of blood for food. We may well believe that, in those antediluvian feasts to which our Lord refers, not only was animal food indulged in, but even blood was not refrained from, especially by a people who set at naught other first laws of nature. And, as the use of bloody banquets marks a

sanguinary disposition, this prohibition of blood is naturally associated with the second of the new laws, that against murder, the crime which had stained the antediluvian age, from Cain to his descendant Lamech. Murder was not now first made a crime. The blood of the murdered had from the first cried to God from the very earth that had drunk it up. The new point in the law seems to have been this: under the previous dispensation the murderer was left in the hands of God, a devoted being, whom man must not touch, even in the way of vengeance; but now he was handed over to human law. "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, *by man* shall his blood be shed." The reason is given for the murderer's death, that he had defaced God's image in his victim; and to enforce the sanctity of that image, even the beast who should kill a man must be put to death. Such are the first examples of positive law committed to the administration of man; for the law of the forbidden fruit was in the hands of God alone, who could alone enforce its penalty; and His law of labour carried with it its own penalty of want. The former, indeed, was not a law to regulate life, but a special trial to test the spirit of obedience. Henceforth, therefore, man lived under LAW, a dispensation which antediluvian lawlessness had proved necessary. The laws against murder and the eating of blood, and the authority of the civil magistrate to punish the criminal, may be regarded as the new code of the human race, under the name of the NOACHIC PRECEPTS. We are not to suppose that they include all the positive law of that early age. Marriage had been instituted from the first; and the recognition of civil authority, as a principle, would naturally include all that the common-sense of mankind regarded as needful for protecting life, property, and good order, and enforcing subjection to and reverence for God. Hence the Jews extended the Noachic precepts which were binding on Gentile proselytes to seven—the other four being the laws against idolatry, blasphemy, incest, and theft.

Thus the elements of civil society were established before the Family had grown into the State, forming what is called the PATRIARCHAL CONSTITUTION. And in this earliest form of social order we may observe the truth of Aristotle's great saying, that the State exists not merely that man may *live*, but that he may *live well*. By the first principles of nature and common-sense, the government was placed in the hands of the *Patriarch* (the *father-ruler*). It was ensured to Noah by his peculiar position and character. When it was called in question by his son's contempt,

he did not shrink from using his authority, even to the extent of a terrible prophetic curse. The same example shows that the patriarch's authority did not cease even when his sons had households of their own; for Ham was already the father of Canaan when he incurred his father's censure. And this rule continued throughout the patriarchal age. The first living ancestor had supreme jurisdiction over all the families descended from him; while each family respected also the government of its own immediate head. Thus it was with Abraham, as he dwelt in tents with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs of the promise given to him; but we also see Judah claiming the power of life and death over his daughter-in-law, while Jacob is still alive.

This patriarchal government was religious as well as civil. The patriarch was the priest. In this character Noah offered sacrifice; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob built altars, and called on the name of the Lord; and both heads of houses and civil rulers are found sacrificing even after the institution of a priesthood. It included also the right of dividing the inheritance, which we find exercised by Noah, in his prophetic blessing and curse on his three sons, by Abraham, by Isaac, and by Jacob, the last going so far as to choose the heir of his own heir in Ephraim, the younger son of Joseph. But in the exercise of this power, there was a customary rule: the inheritance was divided into equal parts, of which the heir received two and the other sons one.

In the Book of Job, which, whatever be its date, preserves the record of primitive patriarchal institutions, we see the system still in action after the establishment of cities. In his own family Job rules over his sons, though they had their own separate households; while, in the city, he sits in the gateway with the other elders, receiving the honour due to his station, and administering justice in his turn. Thus did the pure patriarchal government gradually merge into that of patriarchal elders, the primitive type of aristocracy. But neither this, nor the more artificial forms of civil government, have entirely superseded the patriarchal: it still exists where it is suited to the state of society. The Arab descendants of Abraham still live in tents, with the government of the oldest living ancestor scarcely changed; and savage tribes scattered over the earth, especially those in the nomad state, have preserved this relic of their primitive condition.

The incidents of post-diluvian history are few; and these few bear witness to the renewed corruption of mankind. We are not told how long the rescued family lingered among the highlands

of Armenia, before they dispersed themselves over the primeval forests and the alluvial plains, which they had to subdue before they could replenish. Noah began the life of a husbandman, and planted a vineyard; and the righteous man, who had escaped the lusts of the old world, was overcome by shameful intoxication. Then it was proved that in his family, as in that of Adam, there was the distinction between the evil and the good: the wanton insolence of Ham, and the filial piety of Shem and Japheth, received the curse and the blessings which described the destiny of the peoples that have sprung from them. Ham is cursed in the person of his son Canaan,* as the ancestor of the race most hostile to the chosen family, with the doom of servitude to his brethren, and especially to Shem. The inheritance of religious blessing is assigned to Shem; and to Japheth is promised, besides great temporal prosperity, an ultimate share in the privileges of Shem. In this blessing we can clearly see the general outline of the later history of the Hebrew family and the European nations.

Ten generations are enumerated from Noah to Abraham, in the fifth of which (the time of *Peleg*, about B.C. 2247, Ussher), the earth was divided among its several nations. This division was the result, not of quiet diffusion, but of a violent catastrophe, brought on by the increase of corruption, which took the form of political ambition. A difficulty always exists in the arrangement of events where genealogies are our only guide; but remembering that steps are often omitted in these genealogies, which now become more ethnical than personal, we may not improbably connect the monarchy established at Babel by Nimrod, the son of Cush, the son of Ham, with the attempt to build the city and tower of the same name in the Plain of Shinar. There is at all events an obvious moral connexion in these enterprises. As Ham's outrage upon his father was the first great personal offence against patriarchal authority, so Nimrod's kingdom was the first open revolt from the patriarchal government; and the enterprise of the Babel builders was an organized revolt in the same spirit, defying even the power of God himself.

There can be little doubt that these builders were of the Cushite branch of the family of Ham, and that the Plain of Shinar was the great level of Lower Mesopotamia, or Chaldæa, and the site of the city that spot on the banks of the Euphrates, which has ever since borne the name of Babel or Babylon. Their

* This special mention of Canaan is a decisive proof that the prophecy has nothing to do with the slavery of the negro races.

very manner of building, with brick and bitumen,* is still seen in the ruins of edifices on the same spot. Dismissing the childish idea that they meant to build a brick tower as a refuge from an inundation, which they must have known would wash it away, we see in their city, with its lofty citadel, the first attempt to establish a great universal empire, in the might of which their impiety aspired to resist God himself, and to prevent the weakness which their dispersion would cause.†

Of the religious aspect of the movement we are told no more than what is implied in the impiety of the design; but there is ground for tracing in it a positive form of idolatry. The towers of Chaldæa, of the same type as that of Babel, seem always to have been temples; and their peculiar construction was adapted to that early form of idolatry called Sabæism, or the worship of the heavenly bodies. The earliest traditions represent Nimrod as an idolater, and the same is positively affirmed in Scripture of the forefathers of the Israelites, when they dwelt in Chaldæa: Perhaps the temple was the first part of the design, and the city grew up around it.

In the fate of this project we see the sentence which God has declared in every age against every attempt at universal monarchy by those acts of providence which form the most conspicuous events in history. The design was frustrated by a confusion of speech among the builders, produced by Divine intervention, which caused them no longer to understand each other, and so forced them to abandon the work; and hence the name of the city, Babel (*confusion*). The Chaldæans themselves appear to have found the etymology of the name in their own language, as *Bab-il, the gate of the god Il* (Kronos or Saturn), and some regard the Hebrew etymology as only a coincidence; but it is unsafe to use etymological arguments concerning a period before languages were cast into their later types. We are not informed what became of the tower. Jewish tradition has tried to make up for the silence of Scripture by relating its miraculous destruction; while antiquarians have sought for its remains in the ruined towers of Chaldæa, both near to and far from its proper site. The *Birs Nimroud*, which stands at some distance from the right bank of the Euphrates, is now certainly identified with the Temple of Nebo

* This is the most probable interpretation of the word translated *slime* in our version: but the mud of the alluvial plain was also used for cement.

† The motive thus assigned, and their movement from their original seats, prove that the necessity for a dispersion was already obvious even to themselves.

at Borsippa (probably the Chaldæan *Barsip*, or *Tower of Tongues*), which the Talmudists identified with the Tower of Babel. This temple of the "Seven Lights of the Earth" was rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar, who included it within the circuit of Babylon. The dedicatory inscription of that king, lately discovered among the ruins, contains the following passage, as deciphered by Oppert: *—"A former king built it (they reckon forty-two ages), but he did not complete its head. Since a remote time, people had abandoned it, *without order expressing their words.* Since that time the earthquake and the thunder had dispersed its sun-dried clay, the bricks of the casing had been split, and the earth of the interior had been scattered in heaps." This is a proof that the story is no mere Hebrew tradition. The simple statement of the Bible, that they *left off building the city*, would naturally suggest a break between the original and the later Babylon, during which the brick buildings would have fallen into ruin through neglect. At all events, such a break exists between the earlier and later history of Babylon in our own knowledge.

That there was some connexion between this event and the diversities of human language and the dispersion of the nations, is clearly stated in the sacred narrative; but this is not assigned as their only cause. It is sufficient confirmation of the account, that the languages of the earth do bear traces of a violent dislocation, as well as of a progressive development; and what remains may be left to the inquiries of Comparative Philology and Ethnography.

* See Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. iii. pp. 1554–5.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DIVISION OF NATIONS.

"God, that made the world and all things therein, hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation."—St. Paul, in *Acts*, xvii. 24—26.

"We know what modifies *form*. Change of latitude, climate, sea-level, conditions of subsistence, conditions of clothing, and so forth, do this; all, or nearly all, such changes being physical. We know too, though in a less degree, what modifies *language*. New wants gratified by objects with new names, new ideas requiring new terms, increased intercourse between man and man, tribe and tribe, nation and nation, island and island, oasis and oasis, country and country, do this. It is our business to learn from history what does all this."—Latham, *Comparative Philology*, p. 708.

THE COMMON ORIGIN OF MANKIND ATTESTED BY THE POSITIVE STATEMENT OF SCRIPTURE—COLLATERAL EVIDENCE OF SCIENCE, ESPECIALLY FROM LANGUAGE—TRIPARTITE ORIGIN OF THE NATIONS—GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE LANDS FIRST PEOPLED—CENTRAL POINT IN THE HIGHLANDS OF ARMENIA—THE TRIPLE CONTINENT OF EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA, VIEWED IN ITS PHYSICAL FORMATION—THE NORTHERN PLAIN, THE GREAT DESERT ZONE, THE MOUNTAIN CHAINS, AND THE SUBJACENT COUNTRIES—BASIN OF THE MEDITERRANEAN—OUTLYING PARTS OF THE WORLD—DISTRIBUTION OF THE SEVERAL RACES FROM THE ORIGINAL CENTRE IN ARMENIA—THE MOSAIC HISTORY GIVES ONLY THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PROCESS—FORM OF THE RECORD ETHNIC RATHER THAN PERSONAL—THE ARYAN AND SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND RACES—CONNECTION OF SHEMITE AND HAMITE RACES—GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE THREE FAMILIES—JAPHETH—HAM—SHEM—LANGUAGES OF THE RESPECTIVE RACES—MODERN CLASSIFICATION BY RACES OR VARIETIES OF MANKIND—THE CAUCASIAN—THE TURANIAN—THE NIGRITIAN—THE MALAY—THE AMERICAN—MEANING OF "ABORIGINAL" TRIBES—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In the age before the Flood, the human race had completed its first great experiment. It had failed in the attempt to achieve the end of its creation as a single united people. The time was now come for that further step which had been contemplated from the first in the Divine command—to replenish the earth and subdue it. The process by which this was effected is an object of enquiry only second in interest to the origin of the race; and the enquiry must be pursued in accordance with the principles we have laid down. The Scriptural account must be regarded not as an expression of the crude opinions of an age, though early, yet long subsequent to the division of mankind into races, but as an historical record, derived from the testimony of those who witnessed the process. This testimony is independent of any question about inspiration; but when an inspired teacher like St. Paul makes the same statements with a directly religious object, we have the highest authority for accepting the unity of the species as an

undoubted fact in the history of man. That the magnificent Caucasian and the debased Hottentot, the noble Red Indian and the woolly Negro, should have sprung from the same stock, may seem incredible to that mere external view which is no safe test of truth. Science may discuss the problem unfettered by the authority, which she will in the end assuredly confirm. Historical criticism will first follow direct testimony, but not without interpreting that testimony by the light of science. The only direct testimony that we possess is the record in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis, to which the early traditions of the several nations scarcely add anything possessing the value of an independent authority. The further aid rendered by science consists in the investigation of national affinities and differences, partly by physical characteristics, but chiefly by the test of language. The latter field of enquiry has been cultivated in our own day with the greatest diligence and success; and, after making allowance for certain artificial changes, of which the record has been generally preserved, Comparative Grammar has been established as the surest guide to Comparative Ethnology.

Two facts stand out in the very forefront of the Scriptural account of the division of the nations—that all were derived from the common stock of Noah in three great divisions, having his three sons for their several ancestors; and that, for a long time after the Flood, "the whole earth was of one language and of one speech."* That great dislocation of this one speech, of which the memory was preserved in the name of Babel, gave a decisive impulse to the separation, which may, nevertheless, have begun before; and its time is fixed to the age of Peleg, in the fifth generation from Noah (B.C. 2247), whose very name (Peleg = *division*) commemorated the division.†

The tripartite descent of all the nations from Shem, Ham, and Japheth, is twice plainly stated: "These are the three sons of Noah, and of them was the whole earth overspread."‡ "These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations: and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood."§ Before comparing the list of the nations descended from them with our later knowledge of the peoples of the earth, it is necessary to take a general survey of the lands over which the posterity of Noah's sons began to spread.

The highlands of Armenia—for these, in the geography of

* Genesis, xi. 1. † Ib. x. 25. ‡ Ib. ix. 19. § Ib. x. 32.

Scripture, are meant by the mountains of Ararat, on which the Ark rested—form at once the most natural centre for the distribution of the human race, and the most convenient station from which to view the tripartite continent of Europe, Africa, and Asia. And at once, in thus naming it, we must insist on a more natural division than that into three continents, which, besides, was by no means uniformly accepted by the ancients. The highland region of Armenia is the central knot of the mountain system which forms the skeleton of Western Asia, and whose chains are connected with the great ranges that stretch through the whole length of Asia and of Europe. North of these ranges a vast expanse of land extends with a general slope down to the Arctic Ocean, intersected by great rivers and covered with forests, swamps, and lakes. It is broken, near the centre, by the transverse chain of the Oural Mountains, and terminates on the north-west in the highlands of Scandinavia. With this portion of the earth's surface history has for a long time little or no concern, though destined to be vastly influenced by causes there at work. It lies apart, the rough cradle of those hardy races which were prepared, through a course of ages, to pour down like another deluge on the effete civilization of the Old World. The centre and southern portions of the triple continent are again subdivided by marked physical characters. A broad belt of sandy desert, on the greater part of which rain never falls, begins on the western shore of Africa, below the parallel of 30° N. latitude, and sweeps across North Africa, Arabia, and Persia, gradually rising up to the table-land of Iran, beyond which it again spreads out into the vast steppes of Tartary, and reaches nearly to the shores of the Yellow Sea. The valley of the Nile, the basin of the Red Sea, and that of the Tigris and Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, are depressions in the surface of this great desert belt, which is also broken by several oases, where springs of water, and sometimes a considerable stream, nourish valleys, whose scanty verdure seems luxuriant by contrast with the wastes around. The part of this great tract which lies east of the Tigris and Euphrates valley, forming the table-land of Iran, is bordered on the north and south by mountain-chains, which run out from the central highlands of Armenia. The northern range, skirting the southern shore of the Caspian, is prolonged eastward to the Indian Caucasus (or *Hindoo Koosh*), where another great knot is formed. The southern range, skirting the eastern margin of the Tigris valley and the Persian Gulf, ceases on the west side of the Delta of the Indus, whence the transverse chain of the

Soliman Mountains runs up northwards to the Hindoo Koosh. From this new central knot the first chain is continued in the Himalaya and its branches, at the feet of which lie the two great Indian peninsulas and the vast land of China; while another great range, which may be included under the general name of *Altai*, stretches north-east to the very extremity of the continent, along the margin of the steppes of Western Tartary and of the great northern Siberian plain. These two ranges support between them the great plateau of Mongolia, which forms the north-eastern part of the great desert zone.

The course of the mountain chains west of the Armenian highlands affords a striking example of the influence of physical geography on national character. Two ranges, corresponding to the two already described as running to the east, extend westward along the northern and southern shores of Asia Minor, ending abruptly in the western headlands of that peninsula. Their prolongations are lost amidst the European ranges which, sweeping to the north-west, make room for the basin of the Mediterranean, which is bounded on the east by the chains of Amanus, Lebanon, and the hills that prolong them to the south. The southern shore of the Mediterranean is enclosed along half its extent by the slopes of the giant Atlas, which forms the northern boundary of the Great Desert (the *Sahara*); and along the eastern half the Desert itself reaches to the sea-shore, except where it is backed up by hills whose terraces slope down to the Mediterranean as in the fair peninsula of Cyrene. Thus the shores of this beautiful inland sea are formed by mountain slopes and deeply-indented peninsulas, enjoying the most delicious climate, and affording the greatest facilities for navigation. It is a remarkable feature of the northern shores of the Mediterranean, that the southern faces of the great mountain chains generally fall abruptly to the sea or the intervening plains, while on the north they descend with a long and gradual slope. Hence the lands on their southern side lie within a small compass, open to the great highway of commerce, and sheltered by the steep mountain walls behind them: while on the other side a vast unmanageable mass of land, exposed to a northern climate, presents far greater obstacles to the progress of civilization. The same is true, though on a larger scale, of the Himalayas as well as of the Alps. In fine, the great chain of Caucasus, backing up the Armenian highlands on the north, and extending westward to the Crimea, encloses, with the opposite mountains of Asia Minor and Thrace, the basin of the

Euxine, from whose north-western shores the steppes of Southern Russia slope up to the great Sarmatian plain. The islands which fringe the coast of this great tripartite continent need not be described. The part of Africa south of the Great Desert has only the remotest connexion with ancient history; and the New Worlds of America and Oceanica may be left for the present out of view. Our plan is, first to obtain a general idea of the earliest distribution of the human race according to the list given in the tenth chapter of Genesis, aided by the researches of Ethnology, and then to suffer the several nations, except those with which the thread of the history remains, to sink out of our view, till they reappear on the stage of history in their connexion with the others.

This general view of the physical geography of the ancient world may prepare us to see the fitness of the Armenian highlands to be the central cradle of the human race. Forming the highest land of Western Asia, the region lies between the Caspian, the Euxine, the Mediterranean, and the Persian Gulf, which afford access to all quarters of the ancient world. In its heart are the sources of the Euphrates, whose course forms the track, first to Syria and the Mediterranean, and then to the plains of Babylonia and the Persian Gulf; while the Tigris, rising on the southern slopes of its mountains, takes a more direct course to the same point. One of these two paths may have been followed by the first great migration on record, that of the Babel builders, when they journeyed eastward to the plain of Shinar or Babylonia. The valleys of the chain which skirts the basin of the Tigris on the east formed a path by which a hardy mountain race might spread over the table-land of Iran, and thence descend into the plains of Northern India; and in these regions we find a race which assumed not unworthily, the name of *noble* (the *Aryans*). From the Persian Gulf the way lies open, east and south, to all the coasts and islands of the great Indian Ocean; while the coast of Syria, besides giving immediate access to Egypt, the shores of the Red Sea, and the southern margin of the Mediterranean, looked over the waters of that easily navigable sea to all the lands of Southern Europe. To these countries there was another access by the valleys which descend from Armenia to Asia Minor, along both shores of that peninsula, and by the islands which form stepping-stones across the Ægean into Greece, as well as over the narrow streams of the Bosporus and Hellespont into Thrace. The shores of the Euxine might be reached by the valleys of the Cyrus and the Phasis, whence the way lay open round the foot of the

Caucasian chain into the Crimea and the vast plain of Northern Europe; while the Cyrus and the Araxes also led to the Caspian, across and around which was the route to Central and Northern Asia. Without entering, at present, into the question of the peopling of America, we need only notice the clear physical possibility of a passage from the one continent to the other, both across Behring's Strait and along the chain of the Aleutian Isles. Thus the way lay open on every side; and on nearly every side fertile plains, watered by abounding rivers, invited men down from the mountain valleys into a milder and more productive climate.

Though the descendants of Noah's three sons spread ultimately over the wide regions thus described, we must not expect to find, in the Mosaic account, more than the commencement of the process. Its true historic character necessarily confines it to the then known parts of the world; though inferences may be fairly drawn respecting the progress of population over regions still unknown. The attempt to find all countries of the ancient world in the list has raised needless difficulties. A very unfounded suspicion has also been thrown upon the whole account on the ground of its form. By those who started from the assumption that it was intended for a genealogy of personal names, the discovery that many of these names are strictly national was supposed to reduce it to a mere ethnical speculation. But the only wonder is that the ethnic character of many of these names (such as those ending in *im*, the Hebrew plural, and particularly the dual *Mizraim*, for the *two Egypts*, Upper and Lower) should ever have been overlooked.* Though the writer starts with a genealogy, in the case of the three sons of Noah, the whole scope of his account is manifestly ethnic, and it is fruitless to enquire where the one form ends and the other begins. In determining the localities to which the names should be referred, we have in some cases the guidance of historical geography, and in others a very striking similarity of names; aided by a general notion, derived from the account itself and from the science of Ethnology, as to what parts of the ancient world were peopled by the three races.

The most certain result of Comparative Philology is, that the languages—and therefore the nations†—of Europe and South-

* A striking case occurs in verses 15—18, where the one form passes into the other:—"And Canaan begat Sidon his firstborn, and Heth, and the *Jebusite*, and the *Amorite*, &c." In the next verse, the boundary of the *Canaanites* is given, from Sidon, which now stands for the city.

† It may be necessary here to guard against an objection. "Blood and language, upon a whole," says Dr. Latham, "coincide but slightly. The Arab blood of the

western Asia form two great families, of which the one is named Indo-European, Indo-Germanic, Aryan or Japhetic, and the other Semitic.* The range of the former may be described by a zone, extending S.E. and N.W. from the plain of Northern India across the table-land of Iran, the highlands of Armenia, and at least a part of Asia Minor, into Europe, of which it covers nearly the whole surface. There is little difficulty in referring to parts of this region the races named in Genesis as the posterity of Japheth. This zone leaves on its western margin, for the most part well-defined by dividing mountains, the countries which form the south-western corner of Asia—namely, the Tigris and Euphrates valley, Syria with the adjacent part of Asia Minor, and the peninsula of Arabia. This region, which is the seat of the Semitic languages, as determined by Comparative Grammar, contains the countries which we know, from the whole tenor of Scripture history, to have been peopled chiefly by the race of Shem.

The third race offers more difficulty. Comparative Grammar has not yet established a distinct Hamitic family of languages; but it has proved the difficulty of referring the dialects of Egypt and some neighbouring countries to either of the other families. But the history most indubitably connects Ham with Egypt, his son Canaan with the adjacent district of Palestine, and others of his descendants with Africa on the west, and Arabia, on the east, of Egypt. One main source of difficulty, perhaps, arises from a sacrifice of truth to symmetry, in the too eager search for a definite tripartite division of the nations. There seems to have been a much closer connexion (we do not say, affinity) between the races of Shem and Ham, than between them and the race of Japheth. This is already intimated in Noah's prophetic blessing. While Japheth, who seems to have been the elder son, stands apart, "enlarged" with his vast temporal inheritance, Shem, the heir of the spiritual promise, is placed in direct antagonism with Ham, whom he is to reduce to subjection. Accordingly we find a perpetual conflict between the two races, and a perpetual intrusion of the one into

millions who speak Arabic [in Africa] is at a minimum;" and he mentions slavery as a great cause of the intermixture of languages. This must be carefully borne in mind in all speculations on ethnic affinities based on the existing forms of language. But when we are able to ascend to the original speech of a people, we may safely infer their race from their language. In our own islands, for example, the use of English by the Cornish, Welsh, Scotch Highlanders, and Irish, does not tempt us to refer them to the Teutonic race; but our knowledge that their native dialects are Cambrian and Gaelic leads us rightly to class them with the Celtic race.

* This form of the word, though originating in a difficulty with the *sh*, has been so naturalized by use, that the more proper *Shemitic* seems uncouth.

the seats of the other. The very Land of Promise, divinely given to the chosen descendants of Shem, was first possessed by the race of Canaan, the son of Ham. The two races came into conflict on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf, and in the plains of Babylonia, where Nimrod, the son of the Hamite Cush, set up his throne in a country which afterwards belonged to the Semitic race; and hence arose the double application of the name Cush to Babylonia, as well as to Ethiopia above Egypt, to which it properly refers. More than this: according to the Hebrew method of stating geographical facts in a genealogical form, names that are purely local are inserted as if they had an ethnical meaning. Thus in Arabia, where certain districts were occupied at one time by a Semitic race, at another by an Hamitic, the very same names appear in both genealogies, indicating the intrusion of the one family into the possessions of the other; the Cushite races of Sheba and Havilah appear as descendants of the Shemite Joktan in Arabia. The general conclusion is, that we must not expect to find the same marked distinction between the races and languages of Shem and Ham, as between them and the race of Japheth. We may probably view the ancient Egyptians as nearest to the pure type of a Hamite race. That this type is to be found in the negro is a prejudice as unfounded as the attempt to wrest Noah's prophecy of the subjection of the Canaanites to Israel into an argument for negro slavery.

Confining our attention within the probable limits of the knowledge of the time when the list was composed, the settlements of the three sons of Noah may be roughly described as forming three parallel zones;—Japheth, stretching from the highlands of Armenia, to the south-east, into the table-land of Iran, and to the west into Thrace and the Grecian peninsula and islands; Shem, occupying the middle belt, from the south-eastern part of Asia Minor* to the Persian Gulf, and most, if not all, of the peninsula of Arabia; and Ham, Egypt and Ethiopia, with the adjacent parts of Africa, as well as Palestine and the country round the head of the Red Sea.

The names of the tribes belonging to each of the three races are the following:—

I. The sons of JAPHETH.

1. GOMER; and his sons Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah. These are supposed to belong to the primeval seats of the race, in

* The Semitic and Aryan races were much mingled in this peninsula. In a very general sense, the River Halys may be named as a boundary between them.

the highlands of Armenia, and the centre of Asia Minor. *Togarmah* appears to be identified in Scripture with Armenia. As these are probably the races which ultimately spread north-westward over Europe, we cannot tell how far we have to look for them among existing nations; and a wide range is left open to speculation. The name of *Gomer* resembles that of the great Cimmerian or Cimric race, which is found both on the shores of the Euxine, where the Crimea still preserves its name, and in the extreme west of Europe. In *Ash-kenaz* some of the best authorities find the name of Asia, which was at first localized on the shores of the Euxine and in Asia Minor.* The extension of the *name* to the whole continent has no ethnical meaning; but the *race*, spreading to the north-west, is regarded by the authorities just referred to as the original of the Teutonic nations. *Riphath* has not been satisfactorily explained; Josephus says that the Paphlagonians were called of old Rhiphæans.

Magog is a name which occurs again in Scripture, with that of Gog, from some great and wild tribe, who fought on horseback with the bow, and came from a country adjacent to Togarmah, that is, Armenia (Ezekiel xxxviii. xxxix.). Ezekiel's description, as well as some ancient traditions preserved by the Arabians, point to the tribes north of the Caucasus, who were included by the Greeks under the general name of Scythians. But here great difficulties arise, partly from the very wide and indefinite range given by the classical writers to this name of Scythians, and partly from the movements of the tribes which have at various times displaced one another over the northern parts of Europe and Asia. Thus the name has come to denote two very distinct races; the one Japhetic, the other belonging to that great Turanian family of which we have still to speak. The former seem to be the *Magog* of Scripture, as they certainly are the Scythians of Herodotus and the other earlier Greek writers. They are the family whose chief branch, settled in the east and south-east of Europe, along the northern sides of the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and the Caspian, obtained the name of *Sarmatians* from one of their lesser tribes, when that of *Scythians* was transferred to the Turanian races of Northern and North-eastern Asia. Upon the whole, however, where ethnical affinities are so obscure, it may be safer to regard the name as merely geographical, which is certainly the case with some others in the list. According to a probable etymology, *Ma-gog* signifies the *People of Gog*, Gog being the prophetic name of a supposed prince of these tribes.

* See the article *Asia* in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

3. MADAI almost certainly represents the *Medes*, whom ethnical science has proved to be a branch of the Indo-European race.

4. JAVAN, with his sons Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim, peopled the "Isles of the Gentiles," a term which always seems to signify, in Scriptural geography, the western shores of Asia Minor and the countries on the European coasts of the Mediterranean. The name of *Javan*, stripped of the vowel points, is the same as the Greek *ION*, and Milton adopts the identification when he speaks of

"The *Ionian* gods of *Javan's* issue."

Nay, the very name of Japheth himself appears in the Titan deity Iapetus, whose son Prometheus,

"*Japheth's* wiser son,"

is, in the oldest Greek mythology, the benefactor and preserver, nay, even the creator of the human race. The identification of *Elishah* with the Æolians, and of *Dodanim* with the Dardanians of Asia Minor (a people undoubtedly akin to the Greeks), and the placing of the *Kittim* in the island of Cyprus, are questions too minute to be more than barely mentioned. But the name of *Tarshish* is of wider interest. It often occurs in Scripture as that of a distant land, the commerce with which gave a name to the largest class of merchant vessels, like our "Indiamen;" and it is generally believed to denote either the lands in the western part of the Mediterranean in general, or in particular Spain, where the great maritime city of Tartessus was famous in the earliest times. It may, however, be doubted whether so distant a region would be within the writer's knowledge.

5. TUBAL has been placed in Pontus, on account of the resemblance of the name to the Tibareni.

6. MESHECH has been identified, for a similar reason, with the Moschi in Pontus.

7. TIRAS seems to represent the great nation of the Thracians.

In looking at the subject from the historical point of view, in the light of the earliest authentic documents, we cannot enter on the wider field of scientific enquiry into the origin and affinities of the ancient and existing nations of the world. But it may be well to indicate the results obtained by the modern science of Comparative Philology. The nations, ancient and modern, comprised in the great zone which has already been mentioned as extending from Northern India on the south-east to the western shores of Europe, are classified, according to their languages, in the following order:—

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ARYAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.*

Classes.	*Branches.*	*Dead Languages.*	*Living Languages.*
INDIC		Prakrit and Pali, Modern and Vedic Sanskrit	Dialects of India.
			" the Gipsies.
IRANIC		Parsi, Pehlevi, Zend	" Persia.
		......	" Afghanistan.
		......	" Kurdistan.
		......	" Bokhara.
		Old Armenian	" Armenia.
		......	" Ossethi.
CELTIC	Cymric	......	" Wales.
		......	" Brittany.
		Cornish	" +
	Gadhelic	......	" Scotland.
		......	" Ireland.
		......	" Isle of Man
ITALIC		......	" Portugal.
		Oscan }	" Spain.
		Umbrian } Langue d'oc	" Provence.
		Latin } Langue d'oil	" France.
		......	" Italy.
ILLYRIC		......	" Wallachia.
			" the Grisons.
HELLENIC		Dialects of Greek	" Albania.
			" Greece.
WINDIC	Lettic	......	" Lithuania.
		Old Prussian	" +
		......	" Friesland and Livonia (Lettish).
	South-east Slavonic	Ecclesiastical Slavonic	" Bulgaria.
		......	" Russia.
		......	" Illyria.
	West Slavonic	......	" Poland.
		Old Bohemian	" Bohemia.
		Polabian	" Lusatia.
TEUTONIC	High German	Old High German and Middle High German	" Germany.
	Low German	Gothic	+
		Anglo-Saxon	" England.
		Old Dutch	" Holland.
		Old Friesian	" Friesland.
		Old Saxon	" North Germany (Platt Deutsch).
	Scandinavian	Old Norse	" Denmark.
			" Sweden.
			" Norway.
			" Iceland.

* From Max Müller: *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 380.

That this table should include the dialects of races whose names are not seen in the Mosaic list, is quite consistent with the limits within which the list is confined. Representing the original diffusion of the families of mankind, it does not follow them into their later ramifications. One case demands more special notice, that of the language which stands first, both in the table and in the name Indo-European, and to which precedence has been generally given by modern scholars—the Indic. Neither this nor the chief dialects of the Iranic appear in the Mosaic list, just because they lay beyond its range; and perhaps, too, because of the well-known fact that the Aryan race in Northern India displaced an earlier Hamite or Turanian population. But there has been too great a tendency to regard the Indic as the prototype, and even the parent of the whole family; and hence some have even supposed that we must look for the cradle of the human race, not in the highlands of Armenia, but in those of the Hindoo Koosh. This precedence in antiquity, however, is more than can be justly claimed for the Indic dialects; and, in fact, the original centre of the race cannot be determined by such reasoning. "There is," says Dr. Latham, "a tacit assumption that, as the East is the probable quarter in which either the human species or the greater part of our civilization originated, everything came from it. But surely in this there is a confusion between the primary diffusion of mankind over the world at large, and those secondary movements by which, according even to the ordinary hypothesis, the Lithuanic came from Asia into Europe? A mile is a mile, and a league a league, from whichever end it is measured, and it is no further from the Danube to the Indus, than from the Indus to the Danube:" * and we may add, it is only half as far from Armenia to either.

II. The Race of Ham formed four great families, which can be identified pretty certainly with known races, though the minutes subdivisions involve considerable difficulties. They all belong to the dark-coloured variety of mankind; and the very name of Ham has such a signification, being akin to the word by which the Egyptians described the black soil of their own country.†

1. Cush seems to be a generic term for the dark tribes of Africa, like the Greek name Ethiopian; but his numerous progeny extend also into Asia. The name of his eldest son, Seba, is identical with

* Latham, *Comparative Philology*, p. 612. The passage is part of an argument which we cannot, of course, discuss here—that Sanskrit, which is closely allied to the Slavonian dialects, is rather of European than of Asiatic origin.

† See Book ii., chapter vi.

the most ancient name of the great island (as it was called) formed between the two branches of the Nile, the Astaboras and Astapus, and famous as the seat of the Ethiopian kingdom of Meroë. The following names of Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah (with his sons Sheba and Dedan), and Sabtechah, certainly belong in part to the peninsula of Arabia. Then follows one of the most interesting records of primeval history; how Nimrod, a descendant of Cush, began to be a mighty one in the earth, and was distinguished in early traditions as "the mighty hunter" (the phrase "before Jehovah" is a Hebrew pleonasm of intensity). There is little doubt that this epithet describes the forays which the first great conqueror named in history made upon the surrounding nations. He is expressly declared to have founded a kingdom, the seat of which is accurately defined. Its beginning was at Babel and the neighbouring cities of Erech, Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar; that is, the great plain of Babylonia, or, to speak more widely, Southern Mesopotamia. Thence he is supposed by some to have extended his empire northward along the valley of the Tigris into the land of Asshur (Assyria), where he built the cities of Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen.* It is, of course, quite indifferent whether these were the exploits of an individual, or, as seems more probable, of the dynasty he founded. The great fact established is this, that the earliest empire in the world was set up by a Cushite dynasty in the great plain of Babylonia. Traditions of the most ancient times, and the recently discovered records of the oldest Babylonian language, point to an original Cushite population in those regions, where the appellation of the race was long preserved in such names as Chuthah, Cossæi, Chuzistan or Susiana. For the Cushites peopled not only the plains of Mesopotamia, but the highlands of Susiana and Persia Proper; and we may follow the footsteps of the race still further to the east, across the deserts of Beloochistan and the Mekran, at the head of the Indian Ocean, to the peninsula of India; where, besides the evidence of language, their presence is shown by their characteristic temple-towers or pagodas. In these countries they were mingled with the Aryan race. Thus we see the Cushite race extending from

* That is, according to the reading of Genesis x. 11, now generally preferred; "out of that land he went into Assyria"—but it is not certain that the authorized translation is not right;—"out of that land went forth Asshur" (driven out by a Cushite invader), "and built Nineveh, Rohoboth, Calah, and Resen," a Semitic tetrapolis in Northern Mesopotamia, in contrast to the Cushite tetrapolis in the South. This Cushite kingdom is mixed up by historians with the early history of Assyria. See Book II., chapter ix.

above Egypt, across the south and east of Arabia, the plain of Babylonia or Chaldæa, and as far as India, in a sort of crescent: but the question still remains, what was the course of their migration? Did they ascend the Nile to their primitive seats in Nubia and Abyssinia, and then spread to the north-east, displacing an earlier Shemite population in Arabia and on the Tigris? Or did they first descend the valley of the Euphrates, and spread thence to the south-west? Or did they follow both courses? This question is one of the most difficult in the whole science of Ethnology. The results of modern research point, as we shall see hereafter, to the entrance of the Cushites into Chaldæa by way of the Persian Gulf; and this is supposed to be in accordance with the order in the Book of Genesis, which derives Nimrod from Cush, and not Cush from Nimrod. But, on the other hand, the narrative of the building of Babel appears rather to suggest that the Cushite peopling of Babylonia was effected by the more direct route, and that it was connected with the migration of the Babel builders. It would seem that the race of Ham, like the Cainites before the Flood, having cast off the patriarchal law, were the first to indulge their restless desire of wide dominion.

2. Mizraim, the name of Ham's second son, has a uniform geographical significance in Scripture. Even its dual form has its proper force, denoting Upper and Lower Egypt. The singular, Mazor, seems to have the same significance as Ham, and Egypt is expressly called in Scripture "the land of Ham" (Psalm lxxviii. 51; cv. 23; cvi. 22);—strong arguments for the opinion that Egypt, though named second in geographical order, was the chief seat of the Hamite race. Its extent along the valley of the Nile is defined by the unchanged physical limit of the first cataract; and the distinct characteristics of the ancient Egyptians are inscribed indelibly on their monuments. But they were surrounded by kindred tribes—Ludim, Anamim, Lehabim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, Casluhim (the progenitors of the Philistim), and Caphtorim. It seems that all these, as we know for certain of the Philistines, were colonies sent forth by the primitive race of Mizraim; and that they are enumerated in a geographical order, from west to east. The Ludim (or Lud) are mentioned in several passages of Scripture as serving in the armies of Egypt: but a difficulty arises from the twofold use of the name; for besides the Mizraite Lud or Ludim, there was a Shemite Lud, probably the Lydians. Of the Anamim we have no certain knowledge; but the Lehabim (elsewhere called Lubim) seem to be without doubt the Rebu of the

Egyptian monuments, and the Libyans of the Greeks, in the narrower sense. Their ancient dependence on the Egyptians is stated by Manetho as an historical fact. The Naphtuhim dwelt close to Egypt on the west. The Pathrusim, Casluhim, and Caphtorim were probably settled in the Delta itself. The parenthesis, which describes the origin of the Philistines, seems to be misplaced, for this people are elsewhere uniformly described as an offshoot of the Caphtorim. They were the only one of the Mizraite colonies which extended into Asia, and their affinity with the Egyptians should be remembered in studying Jewish history. The Caphtorim were not improbably an old race, closely akin to the Cushites, who dwelt in Egypt before its final settlement by its historical inhabitants. Their name seems to be connected with that of Coptos, and to contain the old root which is preserved in the modern name of the Egyptian people and language, and in the Greek appellation of the country (Ae-gyptus = the land of Copt). Retiring to the Delta, the Caphtorim seem to have sent forth colonies, not only to the adjacent maritime plain of Philistia, but across the Mediterranean to the south-west shores of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands. The old Leleges and Carians, as well as the Cretans, had a close affinity with the Philistines, especially if the last two of these three peoples be rightly identified with the Tok-Karu and the Khairetana (the Hebrew Cherethim), who appear on the Egyptian monuments as allies of the Philistines. They are evidently a race cognate to the Egyptians, but distinguished from them by some marked peculiarities.

3. Phut, the third son of Ham, is also often mentioned in the prophetic Scriptures as allied with the Egyptians. The name corresponds with that of a nomad people, Petu (*bowmen*), which occurs on the monuments. It seems probable that they were the Nubians, and this would account for their being mentioned next after Misraim, as Nubia was always a dependency of Egypt.

4. Canaan is the last-named of the sons of Ham, but the best known to the Hebrew author, who not only gives a full list of the Canaanite tribes, but an exact description of their territories, from the borders of Egypt and the plain of Sodom and Gomorrah on the south, to the city of Sidon and the land of Hamath (the valley of the Orontes) on the north; thus including the whole of the Holy Land and some of the adjacent parts of Phœnicia and Syria, which were afterwards peopled by the race of Shem.

The illustration of this family by Comparative Philology is an enquiry as yet in its infancy; all that can at present be said with

safety is that some progress has been made towards the recognition of a distinct class of Hamitic languages. The tendency of modern research is to show that, as on the one hand the race of Ham led the way in material civilization, and consquently in the changes of language which it calls for, and as on the other hand their civilization took more and more a Semitic form of development, so their languages will be found to constitute an intermediate link between the primitive undeveloped Turanian and the Semitic. Some philologers even go so far as to doubt whether the Semitic family of languages should not rather be called Hamitic. But, in truth, little success can be expected in the attempt to classify languages according to the three races, since the chief modifying causes, which have moulded languages into their existing forms, are long subsequent to the original partition of mankind. The ancient language of Egypt, and the Coptic derived from it, have perhaps the best claim to represent the Hamitic family; but it is now clear that both the people of Egypt, and their language, contained a large infusion of the Nigritian element.

The characteristics of the race may perhaps be best seen in the traditions and monuments of their civilization. Their great work was to make material nature subserve their power and pomp, to found great empires, and to resist the inroads of nomad races. They reared those massive works of grand and sombre architecture, which still excite our admiration in Egypt, Babylonia, and Southern Arabia, as well as in the little we know of the earliest monuments of Phœnicia. Indeed, the principle recently propounded by Mr. Fergusson, though often partially recognized before,* of using prevailing styles of architecture as a test of race, may be safely applied, if in any case, to the family of Ham. Viewed in this light, the wondrous legends of the old Arabian kings who, in their marvellous palaces, dared to defy the Divine power, till sudden destruction fell upon them from heaven, may be traditions not entirely imaginary. In every land this material grandeur yielded partially, and in most altogether, before the spiritual power and the active energy of the sons of Shem and Japheth. The material civilization of the world was *begun* by the race of Ham, *ennobled* and put to the highest uses by the race of Shem, and, if the phrase may be allowed, *popularized* and made the handmaid of energetic progress by the race of Japheth, to whom Noah's prophecy gave the highest development of worldly greatness.

* As in the comparisons frequently made between the temples of India and Egypt.

III. The SONS OF SHEM are named last in the list, probably as being the chosen race, with whom the main stream of the sacred history abides. They occupied a comparative small territory, shut in between the wide possessions of Japheth on the north, and those of Ham on the south. This fact seems to suggest, from the very first, that their destiny was not so much to overspread the earth, as to exhibit, on their allotted portion of it, the dealings of divine Providence with one part of mankind as a pattern of the rest. Two stages are clearly marked, in the ethnic genealogy, by the description of Shem as "the father of all the children of Eber:" the latter, as the head of the most important subdivision of the race, is thus only second in importance to Shem, the ancestor of the whole. As in the Hamite races, so here there seems to be a geographical order in the enumeration, which proceeds from southeast to north-west along the highlands which extend from the head of the Persian Gulf through Armenia into Asia Minor. Aram is mentioned last, as lying south of the curved line thus formed.

1. ELAM, a name preserved in that of the Elymæi, belongs to the mountains which separate the table-land of Iran from the Persian Gulf and the lower part of the Tigris valley, including also a portion of these lowlands. It corresponds in general to the Susiana of later geographers. This people, at the extremity of the Semitic chain, came into contact on the east with the Japhetic Persians, with whom they are sometimes confounded, while on the other side they were pressed upon by the Cushite invaders. The result was their ultimate reduction to a mountain tribe, comparatively insignificant in numbers, but famed as archers both in secular and sacred history. The early importance of their country is attested by the title of "King of Elam" given to the great Cushite sovereign, Chedorlaomer.

2. ASSHUR, the great Assyrian nation, had its abode in the upper valleys of the Tigris; where having been for a time subdued by the Chaldæan monarchy of Nimrod, it became the seat of the first great Semitic monarchy after that of Solomon.

3. ARPHAXAD is the name both of a person and of a race. As the eldest son of Shem (born two years after the flood), we should naturally expect to find his progeny near the primeval home of the race; and there are good reasons for placing them in the southern part of the Armenian highlands, about the sources of the Tigris. One intervening step of the genealogy, Salah, leads from Arphaxad to Eber, the common ancestor of the Hebrews and the Semitic Arabs, who were descended respectively from his two

sons, Peleg and Joktan. The significance of the name Eber seems to point to a home "on the other side" of the Euphrates; and this agrees both with the position of Chaldæa, the native country of Abraham, and the statement of Joshua to the Israelites, that their fathers had dwelt in the days of their idolatry, "beyond the flood," that is, the waters of the Euphrates. While the personal genealogy of the chosen race is traced down from Peleg, through Reu, Serug, and Nahor, to Terah the father of Abram, Joktan is described as the father of the numerous Arabian tribes, whose dwellings are defined as extending "from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east." The latter is almost certainly the modern Zafari, a port in the east of Yemen, and formerly a great seat of the Indian and African trade. Hence their settlements were in the south of the peninsula, where the traces of their power are found in history. Their chief tribe was that of Sheba (the Sabæans of classical geography), who very early established a great monarchy in the south-west corner of the peninsula. The dominion passed from them to the Himyarites (the Homeritæ of the Greeks), who are not mentioned in the Mosaic list. They seem to have been, in fact, the chief subdivision of the Sabæan tribe. Their still extant inscriptions attest the close connection between the Semitic population and that Cushite element which spread, as we have already seen, over these regions, and which has left here, as in the valleys of the Tigris and the Nile, the traces of its presence and power in its giant monuments. But the limitation of the Joktanite Arabs to the south of the peninsula seems to describe only their later possessions. At a very early period they extended into the great Syrian Desert, as far north as Damascus. Here they afterwards encountered two other great waves of Semitic population, which passed over the north and centre of the land; the descendants of Abraham, through his son Ishmael, and by his wife Keturah. This most interesting mixture of populations which still requires and will reward investigation, is attested by the occurrence of the same names in the Biblical genealogies of Cush, Joktan, Ishmael, and Keturah.

4. Lud is most probably identified with the great Lydian nation of Asia Minor. The intermixture of peoples in that peninsula presents one of the most curious and intricate problems of ancient ethnology. It seems to have been occupied by the three races, in three nearly parallel belts; the Japhethites along the north, the Shemites in the south-east, centre, and west, and the Hamites in the south-west.

5. ARAM, from a root signifying *high*, was the general name of the people of the highlands that enclosed on the north the plains and lower hills of Canaan, and the table-land of the Syrian Desert. It corresponds roughly to the northern parts of Syria, Mesopotamia,* and Assyria. The language of this wide-spread people has always been divided into two distinctly marked dialects, the Eastern and Western Aramæan. The former, improperly called Chaldee, was in use at Babylon at the time of the Jewish captivity; the latter is represented by the Syriac, which was the vernacular language of Syria till the Arab conquest. The latter is near akin to the Hebrew, which contains also a large admixture of pure Aramaic forms.

The children assigned to Aram are, Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash. The first name, as well as Aram itself, recurs among the descendants of Nahor, the brother of Abraham, whose home was at Padan-Aram. Hence we can have little hesitation in placing Uz, the land of Job, in the country of Mesopotamia.

The most important branch of the Semitic race, the people of Israel, does not appear in this list, as they had not at first a distinct national existence. The land destined to become the scene of the wonders of their history was peopled by the race of Ham, while their ancestor Abram did not separate from the posterity of Eber till after five generations.

There is another important branch of the Semitic race, which does not appear in the Mosaic list. These are the Phœnicians, who inhabited the narrow slip of the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, between Syria and Palestine, at the foot of the chain of the Lebanon. They seem to have migrated from Chaldæa about the time of the call of Abraham; and both these movements of the Semitic race up the valley of the Euphrates to the shores of the Mediterranean may have been influenced by a common impulse.† That the settlers found a Hamite population already in the country, may be inferred from the statement that Sidon was the first-born of Canaan,‡ as well as from the Hamitic character of the earliest Phœnician monuments. From Phœnicia, the Semitic race was spread by colonization to Carthage and other places on the Mediterranean shores of North Africa and Spain.

When these settlements in the land of Canaan had been effect-

* This was the *Aram-Naharaim*, that is, *Aram between the rivers*, of Scripture. *Padan-Aram*, the *cultivated Aram*, was another name of the same district.

† See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. iv., Essay II.

‡ Genesis x. 15.

ed, the Semitic race acquired that form, which its peculiar fixity of character and habits preserved for long ages; which was only altered, indeed, by the force of foreign conquest. This character offers peculiar facilities to the researches of the ethnologist, the results of which are embodied by Professor Max Müller in the following

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SEMITIC FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.*

Classes.	*Dead Languages.*	*Living Languages.*
Arabic or Southern	....	Dialects of Arabic.
	Ethiopic..	Amharic.
	Himyaritic Inscriptions	+
Hebraic or Middle ..	Biblical Hebrew..............................	Dialects of the Jews.
	Samaritan Pentateuch, 3rd century A. D..........	+
	Carthaginian, Phœnician Inscriptions............	+
Aramaic or Northern	Chaldee, Masora, Talmud, Targum, Biblical Chaldee	+
	Syriac, Peshito, 2nd century A. D.................	Neo-Syriac.
	Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylon and Nineveh...	+

The Scriptural account is naturally silent about the colonies which were established on the shores of the Mediterranean by the maritime energy of the Phœnicians, and by means of which the Semitic and Japhetic races were brought into conflict for the empire of the world, in the Punic Wars. Nor should we omit to notice that, anterior to these colonies, there are traces of a Semitic population along the northern coast of Africa, which is still probably represented by the Berbers, a people quite distinct from the later Arab conquerors.

Such are, in brief outline, the general results of an examination of the "Book of the Generations of the Sons of Noah" in the light of ethnical science. But when that science extends its enquiries to the whole surface of the globe, it gives us other results, which are certainly not directly deducible from the historical account, though there is no reason to regard them as inconsistent with it.

The double test of physical and linguistic distinctions divides the human race into five varieties.

1. The *Caucasian* is so called because its finest physical type is still found in the region of Mount Caucasus, near the original seat of the human race. It includes all the nations that speak the Indo-Germanic languages, as well as most of the tribes of the great Indian peninsula, the Semitic peoples of Western Asia, and the inhabitants of Northern Africa. Its physical characters are

* *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 381.

a tall stature, symmetry and strength of body, a free and noble bearing, and especially the erect countenance and fully developed brain and forehead, which are the marks of high intellect. Its history has always fulfilled the destiny which nature has manifestly stamped upon it, as the ruling family of mankind, supreme in power, and foremost in civilization. It embraces, with a few very doubtful exceptions, all the nations that are described in the above list as the earliest progeny of the three sons of Noah.

But the inference by no means follows, that no room is left for other races, consistently with a common descent from Noah. The remoter parts of the earth, not comprised in the Mosaic list, may have been peopled by races sprung from the same original stock, but yet so modified by climate and other influences, as to bear strong marks of difference. Naturalists, for the most part, admit that such modifications are agreeable to the laws of physical science. That they have actually taken place is the more probable from the fact, that all the departures from the Caucasian type show signs of degeneracy. In other classes of organic life, each species is more or less perfect in its kind; but all the other varieties of mankind are less perfect than the Caucasian. Nor is it hopeless to expect that more accurate observation, especially in the field of language, may enable us to detect, in the peculiar characteristics of the non-Caucasian races, the exaggeration of those of the three great families. Thus, for example, the researches which have made us better acquainted with the Hamite nations, have also detected among them a strong Turanian element, which may have arisen from a common primeval origin, as well as from a later intermixture. We are, in fact, little beyond the threshold of such investigations. Meanwhile, the Mosaic account of the origin of the nations, instead of being contradicted by varieties of race, is much more confirmed by the fact, that these varieties are found in regions remote from those in which the first families of mankind are placed by the historian, while these latter bear undoubted marks of a common origin.

It remains to mention the non-Caucasian varieties, though it is long before history has much to do with them. Two of these varieties are found in the ancient world, lying beyond the range of the great zone which contains the civilized and historic races, the Nigritian on the one side, and the Turanian on the other.

2. We name the *Nigritian* or Negro race first, because we have least to say of it. Its physical characters are very distinctly marked; the small stature united with great strength, but alto-

gether wanting in symmetry, the black colour, woolly hair, long receding forehead, and prominent jaws. It includes, in general, the tribes of Central and Southern Africa.* They bear every mark of a race greatly modified by the influence of climate, and degraded by the oppressions of the more civilized races from time immemorial. In their turn they have had an influence on these powerful neighbours, and thus a decided Nigritian element has been traced in ancient Egypt. The affinities of their dialects form too large and difficult a question to be discussed here.

3. The *Turanian* † (called by earlier writers the *Mongolian*) is the race most closely connected with the Caucasian in ancient history. Its extreme physical type is strongly marked by flat broad features, a low forehead, and generally a small stature; but its higher forms approach more nearly to the Caucasian. It is found spread over the vast tracts of Central and Eastern Asia, as well as the great northern plain which slopes down to the shores of the Arctic Ocean, not only in Asia and Europe, but also in America. It includes the ancient Huns and Scythians, the Mongolian, Calmuck, or Tatar tribes, the Samoyedes of Siberia, the Ugrians, Fins, and Laps of Europe, and the Esquimaux of America. Besides these peoples, who, shut in between mountains, steppes, and an Arctic sea, lead the life of nomad herdsmen and hunters, other branches of the same race, placed under more favorable conditions on the vast fertile plains and extensive sea-board of China and Farther India, reached a much more advanced stage of civilization.

The languages of these tribes are considered as forming the third great family, the *Turanian*, which comprises all the languages spoken in Asia or Europe, not included under the Aryan and Semitic families, with the exception of Chinese and its cognate dialects.‡ These last are assigned to a still earlier stage, the first in the formation of language, in which roots form independent words, and grammatical inflections are unknown. The Turanian dialects belong to that second stage, in which, two roots being joined together to form words, one of them loses its independence and becomes subsidiary to the other. This first step towards the use of merely grammatical inflexions, such as are seen in the Aryan and Semitic families, has been well described by the name "agglutina-

* In the extreme south, the Caffres are evidently a Caucasian race, who have overpowered the Nigritian tribes.

† The name is derived from the great table land of Turan in Central Asia, which is divided from that of Iran by the Hindoo Koosh and its western extension.

‡ Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 275.

tion," or *gluing together*. This term signifies that form or stage of language, in which the additions that make declensions and conjugations are tacked on to the words they modify, so as to be still separable, instead of being incorporated with them as inflections. We happen to have an English example of agglutination in the comparatively modern barbarism "John his book." This structure characterizes an early stage in the development of language; a stage through which each family of languages has passed, but which has become stereotyped among the races now called Turanian. It is thus that, as in the physical world, where processes have been arrested at a certain stage, as if to preserve them for our study, so the progress of civilization has halted among nations the less favoured in the means of progress; and in them we may see former conditions of races now far more advanced. Thus the Turanian is distinctively the class of languages spoken by the nomad tribes of Asia and Northern Europe, as distinguished from the more settled Aryan and Semitic populations. But we must be very careful to infer no more than the premisses will warrant. We must not, for example, conclude from the early prevalence of Turanian forms of speech a state of civilization exactly parallel to that of the existing Turanian races. Especially is this caution needed when we find the traces of a Turanian population in those parts of Western Asia—Chaldæa for example—which were the earliest seats of civilization. In short, this Turanian occupation seems to mark a period when the great demarcations between languages and races were not yet established. Whether the Turanian race was nearer to the Hamitic or to the Semitic family, is one of the most difficult problems of Ethnology. The most probable opinion seems to be that the Turanian was the stage of speech which the different races carried with them when they first left their primeval seats; that it was developed by the race of Ham, who, as the earliest cultivators of science and art, would be the first to require new forms of language, into the stage seen in the Hamitic dialects of Africa and Southern Asia; and that these were again modified, by contact with Semitic races, into the forms of speech called Semitic. The Aryan languages seem to have passed out of the Turanian stage by a still more direct process.

Professor Max Müller gives a genealogical table of the Turanian languages, too detailed to be transferred to our pages. He divides the Turanian family into two great classes, the *Northern* and the *Southern*. The Northern, which is sometimes called the *Ural-Altaïc* or *Ugro-Tataric*, is divided into five sections, the *Tungusic*,

Mongolic, *Turkic*, *Finnic*, and *Samoyedic*. The Southern, which occupies the south of Asia, is divided into four sections: the *Tamulic*, or languages of the Dekhan; the *Bhotiya*, or dialects of Tibet and the Bhotan; the *Taïc*, or dialects of Siam; and the *Malaïc*, or Malay and Polynesian dialects.

4. From this classification it would follow—at least so far as race may be inferred from language—that the fourth variety of mankind, usually called the *Malay*, or *Polynesian*, was a branch of the Turanian, which passed over from the two great Indian peninsulas. Its other name, *Australasian*, may be taken not only in a local, but also in an etymological sense, denoting the origin of the race from Southern Asia. In confirmation of this view, we know that the primitive Hamite race extended as far as India, where it was overpowered by the irruption of the Aryans; and the pressure of nation upon nation, which always results from such movements, would naturally find an outlet by the Malay peninsula and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, whence the race might spread, by means of their light canoes, over the calm waters of the Pacific. Moreover, the physical characters of the Malay race are very similar to those of the Hamite populations of Southern Asia, as they are seen on the monuments of Chaldæa, and described by Herodotus under the name of the "Asiatic Ethiopians." They have the complexion of various shades of darkness,—black hair, generally straight, but inclining in some tribes to the crisp curl which distinguished the Cushites of Africa,—with regular features, resembling the Caucasian type. There is, on the other hand, a striking contrast between the energy and invention of the Hamite race in Asia and the sensual life of the Polynesian savages, in which indolence and cruelty are strangely mingled. Their soft liquid dialects, scarcely possessing the more vigorous elements of speech, afford no bad type of their prevailing character, as a race which has degenerated, from causes not far to seek. Shut out from the great movements of their fellow men, in beautiful islands, where a tropical climate and spontaneous vegetation leave no care for food and clothing, they show what man becomes when really placed in the "Islands of the Blessed."

But one type is not sufficient to describe the Malay tribes. They vary from the highest standard of the manly savage in New Zealand to the lowest degradation in Australia, Papua, and elsewhere; and in most of the islands the distinction between the chieftains and the common people is as marked as that imagined by Homer between the "Jove-born kings" and the vulgar herd,

These circumstances seem to point to a mixed descent, partly from the Caucasian, and partly from the Negro race.

5. The *American race* is a name given in common to the war like hunting tribes who peopled the forests and prairies of North America, the more civilized people who founded cities and kingdoms in the Centre, and the savages of the South; though the unity of all these requires further proof. The chief existing type is to be seen in the so-called Indians of North America. Their main distinction is a copper-coloured complexion, with thin lank hair. Their physical perfection, noble carriage, and manly courage, point to a Caucasian origin, while in language and manners they have many points of resemblance to the Turanians; so that a mixture of these two races appears to supply the most probable account of their origin.

The ancient Greeks held that the first inhabitants of every land were sprung from the soil; and the nobles of Athens wore golden grasshoppers in token that they boasted to be Autochthons. The Latin races expressed the same belief by the word Aborigines, which modern usage has adopted. But it is scarcely necessary to say, that by an aboriginal people we now mean simply the earliest known inhabitants of their country.

In concluding this chapter, we must emphatically repeat, that the enquiry of which it treats is as yet only in its infancy; but we seem at length to have reached a stage in which the intrinsic difficulties of the subject need no longer be enhanced by a wilful conflict between science and authority. In what remains to be done, no caution perhaps is more necessary than to bear in mind that the diffusion of our race cannot be accounted for by any single movement from its common centre. We must take into account, not only the successive impulses which have followed one another at long intervals, but the flux and reflux of the great tides of population. Every such wave has left behind it traces as marked as those of the waters which have covered the lands during the great geological periods. But their traces are the nations, languages, monuments, and customs of living men, whose vital action has worked changes much more difficult to classify than the strata of dead matter. All that has been done, however, has tended to confirm that great primeval document, "The Book of the Generations of the Sons of Noah."

CHAPTER V.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE HEBREW RACE—FROM THE CALL OF ABRAHAM TO THE EXODUS, B.C. 1921–1491.

"Thus will this latter, as the former world,
Still tend from bad to worse; till God at last,
Wearied with their iniquities, withdraw
His presence from among them, and avert
His holy eyes; resolving from henceforth
To leave them to their own polluted ways;
And one peculiar nation to select
From all the rest, of whom to be invoked—
A nation from one faithful man to spring."—MILTON.

THE HEBREWS NOT THE MOST ANCIENT NATION—REASON FOR THEIR PRECEDENCE—THE LINE OF SHEM TO ABRAHAM—UR OF THE CHALDEES, ITS PROBABLE SITE—CALL OF ABRAHAM AND MIGRATION OF TERAH'S FAMILY—FIRST SETTLEMENT AT CHARRAN—ABRAM'S JOURNEY INTO CANAAN TO THE VALLEY OF SHECHEM—REMOVAL TO EGYPT AND RETURN TO BETHEL—SEPARATION FROM LOT—THE CITIES OF THE PLAIN—EXPEDITION OF CHEDORLAOMER—THE TRIBES OF THE CANAANITES—ABRAM AT HEBRON—HIS SUBSEQUENT HISTORY—BIRTH AND MARRIAGE OF ISAAC—DEATH OF SARAH—BIRTH OF ESAU AND JACOB—DESTRUCTION OF SODOM AND GOMORRHA—ORIGIN OF THE NATIONS OF MOAB AND AMMON, THE ISHMAELITE AND KETURAÏTE ARABS—LIFE OF ISAAC—ESAU AND JACOB—THE EDOMITES—JACOB IN PADAN-ARAM—HIS RETURN TO CANAAN—AFFAIRS AT SHECHEM—JOURNEY TO THE SOUTH—REMOVAL INTO EGYPT—THE CAPTIVITY—CLOSE OF THE PATRIARCHAL AGE—THE EXODUS—AN EPOCH IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY.

OUT of all the nations that sprang from the three sons of Noah, the sacred history, which is still our only positive authority, begins with the story of the Hebrew race. Not that this was the first of the nations in chronological order. It did not even become a nation till four hundred and thirty years after the call of Abraham; and his history furnishes abundant proofs that great cities had already been built, and mighty kingdoms established. The very name of his native place, Ur of the Chaldees, attests that it belonged to the dominions of the great Cushite empire which has already been mentioned in the Book of Genesis, and with which Abraham comes into conflict at a later period. Damascus is already an important city; and, as Abraham journeys to the south, he finds Egypt at a high pitch of wealth and power, to say nothing of the nations of the Canaanites and Philistines.

The precedence given to Abraham's call has that moral significance, which forms the true life of history. It is the next event after the confusion of the Babel builders, in which the direct action of God's providence is seen, and the first step in that course of

moral government, to which all the affairs of the surrounding nations are secondary. Following the same order, we shall take up the history of those nations, as they come in contact with the main current of the story of the chosen race.

The Scriptural genealogy follows the line of Shem to Abram, through ten generations and four hundred and fifty years; the birth of Shem being in B.C. 2446, and that of Abram in B.C. 1996, according to the received chronology. In the fifth generation, the line of Shem is divided into two by the two sons of Eber, Peleg and Joktan; of whom the latter became the ancestor of the older Arabs, while the descendants of the former were named, from the common ancestor, Hebrews. Thus Abraham is called the Hebrew (Gen. xiv. 13).*

Four generations from Peleg bring us to Terah, the father of Abram, Nahor, and Haran, the land of whose nativity was "Ur of the Chaldees." But this very statement of the locality raises a difficulty at the threshold. The prevailing opinion respecting the site of Ur identifies it with the Edessa of the Greeks, and the modern Orfah, in the extreme north of Mesopotamia, beyond the Euphrates, within the great bend which the river makes in descending from Armenia to Syria. This view is supported by the resemblance of name (which is perhaps more apparent than real), the local traditions about Abraham, and the fact that Charran, the first stage in the migration, the site of which is certainly known, lies on the high road to Palestine. The appellation "Chaldæan" is explained on the assumption, either that the great Chaldæan empire had spread thus far to the north, or that these regions formed one at least of the early seats of the Chaldæan people. On the other hand, some of the most recent enquirers in this field place Ur at the very lowest part of the course of the Euphrates, on the right bank of the river, opposite to the confluence of the Shat-el-Hie, which unites it with the Tigris; once probably a maritime position, though now 120 miles inland. The site is marked by the ruins of Mugheir, a city dedicated to the Moon, and a sacred burial-place, as is proved by its innumerable tombs. This spot also possesses its traditions about Abraham. It seems to have been the great maritime city of the Chaldæan empire, and only second in importance to Babylon, if it did not even form a still earlier capital.

* It is, however, only fair to mention the preference of some of the best Hebrew scholars for the purely geographical origin of the appellation, as signifying one *from the other side* of the Euphrates, = the Greek περάτης. But this sense does not exclude the other.

But how can we account for Abraham's journey thence to the land of Canaan by way of Charran, near the upper course of the Euphrates? It is answered, first, that this was no mere journey, but the migration of a whole patriarchal family, with their flocks and herds, which could make no safe passage across the desert. But, besides, it does not appear that Canaan was the first goal of the migration. Abram "was called to go into a land that God should show him, and he went forth, *not knowing whither he went.*" The other branch of Terah's family, that of Nahor, clearly had another end for their journey, for they settled in the pasturages about Charran; and it would seem to have been here that Abram first learnt his final destination. According to this view, the movement was a great migration of the leading branch of the Semitic family, who had preserved the worship of the true God, retiring before the oppression and religious corruption of the Cushite sovereigns, and retracing their steps towards the highlands from which their fathers had descended.* Our knowledge is hardly ripe for a decision between these two views, but the latter is far too important not to be fully stated. The former has still powerful advocates, and must not be hastily rejected.

From this ancient city of Ur, whatever may have been its true position, the family of Terah was called forth by a divine command addressed to Abram, who seems to have been the youngest of his three sons. We are expressly told that idolatry already prevailed in the land; and that it infected the family of Terah, as it did afterwards the Israelites in Egypt.† Oriental tradition has ascribed to Abram the most courageous attacks upon the idols, and miraculous deliverances from the rage of the idolaters; but the sacred history is content with the record of his faithful obedience to the divine command, which called him to found a great nation, who should preserve the worship and covenant of God, in some land as yet unknown to him, and which promised blessing and security to his descendants—nay more, a blessing through him to all the families of the earth. The whole family joined in the migration—the patriarch Terah, Abram's brother Nahor, and Lot the son of his other brother Haran, who had already died at Ur. The two daughters of Haran, Milcah and Sarai or Iscah, were married to their uncles, Nahor and Abram. Remote as is this event, such are the unchanged manners of those countries, that

* Respecting the kingdom then established in Chaldæa, see Book II. chapter ix.

† Joshua xxiv. 2, 14.

the spectator of a caravan of Bedouins, with their flocks and herds, may at this day witness its outward appearance.

The first permanent resting-place of the wanderers was Haran, or rather Charran, in Padan-Aram, or Upper Mesopotomia. The name describes the region; a place where the highlands sink down into fertile foot-hills, rich in pasturage. Such is the country that lies at the foot of Mount Masius, between the great bend of the Euphrates and the river Khabour, watered by the Belilk, which flows southwards into the Euphrates. Near its source is Orfah, the Ur of the popular belief, and about half-way down its course the unchanged name of Harran still marks the ancient site. Here Terah died; and here Nahor settled with his family, whom we find, in the next generation, preserving the selfish character displayed in such a choice; while Abram, with his nephew Lot, pressed onward, moved, as it would seem, by a renewal of the divine call. His stay at Charran was evidently long, and his wealth in cattle and slaves was greatly increased. He was seventy-five years old when he left Charran, in B.C. 1921.

It was now revealed to him that his destination was the land of Canaan; and it would doubtless be a new trial of his faith, that he was called to live among that very Hamite race before whose power and wickedness he had fled from his first home. Two caravan routes lead from the Euphrates across the great Syrian Desert to the countries on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. The shorter and more northerly tends westward to the upper course of the Orontes, which the traveller follows upward into the deep valley of Cœlesyria, between the two great chains of Lebanon and Anti-Libanus. Emerging thence he finds himself at the sources of the Jordan, with the whole land of Palestine spread before him; a land formed by the hills which extend southward from the ranges of Lebanon to the peninsula of Arabia Petræa, breaking off on the east into the Desert, and sloping down on the west to the Mediterranean; divided from north to south by the great depression of the Jordan valley, and intersected from east to west by lateral valleys and plains. The other route strikes to the south-west; and, after a long journey across the Desert, divided by the oasis of Tadmor or Palmyra, reaches Damascus, one of the oldest and fairest cities of the world. It is built in an oasis, formed by the rivers Abana and Pharpar, with innumerable other streamlets, which descend from the eastern slope of Anti-Libanus, and are not lost in the Desert till they have clothed with verdure and beauty the plain over which the houses of the city lie scattered, embosomed

in groves and gardens. By whatever route Abraham crossed the Desert, it seems clear that he rested at Damascus, as the servant who became the head of his household was a native of that city. From Damascus his course would lie over the hills on the eastern side of the valley of the Jordan. Having passed the rivers Hieromax and Jabbok, which flow into the Jordan from the east, he turned westward across the river and entered the promised land by the pass which leads down into the central valley of Shechem. "The Canaanite was then in the land;" a statement which some suppose to imply the displacement of an earlier population. The city of Shechem seems to have been already built; and near it Abram chose a grove of oaks for the site of his encampment and of the altar which he built to God, who again appeared to him here. Thus was the worship of the true God re-established amidst the idolatrous children of Ham, in the very spot which became its first centre when the people of Abraham came forth, as a nation, from Egypt.

Whether from the failure of pasturage, or to avoid collision with the people of the land, Abram travelled southwards along the central highlands, and stayed for a time on the hills between Bethel and Ai, west of the fertile plain of the lower Jordan, where he built another altar to Jehovah. Before long he was driven by a famine to take refuge in Egypt, where his dealings with Pharaoh are familiar to every reader of Scripture. The great monarchy, with which he was thus brought into contact, will claim our attention in the next book.

Abram returned from Egypt, enriched by Pharaoh's liberality, to his old encampment between Bethel and Ai; but the very increase of his wealth proved an embarrassment. The mountain pasturages become too scanty for his own flocks and those of his nephew Lot. They agreed to part; and Lot, accepting the choice offered him by Abram, descended into the plains they had hitherto avoided, while Abram was consoled for his worser share by a new promise of the inheritance of the whole land to a progeny countless as its dust.

The region of Lot's choice was the lower valley of the Jordan, then a wide plain, fertile and well watered "as the garden of Jehovah." Here the Canaanites (the dwellers in the lowlands) had established the *pentapolis* of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Zoar, each city under its own king. Built in a most fertile country, these cities lay in the track of the commerce between Arabia and Syria, Egypt and the East; and their wealth had given full scope to the lawlessness which from the first had marked their race. The very worst vices of the most corrupted

luxury were openly practised among them, and things of which even to speak is shameful derive their only name from Sodom, where Lot already began to be punished for his selfishness by grief at the wickedness he saw. The great Chaldæan empire already mentioned, and from which Abram had removed, had lately reduced these cities to a tributary condition. After twelve years' subjection, the five kings revolted, and the Chaldæan monarch, Chedorloamer, marched against them, with his three allied kings. The first battle recorded in the world's history was fought in the plain of Siddim, now, in part at least, the basin of the Dead Sea. The forces of the five kings were entangled amidst the bitumen pits, of which the plain was full; and the victors retired up the valley of the Jordan, carrying off Lot and his property amongst the spoil of Sodom. The rapid pursuit of Abram, with his small band of household servants and the followers of his Amorite confederates, his surprise and defeat of the retreating hosts, whom he pursued beyond Damascus, and his recovery of Lot with all the spoil, taught the great Eastern monarch the same lesson which had already been impressed on Pharaoh, that a power more truly great than all their kingdoms had arisen in their midst. The episode of Melchizedek's welcome to Abram on his return is too closely connected with theological questions to be dwelt on here; but it seems to show that one at least of the cities of Canaan was held by a patriarch of the Shemite race, who was at once a king and a priest of the true God.

In this adventure we see the patriarch for the first time in league with the Canaanitish tribes of the Amorites, the people of the mountains, as the Canaanites (in the narrower sense) were of the plains. The former seem to have been a far less corrupted race, for we are told that "the iniquity of the Amorites was not yet full." There are ten tribes enumerated of the inhabitants of the land, between Egypt and the Euphrates. The Kenites, Kenizzites, and Kadmonites dwelt on the east of the Jordan. The Hittites (or children of Heth), Perrizzites, and Rephaims were smaller tribes connected with the great nation of the Amorites, who occupied the central highlands from the valley of Shechem southwards. The Canaanites possessed the low country, both along the course of the Jordan and in the great maritime plain, for the latter does not seem to have been yet invaded by the Philistines. The Girgashites appear to have been a mountain tribe, like the Jebusites, whose city was the later Jerusalem. It was with the Hittites that Abram had the first commercial transaction of which we

read in history, the purchase of the "double cave" of Machpelah as a burying-place. The mention in this affair of a definite weight of silver, as "current money with the merchant," proves that commerce was carried on among these tribes, and that standards of weight and value had been already settled. Of the origin of such measures we shall have to speak presently.

Abram's permanent abode had been fixed, after his separation from Lot, among the Amorites of the southern hills, under the oaks of Mamre, near Hebron, one of the oldest cities of the world. "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." *

The part of Abram's life subsequent to the rescue of Lot is chiefly important in the religious history of the world. It embraces the great covenant which God made with him, in addition to the promise already given, and the institution of circumcision as its seal; † the supernatural birth of Isaac, the heir of the promise, both of a mighty nation and of the great descendant in whom all families of the earth should be blessed; the trial of the patriarch's faith, and the redemption of Isaac from sacrifice; the death of Sarah, and her burial at Machpelah. It was shortly after her death that Abraham married Isaac to Rebekah, the grand-daughter of his brother Nahor, whose family was still settled at Charran, "the city of Nahor." The birth of Isaac's twin sons, Esau and Jacob, took place according to the received chronology in B.C. 1837, fifteen years before the death of Abraham, who thus literally "dwelt in tents with Isaac and Jacob, heirs with him of the same promise."

During this period, also, we have some important notices of the surrounding nations. First comes the catastrophe of the cities of the plain, which changed the fertile valley of the lower Jordan into a spot which no traveller sees without acknowledging the marks of the Divine judgment. At the depth of 1317 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, the Dead, or, as the Jews always called it, the Salt Sea, receives the waters of the Jordan within its shores blasted by volcanic action. There can be no doubt that its intensely bitter waters cover most of the once fair vale of Siddim, though all attempts have proved vain to discover traces of the devoted cities, Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim. Bela, or Zoar, alone was spared, as a refuge for Lot, from whose incest with his two daughters sprang the peoples of Moab and Benammi (or Ammon), who settled among the hills to the east of the Jordan

* Numbers xiii. 22.

† It was on this occasion that his name was changed from AB-RAM, *exalted father*, to AB-RAHAM, *father of a multitude*.

and the Dead Sea. About the same time, the relations of Abraham with Abimelech, king of Gerar, afterwards renewed by Isaac, show us the Philistines occupying the border land between Canaan and Egypt. The exile of Ishmael, the son of Abraham by his servant Hagar, led to the establishment of his descendants, the twelve tribes of the Bedouin Arabs, "to the east of all their brethren," Jews, Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, in the northern deserts of Arabia; while the Keturaïte Arabs, children of Abraham and Keturah, were intermixed with the older Joktanite and Cushite tribes of the peninsula. These branches of his family were sent away by Abraham with gifts, during his lifetime, that they might not dispute the inheritance with Isaac. Through all the history of the Arab race, they have never forgotten the tie to their progenitor. It will be long before they reappear as bearing any distinguished part in history.

Abraham died at the age of 175, in the year B.C. 1822 of received chronology, and was buried by Isaac and Ishmael at Machpelah. The quiet life of Isaac offers no materials for a general history. His two sons, Esau and Jacob, the huntsman and the shepherd, were marked from the very womb as the progenitors of hostile though kindred races, and this prophecy tinges the whole current of Jewish history. We need not dwell on the familiar story of their early lives, the importance of which is moral and religious, rather than historical; but still the historian must not overlook the lesson to be learnt from the faults of Jacob and his sons, that divine providence measures out privileges to nations by another standard than that of the merit of their ancestors.

When Jacob, after fraudulently obtaining the patriarchal blessing, which his brother would have as fraudulently received after he had foolishly sold it, fled to his mother's relatives at Padan-Aram (B.C. 1760), Esau, who was seventy-seven years old, had already married two Hittite women, and now, to please his father, he married Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael. These intermarriages seem to mark the Edomites as from the first a very mixed race. But another element went to make up that nation. Esau fixed his abode ultimately in the chain of mountains which runs southwards from the valley of the Jordan and Dead Sea to the head of the eastern gulf of the Red Sea, under the name of Mount Seir, and formed matrimonial alliances with the old inhabitants, the Horites. The latter people were ultimately absorbed in the Edomites, who grew into a great nation, with the cities of Selah (Petra) and Bozrah for their capitals, and Elath (Ælana) and Ezion-Geber

for their ports on the Red Sea. They will reappear again and again in the course of Jewish history.

Meanwhile, Jacob had fulfilled his twenty years' servitude to his cousin and father-in-law, Laban, in Mesopotamia, and returned, with his two wives and their two handmaids, his eleven sons, and immense wealth in flocks and herds and slaves, over the river Jabbok, which he had crossed as a lonely fugitive, with no possession but his shepherd's staff (B.C. 1739). Like Abraham, 180 years before, he passed over the Jordan into the vale of Shechem. But the land was now more densely peopled; the Amorites had built new cities, such as Shalem; and Jacob had to buy of their princes the land on which he pitched his camp and built an altar to "God, the God of Israel," the new name which the patriarch had earned by his wrestling with Jehovah. He was soon brought into collision with the people of Shechem, by their insolence, which was treacherously and cruelly avenged by his sons, Simeon and Levi. Shechem was spoiled; but a retreat seems to have been necessary for fear of the vengeance of the other Amorites. They, on their part, had not the courage to pursue Jacob as he went on southwards to Bethel, close to the second encampment of Abraham, and the scene of the vision granted to him on his flight, in memory of which the city, formerly called Luz, was now named Bethel (the *House of God*). On the further journey from Bethel to Isaac's encampment at Hebron, Jacob's family was completed by the birth of Benjamin, but at the price of the life of his beloved Rachel, near Ephrath, the later Bethlehem. Sixteen years later, he again met Esau at the burial of Isaac at Machpelah (B.C. 1716).

Jacob continued to live at Hebron as a patriarchal prince, like some modern Arab sheikh, respected and feared by the people of the land. He appears to have given a second blow to the Shechemites by wresting from them in war the possession which they had probably resumed after his departure to the south. His sons fed his flocks at their well near Shechem, and still further to the north. It seemed as if this foreign tribe were to overspread the land. But it was otherwise appointed; and no lesson of history is of deeper moral significance than the process by which the Israelites were hardened by suffering and compacted into a nation, during their residence in Egypt. Their condition throughout the interval from their descent into Egypt to the great epoch of the Exodus (B.C. 1491), will be better understood after we have taken a survey of Egyptian history.

THE KNOWN WORLD
AT THE
EXODUS OF THE ISRAELITES.

BOOK II.

THE GREAT MONARCHIES OF THE EAST.

FROM THE EARLIEST EGYPTIAN TRADITIONS TO THE REIGN OF DARIUS HYSTASPIS.

N. B.—The Note respecting the early Chronology, on page 1, needs repetition here, especially as the computed Egyptian chronology goes back beyond the date assigned by Ussher to the Flood. The dates given in the two Chapters, VI. and VII., are merely intended to represent the opinions of Egyptologers. A similar remark applies to the early Babylonian chronology in Chapter IX.

CONTENTS OF BOOK II.

CHAP.

VI.—THE HISTORY OF EGYPT TO THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

VII.—THE HISTORY OF EGYPT FROM THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

VIII.—HISTORY OF THE HEBREW THEOCRACY AND MONARCHY.

IX.—THE CHALDÆAN, ASSYRIAN, AND BABYLONIAN EMPIRES.

X.—THE MEDO-PERSIAN EMPIRE TO DARIUS HYSTASPIS.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HISTORY OF EYGPT TO THE SHEPHERD INVASION. B.C. 2717? TO B.C. 2080?

"Virtue alone outbuilds the Pyramids;
Her monuments shall last, when Egypt's fall."—YOUNG.

ANTIQUITY OF EGYPT—NAMES OF THE COUNTRY—GEOGRAPHY OF EGYPT—THE NILE—ITS INUNDATION—LIMITS AND AREA OF EGYPT—ANCIENT CONDITION AND PRODUCTIONS—ADVANTAGE OF ITS POSITION—RELATION TO ITS NEIGHBOURS—ORIGINAL POPULATION—A MIXED RACE, CHIEFLY HAMITIC—AUTHORITIES—SCRIPTURE—GREEK WRITERS—MONUMENTS AND PAPYRI—EGYPTIAN WRITING—MANETHO—ASTRONOMICAL RECORDS—DATE OF THE PYRAMIDS—EGYPTIAN TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY—HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY—TRADITIONAL HISTORY—RULE OF THE GODS—FIRST DYNASTY: MENES—SECOND DYNASTY: QUEEN NITOCRIS—MEMPHITE DYNASTIES: THIRD, FOURTH, AND SIXTH—HIGH STATE OF CIVILIZATION—HERACLEOPOLITE DYNASTIES: NINTH AND TENTH—THEBAN KINGDOM: ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH DYNASTIES—INVASION OF THE SHEPHERDS—MONUMENTS OF THE EARLY PHARAOHS—PYRAMIDS AND TOMBS—EGYPTIAN BELIEF CONCERNING THE DEAD—DESCRIPTION OF THE PYRAMIDS.

OF the two regions in which the race of Ham founded the earliest known kingdoms and made the first advances in learning and civilization, namely, the valley of the Nile and that of the Tigris and the Euphrates, we must allow Egypt the precedence in antiquity. The mere claim of the people to be the oldest among mankind is, indeed, of little more value than the strange experiment of Psammetichus to test its truth. That king of Egypt, Herodotus tells us, caused two new-born children to be brought up in a hut, upon the milk of goats, with no other attendant than the goatherd, who was forbidden to utter a word in their presence. When they had passed the age of inarticulate mutterings, the herdsman was one day astonished to see the children toddle up to him crying *bekos*. But when this had happened often, and the king had found upon inquiry that *bekos* was the Phrygian for *bread*, the experiment seemed decisive. That the Egyptians, upon such evidence as this, yielded the honour of antiquity to the Phrygians, would have been altogether incredible, had not the historian related the test as if he himself believed in its value. And yet we can hardly tell, in this and other instances, how much sly humour is hidden under the quiet gravity of Herodotus.

Very different is the real evidence for the antiquity of the nation, its government, and its civilization. While the sacred

record of the primeval peopling of the earth represents the names of all other countries as derived from the descendants of Noah's sons, Egypt bore the name of one of those sons themselves. It is true that Mizraim, the Scriptural name of the country, is that only of a son of Ham, and not the eldest, and that the description of Egypt as "the land of Ham," does not necessarily imply more than a remote derivation of its people. But the case is much stronger when we find that the native name of the country was that of the patriarch himself. The name Khem by which Egypt is denoted on its monuments, is the same as the Hebrew Ham (or rather Cham), and has a kindred signification. The Egyptian word gives the phonetic value of the hieroglyphic sign for the country, the crocodile's tail, which varies in colour from slate to reddish brown. The Hebrew, derived from a root signifying "heat," fitly describes the ancestors of the dark races, like the Greek Ethiopian; while the same word in the cognate Arabic, denotes "fetid black mud," such as that of the valley of the Nile. In Arabic, too, we see the link between the two names, Khem and Mizraim, for *misr* also signifies "red mud," and hence the colour of red and reddish brown. To this day Misr is used as a name of Egypt by the Arabs, and it has been found on an ancient Assyrian inscription. It appears, in fact, to be the Semitic equivalent to the Hamitic Chem, a name of prophetic signification, like those of Noah, Japheth, and probably Shem. The Hebrew singular Mazor, which is sometimes found, may perhaps even be regarded as the personal name of Ham in the Semitic dialects. The dual form, Mizraim, which is much more common, points to the twofold division of the country into Upper and Lower Egypt. Another biblical name is Rahab (*the proud*).

The conclusion, that Egypt was the chief primeval seat of the race of Ham, seems somewhat at variance with the biblical genealogy, which makes Mizraim only the second son of Ham, and Cush the eldest. Accordingly some ethnologists seek for the primitive seats of the Hamite race, not in the valley of the Nile itself, but in the hills about its upper course, the Cush of Scripture, and the Ethiopia above Egypt of the Greeks, whence they suppose that one stream of population descended the Nile to Egypt, while another moved eastward across Arabia into Chaldæa. But it is pretty evident that the original settlers, who descended from the common centre in Armenia, must have ascended the Nile to reach Ethiopia, unless they came by the opposite route from Chaldæa, which is most improbable. Nor

does it seem unlikely that migrations may have taken place both up and down the valley of the Nile, as we know to have been the case with the tide of conquest in historic times. It would appear that in the time of Moses the existing Egyptians were fitly represented as standing in a secondary relation to the founder of their race, while the older Cushite population of the country had receded further to the south.

The peculiar geographical position of Egypt adds probability to these claims of high antiquity. Consisting really of the valley of the Nile, and shut in by the deserts of Arabia and Libya on the east and west, it lay open on the north alone to the great stream of immigration from the Armenian highlands through Syria and Palestine. When the valley of the Nile and the highlands about its upper course were once peopled with kindred races, the intrusion of foreign elements became very difficult. The country was subjugated by Ethiopian conquerors; but these were allied to the Egyptians in race, manners, and religion. A Semitic race, the Shepherd Kings, at one time overran Egypt; but they were expelled. The Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs never succeeded in permanently subduing their rivals on the Nile. Even when the people yielded to a Persian conqueror, their ancient character remained almost unchanged. Commercial intercourse with the Greeks was as slow in its influence as European dealings with China in our own time. No permanent change was effected till the conquests of Alexander led to a Greek colonization of the country; and even then the Ptolemies conformed in many respects to the peculiar institutions of their subjects, to which Christianity alone had power to give the final death-blow.

The language of ancient Egypt also bears marks of the highest antiquity. It has the agglutinative and monosyllabic structure of the Turanian dialects. It exhibits points of affinity with the Chinese as well as the Nigritian dialects, and it partakes of a Semitic character, especially in its pronouns and its grammatical constructions. This evidence agrees with the physical qualities, the habits, and the religion of the ancient Egyptians, to place them as a link between the Semitic and Nigritian races. Their reddish colour distinguished them both from the white Caucasian and black Negro races, while the thick lips and elongated eye connect them with the Nubians of Ethiopia. To the contemplative and religious nature of the Asiatic, they added the degraded fetishism of the African race, in their elaborate system of animal worship. Their frugal habits were marred by occasional

luxury and the grossest sensuality. Their patriotism was mingled with the greatest prejudice against foreigners, though they treated them with hospitality. One of the most striking characteristics is the division of the people into *castes*, that is, classes devoted to particular occupations, and kept distinct from each other in blood.* This institution is an infallible sign of a mixed population, in which one people has been overpowered by another, the conquerors forming the higher castes. These are always, as in ancient Egypt, the priests and warriors, the former generally preserving the ascendency over the latter which intellect gives. The king belonged to both castes, being the chief priest as well as the civil ruler of the nation. His authority was limited, not only by the laws, but by the minute regulations for his life imposed upon him by the priests. His power in war depended on his gratifying the soldiers. These relations provoked, of course, jealousies and collisions, which may often be traced in the history of Egypt. The whole land was in the possession of the king and these two castes, the priests having the sacred domains, and the soldiers certain estates free from taxes. The agriculturists, who formed the next class, seem to have held their land chiefly under the king, to whom they paid a tithe, which was doubled by the policy of Joseph during the great famine.† The artizans came next; and last the shepherds, who were an "abomination," like the pariahs of India. The minute details given by Herodotus are very uncertain. The higher castes were undoubtedly of the Caucasian race; the lower were a mixed population chiefly of the Nigritian type.

The mixed character of the people joined with the peculiar position of their country to make the ancients doubt whether Egypt belonged to Africa or Asia. It was, in fact, locally African, but Asiatic in its social affinities and its political relations. Far more important than such technical divisions is its physical connexion with the surrounding region. We have already spoken of the Nile valley, as a depression in the great desert zone which stretches from the Atlantic coast of Africa nearly to the shores of the Yellow Sea, a depression much shallower than the Red Sea, and narrower than Mesopotamia. This valley is divided

* This, of course, only applies to the *pure* castes.

† Genesis xlvii. The lands of the priests were exempt from this charge and acknowledgment of royal ownership; but nothing is said of those of the soldiers. At a much later period, Herodotus tells us of an attempt to confiscate them by the supposed priest-king Sethos.

from the surrounding deserts by ranges of hills on the east and the west; but these alone would be a feeble barrier against the sands. It is the fertilizing flood of the Nile that makes the distinction between Egypt and the deserts on either side. The "Abyss of Waters" (for so the Egyptians called it), whose source was one of the great problems of the ancient world,—a problem which Pharaohs, Ptolemies, and Cæsars sought in vain to solve,—has at last been seen by our countrymen Speke and Grant, issuing from the great lake, called Victoria Nyanza, just under the equator, and on the eastern margin of the table-land of Central Africa. Its course of almost 3000 miles to the Mediterranean is so nearly due north, that the meridian of 30 degrees E. longitude, which cuts across its western mouth, is very near its chief bend above the 20th parallel of latitude, grazes its first bend below the 10th parallel, and passes but little to the west of the Lake Victoria Nyanza itself.

This main stream, fed from other great lakes in the same swampy table-land, and enlarged by numerous tributaries, of which the chief is the *Bahr-el-Ghazal* from the west, flows in its northern course over about 16 degrees of latitude (more than 1000 miles, including windings), to the modern city of Khartoum. Here it receives the first of the two great rivers which drain the highlands of Abyssinia, the Astapus and Astaboras of the ancients, the latter, which is still called Atbara, joining it about 170 miles lower. While all three branches contributed to the inundation of the lower Nile, under the joint operation of the equatorial summer rains and the melting of the mountain snows, it is to the Abyssinian confluents that the flood owes its fertilizing power. The Astapus especially brings down such a vast amount of soil and decayed vegetable matter, that it has received the name of the Blue River (*Bahr-el-Azrek*, in Arabic); and the contrast it presents at Khartoum to the clear water of the main stream has given to the latter the title of White River (*Bahr-el-Abiad*).* There is, however, no proper ground for the question which of these rivers is the true Nile. Though, in the season of flood, the Blue River pours down the larger volume of water, in the dry season it often dwindles to an insignificant and fordable stream; and the Astaboras is very much smaller. The great plain

* The turbidness which affects the whole river below the confluence, is the origin of its chief name in Hebrew (*Shihor*, i. e. the *black* river).

enclosed between these two rivers and the Nile forms the "island of Meroë" of the ancients, the seat of a great Cushite kingdom, which rivalled that of Egypt. Below the Atbara the Nile completes the second half of its course without receiving a single tributary. In Nubia, where it makes its greatest bend, it falls over a series of rocky shelves, forming rapids, which were called by the Greeks *Cataracts*. The most considerable of these are five in number, and the lowest, which is called the First, reckoning up the stream, has always been considered as the southern boundary of Egypt. It lies so little north of the tropic of Cancer, that at Syene (*Assouan*) just below it, Herodotus was told that the sun was reflected vertically in a well at the summer solstice; but this is not literally true. From Syene the Nile flows between high banks of mud, in the valley bounded by the hills already mentioned, the plain between them having an average width of about seven miles, till it passes Cairo and the Pyramids, in about 30° N. latitude. Here it divides into two branches, which enclose the great alluvial plain called the Delta, from its resemblance to that letter (△), a term which geographers have extended to similar formations at the mouths of rivers in general. In ancient times the river flowed through the Delta in seven channels, five of which, Herodotus tells us, were natural, while two were artificial. These two, which formed the extreme branches to the east and west, are now the only mouths. The valley of the river may be compared to a flower with a branching head on a single long stem, or to a serpent with several heads, a likeness which seems to be intended in several passages of Scripture.* This form has given rise, from time immemorial, to that subdivision of the country into Upper and Lower Egypt, which is implied in the dual name of Mizraim. The exact point of division was above Memphis, which was not so far south of the apex of the Delta as at present. The subdivision of Upper Egypt into the Heptanomis (or middle Egypt), and the Thebaid (or Upper Egypt), dates from the early Cæsars.

Thus far we have spoken of the valley of the Nile, and this is, in fact, physically the land of Egypt. Herodotus records an oracle of Ammon, defining Egypt as the country overflowed by the Nile, as far south as the first cataract. The deserts of Libya and Arabia, and even the hills which bound the valley of the river on either side, are most properly excluded by this definition; for their

* Psalm lxxiv. 13, 14; Isaiah xxvii. 1, li. 9; Ezekiel xxix. 3, xxxii. 2.

nomad population has always been quite distinct from the inhabitants of Egypt. It is solely to the inundation, and to the soil deposited by the river, that Egypt owes its existence as a habitable land, for rain scarcely ever falls. Beginning to rise about the summer solstice, and overflowing about two months later, the river pours its turbid red waters over the fields through innumerable canals and cuttings in the banks. About the autumnal equinox the inundation has reached its height. It subsides much more slowly than it rose, leaving a deposit of rich black mud, upon which the seed is sown without ploughing or any other tillage.* The crops thus sown about a month after the autumnal equinox are reaped after the vernal equinox: flax and barley being the earliest, wheat and rye later.† When the inundation falls short of the average height by only a few inches, large portions of the country are consigned to sterility and famine; while an unusual rise may devastate whole districts.‡ Parallel to the river, on its west side, at a distance of from three to six miles, the canal called in its lower part *Joseph's River* (*Bahr-Youssouf*)§ runs from a point above Abydos to the Canopic (the western) branch of the river, with which it has several other points of connexion. Near the ancient Heracleopolis a branch goes off to the great lake of Mœris (*Birket-el-Keroum*), a natural lake, though the works of the Egyptian kings upon it for the regulation of the inundation, gained them the credit of its formation.

With good reason, therefore, the Egyptians called their land the gift of the river. The average rate of the addition made to the soil is about 4½ inches in a century. Assuming that the valley of the Nile was once a rocky chasm, like the bed of the Red Sea, and that the space now occupied by the Delta was an estuary, many writers, from Herodotus downwards, have tried to calculate the long ages during which the Nile has been filling up the bottom of the valley and projecting the Delta into the sea. But they overlooked the fact, that the alluvium is only a superficial deposit, under which we soon come to the rocks, which are limestone as far as the upper part of the Thebaid, where the subjacent sandstone appears above the surface, followed by breccia

* The plough was, however, used where the soil required it, and all the processes of agriculture are seen on the monuments.

† Exodus ix.

‡ An example occurs at the very moment of writing this passage, in the autumn of 1863, when an excessive inundation has done great damage.

§ The name is derived, not from the patriarch, but from an Arab ruler who improved the canal. Its origin is unknown.

and various primitive rocks, till at Syene we reach the granite which was used for the chief colossal statues. The actual rise of the soil, as measured by its accumulation around ancient monuments, has been estimated, near the first cataract, at about nine feet in 1700 years, at Thebes about seven, and less still in Lower Egypt; while at the mouths of the river, where, according to the theories above noticed, the land should be constantly advancing into the sea, no increase is perceptible. It would seem, indeed, that the underlying rocks are gradually subsiding, while those above the head of the Red Sea are rising.

The country thus defined as watered by the Nile, lies between 24° 1′ and 31° 37′ of N. latitude, and between 27° 13′ and 34° 12′ of E. longitude. Its length, along the valley of the Nile, up to the first cataract, is about 500 miles, its breadth in the valley averages about seven; but the coast-line of the Delta, though its boundaries are somewhat indefinite, extends over about 250 miles.* The whole area is about 115,000 geographical square miles, of which about 9600 are within reach of the fertilizing inundation, and 5600 are under cultivation. But in ancient times this area was greatly extended by a complete system of irrigation. Only second in importance to the fertilizing power of the river was the abundance of its fish, which were carefully preserved in great ponds, connected with the river by conduits; but these works have also fallen into decay, and the fisheries have dwindled away as was predicted by Isaiah (xix. 8, 10). Nor has his prophecy been less literally fulfilled in the comparative disappearance, except in the marshes of the Delta, of the abundant vegetation of the river, the reeds that fringed its banks, and the lotus and other beautiful water-plants that floated on its surface. The famous papyrus, especially, after serving the old inhabitants for innumerable uses, including boat-building, and having furnished both to them and the Ptolemies that great material of literature, which still gives its name to a different substance, is now almost extinct. The land abounded with gardens, or orchards, and vineyards; and we still see on the monuments all the processes of gathering the fruit and making the wine. The "cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions, and garlic," for which the Israelites longed in

* In political geography, Egypt had a far wider extent, including the Arabian Desert to the Red Sea, and much of the Libyan Desert to the West. The three chief oases of the later were occupied by the Egyptians; and that of Ammon in particular (now the *Oasis of Siwah*), was the chief seat of the worship of the great national deity from whom it takes its name.

the wilderness, were but a few of the esculent vegetables and herbs of Egypt. Its cereal products have made it a chief granary of the world, ever since the days when Abraham took refuge in it from famine, and Jacob heard that there was corn in Egypt.

To this exuberant fertility Egypt added the advantage of a position at the very confluence of the great lines of traffic between the east and the west, by the isthmus of Suez on the land, and by the Mediterranean and Red Seas on the water. Long after the glories of its old monarchy had decayed under the domination of Persia, Alexander saw this vast advantage, and fixed the commercial capital of his empire at Alexandria. And, in our own times, though the stream of oriental commerce has long been diverted into the route round the Cape, the command of the shorter transit through Egypt has risen to a political question of the first magnitude. We have already spoken of the defensible position of Egypt. On the side where it lay most open to the upper valley of the Nile, security was obtained by conquest, and the part of Ethiopia immediately to the south was almost always a dependency of Egypt, governed by a viceroy with the title of the "Prince of Kesh (Cush)." There were, however, times when the rival kings of Meroë, still further to the south, obtained the mastery of Upper Egypt; but their rule was rather a change of dynasty, than a foreign conquest. The wild tribes of the deserts which isolated Egypt on the west are constantly seen on the monuments either as captives, tributaries, or mercenaries. From the like evidence we learn that the power of the Pharaohs reached as far as the negro tribes, but probably only in the form of predatory incursions to obtain slaves. The Arabian tribes of the eastern deserts appear to have generally maintained their independence; but the peninsula of Mount Sinai belonged to the kings of the Fourth, Sixth, and later Dynasties, who engraved records of their Asiatic conquests on its rocks. Foreigners not within the reach of conquest were treated upon a jealous system of exclusion, and it was not till a late period that they were allowed a single port on the Mediterranean. Even when hospitably received, as in the case of the Israelites, they were only permitted to settle in a border district. This exclusiveness arose partly from a repugnance towards other races, and partly from the resolution to preserve the national character and habits uncontaminated.

Egypt already possessed a powerful and wealthy court when Abram was driven into the land by a famine in Canaan. But the origin of that monarchy, and of the elaborate system of civiliza-

tion, religion, and government, that flourished under it, is lost in the furthest remoteness of antiquity. We have already had occasion to notice the Scriptural evidence, from which we learn little more than that the original Egyptians, the people of Mizraim, were one of the oldest Hamitic races, and closely kindred to the Cushites of Ethiopia. The theory, started by Diodorus Siculus, and recently maintained by Heeren, that the course of civilization was down the Nile, from Ethiopia to Egypt, is now deservedly rejected. The monuments of Nubia, instead of being the first rude efforts of the art afterwards developed in Egypt, are the debased products of that art in its decline. The thorough domination of the priestly caste in the kingdom of Meroë, which is cited as the original type of Egyptian institutions, admits of another explanation.

The materials for the most ancient history of Egypt are: first, the narratives in the books of Genesis and Exodus; next, the information obtained in the country by the Greek travellers and historians,—Herodotus in the fifth century B.C., and Diodorus Siculus in the first, with many notices in the other classical writers. But in addition to these foreign testimonies, we have a large body of native sources of information. These are of two kinds,—written documents and inscribed monuments. Of the former, we have now chiefly secondary, but still invaluable records; the latter stand where they were first engraved, the materials for a harvest of which we have only reaped the first-fruits. While the invention of the title "Egyptologers" proves the importance of this field of study, it is somewhat discouraging to observe how few positive results have been gained by their labours since the great discovery by which Champollion and Young made hieroglyphics legible; but it is no small gain to have obtained the key. And even if further researches should disappoint our hopes, there remains a mass of records which it needs no learning to decipher; the pictures of wars, conquests, and public ceremonials, of agriculture, industry and domestic life, which are of far greater value than the names and dates of kings and dynasties.

Our space will not permit more than the briefest description of the Egyptian hieroglyphics and other forms of writing, in which, as also in the cuneiform inscriptions, we clearly trace the successive stages in the invention of the art of writing. Three forms of writing are found on the Egyptian monuments and papyri. The first are the *Hieroglyphics* (i.e. *sacred engravings*), so called from an idea, not strictly correct, that the knowledge

of them was confined to the priests. The hieroglyphic characters are pictures of objects separately and distinctly defined; and representing, in their various uses, the earliest stages in the invention of writing. As *symbols*, they are used in three ways: first, in direct imitation, as when a circle is put for the *sun*, a crescent for the *moon*, a male figure for *man*, a female figure for *woman*, and the two together for *mankind;* these figures are called "iconographic" or "ideographic." Their second use is "anaglyphic" or "tropical," in which the meaning is conveyed figuratively, as a *leg in a trap* for deceit, a youth with a finger to his mouth for an *infant*. Thirdly, there is the *allegorical* or enigmatic form, in which the object intended to be expressed is represented by another which is used as its conventional emblem; as two water-plants of slightly different forms for Upper and Lower Egypt. But the hieroglyphics are also used as "Kyriologic," or phonetic signs, the initial letters of their primitive meanings standing for those of other words, and for the words themselves, having the same initials. This is the second stage in the invention of writing; but the signs do not seem to have reached the last, or alphabetic stage.

The second form of writing was the "Hieratic," in which the hieroglyphic symbols become characters in a sort of running hand, with only a distant resemblance to their original form. This form of writing was really, as its name implies, confined to the priests, in whose hands it became so conventional, that the characters often bear less resemblance to the original objects than in the third form. Most of the existing papyri are written in this character.

The third form is the "Demotic" (*popular*) or "Enchorial" (*of the country*), in which the language of the common people was written. It was, except in the few cases just noticed, a still more cursive modification of the hieroglyphics than in the hieratic writing. It was used for records of civil transactions during the Ptolemaic period, and continued in use to the third or fourth century of our era.

The existence of a trilingual inscription in hieroglyphical, enchorial, and Greek characters—being a decree of the priests of Memphis in honor of Ptolemy V., Epiphanes (about B.C. 196)—on the celebrated "Rosetta Stone," now in the British Museum, gave the clue by which Young and Champollion were guided independently to the principles of hieroglyphic interpretation; a discovery which has opened up to us the contemporary records of every period of Egypt's history.

Among the hieroglyphic signs on monuments of a date supposed to exceed 200 years before the Christian era, are those for the papyrus and the pen and ink, proving that writing, already employed in the form of engraving upon stone, had now reached a form fit for the multiplication of books. We are assured by Diodorus Siculus that the Egyptian priests had preserved the records of all their kings from the earliest ages, not merely in the form of dry annals, but with descriptions of their personal characters and exploits; and Herodotus says that the priests showed him a papyrus with the names of 330 kings from Menes to Moeris; we know too that their great temples had libraries of sacred books. Of such records we have still a specimen in the form of a hieratic papyrus, of the Egyptian kings, now in the Museum of Turin.* Many portions of the "Ritual of the Dead" and other sacred books on papyrus are in the British Museum. When the mass of these records themselves was lost we cannot tell, but they were doubtless in existence at the time of Alexander's conquest, and furnished materials for the works which were written to gratify the curiosity of the new Greek sovereigns and the pride of the Egyptian priests. The first and most important of these works was the "History of Egypt," by Manetho, a priest of Sebennytus, under Ptolemy I., at the beginning of the third century before Christ. Though Manetho's history has perished, like the sacred books from which he compiled it, the chronologers Eusebius and Julius Africanus have preserved his list of the thirty dynasties who reigned in Egypt. This list has been confirmed to a great extent by the hieroglyphic inscriptions, but it has been greatly interpolated, and even if these corruptions could be removed, great difficulties would remain.

We do not feel it necessary to enter into the controversy between the Egyptologers and their opponents, respecting the historical value of Manetho's list. Feeling unable to reject them altogether, without leaving a blank in the place of that very ancient history which is attested both by Scripture and the monuments, we cannot accept the dictum of the one party, that "Egyptian history begins with Psammetichus," however we may be staggered by the assertion, on the other side, that: "Whereas, in the annals of other ancient nations a time of tradition intervenes between that of myths and that of facts, no such period of transition is found in the Egyptian records, where we find

* Edited in facsimile by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, London, 1851.

pure fiction immediately followed by accurate history." We prefer to give the history as told by the ancient authors and by the most diligent modern students of the monuments, leaving its value to be settled by criticism, based on more extensive knowledge than we have yet acquired. The statements we proceed to make must therefore be understood, not only as the mere results of enquiries too elaborate for us to trouble the reader with, but as results that only express a certain state of opinion, which cannot be regarded as placed beyond dispute.* A minor difficulty is one of form. We scarcely tread on safe ground, either historical or chronological, till the accession of the Eighteenth Dynasty, under whose rule Egypt was finally united, and began the most brilliant period of her history. It is here that the dynasties first become continuous. To suppose them so from the beginning, would place their commencement as early as B.C. 5000. Not only is this at variance with the monuments, but there is internal evidence that some of the dynasties were contemporaneous; nay more, it has been recently discovered that successive kings of the same dynasty reigned in part together. Upper and Lower Egypt were for a long period distinct kingdoms; and smaller kingdoms existed in different parts of the country, with capitals at This, Memphis, Elephantine, Heracleopolis, Thebes, and Xoïs. Of the seventeen dynasties that occupied this interval from the era of Menes, the following table exhibits an arrangement, proposed by Mr. Lane in 1830, approved by the most eminent Egyptologers, and since confirmed in many points by the monuments.

However interesting as a field for speculative research, the space occupied by these seventeen dynasties would scarcely claim the notice of the historian, but for its connexion with the sacred history, and for those wondrous monuments of the early Pharaohs, the Pyramids at Ghizeh near the ancient Memphis.

The traditional history of Egypt, which we read in Herodotus and Diodorus, may be accepted as a fair report, by truthful enquirers, of what it was the pleasure of the priests to tell them, allowance being made for misunderstandings. But it is clear that the priests were far more ready to amuse the eager enquirer with marvellous tales, than to communicate the contents of their sacred books. These were first unfolded by Manetho, with whose records the stories of Herodotus and Diodorus can seldom be brought into agreement; and the evidence of the monuments is almost always in confirmation of Manetho.

* See further the note on *Egyptian Chronology* at the end of the chapter.

MR. LANE'S TABLE OF THE FIRST SEVENTEEN DYNASTIES.

B. C.	THINITES.	MEMPHITES.	ELEPHANTINITES.	HERACLEOPOLITES.	DIOSPOLITES.	XOITES.	SHEPHERDS.		
2700	I. 2717 (era of Menes).								
		III. cir. 2650.							
2600									
2500									
	II. cir. 2470.	IV. cir. 2440.	V. cir. 2440.						
2400									
		2352. Date in reign of Surphises.							
2300									
2200		VI. cir. 2200.		IX. cir. 2200.	XI. cir. 2200.				
2100									
					XII. cir. 2080. 2005. Date in reign of Amenemha II. 1986. Date in reign of Sesertesen III.?	XIV. c. 2080.	XV. cir. 2080.	XVI. cir. 2080.	cir. 2081. Abraham visits Egypt.
2000									
					XIII. cir. 1920.				
1900									
									1876. Joseph governor. 1867. Jacob goes into Egypt.
1800		VII. cir. 1800. VIII. c. 1800.							
				X. cir. 1750.					(215 years.)
1700									
							XVII. cir. 1680.		1652. Exodus.
1600									
					XVIII. cir. 1525.				
1500									

All agreed in representing the gods, demigods, heroes, and manes (or souls of the departed) as having reigned in Egypt for many ages before any dynasty of mortals; Manetho says for 25,900 years. This legend seems not to have been the fruit merely of national pride, but it embodied the first principles of their religious faith. They referred the creation and government of the world to the will of the one supreme God, of whom they permitted themselves no visible representation, symbol, or form of worship, but adored Him "in silence." But the infinitely varied manifestations of this one divine essence, when put forth in action, moral and intellectual as well as material, came to be regarded as distinct deities. Hence the Egyptian Pantheon embraced names and forms, in which nearly every other people recognized the objects of their own religion, from the Sabæism of the Chaldees and the elemental worship of the Magians, to the degraded Fetishism of the Nigritian races. The adoration of the heavenly bodies, the deification of elemental powers, and the elaborate system of animal worship, seem to have sprung alike from the common source of Pantheism. How far these and other developments of that first principle were aided by the influence of other nations, we need not stay to enquire; nor can we attempt a complete account of the Egyptian religion.*

First of the divine rulers of Egypt was placed PTAH, the Creator, the personification of the all-working powers of fire, and hence identified by the Greeks with their Hephæstus, the Latin Vulcan. But the metaphysical element, which accompanied and perhaps preceded the physical, is seen in the constant association of the symbol of Truth with this deity. The next who reigned was the Sun (Helios), the Egyptian RA, whose worship was maintained from the earliest times at On (Heliopolis) in Lower Egypt. The wife of Joseph was the daughter of a priest of On. The name of the third in Manetho, Agathodæmon, points to an abstract principle, and is identified by Egyptologers either with Har-Hat or with Num, Nu, or Nef, a deity whose emblems are the boat and asp, and who is said to represent the vital principle generated from the waters. The fourth is Chronos or Saturn, SEB, the personification of Time, who, as in the classical mytho-

* For this, and all other matters falling within the province of the national antiquities, the reader is referred to the various modern works on Egypt, especially those of Sir J. G. Wilkinson, and Mr. Poole's article "Egypt" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, last edition.

logies, stands between the elemental and creative powers and those by whom the world is governed. These latter were the children of Seb and Netpe (Rhea); their names were Osiris, Seth, Aroeris, Isis, and Nepthys. The conflict of good and evil, in the persons of Osiris and Seth (Typhon), fills a large space in the later Egyptian mythology; but it should be carefully observed, that Sin was not necessarily included in the Evil originally typified by Typhon. Thus, in the list of the divine kings, Seb is succeeded by Osiris, the god who appeared on earth in human form, to manifest and work all good for men, and, having been put to death by the malice of the evil being, was raised again to life, and became the judge of souls in the world beyond the grave. Osiris and his wife Isis are said by Herodotus to have been the only gods worshipped throughout all Egypt. He was succeeded by the usurper Typhon, who was in his turn slain by Isis, with the assistance of her son Horus, the seventh of these divine rulers. Horus, whom the Greeks identified with Apollo, is the manifestation of his father's virtues in youthful energy and beauty, who restores order upon the earth, and begins a new era of truth and justice. After him the different lists derived from Manetho give different names, which cannot here be pursued in detail; and the whole series of divine dynasties ends with a second Horus. In some forms of the mythology the first Horus is the brother, the second the son of Osiris. This outline will sufficiently show that in the succession of divine rulers we have an embodiment of the Egyptian belief concerning the primeval order of creation and providence.

All the authorities are agreed in placing at the head of the *First Dynasty* of mortals, Menes, or Men, as his name is read in the Turin papyrus, which contains a list of the Egyptian kings in the hieratic character. His name is also found in hieroglyphics, in the form Menee, in the Rameseum at El-Kurneh. Herodotus affects to give particulars of his works: the dyke that protected Memphis from the inundation, and the change of the course of the Nile from the edge of the Libyan hills to the middle of the valley. But how much of the mythical element was mingled with the traditions of that remote period is shown by the historian's assertion, that all Egypt, except the Thebaic nome, was then a marsh, from which he proceeds to calculate the myriads of years required for the deposit of the Delta. The very name of Menes suggests a mythical impersonation of the human race, like the Indian Menu, the Greek Minyas and Minos, the

Etruscan Menerfa, and the German Mannus. Other traditions state that Menes built the great temple of Ptah at Memphis, that he extended his conquests into Ethiopia, and was killed by a hippopotamus, and that his memory was devoted to a curse because he induced the Egyptians to change their earlier and simpler mode of life. Amidst these legends we can trace as a clear fact the great antiquity of Memphis as the seat of the earliest Egyptian monarchy; while the derivation of Menes from This (the later Abydos) in the Thebaid, accounts for the precedence always given to Upper Egypt on the monuments.* It would seem, then, that an older monarchy even than that of Memphis flourished in Upper Egypt, with its capital at This. But no monuments remain at This; and those of Memphis are older than any at Thebes. Neither Menes, nor his successors of the First Dynasty, have left any monuments, but his name appears on those of a much later date. Of his successors of the First Dynasty, who were seven in number, the monuments bear no record. One of them, Athothis, will claim notice again presently.

The *Second Dynasty* consisted of nine Thinite kings, according to Manetho, who assigns it a duration of 300 years. The monuments appear to show that it lasted nearly four centuries, and was finally overthrown, with the Memphite Dynasty, by the invasion of the Shepherd Kings, about B. C. 2080. The Thinite kingdom had probably been long before eclipsed by the superior power of the Memphian kings. Under the second king, Manetho places the deification of the bulls, Apis at Memphis, and Mnevis at Heliopolis, and of the goat Mendes at the city of the same name. The succession of women to the throne is said to have been made legal under his successor. This usage seems to show the influence of the Nigritian races. Among the early sovereigns was the celebrated queen Nitocris (Neitakri), whose cruel revenge of her brother's murder is related by Herodotus. She is the last of Manetho's Sixth Dynasty. Another Nitocris, of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, was about contemporary with the Babylonian queen of the same name.

The *Third, Fourth, and Sixth Dynasties* of Memphite kings seem to have been contemporary with the First and Second of Thinites, as represented above in Mr. Lane's table. Egyptologers hold the third to have been a dynasty established by the Thinite kings at their newly founded city of Memphis, the first king, Nekherophis, being contemporary with Menes. His successor,

* Some make Menes a Theban.

Tosorthus, is actually identified with Athothis, the son of Menes, by the common character of great medical knowledge, and being the first who built with hewn stone, in erecting the palace at Memphis. A revolt of the Libyans, and their submission through terror at a sudden increase of the moon, is placed by Manetho in the reign of Nekherophis.

The eight Memphite kings of the *Fourth Dynasty* have left their own wonderful monuments in the pyramids of Ghizeh. Nor are these their only records. "Not only does the construction of the pyramids, but the scenes depicted in the sculptured tombs of this epoch, show that the Egyptians had the same habits and arts as in after times; and the hieroglyphics in the Great Pyramid, written in the cursive character on the stones before they were taken from the quarry, prove that writing had been long in use." "In the tombs of the Pyramid-period are represented the same fowling and fishing scenes; the rearing of cattle and wild animals of the deserts; the scribes using the same kind of reed for writing on the papyrus an inventory of the estate, which was to be presented to the owner; the same boats, though rigged with a double mast, instead of the single one of later times; the same mode of preparing for the entertainment of guests; the same introduction of music and dancing; the same trades—as *glass-blowers*, cabinet-makers, and others—as well as similar agricultural scenes, implements, and granaries. We also see the same costume of the priests; and the prophet, or *Sam*, with his leopard's-skin dress; and the painted sculptures are both in relief and intaglio. And if some changes took place, they were only such as necessarily happen in all ages, and were far less marked than in other countries." * In one respect, the art of this age is superior to that of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties; there is less of that stiff conventional form which sacred rules imposed in the treatment of the human figure, while the drawing of other forms is quite equal to that of the best ages. Thus the monumental history of Egypt presents the phenomenon of a total absence of the period which is elsewhere marked by the first rude stages of art and civilization. Besides this evidence of the political power of these Memphite kings, we have records of their dominion in the peninsula of Mount Sinai, where they worked copper mines. Sculptures at Wady-el-Magharah represent Shura (Soris), the first king of the Fourth Dynasty, slaying enemies of

* Sir J. G. Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Book II. App. chap. viii. vol. ii pp. 344, 345.

an Asiatic race. His name has also been found in the tombs near Ghizeh, and in the quarry marks of the northern pyramid of Abou-Seir. This pyramid, thus proved to be the tomb of Shura, is the earliest Egyptian monument which bears certain evidence of its builder. His two successors bore the same name, Suphis (the Cheops of Herodotus); the third king being distinguished from the second by the exacter appellation of Sensuphis (a brother of Sufis); their names on the monuments are Shufu and Num-Shufu. That they reigned in great part together, and were the joint builders of the Great Pyramid, is proved—says Sir Gardner Wilkinson—"by the number of years ascribed to their reigns; * by their names being found among the quarry marks on the blocks used in that monument; by their being on the sculptured walls of the same tomb behind the great Pyramids; and by this pyramid having two funereal chambers, one for each king, rather than as generally supposed, for the king and queen." What is known further of their reigns may be best described in the words of Mr. Poole:—"The names of both the Suphises occur among the rock inscriptions of Wady-el-Magharah in the peninsula of Sinai, where the second of them, or Num-Shufu, is represented slaying a foreigner. The military expeditions of the Egyptians, however, at this period, were probably of little importance, and designed to repress the nomad tribes, which have at all times infested the eastern and other borders of Egypt, and to maintain the possessions beyond these borders. The Memphite Pharaohs were rather celebrated for the arts of peace, and for the care with which they promoted the interests of literature and science. Of Suphis I. Manetho writes that he was arrogant towards the gods, but, repenting, wrote the Sacred Book. This seems to agree well with what Herodotus and Diodorus relate of the impiety and cruelty of the king who built the Great Pyramid; but if we suppose that he was arrogant towards the priests, we find a sufficient cause for the ascription to him of this character so ill according with the prosperity and peacefulness of his time, as shown by the monuments. The power of the king or kings is evidenced by the magnitude of the Great Pyramid, and the costly manner of its construction; the safety of the kingdom, by no soldiers being represented in the sculptures, and the general custom of going unarmed, common to the great and small; the wealth of the subjects, by the scenes pourtrayed upon the walls of their tombs;

* For two brothers could not have reigned successively sixty-three and sixty-six years. The latter number implies that Suphis II. survived his brother.

and the state of science and art, by the construction of monuments, gigantic in size, of materials many of which were transported from a great distance, and fitted together with an accuracy that has never been excelled; as well as by the astronomical and other knowledge of which evidence is found in the contemporary inscriptions."

The fame of the two Suphises as pyramid builders, is shared by their successor, Men-ka-ré, the Mencheres of Manetho, and Mycerinus of Herodotus, whose name is painted on the roof of the chamber of one of the smaller pyramids near the Great Pyramid; but part of his mummy case now in the British Museum, and bearing his name, was found in the "Third Pyramid," of which he was the builder. Manetho assigns this pyramid to Queen Nitocris, the last of the Sixth Dynasty, who probably enlarged it, and made it her own sepulchre, as it contains two passages and chambers, the older passage being built over in extending the structure. The "Second Pyramid," is ascribed by Herodotus to Cephren, the brother and successor of Cheops, and uncle to Mycerinus. By these tokens, Cephren should correspond to the second Suphis of Manetho; but besides the improbability of two brothers achieving two such enormous works, there is no likeness in the names. There is however, in the Fifth Dynasty, a Shaf-ra (Sephres), who may perhaps answer to Cephren, and may have completed the work of which the foundation had been laid by the second Suphis in emulation of his brother. Nothing is known of the remaining four kings of this mighty dynasty. Their whole rule seems to have somewhat exceeded two hundred years. We shall have presently to speak further of their works.

The *Sixth Dynasty* succeeded the Fourth at Memphis, about B.C. 2200, and lasted about a century and a half. Only two of its six sovereigns require mention. Papa, or Phiops, is said by Manetho to have become king at six years of age, and to have completed his hundredth year. Some confirmation of the length of his reign is found on his monuments, the number of which through all Egypt attests his great power. The Queen Nitocris of whom we have already had occasion to speak, appears in the Turin papyrus as Neet-akar-tee, which is said to signify Neith (Minerva) the Victorious. With her the dynasty closed, being overthrown by Shepherd Kings, who fixed their capital at Memphis.

The *Fifth Dynasty*, of nine (or as Eusebius has it, thirty-one) Elephantine kings, began about the same time as the Fourth, and appears to have lasted little less than 600 years. At first sight it

appears improbable that this dynasty ruled at Elephantine, on the extreme south border of Upper Egypt; and the association of their names in the Memphian tombs with those of the Fourth Dynasty seems to imply that their capital was some place of the same name in Lower Egypt. But if they were a branch of the other reigning family, we can easily understand their using the same sepulchres, however distant; and the length of time that their rule survived the invasion of the Shepherds, is in accordance with the more obvious view. Their last king, Unas (Ormos, in Manetho) is known by an inscription to have been contemporary with Assa, the fifth king of the Fifteenth Dynasty (of Shepherds) at Memphis. The only memorable sovereign of this dynasty is Shaf-ra or Khaf-ra, the Sephres of Manetho, and probably, as we have seen, the Cephren or Kephren to whom Herodotus and Diodorus assign the Second Pyramid. The tombs around the Pyramids bear the names of great numbers of persons of rank belonging to his reign.

The *Ninth Dynasty* was founded at Heracleopolis, about the same time that the Sixth ruled at Memphis, soon after B.C. 2200. Of its nineteen kings, to whom he assigns 409 years, Manetho only mentions the first as the most cruel of all before him. Six of their names are found in hieroglyphic inscriptions, which make it probable that they became vassals to the powerful Diospolites of the Twelfth Dynasty. The *Tenth* (Heracleopolite) *Dynasty*, as well as a large portion of the Ninth, falls in the time of the Shepherds.

The *Eleventh Dynasty* founded the great kingdom of Diospolis, or Thebes, which was destined to unite all Egypt under its sway, about the same year, B.C. 2200. Of its sixteen kings, however, only the last, Amenemha I., possessed any great power.

It was the *Twelfth Dynasty* that really established the great Diospolite kingdom, at a time most critical for Egypt. Under the preceding dynasties, which appear to have been for the most part offshoots of one reigning family, the land had enjoyed a long season of repose. But just about the time of the accession of the Twelfth Dynasty, it was overrun by that great assault of a foreign race, which, under the name of the invasion of the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings, forms the great catastrophe of the early Egyptian history. These foreigners established their power for about 500 years, first at Memphis, and afterwards over all Egypt, except perhaps the Thebaid, by whose kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty they were ultimately expelled. The period of their rule is especially interesting on the supposition that it includes all the relations of the Hebrew patriarchs with Egypt, from the journey of Abraham

to escape the famine, down to the great deliverance of the Exodus.

Before we pass on to these events, or to the exploits of the Diospolite kings of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, we must look back upon the state of Egypt before the first revolution, at least in its known history. We have seen, as we have proceeded, the evidence borne by its monuments to the high state of civilization which was attained at least as early as the Fourth Dynasty. In those monuments, in the relics which have been transported to Europe, and in which our own Museum is peculiarly rich, and in the faithful transcripts of Rosellini, Wilkinson, Lepsius, and other labourers in this field, the life of this great people is set before our eyes, beginning with a period 4000 years ago; and we wonder to see how much it is like our own. It is not the province of the historian to describe the minute details of a nation's manners, and no written description would convey any idea of those of the Egyptians, compared to what may be gained by a few hours' inspection of the objects and scenes preserved in the British Museum, and depicted in the great works we have just named.

With the exception of the pyramids and tombs, the monuments of the first eleven dynasties are few. The British Museum possesses several sepulchral tablets, and a coloured wooden statue found in a tomb at Ghizeh, certainly one of the oldest effigies in the world. The use of wood for statues in tombs is common in every period of Egyptian art; and such figures seem always to have been painted, like the effigies on the mummy cases. They are generally in a freer attitude than the stone statues. Herodotus mentions the wooden statues he saw at Thebes, of all the priests from the earliest ages down to his own time.

But as few can behold, and fewer still inspect the secrets of those great monuments of the early Pharaohs which have always been the wonder of the world, it becomes necessary to give some account of the Pyramids. These, with the tombs surrounding them, are the great monuments of the periods of those "Memphian kings," whose works Milton describes as outdone only by the structures reared by the fallen angels. Their names very rarely occur in the Thebaid, and then not on monuments of their own, but in the tombs of private persons who lived during their reigns. This should be carefully borne in mind, to correct the vague impression created by viewing Egypt as a whole, through the mist of remote antiquity, and even fancying that most of its monuments

were of an age not very different from the Israelite captivity and Exodus. The great temples, tombs, and statues of Upper Egypt (from which we gain our chief knowledge of the people), were erected under the Theban kings, who probably reached the acmé of their power after the Exodus. But the Pyramids of Lower Egypt were seen by Abraham far across the valley of the Nile, as he approached the royal city of Memphis, with the same general outline for the first sight of which the traveller still strains his gaze. The impression which the view of them produces is thus described by one of these recent eye-witnesses:—

"The approach to the Pyramids (by one travelling westward fom Cairo and the banks of the Nile) is first a rich green plain, and then the Desert; that is, they are just at the beginning of the Desert, on a ridge which of itself gives them a lift above the valley of the Nile. It is impossible not to feel a thrill as one finds oneself drawing nearer to the greatest and most ancient monuments in the world, to see them coming out stone by stone into view, and the dark head of the Sphinx peering over the lower sandhills. Yet the usual accounts are correct, which represent this nearer sight as not impressive; their size diminishes, and the clearness with which you see their several stones strips them of their awful and mysterious character. It is not till you are close under the Great Pyramid, and look up at the huge blocks rising above you into the sky, that the consciousness is forced upon you that this is the nearest approach to a mountain that the art of man has produced." *

These successive emotions are not unfit emblems of the stages of our interest in the problem of the pyramids and in Egyptian history itself. An object of vague but universal curiosity, the first approach to its study involves us in no little doubt and disappointment, which it requires a closer knowledge to dispel.

The traveller at once discovers, what the historian too often forgets, that the pyramids are not to be viewed or studied by themselves. "The strangest feature in the view is the platform on which the pyramids stand. It completely dispels the involuntary notion that one has formed of the solitary abruptness of the three pyramids. Not to speak of the groups, in the distance, of Abou-Seir, Sakkara, and Dashour, the whole platform of this greatest of them all is a maze of pyramids and tombs. Three little ones stand beside the First, three also beside the Third. The Second and Third are each surrounded by traces of square enclosures, and their eastern faces are approached through enormous masses of

* Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, Introduction, p. lvi.

ruins as if of some great temple; whilst the First is enclosed on three sides by long rows of massive tombs, on which you look down from the top as on the plats of a stone-garden. You see, in short, that it is the most sacred and frequented part of that vast cemetery which extends all along the western ridge for twenty miles behind Memphis." *

The situation of these tombs, on the western border of the Nile valley, arose from the belief that the abodes of the dead were in the West, the land of sunset and of darkness. The very few tombs on the east side of the Nile have evidently been placed there for reasons of convenience. No pyramids are found on the east till we come to Upper Ethiopia, which lay beyond the sacred land, whither men conveyed the bodies of their relations. The region of the West, and the abode of departed spirits (the *Hades* of the Greeks), were expressed by the cognate words *Ement* and *Amenti*. Like the kindred race in Chaldæa, the Egyptians regarded certain cities as sacred burial-places. Such, besides the vast cemetery common to Memphis and Heliopolis, was the great Necropolis of Thebes, with its royal tombs, and that of Abydos, both of which have yielded a vast harvest of antiquities.

The immense pains bestowed by the Egyptians upon the remains and resting-places of the dead bear witness to one of the most important points in their religious philosophy. The paintings of their tombs continually confirm the statement of Herodotus, that they believed in the immortality of the human soul, and in its reunion to the body which it had quitted at death, after a long cycle (Herodotus says 3000 years) of transmigration through the forms of all the animals of air, earth, and water.† Together with this belief, they held the doctrine of a future judgment. The soul was regarded as an emanation from the Divine Essence, to which it returned at death, either to be re-united to the Deity in a state of blessedness, or to be banished into the bodies of unclean animals till its sins were purged away. Each man's rank after his death was determined by the judgment supposed to have been passed upon his life. The elaborate embalmment of the dead, the ceremonies performed before the mummy, and the care taken of it in the sepulchre, were honours paid to the form in which a part of the Divine Essence had resided and would reside again. In this belief

* Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, Introduction, p. lvii.

† The Greek writers, who unanimously attest that the Egyptians held the doctrine of metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls, say that Pythagoras borrowed it from them.

we cannot but trace a remnant of the primitive religion planted in Egypt at the first settlement of the primeval race of Ham, and preserved by the unchanging habits of the people. That it had not more powerful influence on their lives, will not surprise those who know the nature of man. When the restraints of a pure creed on evil habits have once been broken through, arguments are even found in the former for the indulgence of the latter. We know that the perpetual regard paid to the truth of their mortality was perverted by the Egyptians into a motive for sensual indulgence, and the forms of the dead were brought into their banquets to point the lesson, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Nor would the present temptations of power, gain, and self-indulgence be much checked by a pantheistic doctrine of immortality, which promised to all an ultimate reunion to the Divine Essence. In fact, the most powerful motives to justice and temperance seem to have been derived rather from the shame of dishonour to the remains of the dead, than fear of their future state.

We leave to the excellent writers on Egyptian antiquities the details of the various modes of embalmment and of the funeral rites. The body was devoted to Osiris, who, with Isis, ruled over Amenti; it received his name, was bound up in imitation of his likeness, and was marked with some of his emblems, especially the beard of a form which belonged only to the gods. Sacrifices having been offered for the deceased to Osiris, or one of the other deities of Amenti, the mummies were placed in a sort of moveable closet, with folding doors, in which, having often remained for some time in the house, they were conveyed on a sledge to the place of burial. This was, for the poor, either a pit dug in the earth to hold many mummies, or niches in the sides of a rock-hewn cave, which was closed up with masonry when full. The tombs of the rich had likewise their pits or caves for the deposit of the mummies, over which was another chamber, or even more, hewn in the solid rock, when the situation allowed, or else sumptuously built of masonry. The inner walls were adorned with paintings, sculptures, and inscriptions in hieroglyphics, and here the relatives of the deceased often met, to join the priests in services for the dead. The possession of such a tomb, or even of a share in one, was one object cherished by all classes. Herodotus tells us that one of the Egyptian kings permitted family tombs to be pledged for money lent, as the debtor would make every effort to avoid the disgrace of such a loss. The kings and priests, and the wealthy of the other high castes, were conveyed to the tomb in a pompous procession,

the mummy being borne in a hearse, with ornamental panels, one of which was removed to display its head. In the route of the funeral there always lay a lake, the emblem of the gulf between the two worlds, over which the hearse was conveyed in the *baris*, or sacred boat; the boatman bearing, as the Greek writers tell us, the name of Charon, whence they traced their own fable of his ferrying the dead over the infernal river Styx. This Charon appears to have been the god Horus. But the deceased was not suffered to embark till he had stood a trial before forty-two judges, who sat in a semicircle on the margin of the lake. Any person might come forward to accuse him of having led an evil life, on pain of the heaviest penalties if he failed. If the charges were proved, the priests denied the rites of sepulture—the worst disgrace that could befall a man. It was, as Wilkinson observes, like being left on the wrong side of the Styx. Not even the kings were exempt from this ordeal; and cases are recorded of their being refused sepulture, like some of the Jewish kings. But no further indignities were perpetrated, and even the worst of men were suffered to be privately buried by their friends; a lot shared by those whose poverty did not allow them a public funeral. Formidable as this funereal judgment was, it only typified that which was believed to be held in the other world by Osiris, before whom the souls were brought by Anubis, at the gate of Amenti, and there weighed in the scales of Truth by Justice, whom the Egyptians figure not only as blind, but without a head. The gate is guarded by a monster more hideous than the Cerberus of the Greeks, called the Devourer of the Wicked. Such are the scenes that we may still behold vividly pourtrayed on the walls of those tombs to which the corpse was at length conveyed, to rest until the sepulchre should be ransacked by the curiosity of succeeding ages.

The position of the pyramids, grouped with and towering above these abodes of the dead, whose sculptures bear evidence of a contemporary age, and the actual discovery in the Third Pyramid of the body of its founder, can leave little doubt that the ancient writers are correct in representing them as designed by kings, whose arrogance could be satisfied with no meaner edifices for their own sepulchres. Herodotus relates, on the authority of the priests, the full story of the forced labour by means of which Cheops (Shufu) erected the First Pyramid, as well as the gigantic causeway to convey the stones across the valley of the Nile from the eastern hills, a work not inferior to the pyramid itself.* He tells us

* Here is a striking proof of the importance attached to the position on the west

that this causeway was ten years in building, and the pyramid itself twenty. He describes the mode of erecting it by successive stages, and the means of raising the huge stones by machines placed on these stages. He even repeats the reading given by an interpreter of an inscription which he saw upon the pyramid, recording the quantities of radishes, onions, and garlic consumed by the builders —(the savoury pot-herbs of Egyptian labourers, which the liberated Israelites so sorely missed)—and the sum spent in its erection namely, 1600 talents of silver.* After making every allowance for mistakes, and even for deception, by the interpreters—who certainly sometimes amused themselves at the traveller's expense—these details seem to prove that the time, and manner, and purpose of the erection were known to the priests in the time of Herodotus. The recent discovery of the founder's name completes the evidence.

A bare mention will therefore suffice for the ingenious theories which assign to the pyramids other builders and a widely different purpose. In regarding them, however, primarily as regal sepulchres, we do not exclude the supposition that they may have been so planned as to give their construction other uses and meanings. Their position, exactly facing the four cardinal points, and the inclination of their main passages, which we have already noticed, seems to show a connexion with the science of astronomy. Their dimensions would naturally be exact multiples of the standards of length used by the Egyptians. But the discovery of all manner of ratios in the sides, sloping edges, height, and angles, of the Great Pyramid, and in the length, breadth, thickness, and solid content of the sarcophagus or coffer in its central chamber, besides being suspicious from the very number of the supposed coincidences, requires a previous assumption as to the scientific knowledge of the builders. Let it be proved, from other evidence, that they had obtained, by their astronomical science, a tolerably correct measure of the earth, and that they had deduced an exact metrical system from that measurement; and then we might accept the probability that the dimensions of the pyramids perpetuate their measures. But to prove all this we want more than coincidences, and even if proved, it would not exclude the belief in the primary purpose of the buildings as sepulchral monuments. We can far more

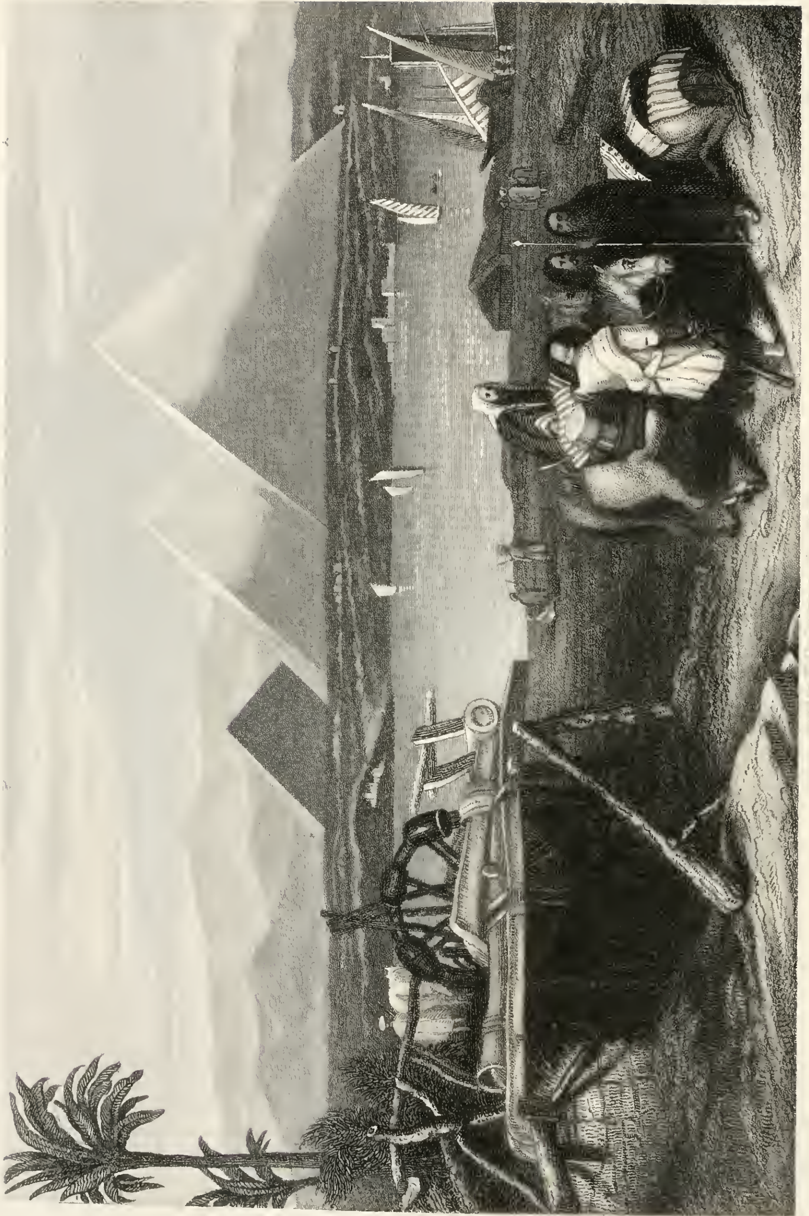
side of the Nile. Traces of causeways are seen in front of the First and Third Pyramids.

* This would amount, on the largest estimate of the talent, to about £400,000, an enormous sum in those days, and yet one which might appear inadequate, were it not for the fact that the labour was forced.

readily believe that such edifices, erected for their own uses, should be so constructed as also to preserve standards of measure in their several parts, than that they were designed solely to perpetuate those standards. How strongly the ordinary view is confirmed by what we know of the manner of their construction. will appear as we proceed.

The pyramids of Lower Egypt, then, are the chief sepulchral monuments in that vast necropolis of ancient Memphis, the general plan of which can still be clearly traced. They were the tombs of the kings, towering in the midst of the lesser sepulchres of their subjects. The form of monument seems to have been coëval with the Egyptian monarchy, for Manetho tells us that Venephes, the fourth king of the First Dynasty, built a pyramid at Kochome, the site of which is uncertain. The capital of Lower Egypt stood on the west side of the Nile, about ten miles above Cairo; and its people chose for their cemetery the lowest platform of the western hills, where they could not only rest far above the reach of the inundation, but hew their sepulchral chambers in the solid rock. The existing pyramids—for many have been destroyed—stand together in groups, of which a good general view is obtained from the citadel of Cairo. Looking a little to the south of west, we see the three largest pyramids, which are distinguished by the name of the neighbouring village of *El-Ghizeh.* Further south are those of *Abou-Seir*, also three in number, but much smaller. A little beyond them is the very curious pyramid of *Sakkara*, called the "Pyramid of Degrees," from the steps on its surface, surrounded by a large number of smaller pyramids. The two pyramids of *Dashour*, the next largest to those of Ghizeh, are the last that can be referred to the necropolis of Memphis, though there are several others further to the south. The whole necropolis, which appears to have been common to Heliopolis and Memphis, extends over a space of about twenty miles, from the ruined pyramid of Abou-Ruweysh, a little to the north of those of El-Ghizeh, to the southernmost pyramid of Dashour.* But the whole district over which the pyramids are spread extends from 29° to 30° N. latitude, or almost 70 miles, corresponding very nearly with Middle Egypt. Their number is estimated at about 69, or one to a mile on the average. Of all these, the northern pyramid of Abou-Seir is probably the most ancient; being, as we have seen, the tomb of Shura, the first king of the Fourth Dynasty;

* A map and panorama of the whole district is given by General Howard Vyse, *Operations carried on at the Pyramids of Ghizeh in* 1837, vol. iii.



unless, as some suppose, the ruined pyramid of Abou-Ruweysh, the northernmost of the whole, be the pyramid of Venephes, of the First Dynasty. The next is the "Great Pyramid" of Ghizeh, which has always been the chief object of curiosity, and affords the best type of this sort of edifice. It is the largest and northernmost of the three, which are placed, so to speak, *en échelon* from N.E. to S.W. The other two are the "Second Pyramid," which Herodotus ascribes to Cephren, and the "Third," or Pyramid of Mycerinus.

The name Pyramid is not Egyptian, but Greek, nor did it originally denote the peculiar geometrical form to which we now apply it, but a common object, to which the pyramids of Egypt bore some resemblance.* In the same way the Egyptian *obelisk* was so named by the Greeks from its resemblance to a spit or ingot. Nay, we might even venture on the paradoxical statement, that these edifices were not originally pyramids at all in the modern sense of the word. Like those other great types of Hamite architecture, the temple-towers of Chaldæa, and the pagodas of India, they were at first built in successive stages, each smaller than the one below.† The distinct statement of Herodotus and other ancient writers to this effect is now abundantly confirmed by the form of the "Pyramid of Degrees" and of several of the smaller pyramids, and by a minute examination of the construction of the others. This fact seems to prove that the Chaldæan towers are of the more ancient type, and it raises a presumption that, like them, the Egyptian pyramids were originally temples, connected with a Sabæan form of idolatry. It may be too fanciful to suppose that the appropriation to his own sepulchre of a form sacred to the gods was the impiety which the priests charged on the greatest king of the Fourth Dynasty, but we may be allowed to conjecture that those mighty Pharaohs, who assumed the names and attributes of their chief gods, aspired after death to the divine honour of a temple tomb. It is interesting to observe how the mode of construction admitted of the lateral enlargement of the pyramid; and the Third Pyramid bears evidence of having been enlarged in this manner. In some cases, at

* The exact etymology is uncertain.

† The faces of these steps, or, as Herodotus calls them, battlements, were sometimes not perpendicular. In the "Pyramid of Degrees" they are inclined about 70° to the horizon. The pyramid of Meydoon is an admirable case of construction in three stages with oblique sides, giving a form intermediate between the Chaldæan tower and the regular pyramid. The resemblance to the old form of Chaldæan temple is very striking in the three-staged brick pyramid of Illahoon.

least, a piece of the solid rock which was levelled to form the base of the pyramid, was left standing as a central core of the whole edifice. In the Great Pyramid it reaches about 80 feet above the base.

It has been supposed that the lateral extension of the larger pyramids, and the number of their stages, bore a definite relation to the length of their intended occupant's reign; that the chamber designed for this sarcophagus was first excavated in the solid rock, with a passage down to it just large enough to admit the sarcophagus, and inclined at a convenient angle to aid its descent;* that a cubical block of masonry was then built over the chamber, forming the first stage of the pyramid;—that fresh stages were added for each year of the king's reign, and those below extended proportionally;—and that the final process of finishing off the surface was performed after his death. In that final process, the angles of the stages were built up with masonry, the outer courses of which formed steps more numerous and smaller than the original stages; and the surface was then finished with blocks of stone, the outer faces of which had already been quarried to the required slope, and these were finally brought to a fine polish. It is no doubt to this last process that Herodotus refers, when he says that the pyramid was finished from the top downwards. In the upper part of the Second Pyramid these casing-stones are still perfect. In the Great Pyramid their loss has converted each face into a series of 203 rough steps, whose height varies from 4 feet 10 inches at the bottom to 2 feet 2 inches at the top, their breadth being 6 feet 6 inches. Some of the lowest casing-stones were discovered in their places by General Howard Vyse.† They were 4 feet 11 inches high, and 6 feet 3 inches on the sloping face, 4 feet 3 inches wide at the top, and 8 feet 3 inches at the base. They were united by the hardest cement, with joints no thicker than silver paper; and their angles were so accurately formed, that a calculation based on them gave the actual height of the pyramid. Like the bulk of the masonry, they are of the calcareous stone from the quarries of Tourah in the eastern hills.‡ As thus finished, the whole edifice formed a "right

* This passage almost always faces the north. When the entrance is higher up the side of the building than the ground line, it seems to prove a lateral extension beyond that originally allowed for. We shall presently see how curious a case of this sort is presented by the Great Pyramid. The southern pyramid of Dashour has, besides the original chamber and passage, another much higher up, with an entrance in the west front.

† Some pieces of them are in the British Museum.

‡ The Second Pyramid is cased with granite from Upper Egypt.

pyramid" on a square base, herein differing from the Chaldæan towers, in which the stages are not placed concentrically over each other. The faces are a little less in altitude than equilateral triangles; in other words, the edges are somewhat shorter than the base.* These proportions, however, are not the same in all the other pyramids.†

The dimensions of the Great Pyramid have been accurately taken by General Howard Vyse, whose observations were completely reconciled with some former measurements by the discovery of the easing-stones. The base was originally a square of 756 feet, the height was 480 feet 9 inches, the angles made by the triangular sides with the plane of the base 51° 50′, ‡ and the angle between two opposite faces at the vertex 76° 20′. By the loss of the casing and other stones, carried off to Cairo to be used for building, and the accumulation of rubbish and sand round the base, it is reduced to 732 feet square, and the height to 460 feet 9 inches. The area of the base, now 535,824 square feet, was originally 571,536 square feet, covering more than thirteen acres. The whole mass contained 90,000,000 cubic feet of masonry, weighing about 6,316,000 tons. These last are numbers scarcely intelligible to any but a railway engineer, but the reader may form some conception of the edifice by imagining a pyramid nearly one-third higher than St. Paul's standing on a base somewhat larger than Lincoln's-inn-fields.

What might be the chambers and passages constructed, and what the objects deposited, within this enormous mass of masonry, were questions perhaps forbidden to the Egyptians by religious reverence, but which foreign travellers and rulers have always tried to solve. It has been observed that Homer makes no mention of the pyramids, as they did not come under his notice, though a modern poet has fancied that the same mummy might

> "Have hob-a-nobbed with Pharaoh glass to glass,
> Or dropped a half-penny in Homer's hat!"

Herodotus tells us, on the information of the priests, that below the Great Pyramid were chambers hewn out of solid rock, and designed by Cheops for use as vaults; and that these formed a

* The angle between the edge and base in each triangle is 57° 59′ 40″.

† The southern pyramid of Dashour has two different slopes, the upper half forming the acuter angle with the horizon. But the supposition that this was a mere accident, arising from a wish to complete the building more speedily, is confirmed by the rough workmanship of the upper part.

‡ This is also the angle at the base of the casing-stones.

sort of island, surrounded by water introduced from the Nile by a canal. How far this agrees with modern discoveries will appear presently. The respect paid to the royal sepulchres by Persian and Grecian rulers was no barrier to the Romans, under whose government the descriptions of Strabo, Pliny, and others, prove that the Great Pyramid had been rifled. In modern times it has been repeatedly examined. One entrance to it is a forced passage made by the caliphs. The second pyramid was entered, with vast labour, by Belzoni, who found that the Caliph Othman had been there before him, and had recorded his entrance in a Cufic inscription (A. D. 1196–7). The numerous investigations since made, leave little doubt of the general internal plan and purpose of the pyramids.

A single narrow passage, entered from the northern face, at or near the ground-line, leads down to the sepulchral chamber, hewn out of the solid rock beneath the centre of the pyramid. Above this is usually another chamber, corresponding to the upper chamber of an ordinary tomb, but by no means for the same uses. For nothing is more remarkable in these buildings than the jealous care with which the entrance and passage were closed, by blocks of stone so massive that explorers have had to force a way round them through the masonry. The tombs of ordinary persons were left open, to admit future burials, and to allow of the performance of funeral rites; while the Memphian Pharaohs slept in solitary state beneath a huge funeral mole of masonry. But not even its solid mass could secure their repose. The sarcophagus of Cheops had been empty from its first discovery. Belzoni found the tomb of Cephrenes rifled by his Arab predecessors. The remains of these kings are consigned to oblivion; but the fate of Mycerinus has been even worse. Standing to-day in our museum beside curious spectators, in front of the glass case which contains the shattered remnants of his coffin, and the mouldering fragments of his bones, the mockery even of a skeleton, we knew not which to admire most, the vanity of human greatness, or the recklessness of human curiosity. Neither the Roman satirist in his *Expende Hannibalem*, nor Shakspere when he uttered the like moral—

> "Imperial Cæsar, dead and turned to clay,
> May stop a hole, to keep the wind away,"

contemplated the case of the royal dust which still retains, in its degradation, some vestiges of the human form!

It still remains to notice some very peculiar and interesting

points in the internal structure of the Great Pyramid. The entrance lies in its northern face, 24 ft. 6 in. east of the central axis, 49 feet above the base, and is easily reached by a mound of the fallen stones. It is about 3 ft. 5½ in. broad by 3 ft. 11 in. high, the sarcophagus in the central chamber being 3 ft. 3 in. broad by 3 ft. 5½ in. high, so closely was the passage fitted to it. Above this small opening is a gigantic architrave, formed by huge stones inclined to one another, the arch being as yet unknown. The passage, inclined downwards at an angle of 26° 41′, and 320 ft. 10. long, leads for some distance through the masonry, and then much further through the solid rock, to what was doubtless the original sepulchral chamber, 100 feet below the base of the pyramid itself; it is 46 ft. by 27 ft., and 11 ft. 6 in. high. A passage which runs from it horizontally to the south for about 55 feet, appears to have been abandoned. It would seem as if the length of the king's reign had caused the masonry of the pyramid to cover the original mouth of the first passage, and instead of leaving it open, a new one was formed in another direction. At a distance of 63 ft. 2 in. from the entrance, and about where the masonry covers the rock, this new passage branches off upwards at an angle of 26° 18′ to the length of 124 ft. 4 in. From this point it is continued horizontally for 109 ft. 10 in. to a chamber which lies nearly in the centre of the pyramid, 67 ft. 4 in. above its base. This, which is commonly called the "Queen's Chamber," is 18 ft. 9 in. by 17 ft., and 20 ft. 3 in. high, with a roof of flat stones placed so as to form an angle. But neither was the sarcophagus deposited here. These passages are all lined with calcareous stone finely polished. But the upward inclined passage is continued from the point where the horizontal passage branches off, in the form of a grand gallery 150 feet 10 in. long and 28 feet high, lined with blocks of granite, in courses projecting each over the one below. From the end of this gallery another short passage, or vestibule, leads horizontally to a chamber 34 ft. 3 in. by 17 ft. 1 in., and 19 ft. 1 in. high, roofed with nine flat slabs of granite; the whole chamber and vestibule being lined with blocks of the same material. This is known as the "King's Chamber." Near its western end, placed due north and south, is a red granite sarcophagus, of so fine a crystalline substance that it rings like a bell when struck. It is 7 ft. 6½ in. long, 3 ft. 3 in. wide, 3 ft. 5½ in. high, and 7½ in. thick at the base. The sarcophagus has neither hieroglyphics nor sculptures of any sort. Its occupant, if one ever rested there, is

gone, and even the lid is missing. It is one of the problems of the Great Pyramid, whether this sarcophagus was introduced after its completion. We have seen that the first passage was only just large enough to let it pass, and the same is true of the first part of the upward passage and its horizontal prolongation; and it is not easy to see how it could be got past the first bend and up the slope. The last is the only difficulty offered by the great gallery; but the entrance to the vestibule is so small that if the sarcophagus ever passed through it, it must have been contracted since. The absence of any sarcophagus from the subterranean and "Queen's" chambers favours the opinion that each was in turn destined for the royal tomb, and afterwards abandoned. When the position of the King's Chamber was finally settled, what is now nearly the centre of the pyramid may have been its summit. The sarcophagus may have been raised along the upward passage before it was covered in, and the pyramid afterwards finished, leaving the mummy to be brought in in its wooden coffin. That the chamber was not finally closed when first constructed, is clear from the elaborate provision for its ventilation. Two air channels, about 9 inches square, are carried from it to the north and south faces of the pyramid, perpendicular to the outer surface; they were evidently constructed as the building proceeded. When these channels were opened by Mr. Perring, in 1837, the ventilation of the chamber was completely restored. The jealous care with which the pyramid was finally closed is proved by a huge block of granite, which so effectually shuts the mouth of the upward passage, that explorers have had to force their way round it through the solid masonry, as well as by the granite portcullis which as effectually blocks the horizontal vestibule to the King's Chamber. This closing of the passages is an argument against the truth of the tradition, that by the judgment after his death, Cheops was refused burial in his intended sepulchre.

Two very interesting points still require notice. Above the King's Chamber is a series of five low chambers, of somewhat larger area, and from 6 ft. 4 in. to 8 ft. 7 in. in height. Their floors and roof are of the red granite of Syene, the former being rough hewn, the latter flat, except the uppermost, the slabs of which form an angle to support the superincumbent weight. This roof is 69 ft. 3 in. above that of the King's Chamber. They were evidently designed to lighten the pressure on the flat roof of that chamber. The lowest of the five was discovered by Davison in 1764, the rest in 1837, by General Howard Vyse, who

named them after Wellington, Nelson, Sir Robert Arbuthnot, and Colonel Campbell. It was on the blocks of these chambers that General Howard Vyse made his grand discovery of the names of Khufu and Num-Khufu, scrawled in large linear hieroglyphics, which are evidently quarry marks, for some of them have been cut through in sawing the blocks.* Thus the tradition was confirmed, and Cheops proved to be the builder of the pyramid.

The remaining point relates to the so-called "Well." This is a shaft, 2 ft. 4 in. square, cut down through the solid masonry, from the point where the horizontal passage to the "Queen's Chamber" branches off from the upward inclined passage. It descends perpendicularly 26 ft. 1 in., then more irregularly for 32 ft. 5 in. to a recess called the "Grotto," not far from the base of the pyramid, and thence into the lower inclined passage, a little above the subterranean chamber. Its total length is about 155 feet. It is supposed to have been made as an exit for the workmen after they had closed the two ends of the great passage. Some explorers have sought in it the explanation of what Herodotus and Pliny say about a subterraneous communication with the Nile; but no such communication has been found, and the story seems most improbable.

The base of the Great Pyramid is about 137 feet above the level of the inundation of the Nile; the floor of the subterranean chamber is about 100 feet below the base, and consequently about 37 feet above high Nile; the floor of the "Queen's Chamber" is about 60 feet, and that of the King's Chamber 125 feet, above the base; from the roof of the latter to the original apex of the pyramid is about 300 feet.

The Second, or Pyramid of Cephren, is of somewhat smaller dimensions. It has, so far as is known, only one sepulchral chamber, cut into the surface of the rock, with a groined roof in the base of the pyramid. There are two entrances; one 37 ft. 8 in. above the base, descending at an angle of 25° 55′ to the surface of the rock, along which it runs horizontally to the sepulchral chamber; the other entrance is on the base line, from which the passage descends some distance into the solid rock, and then reascends to join the horizontal passage. The granite sarcophagus was found empty by Belzoni.

* This discovery disposes of the error, that hieroglyphics were not used thus early. The names of Cheops and Cephren have also been found on the stone scarabæi, which the Egyptians used as emblems of Cheper, the Creator, a gigantic specimen of which may be seen in the British Museum.

Of the Third Pyramid we have already had occasion to speak; of the rest we can only stay to mention that several are of brick, cased with stone.* One of the two brick pyramids of Dashour is supposed by some to be that ascribed by Herodotus to Asychis, whom he makes the successor of Mycerinus, but whose name does not appear in the lists of Manetho.† It bore, as the historian tells us, an inscription, cut in stone, to the following effect: "Despise me not in comparison with the stone pyramids; for I surpass them all, as much as Jove surpasses the other gods. A pole was plunged into a lake, and the mud which clave thereto was gathered; and bricks were made of the mud, and so I was formed." The quality of the alluvial soil of Egypt naturally suggested the making of bricks from the earliest ages; but the Egyptian bricks (at least under the early Pharaohs) were never burnt, but only sun-dried. They were used for houses, city walls, fortresses, the enclosures of temples, in short, for all buildings not of a monumental character. It was only as art declined that they were put to the latter use, and then, as we have just seen, with an apology disguised under a boast. They are found stamped with the names of Thothmes III., Amenoph III., and other Diospolite kings, and the whole process of their manufacture is represented on the Theban sculptures. These, though most probably of an age subsequent to the servitude of Israel, set most vividly before us scenes exactly parallel to those described in the book of Exodus. The brick-makers are evidently captives, working at heavy burthens, under taskmasters who are plying the stick and whip without mercy. To complete the illustration, the bricks of several buildings are found mixed with chopped straw; for without some such substance the fine alluvial mud was too friable to bind well. Several specimens of Egyptian bricks may be seen in the British Museum.

The building of pyramids seems to have been disused in Egypt after the Twelfth Dynasty, but it was continued in Ethiopia. The Nubian pyramids are very inferior in care of construction, and they furnish one of the many proofs that Ethiopian art was not the parent, but the debased offspring, of the Egyptian. The entrance to the Nubian pyramids is generally covered by a temple and propylæa. Several of the Egyptian pyramids also are connected with temples, and all doubtless stood within sacred enclo-

* There are also several small brick pyramids in the Thebaid.

† Sir G. Wilkinson conjectures that the name may be meant for Shishak, of the Twenty-second Dynasty, perhaps confounded with some other king.

sures, like those which surround the Second and Third Pyramids. In fact, the tomb of an Egyptian was essentially a temple, consecrated to the deities of Amenti.

The limits of our work will not admit, in general, of antiquarian discussions on the scale we have allotted to the Pyramids; but their vast antiquity, their existing state, and the deeply interesting problems they suggest, seemed to demand that the reader should be put in possession of all that is known concerning them. They stand out as conspicuously on the comparatively blank page of early Egyptian history, as their forms rise above the valley of the Nile, the monuments of an almost unknown chapter in the history of the world.

NOTE ON EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

The various systems of chronology adopted by the Egyptologers are based on astronomical calculations, on the traditions of Manetho and others, and in some degree on the chronology of Scripture. Enjoying, like the kindred Chaldæans, the greatest advantages of climate and horizon, the Egyptians divide with that people the honour of being the first cultivators of astronomy. Like the Chaldæan temple-towers, the pyramids had probably a connexion with astronomical observation. In addition to other proofs, it has been discovered that the passages which slope inwards from the northern face of these structures are inclined at the very angle which would make them point to what was the pole-star at the epoch of their erection. We have seen the reasons for ascribing these edifices to the Fourth Dynasty, probably about the middle of the twenty-fourth century B.C., or about 4000 years ago. At that time, on account of the precession of the equinoxes, the north pole of the heavens was about 3° 44′ from the star α Draconis. The latitude of Ghizeh, where the pyramids stand, being just 30° N., this would be, at all times, the inclination of a tube pointing to the true pole. But the altitude of the then polar star, at its two meridian passages, would differ from this elevation by the amount just stated, and, at its lower culmination, would be about 26° 16′; and so slightly do the passages of the three principal pyramids differ from this inclination, that the mean is 26° 13′. "At the bottom of every one of these passages, therefore, the then pole-star must have been visible at its lower culmination, a circumstance which can hardly be supposed to have been unintentional, and was doubtless connected with the astronomical observation of that star, of whose proximity to the pole, at the epoch of the erection of these wonderful structures, we are thus furnished with a monumental record of the most imperishable nature." * It is obvious how complete a criterion this discovery would afford for the date of the erection of the pyramids, if we could be quite sure that it is not an accidental coincidence.

* Sir J. Herschel, *Outlines of Astronomy*, §§ 319, 320, ed. 1849.

Other Egyptian monuments, such as the famous zodiac in the temple at Denderah, show the care of the priests in taking and recording astronomical observations, upon which they based an elaborate system of chronology. They claimed the discovery of the true length of the solar year, by means of the stars, but the priests kept this reckoning to themselves. The year employed in ordinary computations, both civil and religious, was the "Vague Year" of 365 days, divided into twelve months of 30 days each, with five days added after the twelfth. It was in use from a time at least as early as the second king of the Eighteenth Dynasty (about B.C. 1500), till it was merged in the Julian year by Augustus (B.C. 24). The neglect of the quarter of a day would of course, as in the Roman calendar before the Julian reform, have caused the year to retire through the seasons. But its division into three seasons of four months each seems to prove that they also used a "Tropical Year," that is, one whose length was regulated by the recurrence of the seasons. The three seasons were called by names which the best authorities interpret as signifying those of "Vegetation," "Manifestation," and the "Waters" or "Inundation." The months were named after the different deities. The year of 365¼ days, which seems to have been the nearest approximation they made to the true length of the year, was determined by the heliacal rising of Thoth or Soth (the Dog Star), and hence was called the "Sothic Year." The interval between two coincidences of the Vague and Sothic years was 1461 of the former and 1460 of the latter. This was called the "Sothic, or Dog Star Cycle," and is a period of the greatest importance in Egyptian chronology. The ancient writers mention two Sothic epochs, the one called the era of Menophres (the Men-ptah of the monuments), on July 20th, B.C. 1322, probably near the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and the other on July 20th, A.D. 139, in the reign of Antoninus Pius. There seems to have been also a "Tropical Cycle," at the end of which the Vague and Tropical years coincided, consisting of about 1500 Vague years; but our information on this point is scanty and uncertain. Supposing that the Tropical cycle began with the Vague year in which the new moon fell at or near the vernal equinox, we obtain two such epochs, namely, Jan. 7, B.C. 2005, in the reign of Amenemha II., of the Twelfth Dynasty; and Dec. 28, B.C. 507, under Darius Hystaspis. Equally important and difficult is the "Phœnix Cycle," to which Herodotus alludes in his celebrated fable of the phœnix. From the astronomical ceiling of the Rameseum (formerly called the Memnonium) at El-Kurneh, we learn that this fabled bird was a constellation, "the Phœnix of Osiris," corresponding probably to the constellation now called Cygnus. Its heliacal rising on the first day of the Vague year seems to have marked the commencement of a Phœnix cycle, which would therefore be of the same length as the Sothic cycle, namely, 1460 Julian, or 1461 Vague years, the very interval which Tacitus assigns to the successive returns of the phœnix. Tacitus also places the recurrences of the cycle in the reigns of Sesostris (probably Sesertesen III.), Amasis, and Ptolemy III.; and Mr. Poole has shown that the two latter known dates agree fairly well with those calculated approximately from the Rameseum. These epochs may be more accurately deduced from the "Great Panegyrical Year," an Egyptian cycle, four of which made up 1461 Julian years, having a mean length of 365¼ Julian years, and made up of 364½ and 366 such years alternately. If the Phœnix cycle corresponded exactly with the Panegyrical, it must

have consisted of 1461 Julian (instead of Vague) years. The Great Panegyrical Month contained 30 Julian years, and the Year was made up by intercalating 4½ or 6 years alternately. From these data Mr. Poole has calculated the following chronological epochs:

B.C.
2717. Era of Menes, the first king of Egypt. *First Great Panegyrical Year.* Length, 364½ years.
2352. Time of Suphis I. and II., kings of the Fourth Dynasty.
Second Great Panegyrical Year. Length, 366 years.
1986. Time of Sesertesen III., fourth king of the Twelfth Dynasty.
Third Great Panegyrical Year. Length, 364½ years.
First Phœnix Cycle.
1622. *Fourth Great Panegyrical Year.* Length, 366 years.
1256. *Fifth Great Panegyrical Year.* Length, 364½ years.
891. *Sixth Great Panegyrical Year.* Length, 366 years.
525. In the reign of Amasis, of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.
Seventh Great Panegyrical Year. Length, 364½ years.
Second Phœnix Cycle.
161. In the reign of Ptolemy Philometor.
Eighth Great Panegyrical Year. Length, 366 years.
A.D.
205. In the reign of Septimius Severus.
Ninth Great Panegyrical Year. Length, 364½ years.

Mr. Poole also gives the following table of epochs mentioned on the monuments, with their probable dates:

B.C.
2352. *Second Panegyrical Year.*
Time of Suphis I. and II., kings of the Fourth Dynasty, and builders of the Great Pyramid.
2005. *First Tropical Cycle.*
Time of Amenemha II. Twelfth Dynasty.
1472-1. Date in the fourth year of Sethee. Eighteenth Dynasty.
1442. Date in the sixteenth year of Queen Amen-nunt. Eighteenth Dynasty.
1412. Date in the thirty-third year of Thothmes III. Eighteenth Dynasty.
591. Date in the reign of Psammetichus II. Twenty-sixth Dynasty.
561. Date in the reign of Amasis. Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

The accession of the Eighteenth Dynasty is fixed, with a high degree of probability, about B.C. 1525. Different opinions are held as to the correspondence of this epoch with the Exodus; some chronologers placing it about the same time, others (as Mr. Poole) as much as 125 years earlier, and others (as the Rabbis and Lepsius) 200 years later. Unfortunately it is impossible to settle this epoch independently, as a point in Scripture chronology.

The Egyptian priests told Herodotus that there had been 341 generations, both of kings and of high-priests, from Menes to Sethos (the successor of the Ethiopian Tirhaka). This he calculates as 11,340 years. He adds that, during this period, the sun had "twice risen where he now sets, and twice set where he now rises." This apparently absurd statement is explained by Mr. Poole as referring to "the solar risings of stars having fallen on those days of the Vague year on which the settings fell in the time of Sethos" (*Horæ Ægyptiacæ*, p. 94).

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF EGYPT FROM THE SHEPHERD INVASION TO THE FINAL CONQUEST BY PERSIA. B.C. 2080? TO B.C. 353.

" High on his car Sesostris struck my view,
Whom scepter'd slaves in golden harness drew:
His hands a bow and pointed javelin hold;
His giant limbs are arm'd in scales of gold.
Between the statues Obelisks were placed,
And the learn'd walls with Hieroglyphics graced."—POPE.

THE SHEPHERD KINGS, OR HYKSOS, THE FIFTEENTH, SIXTEENTH, AND SEVENTEENTH DYNASTIES OF MANETHO—THEIR CONNEXION WITH THE SCRIPTURE HISTORY—QUESTION OF THE EXODUS—CONNEXION OF EGYPT WITH GREECE—EXPULSION OF THE SHEPHERDS—UNION OF EGYPT—THE CITY OF THEBES—TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH DYNASTIES—EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH, THE CLIMAX OF EGYPTIAN POWER AND ART—EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY: THE THOTHMES—AMENOPH III.—THE VOCAL MEMMON—THE SUN-WORSHIPPERS—NINETEENTH DYNASTY: SETHEE I.—RAMESES II.—" SESOSTRIS "—ASIATIC CONQUESTS—STELÆ—TEMPLES AT THEBES AND MEMPHIS, AND IN ETHIOPIA—COLOSSAL STATUES—MEN-PTAH—TWENTIETH DYNASTY: RAMESES III.—DECLINE OF THE KINGDOM—TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY AT TANIS—SEMITIC INFLUENCE IN EGYPT—TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY AT BUBASTIS—ASSYRIANS—SHISHAK AND REHOBOAM—ZERAH THE CUSHITE—TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY AT TANIS—OBSCURITY AND DECLINE—TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY—BOCCHORIS THE WISE—TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY, OF ETHIOPIANS—THE SABACOS AND TIRHAKAH—HOSHEA, KING OF ISRAEL—SENNACHERIB AND HEZEKIAH—LEGEND OF THE PRIEST SETHOS—THE DODECARCHY—TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY AT SAÏS—PSAMMETICHUS I.—GREEK MERCENARIES—SIEGE OF ASHDOD—SECESSION OF THE SOLDIERS—NEKO OR PHARAOH-NECHO—WAR WITH NEBUCHADNEZZAR—DEATH OF JOSIAH—CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA—NEKO'S CANAL—PSAMMETICHUS II.—APRIES OR PHARAOH-HOPHRA—NEBUCHADNEZZAR IN EGYPT—WAR WITH CYRENE—REVOLT OF THE ARMY—DEATH OF APRIES—REIGN OF AAHMES II. OR AMASIS—HIS MONUMENTS—HIS CHARACTER AND HABITS—INTERNAL PROSPERITY—INTERCOURSE WITH GREECE—PSAMMENITUS—CONQUEST OF EGYPT BY CAMBYSES—THE TWENTY-SEVENTH, OR PERSIAN DYNASTY—REVOLT OF INARUS AND AMYRTÆUS—EGYPT AGAIN INDEPENDENT—TWENTY-NINTH AND THIRTIETH DYNASTIES—THE NECTANEBOS, ETC.—FINAL PERSIAN CONQUEST—ALEXANDER AND THE PLOLEMIES.

THE rule of the Shepherd Kings, by whom the Memphian and other kingdoms were overthrown, is doubly interesting from its probable connexion with sacred history. Unfortunately, however, its annals are as obscure as the Scripture history itself is rendered by chronological difficulties, and by the constant use of the title Pharaoh, without the proper names of the respective kings. The dynasties of the Hyksos,* or Shepherd Kings, are the *Fifteenth*,

* This, their Egyptian name, is derived by Manethó from *Hyk*, a king, and *Sos*, a shepherd. The latter word exists in Coptic. In the hieroglyphics *Hak* is *king*, and *Huk*, *captive*, a sense which Manetho also mentions. This etymology has helped to favour the now exploded opinion that these "captive-shepherds" were the Israelites. But the Egyptians used *captive* as a term of contempt for foreigners; so that the word may mean " foreign shepherds."

Sixteenth, and Seventeenth. Manetho says that they were Arabs; but he calls the six kings of the Fifteenth, or First Shepherd Dynasty, Phœnicians. This statement is adopted by Mr. Poole, who connects the invasion of the Shepherds with the great movement of the Phœnicians from the shores of the Erythræan Sea, and with the expedition of Chedorlaomer. Manetho says that they took Memphis, and founded a city in the Sethroite nome (probably the fortified camp of Avaris, the later Pelusium, on the eastern frontier), whence they conquered all Egypt. The primary object of this camp was to resist the Assyrians, from whom, Manetho tells us, they expected an invasion. He adds that they easily gained possession of the country without a battle, which has been explained by the hypothesis that they were brought in as auxiliaries or mercenaries, in contests between the native dynasties; perhaps to aid the Memphians against the Thebans. Mr. Poole supposes them to have been at first in a subordinate position, and on friendly terms with some of the Egyptian kings, so that their rule in Lower and part of Upper Egypt was not inconsistent with that of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties at Thebes. It was not, he thinks, till the close of the latter dynasty, that the Shepherds began that oppressive rule which made them hateful to the Egyptians, and so provoked their expulsion.

The first king of the Fifteenth Dynasty was Salatis or Saites (about B. C. 2080?), who ruled at Memphis, and made both Upper and Lower Egypt tributary; Mr. Poole assigns Abraham's visit to Egypt to about the beginning of his reign. The name of his fourth successor is found on the hieroglyphics as Assa; and this is the king to whom Joseph was prime minister, according to Mr. Poole's computations.

It is impossible to discuss here the various opinions held upon this most difficult and as yet undecided question. Its settlement on purely chronological grounds is forbidden by the difficulties in which both Egyptian and Scriptural chronology are involved; and it is necessary to draw other arguments from the state of Egyptian affairs as described in the book of Genesis. The chronology of Egypt is now so far settled, that the accession of the Eighteenth (Theban) Dynasty may be regarded as fixed to within a few years of B. C. 1525. The era of the Exodus, on the system of Ussher (that given in the margin of our English Bibles), is B. C. 1491. The obvious conclusion agrees with the statement of Manetho, according to Julius Africanus, that Moses

left Egypt under the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, whose name was Amos or Amosis.* The same king, according to Josephus (who calls him Tethmosis), expelled the Shepherd Kings; and there is, in fact, no doubt that the great power of the Eighteenth Dynasty was connected with their expulsion. In this change of dynasty many writers see a natural explanation of the "new king who knew not Joseph." Sir Gardner Wilkinson, for instance, supposes that the Israelites held their possessions in Goshen under the Memphian kings on the condition of certain service, but that the conquering Theban dynasty paid no respect to the agreement, and converted the fixed service into a cruel bondage. The same distinguished writer, following the received Scriptural chronology, assigned the exodus to the fourth year of Thothmes III., the fifth and greatest king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, arguing that there is no explicit statement of the death of Pharaoh himself in the Red Sea.† So far from finding any difficulty in the blow which must have been inflicted on Egypt, first by the plagues, and then by the loss of its army, he viewed the departure of the Israelites as leaving the king free to make new conquests! It is hard to believe that, in such a sense as this, "Egypt was glad when they departed." Lepsius places the arrival of the Israelites under the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the exodus under the Nineteenth.

Passing over as hardly worthy of notice the opposite extreme, of placing the exodus before the Shepherd invasion, we must give a brief account of Mr. Poole's theory. For reasons which we cannot stay to mention, he rejects the very corner-stone of the received chronology, namely, the period of 480 years from the exodus to the building of Solomon's temple, and places the exodus in the year B. C. 1652. This date is founded chiefly on the numbers given in the Book of Judges, combined with the statement of St. Paul, that the rule of the Judges lasted about 450 years, and confirmed by an ingenious argument from technical chronology and some minor proofs. Then, assigning 215 years to the sojourn in Egypt, he brings the migration of Israel to B. C. 1867, and the government of Joseph to B. C. 1876. All these

* According to the Armenian version of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, Moses led the Jews out of Egypt under Achencheres, the ninth king of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The former statement may rather refer to the flight of Moses than to the Exodus.

† In his Essay on Egyptian History, however, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus* (book ii. app. ii. ch. viii.; vol. ii. p. 308), Wilkinson says: "It is probable that the exodus took place in the reign of Ptathmen," the son of Rameses II., a king of the Nineteenth Dynasty, which is the date of the Rabbins and Lepsius.

dates fall within the dynasties of the Shepherds, whom we may easily believe to have been Egyptianized enough to account for the indications given in Scripture of Egyptian customs and religious usages. On the other hand, Mr. Poole argues that many points of the narrative are quite irreconcilable with the idea that the Pharaohs of this period were native Egyptians. Such are their cordial reception of foreigners, whom the Egyptians despised and hated; and the pure despotism of Joseph's Pharaoh, whose will is law, and who reduces the Egyptians to serfdom, while the native monarchs were restrained by law, and set a high value on the attachment of their subjects. In the fear lest the Israelites should join their enemies in some expected war, Mr. Poole finds an allusion to the rival Assyrian dynasty or to the growing power of the native Theban kings. The rise of the new king who knew not Joseph he explains by the fact that there were different dynasties of Shepherds. Besides the Fifteenth, under whom Joseph is supposed to have lived, and who were probably Phœnicians, the Sixteenth seem to have established themselves on the eastern frontier about the same time; and it is agreed that they were an Assyrian race. Assyrian names occur in the Turin list of kings, and the prophet Isaiah uses this remarkable expression, "My people went down aforetime into Egypt, to sojourn there, and the *Assyrian* oppressed them without cause."* Now we are distinctly told that the first king of the Fifteenth Dynasty fortified his frontier against the Assyrians, who would seem at length to have taken Memphis, and founded there the Sixteenth Dynasty.

Such, omitting minor and more doubtful points, is the present state of this great question, so interesting to every student of the Bible. The internal evidence seems very evenly balanced. The former view has ancient tradition on its side, and the highly ingenious arguments on which the latter rests would fall at once to the ground if the key-stone of the received chronology could be maintained, a conclusion for which there is much to be said. The uncertainty in which we are obliged to leave the subject gives one of those striking lessons of which ancient, and especially sacred, history is full,—that we may well be content to have the great events of history preserved for us in that broad

* Isaiah lii. 4. This is quoted as a part of Mr. Poole's argument; but certainly it seems more natural to understand the prophet as speaking of two parallel events in the history of Israel, the Egyptian bondage, and the captivity of the Ten Tribes by the Assyrians, the latter a contemporary event.

outline which compels us to regard them in their great moral significance, without being suffered to fritter away our attention on unprofitable details. The Pharaohs of Abraham, Joseph, and Moses, are simply "Pharaohs" after all, unnamed rulers of the land of bondage, and our chief concern is with the race to whom they were made the instruments of God's designs.*

We need not be surprised at the absence from the monuments of any record of the sojourn or departure of the Israelites, for the scenes of brick-making at Thebes, already noticed, can hardly refer to them, as their residence was in Lower Egypt. In any case, we should not expect such events as the elevation of a foreign viceroy, or the calamities of the exodus, to be depicted on the national monuments. But besides, the whole period of the Shepherd Kings is singularly barren of monumental records, an argument, so far as it goes, in favor of Mr. Poole's view.

Of the Shepherd Kings themselves, we have only further to say, that at the close of the Fifteenth Dynasty the native Memphian kings seem to have recovered their power for a time, forming the *Seventh and Eighth Dynasties* of Manetho, whose accession Mr. Poole places about the time of Joseph's death. They were succeeded about B. C. 1680, by the Shepherd Kings of the *Seventeenth Dynasty*, whom the copyists of Manetho confuse with the Fifteenth, and erroneously represent as consisting partly of Shepherds and partly of Thebans. The whole relations of these Shepherd Kings to Egypt concur with the monuments of preceding and later rulers to show how closely the Egyptian monarchy was concerned with the Semitic races of Western Asia.

But other most interesting relations, namely with Europe, now come into view. The land of GREECE, whose brilliant history seems to wait till we can emerge from the obscurer annals of the East, now begins to loom across the waters of the Mediterranean. Her earliest traditions point to Egypt and Phœnicia as the sources of her civilization. We are not about to recall Cecrops and Cadmus, Danaus and Ægyptus, from the limbo of mythology, to which recent scholarship has consigned them; and yet it is worth while to remember the distinction between what is mythical and what is traditional in the uncertain ages of a nation's history. The poetical tempera-

* The whole subject will demand some further notice in the next chapter, in connexion with the Egyptian and other traditions about the Exodus.

ment of the Greeks so inextricably mingled these two elements, that we have no choice but to refer both back to a period before the commencement of trustworthy history. But to affirm as certain the falsehood of these legends, is to convert our want of knowledge into an ignorance more positive than that which was wont to accept them as historic facts. The influence of Egyptian civilization on Greece is shown in her extant works of art, almost as certainly as Phœnician influence is traced in the enduring forms of the alphabet she has transmitted to all Europe. The traditions of Egypt as well as Greece point to the times of the Shepherd Kings and the Eighteenth Dynasty as the period when this influence began; and it is reasonable to suppose that the expulsion of the Shepherds may have driven a wave of mingled Egyptian and Phœnician population to the shores of Greece. It is, to say the least, curious to find "Cecrops the Saite" as the traditional founder of the city of Athena, the goddess identified by the Greeks with the Egyptian Neith, who was worshipped at Saïs, a city which belonged to the Shepherds of the Fifteenth Dynasty. Cadmus, again, the traditional founder of Thebes, is sometimes called an Egyptain, sometimes a Phœnician, and both he and Danaus are represented as leaders of the Shepherds when they left Egypt, in the curious account of the exodus preserved by Diodorus.* That Egypt had begun to concern herself in the affairs of the Mediterranean long before the real history of Greece begins, is proved by the representation of a sea-fight with the Cretans and Carians about the end of the thirteenth century B.C. Nor can we believe that the notices in Herodotus of the intercourse of both Greeks and Trojans with Egypt at the time of the Trojan war are wholly fictitious, though they cannot be accepted as affording the slightest materials for history. On the other hand, when the Greek copyists of Manetho undertake to tell us that the deluge of Deucalion was in the time of Misphramuthosis (Thothmes II.), the fourth or fifth king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and that Armais was the Danaus who fled from his brother Ægyptus (Sethosis) and founded Argos, we can only suppose that they are inserting the legends of Hellas at those points in the Egyptian annals most consonant with their own theories of chronology.

The Shepherds were at last expelled by the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, who had succeeded to the power established

* See the following chapter; and for a full account of these traditions, see Poole, *Horæ Ægyptiacæ*, pp. 185—187.

at Thebes by those of the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth. Were we writing the history of Egypt for its own sake, rather than in relation to the whole world, we should but have reached the threshold of the subject, for it was under this great line of Theban kings that the land reached that climax of civilization, art, and conquest, which is recorded on its monuments. Except the pyramids and the tombs around them, those monuments—the vast temples, with their obelisks and sphinxes, the huge colossal statues, and the paintings of life on the tombs of Thebes—belong almost entirely to the period we are approaching. From this period, too, the Greeks derived those traditions of Egyptian prowess which they personified in the conqueror Sesostris. To preserve the continuity of the Egyptian history, and to prepare for its connexion with that of the Hebrew and Assyrian monarchies, we must follow its annals considerably below the epoch of the exodus.

The city of NO, NA-AMUN, or AMUN-HI (the *abode of Ammon*), a title which the Greeks translated DIOSPOLIS (the *City of Jove*), had the same precedence in Upper, that Memphis had in Lower Egypt. Hence it was called *Ap* or *Apé* (the *head* or *capital*); which became, with the feminine article, Tapé, in the Memphian dialect Thapé; whence the Greek Thebæ, and our THEBES. The accidental coincidence was naturally improved by an assimilation of the legends of the Egyptian and Bœotian Thebes. The Egyptian city was fabled to have a hundred gates, each capable of sending forth an army complete with its chariots. Thebes stood about 420 miles above Heliopolis, and 125 below Elephantine, by the river. Its original site appears to have been on the right or eastern bank; but great buildings, including the necropolis, were erected in what was called the "Libyan suburb," on the western side; extending up to, and hewn into, the Libyan mountain. The ruins of the city and suburb cover a space of about two miles from north to south and four from east to west, in which the villages of Karnak and El-Uksor (Luqsor), on the east side, and El-Kurneh and Medinet--Abou on the west, seem lost. The names of these villages serve to describe the positions of the ruins, which for extent and grandeur are the most wonderful in the world. The great traveller, Belzoni, thus records his first impressions on finding himself amidst them:—"It appeared to me like entering a city of giants, who, after a long conflict, were all destroyed, leaving the ruins of their temples as the only proof of their former existence." In antiquity, Thebes must yield to Abydos, Her-

monthis, and other cities of Upper Egypt, which are mentioned on the altar of King Papi, in the Turin Museum, on which Thebes itself is not named. The First and Second Dynasties ruled, as we have seen, at This, the later Abydos, about 500 years before Thebes became the capital. Its rise to be the seat of the Eleventh Dynasty was about contemporary with the establishment of the ninth at Heracleopolis; and its earliest monuments are the tombs of the Enentefs of the Ninth Dynasty, and the vestiges of temples built by Sesertesen and Amenemha I., the first two Kings of the Twelfth Dynasty. Thebes seems to have succeeded to the smaller city of Hermonthis, as Abydos did to This.

Of the *Eleventh Dynasty* (B.C. 2200—2080) we have already spoken. It ends with Amenemha I., and the *Twelfth* begins with his son and co-regent, Sesertesen (or Osirtasen) I., the first great Egyptian conqueror. In his name we trace the Sesostris of the Greeks. But the identification goes little beyond the name; for we should seek in vain for any Egyptian king whose personal history answers to the exploits related of Sesostris. Under such names as Sesostris and Semiramis the Greeks were accustomed to gather into one the stories told them of several kings and queens; just as the romance and ballad writers of the middle ages dealt with the names of Arthur and Charlemagne, Cœur-de-Lion and Robin Hood. Passing over Amenemha II., in whose reign we have seen that a tropical cycle began (B.C. 2005), and Sesertesen II., we come to Sesertesen III., who has perhaps the best claim to be the personal type of Sesostris, as Sethos and Rameses II., of the Nineteenth fabled Dynasty, most nearly answer to the greatest exploits of that monarch. The only example of the deification of a deceased Egyptian king in early times is in the worship which we see on the monuments paid to Sesertesen III. by his successors of the Eighteenth Dynasty; and this may explain Manetho's statement, that Sesostris was placed by the Egyptians, next after Osiris, the youngest of the gods. The first Phœnix cycle commenced during his reign, B.C. 1986. In his successor, Amenemha III., we may probably trace the Mœris of the Greeks, as his prænomen bears some resemblance to that name, and he is said by Manetho to have built the labyrinth in the Arsinoite nome (the Faioum) for his tomb, and his name has been discovered on its ruins.* Another great work which bears his name is the lake Mœris, in the same nome, the improvement of which, for the purpose of regu-

* Herodotus erroneously assigns it to the twelve kings who reigned before Psammetichus.

lating the inundation, was probably a work of the Twelfth Dynasty. The Greeks seem, however, to have used the name of Mœris almost as vaguely as Sesostris. Herodotus assigns a date to Mœris, nine hundred years before his own time, that is, about 1355 B.C. This is quite inconsistent with the time of Amenemha III., but it agrees very nearly with the era of Menophres (B.C. 1322), which is one of the fixed points of Egyptian chronology; so that Menophres would be a Mœris. There remain three kings and a queen of no importance. The dynasty lasted about 160 years. The conquest of Ethiopia is assigned to the kings of this dynasty, who built a fortress in that country at Samneh, as well as the city of Abydos, in place of This, in Upper Egypt. Among the fragments of their monuments in the British Museum, is a mutilated wooden statue of King An. The *Thirteenth*, which began about B.C. 1920, fills up the interval of 400 years to the accession of the Eighteenth. They were probably tributary to the Shepherd Kings, but extended their power into Ethiopia.*

The Thirteenth Dynasty was succeeded at Thebes by the *Eighteenth* (about B.C. 1525), and this by the *Nineteenth* (about B.C. 1340). Under these two dynasties Egypt reached her climax of power and splendour. The *Twentieth Dynasty* (about B.C. 1220) witnessed the decline of the Theban kingdom, though with a temporary revival under Rameses III. The names and numbers of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties are evidently confused by the copyists of Manetho; but the splendid monuments of these kings supply more accurate information. It is, in fact, on the temples and other great edifices that the political history of Egypt is inscribed, while the pictures in the tombs exhibit the common life of the Egyptians. They are arranged by Mr. Poole in three divisions:—first nine sovereigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty; then five of an intrusive race, probably contemporary with some of the former; and finally, eight more, including the last of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the seven of the Nineteenth. We give the names of these kings as they are read on the monuments.

Aah-mes (Amos or Amosis), the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, seems to have expelled the Shepherds from the greater part of Egypt, and to have imposed tribute on Ethiopia. The quarries contain records of temples built by him both at Thebes

* The *Fourteenth Dynasty*, of 76 kings, is said by Manetho to have reigned at Xoïs, in the north of the Delta, for 184 or 484 years. This seems to have been a petty local kingdom, tributary first to the Memphites, and afterwards to the Shepherds, and ultimately swallowed up in the rule of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

and Memphis; and an inscription in the tomb of a chief mariner who served him proves that Egypt was now becoming a maritime power. In his reign, too, we first see on the monuments those chariots and horses which are so conspicuous in the military history of Egypt. They were doubtless introduced from Asia.* His successors extended the rule of Egypt over Ethiopia to the south, and as far as Mesopotamia to the north-east, and built the temple of Amen-ra (now known by the name of Karnak) and other great edifices at Thebes. Egypt now obtained the empire of Western Asia, formerly held by the Chaldæans. It has caused surprise that we have no record of the collisions into which these conquests would naturally have brought the Pharaohs with the Israelites, either in the Scripture history or on the monuments of Egypt, and this has been used as an argument for the later date of the exodus. But as the march of armies between Egypt and Assyria doubtless lay, as we know it to have lain later, along the maritime plain of Philistia and the valley of Cœle-Syria, we may well believe that the Egyptian conquerors left the hills and valleys of Palestine to be fought for by the Israelites and the old inhabitants. That, in fact, they made no conquests in the country, except in the maritime plain, is proved by the occurrence of Philistine names, and such names only, on their monuments. But the absence of any record does not exclude the possibility of their having passed through the country and exacted tribute. Of the four kings bearing the name of Thothmes, the third seems to have been the greatest monarch of the dynasty. He began his reign by shaking off the control of the queen Amen-nunt, whose power is attested by the obelisks she set up in front of the temple of Amen-ra, and who appears to have been a foreigner, perhaps one of the queens to whom the Greeks gave the name Semiramis. Manetho ascribes to Thothmes III. (Mephramuthosis) the expulsion of the Shepherd Kings from all Egypt except Avaris, and he seems to have carried his conquests as far as Nineveh. He erected many great works of art at Thebes, and his time is peculiarly rich in those tomb-paintings which reveal to us the private life of the Egyptians. Our Museum possesses the head and arm of his colossal statue in red granite, found at Karnak by Belzoni. In the reign of his grandson, Thothmes IV., the Shepherd Kings are said by Manetho to have finally left Egypt under a capitulation. Three others of these kings bore the name Amenoph, from which the Memnon of the Greeks is undoubtedly derived, though,

* This is an incidental argument for the later date of the exodus.

as in the case of Sesostris, we should in vain attempt to trace in the legends of Memnon the history of either of the Egyptian Amenophs. The Greeks themselves recognized their Memnon more particularly in Amenoph III. (the Amenophis of Manetho), one of the latest kings of the dynasty. One of the two colossal statues of Amenoph III., seated in front of the great temple which he built in the western suburb of Thebes, was the celebrated "vocal Memnon." These statues are of breccia, 47 feet high, and 53 above the plain, with the pedestals. The one in question was broken in half in ancient times (perhaps by Cambyses), and repaired with several layers of sandstone. The British Museum possesses a very perfect and beautiful copy of the vocal Memnon, which was found near it, a colossal statue in black breccia, 9 ft. 6 in. high, besides also another smaller copy. In the Greek mythology, Memnon was the son of the Morning; and it was said that his statue, on the Libyan plains of Thebes, greeted the first beams of the rising sun by uttering a musical note as from a harp-string. The statue itself, which still occupies its throne, bearing on its back the name of Amenoph, with the title of "Phra (the Sun, equivalent to Pharaoh), lord of Truth," is inscribed with the attestations of persons who had heard the sound. The explanation of the mystery was reserved for this age of hard science. Sir Gardner Wilkinson found in the lap of the colossus a stone which, on being struck with a hammer, emitted a metallic sound, such that the peasants, whom he had placed to listen below, said, "You are striking brass;" a fact the more remarkable, as Strabo, who heard the sound, says it seemed to him like the effect of a slight blow. A priest might easily have been concealed in the position occupied by Wilkinson; and thus we find the same spirit of priestcraft 3000 years ago prompting to devices, which have their parallel in the blood of St. Januarius and the winking Madonnas of our own age.* The temple, in front of which these two colossi stood with other statues and obelisks leading up to it, is now a heap

* It is but fair to mention that so high an authority as Mr. Poole still prefers to seek an explanation in natural causes. Humboldt tells us of rocks from the crevices of which the heated air rushes with a sort of musical sound; and the author has observed the same thing in slightly porous earthenware. But even if this explanation were true of the stone of the statue, when really heated by the sun, it would not explain the sound *at the moment of sunrise*, before the stone had time to become hot. Mr. Poole's objection, that "such a deception could hardly have been carried on so long without detection," is answered by the whole history of similar impostures, especially when we remember—what is the juggler's stronghold—the willingness of an admiring observer to be deceived.

of ruins, having probably been destroyed by Cambyses; and the two colossi alone remain standing. Behind them were found two other colossal heads of Amenoph III., now in the British Museum, which also possesses a third, more mutilated. In these the face is remarkable for lips much thicker than the ordinary Egyptian type, an indication which one is tempted to connect with the Ethiopian origin ascribed to Memnon by Homer; but the early Greeks seem to have applied the name of Ethiopia to Upper Egypt.* The temple of El Uksor (Luqsor), on the east of the Nile, was begun by Amenoph III. and enlarged by Rameses II., who shares with Amenoph the fame of the traditional Memnon. A tablet found at Samneh, recording the conquests of Amenoph in Ethiopia, is now in the British Museum.

Amenoph III. was succeeded by his son, Hor-em-heb, (the Orus or Horus of Manetho), of whom we know little beyond the record, at Silsilis (*Jebel-es-Selseleh*), of a successful expedition against some negro tribes. Among his works of art was an avenue of colossal crio-sphinxes† in front of the great temple at Karnak. One of the rams' heads may be seen in the British Museum, which also possesses two granite statues of King Horus. His reign marks the epoch of a curious episode in Egyptian history. Between him and Rameses I., who was undoubtedly his son and successor, the lists of Manetho give the names of five kings, who appear to be foreign intruders; and Eusebius says that, "in the reign of Amenophis, the Ethiopians, migrating from the river Indus, came and dwelt near to Egypt." The monuments of these rulers still exist, though greatly defaced, doubtless by the political and religious zeal of their successors, and show them to have been worshippers of the sun, and of no other symbol of the Deity. They were probably of the great eastern Cushite race, who were settled from a very early age in the country betwen Persia and India. They seem to have been allied to the royal family of Egypt, perhaps owing to the conquests of Amenoph III., whom Sir Gardner Wilkinson supposes to have been, in part at least, of their race, and to have introduced their form of worship. They seem to have been expelled by Horus after a rule of about 30 years.

We now approach the grandest period of Egyptian history, the rule of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and the reign of the great Rameses. The first king of that name was the last of the Eigh-

* There is also still the question whether, in the original legend, Memnon, the son of the *morning*, may not have been one of the *eastern* or Asiatic Cushites.

† Figures with the body of a lion and the head of a ram.

teenth Dynasty, and his reign was short and insignificant; but he is the proper head of the *Nineteenth Dynasty*, which begins (about B.C. 1340, Poole; 1324, Wilkinson), with his son Sethee I. (or Osiri), the Sethos of Manetho, and, in part, the Sesostris of the Greeks. His reign is marked by one of the finest monuments of Egyptian art, the grand "Hall of Columns" in the temple of Karnak, and by the most splendid tomb among those of the Theban kings. On the outside of the north wall of the former are depicted his exploits in war, the chief of them being the conquest of the Kheeta, or Hittites of the valley of the Orontes. Casts of coloured bas-reliefs of similar subjects, from the tombs of Sethos and other kings of this dynasty, are in the British Museum, which contains also a wooden statue of Sethos, found in his tomb. The Setheum, a small temple of this king to Amen-Ra, with a chapel to the founder's father, Rameses I., is the northernmost of the ruins at *El-Kurneh*, the western suburb of Thebes. The glories of the monarchy culminated in his son, RAMESES II. THE GREAT, the chief prototype of the Greek Sesostris, though it does not appear that his conquests extended so far as those of the Thothmeses and the Amenophs. He reigned sixty-six (or sixty-one) years, partly, it would seem, in conjunction with his father: his sixty-first year is mentioned on the monuments. The chief of his wars, depicted on his monuments, and related in a hieratic papyrus, was one against the Hittites.* We cannot stay to discuss the far wider conquests ascribed by Herodotus, Strabo, and others to Sesostris, as far as Scythia and Thrace to the north, and by naval expeditions on the Erythræan Sea to the south. The former exploits may refer to tribes near the Caucasus or in Asia Minor, and both seem to describe the widest range attained at any time by the Egyptian arms. A very interesting point in the story of Sesostris in Herodotus relates to the monumental tablets (*stelae*) he set up among the nations which he conquered. Such a monument is still seen in the face of the rock, on the old road from Sardis to Smyrna, the place named by Herodotus, and very nearly resembling his description. It is a figure wearing a tiara, or high cap, and carrying a bow and spear, with a few rude hieroglyphic marks in one corner of the slab, in which some have found the name of Rameses II. This reading, however, is by no means certain, the figure is far below the standard of art of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and there are even doubts as to its being Egyptian at all. In Syria, however, on the rocks above the

* The battering-ram and testudo appear in sieges on the monuments of Rameses II.

mouth of the Lycus, memorials of this sort are found bearing the name of Rameses II.; and Strabo mentions a tablet on the shore of the Red Sea recording the conquests of Sesostris over the Troglodytæ. Rameses showed both magnanimity and humour in his treatment of the conquered nations, if we may believe the story of Herodotus, that the tablets bore male or female emblems according to the resistance he had met with. The latter were set up in the part of Syria, called Palestine, that is, among the Philistines, not the Jews, who are never mentioned on the king's monuments. Herodotus expressly states that Sesostris was king both of Egypt and Ethiopia, and we have abundant proof that the latter country was subject to the kings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. The historian's mention of numerous captives brought home by the conqueror, to be employed on public works, agrees exactly with the monuments of all the great kings of Egypt. The works performed by these captives for Sesostris, he says, were the canals which intersected the whole face of Egypt, and the transport of stones to build the temple of Hephaestus (the Egyptian Ptah). It is likely enough that Rameses II. improved the canals, which were for the most part the work of earlier kings, and it is now proved, by inscriptions beside the banks, that he was the original maker of the canal to unite the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The work was resumed by Neko, whose names it bears, but it appears never to have been finished.

Great remains of his vast buildings still exist, both in Upper and Lower Egypt. He adorned and enlarged the temple of Ptah at Memphis, the site of which is marked by a beautiful colossal statue of him in granite, but mutilated and fallen on its face.* Beyond the limits of Upper Egypt he left imperishable memorials in the rock-hewn temples of Abou-Simbel, above the second cataract, faced with his colossal statues, the largest in the world; besides other monuments in Nubia. But his greatest works were at Thebes itself. Besides adding to the temples of El-Karnak and El-Uksor, he erected a magnificent temple on the western side of the Nile, at the very edge of the desert. This is doubtless the edifice described by Diodorus Siculus as the tomb of Osymandyas. It has been called by modern writers the Memnonium, but now more properly the Rameseum. Its ruins, near the village of El-Kurneh, though much defaced, still bear the marks of that real beauty, as well as magnificence, which belongs to the best period

* Some idea may be formed of this colossus from the fist, now in the British Museum. Its length, from the wrist to the knuckle of the middle finger, is 32 inches, and its width, across the knuckles, 30½ inches.

of Egyptian art. For those who have only seen a few fragments exhibited in half-lighted rooms under a cloudy sky, or the well-meant imitation of a temple in a reduced plaster model, can form no idea of the impression made even by the ruins of these edifices, when seen in the midst of a vast plain, and with the deep shadows cast by a southern sun. Only in their proper place can be seen how gracefully the papyrus-stemmed shafts and lotus-leaved or Isis-headed capitals of the pillars blend with the masses they support, or how the whole style harmonizes with the genius of the people and their religion. Our space does not permit a description of an Egyptian temple, with its towering propylæa, its spacious colonnaded court, its first and second sanctuary supported by many pillars, and its various chambers, the whole approached by an avenue of obelisks and sphinxes; and the details would be scarcely intelligible without a plan.* But we must mention the sculptures on the walls, from which we learn the story of the family and reign of Rameses, and the astronomical ceiling in one of the chambers, which forms the most precious monument of Egyptian science. We learn too from Diodorus, that the temple contained a sacred library. In the centre of the great hall are the shattered remains of a colossal statue of Rameses himself, which, when complete, must have been no less than 60 feet high. It was a monolith, carved out of the red granite of Syene, and we might well wonder how it could have been shaped in the quarry, brought more than a hundred miles down the river, and drawn from the bank to its place, did we not see the whole process depicted on the monuments, and colossal statues lying still unfinished in the quarries. Nor should we withhold the tribute of just admiration from the skill and perseverance which enabled Belzoni, by his own resources, to transport from the Rameseum to England the colossal bust of Rameses II., which forms the choicest piece of Egyptian sculpture in our Museum.† The expression of the face differs from that of any others we have seen. The expression of calm dignity, with the lips curved into a quiet smile, well suits the greatest of the Egyptian kings. And yet it is far from impossible that this "mild-visaged

* For this, and for a popular but accurate account of Egyptian antiquities in general, Mr. Long's little work remains unrivalled, after all the Egyptian researches of the last thirty years. It formed originally two volumes of the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, under the title of *Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*. Lond. 1832. 2 vols. 12mo.

† The French expedition under Napoleon had abandoned the attempt after preparing to mutilate the bust for easier transport, as is shown by the hole bored in the shoulder for a charge of gunpowder.

despot" and mighty conqueror may have been the chief oppressor of the Israelites, and the Pharaoh from whom Moses fled into the wilderness, that is, if we were to adopt, after all, the later date of the Exodus. By the side of this bust may be seen the cast of another still larger, but less effective as a portrait, from the colossus at Memphis. Among several other statues of Rameses in the Museum is one in wood from his tomb. His most interesting memorial, however, in an historical point of view, is the "Tablet of Abydos," dedicated by him to the memory of his predecessors, whose names are inscribed upon it in order. This is also in the British Museum.

We learn from the wall of the Rameseum, that Rameses II. had twenty-three sons and three daughters. He was succeeded by his thirteenth son, Men-ptah or Ptah-men (the Amenophis or Amenophath of Manetho), in whose reign the Exodus is placed according to the Rabbinical date. We shall return to this point in the next chapter. The monuments prove that this was a time of intestine trouble. Siptah, one of the successors of Men-ptah, seems to have been a usurper, and the records of the remaining kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty are in a state of confusion which corresponds to the condition of the country in their time.

The *Twentieth Dynasty* was founded by Sethee II. (the Sethosis or Rameses of Manetho), son or grandson of Men-ptah, about B.C. 1220 or B.C. 1232 (Wilkinson). Its third king, RAMESES III.,* revived the glory of the Theban kingdom, by victories abroad and sumptuous edifices at home, scarcely inferior to those of Rameses II. Besides a magnificent tomb and a royal residence, he built the splendid temple of Medinet-Habou, in the western suburb of Thebes, on the walls of which are depicted his victories over the Philistines, and over the "Rebu" (or Libyans) and other nations. But far more interesting than all the rest is the picture of a great sea-fight against the "Khairetana of the Sea" and the "Tokkaree," whom Egyptologers identify with the Cretans and the Carians. Thus, about the beginning of the twelfth century B.C., the monuments of Egypt have another point of contact with the traditions of the Greeks, which make Crete a great maritime power under the rule of Minos. Rameses III. was succeeded by nine kings bearing the same name, the first four of whom were his sons. They have left no monuments but their tombs. The Theban kingdom seems now to have been broken

* He appears to be the Rhampsinitus, of whom Herodotus tells the curious story about a thief.

to pieces by family dissensions, of which the priests availed themselves to re-establish their power on the ruins of the monarchy. Rameses VIII., however, made conquests abroad, and added to the temple of Karnak, where his effigy appears with features so marked as to leave no doubt of its being a portrait.

The kings of the *Twenty-first Dynasty* (about B.C. 1085) seem to have taken advantage of the decline of the Theban power to revive the ancient kingdom of Lower Egypt, with a new capital, Tanis (Zoan), in the Delta, other cities of which afterwards became seats of empire. They ultimately extended their power over Upper Egypt, for three of their names are found at Thebes. These are Amun-se-pehor, Pionkh, and Pisham, apparently the same as Osochor, Psinaches, and Psuennes, whom Manetho names as the fifth, sixth, and seventh and last, kings of the dynasty. They bear the double title of "priests" and "commanders of the soldiers," proving that the priestly caste, which was always strongest at the old seats of the national worship in Lower Egypt, had at length wrested the sceptre from their Theban rivals. With all the proofs we possess that, at least from the time of the Shepherds, there was a strong Semitic element in the population of Lower Egypt, we are not surprised to find indications of these priest-kings strengthening themselves by matrimonial alliances with Assyrians, to whom the throne was consequently transferred; for Sheshonkh I., of the Twenty-second Dynasty, seems to have married a daughter of Pisham. The same leaning to Semitic alliances may be traced in the marriage of the daughter of one of the later kings of this dynasty to Solomon. A like connexion had been formed with the royal family of Edom, when Hadad, escaping from the slaughter of his house by David, fled to Pharaoh, King of Egypt, who gave him the sister of Tahpenes, the queen, in marriage.* How far successful war aided in the establishment of the Assyrian power in the Delta may perhaps be determined when we know more of the cuneiform inscriptions. Tiglath-pileser I. is said to have claimed the conquest of Egypt, about 1120 B.C. At all events, it is interesting to observe that we have now reached a point —the epoch of about a thousand years before the Christian era —at which the three great lines of Egyptian, Jewish, and Assyrian history, converge to a common focus. But instead of stopping here, to trace down the two other lines to the same point, it is better to cast a rapid glance at the remaining five centuries of

* 2 Samuel viii. 14; 1 Kings xi. 15—19; 1 Chronicles xviii. 11—13.

the history of the Pharaohs, till their overthrow by the Persians.

The *Twenty-second Dynasty* is placed by Manetho at Bubastis, which seems to show that their power arose at first independently of the Tanite kings; and Manetho's numbers require the Twentieth, Twenty-first, and Twenty-second Dynasties to overlap one another to some extent. Their accession is placed about 1009 or 1008 B.C. That they were of Assyrian or Babylonian race is considered to be proved by their names; and their hostile policy towards the Israelites is in accordance with that of the Assyrian kings. Their names have been discovered by M. Mariette on tablets (stelae) in the temple of Apis at Bubastis. The first king was Sheshonk I. He is the Shishak who sheltered Jeroboam when he fled from Solomon, and who made war upon Rehoboam, took Jerusalem, and pillaged the temple and the king's palace (B.C. 971). The extent of his power in Africa is shown by the mention of the "Lubims, Sukkiims, and Ethiopians" among his forces.* As this is the first case in which the Bible mentions a king of Egypt by his proper name †, so it is also the first in which undoubted mention is made of the Israelites on the Egyptian monuments. The record of the campaign is inscribed on the wall of the temple of Karnak, where, in the long list of Sheshonk's conquests, Champollion first read the name of "Yuda Melchi," that is, the "Kingdom of Judah." If Jeroboam had any share in instigating the expedition, he was fitly rewarded by the treachery of his ally, who appears to have taken several cities from the kingdom of Israel. The invasion of Judæa was a real conquest; Judah was placed under tribute, and the Jews remained the "servants" of Shishak.‡ Sir Gardner Wilkinson observes, that "though the conquests of Sheshonk are paraded in a longer list than those of the older Pharaohs, they were far less extensive, and we look in vain for the remoter names of Carchemish, Naharayn, or the Rot-n-o." The great interest of the record is as the first example of synchronous history. Did we but know what year of Sheshonk's reign corresponds to the fifth of Rehoboam, the synchronism would be complete. Manetho assigns him twenty-one years, and his twenty-first is mentioned on the monuments. No events of importance mark the reigns of the later kings of this dynasty, who bore the Assyrian names, several times recurring, of

* 2 Chronicles xii. 3—9.

† Can it be that the Egyptian names and titles were too uncouth for the Hebrew ear, as Napoleon could never manage the name of Tchichakoff, but called him the Admiral?

‡ 2 Chronicles xii. 8.

Osorkon, Sheshonk*, and Tiklat, Tiglath, or Takeloth. The last is the old name of the Tigris, the Hiddekel or Digla of Scripture †, and the Diglit of Pliny; and one of the kings who bore it is called on the monuments chief of the Mashoash, an Asiatic people named as enemies of the Egyptians under the Theban Pharaohs. "Zerah the Cushite," who was defeated by Asa, king of Judah, about 941 B.C., may be one of the later Osorkons. He cannot well have been a king of Ethiopia above Egypt, as we have not yet come to the Ethiopian rule in Egypt. Some suppose him to have been an Asiatic Ethiopian. May it be that these Assyrian kings were really, like the later kings of Babylon, of the old Chaldæan race?

The *Twenty-third Dynasty*, of Tanite kings, appears to have been a branch of the Twenty-second, for their names are equally Assyrian or Chaldæan, Nimrod occurring more than once. Their accession is placed by Wilkinson about B.C. 818, by Mr. Poole about B.C. 889.

The history of Egypt now becomes obscure, and her power appears to wane before the growth of the Assyrian empire. The very mildness of her rule over the Asiatic provinces conquered by the Theban kings was unfavourable to their permanent subjugation. Unlike the Assyrian kings, who transplanted the nations they subdued, the Pharaohs seem hardly to have interfered with their internal constitution, content with the fame and spoil of victory, and the payment of tribute. Their yoke was therefore more easily shaken off. The fruits of Sheshonk's victory over the weakened kingdom of Judah were lost by his successors; and the empire may be considered to have departed from Egypt, though the Ethiopians of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and the Egyptians of the Twenty-sixth made a noble stand against the Assyrians and Babylonians, only, however, to succumb before the power of Persia.

To his *Twenty-fourth Dynasty* Manetho assigns only a single king, Bocchoris, surnamed the Wise, a title which he secured by his legislation. His accession is placed by Mr. Poole in B.C. 793, by Sir G. Wilkinson in B.C. 734. He fixed his capital at Saïs. After a reign of six, or forty-four years, more probably the latter, he was dethroned by Sabaco, the Ethiopian, who is said to have burnt him alive, but this seems inconsistent with what we know of the conqueror's character.

The *Twenty-fifth Dynasty* is composed of three Ethiopian kings,

* The British Museum possesses a statue of Hapi, the Nile-god, dedicated by Sheshonk II.

† Genesis ii. 14; Daniel x. 4.

from Napata (*Mount Barkal*); Shebek I. (Sabaco), Shebek II. (Sebichus), and Tehrak or Tirhakah (Taracus), who reigned forty-four years, about B.C. 749—705 (Poole).* This was the second time that Egypt had yielded to a foreign invader, not reckoning the doubtful case of the eighteen Ethiopian kings who, Herodotus was told, were among the predecessors of Sesostris. We should understand the nature of the conquest more clearly were we better informed of the relations already existing between Egypt and Ethiopia. We have said that the latter country was generally a dependency of the former; and the monuments of the Egyptian kings attest their power over the country south of the first cataract, which was ruled by a viceroy, the Prince of Kesh, or Cush. It is not probable, however, that the dominion of Egypt reached further south than the junction of the Blue River (Astapus) with the Nile. Beyond that point lay the "island" and capital of Meroë, the seat of another great Cushite kingdom, with institutions very like those of Egypt. The worship of Amun was here maintained in all its purity; and the power of the priests was so supreme that they might at their pleasure bid the king cease to live, and he must obey. The complete social organization of the Ethiopians, whom the Greeks believed to be the justest of mankind, and their remote position, placed them beyond the reach of conquest, except from Egypt; nor is there any evidence that their own powerful kingdom was ever subjugated to the latter. The furthest point at which we find distinct evidence of Egyptian rule is at *Mount Barkal* (18° 25′ N. lat.), where the monuments bear the name of Amenoph III.† The frontier doubtless varied with the power of the two monarchies, but the region between the first and second cataract, called Dodekaschoenus, or Æthiopia Ægypti, now Lower Nubia, was always subject to Egypt. But, after the decline of the Theban kings, and during the weakness of their successors in the Delta, we can easily understand that the Ethiopians first absorbed this frontier province, and then entered Egypt, conquering first the Thebaid and then the rest of the land. We might, indeed, imagine that the "prince of Kesh" took advantage of the weakness of the kings of Tanis, to set up a power of his own in Ethiopia and Upper Egypt, but the ancient writers clearly regard the conquerors as really Ethiopians; and this is

* Their accession coincides very nearly with the traditional epoch of the foundation of Rome, B.C. 753.

† His name is inscribed on the two colossal lions of red granite from Mount Barkal, brought to England by Lord Prudhoe in 1832, and now in the British Museum.

confirmed by their names and by the statement that they came from Napata. Kindred however in race, customs, and worship, they respected the institutions of the Egyptians; and the chief effect of the conquest was to revive the national energy for a stand against the growing power of Assyria. There can be little doubt that Shebek II. is the So or Sewa, whose alliance with Hoshea, the last king of Israel (about B.C. 725), led to the destruction of that kingdom and the captivity of the Ten Tribes. Pursuing the same policy, with better fortune, his successor Tehrak (Tirhakah) marched to the support of Hezekiah, king of Judah, against Sennacherib, B.C. 710. The brief narrative of Scripture leaves us in doubt whether the armies of Egypt and Assyria met in a battle which would have been decisive of the empire of Western Asia. It seems that the encounter was prevented by the miraculous destruction of Sennacherib's army, which took place in the camp on the frontiers of Egypt, and not—as the hasty reader is apt to think—before Jerusalem. For Sennacharib had contented himself with sending a letter to Hezekiah, from his camp before Libnah, while he marched in person against Tirhakah.* We learn from Herodotus, that the annals of the priests contained a record of the miracle, transposed in time and altered in form, for the sake of glorifying their god Ptah and his priest Sethos.† This priest, said the legend,—became king shortly after the retirement of the Ethiopian dynasty, and alienated the warrior caste by neglect and injury. His soldiers, therefore, deserted him when "Sanacharib king of the Arabians ‡ and Assyrians" marched his vast army into Egypt. Assured in a dream of aid from his god, Sethos collected a mob of artisans in place of an army, and marched to meet the invader at Pelusium. During the night, a multitude of field-mice devoured all the quivers and bow-strings of the Assyrians, and the thongs by which they held their shields. Next morning, the disarmed host fell an easy prey to the Egyptians. In the temple of Ptah at Memphis, Herodotus was shown a statue of Sethos holding a mouse. Doubtless, according to the general order of such legends, the story of the field-mice arose out of the emblem in the statue's hand, the signification of which was then, as now, unknown. §

* 2 Kings xix. 8—35; Isaiah xxxvii. 8—38.

† Herodotus, ii. 141.

‡ Mr. Rawlinson explains the prominence given to the Arabians by the large Arab element in the population of Mesopotamia. See Chapter ix.

§ Wilkinson says it may have been an emblem of fertility. It was used also by the Greeks, who worshipped Apollo *Smintheus* (from *σμίνθος*, *a mouse*).

Herodotus may very probably have mistaken the priest for a king; for this Sethos is not mentioned by Manetho, nor is there any room left for him in the consistent chronology which we obtain both from Scripture and the Egyptian monuments. There may be a confusion with Sethos, the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The names of many priests, which have come down to us on monuments and mummy cases, are the same as those of kings. The silence of the Egyptian priests to Herodotus about Tirhakah is easily explained by their jealousy of the Ethiopian conquerors; and their story that Sabaco, after reigning fifty years (the whole duration of the Dynasty), withdrew of his own accord rather than commit an act of cruel sacrilege against the Egyptian priests, to which he had been prompted in a dream, is an invention to glorify their order. Such instances are important tests of the value of the information supplied to Herodotus by the priests. Tirhakah's own monuments, in Egypt and Ethiopia, especially at *Jebel-Barkal*, the ancient Napata, attest his piety and his warlike prowess; and upon them we see Assyrian captives in their national dress. He would naturally avail himself of the catastrophe of Sennacherib to extend his dominion over Western Asia, and some Greek writers even carry him into Europe like Sesostris, and with equal improbability. Tirhakah reigned about twenty years (B.C. 723—704). The recent discovery, that Psammetichus married the daughter of an Ethiopian king, named Pionkhi, who reigned at Napata, helps to account for the retirement of the Ethiopians, by confirming the supposition that princes of the former dynasties, and other petty chieftains, exercised some power in the Delta during the foreign wars of Tirhakah. Thus we may account for Herodotus's story of the blind king Anysis* (not named by Manetho), who fled into the marshes from before Sabaco, but was

* The confusion in the order of the Egyptian kings named by Herodotus is easily accounted for. He had two distinct lists shown him, of the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt; and from these he selected what seemed to him the most interesting events, which he describes under the respective kings, without regard to the distinction between the two lines, or to the exact order of succession in each. The kings of each line named by him (besides the queen Nitocris), are

Thinites and Thebans.	*Memphites, Tanites, &c.*
1. Menes. (Dyn. I.)	1. Cheops. (Dyn. IV.)
2. Moeris. (Dyn. XII. ?)	2. Cephren. (Dyn. V.)
3. Sesostris. (Dyn. XII.—XIX.)	3. Mycerinus. (Dyn. IV.)
4. Pheron.	4. Asychis. (Uncertain.)
5. Rhampsinitus. (Dyn. XX.)	5. Anysis. (Dyn. XXIV. ?)

In the Memphian list he passes at once from the pyramid builders to those who were comparatively near his own time.

restored after his departure; as well as for his mention of the Dodecarchy, or rule of twelve kings in the Delta, before the accession of Psammetichus. The obscure names at the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in Manetho may belong to some of these petty princes; he calls the first of them an Ethiopian. "It may be generally observed," says Sir Gardner Wilkinson, "that whenever the Egyptians represented a blank, or the rule of ignoble kings, we are at liberty to conclude that a foreign dynasty was established in the country; and if any Egyptian prince exercised authority during the reign of Tirhaka, it must have been in a very secluded part of the marsh lands of the Delta, as the monuments show his rule to have extended over all the principal places in Egypt. Moreover, the Apis-stelæ prove that Psammetichus I. was the sole and independent ruler of Egypt immediately after Tirhaka, without any intermediate king; and an Apis, born in the twenty-sixth year of Tirhaka, died in the twenty-first year of Psammetichus; the reign of Tirhaka having continued only ten months and four days after the birth of that bull."* He adds, however, the most important note:—"This does not positively prove that no kings intervened between Tirhaka and Psammetichus I., as the latter may have included their short reigns in their own; and Sir Henry Rawlinson has discovered the names of the twenty native rulers who were appointed by the Assyrian king, Esarhaddon, to govern Egypt at this time."† All this agrees with the rapidity with which the Assyrian monarchy under Esarhaddon retrieved the disaster of Sennacherib."‡

The *Twenty-sixth Dynasty*, of Saïte kings, begins virtually with PSAMATIK or Psammetichus I., whose accession is fixed by the stelæ in the Museum at Florence, to B.C. 664, a date at which Egyptian chronology becomes at length certain and straightforward. This, too, is the epoch of Egyptian history from which Herodotus assures us that he begins to speak, no longer from the authority of the Egyptians only, but of others who agreed with them, and in part from what he had himself seen.§ Nevertheless his story of the accession of Psammetichus has quite a legendary character. This prince was the son of Neko (the Nechao I. of Manetho's Twenty-sixth Dynasty), who was put to death by

* Essay on Egyptian History, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Appendix to Book II. chapter viii. § 32; vol. ii. p. 319, 2nd edition.

† See *Athenæum*, August 18, 1860, p. 228.

‡ See below, chapter ix.

§ Herodotus, ii. 147.

Sabaco the Ethiopian, Psammetichus himself escaping to Syria. Returning to Saïs, after the withdrawal of the Ethiopians, he became one of the Twelve Kings,* who divided Egypt among them, and strengthened their confederacy by intermarriages and by meeting to sacrifice in the temple of Ptah at Memphis. An oracle had declared, that whichsoever of them should pour his libation to the god from a bronze cup would be the sole ruler of all Egypt. Now, on the last day of a great festival, when the high priest had brought out the golden goblets for the princes, there were found to be only eleven. Psammetichus, who happened to stand last, poured out his libation from his helmet, and so fulfilled the oracle.† By the jealousy of his colleagues, he was driven from his government into the marshes, and forbidden to hold intercourse with his countrymen. Enquiring again of the oracle of the goddess Buto (Latona), he was told, that "Vengeance should come from the *sea*, when *brazen men* should appear." The strange prediction was soon fulfilled by the landing of certain Carians and Ionians, pirates, driven to the shores of Egypt by stress of weather. News was brought to Psammetichus that *brazen men had come from the sea*, and were plundering the land. He at once engaged them in his service, and conquered his eleven competitors by their aid. The important fact embodied in this legend is the engagement of Greek mercenaries by Psammetichus to secure his title to the crown. Foreign auxiliaries had long been employed in the armies of Egypt, and Cretans (probably) appear among the forces of the Theban kings. We cannot believe that those engaged by Psammetichus were a wandering band, thrown by accident on the coast. The states of Greece, especially on the shores and islands of Asia Minor, were now at that period of transition when the tyrants were setting up their power on the weakness of contending factions. Numerous exiles were driven forth to seek subsistence on the sea, and were ready to accept foreign service. In such auxiliaries Psammetichus probably saw the means at once of securing the throne and of forming an army to protect the country against her rival of Assyria. Besides the Ionians and Carians mentioned by Herodotus, he engaged Phœnician sailors. His policy was at first successful, and his foreign mercenaries

* Probably governors of the twelve nomes of the Delta. The historian's incidental memorial of the Labyrinth, near lake Moeris, as their common monument, is a mistake. The ruins, which scarcely justify his excessive admiration, bear the names of Amenemha III., of the Twelfth Dynasty, and of Rameses II.

† If the story represents an actual occurrence, it was probably a trick concerted between Psammetichus and the priests, though Herodotus affirms the contrary.

enabled him to recover the glory of Egypt in war and to enter on the last brilliant period of her history.

His chief enterprise was the recovery of the Philistine city of Ashdod (Azotus), the key to the whole frontier, which had been taken by the Assyrians under Sargon, the father of Sennacherib, with its garrison of Egyptians and Ethiopians (Isaiah xx). If we are to believe Herodotus, the siege of Ashdod lasted for twenty-nine years, so much had the power of Egypt declined, while the Assyrians had acquired that skill in the attack and defence of fortresses, to which their monuments bear witness. At home the king cultivated the arts of peace, and the monuments of his reign show a revival of the skill and beauty displayed under the Nineteenth Dynasty. For the first time in Egyptian history foreigners were encouraged to trade with the country, and Psammetichus even caused his subjects to learn Greek. But his dependence on foreign mercenaries brought on the usual punishment of such a policy. He gave his Greek soldiers settlements apart from the Egyptians, which obtained the name of the Ionian and Carian "Camps," on the two banks of the Nile. Mention is also made of the "Camp of the Tyrians," but this may have been an older settlement. Thus the foreigners obtained, to a great extent, the command of the Nile. The favour shown to them alienated the native Egyptian soldiers, already disgusted by their detention in the frontier garrisons. They deserted in a body, marched up the valley to Elephantine, and, being joined by the garrison of that frontier city, crossed over into Ethiopia, to the number, probably exaggerated in Herodotus, of 240,000. Psammetichus went as far as Elephantine, in the vain hope of inducing them to return; and the memorial of his journey is still to be seen at Abou-Simbel. They were settled by the Ethiopian king to the south of Meroë, where they long formed a distinct community under the name of the "Deserters." Their departure left the independence of Egypt at the mercy of the foreign troops. Towards the close of this reign occurred the great invasion of Western Asia by the Scythians, of which we shall have to speak hereafter. They had advanced into Palestine on their way to Egypt, when Psammetichus prevailed on them to turn back.

After a reign of fifty-four years,* Psammetichus was succeeded by his son NEKO, the Nekao II. of Manetho and the Pharaoh-Necho of Scripture (B.C. 611). The recovery of Ashdod had opened the way to Asiatic conquests, to which the declining power of

* This number is given by Herodotus, and confirmed by the Apis-stelæ.

Assyria invited him. Neko's first object was the strengthening of his frontier by securing the city of Carchemish on the Euphrates. After an involuntary conflict with the Jews under Josiah, who was killed in battle at Megiddo,* he succeeded in his object, and left a powerful army at Carchemish. On his return he strengthened his party in Judæa by deposing Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, and setting up his brother Jehoiakim, on whom he imposed a large tribute. But this was Egypt's last successful expedition. The new Babylonian kingdom rose on the ruins of the Assyrian, and Nebuchadnezzar at once turned his attention to the western provinces. The Egyptian army at Carchemish was overpowered,† Jerusalem was taken, the king whom Neko had set up became tributary to Nebuchadnezzar, and revolting three years afterwards, was taken prisoner during the siege, and put to death (B.C. 599). The entire prostration of Egypt is shown by Neko's inability to help Jehoiakim, and we are expressly told that "the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land; for the king of Babylon had taken, from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt."‡

Neko had, however, made good use of the period of his prosperity. He carried on his father's schemes of foreign commerce, and maintained fleets both in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Herodotus was informed that a fleet sent out by Neko from the Red Sea came home by the Mediterranean, having accomplished the circumnavigation of Africa. The voyage occupied three years, the sailors wintering on shore, and staying to sow and reap the harvest. Men of science and critics are never likely to agree as to the truth of this story in the absence of further confirmatory evidence. The historian's own reason for rejecting it, —that the sailors said they had had the sun on their right hand, at noon, which it would be to persons sailing westward south of the tropics,—is a strong confirmatory argument. Major Rennell has shown how the set of the currents round the African coast would favour the voyage, while they opposed it when attempted by the Carthaginians in the opposite direction. These arguments must not be overrated; but, when they are resisted on the vague ground of general improbability, the question arises, whether the story is likely to have been invented if the enterprise had never

* For further particulars of this battle, and of the relations of Jewish politics to Egypt, see chapter viii.

† This was in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, B.C. 607 or 606; Jeremiah xlvi. 2.

‡ 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

been achieved. Neko renewed the attempt of Rameses II. to effect a direct communication between the two seas by means of a canal. The work was left unfinished, and its track has remained for nearly twenty-five centuries to tempt the repetition of the effort, till at last the experiment is fairly under trial, whether modern engineering skill and commercial co-operation can achieve and maintain a work which was too great for the resources of the Pharaohs.

Neko reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded (B.C. 595) by Psammetichus II., the Psammis of Herodotus, who reigned six. Keeping within his own frontier, he was left unmolested by Nebuchadnezzar, and Egypt seems to have prospered under him. He enlarged the temples both at Thebes and in Lower Egypt, and erected a small temple on the frontier, opposite to Philae, probably on the occasion of his expedition into Ethiopia. The continued intercourse of Egypt with Greece is attested by Herodotus's curious story of an embassy from the Eleans, to consult the Egyptians on the wisdom of their rules for the Olympic Games.*

This king died, immediately after his return from Ethiopia, before he had time to prosecute the war with Babylon, which was renewed by his successor UAPHRA, the Vaphres or Apries of Manetho and Herodotus, and the Pharaoh-Hophra of Scripture (B.C. 589). After a brilliant opening, his reign of twenty-five years proved one series of disasters. He made a successful campaign into Palestine and Phœnicia, took Sidon, and gained naval victories over the Tyrians and the Cyprians. These successes elated both the Egyptian king and his partisans at Jerusalem; and in spite of the prophecies of Jeremiah against both, Zedekiah rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar. The advance of Pharaoh-Hophra forced the Chaldæans to raise the siege of Jerusalem. But the clouds were only lifted for a moment. The city fell, and the temple was razed to the ground. The asylum which Egypt offered to the fugitives was violated by the advance of Nebuchadnezzar, and there seems every reason to believe that he overran Egypt and even took Thebes itself. His victory might not have been so easy, but for new disasters which befell the king of Egypt from the opposite side. Greek colonies, of which we shall have again to speak, had been planted on the beautiful terraces of the peninsula that sweeps forwards into the Mediterranean, between the Great Syrtis and the Libyan Desert west of Egypt. The entire defeat of an army sent against Cyrene, the chief of these colonies, and consisting apparently of native Egyptian troops, caused the

* Herodotus, ii. 160.

cry of treachery to be raised against the king himself. Then was seen the fruit of the policy of the first Psammetichus. The Egyptian army mutinied. Amasis, sent to appease the revolt, was crowned king by the rebels. Another courtier, returning unsuccessful, was so cruelly outraged by Apries, that all the old Egyptian party abandoned him. His mercenaries failed him in the hour of need; he was defeated at Momemphis, brought back as a prisoner to Saïs, and put to death at the demand of the people.* Such is the story of Herodotus; but it is suspected by modern critics to have been an invention of the priests, to conceal the fact that Egypt was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, and Amasis set upon the throne as his vassal.

The weakness of Nebuchadnezzar's successors permitted Egypt to enjoy nearly half a century of prosperity under her new king, Amasis, or Aah-mes II. (B.C. 570—525).† He husbanded the internal resources of Egypt, encouraged commerce, and was so successful at sea as to add Cyprus to his dominions. Nabonidus was glad to accept his alliance against the growing power of Cyrus. If we may believe a story in the Cyropædia of Xenophon, which —romance as it is—may contain fragments of history among its incidents, Amasis performed his part in the league against Cyrus, by sending to the aid of Crœsus 120,000 Egyptians, who, after the bravest resistance, were received to an honourable capitulation, and settled in Larissa and Cyllene. The loss of this army would go far to account for the ease with which Egypt was overrun by Cambyses.

The monuments contain but slight records of Amasis. His chief works were doubtless in Lower Egypt, where the edifices even of later kings have perished more rapidly than the oldest temples of the Thebaid. Herodotus assigns to him the splendid propylæa of the temple of Neith at Saïs, as well as the colossal statues and immense andro-sphinxes of its avenue. He mentions, too, a shrine out of a single block of granite, of enormous size, from the quarries of Elephantine.‡ It took two thousand boatmen three years to transport the block to Saïs, and, after all this labour, an evil omen prevented its being set up. It is more likely

* His death literally fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah, xliv. 30.

† The name is identical with that of the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the Amosis of Manetho. Hence the king named in the text is often called Amasis II.

‡ Taking the cubit at 20 inches, it was 35 feet long, 23 feet 4 inches broad, and 13 feet 4 inches high, on the outside; and the excavated interior was 31 feet 3 inches by 20 feet by 8 feet 4 inches. A similar monolith of the same king has been found erect at Tel-et-mai, the ancient Thmuis or Leontopolis, the dimensions of which are

that the internal troubles, which the priests desired to conceal from Herodotus, prevented the erection of this monolith, as well as of the recumbent colossi which he saw at Memphis and Saïs. The great temple of Isis at Memphis was also the work of Amasis. His reign, or rather the whole time of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, has been called the *renaissance* of Egyptian art.

We have now, however, reached a point at which the story of Egypt has no longer to be painfully deciphered from the monuments, but is recorded from sources comparatively trustworthy, in the lively pages of the Greek historian, who even gives us details of the private life of Amasis. He divided his time between serious business in the morning, which he never neglected, and revelry and witty conversation with his guests in the evening; and when his friends told him he was risking the dignity of the crown, he answered with the old proverb of the bow always bent. Much as he honoured his country's gods in public, his personal relations to them resembled the alternate fear and contempt with which Louis XI. treated his saints. For having, in his disorderly youth, often been brought before the oracles that his thefts might be detected, he now honoured or despised the gods according to the knowledge they had shown in condemning or acquitting him. A like indication of scepticism is seen in his contemporary, Crœsus of Lydia, who tried the knowledge of the Greek oracles about trifles before he would risk his own fortune on their advice.

The internal prosperity of his reign is attested by the evidences of wealth and luxury in the monuments of private persons. The exaggeration of Herodotus in calling it the most prosperous reign that Egypt had ever known, may be accounted for by his fuller knowledge of this period. Never had the river been more bountiful, or the land more productive. The inhabited cities were not less than twenty thousand. The law against idleness, however, requiring every man to present himself once a year before the governor of his nome and show his means of livelihood, failing which he was to suffer death as a useless member, may have been

21 feet 9 inches by 13 feet by 11 feet externally, and 19 feet 8 inches by 8 feet by 8 feet 3 inches internally. Herodotus mentions one still larger at the temple of Buto, each wall of which was 40 cubits (66 feet 8 inches) square, besides its cornice, which projected 4 cubits (6 feet 8 inches), and was another single block. Supposing the thickness of the sides to be 6 feet, the weight of this block would be above 6738 tons, and its solid content 76,032 cubic feet. Models of such monolith shrines may be seen in the British Museum, supported by a kneeling figure, and containing the statue of the god.

much older, for we see such registration scenes on the monuments of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The similar law of Solon is said by Herodotus to have been borrowed from the Egyptians.

The growing intercourse between Egypt and Greece was one of the most important features of this reign. Though raised to the throne by the old Egyptian party, Amasis saw that it was too late to return to the rigid system of exclusion. He granted the Greeks the city of Naucratis, on the Canobic mouth of the Nile, as a residence, and this, like Canton to the Europeans in China, was long the only place where they were allowed to trade. He gave them land for temples, and, besides the "Hellenium," built conjointly by the Ionian, Dorian, and Æolian cities of Asia Minor, other states erected separate temples. Amasis even contributed largely to the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi, and enriched many of the Greek shrines with costly offerings. He made an alliance with Cyrene, and married Ladice, the daughter either of the king or of one of the chief nobles. His closest league, however, was with Samos; and, after all his splendours, his most enduring memorial is the beautiful story, told with all the simplicity of Herodotus, and adorned by the genius of Schiller.

Polycrates, having made himself the tyrant of Samos, had achieved the most brilliant successes both by sea and land. His unbounded good fortune roused the fear of his friend Amasis, who wrote to remind him of the jealousy of the gods, and advised him to cast away the most valued of his treasures:—

> "So, would'st thou scape the coming ill—
> Implore the dread Invisible
> Thy sweets themselves to sour!
> Well ends his life, believe me, never,
> On whom, with hands thus full for ever,
> The Gods their bounty shower.
>
> "And if thy prayer the Gods can gain not,
> This counsel of thy friend disdain not—
> Invoke Adversity!
> And what of all thy worldly gear
> Thy deepest heart esteems most dear
> Cast into yonder sea!"

For this offering Polycrates chose a gold and emerald signet-ring, the work of the greatest artist of Samos, and, having cast it into the sea, far from land, returned to indulge his sorrow. But within a week a fisherman brought to the palace a fish so large and beautiful, that he had kept it as a present for the king. When it was cut open, the signet-ring was found in its belly, and brought

to Polycrates by his servants with great joy. Accepting this token of the pleasure of the gods, Polycrates wrote to Amasis; but the Egyptian only saw in the return of the ring the refusal of the sacrifice to fortune. Perceiving that "it does not belong to man to save his fellow-man from the fate which is in store for him," he sent a herald to renounce the friendship of Polycrates, that, when the certain misfortune came, he might escape the pain of grieving for a friend.

> "In horror turns the kingly guest—
> 'Then longer here I may not rest,
> I'll have no friend in thee!
> The Gods have marked thee for their prey,
> To share thy doom I dare not stay!'
> He spoke and put to sea." *

Polycrates was at last put to a cruel death by the treachery of the Persian satrap Orœtes.

The legend is more than an ornament to relieve the gravity of history. By its mention of the correspondence between the princes, the naval successes of the Samian ruler, and the progress of the fine arts among the Asiatic Greeks, it forms a link in the chain of evidence that a new spirit had arisen to bring Egypt within the sphere of that energetic intercourse which now bound together all the shores of the Levant, and that she was contributing from the stores of her ancient civilization to that new outburst of intellectual and artistic activity which followed the Persian Wars.

Meanwhile her own course of empire and independence had been run, and the predicted time had come when "there should be no more a king over the land of Egypt." The Persian Cambyses had succeeded to the empire which his father Cyrus had extended from the table-land of Iran to the shores of the Ægean, his frontier towards Egypt being secured by the restoration of the Jews. The new king at once collected all the resources of his empire for the invasion of Egypt. Though Amasis had been on friendly terms with Cyrus, to whose aid he had once sent the best of the Egyptian eye-doctors, a ground of quarrel was soon found. Cambyses seems to have asked the daughter of Amasis, nominally in marriage, but really as a concubine, with the certainty of a refusal; and other pretexts were given by Egyptian traitors. Amasis died just at the commencement of the invasion (B.C. 525); his son Psammenitus was defeated at Pelusium, the eastern

* Schiller's ballad, *The Ring of Polycrates*, translated by Sir Bulwer Lytton. To suit the requirements of his art, the poet has turned the correspondence into a personal visit.

key of Egypt, and put to death with every insult, after a reign of only six months. With him ended the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

Besides the above kings, the monuments at Thebes give us the name of a PSAMMETICHUS III., who cannot be the Psammenitus of Herodotus, for his daughter was the queen of Amasis.*

The *Twenty-seventh* Dynasty of Manetho is composed of the Persian kings, from Cambyses to Darius II. Nothus (B.C. 525—414). The history of Egypt under their rule belongs to that of the Persian empire. It need only be said here that, after the first outrages perpetrated by Cambyses, in that madness which is often engendered by despotic power, the Persian kings pursued in Egypt their usual conciliatory policy. The personal visit of Darius Hystaspis, the great organizer of the empire, is commemorated in hieroglyphics on several monuments, and his name is found on Apis-stelæ, in the sepulchres of the sacred bulls; it appears too with the honorary titles of the old Egyptian kings. Nevertheless, a revolt broke out in the last year of his reign, but was suppressed in the second year of Xerxes, B.C. 484. It was in the reign of this king, and under the satrapy of his brother Achæmenes, about B.C. 460, that Egypt was visited by HERODOTUS OF HALICARNASSUS, who collected from the priests and from other sources that information which, embodied in the second book of his "Histories," has long combined with the allusions in the Pentateuch to keep alive that interest in Egypt, which we now possess more abundant means of gratifying. Had Herodotus been able himself to read the inscriptions on the monuments which he beheld in all their glory, his records would have possessed a tenfold value.

About the fifth year of Artaxerxes I. (B.C. 458) a more formidable revolt broke out under Inarus, the son of Psammetichus,† who was assisted by the Athenians. The defeat of an immense Persian army and fleet and the death of Achæmenes were avenged by a still greater armament, and Inarus fled with a body of Greeks to Byblus, in the marshes of the Delta. He was enticed from this stronghold by a promise of pardon, and crucified. The embers of the revolt were still, however, kept alive by Amyrtæus, who had escaped to the isle of Elbo. An Athenian fleet sent to his aid returned without attempting a landing (B.C. 449–448), and the Persian king endeavoured to conciliate the Egyptians by appointing as satraps Pausiris, the son of Amyrtaeus, and Thannyris, the son of Inarus.

* This we learn from her fine sarcophagus, now in the British Museum.

† His name is neither found in Manetho nor on the monuments.

The revolt broke out anew under Darius Nothus, in the tenth year of whose reign (B.C. 414) Amyrtaeus became the independent king of Egypt. His reign at Saïs lasted six years, and he forms, by himself, the *Twenty-eighth* (*Saite*) Dynasty of Manetho.

The history of the *Twenty-ninth* (*Mendesian*) and the *Thirtieth* (*Sebennyte*) *Dynasties* is beset with difficulties, which we must leave to the Egyptologers. They ruled with great prosperity, and left monuments which may vie in beauty and finish with those of the earlier dynasties. Their alliances with the Greeks, the internal disorders of Persia, and the dissensions among the satraps, left them for the most part unmolested. Achoris (the Hakori of the monuments, about B.C. 402) repulsed a Persian attack by the aid of Greek mercenaries under the Athenian Chabrias. Nectanebo I. (the Nekht-nebf or Nekt-har-hebi of the monuments, about B.C. 387–369), whose name is preserved on some fine works of art, defended the land successfully against a still more formidable attack, though the Athenian auxiliaries went over to the Persians (B.C. 373). His successor, Tachos or Teos (about B.C. 361), dared to concert with the Athenians and Lacedæmonians an invasion of Asia. But the scheme was ruined by the dissatisfaction of Agesilaus at the subordinate command assigned to him; the needful taxes roused the discontent of the Egyptians; and when Tachos had marched as far as Phœnicia, his son Nectanebo was placed on the throne, and Tachos fled to Artaxerxes Mnemon. A civil war followed, in which Nectanebo II. succeeded, with the aid of Agesilaus, in defeating the partisans of the late king. The power of Nectanebo was so firmly established, that he not only held out against the Persians, but aided the Phœnicians to revolt, sending them a force of 4000 Greeks under Mentor the Rhodian. But when Artaxerxes Ochus advanced at the head of an immense army, Mentor deserted to him, Phœnicia and Cyprus were subdued, and Nectanebo prepared to resist a new invasion. Pelusium, garrisoned by 5000 Greeks, repelled the first assault, but Nectanebo lost heart and fled to Memphis. Pelusium then surrendered, and while Mentor was subduing the other fortresses, Nectanebo escaped by the river into Ethiopia (about B.C. 353). Thus ended the Thirtieth and last native Dynasty of the kings who had governed Egypt for perhaps twenty-four centuries; and for twenty-two centuries more she has been ruled by foreigners.

Egyptian art scarcely shows a symptom of decline under these latest independent dynasties, but rather an increase of grace and delicacy, due probably to Greek influence. Examples may be

seen in the intercolumnar slab of green basalt, sculptured in intaglio, of Nectanebo II., and the obelisks erected by Nectanebo I., in front of the temple of Thoth, now in the British Museum. The Museum is rich in antiquities of this period, brought chiefly from Cairo and Alexandria, but many of them had been previously transferred to those cities from places now unknown. Among them is the splendid sarcophagus of Nectanebo I., formerly called the sarcophagus of Alexander.

The restored Persian dominion, forming the *Thirty-first Dynasty* (Ochus, Arses, and Darius Codomannus), lasted less than twenty years. Ochus emulated the cruelties of Cambyses in his treatment of the conquered province; but he only survived his victory a few years. In B.C. 332 Egypt joyfully submitted to Alexander, who justly regarded it as the gem of his new diadem, and prepared to make Alexandria the commercial capital of the world. The story of his visit to Egypt we reserve for his own history. On his death Egypt fell to his general Ptolemy, the son of Lagus (B.C. 323), whose dynasty lasted for three centuries. The earlier Ptolemies ruled Egypt with equal sagacity and moderation, carrying out those schemes of Alexander which enriched their country with the commerce of the world, distributing impartial justice, and extending religious toleration to Greeks and Egyptians alike. While, under their munificent patronage, learning and science found a new seat at Alexandria, the temples of Egypt were restored and enlarged in the style and spirit of the Pharaohs. The wars, which were for the most part forced upon them by the ambition of the Seleucid kings of Syria, had little effect on Egypt itself, and the toleration of the Ptolemies, when they were masters of Judæa, forms a bright contrast to the fanatical violence of Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors. At length the nobler character of the race died out. Family dissensions tempted a recourse to the arbitration of Rome (B.C. 164). From that moment the end was certain, and it came after a long period of decline. But, before she yielded to her fate, Egypt had almost revenged herself on the masters of the world, the empire of which was well-nigh bartered by Julius, and was resigned by Antonius, for the charms of Cleopatra. The battle of Actium, and the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, left Egypt as the final prize of Octavian; and it became a Roman province in B.C. 30.

But its political absorption left its commercial and intellectual pre-eminence undiminished. Under the rule of Rome it enjoyed the commerce between the provinces of the West and the

rich lands of the furthest East. Its schools of philosophy and theology have left their impress on the thought and belief of Christendom. When conquered by the Arabs (A.D. 639), Egypt soon became the chief seat of their learning, and to this day it is the country where the character and manners of the race can be best seen. Reduced for a time to comparative insignificance by the Turkish conquest and the change of the route to India, it seems to have begun a new history with the present century. As the supposed key to the empire of the East, it roused the ambition of Napoleon and called forth the might of England. A more peaceful rivalry began when science once more made it the highway to India, with results to the country yet to be seen, but certain to be vast.

In the above outline of the history of Egypt, the interest of the subject, and the light thrown upon it by recent discoveries, have led us to treat it more exhaustively than would be generally consistent with the limits of our work. In the case of countries better known, and whose annals abound in a multitude of details, such a method would be impossible. But, where the facts are comparatively few, and the information only to be found in large, elaborate, and expensive works, we attempt to put before the reader, as nearly as possible, the compendious sum of existing knowledge. And even, as we have said before, where our knowledge is still imperfect or very doubtful, we prefer to state, with the necessary reserve, the opinions of the best authorities, if only as a convenient starting-point for further investigation, rather than to draw the erasing stile of ruthless scepticism over records which certainly contain much knowledge worth preserving, though clouded with much ignorance worth dispelling. Labour in this field may be often spent in vain, though only for a time; but we had rather lose a large part of our labour than be content to leave this chapter of our history

> "In cloud instead, and ever-during dark,"

and the reader, from such information as can be given,

> "Cut off; and, for the book of knowledge fair,
> Presented with a universal blank
> Of [Egypt's] works, to him expunged and razed,
> And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out."

NOTE.—Special acknowledgment is due of the use made, in the two preceding chapters, of Sir J. G. Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, of his Essays on Egyptian History and Antiquities, in the *Appendix* to Book II. of Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, and of Mr. Poole's *Horæ Ægyptiacæ* and article *Egypt* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition.

EGYPT
AND
PALESTINE.

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Caesarea Philippi
Cape Carmel
Capernaum
Tiberias
Nazareth
Caesarea
Samaria
Sichem
Joppa
Jerusalem
Jericho
Heshbon
Bethlehem
Ascalon
Hebron
Gaza
Mt. Nebo
Zoar
Dead Sea
AMALEK
Kadesh Barnea
DELTA
LOWER EGYPT
Goshen
Heliopolis
Succoth
Memphis
Etham
Desert of Shur
ARABIA PETRÆA
Course of the Children of Israel
Mt. Hor
Elath
Mara
Elim
Red Sea
Hazeroth
Raphidim
Mt. Horeb
Mt. Sinai
Elanitish Gulf

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HEBREW THEOCRACY AND MONARCHY.
B.C. 1491 TO B.C. 508.

> "Behold the measure of the promise fill'd;
> See Salem built, the labour of a God!
> Bright as the sun, the sacred city shines;
> All kingdoms and all princes of the earth
> Flock to that light; the glory of all lands
> Flows into her; unbounded is her joy,
> And endless her increase."—COWPER.

DESTINY OF THE HEBREW NATION—REVIEW OF THEIR HISTORY IN EGYPT—JOSEPH—THE ISRAELITES IN GOSHEN—THE OPPRESSION—MOSES: AS AN EGYPTIAN PRINCE—HIS FLIGHT—HIS DIVINE LEGATION—THE PLAGUES, THE PASSOVER, AND THE EXODUS—HEATHEN TRADITIONS OF THE EXODUS—MARCH TO SINAI—THE MOSAIC LAW—THE WILDERNESS—CONQUEST OF PERÆA—DEATH OF MOSES—CAMPAIGNS OF JOSHUA—DIVISION AND SETTLEMENT OF CANAAN—TIMES OF THE JUDGES—SERVITUDE TO THE PHILISTINES—SAMUEL, PROPHET AND JUDGE—THE KINGDOM—SAUL—DAVID—FULL CONQUEST TO THE LAND—JERUSALEM, THE CAPITAL AND SANCTUARY—SOLOMON—ISRAEL A GREAT MONARCHY—BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE—SOLOMON'S IDOLATRIES—FOREIGN ENEMIES AND INTERNAL FACTIONS—DIVISION OF THE TWO KINGDOMS—THEIR SEPARATE HISTORY—STEADY DECLENSION OF ISRAEL—FOREIGN ALLIANCES AND IDOLATRIES—THE PROPHETS—ELIJAH AND ELISHA—RELATIONS TO SYRIA, JUDAH, ASSYRIA, AND EGYPT—CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES—THEIR SUBSEQUENT FATE—KINGDOM OF JUDAH—IDOLATRIES AND REFORMS—ASA—JEHOSHAPHAT—THE HIGH PRIEST JEHOIADA—UZZIAH—IDOLATRIES OF AHAZ—THE PROPHETS, ESPECIALLY ISAIAH—WARS WITH ISRAEL AND SYRIA—HEZEKIAH—DESTRUCTION OF SENNACHERIB—JOSIAH—INVASION OF PHARAOH-NECHO—NEBUCHADNEZZAR—THE CAPTIVITY—CONDITION OF THE JEWS DURING THE CAPTIVITY.

THE picture, which we have endeavoured to fill up in the preceding chapter, of the primeval monarchy of Egypt, forms as yet only the background of the World's History. The chief interest of the story of our race remains with the people of Israel. The other nations have lapsed into idolatry, and have sunk beneath the power of oppressive rulers. They have failed, in the second probation of the world, to reach the highest standard of social life,—liberty regulated by laws in harmony with the will of God. So one family has been chosen out of all the rest, to form a nation which should reach that standard, or else prove by its failure the need of some more powerful principle than the purest laws. The moral aspect of this great experiment, in bringing man to the consciousness of his own weakness, and so reducing him to submission to divine grace, belongs to the province of religion. But it has a political aspect too; and the story of the chosen

people, as a nation, forms at this point the main stream of the history of the world.

We see them assembled, apart from all the other nations, in the recesses of Mount Sinai, to receive a LAW through the hands of a divinely-appointed legislator. And yet their separation is not a perfect isolation from the other peoples. In the presence of that "mixed multitude" who went with them out of Egypt, and in the extension of the chief provisions of the law to "the stranger within their gates," we see the general adaptation of the Law to the whole race of man. Meanwhile, however, it is fenced about with signs and sanctions, to bind it with peculiar force, in the first instance, on the people chosen to receive it. The perversion of what was peculiar to them into a selfish claim of exclusive privileges was one of the proofs of their unworthiness to fill their true position. Israel, called forth in the character of the Son of God, was only the eldest of many brethren. The present favour and pure law of God were given to him in trust for all the rest, and his true mission was to diffuse knowledge and life over all the world.

For this the previous stages of the people's history were a preparation. Called out from the idolatry and tyranny of Chaldæa, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were, so to speak, just shown the future inheritance of Canaan, which their sons had just time to prove their unfitness to enjoy as yet, when they were subjected to a new course of discipline in Egypt. A period of prosperity, during which they enjoyed the favour of the king, and occupied the richest district of the land, encouraged their rapid increase; nor did their numbers decline under hard bondage and cruelty. "The more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew." * While their sufferings trained them to endurance and steadfastness, they learnt from their oppressors the arts of civilization,—a possession more precious than the jewels of gold and silver they carried with them out of Egypt. Having gone down into that land a family, they came out of it a nation.

We have now to trace briefly the stages of this progress. While in Canaan, the patriarchs led a nomad life. They dwelt in tents, and their wealth consisted in flocks and herds. They were dependent for corn upon the desultory agriculture of the Canaanites; and when that failed, their resource was in the abundance of Egypt. Twice in three generations were they driven to that resource; and, on the second occasion, Divine Providence had

* Exodus i. 12.

prepared the way, by Joseph's elevation, for their settlement in the land (B.C. 1706).*

The attempt to represent these events as a doubtful Hebrew tradition is refuted by internal evidence. Oriental history is familiar with the elevation of foreign slaves to the post of prime minister, and even to the throne itself; and all the attendant circumstances are thoroughly Egyptian. The names of Joseph's master and his father-in-law, Potiphar, and Potipherah (*Pet-Phra*, *dedicated to the Sun*); his own, Zaphnath-Paaneah (*defender of life*); † and that of his wife, Asenath (*As-Neith*, daughter or servant of Neith), would never have been invented by a Jew. The office held by Potiphar, and the shamelessness of his wife,—the functions of Pharaoh's servants, and his mode of treating them,—the belief in dreams, and resort to professional magicians for their interpretation,—the importance assigned to the Nile, the many-eared corn, the cattle, and the reeds, in Pharaoh's dream,—the notice of the tenure of the land, and the exemption of the priests from taxation,—these and several other features of the narrative correspond altogether to what we know of Egypt. The image of Joseph, clothed in fine linen, decorated with a necklace of gold and the royal signet-ring, and mounted on a chariot of state, might be accurately depicted from existing monuments which represent the processions of kings and priests; while the shaving of his whole body before he went into Pharaoh's presence, is a custom of ceremonial cleanliness attested by Herodotus.

Nor must we in vindicating the historic reality of Joseph's position in Egypt, forget his higher place in the history of the world. His elevation was earned by the noblest moral qualities,—steadfastness to principle, fidelity to duty, patience in adversity, filial affection, and brotherly forgiveness of the greatest wrongs. Even if we admit that his father's partiality and his prophetic dreams elated him too much, the youthful error was dearly paid for. If he learned in Egypt to profess the power of divination, and to swear by the life of Pharaoh, we must remember (what is too often forgotten in studying Scripture characters), that the best of men are not entirely free from the moral weaknesses of humanity. We need not discuss, in this case, the fairness of judging a man's character by his political conduct; for the charge brought against Joseph, of oppressive policy towards the Egyptian agriculturists, is

* This is Ussher's date. Mr. Poole places the event in B.C. 1867, under the Shepherd Kings, and Lepsius as late as B.C. 1500, under Amenoph III.

† We give the most probable interpretation, but the sense is not quite determined.

hardly borne out by a more accurate knowledge of the transaction. The question is complicated by the doubt respecting the dynasty then reigning; if the Shepherd Kings, this policy may have been a final step in the subjugation of the country. In any case, we have not sufficient information about the tenure of the land in Egypt, to judge of the changes effected by Joseph. It would seem that the fifth of the whole produce, which Pharaoh took up by his advice in the seven years of plenty, was simply the double of the usual tithe or quitrent; and when, during the famine, he had purchased from the people their rights in the land, he restored to them their possessions under the king, in consideration of their paying the same rent of one-fifth as a permanent impost, in acknowledgment of Pharaoh's ownership. At all events, his policy had saved the nation from destruction; while it answered that higher end in the preservation of the chosen family, which makes Joseph so signal an example of an overruling Providence, and which he himself described in those memorable words to his brethren:—"As for you, ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good, to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive." *

The land of Goshen, which was assigned by Pharaoh to the Israelites, lay on the eastern frontier of the Delta, along the easternmost or Pelusiac branch of the Nile. It forms the northern slope of the "Arabian mountain-chain," which borders the Nile-valley on the east, but turns off eastward, at the apex of the Delta, towards the Gulf of Suez. This position, between the alluvial flat of the Delta and the sands of the Desert, made it peculiarly fit for pasturing the flocks of the new settlers. Those who place the entrance of the Israelites under the Eighteenth Dynasty, regard the district as having been left vacant by the expulsion of the Shepherds, whose great fortress was at Avaris, the later Pelusium. If, however, this event took place under the Shepherd Kings themselves, we can understand their policy in placing a kindred pastoral race on the eastern frontier, where they were threatened by the power of the Assyrians or Chaldæans. The capital of the district was On (afterwards Heliopolis), the sacred city of the Sun, a place with which Joseph was specially connected by his marriage with the daughter of Potipherah, the priest of On.† It is an interesting

* Genesis l. 20.

† It was in the land of Goshen that Joseph met his father (Genesis xlvi. 28, 29). The LXX. places the meeting at "Heroönpolis, in the land of Ramesses," the place which seems to have been the starting-point of the Israelites at the exodus. The Coptic version puts, in place of Heroönpolis, the Pithom mentioned on the next page.

coincidence, that in the fabulous story of the exodus preserved by Josephus from Manetho, Moses is said to have been originally an Egyptian priest at Heliopolis. A further indication of the locality of Goshen is found in the Psalm which speaks of God as having done wonders—the miracles which preceded the exodus—"in the field of Zoan," the very ancient city otherwise called Tanis, on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.* In this land, too, the Israelites, during their servitude, built the cities of Pithom, (the *City of Tum*, or *Atum*, a name for the sun), and Raamses, or Rameses, as store-cities for their oppressor.† Both these places appear to have been within the canton (nome) of Heliopolis, on the line of the canal of Rameses the Great. The name of the latter city has been adduced as a decisive proof that Rameses II. was the oppressor of the Israelites; Rameses I. being out of the question, owing to the shortness of his reign.‡ But it is unsafe to build such an argument on a name which, from its significance (the *Son of Ra*), may have been the title of many kings, and was in fact borne by the son of Amosis, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Neither would the occurrence of the name of Rameses II. on the ruins at *Abou Kesheyd* be decisive, even if Lepsius were certainly right in identifying those ruins with the city of Rameses. But this can hardly be the true site, both for other reasons, and because it is only eight miles from the ancient head of the Gulf of Suez, a distance inconsistent with the three days' march and the two halting-places of the Israelites at the exodus. The site of Rameses seems to have been much nearer to Heliopolis, and rather at the western than the eastern end of the valley called the *Wadi-t-Tumeylat*, through which the route of the Israelites probably lay. It may perhaps correspond to the mound called *El-Abbaseeyeh*, about thirty miles from the ancient shore of the Gulf, and about the same from Heliopolis. If we could fix the exact site, we should know the starting-point of the Israelites on their exodus.

Meanwhile we must return to their condition in the land of Goshen. Separated from the Egyptians by their position and by their occupation as shepherds, they retained their own patriarchal constitution under the princes of their twelve tribes. The Scrip-

* Psalm lxxviii. 43. The advocates of the later date of the exodus appeal to the monuments of Rameses the Great at Tanis, in proof of its being a favourite royal residence under the Nineteenth Dynasty.

† Exodus i. 11; the LXX. adds, "and On, which is Heliopolis." They may have been employed in fortifying the city.

‡ Rameses I., the last king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and grandfather of Rameses II., reigned only one year, B.C. 1446 (Poole), or B.C. 1324 (Wilkinson).

ture history gives us incidental proofs of the influence retained by Joseph during his life, which must have helped to preserve the unity and harmony of the people.* From a family of seventy persons, they grew in 215 years † into a nation so numerous, that they were "more and mightier than the Egyptians," who became alarmed lest they should use their position on the frontier to unite with the enemies of Egypt.‡ The flight of Moses to the priest-prince of Midian seems to imply friendly relations between the Israelites and their Arab neighbours on the eastern frontier of the Delta. The cruel servitude and oppression which followed under the "new king which knew not Joseph," seems to have lasted somewhat more than the period of eighty years from the birth to the call of Moses.§ We have an interesting parallel to the Scriptural account of its severity, in the statement of Diodorus, that the Babylonian captives of Rameses II. rebelled in consequence of the like intolerable burthens. An inscription of the same king states that no native Egyptian was permitted to work on his buildings, and the monuments show us foreign captives thus employed. The law of conquest, especially as interpreted in the East, condemned that unhappy class to oppressive labour. But the position of the Israelites was very different. Their long and peaceful abode in the land assigned to them implies the possession of definite privileges, which were now violently withdrawn under the impulse of fear, that great incentive to tyranny. But when to this was added the attempt to stop their increase by the murder of their infants, the atrocious crime was justly punished by the miraculous death of the firstborn of the Egyptians.

* Genesis l. 15—26.

† See Genesis l. 23. It is no part of our plan to discuss questions of Biblical criticism and interpretation, such as whether these numbers are to be taken literally, and how the slightly different statements respecting them are to be reconciled. It is enough for our purpose that the increase was not impossible, especially taking polygamy into the account. It has been suggested that their numbers were swelled by other Semitic peoples, who were brought as captives into Egypt, and by many of the Egyptians themselves. That they intermarried with the Egyptians is seen by Joseph's own example, and mention is made of the mixed multitude who went up with them out of Egypt; but that multitude is evidently not included in the enumeration of the people (Exodus xii. 37, 38).

‡ Exodus i. 8, 9; Psalm cv. 24.

§ According to Ussher's system, Joseph was sold into Egypt B.C. 1729; he was thirty years old (Genesis xli. 46) when he stood before Pharaoh, B.C. 1715; his death at 110 years old was in B.C. 1635. The birth of Moses was in B.C. 1571. The interval is sixty-four years; but, as the oppression did not begin till after the death of the whole generation who had lived with Joseph (Exodus i. 6), and perhaps not till after a further period of prosperity (v. 7), its beginning may be fixed near the end of that interval. It is reasonable also to allow as much time as possible for the previous increase of the people.

In the meantime, the king's sanguinary edict proved the first step in the series of providential events which prepared a deliverer for Israel in the person of the greatest man, next to the Divine Exemplar of humanity, that the world has ever seen. MOSES, the son of Amram, of the tribe of Levi, hidden from his birth by the faith of his parents, was rescued by Pharaoh's daughter from the fate to which they were obliged at last to expose him, and was brought up at the Egyptian court as her adopted son. The statement of Stephen, that "he was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," *—learning of which the priests held the key—is so far confirmed by the tradition handed down by Manetho, and copied by several ancient writers, that he was an Egyptian priest of Heliopolis. The same high authority adds, that "he was mighty in words and deeds," evidently while still at Pharaoh's court. We cannot, however, accept without confirmation the tradition preserved by Josephus of the victories of Moses over the Ethiopians who had invaded Egypt,—his pursuit of them to their own land, with circumstances too marvellous for sober history,—his capture of their capital, Saba, and his marriage to the daughter of the Ethiopian king.† According to this legend, it was the ungrateful jealousy of the Egyptians that caused his flight to Midian, a step which the authentic narrative of Scripture ascribes to his deliberate choice of the cause of his suffering brethren.‡

This choice, which the Apostle places among the brightest examples of faith in unseen realities, was, even from the mere worldly point of view, an act of the noblest self-renunciation. In the prime of life, and in the full flush of success, enjoying princely rank, and on a level with the priests in the knowledge that gave them power and wealth, Moses descended from his lofty position, and probably renounced the hope of one yet higher, to share the sufferings and degradation of a nation of oppressed slaves. That he had a prophetic knowledge of his mission to deliver the people, is clearly intimated by Stephen.§ When "it came into his heart to visit the children of Israel," we may suppose that he had little knowledge and no experience of their actual condition. His first burst of indignation at seeing the cruel beating of a Hebrew by an Egyptian taskmaster broke through all restraint. But while by slaying the oppressor he cast off for ever his connexion with the

* Acts vii. 22.

† An Ethiopian wife of Moses is mentioned in Numbers xii. 1.

‡ Exodus ii. 11, compared with Acts vii. 23, 24, and Hebrews xi. 24—26.

§ Acts vii. 25.

court, he found that the people were too dispirited by slavery to accept his aid and leadership; and, rejected by them and proscribed by Pharaoh, he fled to the land of Midian.

The Midianites were a tribe of Keturaïte Arabs, having their chief seats along the eastern side of the eastern or Ælanitic gulf of the Red Sea, and sometimes pasturing their flocks in the peninsula of Sinai. It seems to have been in the latter region that Moses found refuge with Jethro, or Raguel, a patriarchal prince and priest, whose daughter he married. To the forty years of learning and activity which he had spent in Egypt, were now added forty more of lonely meditation, as he fed his father-in-law's flocks amidst the grandest solitudes of nature. The idea naturally suggests itself that, with the maturity of thought acquired by such a mode of life, he received also the revelations which he recorded in the Book of Genesis. At length, in the most secret recess of the desert of Mount Sinai, at "Horeb, the mount of God" (doubtless an ancient sanctuary of the Arabian tribes), he was brought face to face with Jehovah, and received his commission to lead forth the Israelites to worship God on that very spot. We need not here enlarge on the strictly religious aspects of this great epoch in the history of the world.

Returning to Egypt, where a new king now reigned,* and joining himself with his brother Aaron, who was associated with him as the speaker and mediator, Moses first presented himself before the elders of the Israelites. Forty years of continued affliction had at last made them cry to God, whom they had almost forgotten amidst the idolatries of Egypt, and prepared them to welcome the deliverer they had before rejected. They believed the signs which proved that "Jehovah had visited His people," and bowed their heads and worshipped.†

The details of the contest that ensued with Pharaoh belong to Scripture history; nor can we properly discuss here the theological question it involves.‡ The first demand was moderate—that the people might go forth to keep a feast to Jehovah their God in the wilderness. On arriving there, it was clearly implied that they were to be at God's disposal; and Moses steadily rejected every offer short of their departure with their entire families and flocks. The claim of God was founded on that relation which is the key to the whole history of the Hebrew nation, "Israel is my son, even my firstborn;" and Pharaoh's obstinate resolution to keep in slavery the people who thus belonged to God, was met from the

* Exodus iv. 19. † Exodus iv. 29—31. ‡ Romans ix. 17, 18.

first by the threat, "I will slay thy son, even thy firstborn."* To this infliction the other plagues were but preparatory, giving the king and people—for they sided with him—the opportunity of yielding to milder chastisements. The nature of these were wonderfully adapted to the country, the habits, and the superstitions of the Egyptians, who saw not only the common plagues of their country miraculously aggravated, but its best blessings made the sources of disease and death; their property destroyed, their persons, their gods, and their sacred river polluted. The truly miraculous nature of the plagues was proved by the vain attempts of the magicians to imitate them beyond the point which mere trickery could reach, and the shepherd's staff of Moses became the wonder-working rod which was to govern and guide the people of Israel. At length came that blow which was the first threatened and the last struck; and while, amidst the darkness that might be felt, every Egyptian house resounded with the wail for the firstborn, from the palace of Pharaoh to the captive's dungeon,—while the priests howled for their sacred animals, as Jehovah

> "equalled with one stroke
> Both their firstborn and all their bleating gods,"—

the emancipated Israelites, fully equipped for their departure, and enriched by the fears of their neighbours, ate for the first time that great feast which took its name from the destroyer "passing over" their houses, marked by the blood of the sacrificial lamb, and which became the perpetual type of a still higher deliverance from death and bondage. "It is a night to be much observed" in the history of the world, as well as in the annals of the chosen race.†

The exodus took place in the night of (or, according to our reckoning, before) the fourteenth day of the lunar month nearest to the vernal equinox; and this month, Abib or Nisan, became thenceforth the first of the Hebrew ecclesiastical year. The civil year began about the autumnal equinox, with the month Tisri. The period of 430 years fixed in God's first announcement of the captivity to Abraham was now completed; and this period must be dated from the call of Abraham: the actual time of the

* Exodus iv. 22, 23. It was probably a very old principle of religion, that the firstborn and all firstfruits belonged especially to God, and must either be sacrificed or redeemed. The Passover gave a new sanction to this doctrine; and in it the Jews offered the lamb of redemption, before bringing to God the firstfruits of the year.

† Exodus xii. 42.

sojourn in Egypt, from the descent of Jacob to the Exodus, was 215 years.*

The Jewish Rabbinical tradition places the exodus in the year of the world 2447, that is, in B.C. 1314; but the rabbinical chronology is of little authority by itself.† This date, however, falls within the reign of Men-ptah or Ptah-men, the son of Rameses the Great (B.C. 1328—1309), according to the chronology of Bunsen, Lepsius, and their followers, who regard this king as the Pharaoh of the Exodus.‡ They rely mainly on the strange account about the exodus which Josephus gives from Manetho, with the strongest protest against its authenticity.§

The story is that King Menophis or Amenophis resolved to propitiate the gods by purging the land of all lepers and unclean persons. These, to the number of 80,000, among whom were some leprous priests, were banished to the quarries in the eastern hills; but the king afterwards gave them the city of Avaris (Pelusium), from which the Shepherds had been expelled. Here they chose for their leader an apostate priest of Heliopolis, whose name Osarseph was changed to Moses, and swore obedience to him. He gave them new laws, bidding them disregard the gods and sacrifice the sacred animals, and forbidding all intercourse with the other Egyptians. He fortified the city, and called in the aid of the expelled Shepherds, who had settled at Jerusalem, and who advanced to Avaris with an army of 200,000 men. The King of Egypt marched against them with 300,000 men, but returned to Memphis through fear of an ancient prophecy. He then fled to Ethiopia, whence he returned after an absence of thirteen years, drove the rebels out of Egypt, and pursued them to the frontier of Syria. The story is equally irreconcileable with the Scripture, and with the monuments of the nineteen years' reign of Men-ptah, which leaves no space for his absence for thirteen years in Ethiopia.‖

* Genesis xv. 13; Exodus xii. 41; Acts vi. 7; Galatians iii. 17. For the proof of this position, against those who date the 430 years from the descent of Jacob into Egypt, see Clinton's Essay on Scripture Chronology, *Fasti Hellenici*, Vol. I., p. 283; and Mr. Poole's art. Chronology, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*. The Captivity itself had lasted 215 years (B.C. 1706—1491, Ussher).

† See note on Scripture Chronology, p. 10.

‡ A slight alteration is evidently required to bring the exodus to the last year of his reign. Sir J. G. Wilkinson, while adopting the opinion of Lepsius, places Ptah-men as late as B.C. 1245, which is far too low for the date of the exodus. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Appendix to Book II. c. viii., Vol. II. p. 372.

§ Joseph. *contra Apionem*, I. 26.

‖ It is even at variance with other notices of the exodus in the lists of Manetho, to which, however, we must not attach too great importance, as they may only express the

On the whole, then, it seems hopeless to fix the date of the exodus by Manetho's testimony, and least of all can we depend upon the story related by Josephus. It evidently confuses reminiscences of the expulsion of the Hyksos with the exodus of the Israelites; nor is it credible that the latter should have exercised the power ascribed to them in Egypt, without some record thereof in their own history. Weighing the story critically against the Mosaic record, apart from all higher authority, it is a manifest invention of the priests to conceal a great national disgrace, and to heap odium on a people whom they hated.

The fable by which the Egyptian priests chose to hand down the story of their great national disaster is related not only by Josephus, but by several Greek writers, in forms varied chiefly by the greater or lesser degree in which they were infected by the animosity of the Egyptians against the Jews. But, perverted as it is, the legend indicates some interesting points. That religious hatred was deeply concerned in the persecution, may be inferred from the uniform representation of the people as a mixed collection of polluted outcasts; and the special mention of lepers among them cannot but recall the sign of the leprous hand, one of the first by which the mission of Moses was attested. The employment of the leprous persons in the quarries, their choice of Moses for their leader and acceptance of new laws at his hands, and the failure of the Egyptians to prevent their departure, are so many dim reflections of the truth; and the great pestilence, which is said to have warned the Egyptians to expel them, may be connected with the plagues of Egypt, and especially with the slaughter of the firstborn. The mention of Jerusalem, though an anachronism which betrays the utter absence of historical accuracy, clearly shows to what nation the story was meant to apply. But the most curious points in the various forms of the legend are those which relate to Moses and his legislation. The character ascribed to him, of an apostate Egyptian priest, confirms the fact that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and various

opinions of the chronologers in whose copies alone the lists have come down to us. Thus Africanus names Amosis, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty (about B.C. 1525), as the Pharaoh under whom Moses left Egypt, which would agree with the date assigned to the exodus by Petavius, and come very near to that of Ussher. This may, however, refer to the flight into Midian, rather than to the exodus. Both the Greek and Armenian copies of Eusebius place the exodus under the ninth king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, namely Achencheres, who is either the son of, or the same as, Horus, the son of Amenophis III. Nay, in the very legend on which the German writers rely, the name given is Menophis, or Amenophis, though the context leaves little doubt that Men-ptah the son of Rameses II., is the king intended.

forms of the tradition attest that he was "mighty in word and deed."

Thus Hecatæus of Abdera, who visited Egypt under Ptolemy I. and wrote an Egyptian history, mentions Moses as the most distinguished of the Jews, both in knowledge and bravery. The story of this writer, as preserved by Diodorus, is, that the worship of the gods having been neglected on account of the number of foreigners in Egypt, the Egyptians were warned by a pestilence to drive away the pollution. The most distinguished of the expelled foreigners followed Danaus and Cadmus into Greece; but the greater number were led by Moses into Judæa, which was then uninhabited. There he built Jerusalem and many other cities, divided the people into twelve tribes, appointed judges and priests, and erected a sanctuary, which contained no images of the gods; for Moses held that the Deity could not be fitly represented by any human form, being in truth nothing else than the heaven which surrounds and embraces the world. Having trained the people by warlike institutions, Moses conquered the surrounding nations and divided their lands among the Jews. He forbad foreign commerce, made education obligatory, and enacted laws for marriage and burial.* Such is the interesting though confused account given by an intelligent and apparently impartial Greek, who had access in Egypt to Jewish as well as Egyptian sources of information.

Diodorus, who has preserved this story, gives another version of it, according to which, when the temple was profaned by Antiochus Epiphanes, the picture of Moses was found in the Holy of Holies, as a man with a long beard, and with a book in his hand, mounted on an ass; and the legend stated that the Israelites in the wilderness were guided by an ass to a spring of water. The ass was the Egyptian symbol for the evil principle, Typhon, who was regarded as the god of the Hyksos, and of the kindred Syrian and Arabian tribes.

The great geographer Strabo, in the time of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, relates the story in a much more impartial spirit, recognizing in Moses a great reformer of religion, and in his followers those who honoured the unity of the Godhead. He falls, however, into the common error of regarding the Jews as a colony of the Egyptians, mingled with Syrians and Phœnicians, a tradition which of itself bears witness to the exodus.

Tacitus has collected the accounts of various authors into a strange medley of the traditions respecting the Shepherd Kings, the

* Diod. i. 27, 46, 55.

exodus itself, and the story of Manetho; and, like most of the preceding writers, he views the Mosaic legislation as conceived in a spirit of hostility to mankind.* This misrepresentation, springing at first from envy at the privileges of the chosen people and dislike to their purer morality, was partly justified by their own arrogant exclusiveness.

It was long, however, before they thus abused their sense of privilege. The night of the exodus saw them

> "Red from the scourge, and recent from the chain;"

though, in the first ardour of their new-found liberty, "there was not one feeble person among their tribes." We must leave to the special department of Scriptural History the very interesting questions of the route they followed in their three days' march to the Red Sea, the point at which they crossed the Gulf of Suez, and the vindication of the miracle of their passage and the destruction of the Egyptians. On the whole, it seems most probable that, starting from Rameses, not far north-east of Heliopolis, they marched along the line of the ancient canal, through the *Wady-Tumeilat*, and not through the more southern *Wady-et-Teeh* (*Valley of the Pilgrimage*), which leads almost due east from the neighbourhood of Cairo to the Gulf of Suez. Their march was at first so directed that it might have brought them to the southern frontier of Palestine; but Moses was commanded not to lead them at once to a conflict with its warlike inhabitants; and a sudden turn to the south brought them into that trap, as it seemed to the pursuing Egyptians, whence they were delivered by the miracle to which they always looked back as the great epoch of their history;—the great proof that theirs was the true God.†

Neither does it fall within our plan to trace the details of their march to Mount Sinai, or to discuss the topography of that sacred spot. Their three months' progress through the wilderness showed how entirely God had taken them into his own hands, and how perversely they opposed their will to His from the very moment of their rescue;—a type of our race in its pilgrimage through the world,—a proof of the need for that law which they were called to receive, first from God himself, and then through Moses as the mediator. The spot chosen for the revelation, besides being one of the most remarkable in the world for its awful solitary grandeur,

* Tacit. *Hist.* V. 2—5.

† The route through the Wady-et-Teeh, besides exaggerating the difficulty of the passage of the Red Sea, altogether fails to account for the movement of *turning* to encamp beside the sea. Exodus xiv. 2.

seems to have been an ancient sanctuary of the Arab tribes, who had still worshipped there the God of their father Abraham. We leave to the words of Scripture itself the relation of God's descent upon the mount, a scene which struck Moses himself with terror.

The full exposition of the law does not of course belong to general history; but yet it forms, in its leading principles, a standard by which to estimate the character and the true progress of the whole race. It was given to one nation, not as adapted to them alone, but because mankind at large had become unworthy to receive it; and it was given to them in trust for all the rest. Its foundation was in the truth of God's self-existence as the One God, in His almighty power as the creator of the world, in His supreme authority over His creatures, and His paternal relation to mankind. In applying these general principles to the chosen people, Jehovah revealed himself as their only king, and raised them to the privileges of "a holy nation, a royal priesthood." While therefore it was treason in them to serve other gods, it was no less than usurpation against God for other nations and kings to claim authority over them. The leading commands and prohibitions reduced to a definite system of law those moral principles by which the lives of the patriarchs had been already governed, their great rule of life being found in the will of God. Those minuter regulations which were clearly not intended to be universal,* were designed in part to secure the purity of the people, in part to preserve and set forth, in the lasting and vivid form of institutions and symbols, those great religious truths which were at last to regenerate the world:—these were "the end of the law." The same symbolism ran through the divine worship, which was established in a form that appealed to the senses, and which was connected with the whole social organization. The Sanctuary, at first a moveable tent or "Tabernacle," the model of the later Temple, was the visible abode of the invisible God, who indicated his presence by the Shechinah, or cloud of glory; and, in place of the image of the deity, which was enshrined in heathen temples, the Book of the Law itself was deposited in the sacred ark, under the custody of the Priests, the descendants of Aaron, under whom the Levites acted as sacrificing priests, teachers, lawyers, and physicians. The holy festivals were to the people a constant bond of union with one another and with God; while the sacred and merciful institution of the Sabbath was extended, in the Sabbatic

* Of course we cannot attempt here to draw the line, the existence of which we recognise.

Year and Jubilee, in such a manner as to correct the inequalities of society, and to check the selfishness which makes such inequalities excessive. Every Israelite was holy to God, and equal in civil rights, and therefore none might be reduced to slavery: * the land was God's own possession, the use of which only was granted to the several tribes and families by lot, and it could not be permanently alienated. Hence the institution of the Jubilee in every fiftieth year, when bondsmen were set free, debts remitted, and property that had been sold restored to its former possessors. In the Sabbatic year, the spontaneous produce of the land, abundant in Palestine, was freely enjoyed by the poor. The civil government was administered by the Elders of the tribes, and by a new class of judges, in the name of Jehovah, who was himself the sole King, ever present in the camp, and deciding all doubtful cases by oracles given through the High Priest. The principles of the patriarchal constitution were still preserved in the power of the princes and elders of the tribes, who, besides having the internal government of their own tribes, seem to have formed the Council of Seventy to consult with Moses and Aaron. As at the head of the state the will of God was supreme, so at the other extremity the consent of the people was signified by the voice of the assembled congregation. The bonds of national life were the descent from a common ancestor and the covenant with God. Provision was made for the reception of strangers into the commonwealth, under certain restrictions; but all must observe the most essential laws. The people dwelt around the tabernacle, as a military host, arrayed under the banners of the several tribes, and ready to march in a prescribed order, to take possession of the land that had been promised to their fathers. The promise of long life in that land, and the threat of expatriation and captivity, were the great sanctions of the law: the chief summary penalty for disobedience was the being "cut off from the congregation" as a corrupted member.†

It was on the 20th day of the second month of the second year from the epoch of the exodus (early in May B.C. 1490),‡ when, all these institutions having been arranged, and the Tabernacle hav-

* Only foreigners, purchased or taken in war, could be made slaves, and laws were enacted for their merciful treatment.

† In this brief summary, all minute points and doubtful discussions are avoided; for instance, the question how far the external forms of the Mosaic institutions were imitated from Egyptian models.

‡ That is, from the first day of the month Abib, on the fifteenth day of which the exodus took place.

ing been erected on the first day of the same year, the encampment before Sinai was broken up. The interval of a year had been enough to show how deeply the people were corrupted by the idolatry of Egypt; and now their conduct proved that those who had a perfect law were still the true types of an imperfect humanity.

Their exact route through the peninsula of Sinai is undetermined; nor can we be sure of the position of Kadesh, the place near the southern frontier of Palestine, at which they rebelled on hearing the report of the spies, and from whence they were turned back to complete the full term of forty years' wandering in the wilderness. The Forty Years' Wandering was no mere term of penal suffering, but a period of most needful discipline, religious and moral, military and political, interposed between the slavery of Egypt and the free national life of Palestine. Nor can we sufficiently admire the providence which furnished such a scene for this stage in their training as the secluded peninsula of Sinai, where the Israelites met with none but a few wandering Arab tribes—such as the hostile Amalekites and the friendly Midianites, —of their relations to whom the narrative is almost silent.* We should miss one of the most salient features in the history of the world, did we not recognise, in this stage of the annals of the chosen people, a type of the progress both of the individual man and of the whole race, from the bondage and impotence of our fallen state, through the discipline of suffering and by the "law of liberty," to the inheritance of our final rest.

Towards the expiration of the forty years, we find them in the *Arabah*, the broad valley which runs northward from the eastern gulf of the Red Sea, along the foot of Mount Seir, and gives entrance to Palestine by the valley of the Dead Sea. Turned back thence by the jealousy of the kindred race of Edom, they marched round Mount Seir into the hilly country east of Jordan, afterwards called Peræa. This country was then occupied, after various changes of inhabitants, by two branches of the great tribe of the Amorites, whose chief seats, as we have already seen, at the time of Abraham and Jacob, were in the central highlands of Palestine. The southern part formed the kingdom of Sihon, and the northern, under the name of Bashan, the still more powerful kingdom of the giant Og. Both made war against the Israelites, to whom their overthrow gave possession of the whole land from the foot of Mount Hermon and the chain of Anti-libanus to the river Arnon,

* See Exodus xvii.; Deuteronomy xxv. 17; Exodus xviii.; Numbers x.

which runs into the Dead Sea. The hills south of this stream were held by the pastoral race of Moab, one of the two sons of Lot, round whose land the Israelites had marched in peace; and beyond them, towards the Great Desert, were the Beni-Ammi, the children of Lot's other son, Ammon. Both nations had been lately driven out by the Amorites from the land now conquered by Israel. They formed a confederacy with the Midianites against the invaders; and Balak, king of Moab, sought for a Divine sanction to the enterprise. Far to the East, at Pethor, in Mesopotamia, dwelt a famous prophet, Balaam the son of Beor, who had preserved the knowledge of the true God, and received oracles from Him, though practising at the same time the arts of magic, and "loving the wages of iniquity;" a type chosen by two sacred writers to describe the apostates of the last days. Few episodes of Scripture history are more picturesque, and none more morally significant, than that of the apostate prophet struggling with God and his own conscience to earn the gifts of Balak, and thrice compelled to bless the people whom he had come to curse. He revenged his disappointment by seducing them to practise the licentious rites of Baal-peor, but perished in the vengeance which Moses was commanded to take upon the Moabites.

During these events, Israel was encamped in the "plains of Moab,"—the terraces which descend from the hills to the deep valley of the Jordan, opposite to Jericho. Here Moses delivered to them those parting discourses which occupy the Book of Deuteronomy; and, having appointed Joshua as his successor, yielded up his life on the top of Mount Pisgah, after beholding the prospect of the land which he was not suffered to enter (B.C. 1451). With him ended the generation who had come up out of Egypt.

The only survivors of that generation, preserved as a special reward of their fidelity in bringing a good report of the land, were Caleb and Joshua. Under the command of the latter, a new and vigorous race trained by the long experience of the Desert, advanced to the conquest of their promised inheritance. We need but glance at the miraculous passage of the Jordan and fall of Jericho, the repulse from Ai for Achan's sin, and the subsequent capture of that city, followed by the great defeat of the confederated kings of Southern Palestine in the pass of Beth-horon, when the sun and moon stood still at the command of Joshua, that the slaughter of the enemy might be complete. The campaign was finished by the capture and destruction of all the chief cities of the south, except Jerusalem. In the following year (B.C. 1450), a league of the

northern kings, who brought into the field a great force of war chariots, was as signally overthrown at the "Waters of Merom," the small lake formed by the Upper Jordan. These two great victories decided the fate of the country; but its entire conquest occupied seven years; and even then there remained great cities and whole districts unsubdued (B.C. 1445).* This was natural in so rapid a conquest; and the resulting state of things was a divinely appointed trial of the people's steadfastness to their faith. And the very reason why some of the conquered tribes were permitted to remain suggests one answer to the moral difficulty raised by their general extermination. Races so depraved, that their very neighbourhood was a constant source of corruption, were clearly past any milder treatment. Nor can the historian, unless he be an unbeliever, record their destruction without a distinct recognition of the fact, that it was done at the command of God. The razed cities and slaughtered inhabitants were not the victims of military licence, but were solemnly devoted to Jehovah. The full rigour of the sentence seems to have been executed only in a few conspicuous examples, as those of Jericho and Ai. The cities were generally left in a habitable state when their defences were razed, and many of their inhabitants may have been spared. One people only, through a curious stratagem, obtained a treaty of peace; and these Gibeonites were reduced to perpetual servitude in the menial offices of the sanctuary.†

Meanwhile Israel had kept up the military organization of invaders in an enemy's country, their head-quarters being their original camp at Gilgal near Jericho. But now the Tabernacle was removed to Shiloh, in the central hill-country between Jordan and the Mediterranean, which was assigned to Ephraim, the tribe of Joshua himself. Seated in front of the sanctuary, with the High Priest Eleazar and the seventy elders, Joshua divided the land among the twelve tribes by lot, a form of decision which the Jews regarded as expressing the Divine will. The two tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh, had already received their inheritance from Moses in the conquered land on the east of the Jordan, which was specially adapted for their numerous flocks; and their armed men, having fulfilled the condition of marching before their brethren till the conquest was achieved, were now dismissed in peace. A misunderstanding with reference to an altar erected by them on the banks of Jordan, as a memorial of their claim to a common share in the privileges of Israel, called

* For a list of these, see Joshua xiii.

† Joshua ix.

forth a display of zeal which proved how steadfast all the people were as yet to their faith; and the affair bound more closely together the tribes divided by the stream of Jordan. It was from that eastern division, and especially from the rough highlands of Gilead, that some of Israel's greatest heroes sprang. Such were the judge Jephthah and the prophet Elijah.

There remained nine tribes and a half on the west of the Jordan. Levi, being devoted to the priesthood, received no separate inheritance, and was not reckoned among the twelve;* but the number was made up by the division of Joseph into the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. These two obtained the central district, composed of fertile hills and rich valleys; and far exceeding the lot of any other tribe, except Judah, which received the rough hill-country of the south. The future capital, Jerusalem, as yet in the hands of the Jebusites, lay on the northern border of Judah, but strictly within the territory of Benjamin. The latter tribe held a narrow strip of land between the hills of Ephraim and those of Judah, containing the most important passes from the valley of the Jordan to the great Philistine plain. It is unnecessary to describe the lots of the other tribes, which corresponded very strikingly to the prophetic blessing of Jacob;† and the geography of Palestine may be assumed to be familiar to our readers. The division included the land that still remained to be conquered; and some of the tribes in fact never obtained all their allotted possessions, such as Dan and Simeon in the maritime plain of Philistia, and Asher in the borders of Sidon. The old inhabitants held most tenaciously to the lowlands, where their military force, and particularly in the north their war-chariots, could act best; and there were times in the dark period following the death of Joshua when the Israelites were almost entirely driven back into the hills.

But the declension which brought upon them such weakness had not yet begun. In the pregnant simplicity of the sacred narrative we are told that "Jehovah gave unto Israel all the land which He sware to give unto their fathers; and they possessed it, and dwelt therein. And Jehovah gave them rest round about, according to all that He sware unto their fathers: and there stood not a man of all their enemies before them; Jehovah delivered all

* The Levites possessed forty-eight cities with their suburbs, six of which were made "cities of refuge" for involuntary homicides. For their maintenance they had the tithes of all produce, and portions of the sacrifices.

† Genesis xlix.

their enemies into their hand. There failed not aught of any good thing which Jehovah had spoken unto the house of Israel; all came to pass."* If this language seem too strong for the real facts, it should be remembered that it describes privileges put within their power, and only not actually enjoyed by their own fault; and that the possessions of the nation did reach, under David and Solomon, to the full bounds of the promised land, from the borders of Egypt to the Euphrates.

Unlike other nations, who have had to build up the edifice of material prosperity by slow and painful efforts, the Israelites entered into the fruits of a civilization long established, in a country highly favoured by climate, products, and position. Ancient Palestine † is not fairly described by the sarcasms of Gibbon. The rugged portions of its surface, like the more rugged banks of the Rhine, were converted, by a system of terrace cultivation, into luxuriant vineyards. Olives and other fruit-trees abounded; the valleys produced rich crops of corn; the hills furnished ample pasturage, and the woods harboured such swarms of wild bees that the honey was often dropping from the trees.‡ The "land flowing with milk and honey" is no poetic fiction, but an accurate description of a country abounding in the first necessaries of life—for such is honey in the absence of the sugarcane. The finest timber was obtained from the forests of Gilead and Bashan, and from the cedar groves of Lebanon, whose two giant chains crowned the whole land upon the north. The happy position of Palestine has often been noticed, in the very centre of the ancient world, and at the confluence of the great routes of traffic, both by land and sea; and at the height of her prosperity, under Solomon, she had ports both on the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. At the time of the conquest Canaan teemed with a population who had made full use of these natural advantages. The whole face of the country was covered with strong cities, each under its king; the fruits brought in by the spies bear witness to

* Joshua xxi. 43—45.

† We use the name which has been adopted in geography from the Greek writers; though none could well be less appropriate. Describing properly the country of the Philistines, the most constant enemies of the Hebrews, it was extended to the land of the latter in the full form of Syria-Palæstina, or more briefly Palæstina. In our version the word is twice used, in the narrower sense only: Exodus xv. 15; Isaiah xiv. 29, 31. The Biblical name of the country is Canaan, in the early period; and afterwards the separate parts are described by the names of the tribes, and by local designations, such as Gilead, Bashan, &c. When the land was divided into the two kingdoms, they were called by the names of Judah and Israel.

‡ 1 Samuel xiv. 26.

the richness even of its least fertile parts; and the goodly Babylonish garment, and other treasures found among the spoils of Jericho, indicate an active commerce with the East. Thus did the Israelites find themselves the masters of "great and goodly cities, which they builded not, and houses full of all good things, which they filled not, and wells digged, which they digged not, vineyards and olive-trees, which they planted not:"—*

> "It was a fearful joy, I ween,
> To trace the Heathens' toil,
> The limpid wells, the orchards green,
> Left ready for the spoil,
> The household stores untouch'd, the roses bright
> Wreath'd o'er the cottage walls in garlands of delight."†

Before the first tide of gratitude had had time to ebb, their aged leader twice convened the people to receive a final charge and warning. The second of these assemblies was held at Shechem, the old abode of Abraham and Jacob, and henceforth the chief city, till it was eclipsed by Jerusalem. Here the bones of Joseph, which had been brought out of Egypt at the Exodus, were committed to his fathers' burial-place. The covenant was solemnly renewed, and a stone of memorial was set up under an oak, perhaps in the very grove where Abraham had pitched his tent five hundred years before. One passage in Joshua's last address would seem to show that the idols of the Canaanites had already found worshippers among the people; ‡ and his parting warnings are uttered in the same sadly prophetic spirit as those of Moses. Joshua died about B.C. 1426. The people remained faithful to Jehovah during the days of the elders who outlived him. He was not long survived by the high priest Eleazar, the son of Aaron, the epoch of whose death closes the first period of Israel's history as a nation (about B.C. 1420).

The time of the JUDGES, from the death of Joshua to the election of Saul,—a period of about 330 years,—fitly represents, by the intricacy of its history, the confusion of the commonwealth.§ It is not, however, difficult to apprehend those leading points which alone belong to general history. Much light is thrown on the beginning of the period by the later chapters of the Book of Judges, which are properly supplemental to the general mention of the

* Deuteronomy vi. 10, 11. † Keble: *Christian Year.* ‡ Joshua xxiv. 23.

§ B.C. 1427—1095. This is according to Ussher; but most modern chronologers adopt a much longer period. See the *Note on Scripture Chronology*, at the end of the Introduction.

people's declension at the beginning of the book.* Here we see great questions of public policy decided by the whole people assembled at the Sanctuary, and learning the will of God from the high priest. The Theocracy was in full force, administered by the high priest and the council of elders, in the spirit of such uncompromising zeal against a gross outrage, that the tribe of Benjamin was almost exterminated by the rest. We see too, in the companion story of Micah and the Danites, the beginnings of idolatry and brigandage. Meanwhile, noble deeds of daring were performed in driving out the heathen from various parts of the land, and in these the family of Caleb were conspicuous. But religious zeal soon faded before the seductions of idolatry, and the people, having lost the true source of their power, easily succumbed to the tyrants whose oppression was the punishment of their sin. Among the numerous gods of the heathen whom they served, the chief were Chemosh, the god of Moab, and Baal and Ashtaroth, the deities of Phœnicia :

> "For those the race of Israel oft forsook
> Their living Strength, and unfrequented left
> His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
> To bestial gods ; for which their heads as low
> Bowed down in battle, sunk before the spear
> Of despicable foes." —

This declension was aided by natural causes, so powerful that nothing short of the firmest adherence to the idea of religious unity could have arrested their working ; and that bond failed. From the moment that the tribes took possession of their several lots, different in their physical characters and in their relations to the old inhabitants, they began to have separate interests and dangers. It became more and more difficult to assemble the whole congregation before the Tabernacle under their elders ; in fact, the only such meeting of which we read was that in which the eleven tribes leagued together for the punishment of Benjamin. From this meeting at Shiloh under Phinehas, to the time when Samuel called the people together at Ramah and at Mizpeh, the national life seems to have fallen apart into that of the separate tribes. The only personal centre of the state, the high priest, was so insignificant that none is mentioned by name from Phinehas to Eli except in the genealogies. Disorders arose within the tribes themselves ; and

* Compare Judges ii. with chapters xvii—xxi. Besides the indication of time given by the mention of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, as high priest (xx. 28), the great crime of Gibeah is mentioned by Hosea (x. 9) as the beginning of Israel's wickedness.

the chiefs of volunteer bands (often composed of outlaws and subsisting as freebooters), like Jephthah, usurped the authority of the elders, and succeeded in founding new houses of their own. These internal dissensions invited attacks from the predatory tribes on the southern and eastern borders, which were also peculiarly exposed through the want of any natural frontiers, while the warlike populations of the great maritime plain and of the inland valleys formed an ever-present danger in the heart of the state. The comparative exemption of Judah from these troubles is a fact that deserves notice. Strong in its numbers * and in the natural defences of its hill-country, the tribe appears to have preserved that fidelity to religious patriotism, of which so bright an example had been set by Caleb; and it is to the fields of Bethlehem that we must look for that beautiful picture of peaceful patriarchal life, which occupies the second supplement to the Book of Judges.† Not but that this tribe had its conflicts. The presence of the Arab hordes on the south, and of the warlike Philistines on the west, formed a continual danger, and may account for the unblamed absence of Judah from the great struggles under Deborah and Gideon.

To correct these internal evils, and to oppose these invasions from without, the people had the mercy of Jehovah, renewed as often as they repented, and the noble daring of heroes raised up for their deliverance, to whom impartial history will not assign a lower rank than it gives to Leonidas and Tell. Amidst the disunion of the nation, these men, and sometimes women, led one or two tribes to the victory which was granted to their faith; ‡ and their deeds form the only history of Israel for about three centuries.

The great oppressors of Israel were the kings of Mesopotamia, of Moab, and of Hazor, a great city on their northern frontier; the Midianites, Amalekites, Ammonites, and Philistines.§ Their

* After the Exodus, Judah was by far the most numerous tribe (Numbers i.). At the second numbering they had increased, while most of the tribes had diminished, (Numbers xxvi.); and the disproportion seems to have gone on increasing.

† The Book of Ruth. The first supplement, as we have already pointed out, consists of Judges xvii.—xxi. The date of Ruth is uncertain, as its calculation depends upon the genealogies, in which some steps may perhaps be wanting. The most probable time seems to be about the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C., contemporary with the judgeship of Deborah and Barak in the north.

‡ See Hebrews xi. 32—34.

§ We hear of no hostilities with the Phœnicians, with whom the neighbouring tribes of Israel seem thus early to have formed the peaceful relations which were continued under David and Solomon.

great heroes were Othniel, the son of Caleb, Ehud, Deborah and Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson. These, besides delivering them in war, administered justice with a special authority, which was greatly needed amidst the confusion of ordinary government; and hence they received the name of JUDGES. Their office formed a sort of transition from the pure theocracy, on which the people had lost their hold, to a regular monarchy: it was designed to correct that state of things, in which "there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes." * It is a great error to suppose that their authority was universal, any more than the oppressions which they overthrew. Thus the servitude of the Moabites and the deliverance by Ehud affected only the south. Sisera overran the north, and was defeated by the tribes of Zebulon, Issachar, and Naphthali. The hordes of the Midianites and Amalekites broke into the centre, and Gideon led against them the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, Zebulon and Naphthali. The scene of Jephthah's resistance to the Ammonites was the country east of the Jordan; while, on the south-west border, the people were perpetually harassed by the Philistines, from the days of Shamgar to those of Samson. It is to this local character of the scenes of the history of the Judges, and to the probability that some of them were contemporaneous, that we must look for the solution of the chronological difficulties of the period. Above all the other Judges, before the holy Samuel, towers the princely figure of Gideon, who refused the offered crown of Israel, and whose son Abimelech for a short time set up at Shechem a kingdom which bears a curious resemblance to the Greek tyrannies.

After the terrible blows inflicted on the Midianites by Gideon and on the Ammonites by Jephthah, the northern and eastern tribes enjoyed comparative repose; and we read of several judges who were remarkable only for the dignities they conferred on their numerous offspring.† With the restoration of tranquillity, the high-priesthood emerges from its obscurity in the person of Eli, but only to reveal that worst corruption of the theocratic commonwealth,—

> "When the priest
> Turns atheist, as did Eli's sons, who filled
> With lust and violence the house of God."

---

* Judges xvii. 6.

† Such were Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon; the rule of each being limited to portions of the land. Judges x. 1—5; xii. 8—15.

The indulgent weakness of Eli and the profligacy of his sons were avenged by the Philistines, who, having long threatened the southern tribes, now reduced them and, as it would seem, the whole country to subjection (B.C. 1131). For forty years they were complete masters over Israel; and they were only finally subdued by David. The warlike Danites failed to support their champion Samson, whose ill-regulated strength forms a striking contrast to the moral power of Samuel. Even the men of Judah submitted. An attempt to cast off the yoke was crushed in two decisive battles at Eben-ezer, in the second of which the ark of God, rashly brought into the field as a charm for victory, was captured, Eli's two sons were slain, and the news was fatal to the old man himself. But the disasters and disgrace which the captive ark brought upon the Philistines, as well as on their national god, Dagon, forced them to confess themselves conquered by the God of Israel, and they restored the ark with every mark of honour.*

Meanwhile a new deliverer was preparing, in the person of the godly Samuel, to show that the victory was only to be gained by devotion, and to restore the glories of the Theocracy in its last days. The story of his birth and consecration, his training in the Sanctuary, his inspired warning to Eli, and his call to the prophetic office, is too well known to require repetition.

The order of Prophet had been instituted in the person of Moses, who promised that a succession of prophets should be raised up; and Deborah is a memorable example of the exercise of the office.† With Samuel begins the unbroken succession which was maintained by the "schools of the prophets," where men marked for the office by Divine inspiration were trained in sacred learning and in the accomplishment of song. Over such a school Samuel himself presided at his native city of Ramah, and there the people used to resort to him to seek for Divine direction in common affairs as well as great emergencies. Even during the life of Eli it was known that the prophetic words of Samuel were all fulfilled; and on Eli's death, Samuel succeeded him, not indeed as priest, but in the office of judge. The days of Moses and Joshua seemed to have dawned again on Israel. Having put away their idols, they were gathered at Mizpeh (the *Watch-Tower*), one of the heights of Benjamin to the north of Jerusalem, to keep a fast and renew the covenant. Samuel was in the act of

* To state the grounds for placing the capture of the ark and the death of Eli about B.C. 1111 would involve an elaborate chronological discussion.

† Compare Judges ii. 1.

sacrificing, when the Philistines marched out of their camp on the opposite hill, secure of an easy victory. But they were encountered by the prayer of Samuel and the thunders of God, and it only remained for Israel to pursue and smite their routed hosts. The place of this decisive battle, the very scene of the former disaster, received that expressive name, which neither cant nor scorn can rob of the sacred principle it suggests, that every monument of true success is a "Stone of Help" received from God. This victory broke the power of the Philistines; and the cities lost upon their borders, such as Ekron and Gath, were recovered, while the Amorites were awed into peace. Samuel administered justice in a regular circuit through the south and centre, his home being at Ramah.

It seemed as if the Theocracy was revived in at least a bright reflection of its glory; but that glory scarcely spread beyond the devotion of Samuel himself. His sons, appointed judges in his old age, proved venal and corrupt; and as discontent ate away the new spirit of religious patriotism, the Philistines became once more formidable. The intermittent anarchy of the last 300 years threatened to return. The people were too dispirited to seek the remedy in the renewal of their covenant with Jehovah, their true King. As their forefathers had asked for a visible God, so they demanded a visible governor. They saw the surrounding nations living in order and marching forth to victory under their kings; and, while sighing for order, they envied the means of conquest. They asked Samuel for a KING, to judge them like the other nations.* The case had been foreseen from the first; and the Law of Moses, even while condemning the desire of a king as treason to Jehovah, had laid down laws for the kingdom.† It was not till after a passionate expostulation, and a plain warning of their certain loss of liberty, that Samuel granted their request at the Divine command; and the self-willed character of the whole proceeding was illustrated in the man provided for their choice. Fair and noble in person above all his countrymen; brave in battle, and a zealous patriot; generous in his impulses, and of warm affections, but wanting in principle and vacillating in resolution; of a character so doubtful that his appearance among the prophets provoked a proverb of scorn; subject to a moody jealousy and to fits of rage, which the possession of power ripened into madness,—SAUL, the son of Kish, was the fit type of a choice "according to the will of man." The nature of his election was also marked by

* 1 Samuel viii. 5. † Deut. xvii. 14—20.

his not even belonging to the tribe on which Jacob's prophetic blessing had bestowed the sceptre. His elevation was a first experiment in royalty, doomed to failure from the beginning; and it was only when the people had been trampled down by his tyranny, and involved in his fatal defeat, that a lasting monarchy was set up according to the Divine will, in the person and family of David, who was in this sense "the man after God's own heart."

These transactions belong to the political, and not merely to the religious history of the world. Not that the example of Israel prescribes a certain form of government as of Divine authority, or even as in itself the best for any other nation. As no people can show a visible theocracy, so no monarchy can be accused, simply as such, of usurping the Divine prerogative. But still, the transaction does involve a moral lesson, which lies at the foundation of all sound policy, condemning the abandonment of principle on the plea of expediency, and pointing, by the example of Israel, the doom of every nation that seeks safety and power in a course known to be wrong.

In the Divine sanction of Saul's election, and the covenant which Samuel made between the king and people, on the basis of the Mosaic Law, we see God giving to both the opportunity to make the best of their new relation; and, for a time, all appeared to go well. While Saul's prompt energy delivered the men of Gilead from the king of Ammon, and silenced all cavils against himself, the revived tyranny of the Philistines was held in check by his vigilance. With a small select band, he encamped at Gibeah, in the hills of Benjamin, opposite to their fortified position, which was surprised by the daring of his son Jonathan; and in the panic that ensued, the Israelites gained a decisive victory. All the border tribes on the north, east, and south were defeated in succession,—the Syrians of Zobah, Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Amalek. The sparing of the last-named people and their king, with their flocks and herds, though not the first instance of Saul's arrogant self-will, was a decisive act of disobedience. In the very moment of his triumph, Samuel was sent to pronounce his deposition, and to anoint David as his successor. The prophet had already taken his farewell of the people, protesting the integrity of his government, upbraiding them for their rebellion, but promising blessings on them and their king if they remained faithful. He now retired home to indulge his sorrow over Saul's rejection. The remainder of Saul's reign was embittered by his jealousy and disgraced by his persecution of David, the details of whose life

—at his native Bethlehem, at the court of Saul, and in exile—we must leave to Scripture history.

Meanwhile the miraculous victory of David over Goliath had been followed up by him with repeated blows on the Philistines; but, when he was driven into exile, the enemy renewed their invasions, till at last the reign of Saul was ended by the terrible catastrophe of Gilboa, in which he and his noble son Jonathan perished together, lamented by David in one of the most beautiful of elegies (B.C. 1056). The tribe of Judah at once declared for David, who was made king at Hebron; but the other tribes adhered to the house of Saul, showing how early was the division which proved afterwards so fatal to the monarchy. A civil war ensued, disgraced by the treacherous murders of the noble Abner, and of Ishbosheth, Saul's feeble son; and seven-and-a-half years elapsed before David was made king by the consent of all the tribes, at the age of thirty years (B.C. 1048). He fixed his residence at Jerusalem, which he wrested from the Jebusites.

The character of David forms one of the most interesting studies in sacred history. Its religious features are perfectly reflected in the Psalms, which breathe a sincerity as deep as their devotion is exalted. Its moral aspect is faithfully recorded, with its deep blemishes, in the historical books founded on the writings of the prophets who exercised their ministry at his court. The plain exposure of his great fall, and of its fatal consequence, with his own outpourings of profound repentance, might have disarmed the scorn of any but those in whose eyes his piety is his greatest crime, and will ever be studied with trembling sympathy by men who know the treachery of their own nature. His lesser faults, such as his weakness as a parent—itself to a great extent the consequence of his polygamy—we see severely punished, as well as unsparingly exposed, in the history of his life. What remains is the character of the greatest hero of human history. Endowed with the highest natural gifts, the purest tastes, and the noblest courage, he received in the successive stages of his life the best training for his exalted destiny. The calm meditative life of a shepherd youth, varied by brave exploits against wild beasts and Arab robbers,—the humble position of the youngest son, slightly regarded by his goodly brothers, but preferred to them by Him who "seeth not as man seeth,"—the courtly experience, adorned with mutual affection, which he gained in soothing the malady of Saul, and the tender bond of love between him and Jonathan, —the triumph of his faith in the victory over the Philistine,—

his fidelity to his jealous master, his favour with the people, and his daring exploits in war,—the long and hard trial of adversity and exile, in contact with the wildest of his countrymen and the enemies of his country, without the loss of his piety and his magnanimity;—these are but some traits of the character which he brought with him to the throne.

We need not trace the details of the campaigns in which David at length subdued all the enemies who had troubled Israel for 400 years, and extended the boundaries of his kingdom to the limits named in the promise to Abraham—from the borders of Egypt to the Euphrates, and from the valley of Cœle-Syria to the eastern gulf of the Red Sea; severely chastising the Amalekites, and reducing to tribute the Philistines, the Moabites, the Edomites, and the Syrians of Zobah. The Syrian kingdom of Hamath (in the valley of the Orontes) was admitted to an alliance, and Hiram, king of Tyre, formed a close league with David.

The commercial resources of this ally, and his command of the cedar forests of Lebanon, aided David in preparing to execute his cherished purpose of establishing the sanctuary at his new capital of Jerusalem. Early in his reign, he removed the ark from Kirjath-jearim, where it had remained since its restoration by the Philistines, to his new city on Mount Zion (B.C. 1042);* but the provision for its permanent abode was long hindered, first by his wars, and then by his reverses. It was during his last war with the Ammonites (in B.C. 1035), that David, remaining at home to enjoy his regal state in his new-built palace, was enticed by the sight of Bathsheba into the adultery and murder, which have ever since, as the prophet Nathan warned him, "given great occasion to the enemy to blaspheme." Twelve years later (B.C. 1023), a series of discords and crimes in his own family found their climax in the revolt of Absalom and David's expulsion from Jerusalem; and his restoration was embittered by the death of his favourite son; nor were his last years ever free from troubles. The great plague, which followed on his numbering the people, was ended by the Divine indication of the site for the Temple, on the summit of Mount Moriah (B.C. 1017); and Solomon, David's youngest son (by Bathsheba), was proclaimed as his successor, and entrusted with the work of building the Temple, and with all the treasures collected for it by his father—the spoils of war and the offerings of the people. David's zeal had been animated by the prophet

* We again refer to the special works illustrative of Scripture and the Holy Land for an account of the topography of Jerusalem.

Nathan's declaration, that God would establish a perpetual kingdom in his house; and now he celebrated, in the last and noblest of his inspired poems, the full scope of that prophecy, as pointing through the peaceful reign of Solomon to the kingdom of the Messiah.* And this is the true key to the place of David and his kingdom in the history of the world. As his troubled but successful reign, his faulty but noble life, closed with the settlement of a peaceful empire and the erection of God's temple in its chosen abode upon the earth, so shall all the wars, the calamities, the crimes and errors of mankind, end in the reign of the Prince of Peace and the gathering of all nations into His Church.

The revolt of Adonijah, his eldest surviving son, induced David, now on his deathbed, to cause SOLOMON to be proclaimed king; and all Israel repeated the oath of allegiance to him after his father's death (B.C. 1015). David had reigned forty years in all. Solomon now ruled over the most powerful empire of Western Asia. The crown of Egypt was disputed by rival dynasties, and Assyria was only growing into importance. The tributary state of Edom gave him the ports of Elath and Ezion-Geber on the Red Sea, and by his alliance with Hiram, king of Tyre, he had the command of those of Phœnicia. The combined navies of the two kings carried on regular commercial enterprises in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean (extending not improbably into the Atlantic), which brought to Solomon the treasures and luxuries both of the East and West. Holding in subjection the petty Syrian kingdoms on the north-eastern frontier, he maintained a caravan route to the Euphrates across the desert, where he built the city of Tadmor, famed in later ages under the name of Palmyra.† But the young king was still more distinguished by his simple-hearted devotion, his even-handed justice, his practical sagacity, and his unbounded love of learning. Ascending the throne at the age of eighteen, he made the deliberate choice of wisdom—the practical wisdom needed for his duties—rather than riches, victory, and length of days; and he was rewarded by the gift of all these. His celebrated judgment between the two mothers presents a vivid picture of that quick discernment which the Orientals hold in the highest value. His administration of justice in person, and his conversations with his courtiers and with foreign visitors, gave him daily opportunities to utter those wise sayings, the fame of which spread to all the

* Psalm lxxii.

† The two names have the same meaning, the City of Palms. The existing ruins are of the Roman period.

surrounding nations; while he embodied the choicest of them, for the use of all subsequent ages, in the Book of Proverbs.

Solomon's chief public care, from the moment of his accession, was to erect the Temple according to the designs furnished by his father. The friendship of Hiram supplied, in addition to the materials provided by David, cedars and other timber, which was cut in Lebanon by gangs of labourers whom Solomon furnished with food, and was brought round in floats by the Phœnician sailors. Tyre also supplied skilful artificers and the chief designer, a namesake of king Hiram. The building occupied seven years; and such was the respect paid to the sanctity of the spot, that during the whole time no sound of axe or hammer was heard, every block and beam being previously fitted for the place it was to occupy in the structure. This is not the place to describe the details of the wondrous edifice, in which all the external glories of the Jewish dispensation culminated;—"beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth!" In the total absence of plans, pictures, and even ruins, the minute description in the First Book of Kings is insufficient to throw much light on the state of architecture among the Jews. There seems to have been a general resemblance to the Egyptian temple; but even this is a matter of dispute. Its essential part was modelled upon the plan of the Tabernacle, having the outer court for the worshippers and their sacrifices; the first sanctuary, or Holy Place, for the priests in their daily ministrations; and the inmost chamber, or Holy of Holies, for the place of the Ark and the throne of Jehovah, into which the high priest alone might enter, and only once in the year: all typical of the spiritual worship of the true sanctuary. Its early profanation and ultimate destruction teach that there is a nobler and more lasting worship than that which the senses can offer, however external splendours may aid the imperfect efforts of a sensuous state. Meanwhile the magnificent offering of the piety of king and people was consecrated by the cloud of glory in which Jehovah took possession of His house; and the ceremony of its consecration was the grandest religious service probably that ever has been or will be performed upon the earth.*

But the same hands that reared this "holy and beautiful house of God" confronted it ere long with heathen sanctuaries, insult-

* Respecting the epoch which the building of the Temple forms in chronology, see the note on Scripture Chronology, p. 10. Ussher places its commencement in B.C 1012, and its completion in B.C. 1005. The palace and other edifices of Solomon occupied thirteen years in building (B.C. 1005—992).

ing to Jehovah, and the disgrace both of king and people. Early in his reign, Solomon had married the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt;* and in his later days he formed a harem of princesses of the heathen nations that were his allies and tributaries. The result was the religious apostasy

> "Of that uxorious king, whose heart, though large,
> Beguiled by fair idolatresses, fell
> To idols foul."

It was the custom of the Eastern nations to choose the summits of hills as sanctuaries. Of such "high places" we have seen examples in Horeb, "the Mount of God," and in Nebo, on which Balaam tried his divination against Israel. Opposite to the eastern front of Mount Zion and Moriah rose a still loftier hill,† whose natural name now suggests far other associations than those which gained for it the title of the Mount of Offence. Solomon chose this eminence for the shrines of the false gods of his wives, and even worshipped them himself. For this apostasy his house was doomed to lose the fairest portion of the kingdom, and the sentence began to work in his later years. Hadad, a prince of Edom, who had been saved from the slaughter of the nation by David, and had married the new king of Egypt's daughter, returned to rouse his people to a rebellion. On the north-eastern frontier there appeared another enemy, Rezon, who, after the overthrow of the kingdom of Zobah by David, had collected a band and maintained himself at Damascus. This was the origin of the Syrian kingdom of Damascus, which became very powerful after the disruption of the Hebrew monarchy; and after being mixed up with the history of both kingdoms, sometimes as an enemy, sometimes as an ally, was at last extinguished by Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, shortly before the captivity of the Ten Tribes (B.C. 740).

But a more pressing danger arose within the kingdom itself. It had been declared to Solomon that, for his idolatries, God would rend the kingdom from his son, leaving him, however, one tribe for the sake of His covenant with David. The instrument of fulfilling this prophecy was JEROBOAM, the son of Nebat, whose services in the public works had been rewarded by Solomon

* This Pharaoh seems to have been the last king of the Twenty-first Dynasty. The change of dynasty will help to account for the alliance of his successor with Jeroboam, and his attack on Rehoboam. See chapter vii. pp. 125, 126.

† Jerusalem is 2200 feet above the sea-level, the Mount of Olives 2398 feet. Some topographers distinguish the Mount of Olives and the Mount of Offence, but both belong to the same range.

with an office that gave him great influence in the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. To this man the prophet Ahijah foretold his elevation by a significant act; and Solomon, hearing of the prediction, sought his life. Jeroboam, however, escaped to Egypt, and, like Hadad, obtained the protection of Shishak, till the death of Solomon. That event happened in B.C. 975, after a reign of forty years. Having tasted all the sweets of power, wealth, and knowledge, and having abused them by luxury and insatiable curiosity, Solomon has left us, in the Book of Ecclesiastes, his experience of a life thus drained to the dregs—that the world is "vanity of vanities," and that the fear of God is the whole life of man.

His government had been arbitrary, and his public works oppressive; and the old jealousy of the other tribes, headed by Ephraim, against Judah and the house of David, was ever ready to break out afresh. The petulant refusal of Solomon's son, Rehoboam, against the advice of his father's old counsellors, to mitigate the people's burthens, was seized as the opportunity for revolt. Jeroboam was proclaimed King of Israel, the tribe of Judah alone remaining faithful to Rehoboam. The subsequent accession of Benjamin to the southern kingdom, and the anti-religious policy which drove the Levites out of Israel, added to the strength of Judah, which had already a population much exceeding the proportion of its territory.* The two kingdoms, henceforth known as those of Israel and Judah, were divided by a geographical boundary passing along the southern border of Ephraim; but it was not long before the increased power of Judah enabled it to embrace a great portion of that tribe. The whole territory of Simeon, and of the Danites who had remained when the rest of the tribe migrated to the north, was included in Judah, which retained the dependencies of Philistia, Moab, and Edom, and with the latter the ports on the Red Sea. On the other hand, it was cut off from the far more important commerce of Phœnicia. But the great strength of Judah lay in the possession of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and in the knowledge that God's covenant of the kingdom was made with the house of David. The secession of the northern tribes was a clear rebellion, which the policy of Jeroboam at once converted into a religious apostasy. To guard against the dangers that would follow from the annual resort of his subjects to Jerusalem at the great feasts, he imitated

* At the census of David, Judah numbered 500,000 fighting men, and the other tribes 800,000. The area of Israel was nearly four times that of Judah.

the device of Aaron in setting up the golden calf as a symbol of Jehovah's presence; with this difference that—

> "The rebel king
> Doubled that sin, in Bethel and in Dan,"

the northern and southern extremities of his dominions. For this new worship he made priests of the lowest of the people, while he robbed the old priests and Levites of their possessions, and so drove them into Judah. The succeeding kings of Israel all maintained the worship of the calves; they continually added fresh idolatries, till the marriage of Ahab with Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre, led to the public establishment of the worship of Baal and the suppression of the worship of Jehovah. This twofold curse of rebellion and apostasy clung to the kingdom of Israel, the history of which is marked by a succession of bloody revolutions and shortlived dynasties, whose kings vied with each other in profanity and tyranny. The dynasty of Jeroboam ended with the murder of his son Nadab in a military revolution (B.C. 953). That of the usurper Baasha expired in like manner with the murder of his son Elah by Zimri, who was himself killed after a seven days' reign (B.C. 929). Omri, the avenger of his master, and the father of Ahab (the Nero of Hebrew history), established a dynasty which numbered four kings, and lasted forty years. Its extinction forms an epoch of synchronism in the annals of the two kingdoms. One result of the fatal alliance of Jehoshaphat, the fourth king of Judah, with Ahab, was the marriage of his son Jehoram to Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, and the introduction of the worship of Baal into Judah; and the furious zeal of Jehu, the son of Nimshi, involved Ahaziah, the king of Judah (Jehoram's son), in the same fate with Jehoram, the son of Ahab, and his mother Jezebel (B.C. 884). The time of Ahab's dynasty is marked by the missions of Elijah and Elisha, the greatest of that series of prophets, who never ceased to testify against the idolatries of Israel, and to warn king and people of the fate that Moses had predicted. We must, however, leave the story of their ministry to the separate province of Scripture History.

During the first period of ninety years, the kingdom of Israel was greatly weakened by continual war with Judah, and its borders were contracted by the growing power of SYRIA. That kingdom, which we have seen founded at Damascus by Rezon (before B.C. 975), was ruled by three more kings of his dynasty—Tabrimons (about B.C. 960), Benhadad I. (B.C. 941), and Benha-

dad II. (B.C. 910). The first Benhadad was bribed to attack Israel by Asa, the third king of Judah, when the latter was hard pressed by Baasha, and the Syrian king took several cities in the north. Benhadad II. attempted to conquer Israel, but was utterly defeated by Ahab in two campaigns (B.C. 901, 900), taken prisoner, and admitted to an alliance on terms dictated by the king of Israel. He still, however, held Ramoth in Gilead, and it was in the attempt to recover this city that Ahab and Jehoshaphat were defeated, and the former lost his life. To his reign belongs the beautiful episode of the cure of Naaman by Elisha. Renewing the war with Jehoram, he subjected Samaria to that terrible blockade and famine which was miraculously relieved according to the prophecy of Elisha (B.C. 892). He was at length murdered by his general Hazael (who had been anointed, with Jehu and Elisha, as one of the destined avengers of the idolatries of Israel), just before the deaths of Jehoram and Ahaziah (B.C. 885). Hazael ravaged the country east of Jordan with the utmost cruelty, while Jehu was engaged in destroying the house of Ahab; he became almost complete master of Israel during the reign of Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, and then invaded Judah and laid siege to Jerusalem, which the king Joash only induced him to spare by a large bribe (B.C. 840).

Meanwhile, though Jehu, after massacring all the house of Ahab and the worshippers of Baal, had so far declined from his first zeal as to worship the golden calves, the state of Israel was greatly improved. His son Jehoahaz (B.C. 856) followed in the same idolatry, but repented; and his son Joash (B.C. 839), listening to the reproofs of Elisha, was permitted to gain three great victories over the Syrians, and to recover the cities they had taken on the west of Jordan. The next king, Jeroboam II., the son of Joash (B.C. 825), recovered all the territory which the Syrians had taken, east of Jordan, from Hamath to the Dead Sea, and even took Damascus. These victories were gained over Benhadad III., who had succeeded Hazael about B.C. 839, after whom we have little certain knowledge of the history of Syria.

The kingdom of Israel had now recovered, under Jeroboam II., a power greater than it had ever before possessed. But the idolatry of the calves was still maintained, and the warnings of its doom came nearer and louder in the prophecies of Amos and Hosea. The dynasty of Jehu ended amidst political confusion, with the murder of his son Zechariah by Shallum, who was himself killed six months later by Menahem (B.C. 772).

The great Assyrian empire now appears in the sacred annals. Its history will be traced in the next chapter. The king Pul, having overrun Syria, invaded Israel, and received an enormous tribute from Menahem; but the conquest was not yet completed. Both Syria and Israel revived for a short time, the former under Rezin, and the latter under Pekah, who had murdered Pekahiah, the son of Menahem (B.C. 759). The combined attacks of these two kings on Judah (B.C. 742—741) reduced Ahaz to such extremities, that he applied for aid to the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser, who first put an end to the kingdom of Syria, and then carried captive into Media the tribes of Israel east of the Jordan, and a large part of the inhabitants of Galilee. Pekah was put to death by a conspiracy headed by Hoshea (B.C. 739), who became, after a period of anarchy, the nineteenth and last king of Israel, now contracted to the district round Samaria. His efforts at reform, in concert with Hezekiah, king of Judah, proved too late. For the third time, the Assyrians invaded Israel under Shalmaneser, and Hoshea submitted to become a tributary (B.C. 728); but three years later he rebelled, relying on the aid of So, king of Egypt (probably Sabaco II.). But his ally failed him; he was sent for by Shalmaneser and imprisoned; Samaria was taken after a three years' siege; the remnant of the Ten Tribes were carried into captivity beyond the Euphrates, and settled in the eastern provinces of the Assyrian empire (B.C. 721). The greater number of them probably lapsed into idolatry, and became confounded with the surrounding nations; but it is clear that many obeyed the invitation addressed by Cyrus to all his Hebrew subjects, and returned to Palestine with the restored people of Judah. The land, depopulated by their removal, was repeopled by settlers whom Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, transported from Babylon and the neighbouring cities (about B.C. 678). These strangers, plagued by the wild beasts that had multiplied while the country lay waste, conceived a superstitious fear of "the god of the land," and applied for instruction in his worship. Esarhaddon sent them a priest to teach them; and the result was a strange confusion of the worship of Jehovah with that of their own idols. These people, with some intermixture of Hebrews, partly left in the land and partly joining them afterwards, became the ancestors of the later Samaritans.

Nineteen kings had reigned over Israel for a period of 254 years, an average of almost thirteen years and a half. In JUDAH

the same number of kings occupied a space of 389 years, or 135 years longer, giving an average of more than twenty years.* The value of the computation may be better seen by a comparison with our own country, over which thirty-five kings have reigned from the Conquest to the accession of Victoria, an average of just twenty-two years. These numbers at once show the superior stability of the kingdom of Judah, which remained all this time in the house of David, and was transmitted in the direct line from father to son with only two exceptions in the concluding years of confusion.† Ten of the nineteen kings died violent deaths or were deposed. Many of them were idolaters and corrupt in other respects; but their evil influence was for a long time counteracted by great reformers, who held fast to the first duty of a Hebrew monarch, allegiance to Jehovah as the supreme king; such as Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, with whom must be numbered the high priest Jehoiada. The faith of these reformers rested on God's covenant; their zeal was animated by the possession of the sanctuary of Jehovah; but the steady growth of corruption among the people proved too strong for all their efforts; nor had the best of them faith enough in "their Living Strength" to avoid the entanglement of foreign alliances.

The first king, Rehoboam (B.C. 975), after a vain attempt to reduce the Ten Tribes by force of arms, was himself subjected by Shishak, king of Egypt, who invaded Judah and plundered the temple and palaces of the riches gathered by Solomon (B.C. 972). This was not a mere incursion, but a real though temporary conquest.‡ It is ascribed by the sacred historian to the idolatry into which king and people had fallen, and of which they repented at the rebuke of the prophet Shemaiah. The distinct recognition of this alternation of Divine chastisements for sin, and Divine favours restored through the repentance of the people at the preaching of the prophets, is the only point of view from which the Jewish history can be properly understood. Nor was their position in this respect entirely unique. All nations are subject to the like discipline in the course of Divine Providence; and, though not

* In this computation, the usurpation of Athaliah is included ni the reign of Joash, just as we include the Commonwealth in the reign of Charles II. The want of perfect agreement between the separate years and the total is explained on the supposition of sons having been associated with their fathers in the kingdom.

† The following list of the last five kings shows these exceptions. (15) Josiah; (16) Jehoahaz, son of Josiah; (17) Jehoiakim, son of Josiah; (18) Jehoiachin, son of Jehoiakim; (19) Zedekiah, son of Josiah.

‡ See chapter vii. p. 125.

explained in each case by the voice of a prophet, the great principles of God's moral government are revealed with equal clearness. It is not that the hand of God is absent from the affairs of the world, but that its working is far too much left out of the account by worldly statesmen and historians. In this, too, the history of the chosen people is an epitome of the history of the world.

The short and wicked reign of Abijah (B.C. 958) is only remarkable for a great victory gained over Jeroboam. His son, Asa (B.C. 955), after a vigorous reformation of the kingdom, shook off the yoke of Egypt and gained a great victory over "Zerah the Cushite." * Being hard pressed by Baasha, king of Israel, he formed an alliance with Benhadad I., whose invasion of the north not only relieved Judah, but enabled Asa to add permanently to the kingdom several cities of Ephraim.† Reproved by the prophet Hananiah for the Syrian alliance, he set the first example of the attempt to silence the prophets by persecution, and died under the displeasure of Jehovah. His son Jehoshaphat (B.C. 914) is one of the heroes of the Jewish monarchy, which now reached its acmé of political and moral greatness. He reformed the whole civil and religious order of the realm, kept the subject states to their allegiance, and attempted, though without success, to revive the maritime enterprises of Solomon in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. But all was perilled by his alliance with Ahab, which involved him in the defeat at Ramoth-Gilead, and brought on the far greater evils that resulted from the marriage of his son Jehoram to Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. Jehoram (B.C. 892) paid the penalty of his idolatries in the final revolt of Edom, which henceforth had its own king, and at last imposed one upon the Jews; ‡ and after other disasters, he perished by a loathsome disease. His son Ahaziah (B.C. 885—884) was slain by Jehu, with Jehoram and Jezebel; and of his numerous sons, the infant Joash alone escaped the massacre by Athaliah. The usurpation of that true daughter of Jezebel and her overthrow by the high priest Jehoiada has supplied a noble theme to the tragic poet.§ The early years of Joash (B.C. 878) were made illustrious by the reforms of Jehoiada, who restored the temple worship; but his death left the king under the

* It is uncertain what king is represented by this name, see chapter vii. p. 126.

† See p. 177.

‡ Herod the Great was an Idumæan by origin. The whole relations between Israel and Edom form a striking fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaac; Genesis xxvii. 40.

§ Racine's *Athalie*.

influence of the princes of Judah (the patriarchal rulers); and that persecution commenced, in which the prophet "Zachariah, the son of Barachiah, was slain between the altar and the temple." From this time forward we find the princes of Judah opposing the reforming kings and the prophets, by whom they are unsparingly denounced. In the latter part of the reign of Joash, Judah began to suffer from the invasions of the Syrians. This king, slain in his bed by two of his servants, was succeeded by Amaziah (B.C. 839), whose victories over the Edomites ended in his serving their gods, and whose rash war with Joash, king of Israel, led to the capture of Jerusalem and his own death. These disasters were repaired during the long reign of his successor, Uzziah, or Azariah (B.C. 810), who reorganised the army, renewed the fortifications of Jerusalem, and armed the walls with military engines. He conquered the Philistines and the border Arab tribes, received tribute from Ammon, and retook from Edom the port of Elath on the Red Sea. Amidst the records of wars, factions, and idolatries, it is refreshing to read of the care bestowed by this king on agriculture and the rearing of cattle. He was also a zealous reformer of religion; but, elated with prosperity, he tried to force his way into the Holy Place, to burn incense, when he was smitten with leprosy, that frightful disease, which cut off its victim from the sanctuary, and drove him into seclusion for the remainder of his life.

His son Jotham, first as regent and then as king (B.C. 758), carried on his father's reforms at home and victories abroad; but the next king, Ahaz (B.C. 742), plunged into a course of idolatry worse than that of Ahab. It was at the beginning of his reign that the confederacy of Pekah, king of Israel, and Rezin, king of Syria, against Judah, gave occasion to Isaiah's great prophecy of the kingdom of Immanuel.* In two campaigns the allies took the port of Elath, defeated Ahaz with immense slaughter, and carried off a multitude of captives to Damascus and Samaria. Then ensued a scene which proved that the ancient bond of brotherhood among the tribes was not yet completely dissolved. At the bidding of a prophet, the princes of Ephraim compelled the soldiers to release their Jewish prisoners, and supplied their necessities out of the spoils. From this conduct we are prepared to understand the response which the northern tribes afterwards made to the overtures of Hezekiah. Still, the confederates seem not to have abandoned their plan for the conquest of Judah, which was at the same time invaded on the south and west by

* Isaiah vii.

the Edomites and the Philistines. In this strait, Ahaz gathered all the remaining treasures of the temple and of the palaces of Jerusalem, as an offering to purchase the aid of Tiglath-Pileser, and thus brought about, as we have seen, the first captivity of a large part of Israel. The name of this king has a place in the history of science in connexion with the "sun-dial of Ahaz," an invention probably borrowed from the Chaldæans. In his reign, too, falls the epoch commonly assigned to the foundation of Rome (B.C. 753).

Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz (B.C. 724), pursued a course the direct opposite to his father's, carrying his zeal against idolatry so far as to break to pieces the brass serpent of Moses, which had long been an object of worship. The temple was purified, the courses of the priests restored, and the Passover celebrated for the first time since many ages. The king was supported and animated by the glowing words of Isaiah, the brightest of that galaxy of prophets who flourished during the last two centuries of the Jewish monarchy, both in Israel and in Judah.* The prophet's influence was directed to foreign policy as well as internal reform; his only course, in both cases, being the simple one of religious patriotism. Judah was now divided between Assyrian and Egyptian factions, and the king himself yielded to a temptation to court the rising power of Babylon; but the prophet distributes the "burthens" of future woe impartially among all the states that had been or were to be the enemies of Israel. Nor does he spare the princes of Judah, who seem generally to have leant to Egypt, and whose anti-religious policy was matched by their oppression of their poorer brethren. His writings lay bare the utter corruption and selfishness which had set at nought both the letter and spirit of the law, and which were too far gone for all the reforms of a Hezekiah or a Josiah. Supported by such a teacher, Hezekiah sought to recover the independence of Judah, as the land of Jehovah. He made successful war against the Philistines; but the great external events of his reign sprang from his relations with Assyria and Egypt. He began by refusing to pay to Shalmaneser the tribute which Tiglath-pileser had received from Ahaz. The events that followed are obscure, from a difficulty in reconciling the Hebrew, Egyptian, and Assyrian chronologies.† Sennacherib prepared to punish the revolt, while the

* It does not come within the scope of our work to give an account of the prophets and their writings.

† See Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. i., p. 326.

princes of Judah, against the warnings of Isaiah, sought aid from Egypt. The disunion implied in this policy may have been the cause of Hezekiah's purchasing the forbearance of Sennacherib with all the sacred treasures, after he had made preparations for resistance; and the Assyrian would be the more compliant as he was now engaged in a great war with Egypt. But, when he had taken Ashdod, the key of the military route to Egypt, he turned his arms against Judah, and it was from before Lachish that he sent the blasphemous summons by Rabshakeh, to which Isaiah replied by the prophecy of his destruction. At this crisis he was called away by the advance of Tirhakah, the great king of the Ethiopian dynasty, and it seems to have been in his camp near Pelusium that his army was swept down by the very miracle that Isaiah had predicted. The subsequent fate of Sennacherib belongs to the history of Assyria.* It is still a disputed point whether it was before or after this event that Hezekiah received the embassy from Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, to congratulate him on his miraculous recovery from sickness; when the pride with which he displayed his treasures provoked Isaiah's prophecy of the Babylonian captivity. The peaceful remainder of Hezekiah's reign was occupied in works of improvement at Jerusalem and the other chief cities of Judah.

The gross apostasy and bloody persecution of his son Manasseh (B.C. 697) were punished by his imprisonment at Babylon by Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib; and Manasseh's repentance was as signal as his guilt. His son Amon (B.C. 642), an idolater, was slain by his servants after a reign of only two years.

The last independent king of Judah, Josiah (B.C. 639), was the worthiest successor of his father David. Every reader of the Scriptures is familiar with his youthful piety, his hearty devotion to the work of religious reformation, in the course of which he fulfilled the old prophecy against the idolatrous altar of Jeroboam, his discovery of the book of the law, and the solemn fast and Passover which followed. These were but the last expiring glories of the kingdom, showing what it might have been if all its kings had been such as Josiah. One point in the position of Josiah deserves special notice. He was, in some sense, a king of Israel as well as Judah. The first deportation of the northern

* Compare chap. vii. p. 128; and chap. ix. The Assyrian chronology forbids our placing this event earlier than B.C. 700. To remove the apparent inconsistency with the date of Tirhakah, it has been suggested that he was still only "King of *Ethiopia*" (Isaiah xxxvii. 9), in alliance with the petty kings of Lower Egypt.

tribes had not been so complete as the final captivity of the people around Samaria; and the remnant had come to look to the king of Judah for encouragement and protection. We find them responding to the invitation which Hezekiah sent through all the tribes, with the consent of Hoshea, to keep the Passover at Jerusalem. After the extinction of the kingdom of Israel, and when Samaria was occupied only by a few scattered settlers, terrified, as we have seen, by the desolation of the country, the northern tribes naturally drew closer to Josiah, and may have hoped to see him revive the united monarchy. These circumstances help us to understand the very different relations of the Jews to the Galilæans and Samaritans after the return from the captivity.

Meanwhile, great revolutions were taking place in the kingdoms of Assyria and Egypt. After a temporary recovery, under Esarhaddon, the great Assyrian empire was fast falling before the revolt of the Medes and the Babylonians; while in Egypt the new dynasty, founded by Psammetichus, aimed at reviving the empire of the old Pharaohs. The expedition of Pharaoh Necho to the Euphrates has already been related.* The motive usually assigned for Josiah's opposition to Necho's march is fidelity to his relation as a tributary of Assyria; but we would rather ascribe it to the ardent patriotism which could not endure any invader in the Holy Land, and to a desire to protect the northern tribes. But it was too late: the doom of the monarchy was sealed. The march of Necho lay through the great plain of Esdraelon; and Josiah, heedless of his warnings to let him pass through peaceably, led forth all his force to meet him, ventured his person in the battle under a disguise, and was slain by the Egyptian archers in the valley of Megiddo. The prophet Jeremiah led the lamentations of the people over a fall which involved that of the kingdom (B.C. 608). The people proclaimed Shallum, one of Josiah's sons (not the eldest), as king, under the name of Jehoahaz; but the Egyptian conqueror, on his return from Carchemish, deposed him, and set up his brother Jehoiakim as a tributary vassal (B. C. 608).

While the new king began to play the tyrant under the protection of Egypt, the voice of Jeremiah was lifted up to predict the desolation of Judah and the Seventy Years' Captivity at Babylon; and the fulfilment of his word was rapidly accomplished. Nineveh was taken, and the Assyrian monarchy overthrown, by

* Chapter vii. p. 133.

the united forces of the Medes and Babylonians.* The empire of Babylon was founded by Nabopolassar; and his son Nebuchadnezzar turned back the tide of Egyptian invasion by a great victory over Necho at Carchemish. Then, having succeeded his father on the throne, he drove the Egyptians out of Palestine, and advanced upon Jerusalem. The city was taken and the temple plundered; the king was taken away as a prisoner, but restored to his throne on the condition of paying a large tribute. The choicest youths of the princely houses of Judah were carried off to Babylon as hostages, among whom were Daniel and his three companions (B.C. 605). From this epoch of the FIRST CAPTIVITY OF JUDAH we must reckon the Seventy Years of the Captivity, to the first year of Cyrus, in B.C. 536.

Judah was now nothing more than a dependency of Babylon, and Jehoiakim was the creature of Nebuchadnezzar. But the king and the princes of Judah still dreamed of independence by the help of Egypt, in spite of the warnings of Jeremiah. His revolt (in B.C. 603) subjected Judæa to the ravages of predatory bands from the surrounding nations, who carried off thousands of captives. A Chaldæan army laid siege to Jerusalem, and Jehoiakim was killed in a sally (B.C. 597). His son Jehoiachin † had only reigned for three months in the beleaguered city, when Nebuchadnezzar came to conduct the siege in person. Jerusalem soon surrendered; Jehoiachin was carried away to Babylon, with 10,000 captives, among whom were Ezekiel and Mordecai, and few but the poorer sort of people were left behind. Over this remnant Nebuchadnezzar set up as king, Zedekiah, the youngest son of Josiah (B.C. 597). But not even in this abject state could the Jews submit to the fate which their long course of apostasy had brought upon them. Jeremiah, who still remained at Jerusalem, became engaged in a constant conflict with the false prophets, who predicted a speedy return from the captivity, and his warnings were echoed back by Ezekiel from the banks of the river Chebar. The latter prophet gives a description of the idolatry and profligacy of the princes and priests of Judah, who remained at Jerusalem, which is confirmed by their savage persecution of the former. At length the first successes of Pharaoh-Hophra (Apries) encouraged Zedekiah to renew the Egyptian alliance and revolt against Nebuchadnezzar. The King of Babylon now resolved to crush these repeated rebellions in the ruins of Jerusa-

* The history of these kingdoms is pursued in chapters ix. and x.

† Also called Jeconiah and Coniah.

lem. On his forming the siege of the city, Jeremiah advised an immediate surrender; but the king and princes trusted to relief from Egypt. Pharaoh-Hophra did indeed advance; and when Nebuchadnezzar drew off his forces to meet him, the city exulted as if the war were ended. But the Egyptian king dared not meet the Chaldæan army; the siege was again formed; and soon Jerusalem was taken by storm, and the city, with its temple, were razed to the ground by Nebuzaradan, the general of Nebuchadnezzar.* Zedekiah, siezed in the attempt to escape before the final capture, was brought before Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah in Hamath. His eyes were put out, after he had seen his sons killed, and he died in close captivity at Babylon. His nephew Jehoiachin was more fortunate. After a captivity of thirty-seven years he was released from prison by Evil-Merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar (B.C. 561), and treated with royal honours till his death.

The whole Jewish nation were now carried away as captives to Babylon, except a miserable remnant of the very poorest people, who were left to cultivate the land. Gedaliah was appointed as their governor; and the prophet Jeremiah remained with him; the seat of government being the fortress of Mizpeh. But even this wretched fragment of the once favoured nation fell a prey to faction. Shemaiah, a member of the royal house, killed Gedaliah treacherously at a feast, and tried to carry off the remnant of the people into slavery to the Ammonites. His scheme was frustrated by Johanan, an officer of Gedaliah, who fled to Egypt with the greater number of the people, including Jeremiah and Baruch. The few who remained, numbering only 745, were carried away to Babylon by Nebuzaradan four years later; and the land was left to entire desolation, except for a few scattered settlers from the nomad tribes of the desert.

This very desolation, however, formed in one respect a favourable contrast to the condition of the former land of the Ten Tribes. Judæa was not re-peopled by heathen settlers, who might have disputed its possession with the people on their own return, or have corrupted both their race and their religion by their intermixture. The land of Judah, marked out to the eye of man as the special object of Divine judgment, was in truth preserved by the care of God, with all the monuments of former idolatries swept from its surface, to be again the country of His

* Respecting the slightly different dates of this event, see the note on Scripture Chronology, p. 10. Ussher assigns it to B.C. 588; but the true date is now pretty well fixed at B.C. 586. From the dates of months and days given in the Scripture narrative, and still observed as fasts by the Jews, we know that it took place about July or August.

people, when they were purified by the discipline of captivity from their proneness to those idolatries. "The land kept her sabbaths," in compensation for the sabbatic years of which it had been deprived by the cupidity of its owners; and it was restored to them, renovated by its rest, as they were renovated by the ordeal of their captivity.

For all we know of the history of the captives proves that the interval was such an ordeal. Like the forty years' wandering in the wilderness, it effectually separated the old generation, who had shared in the corruptions of the dying monarchy, from the new one which began a fresh life with their return. The restored nation had many faults, so many and great as again to involve their rejection; but they never relapsed into idolatry. Of their condition during the Captivity we have little information; but the elevation of Daniel and his comrades at the court of Babylon, and the impression made upon Nebuchadnezzar by the decisive proofs of Jehovah's power, must have secured for the Jews a high degree of consideration. Jeremiah's command for them to build houses and buy lands implies their possession, not only of personal liberty, but also of civil rights. Their later history proves that they preserved the records of their genealogies; and there are clear indications of some kind of internal government under their patriarchal princes. Some mention is made of a sort of head, called the Prince of the Captivity, but the existence of such an officer is by no means certain. At all events, an organization was maintained, which made it not difficult to gather together such of them as were willing to obey the edict of Cyrus for their return to their own country (B.C. 536). The fact, that their obedience to that edict was voluntary, was of itself a means of separation between the pious Jews, who had preserved their faith in the promises of their restoration, from those who had lapsed into the idolatries of the provinces in which they were settled; and it seems probable that nearly all the remnant of the Ten Tribes who had not thus apostatized, joined with the people of Judah in their return to Palestine. As to the rest, their fate, as well as the ultimate destiny of their brethren, scattered abroad after the last destruction of Jerusalem, does not belong to the historian to discuss.

We have now to look back upon the history of those great monarchies which succeeded each other on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, from before the migration of Abraham to the full establishment of the Persian Empire.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHALDÆAN, ASSYRIAN, AND BABYLONIAN EMPIRES.

"The Eastern front was glorious to be behold,
With diamond flaming and barbaric gold;
There Ninus shone, who spread the Assyrian fame,
And the great founder of the Persian name.
The sage Chaldæans robed in white appeared
And Brachmans deep in desert woods revered."
POPE—*Temple of Fame.*

EMPIRES ON THE EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS—DESCRIPTION OF MESOPOTAMIA—THE GREAT PLAIN OF CHALDÆA—ITS BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT—ITS PHYSICAL CHARACTER—INUNDATIONS AND CANALS—CLIMATE—NATURAL PRODUCTS—ANIMALS—MINERALS—BRICK-MAKING—BIBLICAL HISTORY OF CHALDÆA—BABEL—NIMROD—THE CHALDÆAN RACE—THEIR CUSHITE ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE—MEANINGS OF THE CHALDÆAN NAME—FOR A TRIBE, A NATION, AND A CASTE —TRACES OF A STILL EARLIER TURANIAN POPULATION—THE DYNASTIES OF BEROSUS—ASTRONOMICAL RECORDS CONTEMPORARY WITH THE BEGINNING OF THE MONARCHY—ITS EPOCH—DYNASTY OF NIMROD—TWO DIVISIONS OF CHALDÆA, EACH WITH ITS TETRAPOLIS—CITIES SACRED TO THE HEAVENLY BODIES—THE CHALDÆAN TEMPLE-TOWERS—THEIR DESIGN, FORM, MATERIALS, AND RUINS—CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS—STAGES IN THE INVENTION OF WRITING —INTERPRETATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS—HISTORY OF THE EARLIER CHALDÆAN DYNASTY—NIMROD, THE FOUNDER—URUKH, THE BUILDER, THE FIRST KING NAMED ON THE INSCRIPTIONS —LATER CHALDÆAN DYNASTY—CHEDORLAOMER, THE CONQUEROR—SEMITIC MIGRATIONS, ABRAHAM AND THE PHŒNICIANS—THE "FOUR NATIONS" OF CHALDÆA—CHECK TO CHALDÆAN CONQUESTS—OVERTHROW OF THE MONARCHY BY THE ARABS—GROWTH OF SEMITIC INFLUENCE—THE CHALDÆAN CASTE AND LEARNING SURVIVE—CHALDÆAN ART AND SCIENCE —ARCHITECTURE, TEMPLES, HOUSES, AND TOMBS—POTTERY—IMPLEMENTS—METAL-WORK—TEXTILE FABRICS—ARITHMETIC AND ASTRONOMY—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES—THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE—GREEK TRADITIONS—THE UPPER DYNASTY—TIGLATH-PILESER I.—SARDANAPALUS—SHALMANESER I.—THE BLACK OBELISK—PUL—SEMIRAMIS—THE LOWER DYNASTY—TIGLATH-PILESER II.—SHALMANESER II.—SARGON—CONQUEST OF MEDIA—SENNACHERIB—ESARHADDON—BABYLON SUBJECT TO ASSYRIA—THE SARDANAPALUS OF THE GREEKS—FALL OF NINEVEH—LATER BABYLONIAN EMPIRE—NABONASSAR AND SEMIRAMIS—MERODACH-BALADAN —ESARHADDON—NABOPOLASSAR—WARS WITH LYDIA AND EGYPT—NEBUCHADNEZZAR—EVIL-MERODACH AND HIS SUCCESSORS—NABONADIUS—LEAGUE AGAINST PERSIA—BELSHAZZAR—FALL OF BABYLON—ITS LATER HISTORY.

ALMOST at every step in the preceding narrative, we have had to refer to the great empires established from the earliest times in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. Of the six great eastern monarchies—for that of David and Solomon must not be excluded from the reckoning—four ruled successively in this valley,—the Chaldæan, Assyrian, Babylonian, and Medo-Persian. In the absence of a trustworthy chronology, it cannot be positively decided whether the Euphrates or the Nile was the earlier seat of civilization and royal power. We have given the precedence to Egypt, as having the earliest historic records. The order of the Scripture narrative, and proximity to the primitive

abode of our race, concur in claiming an antiquity little, if any, lower for the most ancient Babylonian, otherwise called the Chaldæan monarchy.

Two mountain ranges, diverging from the Armenian highlands, shut in the region of which we have now to speak. One chain, or rather system of parallel chains, runs south and south-east past the head of the Persian Gulf, forming the mountains of *Kurdistan* and *Luristan*, while the ridges of Amanus and Lebanon extend like another wall on the west. A less marked boundary is formed on the south by the table-land of the Arabian peninsula. The region enclosed within these limits lies just in the centre of that great desert zone which we have described as extending from the western coast of Africa almost to the north-eastern shores of Asia, and at the very point where that zone passes from a general elevation little above that of the ocean, into a high table-land. The highlands on the north and east, watered by many streams, afford abundant pastures, but the sandy wastes of Arabia are prolonged upwards from the south, over the great Syrian Desert, which would extend to the very foot of the highlands, but for the fertilizing streams of the Euphrates and the Tigris.

These two great rivers take their rise in Armenia, on opposite sides of Mount Niphates, and unite near the head of the Persian Gulf, which receives their waters, after the Euphrates has flowed about 1,780 miles, and the Tigris, 1,146. But their earlier courses are quite divergent. The Tigris, having its sources on the south of Niphates, flows at first towards the east,* parallel to that chain, in the valley between it and Mount Masius, whence emerging it pursues its course to the south-east, with but few bendings, along the feet of the mountains of Kurdistan. The Euphrates, rising on the north side of Niphates, also flows parallel to its chain, but westward, as if seeking an outlet in the Mediterranean; but, after a circuitous sweep through the mountains, it finally enters, at the parallel of 36° N. lat., on the south-eastern course which brings it to a confluence with the Tigris. This part of its stream lies for a long distance through the Arabian Desert, and for 800 miles below the confluence of the Khabour it does not receive a single tributary. Its waters dwindle, passing off either to be lost in the desert, or to swell the volume of the Tigris, already enriched by numerous great tributaries from the eastern mountains. Much of this borrowed water afterwards flows back into the Euphrates by

* It is undoubtedly the Hiddekel of Paradise, "which goeth eastwards towards Assyria." Genesis ii. 14.

the Shat-el-Hie, and at Kornah the two rivers unite in the Shat-el-Arab.

These two great rivers have always given a name to the country through which they flow—the Aram-Naharaïm (Highland of the two rivers) of the Semitic tongues, the Mesopotamia of the Greeks, and the Al-Jezireh (the Island) of the modern Arabs. But these names require a more exact definition, especially in their relation to those of Chaldæa, Babylonia, and Assyria. There is a clearly-marked physical division of the district watered by the rivers into two regions. The northern part, descending from the mountains, in a steppe or undulating plain, of the secondary geological formation, bounded by a line drawn diagonally across the 34th parallel of latitude, nearly through Hit on the Euphrates and Tekrit on the Tigris. The subsidence to the dead level of the tertiary alluvium is here as distinct and sudden as that from the slightly elevated chalk district of Cambridgeshire to the level of the fens. And this is the historical as well as the natural division between Upper and Lower Mesopotamia. The former country corresponds very nearly to Assyria in the wider sense; but the original land of Asshur lay along the upper course of the Tigris, while the western part, encircled by the great bend of the Euphrates, was the land of Padan-Aram, that is, the High Plain. The whole forms a slightly elevated plain, about 300 miles in breadth, subdivided by the limestone range of the Sinjar hills, above 36° N. latitude, between which and Mount Masius it is well watered; but below this range it is nearly desert, except in winter. In ancient times, however, a system of artificial irrigation enabled it to support its numerous inhabitants.

This country was the seat of the great Assyrian Empire. But another monarchy, the old Babylonian, or Chaldæan,* was established much earlier in the southern alluvial plain. It was bounded on the north by the natural division, already described, between the alluvial and upper plains; on the west and south by the Arabian Desert, whose tertiary sands and gravel reach generally within twenty or thirty miles of the Euphrates, but sometimes cross it, and by the head of the Persian Gulf; and on the east by the Tigris, which divides it from the rich plain and foot-hills of Elim or Susiana. On this side, and on the north, it had powerful and formidable neighbours; on the west the desert was only peopled by a few scattered tribes of Bedouins, who might, however, as we shall see, prove no less

* The reason for this appellation will be given presently.

dangerous. The waters of the Persian Gulf, sheltered by land on each side, opened up the commerce of the whole Indian Ocean, which the navigable courses of the great rivers carried up to the very feet of the northern mountains. It must be remembered that the sea anciently penetrated much deeper than its present limits. Chaldæa, like Egypt, lying in the rainless part of the great desert zone, is "the gift of its rivers," whose alluvial deposits are said to advance the coast line one mile in from thirty to seventy years. It is subject to inundations, though less regular and important than that of the Nile, and the waters require more careful distribution. The neglect of the proper works at the present day allows the flood of the Euphrates, which is the greater of the two, to escape for the most part westward into the desert, where it only forms pestilential swamps. The sands of the desert are constantly gaining on the cultivable land between the rivers. In ancient times a great canal was cut from Hit to the Persian Gulf along the edge of the desert, regulating the inundation, and fitting a wide tract on the right bank of the river for cultivation. A smaller canal (the Pallacopas of Arrian) branched off south of Sepharvaim, to supply the great artificial lake near Borsippa, from which the gardens of Babylon were irrigated. The whole district between the two rivers was intersected by canals, the chief of which were three that drew off the water of the Euphrates into the Tigris, above Babylon. The inundation of the Tigris is briefer and more regular.

At present the plain extends about 400 miles along the rivers, and about 100 miles in width. In the earliest age of history the Persian Gulf probably reached 120 or 130 miles further inland; and a corresponding deduction must be made from the size of the country, the ancient area of which is calculated at about 23,000 square miles—about equal to ancient Greece with its islands, to Denmark, or to the similarly formed country of Holland. This vast level plain was destitute of all striking natural features, except that unbroken horizon which is the one charm of flat countries. Such a surface is well fitted for the display of those gigantic piles of architecture by which the race of Ham delighted to supply the lack of nature's works, and which still diversify the plain with the mounds that hide their ruins. The only other interruptions to the view are a few sand-hills, and the embankments along the rivers and canals; and the surface of the ground is merely varied by the different colours of the cultivated fields near the rivers and canals, and of the arid tracts beyond their reach.

The summer, which sets in about May, is intensely hot; and the moisture of the climate makes the heat most oppressive. The winter is mild, with rarely a touch of frost. All ancient writers celebrate the unsurpassed fertility of Chaldæa; and modern travellers still attest the natural capacities of the region. This is the only country in which wheat is known to be indigenous. Other cereals are plentiful, and groves of the magnificent date-palm rise like islands amidst the seas of corn, and fringe the banks of the rivers. The vine and other fruits abound. The enormous reeds of the rivers and marshes were used, as the monuments show, for houses and for boats. The animals of Mesopotamia are made familiar to us by the Hebrew prophets, and by the hunting scenes in which the monuments exhibit the kings as constantly engaged. The desolation of the country has of course greatly multiplied the noble lion, with the lesser wild beasts and birds of prey. Nearly every mound that marks the site of a ruined city verifies the prophetic descriptions of the desolation of Babylon. Domestic animals abound; and, in the decline of agriculture, the flocks and herds are the chief wealth of the people, who have fallen back into the nomad state. The rivers teem with fish, and the monuments constantly represent great gardens with fish-ponds. Under the Persian Empire one-third of the whole royal revenue was drawn from Babylonia.

As the tertiary country, Lower Mesopotamia is almost destitute of rocks and minerals; and yet no people built on a vaster scale. Choice stones, as marbles, agate, and alabaster, were obtained in small pieces to ornament the temples. Limestone was brought down the rivers from Upper Mesopotamia, but in no great quantities. Its want was supplied by bricks, for which the alluvial soil furnished the best materials. The fierce sun hardened them enough for ordinary use, and the kiln made them as durable as granite. Various kinds of cement were furnished by the calcareous stones of the Arabian Desert, by the slimy mud of the soil, and especially by the bitumen which is the chief mineral product of the land. The neighbourhood of Hit has always been famed for its springs of bitumen, naphtha, and petroleum. These were probably the materials with which the Babel builders wrought.

Such was the country of which we have the earliest records in the Book of Genesis. The two leading facts are the erection of the city and citadel of Babel, as a great centre of union, by a people who journeyed eastward, apparently from the primeval seats of the human race; and the establishment, in the same regions, by the

Cushite conqueror Nimrod, of a kingdom, whose first seat was the tetrapolis of Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh. The Biblical account, which makes Nimrod a son of Cush, and consequently the ruling race, at least in his kingdom, a Cushite and therefore Hamite people, is confirmed by the best records of history and by modern discovery. This is the race to which the most recent historians apply the name of Chaldæan.

Till lately, indeed, the general opinion has identified the Chaldæan with the Semitic race.* The affinity between the later Babylonian and the Hebrew tongues is often considered as decisive of the question ; but there is ample evidence that the Babylonian language had passed through a great change since the time of the early Chaldæan monarchy. The same evidence disposes of the opinion, handed down from Herodotus, that the Babylonians were, from the first, of the same stock as the Assyrians, who were Semitic. The native historian, Berosus, in whose fragments we have remnants of records of unknown antiquity, clearly distinguishes the Babylonians from the Assyrians ; and in this he is followed by several classical writers. The traditions preserved by the Greek poets, from Homer downwards, concerning an eastern as well as a western nation of Ethiopians, and particularly those regarding Memnon, can only be explained by the diffusion of the Cushite race over the South of Asia as well as Africa. There are Armenian traditions to the same effect ; and the memory of the Cushite occupation seems to be preserved by certain geographical names. But the question may now be viewed as decided by cuneiform inscriptions lately discovered in Lower Mesopotamia, the language of which is clearly Hamitic, akin to that of the Gallas of Ethiopia.

The name Chaldæan, applied to this Cushite race, is itself of obscure origin. The Hebrew name, so translated in our version of the Bible (following the LXX), is a different word of doubtful etymology—Chasdim ; but it seems clearly equivalent to the native Kaldi. The name is used in three different senses. First, as a tribe, we read of the Chaldæan robbers, who, like the Sabæans, fell upon Job's cattle. As a nation, they are the people who had their capital at Babylon, in the land of Shinar.† But, besides these two ethnic senses, the Chaldæans at the court of Nebuchadnezzar were a priestly caste, who are classed with the astrologers and

* The language called Chaldee is undoubtedly Semitic ; but its appellation seems to be a misnomer. It belongs rather to the Western than the Eastern Aramæan dialect, and is, in fact, less nearly related to the Hebrew than is the Babylonian of the time of the Captivity.

† This, the original Scripture name of Babylonia, is also the only one used for the country in the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions.

magicians, had a learning and language of their own, and formed a sort of colleges. Those who acquired their learning, and were admitted into their body, were called Chaldæans, quite irrespective of their race; and thus Daniel became the master of the Chaldæans. That such a body would retain the ancient language, as a sacred tongue, after it had been supplanted in common use by the later Semitic dialect, is in accordance with probability and analogy; and this view seems to explain the various uses of the name. Originally one of the Cushite tribes who settled in Lower Mesopotamia, the Kaldi, Kaldai, or Chaldæans, gave their name to the Cushite monarchy, whose people made great advances in art and science. Then, as the nation became Semitized, chiefly by Assyrian influence, their old learning, wrapped up in the old language, became the property of a class, who enjoyed high influence with the people, and favour at the court—the more so as the Babylonian kings, from Nabopolassar, seem to have been of the Chaldæan race. Lastly, nothing could be more natural than that the Jewish writers should apply the name of this high class, which was also the name of the old monarchy, to the existing people, though the "Chaldæan" subjects of Nebuchadnezzar were of a different race from the ancient people. Under the later Babylonian kings, and probably under their Assyrian predecessors, the language of learning and religion seems to have been the old Chaldæan, while that of civil proceedings was Semitic. The question still remains —whence the Chaldæans of Babylonia originally came.

There is a native historian, Berosus, who occupies a place similar to that of Manetho in Egyptian history. He was a priest of Belus at Babylon in the reign of Antiochus II. (B.C. 261–246). From the archives in the temple of the god, he compiled in Greek a "History of Babylon or Chaldæa," of which, like the work of Manetho, only some fragments are preserved by Josephus, Eusebius, and other chronographers and fathers. The authenticity of his statements is open to objections similar to those urged against Manetho. His early history is entirely mythical; but, as we come down to periods for which other evidence exists, we find it to a great extent confirmatory of Berosus. This is especially the case with the cuneiform inscriptions.

In his mythical history, Berosus goes back to the Creation, peopling the slime of Chaos with creatures whose monstrous forms were borrowed from the pictures on the wall of the Babylonian temples. The Chaos is destroyed by Bel, the great deity who occupies the same place as Jove in the Greek mythology, the god of light and air. He created the sun, the moon, and the five

planets, and ordered the gods to people the earth. To these succeeded a savage race, till Oannes, a being with the upper part of a man and the lower part of a fish, coming up out of the Indian Sea, revealed to them the principles of law and science, and taught them to build cities and temples.* The state thus established was governed by seven rulers for twelve sars (43,200 years), during which period six more "Fish-Men" came up from the sea, and taught the learning which was embodied in the Seven Sacred Books. Three more rulers fill up the antediluvian cycle of 432,000 years.†

The god Bel, who was himself the last of these ten antediluvian rulers, warned Xisuthrus of the destruction of all living beings by a deluge, the story of which most strikingly resembles that of the Noachic Flood. On coming out of the ark, Xisuthrus dug up the Seven Sacred Books which he had buried at Sepharvaim (Sippara, the City of the Sun), repeopled the land, and fixed the capital again at Babylon, where eighty-six demigods reigned for 34,080 years, a period intended, as we shall see presently, to make up with the following dynasties, a complete cycle of ten *sars* or 36,000 years. These eighty-six demigods form the First Dynasty of Berosus, who expressly calls them *Chaldæans.*

Thus far the account is unmistakeably mythical; but, as we had occasion to observe in the case of Egypt, a mythical period does not necessarily exclude the element of true tradition; only it is impossible to separate the two.

After this first mythical dynasty of eighty-six kings, Berosus assigns 224 years to a dynasty of eight Median kings, who conquered Babylon, and expelled the earlier Chaldæan dynasty. Granting that this tradition represents some historical fact, it by no means follows that these Medians were of the Aryan race familiar to us by that name, but only that they were the earliest known inhabitants of the country afterwards called Media. Now, there is a vast mass of evidence pointing to an early population of Western Asia by a race kindred, in many respects, to that which we now call Turanian. Such a race certainly possessed the high-

* This Fish-Man appears again in the Dagon of the Philistines, with whom is associated a goddess, Derceto. Besides the constant appearance of the image in the Babylonian sculptures, the name of Dagon has been discovered on the monuments; and tradition made Semiramis the daughter of Derceto.

† In the Babylonian system of notation the numbers 6 and 10 were employed alternately. Time was measured ordinarily by the *soss*, the *ner*, and the *sar*—the *soss* being ($10 \times 6 =$) 60 years, the *ner* ($60 \times 10 =$) 600 years, and the *sar* ($600 \times 6 =$) 3600 years. The next term in this series would evidently be ($3600 \times 10 =$) 36,000 years, and the term following ($36,000 \times 6 =$) 216,000. Berosus' antediluvian cycle consists of 432,000, or two such periods.

lands of Elam, between Lower Mesopotamia and the tableland of Iran, the ancient Media; and its traces have been found in Chaldæa itself, on the monuments whose records have been recently deciphered. There was, too, an universal tradition of an occupation of Western Asia by the Scythians, that is, the Turanian race.* This tradition, as we have argued in a former chapter, seems to point to a period when the demarcations between races and languages were hardly yet established. The same consideration may help to explain the fact that we find Aryan as well as Turanian forms in the earliest Chaldæan inscriptions. We do not, however, exclude the probability that there was also a positive intermixture of the Turanian and Aryan races as foreign elements in the population of Chaldæa.

The general conclusion from the whole evidence seems to be, that the Median dynasty of Berosus were a Turanian or mixed Scytho-Aryan race, whose religion was an elemental worship, and that these were succeeded by a native Chaldæan or Cushite race, who practised the worship of the heavenly bodies. Their religion, combined with the facilities afforded by their climate and their level horizon, led them from the earliest times to the study of astronomy, in which they made great progress. When Alexander the Great took possession of Babylon, Callisthenes was able to send to Aristotle a series of astronomical observations taken by the Chaldæans for an unbroken period of 1903 years. These observations would therefore date from B.C. 2234 (331 + 1903), as the epoch of the Third (or Chaldæan) Dynasty of Berosus. Other indications point to the same date, the adoption of which gives a remarkable consistency to the whole chronological scheme of Berosus. That scheme has been lately examined by Dr. Gutschmidt, whose conclusions, adopted by Professor Rawlinson, are as follows :—

Babylonian Chronology, according to Gutschmidt.†

				Years.	B. C. Begin.	B. C. End.
Dynasties of Berosus.	*Mythic.*	I.	86 Chaldæans	34,080		
		II.	8 Medes [Magians] . .	224	2458	2234
	Historical.	III.	11 [Chaldæans]	[258]	2234	1976
		IV.	49 Chaldæans	458	1976	1518
		V.	9 Arabians	245	1518	1273
		VI.	45 [Assyrians]	526	1273	747
		VII.	[8 Assyrians]	[122]	747	625
		VIII.	6 Chaldæans	87	625	538
			Total	36,000		

* Respecting the character of the Turanian race and language, see Chapter iv., p. 55.

† The names and numbers in brackets are conjectural. The arguments for the

"If the numbers," says Professor Rawlinson, "are taken in the way assigned, and then added to the years of the first or purely mythical dynasty, the sum produced is *exactly* 36,000 years—the next term to the *sar* in the Babylonian system of cycles. It is impossible that this should be the result of chance. The later Babylonians clearly contrived their mythical number so that, when added to those which they viewed as historical, the sum-total should be a perfect cyclical period. The date, B.C. 2234, for the accession of the third dynasty, may thus be regarded as certainly that which Berosus intended to assign, and as most probably correct." Now it is very remarkable that this date of B.C. 2234 falls, according to the received chronology, within the lifetime of Peleg (B.C. 2247–2008), "in whose days the earth was divided," and to whose age we may refer the building of Babel, and very probably, therefore, the establishment of Nimrod's kingdom, which would thus correspond with the third dynasty of Berosus. It hardly needs to be explained, that these views are offered as a fair statement of the results made probable by recent investigations, not as positively ascertained facts.

With this Third Dynasty, then, the annals of Berosus seem first to assume somewhat of the complexion of history; and the appellation "Chaldæan" brings us back to the question of whence they came, and how they acquired rule over the country. Thus much seems clear, that they were an intrusive race, whose power, like all the great empires of the East, was acquired by conquest. But did they enter the land of Shinar from the North or from the South? In favour of the former view we have their own tradition, that they were of old a mountain race, and the existence of Chaldæans among the mountains north of Armenia in historic times. On the other hand, while the classical writers regard those mountains as the original seat of the race, they restrict the name of Chaldæa to a region on the lower course of the Euphrates:—we have just seen that, in the oldest Babylonian legends, civilization is made to enter by way of the sea:—and we shall find presently that the cities near the Persian Gulf bear marks of antiquity higher than Babylon itself. This view agrees with the Scriptural derivation of Nimrod, the founder of the empire, from the race of Cush; while the classical historians followed a tradition which made Babylon from the first a dependency of Assyria. It seems almost equally difficult to deny that the original seats of the Chaldæan race were in the southern highlands of

scheme will be found in Gutschmidt's paper in the *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. viii., pp. 252, foll., and Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. chap. 8.

Armenia, and that the earliest source of Chaldæan empire and civilization in Babylonia was from the South. May not a solution be found in the hypothesis that a branch of the Chaldæans took part in the original southward migration of the Hamitic race and settled in the south of Babylonia, whence they afterwards made that reflex movement which led to the establishment of Nimrod's empire at Babylon?

Little is known of the history of Nimrod' smonarchy, beyond the fact that its cities formed a tetrapolis—an arrangement which recurs both in the next dynasty, and in the early Assyrian kingdom.* The four cities mentioned in the Scripture narrative, as founded by the dynasty of Nimrod, are Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh.† But the information derived from the monuments points to a subdivision of the country into Upper and Lower Chaldæa; the former extending from Hit on the Euphrates to below Babylon, and the latter from Niffer to the Persian Gulf. Each of these divisions had a tetrapolis; the southern consisting of Ur, Huruk, Nipur, and Larsa or Larancha—the Ur, Erech, Calneh, and Ellasar of Scripture; and the northern of Babel, Borsippa, Cutha, and Sippara (the Sepharvaim of Scripture, the dual form indicating its position on the two sides of the river). Borsippa is the only one of these capitals not named in Scripture, which gives us several names of less important towns. As they are all mentioned, however, chiefly in connexion with the later Assyrian and Babylonian empires, we cannot be sure that they are all as early as the Chaldæan age.

With the exception of Babylon, the capital of the whole land, the precedence in point of antiquity must be given to the southern tetrapolis, to which indeed belong two out of the four cities built by Nimrod. These two, Erech and Calneh, the Huruk and Nipur of the cuneiform inscriptions, have been identified almost certainly with the ruins at Warka and Niffer.‡ The site of Accad has not been identified; but the inscriptions give reason to believe that we have in this word the name of the primeval people who first occupied the country. "Akkadian colonies"—says Sir H. Rawlinson, on the authority of inscriptions of Sargon—"were transported into the wilds of Armenia by the Assyrian Kings of the Lower Empire, and strengthened the Hamitic element in that quarter." §

* Genesis x. 11, 12. † Genesis x. 10.

‡ These, and the other ruins referred to, are described by Professor Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. c. 1.

§ Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay vi., vol. i. pp. 655, 656.

Of the two remaining cities of the southern tetrapolis, Ellasar —the Larsa or Larancha of the inscriptions, and the Larissa or Larachon of the Greeks—is probably represented by the ruins at Senkereh, on the left bank of the Euphrates, between Mugheir and Warka. It appears in the earliest history as the capital of Arioch, the ally of Chedorlaomer. Ur or Hur was the chief of the four, besides its interest as the birthplace of Abraham. Its remains are seen at Mugheir (*Mother of Bitumen*, a name derived from the vast quantity of bituminous cement found in its ruins), a little below 31° N. lat. It was the lowest of all the great cities near the Euphrates, and appears to have been originally a seaport, for its ships are mentioned in the inscriptions with those of Ethiopia. Like its three sisters, it was a great seat of that form of idolatry which marks the Chaldæan period; the moon being specially worshipped at Ur, the sun at Ellasar, and Jupiter and Venus (Bel and Beltis) at Calneh and Erech—as we learn from the ruined temples at Mugheir, Senkereh, Niffer, and Warka.* Under the later empires, Ur remained in the south, like Borsippa in the north, the great seat of the learning of the Chaldæans.

Of the northern tetrapolis, passing over Babylon for the present, the ruins of Borsippa, or rather of the great temple of Bel-Merodach—all that is left of the city,—have been discovered in the mound of Birs-Nimrud, a little south of Babylon; those of Cutha at Ibrahim, north-east of Babylon, and between the two rivers; and those of Sippara or Sepharvaim at Sura on the Euphrates, about twenty miles above Babylon. The sites of several lesser cities have been identified with much probability.

The chief edifices, whose ruins are buried in the mounds that mark the sites of these cities, appear to have been temples; for in Chaldæa, as elsewhere, whatever rude provision was made for ordinary dwellings, architecture, as an art, was created by religion. The great Chaldæan towers, of which that of Babel was the type, were temples. Though it seems certain that the Tower of Babel itself was destroyed, and that the great Temple of Belus at Babylon was a later erection, the latter was no doubt modelled

* Bel was also symbolised both by the Sun and Saturn, the planet throned in the seventh heaven, and whose orbit comprehended all the rest; Beltis (or Mylitta) both by the Moon and Venus. Mars represented Nergal, the God of War; and Mercury, Nebo, the interpreter of the divine will. The goddess Beltis or Mylitta was also regarded as the material principle embodied in the earth, water, and darkness, as Bel was in the heaven, air, and light. In this character, her grove at Babylon became the scene of rites as licentious as those of the Phœnician Astarte. Such is the degradation to which the sublime conceptions of Sabæism have always tended.

on the former. The type of such structures can still be partly traced in the remains of Birs-Nimrud at Borsippa, and, in a less developed form, in those at Mugheir and Warka. The former, which was rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar, shows the completest plan of these edifices; the others, which are referred to the very beginning of the Chaldæan monarchy (about B.C. 2234), giving only the first germ. The ground-plan is an exact square, with the *angles* (not the faces) to the four cardinal points, an arrangement at once raising the presumption of an astronomical purpose; nor can there be any doubt that the buildings were used as observatories. From this base the building rises in successive stages, each smaller than the one below, thus presenting an analogy to the pyramidal form used by the Egyptians, the more interesting from the discovery that the Pyramids themselves were built in stages.* At Birs-Nimrud, however, the pyramid is oblique; in other words, the centres of the stages are not exactly over one another, but removed towards the south-west, so that the south-west face had the steepest and the north-east, or back of the tower, the gentlest ascent. The complete number of stories at Borsippa was seven, corresponding to the sun and moon, and the five planets, their faces being distinguished by colours, as follows: the basement, black; the next stage, orange; the third, red; the fourth, golden (?); the fifth, yellow; the sixth, blue; the seventh, silver (?).† The highest stage supported the shrine or chapel containing the sacred ark. These stages are of burnt brick, the basement resting on a platform of crude brick raised a few feet above the alluvial soil. Their areas diminish from a square of 272 feet at the base, to one of 20 feet at the summit. The heights are unequal, the three lower stories rising 26 feet each, and the four upper 15 feet, which seems also to have been the height of the chapel on the summit. The total height of the Birs-Nimrud is about 153 feet, and this is the loftiest known; the Babil, or Temple of Belus at Babylon, being about 140 feet high, that at Warka 100, and that at Mugheir only 50. They were thus much lower than the Great Pyramid, which was originally 480 feet high. These numbers will serve to correct both our childish errors respecting the Tower of Babel, and the exaggerations of ancient writers about the Temple of Belus at Babylon.

* See chap. vii. p. 97.

† The colours marked as doubtful can scarcely be made out in the ruins. The whole series seems well chosen to represent the planets in their supposed order, namely, *beginning from the summit*,—the moon (silver), Mercury (blue), Venus (yellow), the Sun (gold), Mars (red), Jupiter (orange), Saturn, the malignant, (black).

It is supposed that the upper stories contained sleeping chambers for the priests in summer; the air at that elevation being cooler and freer from the insects that infest the plain. The earlier temples had a smaller number of stages. At Mugheir and Warka only two are now visible, and there seem never to have been more than three or four. The Babil shows no more than one; but it is stated by ancient writers to have had the form of a pyramid. The earliest form seems to have had three stories, the topmost being formed by the shrine; but in some cases, as the Babil, this may have been placed only on a truncated pyramid. The material of these stories is invariably brick, or a brick casing about an earthen mound, the alluvial plain being quite destitute of stone. In the temple at Warka the bricks are merely sun-dried: in that at Mugheir the walls of sun-dried bricks are faced by burnt bricks of a small size and inferior quality. The cement used in the former is mud, with reeds for binding—in the latter bitumen, without reeds. These edifices are thus of ruder and apparently more primitive construction than that adopted by the Babel builders, who burnt their bricks thoroughly. Nor need this excite surprise, since such an edifice as Babel would scarcely be attempted till some skill had been acquired by earlier experiments. The fact that the most ancient of these buildings are found nearest the Persian Gulf, coupled with the precedence of the maritime city of Ur, strongly favours the view, that the first Cushite settlers occupied the district near the sea. The materials and form of these temple-towers have determined the peculiar shape assumed by their ruins. The upper and outer portions, falling over the rest, and becoming disintegrated by the atmosphere, have formed a rude mound of earth, under which a large part of the original structure has lain hidden and protected, awaiting the researches which, in our own day, have opened a new page of the oldest period of history.

These ruins have a part of their own story inscribed upon them in characters which prove the vast antiquity of the art of writing among the Chaldæans. In this case, as in others, the race of Ham led the way in the arts most needful for common life. We can hardly hope to decide the question, whether writing was invented in Egypt and Chaldæa independently, or whether, as seems more likely, it was already common to the different Hamitic races before their separation. At all events, the earliest forms found in Chaldæa point unquestionably, like the hieroglyphics of Egypt, to a pictorial origin. The first rude attempts to commu-

nicate the idea of an object by its likeness were made more definite by giving that likeness a conventional form,—such as a square for the ground-plan of a house, five lines joined perpendicularly to another for the hand, and many similar examples. If these forms were only meant to convey the idea of the thing itself, they would form a symbolical representation of objects; but by conveying also the idea of the *names* of those objects, they come to represent *words*, and thus the first step is taken in the art of writing. When the same object has different names, its pictorial sign acquires the phonetic value of each of those names; and as the words, for which signs are thus provided, may enter as syllables into the formation of other words, their signs receive a syllabic, and no longer only a separate value. For example, if our own written language were in the hieroglyphic state, the pictorial signs for a *bee* and a *hind* might form that for the word *behind*; a *moon* and a *key* that for *monkey*: and the same signs would enter into the representation of all other words containing any of the same syllables. But even where the characters stand for less simple words, they may become syllabic by a process of abbreviation, the sign being taken for only the initial syllable or portion of the word. Thus the sign for *lion* might stand for the syllable *li*, as in fact that for Asshur represents, in cuneiform writing, the syllable *as*, with many other such examples. The final step to alphabetical writing is then taken almost imperceptibly; for nothing is more certain than that alphabetic characters were once syllabic, as their very names still indicate.

The first stage in this process is seen in the Egyptian hieroglyphics; the second in the hieratic characters derived from them, and often placed beside them in the same inscriptions. What the hieratic writing is to the hieroglyphic, the like is the cuneiform to a system of pictorial representation which seems to have become almost obsolete at the time of the earliest Chaldæan inscriptions. But some traces of it still remain in very early writings, and in those fixed determinative signs which give a particular significance to the word that follows them, as an eight-rayed star for the name of a god. In this second stage the Chaldæan characters are remarkable for consisting entirely of straight lines, without curves. These lines are, in the earliest inscriptions, of uniform thickness, being in fact scratches made by the point of a graving tool; and this form is preserved in the numerous engraved gems that have been discovered. The plastic nature of their building materials, however, suggested the mode

of forming each line by the pressure of the lower part of the graving-tool, or style, leaving the peculiar wedge-shaped mark (V) which has given to the character the name of *cuneiform*. Such are the simple lines, like the "straight-strokes" and "pot-hooks" of our school-days (only that the Chaldæan writing knows no pothooks), which, combined in various positions, perpendicular, horizontal, and oblique, were used at first in rude imitation of the pictorial symbols, and afterwards modified and simplified into syllabic and alphabetic characters. The relation of these forms to the Egyptian, and to those old Semitic or "Phœnician" characters from which all the European alphabets are derived, is too wide a question to be discussed here. Thus much we may affirm,—that alphabetic writing had at least one of its original sources among the Chaldæans.

Nor can we enter upon the history and principles of the recent discoveries in deciphering these records. The objection, that we have no instance of the recovery of a lost language in an unknown character, fortified by the case of the undeciphered Etruscan incriptions, seems not unanswerable. For while, on the one hand, we know enough of the principles of pictorial writing to have some clue to the *things* for which the characters are meant, some at least of the *names* of those things are furnished us by languages akin to those of the countries where we find these inscriptions; and thus we can approach the problem from two different sides. But this would avail little without some more definite key, such as the Rosetta stone supplies for the Egyptian hieroglyphics; and this is partly furnished by the bilingual and trilingual inscriptions, especially that of Darius Hystaspis at Behistun, in spite of the drawback that each of the versions is in the cuneiform character. This field of research is encumbered with difficulties far greater than in the parallel case of the hieroglyphics. The distinct preservation of the pictorial stage in Egypt gives a far plainer clue to the meaning of the characters; and in the second stage, as the Egyptians were one race, with a common language, each of the hieratic characters has but one phonetic value, while the cuneiform signs represent the many different names which the same object bore among the mixed population of Chaldæa. Still, it may be fairly said that the two cases are so far alike in principle, that the critic who regards cuneiform interpretation as delusive, should consistently deny the power of deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics. In both cases a special aid is

afforded by the occurrence of proper names; and in both the results obtained go far to vindicate the method.

The facility with which the cuneiform characters were impressed on the plastic clay, as compared with the process of engraving on the granite and sandstone of Egypt, on the one hand, and the nature of the material (so much more durable than the perishable papyri) on the other, has preserved for us a vast body of Chaldæan, Assyrian, and Babylonian literature. The cuneiform inscriptions are partly on bricks and partly on tablets. The bricks seem to bear none but royal inscriptions, commemorating the kings who built the edifices to which they belonged. The tablets are real *books*, and the whole body of them forms a vast library. The mass of writing on some of them is immense, the characters being as fine and the lines as close as those of an ordinary octavo page. The means taken to secure the writing from injury are equally curious and effectual. After the inscribed clay had been burnt to a terra-cotta far more durable than most sorts of stone, it was coated with another layer, on which the inscription was repeated, and the whole was again fired, so that the interior writing might be brought to light long after the exterior was effaced. Besides the inscriptions, many of these tablets bear the impression of seals, stamped by a cylindrical roller run across or round them, so that the device is repeated several times. The writing of the inscriptions is from right to left. This brief and general account of the cuneiform inscriptions, which applies alike to the old Chaldæan, the Assyrian, and the later Babylonian, will prepare us to appreciate the light they throw on the history of these kingdoms.

These records are, however, silent respecting the first period of the Chaldæan monarchy, that identified with the name of Nimrod. To the statements of Scripture concerning him, we can only add the fact of his deification by the name of Bel-Nipru, or Bel-Nimrod, which is interpreted "the god of the chase," an exact equivalent to the "mighty hunter before Jehovah."* His traditional fame in those regions is only equalled by that of Solomon and Alexander; and these old traditions are still cherished by the Arabs, who attach his name to the chief heaps of ruins that stand on the Chaldæan plain. Nor is his renown confined to the earth, if at least it was in his honour, as tradition says, that the constella-

* Rawlinson derives Nipru from the root *napar*—to *pursue*, or *cause to flee*. The name is also seen in that of the city of Nipur (now *Niffer*), the Biblical Calneh, which was probably the chief seat of the worship of Nimrod.

tion of Orion received from the Chaldees the name handed down by the Arab astronomers, of "the giant."

The first Chaldæan monarchy lasted, according to the scheme set forth above, a little more than two centuries and a half (B.C. 2234—1976). Berosus does not name any of the eleven kings whom he assigns to this dynasty, but Ovid * alludes to a certain Orchamus as the seventh in succession from Belus. A point of mythical genealogy in a poet of the Augustan age could have no historical value, unless we could trace it to some historical source. But recent researches have brought to light a name which bears a curious resemblance to this Orchamus. URUKH, or Urkham, has inscribed his name, with the title of "King of Ur and Kingi-Accad," on the basement story of all those Chaldæan buildings whose rude workmanship and sun-dried bricks, with the absence of lime-mortar, prove them to be the most ancient of all; for instance, at Mugheir (Ur), Warka (Erech), Niffer (Nipur or Calneh), and Senkereh (Ellasar). He may, therefore, be safely regarded as the earliest of the kings whose names occur on the monuments. "It is evident," says Professor Rawlinson,† "from the size and number of these works, that their erecter had the command of a vast amount of naked human strength, and did not scruple to employ that strength in constructions . . . . designed to extend his own fame and to perpetuate his own glory. We may gather from this that he was either an oppressor of his people, like some of the Pyramid Kings in Egypt, or else a conqueror, who thus employed the numerous captives carried off in his expeditions." His buildings appear to have been temples to all the chief Chaldæan deities. Their construction, though rude, exhibits considerable mechanical skill; and a careful system of drainage is employed. The inscriptions of this king are all of the second stage, in which the lines bear some rough likeness to the older pictorial symbols. The engraving of his signet cylinder is much less rude than the inscriptions. ‡

Urukh must almost certainly be ascribed to the third dynasty of Berosus, which we have seen reason to identify with the Cushite monarchy of Nimrod. § The close of this dynasty, according

* *Metam.* iv. 212, 213. † *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. pp. 199, 200.

‡ This point is rather doubtful, from the fact that the cylinder itself is lost, and we have only the engraving of it in the *Travels* of Sir R. K. Porter, who once possessed it. It is copied in Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. 1. p. 118.

§ Later inscriptions bear another name, which it is proposed to read as Ilgi, the son of Urukh, who finished some of his father's buildings at Ur, and, in particular, the temple of the moon-goddess.

to the above scheme (B.C. 1976), synchronises with the early life of Abraham, whose birth falls, according to the common chronology, in B.C. 1996. About fifty years later, we read of the great expedition against the land of Canaan, 1200 miles distant, by *Chedorlaomer*, whose name seems to be Hamitic, while his title, "King of Elam," points to a conquest of the Chaldæan plain by the Elymæan mountaineers. The monuments are said to bear traces of some such revolution; and this must therefore be the fourth or Chaldæan dynasty of Berosus, who assigns to it forty-nine kings in a period exceeding 450 years (B.C. 1976—1518), a period very nearly contemporary with the 430 years from the call of Abraham to the Exodus in B.C. 1491.

In fact, this period was marked near the beginning, as well as at its end, by what may be truly called an exodus of the chosen race. The Scripture narrative, regarding this movement in its relation to the Divine purposes and promise, ascribes it to God's call of Abraham; but that call may have been given by events connected with the political movements of the country. The Elamitic conquerors, like the new king in Egypt who knew not Joseph, may have begun to oppress the race of Shem, who preserved the worship of the true God. At all events, the migration of the family of Terah was not the only great movement of the Semitic race up the valley of the Euphrates. The Phœnicians pursued the same course about the same period; and while the family of Terah remained at Charran, they pressed on past the ranges of Lebanon to the strip of coast in the Mediterranean, which became so famous under their name. Their great city of Sidon was already built when Abraham lived in Canaan.

Chedorlaomer's movement in the same direction, when he reduced the five cities of the plain to tributaries, may have originated in the desire to reconquer the fugitive Semites. This monarch is the greatest of the Elamitic dynasty, and perhaps its founder. His name, which the LXX give in the form Chodollogomor, is now explained as Kudur-lagamer, *the Servant of Lagamer*, a Susianian deity.* The most interesting point in his

* Sir H. Rawlinson formerly identified him with Kudur-mabuk, whose name appears on inscriptions at Ur, with the title Apda Martu, which was interpreted *Ravager of the West*. Sir Henry now doubts this interpretation, and places Kudur-mabuk considerably later than Chedorlaomer. Some Egyptologers have supposed a connection between the expedition of Chedorlaomer and the invasion of the Shepherd Kings, the latter being driven out by the former. If the comparative chronology can be depended on, the so-called "Assyrian" dynasty of the Shepherds (the Sixteenth) would be Chaldæans, probably the branch that reigned at Nineveh.

second expedition, the story of which we have already told, is his alliance with the three kings—Tidal, king of nations; Amraphel, king of Shinar; and Arioch, king of Ellasar. In this quadruple alliance recent inquirers find a record of the four races which, from the earliest known period, composed the mixed population of Chaldæa. The "nations" led by Tidal were the Turanian or Scythian nomad tribes, by whom the country was first peopled: the Semites who remained in the country seem to have already established themselves under Amraphel at Babylon, afterwards the capital of their race, though in subjection to Chedorlaomer: the name of Arioch seems to mark him as the head of the Aryan population: while the Hamite race is represented by Chedorlaomer himself. All this agrees with the name of *Kiprath-arbat* (four nations or tongues) which is given, in the cuneiform inscriptions, to the subjects of this dynasty. And this mixture lasted under the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Medo-Persian empires, only that the Hamite race are merged in the later Semitic development. The Medo-Persian kings found it necessary to publish their edicts in the three chief forms of language,—their own, which is Aryan, the Assyrian, which is Semitic, and the Scythic or Turanian.*

The repulse of the confederate kings by Abraham seems to have put an end to Chaldæan conquests beyond the Euphrates. The notices of the family of Nahor, in the history of Isaac and Jacob, show Upper Mesopotamia apparently in a state of patriarchal independence. But the eastern part of that region, along the valley of the Tigris, or Assyria Proper, was evidently subject to the Chaldæan monarchy; for an inscription records the building of a temple at Kileh-Shergat by Shamas-Vul, the son of Ismi-Dagon, about B.C. 1850; and this Shamas-Vul appears to have been a viceroy of Assyria, since another son of Ismi-Dagon reigned in Chaldæa Proper. The names of fifteen or sixteen kings have been discovered on the monuments; and this is supposed to be nearer to the true number of the dynasty than the forty-nine ascribed to Berosus, whose numbers may easily have been corrupted. The records indicate a gradual removal of the seat of government up the valley from the original capital at Ur, till it becomes fixed at Babylon—a movement which would extend the arts and civilization of the Chaldæans to the northern parts of

* By a curious coincidence, the valley having fallen again under the dominion of a Turanian race, public documents are issued in Turkish, which is Turanian; Persian, which is Aryan; and Arabic, which is Semitic.

Mesopotamia. The whole region of Upper and Lower Mesopotamia seems to have been ultimately included in the empire.

The final overthrow of this great Cushite kingdom appears to have been effected by the Arabs of the desert. The western frontier might have seemed sufficiently protected from invasion by the vast waste ocean of sand. But it has always been the characteristic of the Arab tribes to multiply and flourish in those abodes so congenial to their wild nature, almost unseen by their civilized neighbours, on whom they have poured down their collected force when the torrent of invasion was least looked for. In the plain of Mesopotamia they have always been intruding, like the sands of their own deserts. It is not unlikely that they formed a considerable element of the population from very early times. Under the Assyrian Empire there were at least thirty of their tribes between the two great rivers, and they even extended into Media. At the present day they have overrun the whole country; but, like their own sands again, these early Arabs left no other monuments of their power than the destruction of the civilization that flourished before. It was not till long afterwards that they learned, from the nations they conquered, the arts and science for which they were famous in the middle ages. No records are preserved of their conquest of Chaldæa, beyond the mention by Berosus of an Arabian dynasty (his fifth) of nine kings, for a period of 245 years (B.C. 1518—1273). They interpose as a great historic blank between the fall of the Chaldæan Empire and the rise of the Assyrian.

Such a wave of Semite population could not pass over the land without giving a vast impulse to that tendency which the Hamite race has always shown to develope itself into the Semitic type, a development which must have been greatly aided by the influence of Assyria, now released from the Chaldæan yoke. When, therefore, this latter power grew into an empire, we are not surprised to find it bearing a Semitic character. But the old Chaldæan stock survived; and even retained the best part of its ancient power, the supremacy in letters, art, and science. Their architecture and writing were adopted by the Assyrians. Their men of learning retained the power of the priesthood, and formed an honoured and powerful caste, which may be traced even down to the time of the Parthian dominion. The common people, however, seem to have been merged in the Semitic population, as they certainly adopted a Semitic form of language. We shall soon have to relate the revolution by which the Chaldæan dynasty of Nabopolassar founded a new empire at Babylon after the lapse

of nearly nine centuries (B.C. 625), and the prowess of Nebuchadnezzar achieved the conquests vainly attempted by Chedorlaomer.

It remains to notice those arts of civilization which found one of their two earliest homes on the plains of Chaldæa. Professor Rawlinson has well observed, that "for the last three thousand years the world has been mainly indebted for its advancement to the Semitic and Indo-European races; but it was otherwise in the first ages. Egypt and Babylon—Mizraim and Nimrod, both descendants of Ham—led the way, and acted as the pioneers of mankind in the various untrodden fields of art, literature, and science. Alphabetic writing, astronomy, history, chronology, architecture, plastic art, sculpture, navigation, agriculture, textile industry, seem all of them to have had their origin in one or other of these two countries." * Of the architecture and writing of the Chaldæans we have already spoken. Further details respecting the manufacture of their bricks and the construction of their edifices will be found in the works descriptive of the recent discoveries. Their massive temples seem to have been almost destitute of external ornament; the interiors were decorated with small pieces of choice stones, as agate, alabaster, and marble, and with plates of gold, fixed to the walls by metal nails. Of their domestic architecture we have but scanty remains. The structures on which, next to their temples, they bestowed most pains, were their tombs, which are collected in great numbers about the principal cities. This fact, coupled with the paucity of tombs found in Assyria and Upper Babylonia, suggests the belief that, down to the latest age of those empires, the dead were brought from all parts of Mesopotamia for interment in the sacred soil of Chaldæa. Some of the cemeteries, however, as at Mugheir (Ur), bear the marks of one age, and that probably the most ancient. These old tombs are of three kinds. The first is a vault of sun-dried bricks laid in mud, constructed in the form of a false arch, like some of the Egyptian buildings and the Scythian tombs. From the tops of the side walls, which slope a little outwards, courses of brick are laid so as to project inwards till they almost meet at the summit, which is closed by a single brick. These seem to have been family tombs; for they generally contain three or four skeletons, with drinking vessels and articles of ornament. The next form is a clay coffin, in the shape of a dish-cover, at the bottom of which the skeleton is seen, lying on a mat. Never more than two skeletons are found together, and these

* *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 75.

are male and female, doubtless husband and wife. The third sort of coffin is composed of two bell-shaped jars, placed mouth to mouth with holes at the smaller ends. The coffins are laid in rows, and often in several layers, not beneath the surface of the oozy plain, but under artificial mounds, which are provided with an elaborate system of drainage. The drinking vessels, ornamental vases, and lamps found in the tombs give us numerous examples of the skill to which the Chaldæans attained in pottery. Tools and weapons are also found, which mark, here as elsewhere, the distinction between a "stone" and a "bronze or iron" age. Almost from the earliest times we find traces of the art of working metal into small articles for use and ornament, as nails, bolts, rings, chains, bracelets, earrings, and fishhooks. The only metals so employed are gold, copper, tin, lead, and iron: the absence of silver deserves notice: a bronze of copper and tin is also used. Of textile fabrics we must not expect to find many remains; but the delicately striped and fringed dresses seen on the most ancient signet cylinders confirm the fame of those "goodly Babylonish garments," which had been imported into Palestine, and which Achan coveted, in the time of Joshua. Linen is said to have been found adhering to some of the skeletons; and their heads rest on a sort of tasseled cushion.*

There is reason to believe that an extensive commerce was carried on from the ports of the Persian Gulf, along the course of the Euphrates, and by caravans across the Syrian Desert, and that the Phœnicians obtained ivory and other Indian products by way of Babylon.

It is, however, by their cultivation of arithmetic and astronomy, and the application of these sciences to the uses of common life, that the Chaldæans have left the most permanent impress upon all succeeding ages. To say nothing of the probability that they devised the system of mapping out and naming the stars, which was already known to Job, it is to their astronomical records that we owe the existence of any approach to a trustworthy chronology of those remote ages; while all the systems of weights and measures used throughout the civilized world, down to the present time, are based more or less upon that which they invented.† Their inscriptions, which contain some very curious

* For further details on all these points, see Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. ch. v., from which the above account is abridged.

† For a full account of this system, and its relations to those of other nations, the reader is referred to *Böckh's Metrologische Untersuchungen*, to the review of that work

arithmetical tables, perpetuate their simple and natural form of decimal notation, in which, as in the Roman, new signs are used for 10, 50, 100, and 1000. But they also used the sexagesimal scale, which unites the advantages of the decimal and duodecimal; and, as we have already had occasion to mention, their denominations of numerical quantity advance by multiples of 10 and 6 alternately.

Astronomical science seems to have been the chief portion of the learning which was handed down by the Chaldæan priests as an hereditary possession. Like the Egyptians, they enjoyed a clear sky and an unbounded horizon; and they seem to have cultivated astronomy independently, and even more successfully than the kindred race. There is reason to believe that they mapped out the Zodiac, invented the nomenclature which we still use for the seven days of the week,* divided the days into equinoctial hours, as distinguished from the hours of variable length which depend on sunrise and sunset, and measured time by the water-clock. Ptolemy has preserved notices of the great accuracy of their observations, especially in the calculation of a lunar eclipse in B.C. 721. Connected with their astronomy and star-worship, they had an elaborate system of judicial astrology.

But all these matters, however interesting, belong rather to a scientific discussion of their antiquities than to a strictly historical work. The reader who desires to master the whole subject must peruse those recent works to which we have throughout acknowledged our obligations, and which have lifted the corner of that veil which we may hope to see more completely withdrawn from this most ancient scene in the history of the world, when the vast mass of existing inscriptions shall have been deciphered.

by Mr. Grote, in the *Classical Museum*, vol. i., and to the articles on Weights and Measures, in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, 2nd edition.

* This nomenclature was based on the idea that each hour of the day was governed by a planet, and each day by the governor of its first hour; and from this one the day received its name. In the Solar System, commonly called the "Ptolemaic," the planets are placed round the earth (as a centre), in the following order, *reckoning inwards*:—(1) Saturn, (2) Jupiter, (3) Mars, (4) The Sun, (5) Venus, (6) Mercury, (7) The Moon. The Chaldæan week seems to have begun with *Saturday*, its first hour and first day being sacred to *Saturn*, the star whose sphere embraced all the rest, the symbol of the god Bel; but it makes no difference where we begin. Then, reckoning in the above order, the 25th hour falls to the *Sun*, and this is the first hour of *Sunday*; the first of the next day, *Monday*, falls to the *Moon*; of *Tuesday* to *Mars*; of *Wednesday* to *Mercury*; of *Thursday* to *Jupiter*; and of *Friday* to *Venus*. The matter is fully discussed by Archdeacon Hare, in the *Philological Museum*, vol. i.

We have now to turn our eyes to the great ASSYRIAN MONARCHY, which we find established on the ruins of the Old Babylonian Empire, at the close of the period of 245 years (B.C. 1518—1273), which Berosus assigns to his Fifth Dynasty of Arabians.

Its original seat was on the upper course of the Tigris, where the district about Nineveh, in the angle between the Tigris and its confluent, the Great Zab, preserved the ancient name in the dialectic form, Aturia. With the growing power of the kingdom, the name of Assyria was extended to the whole of Upper Mesopotamia, between Mounts Masius and Zagros, on the north and east, the Euphrates on the west, and the natural line which divides it from the alluvial level on the south. This region has a much more varied surface and a cooler climate than the Chaldæan plain. The greater part of it consists of undulating pastures, diversified by woodlands, and watered by the numerous confluents of the Tigris; but the valleys furnish arable soil almost as rich as the Chaldæan plain itself; and the natural products of the two regions are not very different. On the north and east, the country assumes an Alpine character.

The Book of Genesis contains the record of the primeval foundation of this kingdom at NINEVEH.* Though the text is obscure on one point, it clearly derives the kingdom of Asshur from that of Nimrod; and all our information tends to the same result, namely that, though the Assyrian people were Semitic, the dynasty was Chaldæan. The traditions preserved by the Greeks make Ninus the son of Belus, and Semiramis the daughter of Derceto, and represent the Babylonian religion as established in Assyria; while the local tradition of the present day, with its usual strange fidelity to hidden facts, connects the name of Nimrod with the ancient remains of Assyria as well as of Babylonia. We have seen that the newly discovered records represent Assyria as a vice-royalty under the Chaldæan empire; and the subjugation of the latter by the Arabs (about B.C. 1273) would give the former the fairest opportunity of rising to an independent state. It is not till much later still that we have trustworthy accounts of Assyrian history, and we need only glance at the mythical legends with which the Greek writers fill up the interval.

These legends represent the rapid rise of a great conquering power, under a mighty king, and a mightier queen, who derive their lineage from the gods, and whose degenerate successors grow

* Gen. ix. 11: comp. p. 45.

feebler and feebler till the last of them perishes by a fate worthy of the catastrophe of a Greek tragedy. NINUS, son of Belus, is the "hero eponymus" of the Empire.* The warrior queen, SEMIRAMIS, daughter of the goddess Derceto, is one of those impersonations of masculine energy in a female form, in which the Oriental imagination delighted; † while the last of her descendants, SARDANAPALUS, is a man whose effeminate character completes the contrast between the close of the dynasty and its commencement, but who yet knows how to die with courage worthy of a king. The acts ascribed to these sovereigns may be related in a few words. Ninus, having revolted from the King of Babylon, whom he takes prisoner and puts to death, overruns Armenia, Asia Minor, and the shores of the Euxine as far as the Tanais, subdues the Medes and Persians, and makes war upon the Bactrians. Semiramis, the wife of one of the chief nobles, coming to the camp before Bactra, takes the city by a bold stroke. Her courage wins the love of Ninus, and she becomes his queen. On his death (according to one account, by her own hand) she succeeds to the throne, and undertakes the conquest of India with one of those armies which Oriental imagination numbered by millions; but she is utterly defeated by the Indian king, Stabobrates.‡ To these two sovereigns the Greek tradition ascribed nearly all the great works on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. Ninus built Nineveh, on a scale so vast that it might surpass any city that should ever be erected; and the great pyramid outside its walls formed his tomb. To Semiramis were ascribed the edifices of Babylon, the canals, the dykes along the rivers, and most of the other great works in Babylonia as well as Assyria. Her personal character seems to be the ideal of a female demigod according to the Oriental standard, to which history exhibits an occasional approach. Founded on the characteristics which we see in Derceto, Astarte, and Dido, she exhibits also some of the qualities of Catherine of Russia. The stories of her amours are doubtless connected with a well known aspect of Oriental mythology; and, in later times, many of the mounds which covered ruined cities were called the graves of the lovers of Semiramis.

Ninyas, § the feeble son of Ninus and Semiramis, is the head of

* His name is evidently derived from that of Nineveh. It does not occur in Scripture or in the native records; for it has no connection with Nimrod.

† Semiramis (from *Shem* and *Ram*) signifies *the exalted name.*

‡ This name is said to be the Sanskrit *Stavarapatis*, that is, *Lord of the Terra Firma.*

§ This name is simply a patronymic from Ninus.

a degenerate race, of whom nothing worth notice is recorded till we come to the end of the monarchy and the death of Sardanapalus. This last king of Assyria, says the legend, abandoned all care for his falling empire, and, shutting himself up in his palace with his women, passed his time in effeminate luxury. But when Arbaces, the satrap of Media, and Belesis, the chief of the Chaldæan priests of Babylon, marched against him in leagued rebellion, he suddenly took the field, and, after performing prodigies of valour, was defeated, and besieged in Nineveh for two years. When further resistance became impossible, Sardanapalus collected all his treasures, with his wives and concubines, on a vast funeral pile, and then ascending it and setting it on fire with his own hand, he perished in the conflagration of his palace. The date assigned to this catastrophe (about B.C. 876) is full two centuries and a half before the fall of Nineveh, nor did the latter event take place under a Sardanapalus. If the story has any historical foundation, it represents a confusion of two very different and distant revolutions. But in truth its complexion is wholly mythical, the character and fate of Sardanapalus representing those of the androgynous deity Sandon, as plainly as Semiramis corresponds to the goddess Derceto.

The kernel of historic fact enveloped in this legend is the early foundation of an independent Assyrian kingdom, at or near Nineveh, during the period of the Arab domination in Babylonia, and the spread of its rule, first over the latter country, and afterwards over the adjacent regions; the subsequent decline of the empire, though by no means with so rapid and steady a degeneracy, and its final overthrow by the Medes and Babylonians.

Light has been thrown upon the chaos of these traditions, and the hope of historic certainty held forth, as in the case of the early Babylonian empire, by recent discoveries in cuneiform literature. From these, compared with the fragments of Berosus, the notices in Scripture history, and the scattered indications of the classical writers, we learn to distinguish two great periods in the history of Assyria, divided by the first temporary establishment of Babylonian independence. This epoch is that known in chronology as the *Era of Nabonassar*, B.C. 747. It separates the Assyrian kingdom into the Upper and Lower Dynasties, corresponding respectively to the Sixth and Seventh Dynasties of Berosus.* The former, reckoning from the establishment of their power over

* See the Table at p. 196.

all Mesopotamia by the overthrow of the Arab dynasty in Chaldæa, ruled for more than 500 years * (B.C. 1273–747); the latter for about 120 years only (B.C. 747–625). †

The annals of the Upper Dynasty, however curious as an antiquarian problem awaiting a fuller solution, have little to do with the general course of history. It was, as we have already seen, at *Kileh-Shergat* (the ancient Asshur), about 60 miles south of Nineveh, that Shamas-iva, the son of the Babylonian king Ismi-Dagon, erected a temple. Hence it has been inferred that this city was the capital under the Chaldæan viceroys; and that it remained so under the earliest independent kings of Assyria seems probable from the appearance of their names on bricks and fragments of pottery found among the ruins. These mere names, Bel-lush, Pudil, Iva-lush, and Shalma-bar or Shalma-rish, represent all our knowledge of the Assyrian kingdom during the thirteenth century B.C.; and it is admitted that even the names are rendered very doubtful by certain peculiarities of the cuneiform writing.

A second series of six kings are supposed to belong to the succeeding century and a half (about B.C. 1200—1050). Five of their names are found on the famous Kileh-Shergat cylinder, "the earliest document of a purely historical character which has as yet been recovered by the researches pursued in Mesopotamia." ‡ Here we meet, for the first time, with the afterwards famous name of TIGLATH-PILESER (the Tiger Lord of Asshur), § who celebrates the deeds of his four predecessors. The first of these, to whom he ascribes the earliest organization of the empire, seems to have NIN for the essential part of his name, so that in him we may probably trace the historic prototype of Ninus. The two succeeding kings are named as prosperous rulers over Assyria; but there is no mention of any foreign conquests till the reign of Tiglath-Pileser's father, "the powerful king, the subduer of foreign countries, he who reduced all the lands of the Magian world." A more definite account is given of the conquests of Tiglath-Pileser I. himself, during his first five years. On the north and east he extended his power over the highlands of Armenia and Media; on the

* Herodotus (i. 95) gives the period as 520 years; Berosus, more exactly, as 526. The longer chronology of Ctesias is quite untrustworthy.

† This date seems now to be established for the destruction of Nineveh, instead of the formerly received epoch of B.C. 606.

‡ Rawlinson, Essay vii. to Book i. of Herodotus, § 7.

§ *Tiglath* or *Diglath*, the Assyrian for *tiger*, is used both as a royal title, and as the name of the river Tigris. The letters *l* and *r* are the most easily interchangeable of all.

north-west he pushed his conquests as far as Cappadocia; and on the west and south-west he appears to have subdued the Aramæan tribes of Upper Mesopotamia, and those along the course of the Euphrates down to the confines of Babylonia.* But the latter state, under its king Merodach-adan-akhi, was still so powerful as not only to resist the arms of Tiglath-Pileser, but even to make a successful invasion of Assyria. We learn this interesting fact from a monument set up by Sennacherib, which also seems to fix the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I. to the end of the twelfth century, B.C.† His son, Asshur-bani-pal I., whose name occurs in an inscription in the British Museum, closes the series of the six kings under whom Assyria seems to have become an empire.

After a brief gap, the monuments supply us with continuous information to the end of the dynasty, a period of just three hundred years, during which eight kings handed down the sceptre from father to son in an unbroken line (B.C. 1050).‡ They appear to have reigned still at Kileh-Shergat, till the fifth of them transferred the capital to Calah, another city of the original Assyrian tetrapolis.§ In the name of this king, ASSHUR-DANI-PAL, we recognise the SARDANAPALUS of the Greeks; but, as we have seen in the case of Sesostris, the historic prototype has no necessary identity with the traditional personage to whom he has furnished a name. The true Sardanapalus was the mightiest conqueror of the Upper Dynasty; and, instead of falling a victim to the power of the King of Babylon, it was he who first added Babylonia to the Assyrian Empire.‖ On the opposite side, his conquests were pushed—to use the words of his own monuments—"to Lebanon and the Great Sea," and the kings of all the chief Phœnician cities paid him tribute. Among these, as Professor Rawlinson thinks, was Ethbaal, the father of Jezebel.

Sardanapalus is the first known of the Assyrian kings who left behind them those great works of architecture which, lately disinterred from their mounds of shapeless ruin, have restored the monarchy to its true place in the history of the world. For while these palaces confirm by their magnitude the traditional splendour

* Respecting the claim of conquests in Egypt by Tiglath-Pileser, and the still earlier establishment there of Assyrian dynasties (the Twenty-second and Twenty-third), see chap. vii. pp. 125, 126.

† Professor Rawlinson assigns his accession to B.C. 1113.

‡ Such is the apparent testimony of the monuments; but the average length of the reigns is too great to be accepted without confirmation.

§ Its ruins are at *Nimrud*, forty miles to the north of Kileh-Shergat.

‖ We shall soon see, however, that the conquest was not yet permanently effected.

of the Assyrian kings, the scenes pourtrayed in sculpture on the walls exhibit a vivid picture of their life in war and peace. The life, we mean, of the kings, not that of the people, who only appear as fighting the battles of the monarchs, swelling the pomp of their processions, or serving as beasts of burthen in the transport of their colossal monuments. Those invaluable records of private life, which are preserved for us in the wall-paintings of the Egyptian tombs, are wanting here; for, as we might have expected, the scenes pourtrayed on these palace walls are all for the glorification of the king. We see him clothed with the symbolic attributes and wielding the thunderbolts of the gods whose names he bore; leading forth his armies to war, crossing great rivers, storming cities by the aid of the embankment, the testudo, the boring spear, and the battering ram; returning in triumph with hosts of captives, some of whom are dragged along by rings which pierce the lip, others are impaled in long rows, and others flayed alive. Elsewhere he appears in the chase, piercing the lion in a close encounter, or pursuing the swift wild-ass; and again we behold him superintending the transport, by multitudes of captives, of those colossal statues, half man and half bull or lion, which have now been placed in our own museums by the energy and tact with which modern travellers have used free labour.

In the Assyrian, as in the Egyptian sculptures, the king is distinguished from the common herd by his colossal stature, the fit emblem of his place in those Asiatic despotisms, to which popular rights and liberties were unknown. As in the case of the Egyptian monuments, we must be content to refer the reader for details to the works of Assyrian antiquaries, especially of Mr. Layard, and to the rich collection of Assyrian sculptures which the British Museum owes chiefly to him.* A great number of these sculptures were found in the north-west palace of Nimrud, which was erected by Sardanapalus, and is only surpassed by the palace of Sennacherib at Koyunjik.† This king was also the builder of temples both at Calah and Nineveh.

The interest of these works of architecture is surpassed, at least for the student of history, by a monument of Shalmanubar

* This is written for English readers; but an equally emphatic mention is due to the labours of M. Botta and the collection of Assyrian antiquities in the Louvre.

† For a full description of these palaces, with restorations, the reader is referred to the works of Mr. Layard and Professor Rawlinson. The plan, stated generally, comprised a vast central unroofed hall (suited to the public open-air life of the Orientals) surrounded by many chambers, some magnificent, others very small and dark.

(or Shalmaneser), the son of Sardanapalus, which was brought by Mr. Layard from Nimrud, and deposited in the British Museum. It is an obelisk in black basalt, about seven feet high and two feet wide at the base, sculptured with a few bas-reliefs, and an inscription containing 210 lines of fine clear writing.* It records a long series of victories achieved during thirty-one years of this king's reign, and presents us incidentally with a picture of the political state of Western Asia at the beginning of the ninth century B.C., the period marked in Israel by the reign and fall of Ahab and his dynasty.

On the coast of the Mediterranean, the Phœnicians pay tribute to Assyria. The power of Syria is at its height, upheld by a great league between the kings of Hamath (in Cœle-Syria) and Damascus,† and the confederacy of the Khatti or Hittites, who are so often seen at war with the kings of Egypt; and the monument confirms all that we read in Scripture about the war-chariots of these nations. Northern Syria and Upper Mesopotamia are occupied by various tribes, all subject to the Assyrians, whose power extends to the Tuplai (Tibareni) in Cappadocia. On the south, the "Accad" and "Kaldai" of Babylonia, and the Tsukhi (Shuhites?) higher up the Euphrates, own the same subjection. Beyond the mountain tribes of Zagros, a large part of Media has been subdued;‡ and the appearance of the two-humped Bactrian camel on the bas-reliefs has been thought to confirm the legend of the conquest of Bactria by Ninus and Semiramis. It may be, however, that the animal then ranged further westward. The chief interest of the record, however, consists in its mention of the earliest relations between Assyria and the Holy Land. The Black Obelisk King made several campaigns against the Syrian confederacy already mentioned. In his fourteenth year he defeated Benhadad II. in three great battles; and in his eighteenth year he followed Hazael into Antilibanus and routed him with great slaughter, and soon afterwards the Syrian king appears as his tributary. But the inscription, moreover, mentions the tribute of gold and silver brought to the conqueror by "Yahua, the son of Khumri," a name in which no one can fail

* A translation has been published by Dr. Hincks in the *Dublin University Magazine* for October, 1853.

† The name of *Ben-hadad* has been distinctly made out, but in the form *Ben-idri*, which corresponds to the Υἱὸς Ἄδερ of the LXX. The same interchange of *d* and *r* is seen in the name Hadadezer or Hadarezer (2 Sam. viii. 3—12, compared with 1 Chron. xviii. 3—10).

‡ Whether the Persians are mentioned is doubtful. The numerous tribes of the

to recognise "Jehu, the son of Omri." * The subsequent devastation of Israel by Hazael may have been an act of revenge for this submission. It was under Shalmanubar that Nineveh recovered the position of a royal city, though the king resided chiefly at Calah, where he built that which is known as the central palace of Nimrud.

The end of Shalmanubar's reign is calculated as having occurred about B.C. 850. In the interval of more than a century to the supposed date of the end of the dynasty (B.C. 747), we have the names of only two kings. Shamas-iva, the second son of Shalmanubar, earned the succession by putting down a great rebellion of his elder brother Sardanapalus. He recorded on an obelisk the campaigns of his first four years, the most important of which was against the king of Babylon, whose mixed army of Chaldæans, Elamites, and Syrians, was utterly defeated by Shamas-iva.

The obscure annals of Iva-lush III. derive a peculiar interest from their supposed connexion with the Jewish history, on the one hand, and on the other, with the legends of Semiramis. He continued that course of conquest to the west, which had now become the chief enterprise of the Assyrian kings. The mention, on one of his monuments, of the *Khumri*,† in connexion with the people of Phœnicia, Damascus, and Idumæa, as his tributaries, suggests his identification with PUL, ‡ who received tribute from Menahem, king of Israel, about B.C. 770. Another inscription gives us the name of Semiramis, who thus emerges from the region of mythology as the wife of Iva-lush, and apparently his associate in the government. This discovery confirms the date assigned by Herodotus to Semiramis, and it is not inconsistent with his making Semiramis a Babylonian princess. For we have now reached a point at which the history of Babylonia becomes closely connected with that of Assyria, as will be seen presently, when we come to speak of the later Babylonian kingdom. It will suffice for the present to say that the probable connexion between the end of the Upper Assyrian Dynasty and the rise of a new power at Babylon

Bartsu or *Partsu*, in the mountains south-east of Armenia, might perhaps be the Parthians, but they are clearly the Persians in the inscriptions of Sennacherib.

* The erroneous patronymic is explained by Dr. Hincks as referring to Jehu's being king of Samaria, the city of Omri. Professor Rawlinson supposes that Jehu represented himself as belonging to Omri's dynasty, a sort of claim very common with usurpers.

† This is interpreted, as before, to mean the people of Samaria.

‡ The form in the LXX is Phaloch or Phalos; and the Belochus of Eusebius seems to be the same.

under Nabonassar has caused the former event to be placed at the "Era of Nabonassar" (B.C. 747).*

The Lower Assyrian Dynasty begins with TIGLATH-PILESER II. Of the manner of his accession we have no trustworthy accounts; but the absence of all reference to his ancestors in his inscriptions is thought to imply that he was an usurper, and not of royal birth. We possess tablets inscribed with his annals for seventeen years, in a very fragmentary state. Besides campaigns in Upper Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Media, he carried on two wars of much historical importance. The first of these, to which we shall recur presently, was against Babylon; the other against Syria and Israel. In the preceding chapter we saw how Ahaz, king of Judah, pressed by the confederacy of Rezin and Pekah, obtained the aid of Tiglath-Pileser, who slew Rezin and destroyed the Syrian kingdom of Damascus, and afterwards carried the eastern and some of the northern Israelites into captivity. The Assyrian king's monuments record the expedition as made in the eighth year of his reign (B.C. 740).

This first captivity of Israel was soon followed by their last war with SHALMANESER, whose name has not been found on the monuments. The capture of Samaria, which the Scripture narrative appears to ascribe (though not positively) to Shalmaneser, is claimed by his successor SARGON, or Sargina, the father of Sennacherib, as an exploit of the first year of his reign. It seems probable that Sargon was an usurper, who took advantage of Shalmaneser's absence at the siege of Samaria to seize the throne. As he appears systematically to have erased Shalmaneser's name from the monuments, he is not unlikely to have claimed a conquest which the latter may have been effecting at the very moment of his own usurpation. At all events, the inscription serves to fix the accession of Sargon to B.C. 721. He reigned nineteen years; and his extant annals extend over fifteen. They are derived chiefly from the splendid palace which he built, as he himself tells us, near Nineveh, and the ruins of which at Khorsabad have supplied the museum of the Louvre with its choicest remains of Assyrian antiquity.†

These monuments show Sargon to have been one of the greatest

* The difficulties as to the chronology are discussed by Professor Rawlinson (*Herod.* Essay vii. to Book i.). The date is at all events correct within twenty years.

† *Khorsabad* is 15 miles N. by E. of *Koyunjik*, the site of the true Nineveh. Sargon gave the place his own name, which it retained down to the Arab conquest, in the form of *Dur Sargina*.

of Assyrian conquerors. Immediately after the capture of Samaria, he marched in person against Babylon, and perhaps set Merodach-Baladan on the throne. At a later period we find him making war with the Chaldæans, and driving Merodach-Baladan into banishment. On the south-west, his defeat of the Philistines in a great battle at Raphia, and his capture of their five cities, laid open the frontier of Egypt, whose king paid tribute to Sargon * (B.C. 715). Later in his reign he took Ashdod † and Tyre, and received tribute from the Greeks of Cyprus, where a statue of Sargon, set up at Idalium, proves that he made an expedition into the island, either in person or by his generals. He continued the wars of his predecessors in the mountainous regions of the north-west and north; while, on the east, the conquest of Media, so often attempted before, supplied him with a territory in which to plant the captives from Samaria. The closer intercourse of Assyria with Egypt at this period is marked by a decidedly Egyptian influence on the architecture, pottery, glass-making, and other arts of Assyria.‡

The reign of SENNACHERIB, the son of Sargon (B.C. 702—680), is at once the most interesting, in an historical point of view, of all in the Assyrian annals, and that at which the empire reached the highest pitch of prosperity. Besides all that we read of him in Scripture, and the brief notices of the ancient historians, we possess his own annals for the first eight years of his reign. § He restored Nineveh to its position as the royal residence; rebuilt the city and its palaces by the labour of hosts of captives, and with materials contributed by all the subject kings and states; and added a palace exceeding in size and magnificence all that had been erected by former kings. It was amidst the ruins of this edifice at *Koyunjik* that Mr. Layard made the most important of his discoveries; and in the sculptures that lined its walls we see the life of Assyria when it was most flourishing.

A second palace built by Sennacherib is buried beneath the mound, by the name of which tradition bears her witness to

* This king, who is simply called *Pharaoh* in the inscription, was either Sabaco I. or Sabaco II. of the twenty-fifth or Ethiopian dynasty. The cartouche of one of the Sabacos, evidently the impression of a ring, has been found at Koyunjik, side by side with the seal of an Assyrian king, probably in ratification of a treaty.

† Compare Isaiah xx.

‡ The earliest known specimen of transparent glass in Assyria is a small bottle found at Nimrud, bearing the name of Sargon.—Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 197.

§ A separate tablet mentions his twenty-second year; and various proofs concur to show that this was the true length of his reign.

Jonah's mission to the Ninevites.* Like his predecessors, Sennacherib was engaged in constant wars with the tribes round the northern and eastern frontiers of Assyria; but by far the most interesting events in his annals are the campaigns against Babylon and the countries of the west. Of the former we shall speak presently: the latter are recorded with a minuteness which affords the most interesting parallel between sacred and secular history.

It was in the third year of his reign (B.C. 700) that, having previously subdued Babylonia and Upper Mesopotamia, the king crossed the Euphrates, and received the submission of the cities of Syria, Phœnicia, Philistia, and Idumæa, in most cases without a struggle: Judæa seems to have been regarded as already in complete subjection. His successes in Philistia provoked the resistance of the kings of Egypt, who were the dependent allies of the King of Meroë; † and Hezekiah seems to have availed himself of their advance to show symptoms of revolt, by encouraging a rising among the Philistines. Having utterly defeated the Egyptians near Lachish, and taken that city and Libnah, Sennacherib proceeded to chastise Judæa, taking forty-six fenced cities, and carrying off 200,000 captives. On his laying siege to Jerusalem, Hezekiah agreed to pay a tribute of 300 talents of silver and thirty talents of gold, besides rich presents. His submission was accepted; but he was deprived of a part of his land, which was given to the princes of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza. Whether after all these successes the army of the Assyrian came to the disastrous end recorded in Scripture, or whether, as seems more probable, that catastrophe closed a second expedition against Egypt and Judæa, is still a question. In any case we should not expect so calamitous an event to be mentioned in the royal annals. Nor is there any ground for supposing that the death of Sennacherib followed immediately on his flight home. The Scripture narrative says expressly that "he returned and dwelt at Nineveh," and his monuments attest that he continued to decorate his palaces and to make war upon the tribes of Armenia and Media. It was among the former that his two sons found a refuge, after they had murdered their father in the temple of Nisroch, a deed respecting which the monuments are again naturally silent.

Sennacherib was succeeded by his son Esar-haddon (B.C. 680),

* *Nebb'-Yunus*, that is, the *Prophet Jonah*. This is not the place to enter into the question of Jonah's date.

† This statement throws light on the probable condition of Egypt under the Ethiopian Dynasty. See chap. vii. p. 127.

the Asshur-akh-iddina of the inscriptions, who reigned in person at Babylon as well as Nineveh.* His inscriptions claim victories over the Egyptians, and over the old enemies on the confines of Assyria. He was probably, as we have seen, the king who colonized the waste lands of Samaria with settlers from Babylonian cities, a proceeding which implies the treatment of Babylonia, to some extent, as a conquered province. This agrees with the mention of a war in Susiana against a son of Merodach-Baladan. Like his two predecessors, Esar-haddon was a magnificent builder. Besides extensive repairs of former edifices, he erected the south-west palace of Nimrud, and one of those at Nebbi-Yunus, which he styles "the palace of the pleasures of all the year." His inscriptions record the aid he received in these works from the kings of Syria, Judah, and Phœnicia, and even from the princes of the Greek cities of Cyprus, not only in materials but in the services of skilled artists. The bas-reliefs of his palaces show that freer and more graceful style which had already begun to modify the old archaic stiffness of Greek art. We have already seen the same influences at work in Egypt under Psammetichus, who was contemporary with the later years of Esar-haddon. But in Assyria, as in many other countries, the fine arts culminated just as the power of the empire was dying out, under Sardanapalus (Asshurbani-pal II.), the son of Esar-haddon.

The causes of the rapid decline of the Assyrian power may be traced in the nature of the empire, as it is exhibited to us in the records of the Lower Dynasty, and especially when at its height, under Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon. Nominally including the whole of Western Asia from the river Halys and the Mediterranean to the Desert of Iran, and from the Caspian and the mountains of Armenia to Arabia and the Persian Gulf, it was utterly wanting in unity, even of administration. It embraced a number of small kingdoms, and of cities and tribes under many petty chieftains who were bound to pay tribute and render personal homage to the sovereign, and to give a free passage to his troops.† But this duty was limited by the king's power to enforce it; nor would the yoke be made more welcome by the severe measures used to suppress revolt,—the destruction of cities and the cruel execution of their defenders,—forays in which men and cattle were carried off by tens and hundreds of thousands,—the deportation of whole nations, to labour as captives on the king's buildings, or to

* This accounts for Manasseh's being carried captive to *Babylon*, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

† Military service in the armies of Assyria does not seem to have been required.

mourn as exiles beside the waters of a strange land. The Assyrian armies marched back when they had inflicted these chastisements, and there was no military occupation of the conquered countries.* The fabric of the empire was a web of Penelope, ever undoing and beginning again. We have seen even the most powerful kings constantly renewing the same wars with the same frontier tribes; and the accession of a weak ruler was the signal for the resolution of the empire into its independent elements. The want of cohesion, however, among these scattered elements, secured the central government from a speedy overthrow; to effect this needed some concentrated power from without. Egypt threatened more than once to do the work; but the distance was too great, and her strength was unequal to the task. Babylon, the nearest neighbour of Assyria, was in a state of chronic disaffection, but her attempts at open revolt were speedily put down. At length a new power comes upon the stage, alien from Assyria in race and religion, and recently consolidated into a great nation. We have seen, from the very first, that the range of Mount Zagros, bordering the Tigris and Euphrates valley on the east, divided its Semitic and Hamite nations from the Aryan tribes of the tableland of Iran. The MEDES, who occupied the latter region, have often been mentioned among the peoples conquered by successive Assyrian kings; but these appear to have been only partial conquests made from time to time over separate tribes. We have yet to trace the history of the great Median nation, which, consolidated by Cyaxares, became the instrument for overthrowing the power of Assyria, and even blotting out her existence.†

The interval from the death of Esar-haddon to this catastrophe is exceedingly obscure. The Assyrian monuments have as yet supplied the names of only two kings. Asshur-bani-pal is supposed to have reigned from about B.C. 660 to about B.C. 640. The narrow limits of his recorded wars, in Susiana against the grandson of Merodach-Baladan, and in Armenia, indicate those within which the empire was contracted. His successor, Asshur-emit-ili is only known as the builder of a palace at Nimrud, the comparative meanness of which gives a sign of the degradation of the monarchy. One cause of its rapid decline may be found in that great irruption of the Scythians into Western Asia, of which we shall have to speak further in the next chapter.

* How such countries were left to themselves, may be seen from the proceedings of Hezekiah and Josiah in Northern Palestine.

† See Chapter x.

From the former of these two kings the Greek writers, by a very natural confusion, obtained the name of that Sardanapalus, whose fate they have told so romantically. Berosus is said to have named Saracus as the king under whom Nineveh was destroyed; but it remains doubtful whether he is identical with Asshur-emit-ili, and indeed whether the latter was the last king of Assyria.

Of the events attending the fall of Nineveh and the empire the monuments contain no record, beyond the incontestable evidence of their own condition. "Calcined alabaster, masses of charred wood and charcoal, colossal statues split through with the heat, are met with in all parts of the Ninevite mounds, and attest the veracity of prophecy." * All bears witness to a conflagration of the palaces which could only have attended on an utter destruction of the monarchy, and tends so far to confirm the details which we only possess on the doubtful authority of Ctesias, and the more trustworthy narrative which Abydenus professes to have borrowed from Berosus.† He tells us that Saracus, being alarmed by the news of forces advancing against him from the sea,‡ sent Nabopolassar to take the command at Babylon. The latter seized the opportunity to rebel, and formed an alliance with the Median king.§ The united armies of the Medes, Chaldæans, and Babylonians marched against Nineveh; and Saracus, after a brief defence, retired to his palace, to which he set fire with his own hand, and perished, like Zimri,‖ in the conflagration. Ctesias assigns a duration of two years to the siege, and ascribes its success to an inundation of the Tigris, which swept away a part of the city wall. The prophet Nahum seems to indicate an entrance by the river gates, such as led to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. A similar false security may easily have led to a similar catastrophe.

The destruction of the empire and its capital were alike complete. Nineveh was not even permitted to become, like Babylon in later times, a capital of the conquering monarchy. Her ruin appears to have been hastened by the nature of the city, which seems only to have deserved the name in virtue of her palaces and temples. The

* Rawlinson, *Herod.* vol. i. p. 488; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 71, 103, 121, &c.; Nahum ii. 13, iii. 13, 15. The predictions of the fall of Nineveh and Assyria by Nahum and Zephaniah are so exact as to have a real *historic* value.

† See the fragment in Eusebius, *Chron.* part. i. c. 9.

‡ Rawlinson takes these for the Chaldæans and Susianians, who are known to have been in revolt during the preceding reign.

§ Both Abydenus and Polyhistor call this king Astyages; but the order of the Median history proves that it was Cyaxares.

‖ 1 Kings xvi. 18.

great mounds which are scattered over a space of about sixty miles from north to south along the course of the Tigris, above the confluence of the Great Zab, are found to contain the remains of palaces and temples, within enclosures as large as some cities. The spaces within these enclosures are strewn with fragments of pottery and other objects, undoubted signs of human habitation, but all traces of private houses have vanished. As the kings glorified only themselves in their sculptures, so they built for themselves alone; and the houses of unburnt brick which were scattered probably far and wide about their palaces, would soon return to dust. This circumstance has made it almost impossible to identify the true site of Nineveh, the knowledge of which had been lost as early as the time of Herodotus. No traces remain (as at Babylon) of the vast enclosures of the immense city which the ancient writers ascribed to Ninus. It seems most probable that the people dwelt in scattered villages among the several groups of palaces built by successive kings on elevated platforms, and that these latter alone were fortified. Of these edifices four chief groups are marked by as many mounds, on or near the left bank of the Tigris, not including *Kileh-Shergat* (the supposed ancient Asshur), which lies on the right bank, much farther to the south. These are *Nimrud* (Calah) above the confluence of the Great Zab, with the smaller mound of *Selamiyeh* a little further to the north; *Koyunjik* and *Nebby-Yunus*, opposite Mosul; *Shereef-Khan*, about five and a half miles further north; and *Khorsabad*, about ten miles N. by E. of Shereef-Khan. Considering the scattered mode of building Oriental cities, it is by no means improbable that all this area may have been included in the widest extent of the name of Nineveh, and such a supposition would explain the description of the prophet Jonah: "Now Nineveh was an exceeding great city of *three days' journey*."* But the name must have had originally a more definite meaning; and in this sense it probably belonged to the group of mounds opposite *Mosul*, which was at all events the Nineveh of Sennacherib's great palace. Here the mounds of *Koyunjik* and *Nebby-Yunus* are enclosed within a well-marked line of once strong fortifications, the circuit of which is about seven and a half miles, quite large enough for a primitive city, though far smaller than the Nineveh of tradition.

We must leave to the writers on Assyrian antiquities the de-

* Jonah iii. 3. That this is no mere hyperbole is evident from the specific statement that "Jonah began to enter into the city, *a day's journey*," in his first preaching.

scription of the state of art and civilization attested by the Assyrian remains. The whole is summed up by Professor Rawlinson in the following terms: "With much that was barbaric still attaching to them, with a rude and inartificial government, savage passions, a debasing religion, and a general tendency to materialism, they were, towards the close of the empire, in all the arts and appliances of life, very nearly on a par with ourselves; and thus their history furnishes a warning, which the records of nations constantly repeat, that the greatest material prosperity may coexist with the decline—and herald the downfall—of a kingdom." *

It is now time to look back to the former seat of empire on the lower course of the Euphrates, and to trace the steps by which old Babylon regained the imperial state, which she was destined to enjoy but for a comparatively short time. Her eclipse, overshadowed even when not entirely subdued by Assyria, lasted for about 650 years (B.C. 1273—625); her recovered greatness, surpassing all her predecessors, under the dynasty of Nabopolassar, perished before the power of Persia after only 87 years (B.C. 625—538). But before the beginning of this last period, she had risen into importance under the Lower Assyrian Dynasty, the accession of which we have seen to coincide with the new state of things at Babylon marked by the era of Nabonassar (B.C. 747). A few words will suffice to describe what is known of Babylon under the two Assyrian dynasties, as a preface to the brief and brilliant period of her true historical importance.

The confusion between the earliest history of Assyria and Babylonia, in the Greek traditions, is but very partially unravelled by the Assyrian records. We only learn from them, that when the Assyrians obtained that supremacy which the Arabs had wrested from Babylon, the latter did not sink into a mere subject condition. Unfortunately the native records of the period are lost, having been destroyed, Berosus tells us, by Nabonassar, and thus the Assyrian history absorbs that of both states. But even the

* Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Appendix to Book i., Essay vii., vol. i. p. 499. In the great uncertainty which still besets the science of cuneiform interpretation, we have closely followed the system developed in the above Essay, as upon the whole the most probable and consistent. Essays and discussions upon new discoveries made from time to time are contained in several recent numbers of the *Athenæum*. Among the writers whose views are either wholly or chiefly independent of the science of cuneiform interpretation, the most important are Niebuhr, in his *Lectures on Ancient History*, and Mr. Grote, in his *History of Greece*.

Assyrian records of the Upper Dynasty represent Babylon as a very powerful and troublesome neighbour under her native kings, who are even seen as successful invaders of the northern empire. Her position is, in one word, truly described by Professor Rawlinson :—" During the whole time of the Upper Dynasty in Assyria, she was clearly the most powerful of all those kingdoms by which the Assyrian empire was surrounded." *

The Era of Nabonassar (b.c. 747) seems to mark a political change at Babylon, but of what nature is quite uncertain. Its coincidence with the beginning of the Lower Dynasty in Assyria, and the mention of Semiramis as connected with both dynasties at this epoch, according to the computations of Herodotus, have suggested the theory that the old line, expelled by Tiglath-Pileser, established itself anew at Babylon ; but this is no more than a conjecture. The successors, whom Ptolemy's Canon assigns to Nabonassar are of no importance till we reach the fifth king, Mardocempalus, the Merodach-Baladan of Scripture, who sent an embassy of congratulation to Hezekiah on his recovery from sickness. This step implies designs on behalf of the independence of Babylon, for which the Assyrian inscriptions prove that Merodach-Baladan maintained a struggle against the mightiest kings of Assyria, Sargon and Sennacherib. Driven from Babylon by the former (b.c. 721), he appears to have recovered his throne only to be finally expelled by Sennacherib (b.c. 702), who inflicted on Babylonia all the cruelties that marked an Assyrian conquest, and set over the kingdom a viceroy named Belibus. The party of Merodach-Baladan, however, found support from the King of Susiania, till Sennacherib defeated him and overran Babylonia a second time, in his fourth year (b.c. 699).

An ensuing period of confusion is ended by Esar-haddon's assumption in his own person of the government of Babylonia (b.c. 680—667). He had still to maintain war against the sons of Merodach-Baladan and the Susianians. The final suppression of resistance furnishes a probable reason for his reverting to the plan of governing by viceroys, which seems to have continued till the last days of the Assyrian kingdom, though we are quite ignorant of the precise relation in which the rulers of Babylon stood to the latest kings of Assyria.

During all this period of subjection, the old Chaldæans never lost the spirit of independence ; and the decline of Assyria, threat-

* Appendix to Book i. of *Herodotus*, Essay viii.

ened by the growth of the Median empire, at last gave them the opportunity of emancipation. The circumstances under which Babylon co-operated with the Medes in the last attack on Nineveh are only known by a doubtful tradition preserved by the Greek historian Abydenus, the outline of which has already been related. But, whatever may have been the mode by which Nabopolassar obtained his power, there is no doubt that he joined with the Medes in the capture of Nineveh, and received as his share of the spoil the undisputed possession of Babylonia, where he founded his short but brilliant dynasty (B.C. 625). The purely Babylonian names of Nabopolassar (Nabu-pal-uzur), Nebuchadnezzar,* and other kings of the line, and several circumstances of their history, confirm the accuracy of Berosus in calling them Chaldæans.† Their accession was therefore a restoration, though to a much wider dominion, of the old Hamite race, after its long eclipse by the Semitic Assyrians—a revolution not altogether unlike that by which Ardshir long afterwards wrested the Persian empire from the dominion of the Parthians.

This later Babylonian dynasty at no time held the undivided supremacy of Western Asia. The wider empire of the Medes enclosed it on the north and east like a great belt, reaching from the Persian Gulf to the river Halys in Asia Minor, to the west of which the Lydian kingdom was approaching the climax of its power.‡ Nineveh itself, with the upper course of the Tigris, fell to the share of the Mede; but, while he pushed forward his arms in Asia Minor, the whole region west of the Euphrates, as far as Egypt, lay open to Babylonian ambition.

The fall of Nineveh seems at once to have transferred to Babylon at least a nominal supremacy as far as the frontier of Egypt. But the latter power had been restored to new strength by the dynasty founded by Psammetichus; and she soon came forward to dispute with Babylon the possession of Syria and Palestine.

Meanwhile Nabopolassar consolidated his new kingdom during a reign of one-and-twenty years (B.C. 625—604). It is a reasonable supposition that his share of the captives carried away from Nineveh would at once increase the population of his kingdom

* These names, like Nabonassar, are derived from the god Nebo.

† They form his Eighth Dynasty of six Chaldæan kings; see p. 196. Among the circumstances referred to in the text is the complete ascendancy of the Chaldæan *caste* at the court of Nebuchadnezzar, as seen in the book of Daniel.

‡ Respecting the rise, growth, and relations to each other of the Median and Lydian empires, see chapter x.

and supply the labour to commence those great works at Babylon which were completed by Nebuchadnezzar. Nabopolassar took part, as the ally of Media, in the war between Cyaxares and the Lydian King Alyattes, and peace is said to have been restored by the mediation of a prince of Babylon (B.C. 610).

About the same time (B.C. 611), Neko ascended the throne of Egypt, a king eager to restore both the prosperity of the Pharaohs at home and their dominion abroad. His plan was to secure the frontier of the Euphrates by a rapid advance. We have seen how Josiah fell at Megiddo in attempting to oppose his march (B.C. 608); and he advanced, apparently without further resistance to Carchemish on the Euphrates. Having garrisoned that place, Neko returned in triumph, and set up a new king at Jerusalem, as a tributary to himself. But in three years, these conquests were surrendered to the military prowess of Nebuchadnezzar, whom his father Nabopolassar sent against the Egyptians. Having defeated Neko in a great battle at Carchemish, he pressed forward to Jerusalem, received the submission of Jehoiakim, and reconquered all the lands to the borders of Egypt (B.C. 605—4). The death of Nabopolassar, during this campaign, recalled Nebuchadnezzar in haste to Babylon. His triumphant return was followed more slowly by hosts of captives, who were, as usual, settled throughout Babylonia.

With his "unbounded command of naked human strength," * Nebuchadnezzar † (B.C. 604) applied himself to those works which afterwards called forth his celebrated boast:—"Is not this Great Babylon, that I have built, for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" ‡ The ancient Greek writers, who have handed down to us a description of the city, tells us indeed that Nineveh was still vaster. But the splendour of Nineveh was to them a mere tradition; Babylon itself was seen, before it had lost nearly all its greatness, by Herodotus and Ctesias, from whom the later writers borrow their descriptions.

The city of Babel, which the Greeks called Babylon, was built in the great alluvial plain of Shinar, on the lower Euphrates, in about $32\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of north latitude. It formed a regular square,

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 401.

† The prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel use the form Nebuchadrezzar, which is nearer to the original *Nabu-Kuduri-utzur*, that is, we are told, *Nebo is the protector against misfortune.*

‡ Daniel. iv. 30.

facing nearly, but not exactly, the four cardinal points,* the river flowing through it diagonally from N.W. to S.E., and so dividing it into two nearly equal parts. Herodotus assigns to the circuit of the outer wall a length of 480 stadia, or 48 geographical miles, while Ctesias gives only 360 stadia, or 36 geographical miles. The former estimate would make the area of the city about 200 square miles ; the latter about 130 ; the smaller number amounting to about five times the area of London. All the other estimates come so near the one or other of these two, as to show that each was supported by high authority, and almost to exclude the suspicion of mere guess-work. It has been suggested, that the statement of Herodotus refers to the outer wall, which may have still existed when he saw the city, but have disappeared by the time of Ctesias, whose dimensions would thus relate to the inner of the two walls mentioned by Herodotus. The existing ruins, near the Arab village of *Hillah*, furnish no sufficient means of testing the truth of this opinion. They consist of a number of mounds, some of enormous size, scattered over a vast surface on both sides of the river. The most remarkable of these, with one exception, lie within a comparatively small compass, on the left bank of the river, about five miles above Hillah.† Here, within a clearly marked enclosure, forming two sides of a square, with the river (roughly speaking) for a diagonal, are three great mounds, the *Babil*, the *Kasr* (or Castle), and that marked by the tomb of *Amram-ibn-'Alb*, which Oppert attempts to identify respectively with the great temple of Bel, the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, and his famous *Hanging Gardens*.‡ On the opposite side of the river, the striking conical mound of the *Birs-Nimrud* has been held traditionally to mark the Tower of Babel. Inscriptions found there are now supposed to identify it with the Temple of Belus, built or rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar at Borsippa ; but without necessarily contradicting the old tradition. One important difference between Nineveh and Babylon is, that while the former was built almost entirely of crude brick, the latter exhibits vast masses of burnt brick, cemented by mineral bitumen. The most astound-

* The northern face inclined a little to the east.

† Hillah itself is on the right bank.

‡ The last is not at all probable. For the full description of the ruins, and the whole discussion of the topography of Babylon, the reader is referred to Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon ;* Loftus's *Chaldæa ;* Oppert's Maps and Plans ; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii., Essay iv. ; and the article *Babel* in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible.*

ing part of the ancient descriptions is the magnitude assigned to the outer walls, which Herodotus makes 200 royal cubits (about 338 feet) high and fifty royal cubits (about 85 feet) thick. The accounts of later writers are evidently designed extenuations of these numbers, which are not altogether incredible from what we know of the Oriental system of fortification, and the rude vastness aimed at by the early despotic kings.* These walls are described as strengthened by 250 towers, and pierced with 100 gates of brass, with brass posts and lintels. The main streets passed between the opposite gates, crossing one another at right angles. The river was lined by quays, and the streets which abutted upon them were closed with brazen gates, which were shut at night. They played an important part in the capture of the city by Cyrus. Among the prophetic allusions to these fortifications, the most striking is that of Jeremiah:—"The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be burnt with fire."† The two parts of the city were connected by a stone bridge, 1000 yards long and 30 feet wide, at each end of which was a fortified royal palace.

Most of these great works were ascribed by tradition to Belus and Semiramis, to whom Herodotus adds a queen Nitocris, apparently about the time of Nebuchadnezzar; but the authority of Berosus and the chroniclers, with newly discovered inscriptions, prove them to have been for the most part executed or renewed by Nebuchadnezzar. The outer wall of the city was of unknown antiquity; but he repaired it, with most of the ancient monuments; and he added the interior line of defence. Of his rebuilding of the Temple of Belus we have the extremely interesting memorial in the inscription quoted in a former chapter. The most important of his new buildings at Babylon were the great palace, the ruins of which form the mound of the *Kasr*, and the Hanging Gardens, which seem to have been formed by terraces rising one above another, with the surface broken into the likeness of natural hills. They are said to have been raised to gratify his Median queen with an imitation of the scenery of her native mountains! His almost complete rebuilding of the city itself is proved by the constant occurrence of his name, and of none other, on its bricks; and the same is true of most of the cities of Upper Babylonia.

* Taking the dimensions of Herodotus, the outer wall would contain nearly 300,000,000 cubic yards of brickwork, or nearly double the solid content of the great wall of China!

† Jerem. li. 58.

He constructed hydraulic works of the greatest magnificence and utility; but some of these were doubtless restorations of the works of the old Chaldæan kings. Such were the great canal from Hit to the sea, the reservoir for irrigation near Sippara, and the embankments and breakwaters along both the great rivers and the shores of the Persian Gulf. Whatever there was, in these great works, of mere vastness and barbaric pomp, must not make us insensible to their real grandeur and utility.

"These are imperial works, and worthy kings."

And the pride of their author in reviewing them, as he walked in his palace, was not chastised because they were a waste of resources, but that he might learn to give the glory to the Most High, from whom came the power to create them.

It was not amidst the peace assured by wide-spread conquests that Nebuchadnezzar accomplished these magnificent undertakings. We have seen indeed that he began his reign by inflicting such a repulse upon his chief rival, that "the king of Egypt came no more out of his own land;"* but the Jews were slow to renounce the hope of fresh aid from Egypt; and about the same time that Jehoiakim again rebelled, the Phœnicians renounced the allegiance which they had doubtfully yielded to Assyria (B.C. 598—7). Aided by his old ally, Cyaxares, Nebuchadnezzar marched first against Tyre, and formed the siege which lasted thirteen years, and which gave occasion to one of the most striking prophecies of Ezekiel.† Meanwhile, the siege of Jerusalem by another Chaldæan army was attended by the death of Jehoiakim and the elevation of his son Jehoiachin to the throne. But he had only reigned three months, when Nebuchadnezzar, leaving Tyre invested, appeared in person before Jerusalem, carried off the king and 10,000 captives to Babylon, and placed Zedekiah on the throne (B.C. 597). We have already related the revolt of this king and the final destruction of Jerusalem (B.C. 586),‡ a victory soon followed by the capitulation of Tyre (B.C. 585).

We read of no new wars for a period of five years. This interval may well have been employed by Nebuchadnezzar in organizing his new conquests, disposing of his immense hosts of captives, and carrying on his great works at home. But about B.C. 581 he

* 2 Kings xxvi. 7.

† Ezek. xxiv.—xxviii. The date of the prophecy itself (xxvi. 1) must not be confounded with that of the beginning of the siege, which was in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar. Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 21.

‡ Chap. viii. p. 185.

again took the field against Egypt. Apries, the Pharaoh-Hophra of Scripture, had already given him provocation by attacks on the Phœnician cities and by the promise of aid to Zedekiah, though he had retreated when Nebuchadnezzar turned against him from besieging Jerusalem.* The reception of the Jewish fugitives into Egypt after the murder of Gedaliah may have been the crowning offence; but, be this as it may, Egypt appears to have been invaded and overrun by Nebuchadnezzar, and Amasis to have been set upon the throne as the vassal of Babylon.†

This career of uninterrupted prosperity, supported by magnanimity and clemency, combines with the peculiar relation of Nebuchadnezzar to God's chosen people, to invest him with an historic interest surpassed by none of his predecessors, and by few of his followers, who have wielded despotic power. The personal element, which gives so much of its life to history, first comes out distinctly in him among all the rulers of the world. Nor need the historian hesitate how to read such characters; for the secret of their strength and weakness, and the place they were designed to fill in the world's history, have been recorded in the case of Nebuchadnezzar by the same hand that raised him up. The victory which placed Judah at his feet, at the beginning of his reign, involved his subjection to that divine discipline of which he is one of the most conspicuous examples. Among the captives carried to Babylon, after his first invasion of Judah (B.C. 608), were Daniel and his three companions, whose selection to be trained among the Chaldæans, their fidelity to the sacred law, and their advancement to the royal favour, we need not stay to relate in detail.‡ It was as early as the second year of Nebuchadnezzar (B.C. 603), that his dream of the colossal image, engendered probably by the schemes of conquest he was revolving, gave Daniel the opportunity to teach him the supremacy of God, while prophesying, for all future ages, the establishment of His kingdom on the ruins of the successive empires of the world.§ But the lesson might easily be forgotten in the full tide of conquest, though we are disposed to trace something of its effect in the king's forbearance and moderation towards the rebellious Jews. Upon the full establishment of his empire and the completion of

* Chap. viii. p. 186.

† Chap. vii. p. 125; comp. Jer. xliv. 30; Ezek. xxx. 21—24, xxxii. 31—32.

‡ Daniel i.

§ Daniel ii.

his conquests,* it seems natural to suppose that he set up on the plain of Dura that golden image, probably Bel or Nebo, to which he required the representatives of all the nations he carried captive to Babylon to offer public adoration. The despot's rage at the recusancy of his Jewish officers was turned into awed submission at their safety in the fiery furnace, and the still more wondrous vision of Him who walked with them there; and the royal servant of Nebo proclaimed the supreme power of Jehovah to all his subjects. It is an incidental testimony to the book of Daniel, that the story does not end here, with the establishment of the true religion throughout the empire. A despot's nature is not so quickly changed, and it needed a severer lesson to extort his final homage to the "King of Heaven." †

We need not repeat the story of the sudden stroke which, in the very hour when he was exulting over his own splendid works and the majesty of his kingdom, levelled the king with the beasts of the field, by the form of madness which is known by the name of *Lycanthropy*.‡ The malady seems to have lasted for seven years; and some allusions in the "Standard Inscription" of Nebuchadnezzar to the suspension of his great works are supposed to refer to it; but this is very doubtful. The period of his reign when it occurred cannot have been earlier than B.C. 580, and it may have been considerably later; but, at all events, we learn from the book of Daniel that Nebuchadnezzar enjoyed a season of restored prosperity and power. He died, after a reign of forty-three years, leaving the kingdom to his son, Evil-Merodach, the Illoarudamus of the Greek writers, B.C. 561.

The history of Babylon now falls into an obscurity which of itself testifies to the insignificance of the successors of Nebuchadnezzar. Two years are assigned by the chroniclers to Evil-Merodach, who was then put to death for his lawlessness and intemperance. The only fact recorded of him in Scripture is his restoration of the captive Jewish King Jehoiachin to an honourable place at his court.§ His murderer and successor was his brother-in-law, NERIGLISSAR (B.C. 559), who is called in his inscrip-

* On this ground the date of B.C. 580, which Ussher assigns to the third chapter of Daniel, seems very near the truth.

† Daniel iv. 36.

‡ That is, when a man fancies himself a wolf or some other beast. Professor Welcker, of Bonn, has collected all that is known of this affection in a paper printed in his *Kleine Schriften*, vol. iii. p. 157.

§ 2 Kings xxv. 27; chap. viii. p. 186.

tions "Rab-Mag," probably a Chaldæan title, signifying Chief Priest. The remains of a palace built by him still exist at Babylon. His youthful son, Laborosoarchod (B.C. 556), was cut off by a conspiracy, after a reign of only nine months, and the throne was seized by one of the conspirators, NABONIDUS or NABONADIUS (Nabunahit*), the Labynetus II. of Herodotus, and the last king of Babylon (B.C. 555).

Meanwhile the growth of the new Persian power, in which Cyrus had just absorbed the empire of the Medes, threatened to cover the whole of Western Asia. Cyrus was now advancing against Crœsus; and, whether through fear, or because the old Median alliance seemed less binding with the new dynasty, Nabonadius listened in an evil hour to the proposals of the Lydian king for an alliance of Lydia, Babylon, and Egypt, against Persia. The plan was disconcerted by the rash advance of Crœsus across the Halys, and the energy of Cyrus. Crœsus was defeated and shut up in Sardis, the city was taken, and the whole Lydian empire, as far as the shores of the Ægean Sea, added to the dominions of the Persian (B.C. 554—3). Cyrus suffered fifteen years to elapse before attacking Babylon; and the interval was spent by Nabonadius in strengthening his defences.† These defences seem to have been confined to the capital itself, the open country being abandoned to the invaders. One battle only was risked under the walls of Babylon; and the defeated Chaldæans retired within their enormous walls, the strength of which bade defiance to the enemy, while the ample spaces within sufficed for abundant supplies. In the language of Jeremiah, whose prophecy of the taking of Babylon has all the vivid picturesqueness of contemporary history,—"The mighty men of Babylon forbore to fight: they remained in their holds." ‡ We are quite without details of the duration and the incidents of the siege, until its very end.

Whoever wishes to appreciate the vast difference between the briefest narrative of a great event by an eye-witness, and the meagre annals of later chroniclers, has only to compare the wonderful picture of Belshazzar's Feast, in the Book of Daniel,§ with the confused statements of the Greek writers. At first sight, in-

* According to Sir Henry Rawlinson, this is the Semitic form, the Chaldæan being *Nabu-induk*, and both meaning "Nebo blesses" or "makes prosperous."

† The river walls are ascribed by Berosus to this king, and their bricks bear his name. The "Median Wall" of Xenophon seems to be incorrectly referred to this period.

‡ Jer. li.

§ Daniel v.

deed, these writers seem to leave no place for Belshazzar. They tell us that Nabonadius, when defeated in the one battle that he risked, fled to Borsippa, where he was still shut up when Babylon was taken; after which he submitted to Cyrus, and was treated with the honour which the Persians used to pay to conquered kings. All this is quite consistent with the narrative in the Book of Daniel. For we now learn from an inscription of Nabonadius deciphered by Sir Henry Rawlinson, that that king associated with himself his son BIL-SHAR-UTZUR, who is evidently the Belshazzar of Daniel, and whose first and third years are mentioned by the prophet.* It would seem then that Belshazzar took the command of the Chaldæans, who were beleaguered in Babylon, while his father was shut up in Borsippa. There he behaved with the arrogance of a youth inexperienced in government, revelling with his courtiers in fancied security, and insulting the God of Heaven. The fearful handwriting on the palace wall, and the terrible denunciation of the prophet, form a scene too deeply impressed on our earliest recollections to need repetition. The leading incident is confirmed by Herodotus in two words, when he tells us that Babylon was taken "amidst revelries."

All the historians are agreed as to the manner in which the city was entered. By diverting the course of the Euphrates, Cyrus laid open a way for his army through the bed of the river into the very heart of Babylon. His stratagem was aided by the careless security of the Chaldæans themselves, who had left the gates opening on to the river unclosed. Vast as was the space within the walls, large portions of the city might be in the possession of the enemy, before its capture was known at the palace; and the entrance of the Persians may already have been effected when Belshazzar's revelry was at its height. No words could more vividly describe the scene that followed, than those in which the prophet Jeremiah had foretold it in a distant land:—"One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to shew the King of Babylon that his city is taken at one end, and that the passages are stopped, and the reeds they have burned with fire, and the men of war are affrighted." † Belshazzzar was killed in the confusion of the sack, the only record of his fate

* Daniel vii. 1, viii. 1. Respecting the probable relationship of Belshazzar to the family of Nebuchadnezzar, and the place to be assigned to the queen Nitocris of Herodotus, see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, App. to Book i. Essay viii.

† Jerem. li. 31, 32.

being in the brief words of Daniel:—"In that night was Belshazzar, the King of the Chaldæans, slain."* His father, as we have said, submitted to Cyrus, who gave him a sort of principality in Carmania, where he seems to have ended his days in peace. Thus fell the empire of Babylon in B.C. 538.

Having adhered to the Book of Daniel as the highest authority for these events, we may at this point meet the difficulty which has arisen respecting his "Darius the Median, the son of Ahasuerus," who "took the kingdom," at the age of seventy-two, immediately on the death of Belshazzar,† and who is seen exercising the royal authority, not only at Babylon, but thence over the 120 provinces of the Medo-Persian Empire;‡ while, in another passage, he is said to have been "made king over *the realm of the Chaldæans*," a phrase which might be taken to imply a more limited authority.§ All scholars are now agreed in rejecting the attempt to identify Darius with a supposed Cyaxares II., who appears in the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon as the son of Astyages,—Astyages himself being, by all trustworthy accounts, the last king of Media, by whose dethronement the empire passed to Cyrus and the Persians. The Cyaxares of Xenophon is not an historical personage at all, but a character introduced into the romance—for such the Cyropædia really is—as a foil to the virtues attributed to Cyrus. All our knowledge of the revolution effected in the Medo-Persian empire concurs to make it a violent transfer of the supremacy from the Medes under Astyages to the Persians under Cyrus. Cyrus alone effects the capture of Babylon, at the head of the Medo-Persian forces; and no place is left for the immediate rule of Cyaxares, as a king of the Medes. But for "Darius, the son of Ahasuerus," a royal prince "of the seed of the Medes," an appropriate place may be found, as a viceroy, who "was made king over the realm of the Chaldæans" by Cyrus after the capture of Babylon. How far he may have exercised a viceregal authority over the whole empire, while Cyrus was engaged in distant wars, is perhaps hardly worth discussing on the scanty information we possess. Nothing could be more natural than for the Jewish captives at Babylon to regard such a viceroy as a king; and hence they date the years of Cyrus from the time

* Daniel v. 30.

† Daniel v. 31.

‡ Daniel vi. It scarcely follows, however, as a matter of absolute certainty, that the 120 princes imply 120 provinces; but such is the most natural sense.

§ Daniel ix. 1.

when this state of the government appears to have come to an end by the death of Darius, in B.C. 536.*

The further question, whether any light can be thrown on the identity of Darius, though not essential for the solution of the difficulty, is one of no small interest. He is in fact identified, by the chronographer Syncellus, and in the apocryphal supplement to the Book of Daniel,† with the dethroned king Astyages himself. The Darius of Daniel is evidently a Median of the highest rank, and probably of royal birth.‡ The name of his father, Ahasuerus (Achashverosh) is certainly identical with the Median name Cyaxares, which was borne by the father of Astyages. The position to which Cyrus raised him at Babylon accords with the respect which Herodotus tells us that Cyrus paid to Astyages, and with the customs of the Persians. But more than this: we can easily understand, that Herodotus was not sufficiently acquainted with Oriental usage to perceive, that Cyrus, as the grandson of Astyages, and imbued by the Persian discipline with reverence for all forms of duty and authority, may have professed, during the life of Astyages, to yield the royal state to him, though himself really governing. If so, the position of Darius was above that of a mere viceroy; and no occasion is left for wonder that the Jews viewed him as the king, and Cyrus as his successor. The Chaldæans, perhaps understanding better the real relation of Darius to Cyrus, omit him from their list of kings. The identification is not free from further difficulties, too minute to be discussed here; but it is now very generally accepted.§

After the Persian conquest, Babylonia became a province of the empire, and the city was one of the royal residences, ranking as the second in the kingdom. It was from Babylon that Cyrus issued his decree for the return of the captive Jews; and his successors resided there for a great portion of the year. It was long, however, before the Chaldæans submitted finally to the new dynasty. Darius Hystaspis had twice to suppress a revolt of Babylon, under a leader who claimed to be a son of Nabonadius.

* This is reckoned as the first year of Cyrus, in which he issued his edict for the return of the Jews. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22; Ezra i. 1; comp. Daniel i. 21.

† In the part entitled "Bel and the Dragon."

‡ This seems implied in the phrase "of the seed of the Medes."

§ This view was put forth by the present writer in the *Biblical Review*, for 1845, No. 1. It is maintained by Professor Rawlinson and other recent historians. Marcus Niebuhr, in his *Geschichte Assurs und Babels*, while identifying Astyages with Darius, makes two conquests of Babylon—a Median and a Persian; the former by Astyages, and the latter by Cyrus; but this is altogether improbable.

On the first of these occasions, two great battles were fought; and on both the city was besieged and taken.* Another revolt, under Xerxes, involved another siege and capture.

The whole interest of Persian history, from Darius to Alexander, being centred in its external relations to the West, we hear nothing more of Babylon till it fell, as Daniel had predicted, under the power of the Macedonian. It was at Babylon that Alexander held his court after his return from India (B.C. 324); and the importance still maintained there by the priestly caste of the Chaldæans is indicated by those unheeded warnings which his own imprudence so soon verified. His death was hastened by his schemes for making Babylon the capital of his empire, and restoring to the country its natural advantages. Intending to repair the system of canals, he visited the lower course of the Euphrates, and in its marshes he caught the fever which his excess rendered fatal (B.C. 323). His plans perished with him. The Seleucidæ, who succeeded to the eastern part of his empire, fixed their capital at Antioch in Syria; while the population of Babylon removed, in great part, to the new city of Seleucia on the Tigris. The great river, once the pride and ornament of the city, no longer restrained and regulated by embankments and canals, wandered over the plain, from which the houses fast disappeared, and created pestiferous marshes. The brick palaces and temples, crumbling into decay, literally "became heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons,"† and the haunt of wild beasts. The desolation has been ever increasing down to our own age, under the conjoint influence of misgovernment and neglect. By a strange recurrence in the cycle of history, the land in which the Chaldæans first planted civilization amidst rude Turanian races, and defended it against the Arabs of the desert, has long since fallen under the nominal government of the Turanian Turks, and become the real possession of the wandering Arabs. All the primeval cities, of which we have spoken, shared the fate of Babylon; but her site is marked by a pre-eminence of desolation. When the traveller has exhausted his powers of language in expressing the sadness of gloom inspired by the scene, he has but re-echoed the exact descriptions of the Hebrew prophets. Let but the following examples be placed side by side:—"And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldee's excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited,

* We learn this from the statement of Darius himself, in the inscription of Behistun.

† Jer. li. 37.

neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged."* Thus far the Hebrew prophet; now let us hear the modern traveller: "Besides the great mound, other shapeless heaps of rubbish cover for many an acre the face of the land. The lofty banks of ancient canals fret the country like natural ridges of hills. Some have been long choked with sand; others still carry the waters of the river to distant villages and palm-groves. On all sides fragments of glass, marble, pottery, and inscribed brick, are mingled with that peculiar nitrous and blanched soil, which, bred from the remains of ancient habitations, checks or destroys vegetation, and renders the site of Babylon a naked and hideous waste. Owls start from the scanty thickets, and the foul jackal skulks through the furrows."† "Various ranges of smaller mounds fill up the intervening space to the eastern angle of the walls. The pyramidal mass of El-Heimar, far distant in the same direction, and the still more extraordinary pile of the Birs-Nimrud in the south-west, across the Euphrates, rise from the surrounding plain like two mighty tumuli, designed to mark the end of departed greatness. Midway between them the river Euphrates, wending her silent course towards the sea, is lost amid the extensive date-groves which conceal from sight the little Arab town of Hillah. All else around is a blank waste, recalling the words of Jeremiah: 'Her cities are a desolation, a dry land and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby.'"‡

To these descriptions we may well add the poetic view of the same scene, not merely for its vivid beauty, but for its insight into one of the most striking lessons of Divine Providence:—

"Slumber is there, but not of rest;
There her forlorn and weary nest
The famish'd hawk has found;
The wild dog howls at fall of night,
The serpent's rustling coils affright
The traveller on his round.

* Isaiah xiii. 19—22: comp. Jer. l. and li.
† Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 484.
‡ Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 20.

"What shapeless form, half lost on high,*
Half seen against the evening sky,
Seems like a ghost to glide,
And watch, from Babel's crumbling heap
Where in her shadow, fast asleep,
Lies fall'n imperial Pride?

"With half-closed eye a lion there
Is basking in his noontide lair,
Or prowls in twilight gloom.
The golden city's king he seems,
Such as in old prophetic dreams
Sprang from rough ocean's womb.†

"But where are now his eagle wings,
That shelter'd erst a thousand kings,
Hiding the glorious sky
From half the nations, till they own
No holier name, no mightier throne?—
That vision is gone by.

"Quench'd is the golden statue's ray; ‡
The breath of heaven has blown away
What toiling earth had piled,
Scattering wise heart and crafty hand,
As breezes strew on ocean's strand
The fabrics of a child.

"Divided thence, through every age,
Thy rebels, Lord, their warfare wage,
And hoarse and jarring all
Mount up their heaven-assailing cries
To Thy bright watchmen in the skies
From Babel's shatter'd wall." §

In the frustration of the plans of the Babel builders, in the fall of Nineveh, in the desolation of Babylon, we may see more even than the fulfilment of prophecy. They are lasting witnesses to the great plans of Divine Providence in reference to the empires of the world. Raised up by the desires of men who aimed at god-like power upon earth, and permitted to tyrannize over the nations which had forsaken the King of Heaven,—chastizing by self-will and brute force the self-willed weakness of a race that had forgotten God,—they fell successively under the sentence, which the handwriting on the wall passed upon Belshazzar, and which history repeats against every despotism to the end of time: "Thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting:"—wanting in

* The allusion is to a group of lions seen by Sir R. K. Porter on the summit of the Birs-Nimrud.

† Daniel vii. 4. ‡ Daniel ii., iii. § Keble, *Christian Year.*

fulfilling the true ends of states and governments, the welfare of mankind, and their union in the bonds of social life. And this is the key to the symbolic use of the name of Babylon, revived in the last ages of the world's history to designate that "mystery of iniquity," in which spiritual is superadded to worldly despotism, till both shall share the fate of Babylon of old.* Nor does the prophecy which sets past and future history in this light close till it has unfolded the bright vision of the only true universal empire, when "the God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, but shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and stand for ever and ever." †

* Revelation xvii., xviii.

† Daniel ii. 44.

CHAPTER X.

THE MEDO-PERSIAN EMPIRE, FROM ITS ORIGIN TO ITS SETTLEMENT UNDER DARIUS HYSTASPIS. B.C. 633? TO B.C. 531.

"Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and behold there stood before the river a ram which had two horns; and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward and northward and southward: so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great."—*Daniel* viii. 3, 4.

DESCRIPTION OF MEDIA—ITS EARLIEST INHABITANTS—THE MEDES AN ARYAN RACE AND KINDRED TO THE PERSIANS—THEIR RELATIONS TO ASSYRIA—RISE OF THE MEDIAN KINGDOM—DOUBTFUL LEGENDS—DEIOCES AND PHRAORTES—CYAXARES THE TRUE FOUNDER—HIS CONTEST WITH THE SCYTHIANS—MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF THE MEDES—CONQUESTS OF CYAXARES—DESTRUCTION OF NINEVEH—RISE OF THE LYDIAN EMPIRE—THE NATIONS OF ASIA MINOR—THE HALYS AN ETHNIC BOUNDARY—AFFINITIES OF THE WESTERN NATIONS—EARLY KINGDOMS IN ASIA MINOR—GORDIUS—MIDAS—TROY—LYDIA—NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY—MYTHICAL PERIOD OF LYDIAN STORY—DYNASTY OF THE HERACLIDS—CANDAULES AND GYGES—DYNASTY OF THE MERMNADS—CONQUESTS IN ASIA MINOR—ATTACKS ON THE GREEK COLONIES—INVASION OF THE CIMMERIANS UNDER ARDYS—ALYATTES—THEIR EXPULSION BY ALYATTES—WAR BETWEEN LYDIA AND MEDIA—THE "ECLIPSE OF THALES"—DEATHS OF CYAXARES AND ALYATTES—THE TOMB OF ALYATTES—CRŒSUS AS VIEWED BY HERODOTUS—HIS REAL HISTORY—ASTYAGES THE LAST KING OF MEDIA—REIGN OF ASTYAGES—PEACEFUL STATE OF WESTERN ASIA—ORIGIN OF THE PERSIAN RACE—DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY—THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE—RELIGION OF THE MEDES AND PERSIANS—MAGIAN ELEMENTAL WORSHIP, ORIGINALLY TURANIAN—DUALISM THE OLD PERSIAN FAITH—AURAMAZDA AND AHRIMAN—MIXTURE AND CONFLICT OF THE TWO SYSTEMS—ZOROASTER—HIS DOCTRINES AND LEGENDARY HISTORY—THE TEN TRIBES OF THE PERSIANS—THEIR MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND GENERAL DISCIPLINE—DYNASTY OF THE ACHÆMENIDÆ—THEIR RELATION TO MEDIA—LEGENDARY STORY OF CYRUS—TRANSFER OF THE MEDIAN EMPIRE TO PERSIA—CYRUS IN THE CYROPÆDIA AND IN SCRIPTURE—THE CONQUEST OF LYDIA, THE GREEK COLONIES, AND BABYLON—RESTORATION OF THE JEWS—DESIGNS ON EGYPT—WARS IN CENTRAL ASIA—DEATH OF CYRUS—CAMBYSES—CONQUEST OF EGYPT—HIS MADNESS AND DEATH—THE MAGIAN PSEUDO-SMERDIS—ACCESSION OF DARIUS THE SON OF HYSTASPIS—SURVEY OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

The nations that have thus far occupied our attention were of the Hamitic and Semitic races. We have seen them founding kingdoms on a vast scale of despotic power and rude magnificence, and cultivating those arts and sciences which minister to the material wants of man. We have seen one family called out from the rest, to preserve the knowledge of the true God, amidst the idolatry which had become universal at a very early age, and to exhibit, in contrast to those despotisms, the pattern of a free religious commonwealth, governed by a present God. We have seen how, through their own moral weakness, the race of Israel lost this great distinction, and became captives to Assyria and

THE
TIME OF CYRUS.

Babylon, till the time came to avenge them in the overthrow of their tyrants. We have now to trace the history of the power by which that revolution was effected; a power sprung from the race of Japheth, to which the prophetic blessing of Noah had promised the most enduring possession of empire.

We have had frequent occasion to allude to that marked division which is formed by the chain of Zagros (the mountains of Kurdistan and Luristan) between the great valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and the table-land of Iran to the east. While the former region was the seat of that power and civilization which, at least in the earliest ages, require the nurture of a fertile soil and favourable climate, the latter was the cradle of those hardier races whose destiny it is to found a more lasting power.

The greater part of this table-land was known in the earliest ages by the name of MEDIA, a country which may be described generally as extending from the Caspian Sea on the north to the mountains of Persia Proper on the south, and from the highlands of Armenia and the chain of Zagros on the west to the great rainless desert of Iran on the east. It corresponds to the modern provinces of Irak-Ajemi, parts of Kurdistan and Luristan, Azerbijan, and perhaps Talish and Ghilan. Between these limits it comprises a great variety of country and climate, being intersected throughout by mountain ranges, which enclose valleys rich in corn and summer fruits. The finest part of the country is the modern province of Azerbijan, an elevated region enclosed by the offshoots of the Armenian mountains, and surrounding the basin of the great Lake Urumiyeh (4200 feet above the sea), and the valleys of the Sefid Rud (the ancient Mardus) and the Aras (Araxes), the northern boundary of the whole land. In this mountain region stands Tabriz, the delightful summer retreat of the modern Persian Shahs. The mountains which extend to the south, forming the western part of Media, partake generally of the like character. The slopes of Zagros afforded excellent pasture; and here were reared that valuable breed of horses, which the ancients called the Nisæan. The eastern districts are less favoured by nature, being flat and pestilential where they sink down to the shores of the Caspian; rugged and sterile where they adjoin the desert of Iran. An offshoot of this desert, to the south-west, formed a natural division between Media and Persia Proper, a region of which we have presently to speak.

Even when the ancient writers refer back to a period at which this country was probably occupied, like Western Asia in general,

by a primitive Turanian race, they know its inhabitants by the name of Medes.* But the race to whom the name properly belonged (the *Mada*, *Madai*, or *Medi*) were undoubtedly Japhetic, or, as we now say, borrowing the designation from themselves, Aryan. In the great ethnic table in the Book of Genesis, Madai is the third son of Japheth, standing next after Gomer and Magog, the races who occupied Central Asia north of Media. Herodotus expressly informs us that the Medes were universally called Aryans; † the Armenian writers invariably apply to them this appellation; and, in common with the kindred Persians, they always claim it for themselves. They appear to have had essentially the same language ‡ and religion, dress and customs, as the Persians, who were the very cream of the Aryan race. The close connexion between the races, constantly implied in the language of the ancient writers, who use the words Median and Persian almost indifferently, is especially remarkable in the formula used by themselves, as if to imply the identity of their most ancient institutions—"the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not." §

Indications are not wanting that the Median race was very widely spread over the highland regions of Western Asia, in the primeval ages of the world; but this is a discussion into which we cannot stay to enter. The tribes which occupied the country in the earliest historic times are traced back, both by Indian and Persian traditions, to the country beyond the Indus; and the inscription on the celebrated black obelisk of Nimrud ‖ is thought by some to refer to the migration as still in progress (about B.C. 880). We have seen that the Greek traditions of the Assyrian Empire make Ninus the conqueror of Media. The records of the Assyrian kings make frequent mention of Median wars and conquests, beginning from the ninth century; but these conquests

* We have seen that this may explain the statement of Berosus respecting a primitive Median dynasty in Chaldæa; chap. viii. p. 195.

† *Herod.* vii. 62. We adhere, with Max Müller, to the native orthography, as more distinctive than *Arian*.

‡ The so-called Median inscriptions of the Persian kings, in the cuneiform character, are held by Sir Henry Rawlinson to be Scythic (*Commentary on the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia*, p. 75).

§ Daniel vi. 8, 12, 15. The usage of such writers as Herodotus, who no doubt learned the common use of the names from the people themselves, is perfectly distinct from the confusion by which the writers of the Augustan age applied the terms Median and Persian indifferently to the Parthians and even to northern India, as in the "Medus Hydaspes" of Virgil.

‖ See chap. ix. p. 218.

were usually only of that intermittent kind which we have already described.* The most successful of the invaders was Sargon, who twice overran some part of the country, and founded in it cities, which he peopled with the Israelitish captives from Samaria (B.C. 710). An inscription in his great palace at Khorsabad claims Media as the easternmost province of his empire. But how far the conquest was from being permanent is proved by the distinct mention of Media, both by Sennacherib and Esar-haddon, as "a country which had never been brought into subjection by the kings their fathers."† The tribes of Media, united by no common government, were defeated or victorious, paid tribute or withheld it, according to the varying strength and energy of their powerful neighbour.

This state of things was ended by the consolidation of Media into a powerful kingdom under a dynasty of native princes. For the history and date of this great change we obtain no information from the Assyrian records, and we are dependent upon the doubtful and inconsistent statements of the Greek writers, and especially of Herodotus and Ctesias. The account of the latter author is now generally rejected as a mere fabrication. That of Herodotus is on many grounds suspicious; and he is supposed to have been misled by the wilful misstatements of his Median authorities. He places the revolt of Media from Assyria a little higher than 179 years before the death of Cyrus (B.C. 708), at the very time when the Assyrian monuments begin to claim the subjugation of Media! Having recovered their independence after a fierce struggle, they chose a native king named Deioces, who reigned fifty-three years, and whose three successors, Phraortes (twenty-two years), Cyaxares (forty years), and Astyages (thirty-five years), continued the Median dynasty down to its overthrow by Cyrus, whose twenty-nine years (ending in B.C. 529) make up the above sum of 179 years. The story of Deioces bears a marked impress of Grecian rather than Oriental ideas. The seven tribes of the Medes, scattered over separate villages, suffered from all the ills of anarchy, till the reputation for justice which Deioces had acquired in his own village induced them to make him the arbiter of their disputes. Having restored order, Deioces withdrew into private life, knowing that he should soon be missed. Anarchy revived; a king was called for as the only remedy, and Deioces was elected. He at once began to organize a despotic power, which he admin-

* See chap. ix. pp. 223—4. † Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay iii. on Book i.

istered from his new capital of Ecbatana, whither he compelled the Medians to remove their habitations. The city was built upon a hill, enclosed by seven concentric walls, the central summit being occupied by the palace, within which Deioces lived in seclusion, transacting all public business through spies, informers, petitions, and written decrees. In this picture, as in the Cyrus of Xenophon, criticism has detected one of those ideal embodiments of forms of government by which the Greeks were wont to illustrate their political discussions.* Phraortes, the reputed conqueror of Persia, is almost equally suspicious. The name (*Frawartish*), though genuine, may not improbably have been transferred back from its historical owner, a Mede who rebelled against Darius Hystaspis, and set up for a time an independent throne in Media. While tradition represents Phraortes as making extensive conquests, and at last falling in battle against the Assyrians,† the contemporary monuments of Assyria show us the king Asshur-bani-pal as chiefly engaged in hunting in Susiana.

CYAXARES appears to have been the true founder of the Median kingdom, about B.C. 633. As such he was regarded by an earlier Greek tradition than that followed by Herodotus; ‡ and the great inscription of Darius alludes more than once to rebels who traced their lineage from Cyaxares. "The conclusion thus established," says Professor Rawlinson, "brings the Median kingdom into much closer analogy with other oriental empires than is presented by the ordinary story. Instead of the gradual growth and increase, which Herodotus describes, the Median power springs forth suddenly in its full strength, and the empire speedily attains its culminating point, from which it almost as speedily declines. Cyaxares, like Cyrus, Attila, Genghis Khan, Timour and other eastern conquerors, emerges from obscurity at the head of his irresistible hordes, and sweeping all before him, rapidly builds up an enormous power, which, resting on no stable foundation, immediately falls away." § The origin and growth of this power

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. pp. 307—309. Sir Henry Rawlinson sees in the name of Deioces (i. e., *Dahak*, the *biting*) a mere equivalent of Astyages (i. e., *Aj-dahak*, the *biting snake*). He regards both names as Scythian titles, borrowed by the Medes from their enemies.

† The real Frawartish fell in battle against the Persians.

‡ In a celebrated passage of the *Persæ* of Æschylus (vv. 761—764), a *Mede* is named as the first leader of the Medo-Persian host, *his son* as the completer of his work, and Cyrus as the *third* from him; that is, clearly, from the *first*. The three are, therefore, Cyaxares, Astyages, and Cyrus.

§ Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, App. to Book i. Essay iii.

can only be conjectured from the scanty materials we possess. It is even doubtful whether it first arose in Media itself, or whether Cyaxares was not rather the leader of an Aryan host from some region further to the East,* who for the first time established an Aryan nation in the country of Media, which had hitherto been chiefly occupied by scattered Turanian tribes.

It is certain that the time of Cyaxares was distinguished by a great movement among the Turanian races which on the north overhung the more civilized countries, both in Europe and in Asia. According to Herodotus, the Cimmerians, who lived to the north of the Ister and the Euxine,† pressed upon by the Scythians from Central Asia, made a great irruption into Asia Minor, where some of their tribes effected permanent settlements; while the Scythians, entering Upper Asia by way of Media, overran that country, crossed the range of Zagros into Mesopotamia, passed through Syria to the frontier of Egypt, which Psammetichus only redeemed from invasion by costly presents, and held the dominion of Western Asia for twenty-eight years, till they were expelled by Cyaxares. It is needless to enter into the elaborate discussion by which these statements have been shown to be greatly exaggerated as a whole, and very doubtful in their leading details. For our present purpose, the chief point remains pretty certain that Cyaxares only established his new kingdom in Media after a severe conflict between the Scythian and Aryan races. We have abundant evidence that these races had hitherto shared the possession of the tableland of Media. While the former still preponderated, the latter seem to have been steadily growing in numbers and in power, reinforced by fresh migrations from the East. At length, we may suppose, there occurred one of those great movements in Central Asia by which, from age to age, the wave of Turanian invasion has been driven forward to break upon the south; and in a fresh effort to repel this fresh invasion, the Aryan race obtained the mastery and founded the kingdom of Media. One consequence of their victory may have been to drive a body of the expelled Scythians across Mount Zagros, whose irruption gave a new blow to the already declining power of Assyria. What truth there may be in the account of their further progress westward, we have no sufficient means to decide.

"Little as we know," says Mr. Grote, "about the particulars of these Cimmerian and Scythian inroads, they deserve notice as

* Professor Rawlinson, in advancing this theory, suggests Khorassan.

† The Danube and Black Sea; see further, p. 255.

the first (at least the first historically known) among the numerous invasions of cultivated Asia and Europe by the Nomades of Tartary. Huns, Avars, Bulgarians, Magyars, Turks, Mongols, Tartars, &c., are found in subsequent centuries repeating the same infliction, and establishing a dominion both more durable, and not less destructive, than the transient scourge of the Scythians during the reign of Cyaxares." *

Dividing with these Scythian tribes the possession of the regions beyond the Tigris, and long engaged in war against them, it is not surprising to find the Aryan Medes resembling them in military organization. Strong in cavalry and archery, the hardy followers of Cyaxares were well prepared to play the part of conquerors. Cyaxares is said to have divided their undisciplined forces into the several arms of cavalry, archers, and spearmen. The two great achievements of his reign were the extension of his empire to the west, over the highlands of southern Armenia and of Asia Minor, as far as the river Halys, and the destruction of Nineveh and the Assyrian empire.

The order of these events is left doubtful by Herodotus, nor can we determine it certainly by other evidence. It seems more probable that Cyaxares would first avenge on the weakened kingdom of Assyria her many attacks on Media, and make good the claim of the latter to independence by a decisive victory. The most recent researches appear to have succeeded in fixing the capture of Nineveh to the year B.C. 625. Of the manner in which it was effected by Cyaxares in alliance with the Babylonians, enough has been already said.† The result was to re-erect Babylonia into an independent kingdom under the dynasty of Nabopolassar, with free scope for extending their conquests to the west, while the whole of Upper Mesopotamia was added to the Median kingdom. Two new empires were thus founded in Western Asia, of which the Median was the more powerful, the Babylonian more civilized and splendid. Each had scope enough for its own ambition to postpone the final contest for supremacy to a much later period.

Meanwhile a third empire had arisen far to the west, in Asia Minor, which was approaching the height of its power at the epoch of the fall of Nineveh. This was the great kingdom of LYDIA, with which Cyaxares was brought into conflict by the westward progress of his conquests. A review of the previous history

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 339.

† See chap. ix. p. 225.

of this kingdom carries us to the shores of the Ægean Sea, and brings the famous nations of Europe within our view.

The peninsula of Asia Minor is equally remarkable in a physical and ethnic point of view. Like Asia it is formed by a great central table-land, supported by two chief mountain-ranges, which extend from east to west, and form, in fact, the prolongations of the central and southern chains of the whole continent. Like Europe, it is surrounded by the sea on every side except the east, and its deeply indented shores, especially on the west, are marked out by nature for maritime and commercial enterprise. Placed between these two continents, and divided from Africa only by the Mediterranean, with Cyprus as a stepping-stone between, while it adjoins on the land-side the primeval seat of the human family, it lies, so to speak, in the very focus of the chief races that have overspread the earth. The result of this position is a mixture of populations, more intricate and more difficult to distinguish, than in any other region of the ancient world. The very enumeration by Herodotus of the nations west of the river Halys is enough to alarm the student of ethnology, nor can we obtain much light from the great divisions into which the peninsula was afterwards mapped out. There is, however, one broad general distinction of the highest value. The river Halys, which divides the whole country irregularly into an eastern and western half, was also a line of demarcation between the Semitic and Japhetic races ; the former embracing the Cappadocians or Syrians, and the latter a vast number of different tribes ; while on the southern coast, the Pamphylians and Cilicians, cut off from the rest by the chain of Taurus, seem to have been Semitic races not unmixed with Hamite blood. We cannot pursue in detail the traditions, languages, common rites, and other marks of affinity, which connected the tribes west of the Halys with each other and with those of Europe. Suffice it to say, that the nations along the north coast, and in the north-west as far south as the river Hermus, the Paphlagonians, Bithynians, Mysians, Teucrians, Phrygians, and other lesser tribes, were near akin to the Thracians of Europe, the connexion having been made more intimate by migrations in both directions. The south-west corner, south of the Mæander, was the seat of the Carians and Leleges, who were spread also over the islands of the Ægean. Between the Hermus and the Mæander dwelt the Lydians, apparently one of the most ancient nations of the peninsula, closely connected with the Pelasgians, who formed the oldest population both of Greece and Italy. Traditions of

very remote antiquity went so far as to make the Etruscans (the conquering race who, in Italy, subdued the Pelasgians) a colony from Lydia.* The Carians, Lydians, and Mysians preserved the memory of their common origin by common sacrifices to the Carian Jove at Mylasa. Of the Lycians we shall speak later.

The earliest legends of these nations tell of the existence of local kingdoms, such as those in Phrygia, of Gordius, whose fated knot involved the power to bind and loose all Asia, and of Midas, whom there is some reason to believe an historical personage.† Amidst the halo of glory which the poetry of Homer has shed round the name of Troy, magnifying a local war into the most famous contest in the annals of the world, we discern traces of an empire, limited indeed as compared with those which have occupied our attention, but comprising most of the Thracian peoples on both sides of the Hellespont. Passing from poetry to history, we find the first great kingdom established in Asia Minor by a people whose historic name and capital city are alike unknown to Homer. He never mentions Sardis, though he speaks of the neighbouring localities of Mount Tmolus and the Gygæan lake; while he alludes to the people of Lydia by the name of Mæonians.‡

The country of Lydia possesses great elements of wealth in the fertile valleys of the Hermus, the Cayster, and the Mæander, and the mineral treasures of its soil. Recent experience in other parts of the world enables us to understand those stories of the golden sands of the Pactolus, which have sometimes been regarded as fables even by those who possessed money coined from them. The Lydians had also mines near Pergamus; and the Greeks believed them to be the first people who coined gold and silver money, or carried on retail trade.

The origin of the Lydian kingdom is lost amidst mythical stories, stamped with a Greek character, as was natural from their passing through the mouths of the Greek colonists, who borrowed, with the Lydian and Phrygian modes of music, the legends of their adopted country. In the first king, *Manes*, the son of Jove,

* Horace employs this tradition as a delicate flattery of his patron:—

> "Non quia, Mæcenas, *Lydorum* quidquid *Etruscos*
> Incoluit fines, nemo generosior est te,—."—*Sat.* vi. 1, 2.

This tradition, however, was not held by the Lydians themselves, and appears to be certainly unfounded. (See Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, vol. i. pp. 38, foll.)

† Herodotus (i. 14) makes him the first who sent presents to Delphi.

‡ Niebuhr considers the Mæonians to have been the original inhabitants of Lydia and a Pelasgian people, and the Lydians a later and conquering race.

we see the step from the rule of the gods to that of a *man*, which is often met with in mythical history. In his descendants, Asies, Atys, Lydus, and Tyrsenus, we have simply the *heroes eponymi* of Asia,* of the royal race of the Atyadæ, of Lydia itself, and of its supposed colony, Etruria. In the name of Torrhebus, whom the native historian Xanthus mentions as a brother of Lydus, it is supposed that we may trace that remnant of the old Pelasgian inhabitants, who occupied the separate district of Lydia Torrhebia—including the valley of the Cayster, south of Tmolus—and who spoke a distinct dialect.

Next comes the dynasty of the Heraclids, whose twenty-two kings fill up a period of 505 years. The names of the first five kings—Agron, Hercules, Alcæus, Belus, and Ninus—suffice to betray not only a purely mythical character, but the most heterogeneous mixture of Greek and Oriental legends. This is regarded by Professor Rawlinson as "the clumsy invention of a Lydian, bent on glorifying the ancient kings of his country by claiming for them a connexion with the mightiest of the heroes both of Asia and of Greece." † At the end of this dynasty we still find ourselves within the sphere of poetical romance, though the personages are possibly historical. Most readers know the story, told by Herodotus with his admirable simplicity, of the fate of Candaules, the last king. ‡ With the infatuation of a man doomed to destruction by the gods, he insisted on showing the naked person of his wife to his follower Gyges. The queen discovered the insult, and gave Gyges the choice between suffering death himself, or inflicting it on Candaules, and succeeding to his bed and throne. By the choice of the latter course, Gyges put an end to the dynasty of the Heraclids, and founded that of the Mermnads.§ The change was not effected without opposition, but actual war is said to have been averted by the sentence of the Delphic oracle, the fame of which had already been extended

* It should be remembered that this name belonged first to a part of Asia Minor, about the same region as Lydia, and was afterwards extended to the whole continent.

† Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, App. to Book i. Essay i. The extension of the Assyrian empire to Lydia is affirmed by Ctesias and accepted by Niebuhr; but the story is not confirmed by the monuments.

‡ Called also Myrsilus, *i. e.* the son of Myrsus, a form of patronymic, which is also found in Latin.

§ The story is avowedly borrowed by Herodotus from the poet Archilochus, of Paros, who lived about the time of Gyges. Plato has preserved another form of the legend, in which Gyges, a herdsman of the King of Lydia, obtains in a marvellous manner a ring which makes its wearer invisible; by this means he obtains access to the queen, conspires with her to assassinate the king, and seizes the throne.

through the Greek colonists to the Asiatics. The main event is probably historical, the revolution being one of those which female desire has often brought about in Asiatic kingdoms.

The oracle was rewarded, or rather, we may safely say, its response was purchased, by the first of those presents with which the Mermnad kings continually enriched the shrine of the Pythian god. But it was afterwards believed to have foretold the punishment of the crime of Gyges by the extinction of his dynasty with his fifth successor. The five kings thus indicated are—Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes, Alyattes, and Crœsus. Herodotus assigns to the whole dynasty a duration of 170 years, and (though there are some minor discrepancies between him and the chroniclers) we may divide this period pretty accurately among the several kings. But there is a doubt about the epoch of the end of the dynasty, on which all the other dates depend. In an elaborate argument, which we have no space to follow, Professor Rawlinson proposes to place this epoch eight years higher than the usual date.*

The new dynasty pursued, from the first, an aggressive policy towards their neighbours, both on the west and east, and the Lydian kingdom gradually became an empire, comprising nearly all Asia Minor, west of the Halys. Gyges began that series of aggressions on the Greek colonists, who seem hitherto to have dwelt peacefully on the western coasts, which Crœsus consummated by their complete reduction to a tributary state, thus preparing the way for the extension of the Persian Empire to the shores of the Ægean. Within the peninsula, a series of conquests was also completed by Crœsus, whose empire included all the tribes west of the Halys, except the Lycians and the Cilicians, for whom the Taurus doubtless proved a barrier against invasion. But these conquests were interrupted by two events of moment in the general history of the world.

In the reign of Ardys, Asia Minor was devastated by the invasion of the Cimmerians, a people who came unquestionably from the region now called the Ukraine, north of the Black Sea, be-

* The following are the two schemes:—

		CLINTON, &c.	RAWLINSON.
		B.C.	B.C.
1.	Gyges	716—678	724—686
2.	Ardys	678—629	686—637
3.	Sadyattes	629—617	637—625
4.	Alyattes	617—560	625—568
5.	Crœsus	560—546	568—554

tween the Danube and the Sea of Azov, where, as Herodotus remarks, their traces were found in Cimmerian castles and a Cimmerian ferry, in a tract called Cimmeria, and a Cimmerian Bosporus ;* and where their name is still borne by the ruins of Eski-Crim (Old Krim, the ancient Cimmerium), and by the peninsula of Crimea, or Crim-Tartary. From that region they were probably expelled by some great movement of the Scythians of Central Asia, like that which shortly afterwards precipitated hordes of the latter people upon Media.† Smaller bodies of the Cimmerians seem to have entered Asia Minor on former occasions, in conjunction with Thracian tribes, by way of the Hellespont and Bosporus; but now a vast horde marched round the shores of the Black Sea along the foot of the Caucasus, poured into the country from the north-east, and deluged its whole surface. They even entered the range of the Taurus, but were repelled with great slaughter by the Cilician mountaineers. Their ravages were most severely felt in the rich valleys of Ionia and Lydia, where they burnt the great temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and the capital city of Sardis, all but the citadel. It is the nature of such barbarian invasions to exhaust their first force by subsequent inaction and excess. That the power of the Cimmerians thus declined in the reign of Sadyattes, the son of Ardys, is proved by his resuming the siege of Miletus, about B.C. 631. They were at length expelled by Alyattes; but even then they retained certain positions in the country, the most important of which was Sinope on the Black Sea. The exact dates of their entrance and expulsion are both uncertain. The one seems to have been early in the reign of Ardys, and the other late in that of Alyattes.

The similar invasion of Media by the Scythians is said to have occasioned the first collision between the Lydian and Median empires. A horde of the defeated nomads fled from the severities inflicted on them by Cyaxares, and sought refuge with the Lydian king.‡ His refusal to give them up was followed by a war, which lasted six years with equal advantages on both sides, and

* Now the *Straits of Kaffa.—Herod.* iv. 12. The far wider question of their identity with the Cimbri and other great Celtic races of Western Europe, including the Cymry of Wales and Cumberland, and of their movements westward under the pressure of the Scythians of Asia, has long been under discussion. (See Rawlinson's Essay i. to *Herodotus*, Book iv.)

† For the traditional story of both events, see *Herod.* iv. 11, 12. But we cannot accept his account of their connexion.

‡ "The passage of such nomadic hordes from one government in the East to another, has been always, and is even down to the present day, a frequent cause of

was only ended by a celestial portent. An eclipse of the sun, which occurred in the midst of a great battle, struck such terror into both armies that the conflict was suspended; and peace was shortly afterwards concluded by the mediation of the Babylonian prince, Labynetus, who seems to have been present as an ally in the army of Cyaxares,* and of the Cilician prince, Syennesis, the ally of Alyattes. The marriage of Aryenis, the daughter of Alyattes, to Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, formed a tie between the royal houses of Lydia and Media, which helped to involve them in a common fall. The inadequate cause assigned for the war permits us rather to regard it as arising from a great scheme of conquest on the part of Cyaxares, who had now pushed on his frontier to the Halys; and the successful resistance of Alyattes may be explained by a general league of the nations within the Halys, in which even the Cilicians took part.

The date of the battle is one of those tantalizing problems in which a promise of certainty eludes our grasp. We might have supposed that it would be easily calculated from the "Eclipse of Thales"—so called because the Milesian philosopher is said to have predicted its occurrence. Whether the astronomical science of the Greeks was then sufficient for such a prediction has been doubted; but our own difficulty arises from the very opposite cause. Astronomers have proposed dates varying between the limits of B.C. 625 and B.C. 583. As the result of calculations, based on the newest tables, Ideler maintains that the only eclipse answering all the conditions of time, place, and total—or all but total—obscuration,† is that which occurred on the 30th September, B.C. 610, of our present calendar.‡

This war was succeeded by a long interval of peace, during

dispute between the different governments. They are valuable both as tributaries and as soldiers."—Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 310.

* *Herod.* i. 74. This Labynetus would naturally be the commander of a contingent sent by Nabopolassar to the aid of his ally. He bears the same name (Labynetus = Nabu-nit) as the last king of Babylon, and may very likely have been of the same family.

† This is manifestly required, to explain the awe inspired by the eclipse; and it may be added that the striking accounts given by recent observers of their own emotions on viewing such a scene, with all the calmness of science and preparation, forbid our ascribing the impression made on contending armies as the fruit of ignorant superstition.

‡ See Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, vol. i. p. 209;—Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 311. The balance of evidence seems in favour of this date, though, still more recently, such authorities as Airy and Hind lean to the date of B.C. 585.—Bosanquet, *Fall of Nineveh*, p. 14.

which the conquests of Nebuchadnezzar and the fall of Judah form the only stirring events in Western Asia. Of Cyaxares we hear nothing further, except that he sent aid to Nebuchadnezzar in the wars against Egypt and Judah. In a word, the alliance of the two empires seems to have been firmly maintained till the overthrow of the Median dynasty by Cyrus.

The reign of Cyaxares lasted just forty years, the probable date of his death being B.C. 593. Alyattes, King of Lydia, survived him a quarter of a century, dying, after a reign of fifty-seven years, in B.C. 568, just seven years before the death of Nebuchadnezzar. The interval of forty years thus left between the war with Media and his death may be partly filled up by the expulsion of the Cimmerians and attacks upon the Grecian colonies. His later years seem to have been occupied with the erection of his tomb, an edifice which Herodotus pronounces the sole remarkable structure raised by the Lydian kings, and inferior only to those of Egypt and Babylon.* Its remains still stand on the north bank of the river Hermus, near the ruins of Sardis. In the general idea of a sepulchral chamber surmounted by a lofty pile, it resembled the pyramids of Egypt, but its structure bears a much closer resemblance to the *tumuli* or *barrows* of western nations; and it is surrounded by many smaller mounds of the same form, marking the burying-place of Sardis. It was formed by a basement of immense blocks of stone, above which was heaped a mound of earth, surmounted by five stone pillars, carved with inscriptions, which were standing at the time of Herodotus.† The ground-plan is a circle (perhaps originally an ellipse), to which Herodotus gives a circumference of nearly three-quarters of a mile, so that the area was even larger than that of the Great Pyramid; but the height was probably much less. At present the circumference is just half a mile. The basement is partly of hewn stone, as described by Herodotus, and partly cut out of the limestone rock, whose horizontal strata resemble courses of masonry. The mound is composed of sand and gravel, apparently from the bed of the Hermus; its greatest slope is about 22°. The sepulchral chamber, recently discovered by M. Spiegenthal, the Prussian consul at Smyrna, is almost exactly in the centre of the tumulus: it is a

* *Herod.* i. 93.

† Sir Gardner Wilkinson notices the resemblance of the structure to tombs in Etruria and Greece, like that of Menecrates at Corfu, and probably that of Agamemnon at Mycenæ (the so-called "Treasury of Atreus") when it was complete. Note in Rawlinson's *Herodotus.*

little more than 11 feet long, near 8 feet broad, and 7 feet high. Its walls are composed of large blocks of white marble, highly polished and without inscriptions. It contains no sarcophagus; and the mound bears traces of having been excavated and rifled in every direction. Its internal construction is quite different from that of another celebrated sepulchral mound in the same region, the so-called "Tomb of Tantalus," near Smyrna.*

CRŒSUS, the son of Alyattes, was the last and greatest king of Lydia; but his conspicuous place in history is due not so much to his wide conquests, his proverbial wealth, or his vast reverse of fortune, as to the halo of romance which Herodotus has thrown around his story. Singling him out as the first who, within his own knowledge, commenced aggressions on the Greeks, he regards him throughout as the fated victim of that retribution which the Greeks ever saw pursuing the offender with steps slow but sure; and the one great lesson of his life is that which Solon teaches the king amidst all his pride of wealth, and which the helpless captive's confession re-echoed as the flames began to rise around his living funeral pyre: that no man, however fortunate, can be called happy till he dies—that "in all things it behoves us to mark well the end; for oftentimes God gives men a gleam of happiness, and then plunges them into ruin." † The same idea runs through all the poetical embellishments of the story;—the visit of Adrastus, whose very name (the Inevitable) indicates the minister of fate, and by whose hand the son of Crœsus falls;—the dumbness of his other son, miraculously broken to save his father's life;—the practical irony which makes Crœsus the victim of ambiguous responses from the oracles whose shrine he had enriched, and whose truth he fancied he had tested;—the blindness with which he crosses the Halys, trusting to the promise that he should overturn a mighty empire, and then finds that the empire subverted is his own;—his doom as a sacrifice by fire, and his rescue by the power of the Greek god, to give full effect to the lesson of the Greek sage. These fascinating legends must not be wrenched from their place in the page of Herodotus, nor related

* Note to Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 93, founded on the descriptions of Hamilton and Spiegenthal.

† *Herod.* i. 42. The disputed question, whether Solon ever visited Crœsus, matters little or nothing to the historian's purpose. The lesson itself is one on which the Greek tragedians delight to dwell, but perhaps some readers may be less familiar with the more homely Swedish proverb: "Praise not the sun before the day is out; praise counsel when you have followed it, and ale when you have drunk it."

as if they were real history; nor must we forget, on the other hand, that this view may unfold some portion of the inner truth of such a career. What remains for the historian to record is that Crœsus, ascending the Lydian throne at the age of thirty-five, in a reign of fourteen years (B.C. 568—554), became master of all the Greek states of Asia Minor, and was only deterred from attacking the islands by the want of a navy;—that by consulting the Greek oracles, and holding frequent intercourse with Greek citizens, he made the Greeks more familiar with their destined enemies in Asia;—and that, after conquering all Asia Minor west of the Halys, he dared to match himself with the new power of Cyrus and to avenge the fall of his father-in-law Astyages. With this view he formed a great league with Egypt and Babylon against Persia; but the result was only to bring his empire to a sudden and disastrous end. But, to understand this catastrophe, we must resume the thread of Median history from the death of Cyaxares.

Astyages, or Aspades, the last king of Media, succeeded his father Cyaxares in B.C. 593, and reigned for thirty-five years, till he was dethroned by Cyrus, B.C. 558. Excepting a single account of a war with Armenia,* which has every mark of being fabulous, his history presents a total blank, till towards its close. This silence seems to confirm the traditional view of his character, as a peaceful despot, indulging himself with the quiet enjoyment of the fruits of previous conquests. It would seem that "the three great monarchies of the East, the Lydian, the Median, and the Babylonian, connected together by treaties and royal intermarriages, respected each other's independence, and levied war only against the lesser powers in their neighbourhood, which were absorbed without much difficulty."† But a new power now arose, from within the Median Empire, to make an entire change in the political state of Asia.

The Persians have already been mentioned as a nation closely connected with the Medes, in race, language, and religion. Of the family of mankind which claimed, not unjustly, the distinctive name of "Noble" (Arya), the Persians formed one of the noblest types. When we first meet them in history, they are a race of hardy mountaineers, brave in war, rude in manners, simple in their habits, abstaining from wine, and despising all the luxuries of food and dress. Though uncultivated in art and sci-

* See the story, as given by the Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 422.

† Rawlinson's *Herodotus*.

ence, they were distinguished for an intellectual ability, a lively wit, a generous, passionate, and poetical temperament; qualities, however, which easily degenerated into vanity and want of perseverance. As known to us in a state of subjection to despotic power, they were tainted with Asiatic servility to their rulers; but even then they were distinguished by that rare virtue among the Orientals, a love of truth.

Amidst the unexampled mutations of the Persian Empire, the ancient name adheres to the country where we first find the Persians and to the race who claim to be their purest modern representatives. The name of the latter (*Parsee*) is in fact identical with the form by which the Hebrew represents the native name *Parsa*, which is supposed to signify "Tigers." The country, which still bears the name of *Fars*, or *Farsistan*(" the Land of Fars ")*—the Persis or Persia Proper of the ancient geographers—is a mountainous region in the south-west of Iran where the great plateau descends to the eastern shores of the Persian Gulf. The margin on the sea-coast is a hot and arid waste, like the sandy deserts of Arabia; and the same character is borne by the eastern region, where the mountains pass into the table-land of Iran. Between these desert tracts lie the central highlands, which are a prolongation of the mountain-chain of Zagros. This rugged range contains some well-watered plains and valleys, rich in corn, wine, and fruits, and reaches of excellent pasture-land. This is especially the case towards the north, where the plain of *Shiraz*, besides producing a renowned wine, forms a favourite residence of the modern Shahs. On a site of equal beauty, in the valley of the *Bend-amir*, stands Persepolis, the capital of Darius, the ruins of which, near Istakher, bear the name of *Chehl-Minar*, or the *Forty Pillars*.† The older capital, Pasargadæ, lay about forty-two miles further to the north-west, in a wilder position among the hills at *Murgaub*, where the tomb of Cyrus is still seen. The fertile tracts, however, are exceptions to the prevailing character of the country; the hill-sides are generally bare, and the valleys

* The letters *f* and *p*, always interchangeable, are particularly so in Persian. Niebuhr supposes that the original *kingdom* of Persia comprised not only Persis, but Carmania on the east, and part at least of Susiana on the west. He holds Herodotus to be in error, when he represents the Persians under Cyrus as the inhabitants of a small canton, who could easily be assembled in one place.

† These magnificent ruins, consisting of two great palaces, built by Darius and Xerxes, besides temples and other edifices, cover many acres of ground. They are described in several well-known works. See especially Fergusson's *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored.*

little more than narrow ravines. The extent of Persia Proper does not exceed 300 miles from north to south, and 230 from east to west. Such were the narrow limits and the scanty resources of the cradle of the Persian Empire.

The evidence of language and tradition, with other grounds of probability, connect the Persians—most closely of all the peoples of Iran—with the Aryan race beyond the Indus; but as to the time and course of their migrations we can only form very uncertain conjectures. Entering Iran, most probably, with the Medes, their passage into the isolated mountain region we have described seems to have kept them freer from a Turanian admixture, as it certainly preserved them, in later ages, from the declension which the possession of empire brought upon the Medes, and to which they themselves afterwards succumbed.

The Persians appear to have brought with them into these abodes their distinctive language, religion, and political and military institutions. Their language formed one of the most interesting types of the Indo-European family of speech, being closely connected with the Aryan dialects of India on the one hand, and the tongues of Modern Europe on the other. In the course of time it has passed through no less than five different stages;—first, the *Zend*, or most ancient dialect,—long since dead, but preserved in the sacred books of the Zendavesta,—the nearest to Sanskrit of all other Indo-European tongues;—next the *Achæmenian Persian*, the dialect spoken under the old empire, and preserved in the cuneiform inscriptions from Cyrus to Artaxerxes Ochus (B.C. 558—338);—then, the *Pehlevi*, or various dialects of the revived empire under the Sassanidæ (A.D. 226—651);—still later, the *Pazend* or *Parsi*;—and lastly, the *mixed Persian* of the present day, which is largely corrupted with Arabic.

The religion of the Persians is one of the most interesting forms of belief devised by the search of a keen intellect after the truth, when the light of revelation has been obscured. Erroneous views have long prevailed respecting it, through the confusion of two systems, originally distinct, which existed among the Medo-Persians.

Herodotus and the Greek writers in general represent the religion of the Persians as an elemental worship. Ascending the highest mountains, they sacrificed to the firmament, the sun and moon, the earth, fire, water, and the winds.* They had no im-

* *Herod.* i. 131. In conformity with Greek ideas, Herodotus says that they called the firmament Jove.

ages of the gods, though we find both Assyrian and Egyptian emblems on their sculptures; and at a later period they worshipped Beltis or Mylitta.* Herodotus is mistaken in adding that they had neither temples nor altars. Their ministering priests and teachers were the Magi, a learned caste like the Chaldæans of Babylonia, and addicted to those arts which have received from them the name of magic.

But Herodotus knows nothing of that other aspect of the Persian religion, in which it appears as a philosophical attempt to explain the mystery of creation, and the conflict between good and evil, by what is called the principle of "Dualism." According to this doctrine, there were *two* great First Principles, that of good and that of evil, each the author of a distinct creation, and each engaged in perpetual conflict with the other. These two principles were personified by the Persians under the names of Auramazda (Oromasdes, Ormazd, or Ormuzd), which is said to signify "the Great Giver of Life," and Ahriman (Arimanius) "the Death-dealing." The one was the lord of Life and Light, the other of Death and Darkness. Auramazda created the earth and heaven, the race of men, and all that ministers to their well-being; Ahriman was the author of sin, death, disease, war, poverty, tempest, cold, and, in short, of all agencies adverse to human life and happiness, and tending to subvert the order of nature established by Auramazda.† So too in the political order of the state: it is Auramazda that settles the king firmly on his throne and gives him victory over his enemies, while Ahriman is ever planning sedition, rebellion, and defeat. Each was the creator of a band of spirits inferior to himself, the ministers of his will and the agents of his works. As to the issue of the conflict, the doctrine seems to have been silent, at least in its earliest and simplest form. Nor could it consistently be otherwise; for, as the belief sprung out of an insoluble mystery in the past, it could offer no solution of the same mystery in the future. The very need of supposing the two conflicting principles to exist at all would involve the need of supposing their conflict to last for ever. And here we see how utterly unlike (except perhaps in the distorted reflection of some

* Herodotus confounds this deity with Mithra, the Persian emblem of the sun.

† It is, in general at least, beyond the province of the historian to discuss the merits of the systems in philosophy and theology which he has occasion to describe. But we may observe, especially in the case of the physical order of things, how completely every system of dualism breaks down at the first step, that of discriminating what is really beneficial, and what hurtful, to the world aud the human race.

rays of truth) is the Persian dualism to the Scripture doctrine concerning Satan and his angels. These, so far from being essential members of the order of the universe—essential to account for the existing state of things—owe their condition entirely to their having rebelled against that order. Instead of being a self-existent and independent power, the dragon is bound with a great chain, doomed to defeat and perdition, and meanwhile deprived of all liberty to work out his malice one hair's-breadth beyond the limits of Divine permission. Nor is he permitted even to go thus far, except to prove in the end—

> "How all his malice served but to bring forth
> Infinite goodness, grace, and mercy, shown
> To man by him seduced, but on himself
> Treble confusion, wrath, and vengeance poured."

The devil of devil-worshippers is no more the Satan of the Bible than the idols of the heathen are the living God.

The popular idea of the Persian religion, from a very early period to the present day, is a compound of the two systems of Magianism or elemental worship (especially that of fire and the sun) and Dualism. There was no doubt a time when some such confusion prevailed among the Persians themselves. But there are good reasons for concluding that these two systems were originally quite distinct, the latter only existing among the Persians, and the former among the old Turanian tribes of Iran.

Just as Herodotus, in describing the religion of the Persians, knows nothing of Dualism,* so, on the other hand, neither do the Achæmenian inscriptions, by which a flood of new light has been thrown on Medo-Persian history, nor the most ancient religious writings, bear any trace of the Magian elemental worship. Nay more, while mentioning Auramazda as the supreme god, they only contain slight allusions to the Principle of Evil.† Now, if we look across the Indus, to the country from which the Persians are thought to have migrated, we find in the Vedas, or sacred books of the ancient Indians, a religion based on Monotheism, in its spiritual and personal form, which might be easily corrupted into

* His whole description refers evidently to the Magianism, which had been partially adopted by the Persians, and extensively by the Medes.

† "In the great inscription of Darius at Behistun, the false religion which that king displaced is said to have been established by the 'god of lies.' It need surprise no one that notices are not more frequent, or that the name Ahriman does not occur. The public documents of modern countries make no mention of Satan."—Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, App. to Book i. Essay v., *On the Religion of the Ancient Persians.*

Dualism. Sir Henry Rawlinson has indeed put forth a conjecture, far too ingenious not to be mentioned, that "it was in fact the Dualistic heresy which separated the Zend or Persian branch of the Aryans from their Vedic brethren, and compelled them to migrate to the westward." At all events, the notices of their migration, in their own most ancient religious books, refer all the successes and disasters of the Aryan race to the conflict between Auramazda and Ahriman.

The only remaining source, from which we can trace the Magian elemental worship, is from the Turanian tribes with which the Aryans came into contact when they entered Iran. How far this theory is confirmed by the religions of the Turanian tribes throughout the world is a question both in itself too large to be entered upon here, and complicated by the prevailing degeneracy of the whole race. But in the neighbouring regions of Mesopotamia, which we have seen reason to believe were very early occupied by a Turanian population, the prevailing Sabæism was tinctured with, and may even have sprung from, an elemental worship, and Magianism itself seems to have gained a footing among the Chaldæan priests. This view explains the fact that, while the Persians, long isolated in the southern highlands, preserved their Dualistic faith, the Medes, who were brought into closer contact with the old Turanian population, completely adopted the elemental worship. This was especially the case in the northern province, which to the present day retains the memory of its fame as the chief seat of the Magian religion, in its name *Azerbijan* ("the Land of Fire"). The contest for supremacy between the Medes and Persians in the time of Cyrus was probably religious as well as political; and this was certainly the case when the Medes recovered their supremacy for a short time, under the Magian Pseudo Smerdis. The triumph of the Persians under Darius Hystaspis was at once over the Median race and the Magian religion; and the fear so nearly realized found vent in proscriptions and cruel massacres of the Magi.

At length, however, the religious ascendancy, which a powerful priesthood had failed to hold, was recovered by the enthusiasm of a devotee, who established a form of religion compounded of the two systems—in one word, a reformed Magian worship combined with the Dualistic creed of the Persians. Of the personal history of ZOROASTER * or Zerdusht, we know next to nothing, for the

* Sir Henry Rawlinson regards the name *Zara-thushtra* as the Aryan form of *Zira-shtar*, that is, *the seed of Venus.*

Oriental stories are for the most part pure invention, and the fragmentary notices of the classical writers teach us little but their ignorance of the subject. The very time at which he is said to have lived—under Gushtasp or Vishtaspa (Hystaspes, the father of Darius)—is thought to have been purposely fixed, so as to connect his reform of religion with the final establishment of the empire; and here the story is self-convicted of fiction, by making not only Gushtasp, but also his father Lohrasp, rulers of the Medo-Persian empire. His origin from Azerbijan, a province with a large admixture of Scythian population, and the chief seat of Magianism, is a sign of his connexion with this form of worship. The favourite stories of miracles heralding the birth of great men are not wanting in his case; and he is said to have been only ten years old, when he withdrew to a cave in the mountains of Elburz. He remained in this solitude for twenty years, favoured with divine revelations from Auramazda and his attendant spirits, which he recorded in the book called Zend-avesta ("the Living Word").* At the same time he received the sacred fire which was to be kept perpetually alive upon the earth. The key to his whole teaching is contained in the words addressed to him by Auramazda:—"Teach the nations that my Light is hidden under all that shines. Whenever you turn your face towards the Light, Ahriman will be seen to fly. In this world there is nothing superior to Light." It is for this reason that the disciple of Zoroaster turns his face in prayer to the sun, as the purest of all created lights, or else to the sacred fire that burns on the altar. The doctrine of Dualism, as taught by Zoroaster, was in substance what has been already stated; but he gave the preponderance of power to Auramazda, who alone of the two principles was eternal, and would ultimately conquer Ahriman. Zoroaster was sent back with the commission to declare to Gushtasp the doctrines of the Zend-avesta.

Zoroaster was thirty years old when he appeared before Gushtasp at Bactra (Balkh). His first convert is said to have been Asfandiyar, the son of Gushtasp, who gained over his father to the new religion, which soon spread throughout Azerbijan.† Zoroaster then travelled, propagating his faith, not only through all the kingdom of Iran, but to Chaldæa on the one side and India on

* This account of the origin of the Zend-avesta is altogether fabulous.

† The story that Gushtasp had 12,000 skins of cows prepared, for writing on them the new doctrines, curiously antedates the invention of parchment. These sacred writings were deposited in a cave at Persepolis, under a guard of Magians.

the other. One view of his mission represents him as purifying the old religion from corruptions imported from these two countries. On Zoroaster's return to Iran, temples for the worship of the sacred fire were erected everywhere by Gushtasp, whose zeal in the cause involved him in a war with Arjasp, the king of Turan, which was triumphantly ended by his son Asfandiyar. Zoroaster died not long before this victory, at the age of seventy-six, about B.C. 513. We relate the legend as one of those embellishments which religious zeal has added to the history of the world. Whatever may be the real history of the movement, the general result seems to have been this: that, in the old Persian empire, from the reign of Darius Hystaspis downward, the popular religion was the modified Magianism, which is ascribed to Zoroaster, while that which prevailed at court, and among the highest Persian nobility, was nearer to the ancient faith. But at the time when Cyrus first founded the empire, the latter may be regarded as the true Persian religion, and in direct antagonism to the Magian worship which had already become prevalent in Media.

The Persian nation was composed of ten tribes; of which, Herodotus tells us, three were noble, three agricultural, and four nomadic. At the head of all stood the royal tribe of the Pasargadæ, to which the kings belonged, and from whom the ancient capital took its name. They are supposed to represent the horde which first migrated from beyond the Indus. They kept themselves distinct from the other tribes, over whom they enjoyed peculiar privileges. Among the three agricultural tribes, the Germanians * (or Carmanians) demand mention as having given their name to the country east of Persis, Carmania, the modern *Kerman*. The nomad tribes seem to have been partly the remains of the old Turanian inhabitants, who maintained themselves as robbers in the mountain fastnesses, and partly kindred hordes, who had immigrated from the regions east of the Caspian. Both appear to have been moulded, to a great degree, into the Aryan type.

The Persians were pre-eminently a military race. Mounted on the famous breed of horses, which it was their pride to cherish, their nobles formed the finest cavalry in the world. They had a strong infantry; and not only the nomad tribes, but the whole nation, were expert archers. On the sculptures at Persepolis, we see their warriors armed with long lances, oval shields, bows with

* This is a curious case of purely accidental resemblance between the names of distant and distinct nations. We have another example in the Iberians of Spain and of Georgia.

the ends curved backward, and quivers. Some are clothed with tunics and trousers, and wear a cap of the Phrygian shape; others wear long robes and upright head-dresses. In the field their onset was impetuous, and their courage great; but they wanted the steadiness of forces trained to act well together.

Their military spirit was kept in full vigour by their hardy mountain life, their simple and temperate habits, and the strict discipline in which they were trained from their youth up. Xenophon may have borrowed many details given in the *Cyropædia* from his favourite Spartan institutions; but there is no reason to doubt the existence of a discipline which taught self-command and self-denial, respect to elders, and obedience to authority.

The close political connexion between the Medes and Persians, from a very remote antiquity, is proved, as we have already observed, by the very formulæ of the empire. Had the latter been merely conquered by the former, from a previous state of independence, like other surrounding tribes, we should never have heard of "the law of the *Medes and Persians*, which altereth not." Whatever the nature of their connexion with Media may have been, the Persians had a separate government under their own kings. These first appear in history under the title of the ACHÆMENIDÆ, derived, it is said, from Achæmenes, who founded the dynasty about B.C. 700. Herodotus gives us the names of four predecessors of the great Cyrus, in a direct line from father to son,—Teïspes,* Cambyses I., Cyrus I., and Cambyses II. He makes the last prince only a Persian noble, whereas the monuments call the father of Cyrus a king; but the use of the title proves nothing as to the condition of the state. There seems no doubt that Persia lost at least the full exercise of her independence as the Median power grew. From the analogy of other tribes, strongly placed on the confines of a great empire—as in the relations of Media herself to Assyria—it seems most probable that Cyaxares was able to enforce an acknowledgment of his supremacy, and the payment of a tribute from the Persian king. The question is, indeed, of comparatively little moment, for the revolution effected by Cyrus was not so much the liberation of a subject race, as the conquest of an empire by a sudden invasion. And this one fact is nearly all that we can detect with certainty amidst the halo of romantic legend, with

* We learn from another source that Teïspes married his daughter, Atossa, to the king of Cappadocia. Such an alliance with so distant a state indicates the possession of considerable power. Observe, in the above list, that alternation of names which was so common likewise in Greek families.

which the Persian poets invested the rising of their imperial Sun.*

From the vast and inconsistent mass of such legends, Herodotus professes to have selected the account which seemed the least improbable—a confession which at once warns us against mistaking his narrative for a real history. The story is too well known to need telling more than very briefly; but too famous to be omitted altogether.

Astyages, whom we have seen succeeding to the empire of Cyaxares his father (B.C. 593), gave his daughter Mandane in marriage to Cambyses, a Persian noble of a quiet temper, lest a higher alliance among the Median nobles should fulfil a dream, which had threatened the conquest of all Asia by her offspring. The dream returned, and the king sent for Mandane, intending to destroy the child she was about to bear. Harpagus, a Median courtier, to whom the commission was entrusted, gave the child to Mitradates,† the king's herdsman, to expose in the mountains north of Ecbatana. The herdsman's wife, who had just brought forth a still-born child, persuaded him to expose the body, and to bring up as their own the child, who was afterwards called Cyrus.‡ On a time, when the boy was ten years old, he was chosen by his playfellows to be their king; and he took instinctively to the part, not only duly ordering his guards, and courtiers, messengers, and chief minister (the King's Eye), and his public works, but severely scourging a disobedient officer. The latter boy happened to be the son of a Median of distinction, who at once carried his complaint before Astyages. A recognition follows, the herdsman and Harpagus confess the truth: Astyages professes pleasure that the design, of which he had long since repented, had miscarried; and invites Harpagus to a banquet; the flesh of his own son is served up to the unsuspecting father, who is then shown the head in a basket, and asked by the king if he knew what animal's flesh he had been eating. He replied that he knew well, and that the king's pleasure was his own; and then retired, to bury what remained of his son, and to meditate revenge.

The king next consulted the Magians what he should do with

* Such is the meaning of the name Cyrus (*Koresh*), from *kohr*, the *sun*.

† This name, afterwards so famous, signifies "given to the sun" (Mitra or Mithra.)

‡ The name of the herdsman's wife, Cyno (the Greek word for *bitch*), betrays a rationalistic attempt to explain what was doubtless the original story, that Cyrus was suckled by a bitch. There was a similar perversion of the legend of the she-wolf of Romulus and Remus. See Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 246.

Cyrus; and persuaded by them that his dream had been fulfilled by the boy's exercise of royalty in play, he sent him back to his father and mother in Persia. Cyrus arrived with a mind full of ambitious hopes, for on the road he had learnt the whole story from his escort. He grew up to be the bravest and most popular of the youths of his own age. Harpagus had meanwhile solicited the Median nobles, who were malcontent with the king's harsh rule, to conspire for the deposition of Astyages and the elevation of Cyrus to the throne. When the plot was ripe, he despatched a letter by a stratagem across the guarded frontier, inviting Cyrus to revolt. The prince assembled the three noble tribes, and by a sort of acted apologue in a truly Oriental spirit, showed them the blessings of liberty and empire. He then led them against Astyages, who was so infatuated as to place Harpagus in command of his troops. A few only fought, who were privy to the conspiracy; some deserted to the Persians; and most fled. Astyages received the news with threats of vengeance upon Cyrus, and impaled the Magians who had advised to spare his life. He then marched out at the head of all who were left in the city, young and old, lost his last battle, and fell into the hands of Cyrus. It is common in these Oriental fables to allow the dethroned captive the consolation of keen wit; and thus Astyages replies to the insults of Harpagus by taunting him with the folly of enslaving his country to the Persians for the sake of a revenge which he might have enjoyed by seizing the throne for himself.

Another account, which seems to come from Ctesias, represents the contest as much longer and more doubtful. Astyages was victorious in two battles, and marched upon the Persian capital, Pasargadæ, his attack on which was repulsed, and the same day the Persians defeated him in a fourth battle, killing 60,000 of the Medes. Persisting, however, in his attempt to conquer the rebels, Astyages risked a fifth battle, also near Pasargadæ, in which he was again defeated, and fled from the field. The provinces submitted in turn to Cyrus, who pursued Astyages and took him prisoner. There are several indications confirmatory of the length and obstinacy of the conflict.* At all events, the one

* Among these is the well-known passage of the *Anabasis* (iii. 4, sec. 8.), in which Xenophon names the ruined cities of Larissa and Mespila on the Tigris (on or near the site of Nineveh), as the scenes of an obstinate resistance by the Medes, when the Persians took from them the supremacy. In this passage, Xenophon, as the historian, expressly contradicts the story of Xenophon, the romance writer, in the *Cyropædia*, concerning the quiet succession of Cyrus to the empire after Cyaxares, the son of Astyages.

great historic fact remains, and indeed sums up nearly all we know of the reign of Astyages, that the conquest by Cyrus and the Persians transferred to the latter the supremacy of the Medo-Persian Empire. Herodotus adds that Cyrus kept Astyages at his court, and treated him well for the rest of his life : Ctesias says that he set him over a satrapy : and we have seen reason to think it not improbable that he may be that "Darius the Median," who exercised the royal authority at Babylon after its capture by Cyrus.* The reign of Astyages lasted five-and-thirty years, and ended probably in B.C. 558.

The totally different account of these events in Xenophon's *Cyropædia* deserves a passing notice, not certainly because his philosophic romance has any more historic value than the poetic legends related by Herodotus ;—for, while the latter have some sanction from national traditions, the former is the writer's own invention ;—but because of some collateral issues dependent on our estimate of the work. We have had occasion to speak, in the case of the Median king Deioces, of the tendency of the Greek writers to turn the history of other countries into an illustration of their own views of philosophy and politics. The *Cyropædia* is such a work, by an author honestly desirous of recommending the practical side of the Socratic philosophy, but distrustful of the liberty which he thought his own citizens had abused. He had been, in his early manhood, a disciple of Socrates, whose conversations on self-command and on the affairs of life made a deeper impression on his mind than the speculations which fascinated his fellow-disciple Plato. He treasured up his master's precepts for the care of the body and the regulation of the desires, for the economy of resources and the preservation of friends. In the *Memorabilia* he recorded such discourses to defend Socrates against the charge of corrupting the youth : in the *Cyropædia* he set himself to show how the same lessons, learnt in youth and practised throughout life, would fit a man to secure the respect and obedience of his subjects, and so prove that the government of men is not so difficult a task as is commonly supposed. The great monarchies of the East have always had a fascination for writers on such a theme ; and Xenophon was perhaps not unwilling to draw an invidious contrast between the Greek republics and the absolute monarchy of Persia. The traditional greatness of its founder was bright enough, and at the same time sufficiently remote to protect the writer from the charge of absurdity, in

* See chap. ix. p. 239.

choosing Cyrus for the pattern of the virtues he desired to illustrate,—an obedient child, a courageous and modest youth, a virtuous and generous man, a successful conqueror, a wise and prosperous and paternal ruler. The same consistent ideal runs through all the life of Cyrus. Whether his childish simplicity puts to shame the excesses of his grandfather, or his manly frankness disarms the jealousy of his uncle;—whether he discourses to his comrades in the tent, or to his children on his death-bed, he is still the great exemplar of the Socratic philosophy according to Xenophon's conception, acted out on the loftiest stage and on the grandest scale. To detect the element of fiction in such a picture—which Xenophon never meant to be taken for a portrait—it is enough to remember the simple fact, that Cyrus was an Asiatic conqueror in a rude age, and the leader of a fierce band of warriors. The conquests he effected and the empire he organized, his generous policy towards the Jews, and his clemency in some striking cases, though contrasted with arrogance and cruelty in others, prove his possession of noble as well as brilliant qualities. But if we would seek further for his likeness, we must assuredly look rather to Genghis Khan or Timour than to the Cyrus of Xenophon's romance.

We have dwelt upon this view, because a certain class of writers have done all they could to make the Cyrus of Xenophon a hero of popular history, from motives deserving of respect, but in a spirit subversive of historic truth. In Xenophon's picture they seem to themselves to recognise the Cyrus of the Bible, both as to the incidents of the story, and especially as to the character of the man. Almost the sole argument for the former view is derived from Daniel's allusions to the capture of Babylon, and the reign of the Mede Darius. We have already shown that there is no need to seek for Darius in the Cyaxares of Xenophon; and on the other hand, the unambiguous prophecy of Isaiah makes Cyrus alone the conqueror of Babylon.

The temptation to recognise in the virtuous prince of Xenophon the chosen servant of God, as predicted by Isaiah, will not mislead the thoughtful student of Divine Providence. That Cyrus was "the anointed of Jehovah, whose right hand He strengthened, to subdue nations before him"—"His Shepherd, to perform all His pleasure," in leading back His people to Jerusalem,* implies no more of true piety in him than in the chosen instruments of God's wrath, such as Nebuchadnezzar. His own professions to the same

* Isaiah xlv. 1; xliv. 28.

effect* are no stronger than those uttered by the Babylonian tyrant when convinced of Jehovah's power. In one word, the error in question is rebuked by the very terms in which the prophet concludes his address to Cyrus as the Lord's anointed: "I have surnamed thee, *though thou hast not known me.*" † Cyrus was the unconscious instrument in God's hand to perform a certain work, and we need not falsify history to maintain the spotless purity of his character.

The dethronement of Astyages by Cyrus is alleged by Herodotus as the immediate cause of the war between Lydia and Persia. Besides the motive of avenging his father-in-law, Crœsus hastened to attack Cyrus before he should become too powerful. He forthwith began those consultations of the Greek oracles, of which Herodotus relates such curious stories,—stories furnishing abundant proof of the system of trickery and corruption which maintained the reputation of those oracles. These frequent missions to Greece led to his forming an alliance with Sparta, the earliest of those Oriental alliances by which the Greeks impaired their power to resist the common enemy. Meanwhile, Crœsus organized a vast confederacy of the three great monarchies of Lydia, Babylonia, and Egypt, against Cyrus; but he gave neither Nabonadius nor Amasis time to bring him any effectual aid. Trusting to a studiously ambiguous oracle, he led his army across the Halys into Cappadocia, the westernmost province of the Medo-Persian empire, and took the chief city of Pteria, a district near Sinope, reducing its Syrian inhabitants to slavery.

Cyrus, on his part, was equally prepared to meet him. He had subdued all the northern and western provinces of the old Median Empire, and had solicited the Ionians to revolt from Crœsus, but in vain. His rapid marches brought him into the district of Pteria, which the Lydians were ravaging, unsuspicious of his near approach, and unsupported by their allies. Crœsus was compelled to risk a battle with numbers inferior to the enemy; and an indecisive conflict was closed by the fall of night. Seeing that a defeat would now be utter ruin, Crœsus at once began his retreat to Sardis, and there disbanded his mercenary troops, intending to renew the war with the ensuing spring. Meanwhile he summoned his allies, Egypt, Babylon, and the Lacedæmonians, to send their succours to Sardis by the fifth month. He counted on the long delays by which Oriental campaigns are usually divided; but Cyrus and his Persians made war on a different system. He pur-

* Ezra i. 1, 2. † Isaiah xlv. 4.

sued Crœsus with such speed as to be his own herald before the walls of Sardis. This celebrated city, the ruins of which still bear the name of *Sart*, stood on the southern side of the broad valley of Hermus, at a point where it is contracted by the northern spurs of Tmolus. A precipitous rock formed its citadel, and a level plain spread out in front of the city. Into this plain Crœsus led out his native Lydian forces, a splendid cavalry armed with long lances; for the Lydians had not yet degenerated into a byword for effeminate luxury. Cyrus placed his camels in the front, then his infantry, and his cavalry in the rear, relying on the aversion which the horse is said to have for the camel. The stratagem was successful: the horses of the Lydians turned away in fright, but their riders dismounted to engage the Persian infantry, and even at this disadvantage they fought long before they were driven back within the walls. The siege of Sardis was now formed, and Crœsus sent messengers to hasten the succours of his allies, but the city was taken before they could arrive. There are different versions of its capture; but we have no reason to doubt the story of Herodotus, that a Mede, who had observed a Lydian soldier descend the rock to fetch his fallen helmet, mounted by the same path to the seemingly impregnable citadel; his comrades followed till a large number gained the rock, and so the city was taken. Sufficient allusion has already been made to Herodotus's romantic story of the manner in which the life of Crœsus was saved.* He was treated with respect by Cyrus; and the wisdom he had learnt by adversity enabled him to give good counsel to that king and his successor.† His reign lasted fourteen years; his fall is placed by most chronologers at B.C. 546, but by Rawlinson at B.C. 554.

Cyrus left a Persian garrison in the citadel of Sardis; but entrusted the government of the country to a Lydian, named Pactyas, who revolted soon after the conqueror's departure homeward. This revolt hastened that collision between Persia and the Greek colonies, which was an inevitable result of the conquest of Lydia. While the contest was impending, as we have seen, Cyrus had incited the Ionians to revolt from Crœsus; but after the victory, he had rejected their petition that they might remain tributaries as before: Miletus was the only city to which these terms were granted. In conjunction with the Æolians, who resolved to follow the course

* There is no satisfactory evidence that the old Persian religion required, or even permitted, human sacrifices in honour of fire.

† See the story of his having nearly fallen a victim to the mad fury of Cambyses, in *Herodotus*, ii. 36.

they might decide on, they prepared to defend themselves, and asked aid from Sparta. The Lacedæmonians would do no more than send commissioners to Phocæa—the city which had led the embassy, and which soon after gained by her devotion a lasting fame—to investigate the state of affairs. One of the commissioners proceeded to the court of Cyrus at Sardis, and forbade him in the name of the Lacedæmonians to molest any of the Greek cities, for they would not suffer it. Turning to some Greeks who were standing by, Cyrus asked who and how many were these Lacedæmonians, that they dared to send him such a warning; and having received the reply, he said to the Spartan herald: "I have never yet been afraid of any men, who have a set place in the middle of their city, where they come together to cheat each other and forswear themselves. If I live, the Spartans shall have troubles enough of their own to talk of, without concerning themselves with the Ionians." *

When Pactyas revolted, his first step was to enrol Greek mercenaries from the coast, with whom he marched against Sardis, and besieged the Persians in the citadel. But on the approach of the army sent against him by Cyrus, under Mazares, he fled to the Greek city of Cyme. The Cymæans refused to give him up, though warned to consent by the oracle of Branchidæ near Miletus, which repaid the favour of Cyrus by abandoning the Ionians as a doomed nation. Too weak, however, to protect the refugee, the Cymæans conveyed him to Mytilene and thence to Chios; and the Chians earned lasting shame by giving him up for the bribe of a certain district on the mainland.

Armed with this new cause of quarrel, Mazares proceeded to attack the Grecian cities; and the conquest was completed by his successor Harpagus with unrelenting rigour. In this war we find the Persians using the mode of attack, which we have noticed as represented on the Assyrian sculptures, by means of a mound of earth piled up against the wall of the besieged city. Resistance, however brave, was overpowered by the numbers of the Persians. To strike terror, probably, by a severe example, the inhabitants of Priene, the first city attacked, were sold as slaves. The rest seem to have been reduced from their position of tributaries, and in some cases only allies, which they had held under Crœsus, to an

* "Ionians" seems to have been the general name used by the Asiatics for the Greek colonists, and originally, indeed, for the Greek nation, as we see in the *Javan* of Genesis x.

entire subjection to the "Great King"—for the enslaved Greeks soon learnt to call their master by his high-sounding Oriental titles.

All the Greek cities on the coast were thus subdued, except Miletus, which had purchased safety by submission, and two others whose nobler choice it remains to mention. As to the adjacent islands of the Ionians, Herodotus makes the sweeping statement that they submitted through dread of the same fate. Samos certainly remained independent till the reign of Darius, and in this interval she reached the height of her power under Polycrates. Chios and Lesbos seem to have preferred the advantages of their connexion with the mainland to the doubtful issue of a continual state of war; and the Persians, being as yet without a navy, would naturally grant them favourable terms.* Thus did Cyrus plant his foot on the first step of the chain of islands that bridge over the sea dividing Asia from the free republics which he had threatened should feel his power.

We spoke just now of two cities which escaped subjection by a nobler choice. The two cities were Teos and Phocæa, whose inhabitants abandoned their homes to seek others beyond the sea. A voice was indeed raised to urge the like sacrifice upon the whole nation. Already, when they were first threatened by the power of Crœsus, Thales of Miletus had advised the formation of a single seat of government at Teos, as the central city of Ionia, all the cities still retaining their own laws; and now Bias, of Priene, another of the "Seven Sages" of that time, came forward at the united festival which was celebrated at the Panionium, to urge the whole nation to set sail in a body for Sardinia, and there to found a Pan-Ionic city. Masters of the largest island in the world,† they might enjoy not only freedom, but a wide maritime empire, instead of remaining to be slaves in Asia. The sacrifice demanded was too great for any but the two cities we have named, and even in them a portion of the inhabitants remained behind. Two bodies of emigrants from Teos founded Abdera in Thrace and Phanagoria on the Cimmerian Bosporus. The self-imposed exile of the Phocæans is far more interesting. They had long been conspicuous as the most adventurous Greek sailors who had issued from the ports of Asia Minor. They had explored the recesses of the Adriatic, and traced the northern coasts of the Mediterranean as

* The submission of Chios, and its terms, are implied in the surrender of Pactyas. Lesbos also had territory on the mainland worth preserving.

† This is a curious error for Herodotus, who, as we should think, had lived long enough in Italy to have learnt the relative sizes of Sicily and Sardinia.

far as the Pillars of Hercules, and Tartessus.* In that distant region the aged king had offered them a refuge from the power of Crœsus; and when they declined his generous offer, he gave them money to repair their fortifications, which Herodotus describes as built with great blocks of stone accurately fitted to each other. This show of strength induced Harpagus to offer them terms, in which however they saw no security from enslavement. They asked a single day for deliberation; which Harpagus granted, if we may believe Herodotus, with the generous intention that they might execute their plan. As soon as his forces were withdrawn, they launched their galleys, put on board their wives and children, their household goods, the images of their gods, and the votive offerings from the temples, leaving behind only their paintings and works in stone and bronze. Then they set sail for Chios. The Persian army, returning the next day, found themselves masters of a deserted city.

The jealousy of a rival maritime state prevented their settling at the islets near Chios, called Œnussæ; and no choice was left but to turn their prows to the far west. The death of Arganthonius had deprived them of the asylum he had offered in Tartessus; but a nearer end was promised to the voyage by the colony of Alalia, which they had founded twenty years before in the island of Cyrnus (Corsica). Further preparation was needed for such a distant voyage; and it would be sweet to give their enemy a parting blow. Sailing back to Phocæa, they surprised the Persian garrison, and put them to the sword. Then, imprecating curses on the man who should draw back, they dropped a great mass of iron into the sea, and swore never to return till it appeared floating on the surface. But they had scarcely put to sea, when that longing for home which the Greeks called *nostalgia* (home-sickness) subdued more than half their number, who sailed back to Phocæa, and submitted to the Phocæan yoke. The remaining half reached the haven of Alalia, and, joining the older colonists, subsisted for five years by piracy, which in that age was no disgrace. The two great maritime powers, the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, combined to put them down. In the engagement which ensued, the Phocæans gained a victory over the 120 ships of the enemy; but of their own sixty, only twenty came out of the fight, and those in a state disabled for war. So they returned to Alalia, re-embarked their

* The most important of their colonies was Massilia (*Marseilles*); the inhabitants of which still boast of being "compatriots of the Phocæans."

wives and children, and set sail for Rhegium, on the Italian side of the Straits of Messina. Their last removal was to the western coast of Italy, between the Gulfs of Salerno and Policastro, where, on a beautiful bay, at the mouth of a little river, they founded the city of Elea or Velia. To this new colony other Ionian exiles found their way, and among them the poet and philosopher Xenophanes, of Colophon, who founded the school of philosophy which was called, from its birthplace, the Eleatic. This episode was worth relating fully, for the light it throws on the process of maritime adventure and colonization on the shores of the Mediterranean, and for the glimpse it gives us of the great powers which had grown up in the West during the revolutions of empire in the East.

Having completed the subjugation of Ionia and Æolia, Harpagus compelled the conquered Greeks to serve in his campaigns against the Lycians, the Caunians, the Carians, and the Dorian colonies in the south-west of the peninsula. The easy submission of the latter proves, as Mr. Grote observes, that "the want of steadfast courage, often imputed to Ionic Greeks as compared to Dorian, ought properly to be charged on Asiatic Greeks as compared with European—or rather upon that mixture of indigenous with Hellenic population, which all the Asiatic colonies, in common with most of the other colonies, presented, and which in Halicarnassus was particularly remarkable: for it seems to have been half Carian, half Dorian, and was even governed by a line of Carian despots." * These despots probably purchased the security of their rule by acknowledging the supremacy of Persia; and we shall see the Carian queen Artemisia acting a conspicuous part in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece. Cnidus, the other chief Dorian city of Caria, made a faint show of resistance by cutting through the neck of its peninsula; but the attempt was abandoned at the bidding of one of those oracles which came so conveniently to the aid of the Persians.†

Far different was the conduct of the Lycians. This people—

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 279. It is remarkable that Herodotus gives us no details of the subjugation of this his native city.

† The wise desire to save their countrymen from hopeless resistance may, in some cases, have been the motive of a course which in others can only be explained by bribery. It is amusing to find that an oracle, when it condescends to reason, adopts the anile argument, common in every age, against enterprise and invention—

> "Fence not the isthmus off, nor dig it through—
> *Jove* would have made an island, *had he wished.*

one of the most interesting of the ancient world—inhabited a wide projection of the southern coast of Asia Minor, which is formed by a series of terraces descending from Mount Massicytus, a great southern spur of Taurus. Lycia occupies a conspicuous place in the earliest Greek literature. Homer makes the Lycians fight on the side of Troy, under Glaucus and Sarpedon, heroes only second to Hector and Æneas; and among the finest passages of the *Iliad* are the colloquy of Glaucus with Diomed and the death of Sarpedon. Bellerophon is represented as fighting against the warlike Solymi, whom other traditions represent as being the oldest inhabitants of the land. The Solymi were probably a Semitic race, closely connected with the Phœnicians; their Lycian conquerors a people of the Indo-Germanic stock. The Greek tradition brought them from Crete, when the people of that island were still barbarians, of a race kindred to the Carians; the further speculations which connected them with the Greeks cannot be accepted. Their ancient monuments show the influence of the neighbouring Greek colonies in Caria; but those, in which the Grecian type is so decided, belong to a much later period.* From their first appearance in history, the Lycians furnish an example of a firmly united and well balanced federal constitution, which embraced their twenty-three cities; and perhaps they owed it to this cause, as much as to the protection of Mount Taurus, that they and the Cilicians, alone of all the people west of the Halys, held out against the power of Crœsus. The Persians only subdued them after a resistance which was made for ever memorable by the fate of Xanthus.† In a battle fought on the plain south of the city, the fierce courage of the Xanthians was overpowered by numbers, and they were shut up within their walls. Having collected into the citadel their wives, children, slaves, and treasures, they set fire to the building. Then, binding themselves with dreadful oaths, they sallied forth again, and fell fighting to the last man. In the time of Herodotus only eighty families in Xanthus were allowed to be of Lycian descent, their ancestors having been absent from the country at the time. Enough was left, however, of the old spirit, to offer the most desperate resistance to Alexander; and long ages afterwards they repeated the self-immolation of their

* The Lycian monuments, which the British Museum owes to the labours of Sir Charles Fellowes, deserve special study. The language of their ancient inscriptions is still a matter of dispute.

† The native name of the city was Arina. Xanthus (yellow) is a Greek translation of the name of the turbid mountain-stream on which it stood.

forefathers rather than surrender to the Romans under Brutus.* It has been thought, on the evidence of the Xanthian obelisk in the British Museum, erected probably about B.C. 465, that the government of Lycia became hereditary in the family of Harpagus.

As for the rest of Asia Minor, the tribes which had owned allegiance to Crœsus submitted, or were subjected by Harpagus; but various wild races, such as the Pisidians, were never thoroughly subdued. The Cilicians seem to have preserved a real independence under their native princes, who were afterwards reduced to acknowledge the supremacy of Persia, probably by Cambyses.

The conquest of lesser Asia required several years; and though not conducted by Cyrus in person, it must have claimed much of his attention. Meanwhile he had to consolidate his power in Media and its northern and eastern frontiers. He overran the great plain east of the Caspian (*Khiva* and *Bokhara*), and founded on the river Jaxartes (*Sihoun*), the city which marked the northern frontier of his empire.† To the east of Media, his conquests are said to have extended over Herat, Cabul, Candahar, Seistan, and Beloochistan, in short, the whole plateau of Iran, to the mountains dividing it from the valley of the Indus. Thus we may well account for the fifteen or sixteen years which he suffered to elapse before attacking Babylon. Herodotus, indeed, expressly says that Cyrus reduced the rest of Upper Asia before he made war upon the Assyrians.‡ He alludes elsewhere to the conquest of the Bactrians and the Sacæ; but he avoids encumbering his pages with details of any but the two great events of the capture of Babylon, and the expedition against the Massagetæ, in which Cyrus lost his life. The former exploit has been related in the preceding chapter. It was probably in B.C. 539 that Cyrus began his march from Ecbatana. The whole of that summer was occupied in diverting the water of the Gyndes, an eastern tributary of the Tigris,—a rehearsal of the stratagem by which Babylon was taken in the following year, B.C. 538.

The first act of imperial power performed by Cyrus, when he took up his own residence at Babylon, was to issue his decree for the return of the Jews to the ancient territory of Judah, and for the rebuilding of the Temple of Jehovah (B.C. 536). While

* The story is told by Plutarch, in his *Life of Brutus*.

† *Cyreschata*, that is, *Cyrus's furthest*. Just so Alexander built an *Alexandreschata* in the same region.

‡ *Herod.* i. 177. The context shows that he means the Babylonians, whom he always regards as Assyrians.

combating the extreme views of certain writers as to his motives, we cannot believe that the recent events at Babylon, recorded in the Book of Daniel, made a less impression on his mind, than the earliest displays of Divine power had made on Nebuchadnezzar. The statement that "Daniel continued even until the first year of king Cyrus" * seems to mark the continuance of the honour in which the prophet had been held by Darius, and justifies the inference that he advised and aided in directing the restoration. The emphatic acknowledgement, in the decree issued by Cyrus, of his appointment by "Jehovah, the God of Heaven" to perform this work, is what we might expect from a prince who had seen, in the sacred books of the Jews, his very name thus distinguished, in connexion with the prophecy which his capture of Babylon had so literally fulfilled.† But it does not follow that, in thus honouring Jehovah, he forswore the religion of his fathers, or that he forsook his own line of policy. As Egypt had joined with Babylon and Lydia in the league against him, we are quite prepared to believe the statement of Herodotus, that Egypt, as well as Babylon, was comprehended in the conquests he was meditating when he returned from Sardis.‡ In all previous wars between Egypt and the great empires of Western Asia,—as afterwards in the contests between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids—Palestine was a frontier post of extreme importance to either party. It was sound policy to maintain there a nation, who would cling to it as their own sacred land,—a policy always followed by Egypt, and only abandoned by Nebuchadnezzar under the provocation of reiterated rebellion. Let his policy, however, have been what it might, Cyrus carried it out with noble generosity. He invited the worshippers of Jehovah from the most distant provinces of the empire, charging their neighbours to provide them with money, goods, and beasts for the journey, besides free-will offerings for the House of God; and collected from the Babylonian temples all the sacred vessels which had been carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, and gave them to the care of the prince of Judah. While thus honoured to fulfil the Divine decrees, Cyrus strengthened his empire by a policy which proved perfectly successful. For the space of more than two centuries, to the overthrow of the empire by Alexander, Persia had no more obedient province than Judæa, and her kings no more loyal subjects than the Jews, both those

* Daniel i. 21.

† Ezra i. 1—4; Isaiah xliv. 28; xlv. 1—13.

‡ *Herod.* i. 153.

who remained in the East and those who returned to their own land.

In both scenes their loyalty was preserved under considerable provocation, and their political conduct may be adduced as one sign of the better spirit which the Jews showed after the return from the captivity. For there is no more conspicuous proof, in the providential government of the world, that men may be taught to fear God by finding Him faithful to His threats and yet merciful in their infliction, than in the altered temper of the restored people. If they brought back with them the germs of faults which were afterwards to require a more terrible chastisement, they were at least cured of the idolatry and obstinate rebellion which had called down the first. Guided by Zerubbabel, and encouraged by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, they bore the opposition which sprung from the jealousy of the half-heathen Samaritans and the calumnious accusations transmitted to court by the Persian satraps, till they gained the favour of the king, and were permitted to complete their works in peace. The details are so exclusively concerned with the religious history of the people, and so mixed up with such intricate questions respecting the kings named in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, that their discussion must be left to the separate province of Scripture History. It is enough here to give the general results. The Temple was finished and dedicated in the sixth year of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 515). His successor Xerxes (B.C. 485—465), there can now be little doubt, is the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, a document which gives us a most interesting view, both of the interior of the Persian court, and of the condition of the Jews throughout the empire. The influence of the Jewish queen, the proved loyalty of their most distinguished men, such as Mordecai, and the display of strength, when, in defending themselves against a general massacre, they slew 75,000 of their enemies, must have greatly improved their general position. Under Artaxerxes I. Longimanus, they were vastly strengthened by the mission of Ezra and the new body of returned exiles who accompanied him (B.C. 458), and again by the commission granted to Nehemiah (B.C. 445). In spite of renewed opposition from the Samaritans, and corruptions which had grown up within the new state, the work of restoration was completed, the walls were rebuilt, the law was once more taught by the Levites, the ordinances of religion established anew, and an orderly division was made of the people between Jerusalem and the country districts. In a second visit

(about B.C. 433) Nehemiah reformed the internal abuses which had grown up, chiefly from the spirit of selfish gain, and the nation prospered under the rule of their High Priests till the end of the Persian empire (B.C. 323).

The end of Cyrus, as related by Herodotus, forms a mournful contrast to the greatness of his reign. He fell in an expedition against the Massagetæ, a Scythian people in the great plain east of the Caspian. The story is again embellished by romantic details—the over-weening confidence of Cyrus in his good fortune—the challenge of the warrior queen Tomyris to choose his own ground to fight on—the dream of Cyrus, foreshowing the elevation of Darius the son of Hystaspis—the details of the two battles—and the savage insults of Queen Tomyris upon the corpse of Cyrus, whose head she dipped into a skinful of human gore, to "give him his fill of blood." Another story, preserved by Ctesias, made him fall in an expedition against the Derbices, a Caucasian people. There is no reason to doubt that he really fell in battle against some tribe of central Asia; but it seems also certain that he was buried at Pasargadæ, his Persian capital. There the followers of Alexander (as Arrian relates) not only saw the tomb, bearing the inscription, "I am Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, who founded the empire of the Persians and ruled over Asia: grudge me not then this monument;" but Aristobulus gathered together, and interred again, the scattered bones. A tomb is still to be seen at *Murghaub* answering to Arrian's description. A square base, composed of immense blocks of a beautiful white marble, rises by seven steps, and supports a quadrangular cell, surmounted by a roof with gables, like the pediments of a Greek temple. This is also built of huge blocks of marble, those of the roof being cut to the required slope. The walls are five feet thick, and the interior is ten feet long, seven feet wide, and eight feet high. The marble floor is pierced with holes, which are supposed to have held the fastenings of the golden sarcophagus. The tomb stands in an area surrounded by pillars, which are inscribed both in the Persian and the so-called Median (or Scythian) dialects, "I am Cyrus the king, the Achæmenian." * The reign of Cyrus lasted nine-and-twenty years: his death forms one of the best ascertained epochs in chronology, B.C. 529.

Mr. Grote gives the following admirable summary of the reign and conquests of the Great Cyrus:—"In what we read respecting

* An engraving of the tomb is given with the description in Sir R. K. Porter's *Travels*, vol. i. pp. 498—506, and in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 351.

him, there seems, though amidst constant fighting, very little cruelty. His extraordinary activity and conquests admit of no doubt. He left the Persian Empire extending from Sogdiana and the rivers Jaxartes and Indus eastward, and to the Hellespont and the Syrian coast westward ; and his successors made no permanent addition to it, except that of Egypt. . . . It was from Cyrus that the habits of the Persian kings took commencement, to dwell at Susa in the winter and Ecbatana during the summer ; the primitive territory of Persis, with its two towns of Persepolis and Pasargadæ, being reserved for the burial-place of the kings and the religious sanctuary of the empire. How or when the conquest of Susiana was made, we are not informed. . . . . The river Choaspes, near Susa, was supposed to furnish the only water fit for the palate of the Great King, and it is said to have been carried about with him wherever he went." * This great historian then proceeds to show the vast change which these conquests effected on the Persian nation itself, holding out to their nobles satrapies as lucrative and powerful as kingdoms, and to the soldiers plunder and licence without limit; and, while tempting them with all the luxuries of the conquered countries, for which they soon abandoned their old simplicity, opening the prospect of a career of unbounded conquest, into which the successors of Cyrus at once plunged. The result was to roll back the tide of conquest upon an empire enfeebled by luxury, divided by the jealousies and contests of provincial rulers, and with a central power too weak to prevent its falling to pieces. In tracing the progress of this declension, let it be remembered that we are dealing with the case, not simply of a widespread empire, but of an empire in which the central power was despotic. How far an almost unbounded dominion may be rendered safe by free institutions is a great question of our own days.

The "Nemesis" of unbridled power—to borrow the impressive view of the Greeks—already begins to work in the personal character of Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus. His wanton cruelties and insane rashness have often been compared with those of Antiochus Epiphanes, Caligula, and Paul of Russia, as proofs that if "oppression drives wise men mad," it makes the tyrant himself madder. The great event of his reign was the expedition against Egypt, which is usually placed in his fifth year (B.C. 525).† Herodotus passes over the interval ; but elsewhere he

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iv. pp. 288, 289.

† This is on the authority of Manetho, in the Armenian version of the *Chronicon*

gives us reason to believe that Phœnicia was conquered by Cambyses. He puts into the mouth of the Persian courtier the flattery,—which could hardly have been ventured on without some foundation of truth,—that Cambyses surpassed his father, for he was lord of all that his father ever ruled, and further had made himself master of Egypt, *and the sea.** Accordingly Cambyses is the first Persian king whom we find in possession of the great instrument of maritime power, the navy of the Phœnicians; but their connexion with Persia was little more than a voluntary alliance; and Cambyses was obliged to humour them because "upon the Phœnicians all his sea-service depended."† The affairs involved in the transfer of so vast and recent an empire, even from father to son, with the collection of all its forces for the meditated expedition, may easily have required five years. Herodotus expressly tells us, twice over, that the forces led by Cambyses against Egypt comprised the recently subjugated Ionian and Æolian Greeks, as well as the hereditary vassals of the Medo-Persian Empire.‡ The expedition was undertaken, as we have already seen, at the close of the long reign of Amasis, who, however, died before the actual commencement of the war.§

Notwithstanding the provocation he had given by joining the league of Crœsus, Amasis seems to have been on friendly terms with Cyrus; but Cambyses easily found a new ground of quarrel. It is not worth while to repeat the doubtful stories which Herodotus tells upon this point. Phanes, a mercenary from Halicarnassus, undertook to guide the Persian army across the desert which divides Philistia from the Lake Serbonis and Mount Casius on the Egyptian frontier; and, by the same man's advice, a safe-conduct was obtained from the Arabian chief of that region.‖

of Eusebius, and of Diodorus (i. 68). Syncellus, however, reports Manetho as placing the invasion two years earlier, B.C. 527.

* *Herod.* iii. 34.

† *Herod.* iii. 19. Herodotus tells us, that it was only the refusal of the Phœnicians to sail against their own children and allies under a treaty, that hindered the conquest of Carthage by Cambyses; and that the king accepted their excuse because they had yielded themselves to the Persians. He then speaks of the similar submission of the Cyprians in a way which implies its having been voluntary in both cases.

‡ *Herod.* ii. 1; iii. 1.

§ See chapter vii. p. 138.

‖ Modern travellers confirm the statement of Herodotus as to the good faith of the Arabs to such engagements. Speaking of the region crossed by Cambyses, Mr. Kinglake says, "It is not of the Bedouins that travellers are afraid, for the safe-conduct granted by the chief of the ruling tribe is never, I believe, violated."—*Eothen*, p. 191.

Cambyses found the new king of Egypt, Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, encamped near the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile. A horrid pledge was given of the fierceness of the coming conflict, especially between the mercenaries in either army. The Greek and Carian soldiers of Psammenitus, enraged at the treachery of Phanes, took his sons, whom he had left in Egypt, brought them forth in sight of both armies, and slaying them in their father's sight, caught their life-blood in a bowl, and drank it mingled with wine and water. Then, pledging themselves to one another with an oath, they rushed into the battle. After a stubborn fight and great slaughter on both sides, the Egyptians fled.* The defeated army sought for shelter within the walls of Memphis. Cambyses sent a herald up the Nile to summon them to surrender, but they destroyed the ship and tore the crew limb from limb. The siege was formed, and the city only offered a brief resistance. Upon its capture, the Libyans submitted to Cambyses; and the Greek cities of Barca and Cyrene sent him presents, which he contemptuously rejected for their meanness.

The outrage on the herald might have excused retaliation in the first flush of victory; but, instead of this, Cambyses amused himself by wanton cold-blooded cruelty to Psammenitus ten days after the city had surrendered. Setting him in a suburb of the city, with a mockery of royal state, he caused a procession of prisoners to pass before him. First came his daughter, in the garb of a slave, with the daughters of the chief Egyptian nobles; next his son, and two thousand of the noble youths with ropes round their necks and bridles in their mouths, doomed to death for the murder of the herald's crew. Psammenitus sat unmoved, while the Egyptians about him cried aloud at the fate of their sons and daughters; but when one of his former boon companions, who had been plundered of his all, came up and begged alms of the soldiers, the king burst into tears. Being required by Cambyses to explain conduct so strange, Psammenitus answered, that his own misfortunes were too great for tears, but he could weep over a friend fallen into beggary on

* Herodotus, who visited the field of battle, makes a curious observation on the Persian and Egyptian skulls, which he saw piled in two separate heaps. The former were so thin that a slight blow with a pebble would break a hole in them, the latter so strong that you could hardly crack them with a stone.—*Herod.* iii. 12. Sir J. G. Wilkinson adds: "The thickness of the Egyptian skull is observable in the mummies; and those of the modern Egyptians fortunately possess the same property of hardness, to judge from the blows they bear from the Turks, and in their combats among themselves."

the threshold of old age. The answer moved to tears not only the Persian nobles and Crœsus, but even Cambyses himself, who issued orders to spare the son of Psammenitus; but it was too late. Psammenitus himself was treated by Cambyses with the honour which, as we have seen in more than one example, the Persians were wont to show to dethroned kings;* but being detected in new conspiracies, he was compelled to drink poison. Cambyses now gave full vent to the wanton spirit, indicated by the public insults to the fallen king. Entering the palace of Amasis, he had his corpse brought forth from the chamber where it lay awaiting final interment, and began to scourge it and insult it in every way. Finding that the attendants were wasting their blows on the wrappings of the mummy, he ordered them to burn it;—a command, observes Herodotus, as insulting to the Persians, who regarded fire as a god, as it was to the Egyptians.

Cambyses now planned three great expeditions for the conquest of all Africa;—the first against the Carthaginians; the second against the inhabitants of the Oasis of Ammon (*Siwah*); and the third against some tribe whom Herodotus calls "the long-lived Ethiopians," and whom he believed to live upon the southern ocean. How the first expedition was frustrated by the refusal of the Phœnicians, has been already stated; the last was prepared for by sending spies, whose reports (real or feigned) furnished curious details, which may be read in Herodotus, and who brought back a challenge which so excited the fury of Cambyses, that he undertook the expedition in person. He was compelled, however, to relinquish it, after the entire failure of provisions had driven his soldiers to the extremity of casting lots for every tenth man to be eaten by his comrades.

Meanwhile an army of 50,000 men was despatched to the Oasis of Ammon, with instructions to enslave the inhabitants, and to burn the temple of the god. They set out from Thebes, and were known to have reached the "Great Oasis" about seven days' journey to the west, and to have started thence on their forward march across the Libyan Desert; but they were never heard of more. They met a fate, as was believed, worthy of their sacrilegious mission. It was afterwards said by the Ammonians, that the Persians had advanced half-way across the desert, when, as they were seated at their noon-day meal, a violent south-wind bore down upon them vast columns of whirling sand, under which they were completely

* Herodotus gives his express testimony to this usage (iii. 15).

buried. It is more probable that they were suffocated by the Simoom, or lost their way and perished by thirst; for the sand-storms of the desert, however annoying, are seldom dangerous.

Cambyses had returned to Memphis, stung by these twofold disappointments, when he found the whole city rejoicing at the discovery of a calf marked with the signs which declared it to be the divine bull Apis. Conceiving the public joy to be over his own defeat, he demanded an explanation of the magistrates; and, on their relating to him the discovery of Apis, he condemned them to death as liars. Next he summoned the priests, and commanded them to bring Apis before him, for "he would soon know whether a tame god had really come to dwell in Egypt." Then, drawing his dagger, he stabbed the calf in the thigh, and, as the blood flowed, he mocked this god of flesh and blood and sensible to steel, ordered the priests to be scourged, and denounced the penalty of death on any Egyptian who should observe the festival. The Apis died of his wound, and was secretly buried by the priests.

The Egyptians regarded all the subsequent excesses of Cambyses as proofs of a judicial visitation of madness for this act of sacrilege. After making all allowance for the source from which Herodotus received his information, we can hardly doubt that he performed many deeds of wild caprice, inconsistent with the exercise of rational self-control. The most cruel of these was his shooting an arrow into the heart of the son of a favourite courtier, Prexaspes, who had ventured to tell him, at his own request, that his subjects said he was addicted to wine; and, when he had given this proof of sobriety, requiring the father to compliment him on the steadiness of his aim. The most fatal was the murder of his brother Smerdis,* at Susa, by the ministry of the same Prexaspes, in consequence of a dream, which appeared to threaten his accession to the throne. This crime soon brought its own punishment.

There was a certain Magian, who bore a resemblance to the murdered prince. Herodotus adds that he was also called Smerdis, but we learn from the Behistun inscription that his true name was Gomates (*Gaumata*). With the help, according to Herodotus, of his brother,† whom Cambyses had left in Persia as governor of his household, the Magian assumed the throne, and proclaimed him-

* The true name was Bardis (*Bardiya*), the *S* being a prefix.—*Behistun Inscription*, col. i. par. 10. The inscription seems to place the murder before the departure of Cambyses for Egypt. If so, it was probably a precaution against revolt.

† The inscription does not mention this brother.

self throughout the empire as Smerdis the son of Cyrus, their king in place of Cambyses. The death of the true Smerdis had been carefully concealed, and the people seem almost universally to have transferred their allegiance to the usurper, who took precautions to avoid discovery.* Historians generally ascribe this to the long absence of Cambyses in Egypt, combined with disgust at his tyranny; but the language of Darius, confirmed by all we know of the attendant circumstances, points to a religious revolution, in which the supreme power was seized by the Magians:—"When Cambyses had proceeded to Egypt, then the state became wicked; then the lie became abounding in the land, both in Persia, and in Media, and in the other provinces." These words dispose of the speculation of some modern historians, that the revolt was one chiefly of the Medes against the Persians. There can be little doubt, as we have said above, that the Median element would predominate, because Magianism was chiefly prevalent among the Medes; but the rebellion was essentially Magian, and we have the distinct testimony of the inscription, both that Gomates was himself a Persian, and that the whole empire went over to him from Cambyses, "both Persia and Media, and the other provinces." In describing his restoration of the order of the state, after he had put down Gomates, Darius tells us that he rebuilt the temples which Gomates the Magian had destroyed, and that he restored to the people the sacred offices of the state, the religious chaunts and worship of which Gomates the Magian had deprived them. So much for the character and success of the revolution.

Of the heralds sent through all the empire to proclaim the usurper, one dared, according to Herodotus, to discharge his office in the camp of Cambyses, at Ecbatana in Syria.† The king at first vented his anger on Prexaspes, as if he had only pretended to kill Smerdis; but assured that Prexaspes had slain and buried the prince with his own hand, and learning from the herald that he had even seen him, Cambyses perceived the truth. He was mounting his horse in haste, to lead his army to Susa against the usurper, when the button of his scabbard fell off, and the point of his sword pierced his thigh at the very spot, as the Egyptians observed, where he

* Herodotus says that he shut himself up in a castle; the inscription declares that he put to death many who had known Bardis, lest they should recognize him.

† If there be any truth in the story, Cambyses was probably already on his march homewards. No satisfactory explanation has been given of this Syrian Ecbatana; the name was perhaps invented to suit the story.

had stabbed the Apis. Feeling himself mortally wounded, Cambyses asked the name of the place where he was, and being answered "Ecbatana," he remembered an oracle, which he had understood to mean that he should die at his full time in his palace at Ecbatana, and he exclaimed, "Here then Cambyses, son of Cyrus, is doomed to die." * Calling the chiefs of the Persians round him, he confessed the murder of his brother, and exposed the imposture of the usurper; he exhorted them all, and especially the Achæmenids, to meet force by force, and fraud by fraud, so as to prevent the return of the kingdom to the Medes, † invoking every blessing on the loyal, and praying that those who failed in this duty might perish by such a fate as his. He died childless, after a reign of seven years and five months, B.C. 522.

Such is the account which Herodotus probably learned from Egyptian sources. The inscription simply says that, upon the seizure of the empire by Gomates, Cambyses died "unable to endure;" but another version of these words, if correct—"self-wishing to die"—would seem to imply suicide. Herodotus adds that the Persian chiefs imputed the dying words of Cambyses to hatred of his brother, and were only the more convinced of the claims of the so-called Smerdis; and thus the Magian reigned secure. So far he is confirmed by the inscription, in which Darius boasts that no one, either Persian or Median, dared to say a word against the usurper till he arrived: the description which follows of the tyranny of the Magian agrees with the hatred which Herodotus says that the Persians bore to his memory; and the statement of the historian, that he won the affections of the other Asiatics by exempting them from military service and taxes for three years, is quite consistent with his harshness to the Persians.

Long before that term expired, his reign and life came to an end, by a conspiracy of the chiefs of the Achæmenids. Whether the curious stories of Herodotus respecting the detection of the false Smerdis and the stratagem by which the crown was obtained

* Most commentators have noticed the parallel in Shakspere's scene of the death of Henry IV. in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster:—

> "It hath been prophesied to me many years,
> I should not die, but in Jerusalem,
> Which vainly I supposed the Holy Land:—
> But bear me to that chamber: there I'll lie:
> In that Jerusalem shall Harry die."

† This is the phrase of Herodotus, giving certainly some support to the national view of the rebellion, though proving that he had an imperfect idea of its character. At all events, it was a rebellion against the Achæmenids, if not against the Persians in general: and as such the Achæmenids revenged it.

by Darius, the son of Hystaspes, be true or not (and there is no sufficient reason to reject them altogether), his narrative is in substantial agreement with the inscription of Darius himself. The six conspirators in Herodotus, besides Darius, who makes the seventh, correspond, with only one exception, to the men whom Darius names as with him when he slew the Magian, and who "alone laboured in his service." Otanes is the *Utana* of the inscription; Intaphernes, *Vidaphrana;* Gobryas, *Gaubaruva;* Hydarnes, *Vidarna;* Megabyzus, *Bagabuksda.** Herodotus represents Otanes as the deviser of the conspiracy, and Darius as only arriving at the last moment at Susa, from Persia, of which his father Hystaspes was the governor, whilst Darius takes the main credit of the exploit to himself. But if we look a little closer, we find Darius saying, "No one dared to say anything concerning Gomates the Magian, *until I arrived.* . . . Then it was, *with my faithful* men, I slew that Gomates the Magian." And, in Herodotus, it is Darius who, from the moment of his arrival, urges immediate action, while Otanes counsels delay. Nay more: as Darius was closely related to the royal family, perhaps the next heir to the throne, it is not improbable that Otanes may have begun the conspiracy in his interest, which it required his presence to bring to a head. It is also worthy of notice, that Herodotus represents Darius as aware of the imposture of the false Smerdis, and as supposing that the knowledge was confined to himself. A further indication of his importance is given by his confidence that the guards would at once allow him to pass, with his comrades, as the bearer of a message from his father, the satrap of Persia. And when, by this stratagem, the conspirators had obtained admission to the palace, it was the dagger of Darius that gave the Magian his death-stroke. It is implied throughout that the whole affair was begun and ended at Susa; but the inscription tells us that the Magian was slain at a fort called Sictachotes, in the district of Nisæa, in Media. His reign had lasted seven

* In the last name we have the same interchange of *b* and *m* as in Bardes and (S) Merdis. *Vi*darna becomes *Hy*darnes, just as *Vi*shtasp becomes *Hy*staspes. As for *Int*aphernes from *Vid*aphrana, Herodotus probably wrote *Vint*aphernes (for the Greek *Vau* was not lost in his time), and the nasal intonation of the dentals is very common. The whole is a strong incidental proof of the value of some, at least, of the authorities followed by Herodotus; and the solitary discrepancy between the Aspathines of his list and the Ardumanish of the inscription may well be excused when we learn, from the inscription of Naksh-i-Rustam, that the quiver-bearer of Darius was named *Aspachana.* Ctesias gives only one name right (Hydarnes) besides that of Darius himself.

months. The usurpation of the Magian priests was avenged by a great massacre, of which the memory was preserved by the annual festival called Magophonia (the slaughter of the Magians), during which no Magian might show himself abroad for the space of five days, on penalty of death.* This is one of the most curious examples in all history of those checks which a government finds it necessary to impose on a dominant hierarchy. For, as we have already seen, the religious system of these very Magians became the popular creed throughout the Persian empire, notwithstanding the failure of their attempt to grasp the government. They even succeeded in securing for their doctrine the traditional authority of their great political enemy, by making Zoroaster contemporary with the second founder of the empire.

Throughout the inscription, Darius ascribes his success, and indeed all his subsequent prosperity, to the grace of Auramazda; and he made it his first care to restore the temples and the worship which Gomates the Magian had overthrown. With equal distinctness he claims to have recovered "the empire which," he says, "had been taken away from *our* family." This is a clear assertion of his hereditary right to the throne, and by this title he doubtless obtained it. Herodotus, indeed, takes the opportunity to entertain his readers with an elaborate discussion among the conspirators, so serious that it was not begun till quiet was secured by a delay of five days. Otanes argues vehemently against an irresponsible monarchy, and proposes to raise the people to power, on that principle of *isonomy*,† which was as dear to a Greek republican as the *equality* of 1789 is to a modern Frenchman. Megabyzus contends that the ignorant wantonness of a rabble is even worse than the caprice of a despot; and urges his comrades to establish an oligarchy, not only as the best form of government, but for the sake of keeping the power in their own hands. Darius, like some later aspirants to imperial power, pushes the last argument to its legitimate conclusion in favour of the monarchy under which the Persians had gained their freedom; and his view was supported by the remaining four. If Herodotus, as is unquestionably the truth, has here embodied a theoretical discussion from a Greek point of view, rather than any actual fact, he has at least given a plain statement of the motives which make men prefer the two latter forms of government.‡

* The parallel to the general massacre of the Jews planned by Haman is too obvious to need remark.

† Equality in all civil and political rights.

‡ One is almost inclined to suspect a sly humour in the gravity with which he

Darius, the son of Hystaspes, of the royal race of the Achæmenids, ascended the throne in B.C. 521.* His earlier years were disturbed by great rebellions in Babylonia and Media, under leaders claiming descent from former kings. In the inscription so often mentioned, he relates the particulars of these revolts, and how he suppressed them by the help of Auramazda. He then perfected that elaborate system for the government of his empire which we shall presently describe. But first, as we are about to change our point of view, and to look at Asia henceforward from the West, let us cast a preparatory glance at the later history of the Persian Empire. Ambitious to rival Cyrus as a conqueror, Darius undertook expeditions beyond the extreme south-eastern and north-western boundaries of his empire, against India and European Scythia. The successes of his generals in the former country seem to have been little more than nominal; and we may reserve what we have to say of that interesting land, till its real appearance in the current of general history under Alexander. Herodotus † gives a most picturesque account of the Scythian expedition, in which the great military skill of Darius rescued his army from a position of extreme peril, and saved himself from the fate of Cyrus. Drawn on by an enemy whose wandering hordes always retired before him, he had the prudence to retreat in time. We shall have to recur to the connection of this campaign with the affairs of the Asiatic Greeks. Permanent results, however, followed from the expedition, and a beginning was made of conquest in Europe. While Darius returned to Sardis, he left Megabazus to subdue Thrace and the Greek cities of the Hellespont. That general not only reduced the Thracian tribes as far west as the

insists that such speeches *were* made, though many of the Greeks disbelieved it; as if he meant that they *ought to have been made.—Herod.* iii. 80.

* His Persian name is *Darayavush*, which is said to signify the *restrainer*. His descent is traced from the second son of Teïspes (son of Achæmenes, *Hakhamani*), by the same number of generations as that of Cyrus from the eldest son of Teïspes. By his marriage with Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, the two lines were united in his son Xerxes. It deserves notice that Hystaspes was still alive. Content, doubtless, with the satrapy of Persia, he left the bolder enterprise to his son. He is mentioned in the Behistun inscription as a satrap under Darius.

† Book iv. It must be remembered that the Scythians here referred to are not the great nations afterwards known by that name in Central Asia, though they also originally came from that region, and were of the same great Turanian race. They inhabited the region round the north of the Black Sea, between the Danube and the Don, from which, as we have seen, they had expelled the Cimmerians, and which was afterwards called *Sarmatia*, from one of their tribes. The account of them and their customs, which Herodotus derived from the Greek settlers on their coast, forms to this day a most important chapter in the history of ethnology.

Strymon; but, crossing that river, he extended his conquests to nations more nearly connected with the Greeks. The Pæonians were subdued, and most of them were removed into Asia; and Amyntas, king of Macedonia, acknowledged the supremacy of the Great King, by the customary present of earth and water. The envoys of Darius gave a sample of the insolence with which the Persians might be expected to behave, and paid the penalty with their lives; but the matter was hushed up. Thus the Persian Empire was extended to the northern border of Thessaly; where it hung like the edge of an advancing glacier, threatening to overwhelm the free states of Greece.

The intrigues which had been at work among the Ionian cities, during these European campaigns, belong to Grecian history. It is enough here to mention that Histiæus, the tyrant of Miletus, was deeply engaged in these intrigues, though he had thus far given all his help, in public, to the cause of Darius, and had been rewarded with a principality on the Strymon. His conduct there being suspicious, Darius carried him away with him, when he left Asia Minor, and the resentment of Histiæus was the immediate cause of the Ionian revolt, which forms the true beginning of the great wars between Greece and Persia (B.C. 500). Meanwhile the return of Darius from Sardis to Susa was followed by a few years of profound tranquillity throughout the empire. A broad line of demarcation is here drawn between the glories of the king's first twenty years, and the troubles of his last sixteen, which shook the empire to its base.

The Ionian revolt occupied the six years from B.C. 500 to B.C. 495. Its suppression was followed by a brief prospect of the subjection of Grecian liberty to Asiatic despotism, the consequences of which in the history of the world would have been so vast a mischief as to defy all calculation. But the unaided valour of the Athenians at MARATHON repulsed the first invasion; and, what was far better, proved the impotence of vast barbarian hosts against a small band of well trained warriors, where each heart is nerved by the consciousness of freedom (B.C. 490). The vast preparations of Darius for a new invasion were interrupted by the revolt of Egypt under Inarus (B.C. 486); and in the following year Darius died, after a reign of thirty-six years, leaving a fame only second to that of Cyrus (B.C. 485). The one founded the empire, the other rescued it from revolution, and organized its whole administration.

But the very same hand had shaken the foundation of his own

edifice by challenging the shock of western liberty; and the headstrong passions of his successor, Xerxes * (B.C. 485—465), hastened the catastrophe. The victories of Salamis and Platæa (B.C. 480—479) transferred the war to the coasts of Asia; while Xerxes seems to have lived in his seraglio, amidst the scenes described in the Book of Esther, and at last fell a victim to a conspiracy in his palace. The internal history of the empire under his successors is a confused scene of rebellions in the provinces, internal wars among the satraps, and conspiracies in the seraglio. Under Artaxerxes Mnemon, the memorable expedition of the younger Cyrus (B.C. 401) and the campaigns of Agesilaus in Asia (B.C. 396—394) proved how vulnerable the empire was, even to a small Greek army, and gave the example which Alexander followed when he finally overthrew the power of Persia (B.C. 330).†

Returning from this brief anticipatory sketch, it remains to take a general survey of the Persian Empire, as organized by Darius, that we may see the condition of the Eastern world at the epoch when the Western claims our attention.

The Persian Empire presents the chief type of that form of government which we still see in Turkey, a power whose dominions are not far from corresponding to those of the Great King west of the table-land of Iran, and in modern Persia, which answers very nearly to ancient Media and Persia Proper. The many nations which dwelt from the Indus to the Ister, and from the Sea of Aral to the shores of the Greater Syrtis, retained their own languages, laws, manners, and religion. In many places the native princes held the honour, and part of the power, of royalty. The cities of the more civilized provinces, as in Ionia, administered their own inter-

* This name is the Greek form of the Persian *kshershé*, which is akin to the Sanskrit *kshatra* (*king*). The prefix *Arta* (*noble*), so common in Persian names, gives us Artaxerxes. The prefix Cy or Kai, which we still see in the modern Persian name of Cyrus (Kai Khosru) converts it into the Median *Cyaxares*. Lastly, the Hebrew prosthetic *a* makes *A-chasverosh* (Ahasuerus), a name applied alike to Cyaxares (in *Daniel*), to Cambyses, who probably used this royal title (in *Ezra*), and to Xerxes (in *Esther*).

† The following is a complete list of the Persian kings, from the foundation of the empire to its fall:—(1) CYRUS, B.C. 559-529; (2) CAMBYSES, B.C. 529-522; (3) Usurpation of the Pseudo-SMERDIS, 7 months, B.C. 522-521; (4) DARIUS I., son of Hystaspes, B.C. 521-485; (5) XERXES I., B.C. 485-465; (6) Usurpation of ARTABANUS, 7 months, B.C. 465-464; (7) ARTAXERXES I., Longimanus, B.C. 464-425; (8) XERXES II., 2 months, B.C. 425; (9) SOGDIANUS, 7 months, B.C. 425-424; (10) Ochus, or DARIUS II., Nothus, B.C. 424-405; (11) ARTAXERXES II., Mnemon, B.C. 405-359; (12) Ochus, or ARTAXERXES III., B.C. 359-338; (13) ARSES, B.C. 338-336; (14) DARIUS III., Codomannus, B.C. 336-330.

nal government; but the "tyrants" who rose to power in them were generally favoured by Persia. The old boundaries of the nations marked out, for the most part, the new provinces, or *Satrapies*, as they were called, from the officer who ruled each as the royal lieutenant.* That sentiment of common nationality and religion which makes the great majority of the subjects of "Holy Russia" look to the Czar as a father, is unknown in such an empire. The sovereign is equally supreme and irresponsible; but it is as the owner of the whole territory, and the absolute master of its inhabitants. In theory, the king delegated as much of his authority as he pleased to the satrap, whom he appointed from any nation or rank, and degraded or put to death at his will. A check was provided on the power of the satrap by placing the command of the forces in separate hands; while, sometimes at least, the commandants of garrisons were independent of both. The satrap, however, was often the military commander, especially in the frontier provinces. The administration of justice, too, was committed to officers independent of the satraps, called Royal Judges. They were appointed by the king, who called them to account most rigorously for any corruption in their office. Cambyses had one such offender put to death and flayed, and his skin made a covering for the judgment seat.† The proverbial unchangeableness of the Medo-Persian laws must have added no small security against judicial oppression. In reference to one of the most important of the satrap's functions, and the one most tempting to provincial tyranny, it was some safeguard to the people that each province was assessed to a regular amount of tribute, and not, as in the modern Persian and Turkish kingdoms, expected to furnish as much as the governor can extort. The satrap might indeed levy for his own use as much as his power or prudence permitted; but there was a check upon his extortion in the interest which the king had in preventing the impoverishment of the provinces. All

* The Greek word *satrap* (σατράπης) represents the *khshatrapa* of the Behistun inscription. It is explained (though not beyond doubt) as *upholder of the king* or *kingdom*. (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 329.) In the Behistun inscription Darius enumerates twenty-three countries as having been given to him by the grace of Auramazda. Lists are given with some important additions, in the inscriptions at Persepolis and *Naksh-i-Rustam*, which are of later date. The 127 provinces of the Book of Esther, like the 120 of Daniel, must be understood of smaller divisions, reckoning separately many tribes and countries which were united in the satrapies. Herodotus makes the number of the satrapies twenty, and gives a full description of them, with a statement of their revenues. (Book iii. chaps. 90-94.

† *Herod.* v. 25.

this, however, could not prevent the gross abuse of the enormous power entrusted to the satraps; and there are strong cases, not only of extortion, but even of personal outrage upon Persians of the highest rank. So long, in fact as the province was orderly and flourishing, the tribute regularly remitted, and no suspicion of the satrap's fidelity excited by his own conduct or by the machinations of his rivals, he enjoyed the state and much of the power of an independent sovereign. This seems to have been especially the case in the satrapies of Asia Minor, which, besides being remote from the capital, were involved in the restless activities of Greek politics. Here we find embassies received and sent, and alliances and wars made, not only without reference to the court, but by the different satraps, taking different sides. Each enlisted his own body of Greek mercenaries, with whose aid they made war upon one another.

Such a system involved the constant danger of rebellion; and various means were taken to guard against the risk. The satrapies were assigned, as far as possible, to members of the royal family and nobles connected with it by marriage. A watch was kept upon the satrap by a "Royal Secretary," appointed to report all his proceedings to the king. Xenophon tells us that special commissioners were also sent every year, to make enquiries into the condition of each satrapy. Upon the whole, these precautions seem not to have been ineffective. Excluding those revolts which were purely national—such as those of Babylonia and Media under Darius, and that of Egypt—the attempt of the younger Cyrus is almost the only case of dangerous rebellion; and this was a matter of temper rather than of policy. In process of time, however, some of the more distant or less easily accessible provinces seem quietly to have fallen off from the empire, for we have evidence that it was of less extent under the last Darius than under the first.

The position of the Great King himself differed in no material respect from that of an Asiatic despot at the present day, such as the Shah of modern Persia. He appears to have governed without a council, except when of his mere motion he convened the nobles to aid him with their advice, which even then he was under no obligation to follow. If his courtiers ventured to appeal to the unchanging laws of the Medo-Persians, the first of those laws, according to the royal judges, and one that overrode all others, was that the king might do whatever he pleased.* The only

* This answer is said to have been given by the judges to Cambyses to cover a peculiarly flagrant breach of law.—*Herod.* iii. 31.

effective check on his despotism was assassination, the fate of three of the Persian kings—Xerxes I., Xerxes II., and Artaxerxes III. The king spent his life in the retirement of the seraglio, at Susa, Babylon, or Ecbatana,* and the real power was often exercised by a fond or ambitious queen like Parysatis, or a powerful eunuch, like Bagoas. This degeneracy may be dated from the return of Xerxes from Greece. Darius himself administered the empire with the same energy by which it was reconquered and organized.

The Persian Empire was the last of those great Asiatic despotisms, whose imperfectly known annals we have endeavoured to construct into this second book of our History of the World. The position which these monarchies occupy in our work we believe to correspond fairly to their true place in that course of moral government which it is the business of history to trace. They stand between the two great systems of patriarchal order and constitutional liberty. During nearly the whole two thousand years † that their dominion lasted, the former system was still preserved as a sort of protest against their usurpation, first in the purely patriarchal life and simple worship of the fathers of the Hebrew race, and afterwards in the theocratic commonwealth which was based upon it. And the more we keep this contrast in view, the better shall we understand this long period in the story of mankind. The chosen race, with all its faults, stands on the rugged spot assigned for its abode, like a lighthouse on its rock, piercing the surrounding darkness, and revealing the restless tossing of the waves below. There is preserved the life which has been elsewhere overwhelmed, the light which has elsewhere been quenched, save that some scattered relics of a better state here and there ride out the storm. And by that light we cannot fail to see that the deluge of despotism, like the waters of Noah, was a judgment on a world that had proved faithless to its trust. "O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the staff in their hand is mine indignation. Against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge, to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets." ‡ But towards the close of

* The usual custom was to spend the spring at Susa, the summer at Ecbatana, and the winter at Babylon. Roads were made by Darius to all parts of the empire.

† This is merely a round number, reckoned roughly from the epochs assigned, in the way we have already described, to the rise of the Egyptian and Chaldæan kingdoms, down to the acmé of the Persian Empire in B.C. 500. A more definite period of 1500 years might be dated from the birth of Abraham.

‡ Isaiah x. 5, 6.

this period, other nations arose in the West, to work out another problem—whether man's free energy in arms and laws, in poetry and art, in learning and philosophy, could perfect his social state. Our attention is now called to the scene of that experiment.

NOTE ON THE BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION.

This most memorable record, the deciphering of which by Sir Henry Rawlinson not only threw a new light on Persian history, but formed the first step in the science of cuneiform interpretation, is engraved on a precipitous rock 1700 feet high, belonging to the chain of Zagros. The spot is near the road from Babylon to the southern of the two cities named Ecbatana, the highway connecting the eastern and western provinces of the empire. At the height of 300 feet above the base of the rock is a great bas-relief, representing captives of various nations brought before the king, and round this is the inscription, in several columns. It is written in the cuneiform character, and in three languages—the old Persian, the Babylonian, and the so-called Median, which we have seen reason to regard as Scythic. Thus, as we have had occasion to remark, it was addressed to the three great races of the empire—the Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian; just as, at the present day, the edicts of the Sultan are published in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish. The character and interpretation of the inscription were first discussed by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who refers it, from internal evidence, to the fifth year of Darius, B.C. 516 (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. X.). Sir Henry's translation is printed, with a transcript of the Persian form of the document, in Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii., p. 590. There are other important inscriptions of Darius, of a later date, at Persepolis and *Naksh-i-Rustam.*

It is proper here to acknowledge our great obligations throughout the preceding chapter, to the labours of Professor Rawlinson; and in particular to his Essays on the Lydian and Median Empires, and on the Religion and Government of the Persians, in the first and second volumes of his translation of Herodotus.

BOOK III.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

FROM THE EARLIEST LEGENDS TO THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP OF MACEDON.

CONTENTS OF BOOK III.

CHAP.

XI.—THE MYTHICAL AGE OF GREECE.

XII.—THE HELLENIC STATES AND COLONIES.

XIII.—THE PERSIAN WARS.

XIV.—RIVALRY OF THE GREEK REPUBLICS.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MYTHICAL AGE OF GREECE.

Some time let gorgeous Tragedy
In scepter'd pall come sweeping by,
Presenting Thebes, or Pelops' line,
Or the tale of Troy divine.—MILTON.

CONTRAST OF ASIATIC DESPOTISM AND GRECIAN LIBERTY—SURVEY OF THE WESTERN WORLD—GREECE AND ROME—THEIR PART IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY—EARLIEST POPULATION OF GREECE AND ITALY—THE PELASGIAN RACE—DESCRIPTION OF GREECE—THE HELLENIC RACE AND ITS FOUR DIVISIONS—EARLIEST TRADITIONS—STORIES OF EGYPTIAN AND PHŒNICIAN SETTLEMENTS—THE ALPHABET—HOW HISTORY DEALS WITH THE MYTHICAL LEGENDS—THEIR CHARACTER AND CONSTRUCTION—LEGENDS OF THE GODS—JOVE AND THE OLYMPIC DEITIES—APOLLO AND THE ORACLE AT DELPHI—LEGENDS OF THE HEROES—HERCULES—THESEUS—MINOS—THE ARGONAUTS—STORY OF THEBES—THE TROJAN WAR—THE HOMERIC POEMS.

As we trace the history of the great Empires of the East, we feel the painful sense of something wanting to the happiness, nay, to the very social life, of humanity. That something is the spirit of individual freedom, creating its own proper sphere of action in a free state. Just as a man's life consists not in the abundance of the things that he hath, so the true life of our race could not be satisfied by the material wealth and civilization which flourished on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates, much less by the splendour of their empires. The very regions themselves are a type of their inhabitants. The torrid climate and the vast masses of land seem to require a fresher air and greater freedom of intercourse, to rouse the people to vigorous life. These boundless tracts lie ever open to the march of a conquering despot, for whose enrichment the fertile soil yields her produce to the labour of a subject population.

The spell of despotism, which so early mastered Asia, could only be broken by some hardier power, or dispelled by the infusion of a healthier moral tone. Both means were tried, and both were permitted to fail. The Hebrew commonwealth, which might have taught these nations the true liberty of a pure religion, fell into their slavery by forsaking its own privileges. The hardier and freer races, which poured down from the table-land of Iran, had already succumbed to despotic power, and soon paid dear for their conquest by sinking into the state of the conquered nations.

But, meanwhile, we have followed the tide of conquest from East to West; and now we may be permitted to fancy something of the feelings of the Persian conqueror, if he marched down the valley of the Hermus to its mouth, and saw the open sea spread out before him. Ascending one of the rocky headlands to look out over the Ægæan, and breathe the unwonted freshness of the sea air, he would gaze over the islands of the fair Archipelago at his feet towards the land that forms the opposite shore. He knows something of the spirit of the Hellenic nation, deeply as it has degenerated in Asia; and he has had a specimen of its free hardihood in its native home.* As he despises their threats, and marks them out as speedy victims to his ambition, he knows not that in that spirit is a force more puissant than the many nations he can bring into the field; and less still does he think, as he turns away to complete his Asiatic conquests, that their result will be to gather up those nations into one, ready to be smitten by the power of Greece, taught her language, and brought under her influence, in preparation for other and more lasting conquests. To follow these great revolutions in the history of the world, we must change our point of view to the West.

By adhering to our plan of following that which, for the time being, forms the main current of the world's history, and awaiting the point at which the several nations fall into it as tributaries, our views of the early history of the West may be greatly simplified. Looking round the nations on the shores of the Mediterranean and further inland, we have seen Thrace subjected to Persia; and we have had a glimpse, sufficient for the present, of the Scythian tribes beyond the Danube. The Germans, and the other races of Northern Europe, are as yet far removed from any claim on our attention. So is the whole western region, beyond the Alps and the Rhine, including Gaul and Spain, which, we need only now remark, was known by fame to Herodotus as the Celtic Land. On the opposite shore, the Persian empire extends over Egypt, and, nominally at least, over Libya and the Greek colonies of Cyrenaïca, as far west as the great Syrtis. The remaining half of the northern shores of Africa has been already brought to a great extent under the dominion of Carthage, whose history—with some further notice of Phœnicia, her mother country—we reserve till the time of her appearance in rivalry with Rome.

There remain only the two peninsulas, which the united voice

* See the tale of the defiance sent to Cyrus by the Spartans, chap. x. p. 274.

of educated Europe has long agreed to mark as classic ground —Greece and Italy. From each in turn went forth a power, only second in its influence on the world to that which had its centre in the Holy Land; after each had, on her own soil, worked out some of the greatest experiments in politics. The independent states of Greece, having tried the various models of republican freedom, and having proved the power of liberty to repel subjugation, and to cultivate the intellect of man to the highest pitch in literature and oratory, philosophy and art, —at length yielded up their separate liberties to the Macedonian, whose son founded a new Hellenic world on the ruins of the Persian Empire, and effected a sort of intellectual conquest of the East. Rome accomplished quite another work. Unlike the many states of Greece, she formed one political body from the very first, bound together by respect for law, and by a strict military discipline. Strong, hard, tenacious, and unyielding, as the iron which formed her emblem in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, she welded the nations she subdued into a true empire; subjecting at the same time the very face of each land to the use of man by the roads made for her armies. While she gave the world her laws,—to this day the most abiding result of her dominion,—she received in return the varied fruits of their civilization. Conquered Greece, especially, had the noble revenge of subduing the rude conquerors by her arts and letters. The combined effect of these two conquests was to unite the East by the universal language of Greece and the universal dominion of Rome, in preparation for the appearance of Christianity; and to make its diffusion easy over the Romanized provinces of the West. And when, by the process of decay and division, the iron feet on which the imperial image had stood so firm, ended in the toes of ferruginous clay, these still had in them some share of the iron: to translate the image,—the fruits of the Roman ascendancy endured, and still endure, in those bonds of language, laws, letters, policy, traditions, and religion, which have made Western Europe a community of nations. To follow the history of these vast changes, and at the same time to show how the East fell off from the last of the ancient empires, forms the remaining portion of our present work.

The various tribes which peopled the two peninsulas of Southern Europe were members of one great branch of the Indo-European race, to which ethnographers have given the name of Pelasgian. The Greek and Latin languages are essentially but dialects of

the same tongue. To explain the forms and roots of one language, we must often refer to the other, not for remote analogies, but the most necessary steps.* This community of languages is the chief of many proofs of a community of race; but whence this common race came into the two peninsulas, and to which of the other Japhetic families they were most nearly related, are questions too wide and doubtful for discussion here. The familiar names of both countries entirely fail to describe their primitive inhabitants. That of *Italy* is so far ethnic, that it is derived from a widespread people, but only in the southern half of the peninsula and Sicily (the Itali or Siculi); the name *Latin* is that of a comparatively small nation, with whom the Romans were closely connected from the earliest times; *Roman*, it need hardly be said, described at first only a citizen of Rome itself. *Greece*, strange to say, was a name almost unknown by the people whom we call Greeks, and never used by them to describe their country. It was first adopted by the Romans, from whom the name has descended to us, through the precedence so long given in education to Roman before Greek literature.† Nor is it unusual for a country and its people to be generally known by a foreign name. As the Greeks and Romans called the *Rasena* Tyrrhenians, Etruscans and Tuscans, and as the Romans called the *Hellenes* Greeks, so we call the *Deutschen* Germans, and the *Cymry* Welsh. Even the renowned Hellenic name sprang from a small tribe in the remote region of Thessaly; and the Hellenic nations themselves are known to Homer by other and separate names.

In both countries, some of the leading races gratified their pride, while they threw a thin covering over their ignorance, by boasting that they were sprung from the land which they had possessed from the beginning.‡ The earliest race whom we know to have

* For the general reader, who may not be well acquainted with modern philology, it will perhaps not be superfluous to give a passing warning against deriving Latin from Greek, any more than Greek from Latin. They are cognate dialects of some ancient speech, which no longer exists in its original form, each having also elements peculiar to itself; something as Italian, French, and Spanish have all sprung from Latin. Generally speaking, the older dialects of the Greek are nearest to the Latin, for reasons well known to the philologian.

† The origin of the name *Græcia* is still obscure. Aristotle first names the *Græci* as a tribe in or near the small district of Hellas, which he places in Epirus, while the other Greek writers place it in Thessaly. A plausible conjecture is, that the Romans, becoming acquainted first with these Græci on the further shore of the Adriatic, extended the name to the whole country.

‡ Witness the *Autochthones* of Attica and the *Aborigines* of Latium; besides the legends of the repeopling of Thessaly by stones transformed into men and women

been generally spread, not only throughout both continents, but over the adjacent islands and even into Asia Minor, were the Pelasgians, a people of savage manners, but civilized enough to till the earth and to build walled cities. Their religion was that form of polytheism which prevailed in both countries till it yielded to Christianity; mainly a personification of the elemental powers and the heavenly bodies, with a host of inferior deities who haunted the woods and waters, presided over favoured cities, and watched over men as tutelary spirits;—"Good demons, dwelling upon the earth, because of the counsels of Great Jove, the guardians of mortal men." *

The supreme deity, in the form which the mythology finally assumed, was Jove,† the god of the air, who, with the lesser deities, chiefly his sons and daughters,

> "from the snowy top
> Of cold Olympus, ruled *the middle air,*
> *Their highest heaven.*"

The learning of our great poet here represents accurately the Greek idea of the abode of Jove, as we see it in Homer; and so too it was in the most literal sense that Jove threw Vulcan "sheer o'er the crystal battlements" of his palace on Olympus down upon "Lemnos the Ægæan isle." But mutations in the earlier faith are shown by the transference of the supremacy from Ouranos (Heaven) to Cronus (Time, the Latin Saturn), and from him to Jove; revolutions which raise interesting questions as to a possible connection with the Sabæism of the East.

The Pelasgians were displaced by more warlike tribes, generally of a kindred race; but remnants were left of them in various portions of their old countries, like those which remain of the old Cymrian population of our own islands. We do not propose to encumber our pages with ethnic questions, which it would be impossible to discuss fully, and which are still involved in great obscurity: enough has been said to show the close connexion of the two countries; and we have now to speak of Greece, as the one of which we have the earlier historic notices, which first came

after the deluge of Deucalion, and of Bœotia by the armed men who sprung from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus.

* Hesiod.

† This form is adopted not only as the most English, but the most accurate representation of the root common to the Greek Zeus and the Latin Ju-piter, *i. e. Father Jove.* Here we may remark, once for all, that when we reluctantly follow the unscholarlike custom of calling the Greek deities by Latin names, it is because the true names might hardly be intelligible to English readers.

into contact with the monarchies of Asia, which colonized the shores of the Mediterranean and of Italy itself, before Rome was built, and which exercised a wide influence on the civilization of the world while Rome was only as yet maturing her constitution. It is necessary to take a brief survey of the land itself; for its position, formation, and climate have much to do with the history of the people; but without entering into those minor details which belong exclusively to geography.

Greece forms the southern portion of a much larger peninsula, the base of which extends nearly along the forty-fifth parallel of north latitude, from the northern recess of the Adriatic to the mouths of the Danube. About three degrees further to the south, the upper and wide portion of this peninsula is traversed by a great chain of mountains, which bore various names in its western part, its eastern half forming the range celebrated in ancient and modern times under the names of Hæmus and the *Balkan*. South of this chain Thrace, Macedonia, and the southern portion of Illyria, stretched across from the Black Sea and the Bosporus to the Adriatic; countries inhabited by non-Hellenic races, but closely connected with the history of Greece. Further still to the south, another range extends nearly along the fortieth parallel of north latitude, from the mouth of the Adriatic to the north-western gulf of the Ægæan. This chain, called Lingon and the Cambunian Mountains, runs far out to sea at its western extremity in the "ill-famed rocks" of the Acroceraunian* headland, while on the east it terminates in Mount Olympus, at the foot of which the narrow and beautiful pass of Tempe forms at once the entrance to the plain of Thessaly and the first portal to Greece itself. The range forms, in fact, the base of the true peninsula of Greece. Below it the comparatively large divisions of Thessaly and Epirus, —the former on the east, and the latter on the west of the mountain-chain which runs down from Balkan, across the Cambunian range, and forms the backbone of the whole peninsula,—were the earliest seats of the Greek nation and religion, though in later times they lie chiefly beyond the range of the most important parts of Grecian history.† One degree still further to the south (in 39° N. latitude) the peninsula is divided by a true isthmus between the Pagasæan and Ambracian Gulfs; and across this isthmus runs

* The name signifies the Cape of Thunderbolts.

† At the erection of the modern Greek, or, as it is now called under its new king, the Hellenic, kingdom, these two districts were left to Turkey.

Mount Othrys. Finally, the thirty-eighth parallel of north latitude passes through the narrow isthmus of Corinth, barely separating the two gulfs which would otherwise make Peloponnesus (the island of Pelops) a true island. The mountain-chains, which we have seen arranged so regularly in Northern Greece, stretch diagonally across the central portion of the land, terminating in Cape Sunium, the apex of the triangle of Attica ; while a parallel chain supports the island of Eubœa ; and both are prolonged into the Ægæan, forming the islands called the Cyclades. In Peloponnesus, the mountains form a sort of central wall around Arcadia, whence chains diverge in all directions, jutting out into long promontories, and enclosing deep gulfs, which give the peninsula a rough general resemblance to the leaf of a plane-tree. The chief backbone of the whole country is prolonged in the island of Cythera, and again in Crete, which lies like a huge breakwater off the mouth of the Ægæan, and from which again the islands of Carpathos and Rhodes complete the chain to the south-western headland of Asia Minor.

Thus intersected throughout with mountains, and deeply indented by the sea, from which the small size of the whole country prevented any part from being very distant, Greece possessed the two physical features which have always tended most to rear a free and enterprising race. The Greeks were at once mountaineers and mariners ; and all experience proves the ennobling effects produced upon the imagination of those who live among highlands and beside the sea. But, more than this, the mountains at once formed a barrier against invasion from without, and broke up the land into separate portions, like the valleys of Switzerland, holding little intercourse with each other, and each forming a free political state, with its city for a centre ; while the sea offered the means of communication which were wanting upon the land, and invited the people to maritime adventures. Such adventures naturally assumed the shape of piratical incursions, among men ignorant of the arts of civilization and pressed by the common wants of life. For the small plains and valleys, though fertile, were few in comparison with the rugged mountain tracts, and patient labour is distasteful to a rude and hardy race.

> "For why ?—the rule suffices them,
> The old and simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can." *

---

* In this universal piracy Thucydides found an explanation of the fact, that the old Greek cities were built far inland.

By thus constantly attacking one another, the several states kept up a keen rivalry of independence, and were exercised in war; while they found a wider scope for their energy in those distant expeditions the fame of which survives in the Argonautic and Trojan legends, and in those others by which they planted colonies far and wide over the shores of the Mediterranean.

Conditions somewhat similar, in a northern clime, produced the fierce sea-kings of our own early history; but there were other influences at work upon the Greeks. Susceptible to external impressions, and alive to every form of harmony and beauty, above all other nations, they enjoyed a climate which might have breathed life into the dullest race, and which clothed their mountains, bays, and islands with a beauty ever varying between the saffron hues of dawn, the fixed brilliancy of noon, the violet light in which the setting sun bathes the hills,

> "Where tenderest tints along their summits driv'n,
> Mark his gay course and own the hues of heav'n"—

and the clear transparent shades or bright moonlight of the night. Well did one of their poets describe the Athenians as "ever delicately marching through most pellucid air." Such influences raised the spirit of the people to that keen and just sense of beauty which is embodied in the perfection of their arts.

We have seen that the earliest inhabitants of this fair land were the Pelasgians, a people whose history is enveloped in obscurity. In some parts of the country, and especially in the islands, there dwelt other races, such as the Leleges and Carians. At a period long before the beginning of recorded history, a more vigorous and warlike race, akin to the Pelasgians, drove them out from their possessions, except some portions in which they held their ground, and especially the central highlands of Arcadia. These conquerors were the HELLENES, who were believed to have issued from the district of Thessaly immediately north of Mount Othrys. Their name was given to the whole country, and ultimately to all their settlements, however distant. For, divided as they were politically into small states, they cherished the idea of national unity; and their distant colonies on the Cimmerian Bosporus, the mouth of the Rhone, and the coast of Africa, were as much a part of Hellas as Athens and Sparta themselves.

In their earliest records, however, and particularly in the Homeric poems, the Hellenic people are known by the names of their several tribes; and these were distinguished by marked

differences of language and character, and ultimately of political institutions. There were four chief divisions of the nation, the Dorians, Æolians, Achæans, and Ionians. The affinities of these races were represented by an imaginary genealogy, descending from the gods. The Titanic deity* Prometheus, the creator of mankind, and their preserver from the jealousy of Jove, was the father of Deucalion, in whose days all the human race perished by a flood, except himself and his wife Pyrrha. Deucalion was the father of HELLEN, the "hero eponymus" of the Hellenic race. Hellen had three sons, Dorus, Æolus, and Xuthus; and the last was the father of Achæus and Ion. Xuthus is a mere connecting link in the pedigree, to indicate the close relation between the Achæans and the Ionians, who are represented as dwelling together in the Peloponnesus and Attica, while the Dorians and Æolians occupied chiefly Northern Greece. This view is confirmed by the dialects of which we still possess the literary remains.† To speak more particularly, the earliest known distribution of the four races is as follows:—The Æolians were spread over Northern Greece, and occupied also the western coast of Peloponnesus and the islands now called Ionian. The Achæans were the dominant people of Peloponnesus, of which they held the south and east, the Arcadians retaining the centre. The Ionians, who are as yet of little consequence, had a narrow slip of country along the northern coast of Peloponnesus, and extended eastward into Attica. The Dorians have scarcely yet shown themselves beyond the small patch of territory on the southern slopes of Mount Œta, and north of Delphi, which preserved their name in the historic age. Such appears to have been the distribution of the races in the age represented by the Homeric poems, and before the great Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus.

The Greeks of this age have no history, in the proper sense of the word. The materials of history are altogether wanting; and

* The Titans—sons of Ouranus (Heaven) and Gæa (Earth)—were the deities of the older mythology antecedent to Jove and the Olympic gods.

† The discussion of philological problems is not within the scope of our work; but we may say in passing, that we regard the language of Homer as essentially Achæan, a dialect little different from the old Ionian, as distinguished from the later literary Ionic. As Homer's Greeks are Achæans, it would be wonderful if his own Greek were anything but Achæan. The Æolian forms (and the Dorian, if any) in his poems are accounted for by the want of that decisive separation between the dialects which afterwards became fixed in the literature of the different races. The theory of a mixed dialect, framed by the poet, and therefore called epic, is altogether inadmissible; but it is not denied that some peculiar forms may have been invented to suit the genius or exigencies of the poetry.

their place is supplied by a mass of religious, genealogical, ethnical, and poetical legends, or, as the Greeks called them, *myths*. If among these there are many fragments of true tradition (and we cannot doubt it), these are so conformed to the mythical spirit of the rest, as to make their separation utterly impossible. The imaginative Greek temperament has at least saved us from the controversy still open as to the primeval history of the East, by confounding truth and fable in one haze of poetic fiction. Not painfully to unravel the doubtful traditions of the past, but to weave around them the web of poetry, so as to glorify their ancestors, and to illustrate their doctrines of supreme fate and human arrogance and impotence in the fortunes of their heroes, was the worthier task to which they applied their brilliant intellect.

To such sources only can we trace the stories of the foundation of the most ancient cities and kingdoms of Greece. Argos and Sicyon are said to have been cities of the Pelasgians. Inachus, the son of Oceanus and Tethys, founded a kingdom at Argos in the 20th generation* before the Trojan War; and Ægialeus, king of Sicyon, was even more ancient. The epoch of Ogyges, king of Bœotia and Attica, is remarkable for a great deluge. The Pelasgian kingdom in Thessaly is said to have lasted 150 years, and the name of its founder, Achæus, which we have already seen among the sons of Hellen, indicates the tendency to repeat the same names in the mythical genealogies of different races in the same regions. About the same time that Hellen and his sons, coming from Phocis, drove the Pelasgians first out of Thessaly and then from the rest of Greece, except Arcadia, those foreign colonists began to arrive, of whom we have presently to speak. Long afterwards Erechtheus, a native chief, established the Ionian kingdom of Attica and restored the worship of Athena.

Among the traditions which are perhaps not altogether mythical, are those relating to an early infusion of Oriental elements into the population of Greece; but even these are too doubtful to warrant historical conclusions. They point to Egypt, Phœnicia, and Phrygia, as sources of colonization and civilization. Thus CECROPS, an Egyptian from Saïs, is said to have imported into

* This would be, according to the usual computation, about B.C. 1856. Ogyges is placed about B.C. 1749; the first appearance of Hellen and his sons in Phocis, about B.C. 1550; Cecrops and Cadmus about the same time, but by others much later, B.C. 1313; Danaus about B.C. 1500; Erectheus, about B.C. 1383; and Pelops, about B.C. 1283. But the dates assigned vary greatly, and are destitute of all chronological authority.

Attica the germs of civilization and religion.* Danaüs, the brother of King Ægyptus, is represented as leading the flight of his fifty daughters from the persecution of his brother's fifty sons, and landing on the shores of Peloponnesus, where he founded Argos, and gave the people the name of Danai, under which they appear in Homer. We have already seen that these stories are mentioned in the Egyptian annals, which the chronographers profess to derive from Manetho; but we can have no assurance that they were not inventions partly of Greeks who wished to find points of contact with Egypt, and partly of Egyptian priests willing to humour them and to glorify their own nation.

Still, our want of the means to test these traditions will hardly justify their absolute rejection. We can only say that there is no sufficient reason for accepting them.† The same may be said of the story that PELOPS, the son of Tantalus, a wealthy king of Phrygia, led a colony from that country to the peninsula which henceforth received his name, and there founded Mycenæ, the old capital of Argolis, where his descendant Agamemnon held a sort of supremacy over the Achæans of the Peloponnesus. The legend of CADMUS, the Phœnician, who colonized Bœotia, and founded Thebes, although even more imaginative than the rest in its details,‡ has a relation to well-known facts. The maritime people of Phœnicia founded colonies in the islands of the Ægæan, and may have done the same upon the mainland. The Greek alphabet was unquestionably borrowed from the Phœnician, though the languages themselves were of different families, the Greek being Aryan, and the Phœnician Semitic.§ It was probably by way of Phœnicia that the Greeks received the Babylonian system of weights and measures, and perhaps the elements of other sciences.

* A probable origin of this story is found in the identification which the Greeks made of the Egyptian goddess Neith with their own Athena.

† Compare chap. vii. pp. 112, 113.

‡ Such as the slaying of the dragon and the sowing of his teeth, from which armed men sprung up. It may be suggested in passing, whether the peculiar character of the Bœotians for stolid obstinacy was at all due to an infusion of Semitic blood.

§ The tradition to this effect is fully confirmed by the close resemblance of the old Phœnician letters (as seen on coins) to the Greek, and still more by the identity of the names and the order of the letters in the Greek alphabet and in the Hebrew, which is but a modification of the Phœnician:—Alpha, *Aleph;* Beta, *Beth;* Gamma, *Gimel;* Delta, *Daleth;* E-psilon (*i. e.*, thin E), *He* (unaspirated); Vau (sometimes called Digamma), *Vau;* &c. Even the apparent differences, instead of being real discrepancies, assist us in tracing the history of both alphabets. All the alphabets of modern Europe have come from the Phœnician through the Greek.

These facts suggest caution as to a sweeping rejection of traditions about Oriental influence.

These mythical stories reflect, in their whole conception, so much of the inner life of the Greek nation, and the hearty faith with which they were repeated by the poets and accepted by the people had so vast an influence on Grecian history, that to pass over them in silence would be to quench the spirit of that history at the threshold: for Greek mythology is the light by which the student must view the monuments of the Grecian heroes, of the historic as well as the mythic age. The Athenians of the Peloponnesian war learnt their first lessons from Homer; and their minds were moulded by the poets who presented before their eyes the god-like endurance of Prometheus, the fate of the house of Pelops, the woes and expiation of Œdipus. Achilles was the model proposed to himself by Alexander.

But it is not in the province of the historian to relate these legends at length, unless he can afford the space to arrange and analyse them,—a work which has been done by the master hand of Mr. Grote.* Least of all is it allowable to put the poet's creations on the Procrustean bed of rationalistic criticism, lopping off what seems improbable, and stretching out the fancied fragments of true tradition, and all for the sake of "spoiling a good poem, without making a good history." All that we can or ought to attempt is a brief outline of those principal legends which most show the thought and spirit of the Hellenic nation, and give some hints of the actual state of society, before the age of certain history.

There are various ways in which these legends may be viewed. They were framed to minister to the religious, the heroic, the national, and the historic spirit in a people whose sense of beauty also demanded that all should be offered them in the guise of poetry. How heaven and earth sprung from chaos,—how successive dynasties of gods supplanted one another, crushed the powers of confusion and destruction, and ruled over their favourite cities,—how from them sprung a race of demigods, who cleared the earth of savage monsters and savage men, founded the great families and kingdoms of Greece, and carried their arms to distant shores,—were the first subjects of mythic poetry. The earliest bards began by reciting the race and deeds of the heroic founders of the chief

* *History of Greece*, part i., Legendary Greece. Charming versions of many of the legends, fit for elder as well as young readers, have been published by Niebuhr, Professor Kingsley, and Mr. Cox.

houses, for the honour and pleasure of the kings and nobles who claimed them as ancestors, only incidentally touching on religious and national traditions. This is the stage we see in the Homeric poems, which it must never be forgotten belong essentially to the species of ballad poetry.* Writers addressing themselves to a more general feeling of curiosity, and with a more didactic purpose, like Hesiod, attempted a consecutive account of the origin of gods and men. Lastly, the love of order and completeness tempted poets of a far inferior order to fill up the gaps and string the whole together into that series of legends, extending from the beginning of the heaven and earth to the end of the mythic period, which is called the Epic Cycle. The last class of compositions have deservedly perished, all except a few fragments; † but much of their substance is to be found in the prose mythologies. Their one great use was to supply the Attic tragedians with the materials for those unrivalled dramas which rekindled the spirit of Greek mythology, much as the old chroniclers and early dramatists provided Shakspeare with the fragments which he built up into such works as Lear and Macbeth.

The series of legends begins with the Theogony, or origin of the gods. The main elements of the Greek religious system have already been mentioned. The whole Hellenic race recognised the twelve great gods, of whom the chief was Jove, "the father of gods and men." In the earliest times he was worshipped and his oracle consulted at Dodona in Epirus, which seems to have been the sanctuary of the Pelasgians. The Hellenes enthroned him on Mount Olympus, and their leading race, the Æolians, established near Elis that sanctuary of the Olympian Jove which became the centre of unity for the whole nation. Other seats of his worship are found in Crete, at Mount Ida; and among the Thracian tribes of Mysia, where there was also an Ida overlooking Troy, and where the great range which skirts the northern shores of Asia Minor was called Olympus. The Cretan form of religion influenced that of Greece at a very early period. The other deities were specially honoured by particular races: Apollo by the Dorians; Poseidon, Hera, and Athena, by the Ionians. In his prophetic capacity,

* Homer's Hexameter is essentially a ballad metre. Each line forms a ballad couplet, as would be at once seen if the sharp bold ring of the verse were not stifled in our common reading, and that by a double process—an Anglicized perversion of Virgil's cold and solemn imitation.

† Attempts were made long after to replace them by the Alexandrian imitator under the Ptolemies.

Apollo was sought not only by all the Greeks, but by foreign nations too, as we have seen in the example of the Lydian kings. His fabled birthplace was at Delos, the central island of the Ægæan and the navel of the world; but his great oracle was at Pytho, at the foot of Mount Parnassus, better known by the later name of Delphi, which it derived from the people who held it. Much discussion might have been spared concerning the presence of a supernatural power in the Greek oracles, if writers had investigated the alleged facts, instead of assuming their truth. There is no proof of anything more than an ingenious system of priestcraft, founded on the trust of the people in their god, making use of the frenzied utterances of female excitation, and carefully keeping on the safe side by the studied ambiguity of the verses into which they threw the responses. In Apollo's character as the sun-god, in that of his sister Artemis as the moon, and still more in the worship of Aphrodite (Venus), we see points of possible connection with the religion of the East. But there were other and later elements undoubtedly imported from that quarter, which added to the ideal impersonations of the pure Greek religion secret rites and enthusiastic orgies. Such were the Eleusinian and Dionysiac mysteries, of which the Orphic were a modification. What peculiar doctrines were taught to the initiated in the secret celebration of these mysteries, is too wide and doubtful a question for our present purpose; but the open celebration of the Dionysiac worship had the most powerful influence on the Greek mind. In his joyous and enthusiastic festivals, the god, not only of mirth and wine, but of the productive powers of nature, was celebrated in lofty hymns, which gave birth to Tragedy; while the unrestrained joviality of his worshippers, at the vintage in the villages, supplied the germ of Comedy.

As in every system of ancient mythology, the first benefactors and rulers of men were the offspring of the gods. Their exploits and sufferings occupy the Heroic Age of Greece. First come those who performed great works for the benefit of their country: the Argive Hercules, the national hero of Greece, who, while submitting to serve a jealous tyrant, subdued physical and moral evil, brought the choicest gifts from the furthest quarters of the world, and, having expiated by suffering the weakness which marred his strength,* was received among the gods above: Theseus, the national hero of Attica, who cleared the roads of savage robbers,

* Here the moral significance of the legend reminds us irresistibly of Samson.

redeemed his country by self-devotion from foreign bondage, and organized her into a powerful state: Minos, the Cretan legislator, who founded a maritime empire, and cleared the sea of pirates. It is vain, at least with our present knowledge, to attempt to discover the historical traditions which seem to be bound up in the legends of the two latter.

In the age of these heroes tradition placed the first united enterprize of the Greeks, the Argonautic expedition to the distant land of Æa (believed by the later Greeks to be Colchis, on the eastern coast of the Black Sea) in search of the golden fleece, the price of Jason's restoration to his throne in Thessaly.* Both Hercules and Theseus took part in the voyage, which gave rise to several collateral legends, and among them to the grand story of Medea. It is interesting to observe that Jason, the leader of the Argonautic expedition, is an Æolid of Thessaly; but a generation or two later the supremacy of the Greeks is with the Achæan house of Atreus in the Peloponnesus.

In the same and the following generation is placed the legend of the royal house of Thebes, one of the finest in itself, and the inspiring source of the very noblest works of Greek dramatic art, the "King Œdipus" and "Œdipus at Colonus" of Sophocles, and the "Seven against Thebes" of Æschylus. We will take it as a specimen of the spirit which pervades these heroic legends.

Laïus, king of Thebes, having been warned by an oracle that he should be killed by his son, caused him to be exposed on Mount Cithæron as soon as he was born. The infant was saved by a herdsman of Polybus, king of Corinth, and brought up as the king's son. When he was grown up, the taunts of his comrades respecting his birth drove him to consult the Delphic oracle. Horrorstruck at hearing that he should kill his father and marry his mother, he resolved never to return to Corinth, and chose Thebes for his new abode. On the road he met Laïus in a narrow pass, and, provoked by the insolence of the king's attendants, he slew both them and him with his ox-goad, unknowing that he thus fulfilled the first part of the oracle. Arriving at Thebes, he

* The chronographers place the Argonautic expedition about B.C. 1225.

How little these legends will bear historic criticism, is seen by comparing the story, that the Argo was the first ship that ever attempted the sea, with the contemporary establishment of a great naval power by Minos. We have already seen the Egyptians engaged in sea-fights with the Khairetana (Cretans), at what, if the comparative chronology could be trusted, would be just the same time (chap. vii. p. 123). It may be well to observe that the mythical genealogies give no basis whatever for chronological computation.

found the city in the extremity of despair. A monster, called the Sphinx, had propounded a riddle to the Thebans, and devoured a man each day till it should be answered.* Creon, the brother of the queen Jocasta, ruling in place of the murdered king, had promised the crown and the queen's hand to the deliverer of the city. Œdipus won the prize, and thus completed the crime foretold by the oracle. His two sons and daughters by Jocasta were grown up, when a pestilence devastated the city, and an oracle demanded the banishment of the murderer of Laïus. The eager inquiries of Œdipus, in spite of the warnings of the blind seer Teiresias, unveil the truth: Jocasta hangs herself in her nuptial chamber: Œdipus puts out his eyes, that he may never again see the light polluted by his crimes; his two sons drive him into exile, and he imprecates a curse on them as he departs. Guided by his dutiful daughter Antigone, he finds a resting-place at the village of Colonus, near Athens, in a grove sacred to the Eumenides, the goddesses who avenged such crimes as his. Here he received the rites of expiation at the hands of Theseus; and, summoned thrice by a voice from the recesses of the grove, he departed by a calm and painless death in extreme old age—the "euthanasia" which the Greeks regard as the happiest end of life. The like end was granted to the poet Sophocles, himself a native of Colonus, who celebrated the fate of Œdipus in his two immortal tragedies.

In this story we see the tragic spirit of the Greek heroic legends. A man's arrogance brings down the "Até"—a compound of infatuation, guilt, and punishment, which haunts his house from generation to generation. Crime is heaped on crime, horror on horror, woe on woe, without entirely quenching the noble spirit which the heroes derived from their divine progenitors. At length the curse is fulfilled, the expiation is accomplished, and the tragedy of fear and pity ends with what Aristotle describes as the chief purpose of the poet—"the *purification* of such passions."

But the curse removed from Œdipus remained upon his sons. Their agreement to share the royal authority ends in the usurpation of Eteocles, who expels his brother Polynices. The return of the latter, supported by Adrastus, king of Argos, and five other chieftains, forms the expedition of the "Seven against Thebes." Their attack on the city is made in a spirit of impious arrogance

* How far this is a point of contact with Egypt, is a riddle much harder than that of the Sphinx herself. The Theban sphinx was female; the Egyptian sphinx is always male.

which is punished by their defeat and death. Eteocles and Polynices fall by each other's hands; and Adrastus (the Inevitable)* alone escapes, to show that the curse is not yet accomplished. The courageous disobedience of Antigone to the edict of Creon forbidding the burial of Polynices involves her and her lover Hæmon, the son of Creon, in the general destruction. At length, in the following generation, the "Epigoni" (*Descendants*) repeat the expedition of their fathers against Thebes; and the doomed city is taken, and razed to the ground.

These Epigoni appear again, with the chieftains of every other part of Greece, as far west as the island of Ithaca,† in the War of Troy, the crowning legend of the heroic age. The well-known story, and the ten years' wanderings of the hero of many devices, who saw the cities and learnt the ways of many men, and suffered much by land and sea, need not be repeated. The questions, historical, topographical, and literary, arising out of it, are too wide to be discussed here. We believe that there was a Troy, and that there was a Homer; but how much of the legend applies to the former, and how much of the Homeric poems belongs to the latter, are questions to be studied afresh by every scholar, and not to be expounded to any but real students of classical antiquity. It is enough to say, as to the event, that some great collision must have taken place between the Greeks and the kindred race who had founded a great kingdom on the opposite coast, which combined the Greek nation in a common effort, and involved a reaction that unsettled most of the Achæan and Æolian states.‡

And as to the poet—the reader need not fear a repetition of the long controversy, from the first assault of Wolf, to Mr. Grote's most ingenious discovery of the germ of the Iliad in an original "Achilleïd." Rather let us be content to know that such legends as those at which we have now glanced were sung at the courts of the Achæan and Æolian princes, whose subjects, assembled in the colonnade before the palace, might hear them too, by bards, of whom the Homeric poems themselves give us a picture in Demodocus at the Court of Alcinous. We cannot doubt that such a bard, whose perfect art (combined with some internal proofs)

* Comp. chap. x. p. 258.

† The smallest of the seven "Ionian Islands."

‡ We cannot stay to relate the long story of the house of Pelops, its ancient crimes, the murders of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, and the expiation of Orestes—a legend as striking in itself, and as grandly treated by the tragedians, as the story of Thebes.

confirms the story of his origin from Asiatic Greece, the earliest Hellenic seat of letters, wandered, like the minstrels of every age and country that has had bold exploits to tell of and men worthy to hear them, from court to court of the descendants of the heroes who fought at Troy, receiving special honour at those which he has repaid with special fame, Ithaca, Sparta, Pylos. Whether but one such, or whether more, composed the poems we possess, matters but little, so long as we pay to the name of Homer the tribute due to that which, with one sacred exception, is the choicest, as well as the earliest fruit of the human intellect—handed down to us, however imperfectly, first by the memory of reciters, and then by the enduring medium of letters. Thus does the mythical age of Greece bring us down at last to an historic fact the most real, the most abiding, the most fruitful, in the secular history of the world—the existence of such works as the Iliad and Odyssey, for our use in training our minds to the richest graces of imagination. Those other facts which are clearly deducible from these poems concerning the political and social state of the Greeks of the heroic age, we reserve for the next chapter, as they belong to history.*

* The traditional dates for the fall of Troy are various. The two most commonly accepted are B.C. 1184 and B.C. 1127; but they depend on backward computations resting on uncertain data.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HELLENIC STATES AND COLONIES, FROM THE EARLIEST HISTORIC RECORDS TO B.C. 500.

Clime of the unforgotten brave!
Whose land, from plain to mountain cave,
Was Freedom's home, or Glory's grave!
Shrine of the mighty!—BYRON.

CONDITION OF GREECE IN THE HEROIC AGE—POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES AFTER THE TROJAN WAR—DORIAN INVASION OF PELOPONNESUS—ACHÆANS AND IONIANS DISPLACED—COLONIES IN ASIA MINOR, IONIAN, ÆOLIAN, AND DORIAN—CRETE—EXTENSION OF THE DORIAN AND IONIAN RACES—HISTORICAL EPOCH OF THE FIRST OLYMPIAD, B.C. 776—THE GREEK NATION AS A WHOLE—THE AMPHICTYONIES AND AMPHICTYONIC COUNCIL—THE GREAT FESTIVALS—OLYMPIC GAMES—ABSENCE OF POLITICAL UNITY—THE SEPARATE STATES OF GREECE—ARGOS, UNDER PHEIDON—SPARTA AND THE INSTITUTIONS OF LYCURGUS—CONQUEST OF LACONIA AND MESSENIA—LACEDÆMONIAN SUPREMACY IN PELOPONNESUS—THE TYRANTS IN GREECE AND THE COLONIES—EARLY HISTORY OF ATTICA—THESEUS—CODRUS—ABOLITION OF ROYALTY—GOVERNMENT BY ARCHONS—THE SENATE OF AREOPAGUS—LEGISLATION OF DRÁCO—CYLON AND THE ALCMÆONIDS—LEGISLATION OF SOLON—USURPATION OF PISISTRATUS—EXPULSION OF THE FAMILY—REFORMS OF CLEISTHENES—WARS WITH SPARTA, THEBES, AND CHALCIS—THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY FIRLMY ESTABLISHED—OTHER STATES OF GREECE—COLONIES—IN THE COUNTRIES NORTH OF GREECE—IN ASIA—IN SICILY AND ITALY—IN GAUL AND SPAIN—IN AFRICA—SURVEY OF HELLAS AT THE EPOCH OF THE PERSIAN WARS—PROGRESS OF LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND ART.

AT the close of the mythical age, Mr. Grote recognises a period of intermediate darkness before the dawn of historical Greece: but even before we reach the border land between legend and true history, we find some things in the former that belong to the province of the latter. The external events, though related as facts, are for us mere legends; but they enclose a kernel of real facts relating to the political and social state of the heroic age. The free states of Greece form a spectacle altogether different from the great monarchies of the East. Partly from essential differences of character, but chiefly, it would seem, from the physical causes which divided them into small territories, each lying compactly about its own city, the Greeks resisted the compressing force of empire. Hence, while in Asia the usurping power of some great conqueror crushed the primitive patriarchal constitution of society, in Greece that constitution passed, by a not unnatural transition, into the royalty of the heads of certain families, who are but the first among the whole body of nobles and chieftains. These, as well as the supreme ruler of the state, are called by Homer kings; and, like him, they trace their lineage to the gods, and are literally

"Kings born of Jove, who them this honour gave."

They form the council of the king, but with no power to control his acts, except by their advice. In this council, however, we see the germ of an oligarchic constitution, for the king could only retain his ascendancy by qualities of body and mind answering to his divine lineage. Nor was the popular element altogether absent. The king not only administered justice in public, with or without his nobles for assessors, but he presided among them in full council in the market-place or public square,* where measures were debated before the whole body of the citizens. But these had neither voice nor vote. In such an assembly, in the camp before Troy, Ulysses puts down every attempt at popular oratory with the words so often repeated since :—

> "Bad is the rule of many ; let there be
> One lord, one king, to whom Jove gave the sway ; "

and when Thersites persists in speaking, he sends him out writhing beneath the blows of his sceptre. But the very delineation of such a scene, and the emphasis with which Homer lays down his monarchical doctrine, are proofs that something of the spirit which produced the democracies of later times was already at work among the free citizens. They were for the most part an independent body of proprietors, cultivating their own land ; but there was an exceptional class, who were reduced by the loss of their property to work for hire on the farms of others.† The existence of slavery prevented the poorest class of freemen from sinking lower still. Slaves were, however, found only in the palaces of the kings and nobles ;—" captives taken by the spear," themselves often of royal or noble birth, wives and children of slain heroes. Their hapless lot, so pathetically described by Homer, consisted in their reverse of fortune, rather than in those peculiar hardships which were the curse of slavery in the East, and which have been so cruelly inflicted, in all ages, upon races supposed to be inferior to their masters.

It is needful to bear in mind the difference between the Grecian states and those of modern times. While the latter generally embrace extensive countries, the former were usually composed of single cities, each with the land surrounding it to a very moderate distance. Thus in the small districts afterwards called Argolis, we find Diomed king of Argos, while Agamemnon rules at Mycenæ.‡

* The Greek word *Agora*, which denotes a place of assembly, describes the open place in the midst of the city, which was used for all public purposes.

† This lowest class of freemen were called *Thetes*.

‡ Hence the twofold sense of the Greek word *polis* (*city*), from which we borrow

Hence the possibility of assembling all the citizens in the agora with the king and nobles, and of working the republics of later times without the device of representation. This limited extent of the state too, combined with the open-air life of the Greeks in their delicious climate, had the greatest influence on their social life. Meeting daily in the agora, the citizens were personally known to one another, and their thoughts and views were exchanged as freely as the current coin of the market. Their life at home preserved a high degree of the patriarchal order and simplicity. The father's authority was the real and supreme law; his blessing was sought like that of Jacob by his children; and the curse of Œdipus was the direst of the woes that befell his sons. The wife held her due place of honour, though she was purchased from her parents with costly gifts, as was the custom also among the Hebrews. The seclusion of the women in their separate apartments* was a later usage, borrowed from the Asiatic Greeks. They were equally in their own sphere, when directing their maidens in private at the spinning-wheel and loom, or coming forth to exercise that hospitality which was a chief grace of the heroic age. The stranger guest was freely welcomed, and if he came as a suppliant, it was a sacred duty to receive him. Not till he was refreshed with the bath and banquet, was any inquiry made about his name or object. Ample room was found for lodging guests under the colonnade surrounding the front court of the palace, which was the most agreeable sleeping-place in a Grecian night, though it bore from its use during the day the epithet of "very noisy." The banquet was plentiful, but simple, free from all intemperance, and enlivened by the strains of the bard, reciting the loves of the gods, or the martial deeds of heroes. It is only by reading Homer that we can form to ourselves a picture of the simple life led even by the kings, or, on the other hand, of the ferocity in war, the frequent homicides, and the unrestrained plundering by land and sea, which allowed no security but to the strong.

Great progress had been made in the arts and appliances of life. The heroic age was one of "well-built cities," palaces, and temples. Of its massive architecture some idea may be obtained from the ruins of Tiryns and Mycenæ.† The "Lion Gate" of the

our leading political terms. It is only in a figurative sense that we speak of a *citizen* of America, but the Greek was literally a *citizen* of his *state*.

* The *Gynæceum*, or *women's house*.

† The so-called "Treasury of Atreus" is now conjectured to be the tomb of Agamemnon.

latter shows one of the earliest specimens of Greek sculpture: and in the former there is a long gallery, exhibiting the first approach to the arch, its form being cut in the face of the huge stones which overhang and meet one another at the summit.* At the site of Orchomenus, in Bœotia, may be seen the immense tunnels constructed to carry off the superfluous waters of the lake Copaïs. A passing allusion may suffice for the war-chariots and ships, the arms of bronze and sometimes of iron (though the latter metal was still rare), wrought with that knowledge of art which is displayed in Homer's description of the shield of Achilles. That commerce was not unknown to the Greeks, is shown by the abundance of gold and silver which adorned the palaces of the kings; while the mention of Sidonian garments and of tin proves that their chief traffic was with Phœnicia. This commerce was, indeed, conducted by the Phœnicians, not by the Greeks, who were as yet ignorant of the use of coined money. It was from the stories of their voyages—the dangers of which we have reason to believe they purposely exaggerated, to deter rival adventurers—that Homer obtained the fables of the Cyclops, the Sirens, and the Lotus-eaters, of Circe, of Scylla and Charybdis, and of the far-distant island of Calypso, the plains of Elysium and the abodes of the dead, by the stream of the earth-encircling river Ocean.

The legends respecting the return of the heroes from the Trojan War—the murder of some by usurpers—the long wanderings of others—and the exile of not a few, to found new cities in Italy,† Crete, and other shores of the Mediterranean—point to a period of general disturbance and movement among the old Achæan and Æolian states. A complete alteration was made in the distribution of the four Greek races over the peninsula; and great changes were effected in the constitution of the several states. Meanwhile the islands of the Ægæan Sea were occupied, and colonies were sent out far and wide over the shores of the Mediterranean. In the west of Asia Minor especially, the Greek colonies settled in such force as to occupy the whole coast of Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, which received new names from the races that formed the

* This is called the false arch. The true arch was not yet known to the Greeks, who, indeed, never used it in their architecture; but it is found in the earliest Roman remains, as in the Cloaca Maxima; and it was perfectly familiar to the Assyrians. Splendid examples are found at Nimrud (Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 162–165).

† We say nothing of the migrations of the Trojans under Evander and Æneas, as they are purely Italian legends.

settlements,—Æolis on the north, Ionia in the centre, and Doris in the south.

These results are well ascertained from the state in which we find Greece and her colonies at the beginning of the historic period. But of the process itself, we have only doubtful traditions, in which the mythical element still predominates. The first great fact to be accounted for is the Dorian conquest of the greater part of Peloponnesus.

That peninsula was then held, in the manner already described, by the Achæans in the east and south, the Æolians in the west, the Ionians on the north coast, and the Arcadian Pelasgians in the centre.* The two latter races are as yet of no political importance. The Æolians had the powerful kingdom of Pylos; while those of Argos, Sparta, and Corinth held the precedence over the other Achæan kingdoms. In the legend of Hercules, the hero is deprived of his inheritance of the Argive kingdom by Eurystheus. The Heracleidæ, his descendants, made several efforts to recover their birthright, till their leader, Hyllus, the son of Hercules, fell in single combat with the chieftain of Tegea.† They then bound themselves not to renew the attempt for a hundred years. At the end of that period, the great grand-sons of Hyllus, Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, obtained the aid of the Dorians, who were bound by an old obligation for services rendered by Hercules. They crossed the narrow mouth of the Corinthian Gulf from the port of Naupactus,‡ guided by Oxylus, king of the Ætolians. One decisive victory over Tisamenus, the grandson of Agamemnon, made them masters of the Achæan kingdoms of Peloponnesus. Their conquests were divided into three lots; the kingdoms of Argos and Sparta, and the territory of Messenia, which seems to have been a dependency of the Æolian kingdom of Pylos. Argos fell by lot to Temenus, Messenia to Cresphontes, and Sparta to the twin sons of Aristodemus, who had himself been killed by lightning at Naupactus. It was not till the following generation that Corinth was conquered by the Dorians under an Heraclid prince, who had not taken part in the first invasion. The conquerors gradually subdued most of the surrounding states, and so laid a foundation for the later territorial division of Peloponnesus, which our ordinary maps exhibit; but it would be a gross error

* The Pelasgians seem also to have possessed a considerable portion of the eastern coast.

† From what follows, it is clear that this event was conceived of as anterior to the Trojan War.

‡ So called from their building their ships there.

to conceive of their kingdoms as corresponding to Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia. The Æolian kingdom of Pylos was absorbed in the Dorian state of Messenia; but the northern part of the western coast remained Æolian. This district was given to the Æolian Oxylus, as the reward of his services; and his followers, who expelled or absorbed the old Epeans, became known by the name of Eleans. This conquest, which is known in history as the Return of the Heraclids, or the Dorian Migration, is placed by Thucydides eighty years after the Trojan War.* The epoch probably depends entirely on the calculation of generations, and it cannot be regarded as of any authority. The legendary tale is the dress which national pride gave to a real conquest effected by the Dorian race, probably in the course of several generations; and the part taken in it by the Heraclids is a device to connect the new possessors with the ancient glories of the Achæan kings and heroes.

The legend represents the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus as the cause of the other great changes in the Hellenic world. The Achæans, expelled from the south and east of Peloponnesus, fell back upon the northern coast, driving out the Ionians, and formed a confederacy of twelve cities, which only emerged into political importance in a later age.† The dispossessed Ionians found refuge with their brethren of the same race in Attica, a country which also gave asylum to other peoples driven out from their homes by the Dorian conquests in northern Greece. The rugged peninsula of Attica was unequal to support its increased numbers, and a great migration was organized under the sons of Codrus, the last king of Athens.‡ The emigrants planted colonies upon most of the Cyclades, and finally settled on the shores of Lydia, from the Hermus to the Mæander. In this fertile region, upon a coast abounding with fine harbours, they established a confederacy of twelve cities, with a common centre of union at the Panionium, or Temple of Poseidon, on Mount Mycale. Their settlements

* B.C. 1104, according to the common reckoning.

† It is obvious that the small territory on the coast could scarcely receive all the expelled Achæans; and, accordingly, the legends carried some of them to the coast of Asia Minor. From the correspondence between the twelve Ionian cities on this coast and the twelve Achæan cities that succeeded them, as well as from other indications, it is still a question whether we may not regard the Achæans as representing the old inhabitants of the country, before the distinction into the Achæan and Ionian races had been established.

‡ The change by which the monarchy expired with Codrus will be related presently.

included the large islands of Chios and Samos. The complete establishment of these colonies is placed by the chronologers sixty years after the Dorian migration, and 140 after the Trojan War;* but we have no means of calculating the period it really occupied.

The Ionians had been preceded by another body of colonists, who had settled further to the north, along the coast of Mysia. These are called Æolians; but the tradition represents them as, to a great extent, Achæans, driven out of Peloponnesus by the Dorian invasion, under princes of the house of Agamemnon. They betook themselves first to Bœotia, where a great revolution had taken place twenty years earlier; the Bœotians, who were a Thessalian people, of the Æolian race, having expelled the older Æolian inhabitants, and given their own name to the country. Many both of the old and new inhabitants joined in the expedition, which sailed from Aulis in Eubœa, first to the island of Lesbos, where they founded six cities, and then to the opposite mainland. In the district from the foot of Ida to the mouth of the Hermus, the Æolians formed a "dodecapolis," like that of the Ionians; but always vastly inferior in political power, and ultimately subordinate to the latter.† The Æolians of Lesbos, however, achieved the supreme distinction of founding the school of lyric poetry, which boasts the names of Sappho and Alcæus.

In harmony with the preceding legends, the Dorian colonies in the south-western corner of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands are said to have been founded by Dorian chieftains, who, in the general unsettlement naturally connected with the conquest of Peloponnesus, either obtained no sufficient share of the spoil, or were led onward by the spirit of adventure. Althæmenes, a prince of Argos, led a body of colonists composed both of Dorians and of the conquered Achæans, first to Crete, and then to the island of Rhodes, where they built Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus. These three cities, with that of Cos, on the island of the same name, and Cnidus and Halicarnassus on the mainland, formed the Dorian Hexapolis of Caria. These Dorian colonies were of little importance in comparison with the Ionian and Æolian; and we have already seen that Halicarnassus and Cnidus became in a great degree Carian. Crete is said to have been colonized from Sparta, as well as from Argos, by a mixture of Dorian and Achæan settlers; and to this is attributed the likeness of the Cretan institu-

* B.C. 1044 of the common computation.

† Smyrna, the greatest of the twelve Æolian cities, was early transferred from the Æolian to the Ionian Confederacy, leaving only eleven cities to the former.

tions to those established at Sparta by Lycurgus. Of the other colonies planted on the shores of the Mediterranean, it will be more satisfactory to speak when we come to take a survey of the Hellenic world in the historic times.

These legends, however imaginary in their details, exhibit an actual result which may be described as follows. At the beginning of the mythical age, the two dominant races of the Hellenic world were the Achæans and Æolians, the Dorians being but a small tribe in Northern Greece, and the Ionians being politically eclipsed, or nearly so, by the Achæans. At its close these relations are reversed. The Dorians, repeating the part of their Hellenic ancestors, conquered the greater part both of Northern Greece and the Peloponnesus. The Æolians, who remained in both divisions of the country, were either so hemmed in or so far distant (as in Thessaly) from the chief centres of activity, as to have little weight in the politics of Greece. The Achæans, excepting the twelve cities along the coast of the Corinthian Gulf, had been so completely absorbed into other races, as almost to lose their very name. The Ionians had extended their name in a manner which augured their future greatness. Laying hold of the continent by the land of Attica, which projects into the sea, their maritime possessions extended in a sort of belt encircling the Ægæan, across to their Asiatic colonies; and how completely these gradually came to take the lead also of the Asiatic Æolians we have seen in relating the conquest by the Persians.* The energetic and mobile temperament of the Ionians disposed them to use these advantages, by pursuing commerce and maritime adventure, and learning the arts and refinements of life from the more cultivated Asiatics. Here were the materials of that great maritime empire, which was afterwards founded under the supremacy of Athens. Thus, even at this early age, the state of the Hellenic world seemed to portend the time when it would be divided and convulsed by a great contest for supremacy between the Dorian and Ionian races. How this inevitable struggle was brought on by the peculiar institutions and tempers of the two peoples, will soon become apparent; and we shall see how the catastrophe was postponed by the glorious and successful union of nearly all Greece in defence of the common liberty against the ambition of Persia. Meanwhile we have to pass from the darkness of the mythical, and the twilight of the traditional age, to the full light of that real history which is recorded by credible witnesses.

* See chap. x., pp. 273—4.

For reasons which we cannot stay to discuss, the beginning of the historical age of Greece is now placed at the *First Olympiad*, or the midsummer of B.C. 776. This epoch is the beginning of that consecutive chronology, which the Greeks reckoned by the series of victors in the foot-race at the quadrennial festival of Olympian Jove near Elis.* The very fact of this record being regularly kept would suggest, as in the case of other annals, a further record of the most memorable events of each successive year; and the knowledge that exact chronological computation was now established among the Greeks gives us a new ground of confidence in their statements of historic facts. Of course it is not meant that all alleged events preceding the precise date of B.C. 776 are to be discredited as being mythical, or that the mythical element disappears suddenly from history at this date; but simply that this is the epoch at which we begin to have a new security for historical accuracy. And it may be well, in passing, to remind the reader how entirely the point of division between the mythical and historical periods differs in different countries. Our own country has a mythical period between the departure of the Romans in A.D. 446 and the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms; and, so far as this one consideration goes, a sceptical historian has no more right to discredit all primeval history before the first Olympiad, than an Englishman would have to reject all ancient history before the time when that of his country becomes trustworthy. It remains for us to collect into one condensed view what is known of the Grecian states and colonies down to the period of that collision with Persia, which was begun by the revolt of the Ionian colonies from Darius in B.C. 500.

And first, to speak of the nation as a whole, it must not be supposed, from the stress we have laid on the independence of the several states, that they were so many disconnected units scattered over the surface of Greece. It is true that they had not

* In the language of the Greeks themselves, the Olympic games were said to recur every *fifth* year: for instance, the Olympic festival of B.C. 776 at midsummer began the *first* year of the first Olympiad; the midsummer of B.C. 775 began the *second* year of the same Olympiad; that of B.C. 774, the *third* year; that of B.C. 773, the *fourth* year: then the following Olympic festival, at midsummer B.C. 772, began the *fifth* year of the whole series, which was also the *first* of the second Olympiad. So in Greek "every third year" means what we express by "every other year," or "every two years." Even in English it is more exact to say that the Olympic festival recurred *every four years* than *every fourth year*. It is of great importance, in translating Greek chronological reckonings, to remember that the years began at midsummer. The first year of the first Olympiad corresponds, not to B.C. 776, but to B.C. $77\frac{6}{5}$; and so of the rest.

yet discovered the grand device of federalism, which they were long after the first to develop in the celebrated Achæan League. But we know of no period at which they regarded themselves otherwise than as one nation. They prided themselves on their common Hellenic blood, and the expressive name *barbarian* marked their aversion for all who did not speak their own beautiful language.* Their common religion was a still closer tie, and developed institutions which may be said to have made the Hellenic nation a social though not a political federation. These were the Amphictyonics, and the four great national festivals, with their public games. The Amphictyonies† were associations of neighbouring cities or tribes for the performance of common religious rites. The many lesser meetings of this kind were gradually eclipsed by the renowned Amphictyonic Council of Northern Greece, which was also one of the most ancient. Among its twelve tribes we find most of the great Hellenic races, Thessalians, Bœotians, Dorians, Ionians, Achæans, on a par with those afterwards of the second order, Locrians and Phocians, and with others which sank into complete insignificance. Its great centre was the temple of Apollo at Delphi, of which the Amphictyons were the sworn guardians. They met at Delphi in the spring, and in the autumn at Thermopylæ, at the temple of Demeter, the impersonation of the teeming earth in the old mythology. It was from the wealth of the Delphian temple, and the fame of its oracle, that the Amphictyons derived their importance in Grecian history. The public action of the Amphictyons, in early times, related only to matters of religion, but their union tended to mitigate that ferocity which war is sure to assume when it is waged between neighbouring states of the same race. It was a part of their oath, that "they would not destroy any city of the Amphictyons, nor cut off its streams in war or peace."

Of the working of the Amphictyonic Council in peace we know but little. When the Delphic temple was burnt, in B.C. 548, they contracted with the wealthy Attic family of the Alcmæonids for its rebuilding. At the beginning of the sixth century, they

* The word seems from the first to have signified one who spoke not merely a foreign, but an uncouth tongue; and to a Greek ear all foreign tongues were more or less uncouth. In Latin, the word naturally acquired an application to the nations beyond the confines of the Roman empire: and as these were, for the most part, wild and savage, the term easily passed into its modern sense.

† The most probable derivation is from a word signifying *neighbours* or *those dwelling round* some particular centre.

waged a ten years' war against the port of Cirrha, on the Corinthian Gulf, on account of the exactions to which the Delphic pilgrims who landed there were subject. They at last took the city by the aid of the Athenians, razed it to the ground, and consecrated the rich Crissæan plain to Apollo, with curses on any one who should cultivate it. This was the "First Sacred War" (B.C. 595—585). In the crisis of the Persian wars, the Amphictyons came forward as the representatives of Greece, but still only in their religious character, by setting a price upon the head of Ephialtes, the betrayer of the pass of Thermopylæ. When they reappear in the last and fatal crisis of Greek freedom, in the Second* and Third† Sacred Wars, it was but to sacrifice liberty to the Macedonian. Their election of Philip to conduct the war of all Greece against Persia forms the one great instance of their assuming to act politically for the whole country. And thus the Amphictyons only attained the position of a political council as the last step in preparing Greece for subjugation. Well might the free Hellenic states be jealous of centralized authority.

Of the games connected with the four great religious festivals of Greece, the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean, there is no need to speak at length: their general character is so well known, and their details belong to works on Greek antiquities. The Olympic and Pythian festivals were celebrated every four years,—the former at Olympia, the temple and demesne of Olympian Jove near Elis, under the presidency of the Eleans. The date of their foundation is lost in the darkness of the mythical age: that of their revival by Iphitus, king of Elis, forms the era of Greek chronological reckoning (B.C. 776). The Pythian games were held in the third year of each Olympiad, on the Crissæan plain, where they were founded by the Amphictyons in honour of Apollo, after the destruction of Cirrha (B.C. 585). The other two were held every two years; the Isthmian by the Corinthians, on the Isthmus, in honor of Poseidon; the Nemean by the Argives,‡ in the valley of Nemea. The great feature of all these festivals was those "Games," or, as the Greeks called them, "Contests," in which prizes were awarded to the victors in athletic exercises, in foot and horse and chariot races, in music and poetry. The prizes were of no intrinsic value, a mere garland placed as a crown on the victor's

* Also called the Phocian War, B.C. 350—346.

† B.C. 339—338.

‡ They succeeded the citizens of Cleonæ in the presidency.

head, of various materials at the different games. The Olympic crown was of wild olive, cut from the sacred tree which was said to have been planted by Hercules. But this simple chaplet carried with it deathless fame. The Greek who was proclaimed a victor at Olympia ranked at once as the greatest man of the whole Hellenic race. His statue was erected in the sacred grove called Altis; his praises were sung by poets; he was conducted in procession to his own city, where special honours and immunities awaited him; his fellow-citizens added substantial rewards to the olive wreath; and he was held to have conferred the truest nobility on his family. The royal and noble houses throughout Greece were as ambitious of these honours as the humblest citizens; and they were alike open to all, from every part of the world where the Hellenic race existed. As a means of national union, the Olympic games were scarcely less powerful than the great Jewish feasts.* In addition to the community of sentiment cherished by the games themselves, the concourse that they brought together afforded the means of commercial, social, and literary intercourse, the more effective because directly personal. Even newspapers cannot speak with a living voice, exchange question and answer while the thought is still fresh, and look face into face. In the booths around the plain of Olympia, merchants exchanged the rude wares they had brought from the banks of the Tanais and the Rhone against the rich products of Asia and Africa. The social and political condition of the various states of the mother country, of her farthest colonies, and of the barbarian nations around them, might be compared. Teachers of philosophy discussed the theories which sprang up in Athens and Italian Greece. Poets and historians read aloud, in all their freshness, the immortal works, which we only half admire for want of such a hearing. Such intercourse, too, must have tended powerfully to maintain that likeness in manners and modes of thought, which formed another bond of Hellenic union. With all this, however, as has been said before, there was no political unity throughout Greece; there was scarcely even the sentiment of patriotism for Greece as a land. The devotion of the Greek was to his city, the interests of which were often permitted to outweigh the common welfare of the nation. We shall soon see how difficult and how imperfect was the union even against the pressing danger of subjugation by Persia; how soon it was

* The same may be said, in a somewhat lesser degree, of the other festivals, especially the Pythian.

dissolved; and with what an internecine strife the leading states and different races contended for the mastery, till they sank together under the Macedonian supremacy.

Turning from the whole nation to the separate states, we must be content with a brief survey of their progress to the condition in which we find them at the epoch of the Persian Wars. To trace the annals of each in detail is the province of a special history of Greece. Homer describes the Argives, whose capital was then at Mycenæ, as the dominant Achæan state of Peloponnesus, the next being Lacedæmon under a king of the same family. This order of precedure lasted after the Dorian conquest. Argos was the first state; Sparta the second; Messenia, which had absorbed the Æolian kingdom of Pylos, the third. Argos was at the head of a powerful confederacy of cities in the north-east of Peloponnesus, including also the island of Ægina. She emerges to our view, near the beginning of the historic age, under a powerful king, the Heraclid Pheidon, the first of those rulers who set up the irresponsible governments which the Greeks called Tyrannies. To him is ascribed the first coinage of silver and copper money in Greece, and the introduction of the earliest standard of weights and measures, which was called the Æginetan, probably because it became generally known through the commerce of the island.* Having been called in to aid the people of Pisa in a contest with those of Elis for the presidency of the Olympic games, Pheidon assumed that dignity to himself. Sparta resented the usurpation; and the defeat of Pheidon in the ensuing conflict seems to have entailed the fall of the Argive supremacy. He flourished about the eighth Olympiad (B.C. 747).

Sparta, which succeeded to the supremacy, had been trained for the eminence which she so long held among the Dorian states by the institutions of Lycurgus. Though the great legislator's public appearance is assigned to the epoch of the Olympiads (B.C. 776), the events of his life have something of a mythical complexion, besides a suspicious resemblance to the details of the life of Solon. These incidents, however, are quite unimportant, in comparison with the institutions which bore his name. Their great object was to convert the citizens of Sparta into a sort of military family, united by the closest social bonds, trained in the severest discipline,

* The other early standard was the Euboic, on which the Attic was founded. Respecting the relations of these systems to each other, and their probable derivation from Babylonia, see the articles on weights, measures, and money, in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, 2d edition.

and governed by a close oligarchy, though still under the form of the ancient monarchy. The first object of this constitution was to maintain the power of the small body of Dorian invaders, whose successes had made them masters of a much more numerous population. Its effect was to build up a state which resisted those usurpations of tyrants and those advances of democracy, by which all the other Grecian cities were revolutionized one after the other, and to form military power fit to gain, and, so far as mere force could do it, to hold the supremacy of Greece.

The foundation of political rights at Lacedæmon was laid in the original conquest by the Dorian invaders. Their descendants, the *Spartans*, alone possessed the citizenship, and were originally equal in their personal rights. They possessed the greater portion of the land, which was tilled for them by the Helots; for they disdained alike the pursuits of agriculture and commerce. Residing in the city, they passed their lives together according to the discipline of Lycurgus, and ate at the common tables to which each contributed his share. We need not stay to describe the well-known discipline by which, from early boyhood, the Spartans were trained to endure hunger, cold, and pain, and hardened in heart as well as body by the most cruel sufferings. That discipline was the very type of stoicism, long before the name was used for a system of philosophy,—the concentration of human power by a self-sacrifice involving the extinction of some of the highest virtues.

> "To suffer as to do
> "Their strength was equal;"

but to strength they sacrificed all that was graceful and amiable, and much of what was truly beneficent. Even in its best aspect, the fruit of their discipline was only for themselves. They have left to after times the admiration which self-sacrifice always demands, the renown of their warlike exploits, and above all the glories of Thermopylæ; their example has fanned the flame of heroic self-devotion in every age; and this is no small praise. But their influence has been next to nothing on the progress of civilization, arts, letters, and free political life. Hard and rude in manners and temper, proud, overbearing, and despotic, all the suffering that they endured and inflicted ended in the possession of power and the praise of heroic fortitude; but the heart beneath was hollow. The Spartan boy, who with unflinching courage suffered the concealed fox to gnaw out his vitals, was no bad emblem of the state itself.

No place was allowed in the Spartan discipline to the graces of literature, from the very reason that "they soften men's manners, nor suffer them to be fierce." Oratory was held in special contempt, as a waste of time and breath, and philosophy was superseded by those sententious maxims, the brevity of which we still describe as *Laconic.* Music indeed formed, as throughout all Greece, an essential part of education; but it was confined to the religious hymns, the heroic poems of Homer, and war-songs like those with which Tyrtæus animated their courage in the second Messenian War. It was at Sparta that Terpander founded the earliest school of Greek music; but when he ventured to convert the ancient tetrachord into a heptachord, the Ephors are said to have cut the new strings off his lyre. Commerce was forbidden to the Spartan citizens, equally with the luxuries procured by it. Iron money alone was allowed for their few trading transactions; but the prohibition of the precious metals only excited the avarice of the Spartans, whose public men were the most venal in all Greece.

Besides the Spartan citizens, the Lacedæmonian name embraced the *Periœci*,* or inhabitants of the country districts of Laconia, who are supposed to have been chiefly the remnant of the old Achæan population, but mixed with Dorians of a class inferior to the full citizens. Though excluded from political power, they were free. They possessed a portion of the land, and were the only class engaged in commerce and manufactures. Below them were the *Helots*, a class whose unfortunate condition passed into a proverb. The intensely bitter feeling between them and the Spartans was a gradual growth, though its seeds existed in their relations from the first. They were pure Greeks, reduced to servitude by conquest, as the penalty of their obstinate resistance, when the other Achæans submitted to the Dorian invaders. Their condition was that of serfs bound to the soil, like the *villeins* of the middle ages, dwelling with their families on the lands which they farmed at a rent under the Spartan proprietors. They attended their masters to the field as light-armed troops and they seem never to have been bought or sold as slaves. They were regarded as the property of the state, and could obtain freedom by good service in war; but, in that case, they formed a separate class, under a distinct name, the effect of which on their condition may be compared to the mark of colour on a free negro in America. Their fixed positions as cultivators of the soil

* The name, which was not peculiar to Laconia, signifies "dwellers round" the city.

made their lot better than common slavery; but their haughty masters could not refrain from heaping wanton insults upon their rustic serfs, whose resentment was inflamed by the recollection of their former condition as free Greeks. Hence came all the atrocities of servile revolts on the one hand, and on the other the cruelties prompted by an ever-present fear. The Spartan "Crypteia" is no solitary example in the history of the world of the attempt to find some relief from such fears in a system of indiscriminate massacre.* Sometimes, however, it was found convenient to use their services in war as full-armed soldiers, and they were then usually emancipated. The existence of such a class of serfs in a free state is always found to react upon the character of their masters, enhancing, it may be, their pride in their own freedom, but preventing that freedom from rising to the highest type of genuine liberty.

The government of Sparta was framed in the same jealous and exclusive spirit as her social institutions. All political power was in the hands of the Spartans, who are said to have amounted, in the time of Lycurgus to about 9000 men.† They formed the *Ecclesia*, or assembly of the people, a body possessed of as little power as in the heroic age. The Senate, or body of Elders, composed of thirty members, not under sixty years of age, and elected for life, replaced the Council of the Homeric kings. They were a real deliberative assembly, and were also judges in all capital charges against a Spartan. At the head of the state, at least nominally, were the two kings, who were also numbered among the thirty senators. They performed the functions of the heroic kings, commanding the armies, and offering the public sacrifices; and, long after their power was restricted, as we shall presently see, they retained its form, and were held in high reverence as the descendants of Hercules. We have seen that the existence of two kings at Sparta was explained by the tradition of their descent from Eurysthenes and Procles, the twin sons of the Heraclid Aristodemus. However this may have been, the division of the

* The *Crypteia* was a *secret service*, entrusted by the Ephors to chosen Spartan youths, who went forth with their dagger and their necessary food, hiding during the day, and in the night stabbing any Helots whom they met in the roads.

† The statement that Lycurgus divided the land of Sparta into 9000 equal lots for the Spartans, and the rest of Laconia into 30,000 for the Periœci, however incredible as to the main facts, implies a traditional estimate of the relative numbers of the two classes. The Spartans declined rapidly in number. In the time of Aristotle there were only 1000, and in that of Agis only 700 full citizens, of whom 100 possessed all the land.

royal power paved the way for that new authority which is the peculiar characteristic of the Spartan polity. The institution of the Ephors is ascribed to Lycurgus, but it was probably a later encroachment, which only superseded the royal power by gradual steps. The Ephors were a Committee of Five, elected annually by the assembly of the people, and exercising the whole executive power at home and abroad, secretly and without responsibility. They even arrested the kings, and fined them at their own pleasure, or brought them to trial before the Senate. Two of the Ephors accompanied the king in war, and formed a complete check upon his authority. The Spartan government must not be confounded with those aristocracies or oligarchies, in which the power resides with the nobles as opposed to the citizens in general, or with the few great families as opposed to the popular Many. As there were no other citizens but Spartans, so there were no other nobles than these citizens; and the institution of the Ephors was the very means by which the popular body obtained the power which had formerly resided with the kings. The exercise of that power by a small committee ensured secrecy, dispatch, and a complete check on the kings and every other officer; while the annual election of the Ephors made them the real representatives of the popular will. The government of Sparta was a true republic; but, in relation to the great mass of the unenfranchised Lacedæmonians it was a republic of the aristocratic type.

The Spartans, as we have already said, were a mere handful of conquerors in the midst of a hostile population. They trusted to the strength developed by their peculiar institutions, and never took up a defensive attitude. It is said that Lycurgus forbade the fortification of the city, which in fact was never enclosed by walls till the time of the Romans. It derived some protection from its site. The "hollow Lacedæmon," as Homer calls it, lay on the right bank of the Eurotas, about 20 miles above the sea, in a valley shut in by Mount Menelaium on the east and Taygetus on the west. Its houses were scattered over the plain in several distinct groups, or villages, never united into a regular town. This mode of building, together with the inferiority of its public edifices, will account for the insignificance of its ruins as compared with those of Athens. Those ruins, consisting chiefly of the agora and theatre, and some relics of the temples, strikingly fulfil the conjectures of Thucydides as to its state when destroyed.

It was only after a long struggle that the Spartans became masters of the country thenceforth called Laconia. The Achæans

long maintained themselves at Amyclæ, the ancient city of Tyndarus, the fall of which gave rise to the proverb :—" More taciturn than Amyclæ." The tradition went that the people, worn out with false alarms, passed a law forbidding any one to speak of the enemy; so that at last no one dared to announce their approach, and the city was surprised. The condition of the Helots was a permanent memorial of the resistence of many of the Achæans. We have already seen the Spartans engaged in successful war with Pheidon of Argos, soon after the beginning of the historic period; but their chief enterprise, in that early age, was the reduction of Messenia. This was effected in two great wars, the exact date of which is uncertain. The first Messenian War is usually placed at B.C. 743—724, the second at B.C. 685—668.

The details of these wars must be left to the historians of Greece. They abound in romantic incidents, often turning upon the ambiguous responses of the Delphic oracle. The hero of the first war, on the Messenian side, was Aristodemus, who devoted his daughter to death to fulfil an oracle, and, when his country's cause proved hopeless, slew himself upon her tomb. The conflict was begun, after provocations on both sides, by the Spartans, who surprised the fortress of Ampheia without a declaration of war. From the fifth year of the war the Spartans had the superiority in the field, but the Messenians maintained themselves in their stronghold of Ithome for fifteen years more. They were at length compelled to abandon this fortress, which was razed to the ground. Many of the Messenians escaped to Arcadia and Attica. The rest were reduced to the state of Helots, and were compelled to pay half the produce of their land to their new masters. Other Peloponnesian states took part in the war, the Corinthians on the side of Sparta, the Arcadians and Sicyonians on that of the Messenians.

After thirty-nine years of submission, the Messenians found a new leader in Aristomenes, a hero who ranks in history with the Saxon Hereward, William Wallace, and other props of a falling state. The story of his exploits, which we owe chiefly to the traveller Pausanias, in the time of the Antonines, is doubtless founded on patriotic ballads of slight historic value. He began his career by proving that a Messenian force could meet a Spartan army on equal terms; and followed up the success by entering Sparta at night and hanging up a shield in the temple of Athena of the Brazen House, with an inscription declaring it to be dedicated by Aristomenes from the Spartan spoils. All Peloponnesus

became involved in the war; and it is significant of the jealousy inspired by the growing power of Lacedæmon, that Argos, Arcadia, Sicyon, and Pisa sided with the Messenians, while Corinth alone joined the Spartans. The latter, however, had a more effective ally in the Athenian poet, Tyrtæus. The story goes that the Spartans, discouraged at the first exploits of Aristomenes, consulted the Delphic oracle, which bade them seek a leader from Athens. The Athenians, too jealous to render any effectual aid, sent them a lame schoolmaster. But his martial ballads did more to urge on the Spartans to victory than the highest military talent could have done. We still possess some fragments of the war-songs of Tyrtæus. Of two great battles between the allied forces on both sides, the first, that of "the Boar's Tomb," gave a signal victory to the Messenians, but in the second, the battle of "the Great Ditch," they were utterly defeated through the treason of the Arcadian chief, Aristocrates. Like Aristodemus in the first war, Aristomenes now abandoned the open field, and collected the remnant of his forces in a new stronghold upon Mount Ira. Here he maintained himself for eleven years, repeatedly sallying forth to ravage Laconia, while the Spartans were encamped at the foot of the mountain. At length Ira was taken by surprise. Aristomenes, with a few brave comrades, cut his way through the enemy, and escaped into Arcadia, and thence to Rhodes. His sons led some of the Messenians to Rhegium; but the rest were reduced again to serfdom. Messenia became a part of the territory of Laconia (B.C. 668), and it is not till three hundred years later that the Messenians reappear in history. The Lacedæmonian power was next extended northwards at the expense of the Arcadians; but that primitive people kept the greater part of their country free. The long resistance of Tegea, the story of which involves the curious legend of the finding of the bones of Orestes, ended in the submission of the Arcadian city to become a subject ally of Lacedæmon, about B.C. 560. The aggrandizement of Sparta was completed by an accession of territory from Argos, including the eastern seaboard of Laconia and a district on the northern frontier. The possession of the latter was staked on the issue of a combat between three hundred champions on either side, of whom only one Spartan and two Argives survived. The victory was claimed by both parties, and a general battle ended in the defeat of the Argives (B.C. 547). Thus the Spartans became masters of the whole southern portion of the Peloponnesus at the very time when Cyrus, having overthrown the Lydian Empire, was subju-

gating the Greeks of Asia Minor. How fully they were recognized as the leading people of Greece is seen by the application of the Ionian Greeks to them for aid: their proud sense of their own power was shown by the mandate to the Persian conqueror, not to touch any of the Grecian cities, for they would not allow it.

The other states of Greece, and Athens in particular, were in no condition to dispute the pre-eminence of Sparta. Nearly all of them were suffering from those revolutions from which Sparta had been saved by the institutions ascribed to Lycurgus. While she alone had preserved the old kingly government of the heroic age, modified into a new constitution, they had abandoned it only to plunge into the conflict between the Few and the Many for political ascendancy, or rather they had been drawn into that conflict by the natural progress of events. It is this that gives the states of Greece their vast importance in the political history of the world. On their narrow stage, and in a brief space of time, they passed through those experiments in government which other nations are still trying, and which some have scarcely yet begun. Their history, chronologically ancient, is really modern in respect of the principles it developes.

The patriarchal monarchies of the heroic age could not survive any great advance of the whole body of the citizens in wealth and intelligence; and we have ample evidence of such an advance about the beginning of the historic period. In the Dorian states, especially, the chief families were at once aggrandized by the possession of the conquered land, and by their prowess in effecting the conquest. How powerfully such causes act in raising a nobility to rivalry with the crown, is proved by the history of the medieval feudal monarchies. But in these, the large extent of the kingdoms, and the necessity of union for external war as well as internal supremacy, were powerful motives for preserving kingly government. In Greece there was no wide territory to defend or govern; no jealous nobles disposing of large forces, whose mutual discords might be turned to the profit of the crown. Within the narrow bounds of a Greek city, each step of progress brought the nobles nearer to the king; and he had no scope for placing his power on a wider basis. Thus the royal dignity seems to have died out without any violent revolutions, and the government passed into the hands of the nobles, who had formed, in the heroic age, the council of the king. A remnant of the more ancient form was preserved in the presidency of a chief magistrate, who bore various names, and this honour was in some cases

given first to the royal family. The office soon became elective, and tenable for a limited period, under a complete responsibility to the body of the nobles. By some such process as this, the steps of which differed little in the different states of Greece, the partriarchal monarchies were transformed into Oligarchies, based on birth and property in the land.

This advance in the power of the nobles could not leave the body of free citizens as they were. When the right of the "Jove-born king" was once in question, the door was opened to the claims of the free born citizen. Here, again, the narrow limits and compact structure of the Grecian states simplified the problem.

There was no room for elaborate systems of representation or for ingenious varieties of franchise. Excepting the lowest class of rural labourers, and a few others, all were present in the city, or within easy reach of it, ready to take a personal share in the government as soon as the opportunity should offer. The class consisting of the smaller landed proprietors, the artisans, and the traders, were growing in wealth, intelligence, and numbers, whilst the nobles were becoming subject to that steady decay which is the doom of all exclusive aristocracies. All things tended to the substitution of democracy for oligarchy, a change which, all history proves, can hardly be effected without a violent revolution.

Meanwhile, however, a new power appeared upon the stage, to break the force of the transition. The greatest danger to an oligarchy is the certainty that some of its members will break away from the traditions and system of the body, and assume the character, either of usurpers in their own strength, or of champions of popular right. So it was in Greece: as the aristocratic governments lost strength, the supreme power was seized by that class of adventurers whom they called *Tyrants.* This word implies an illegal assumption and arbitrary exercise of power, but not necessarily any cruelty or harshness. The inevitable tendency of despotic power to be thus abused gave rise to the common meaning of the word. The very possession of such power hardens the heart and stimulates self-will. Every appearance, or even fear of opposition, is a new motive for cruelty and oppression. The power first seized from the nobles, often in the name of public liberty, and with the consent of the people, was maintained by the support of foreign mercenaries; and the people saw their old nobles drive into exile, without any gain of liberty to themselves. In spite, therefore, of great material improvements in the cities they governed, and of their patronage of literature and art, the

Tyrants grew not only unpopular, but detested; and even their assassination was regarded as a glory instead of a crime. The Lacedæmonians were not slow to take advantage of this feelings and to aid in overturning the despots as a step towards the restoration of oligarchy. Their policy was more successful in the means than in the end; and the fall of the Tyrants was generally succeeded by a struggle between the Many and the Few, the latter being supported, wherever it was possible, by the power of Sparta.

The age of the Tyrants may be defined generally as extending over the century and a half from B.C. 650 to B.C. 500. We shall soon see how, at Athens, their expulsion precipitated the Persian war. Meanwhile their rule in other cities demands some notice. The most powerful states of the Peloponnesus, after Sparta and Argos, were Corinth on the isthmus, and Sicyon to the west of it. In both, the power of the Tyrants lasted longer than in any other Grecian state, probably for the reason that they sprang from the people, and not from the Dorian nobility. In Sicyon, Orthagoras, of the old Achæan race, overthrew the Dorian oligarchy, and established a dynasty which lasted from about B.C. 676 to about B.C. 560. It ended with Cleisthenes, the most distinguished of the line, who only left a daughter, and her marriage with the Athenian Megacles added the traditional fame of the house of Sicyon to the pride of the Alcmæonidæ. This lady, Agarista, became the mother of Cleisthenes, who founded the Athenian democracy.

Corinth furnishes the best example of a tyranny, both in its brilliant and its hateful features. Cypselus, a man of the people, whose mother belonged to the ruling house of the Bacchiadæ, but had been treated as an outcast because of her lameness, overthrew their oligarchy, and ruled as the champion of popular rights (B.C. 655). His son, Periander, reigned for forty years (B.C. 625 to 585) with cruel despotism at home; but he made Corinth the great maritime and commercial state of Greece. To this rank she seemed destined by her position on the isthmus, commanding all the land traffic between Peloponnesus and northern Greece, and communicating with the eastern and western seas by the ports of Cenchreæ and Lechæum. The first of those ships of war which were called *triremes*, from their three banks of oars, are said to have been built at Corinth. As early as B.C. 700, she had founded a colony on the island of Corcyra (*Corfu*), a name most memorable in Grecian history from that day to our own. Corcyra soon

acquired, under the Dorian settlers, the maritime fame which she was believed to have possessed as Scheria, the island of Homer's Phæacians.* In her turn she colonized Leucas, another of the Ionian islands, besides Ambracia, Anactorium, and Epidamnus, on the mainland. According to Grecian law, these were colonies of the mother city; but the Corcyræans were powerful enough to maintain a practical independence, and they met the Corinthians in the first sea fight recorded in Greek history (B.C. 664). The renewal of the conflict at a later period was a chief cause of the Peloponnesian war. Meanwhile, it is a striking proof of Periander's power, that all these colonies in the Ionian Sea were subject to his sway; but the story of his son Lycophron's retirement in anger to Corcyra, and his murder there by the Corcyræans, seems to show that they were quite ready to resume the independence which we soon find them asserting. Periander's patronage of art and letters is rendered memorable by the case of the dithyrambic poet, Arion of Lesbos, whose romantic story proves that we are not yet entirely clear of the atmosphere of legend. The poet had left the court of Corinth for a musical contest in Sicily, and was returning victorious, in a Corinthian ship, when the rich presents he had with him tempted the cupidity of the sailors. Though deaf to his prayers for life, they accepted his offer to play them one last strain upon the harp. The poet placed himself in festal dress at the ship's prow, sang an exquisite hymn to the gods, and then cast himself into the sea. The charm of his music had attracted a shoal of dolphins round the ship, and one of them took up the poet and carried him safe to Tænarus. Returning to Corinth, he was welcomed with delight by Periander, who punished the sailors as they deserved. The power of Periander was only retained for three years by his successor, who is said to have been put down by the Lacedæmonians.

The neighbouring state of Megara, also situated on the isthmus, between Corinth and Attica, affords an interesting example of the party conflicts which followed the fall of the Tyrants. A tyranny was set up by Theagenes, in the name of the popular party, about B.C. 630; but he was expelled about B.C. 600. The Many then rose against the Few, amidst the wildest excesses of social, as well as political revolution. Property was confiscated, debts were cancelled, and creditors were compelled to refund the interest already

* The identification, though commonly made by the ancients, is wholly conjectural.

paid; the poor feasted at the expense of the rich; and, as was usual in such revolutions, the leaders of the defeated party were driven into exile. These outrages prove the intolerable oppression that provoked them, and we have the testimony of the poet Theognis, himself a member of the aristocratic party, to the real improvement which the revolution made in the condition of the people, whom poverty and debt had reduced virtually to serfdom. After a long struggle, the oligarchy was restored in Megara.

The like revolutions took place in the Hellenic colonies; and a greater poet, the renowned Alcæus, reveals to us the fierce spirit of the contest at Mytilene, in the island of Lesbos, where he himself belonged to the party of the nobles. This state furnishes an interesting variety of the despotic form of government. The chief popular leader was Pittacus, one of the Seven Sages of Greece, who had joined with the aristocratic leaders in expelling the tyrant Melanchrus (B.C. 612), and who had afterwards commanded in a war against the Athenians in the Troad. When, in the civil war that followed, the people were hard pressed by the exiled nobles, they appointed Pittacus to the office of Æsymnetes, or Dictator, which he resigned after holding it for ten years (B.C. 589—579), having by his wisdom and moderation carried the state safely through the passage to a free republic.

Most of the Greek cities of Asia had their tyrants, whose usurpation was favoured by Persia; and we shall soon have to recur to their relations to the empire. A citizen of a free state might be the tyrant of a colony:—

> "The Tyrant of the Chersonese
> Was freedom's best and bravest friend;
> That tyrant was Miltiades!"

The most splendid and successful of these Asiatic Tyrants, rivalling the fame of Periander, was that Polycrates, of Samos, who has been already mentioned as the friend of Amasis, king of Egypt.* About the end of the reign of Cyrus, he usurped the government of the island, with the aid of his brothers, one of whom he soon murdered, and banished the other. He adorned Samos with splendid buildings, and patronized artists and men of letters, the most distinguished of whom was the poet Anacreon. By means of his powerful fleet he conquered most of the neighbouring islands, and even some towns on the mainland, and repulsed a joint attack by the Spartans and Corinthians. Long after the submission of

* Chap. viii., p. 137.

the other cities and islands, he defied the power of Persia, till Orœtes, the satrap of Lydia, treacherously enticed him to the mainland, and crucified him on the sea shore (B.C. 522). We shall speak of the celebrated Tyrants of Sicily, in describing the Greek colonies in that island.

The one state which exhibits, most strikingly of all the rest, the political changes of the age; the one which pushed democratic liberty to its utmost bounds; bore the brunt of the conflict with Persia, founded a maritime empire, and achieved the more lasting intellectual supremacy of Greece, was ATHENS. It is needless to describe the well known site,

> "Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,
> Built nobly; pure the air and light the soil;
> Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
> And eloquence, native to famous wits."

The great Ionian families of Attica claimed to be Autochthones, or children of their own land; and their traditions spoke of a time when the rugged soil barely supported a rude and scanty population, and the Acropolis was still a naked rock. The Egyptian Cecrops, as we have seen, was said to have first imported the arts of civilization, and to have taught the people to build cities. He collected the scattered natives into twelve states, each with its city and petty king, and built the city, which was called after him Cecropia, on the rock afterwards so famous as the Acropolis* of Athens. The contest which ensued between Poseidon, the great deity of the Ionian race, and Athena, the goddess of arts and arms, for the possession of the new city, was one of the most favourite Attic legends, and formed the subject of the sculptured group in the western pediment of the Parthenon. Jove and the other deities presided over the trial, which depended on the production of the gift most useful to mankind. Poseidon struck the earth, and called forth the war-horse; Athena bade the olive spring out of the ground, and so won the city, which was henceforth called after her name. The myth is doubtless significant, and it seems to imply a modification of the old religion of the Ionians by some new element, not only of worship but of civilization. That same element, whatever it may have been, appears to have given Athens

* The name though used commonly in this specific sense, is properly generic, signifying the Summit City. Such rocks were often chosen as the sites of Greek cities; and, as the plain beneath was gradually occupied with houses, the original fortress became at once the citadel, for purposes of defence, and the sacred enclosure containing the chief temples of the gods.

the pre-eminence over the rural communities, and ultimately these were merged into one state, with Athens for the capital. This change, which was antecedent to recorded history, is expressed by the mythical tradition, that Theseus caused the citizens of the other cities to remove to Athens, in which all political rights became centred; the rustic population alone remaining behind, to till the land.

The whole period of monarchy at Athens lies within the mythical age, and tradition connects its end with the great Dorian migration. After achieving the conquest of Peloponnesus, the Dorians made repeated inroads into Attica. An oracle promised them the victory, if they spared the life of the king; but their hopes were frustrated by the self-devotion of the king, Codrus, who entered their camp in disguise, provoked a quarrel, and was slain.* Resolving that the royal title should never be borne by one less worthy, the Athenians substituted for it that of *Archon* (*Ruler*), which remained hereditary in the family of Codrus for thirteen generations. The last of these Perpetual Archons was Medon (B.C. 752). Upon his death, the duration of the office was limited to ten years, but it remained in the family of Codrus till B.C. 714, when it was thrown open to all the nobles.

At length, in B.C. 683, the executive of Athens was cast into its final form. Nine archons were elected year by year from the nobles. The first was called, by way of dignity, simply *Archon*, and also *Archon Eponymus*,† because, in the Athenian reckoning, each year was distinguished by the name of its chief magistrate. Besides presiding over the whole body, he had jurisdiction in all matters relating to the families of the citizens. Another relic of the old patriarchal monarchy was preserved in the functions and title of the *Archon Basileus* (*King*), who had the direction of religious affairs and ceremonies, including the trial of homicides. The third, or *Polemarch*, besides the command of the troops, had the decision of all causes between citizens and foreigners, and was a sort of foreign minister. The other six were called *Thesmothetæ* (i.e., *Lawgivers*); not that they had what we now call legislative power, but because their judicial decisions fixed the traditional unwritten law which they administered. The body of Archons continued as long as the republic; but, as we shall presently see, their functions were in a great degree superseded under the democracy.

* The chronographers place the date of Codrus about B.C. 1045, sixty years after the Dorian invasion of Poloponnesus.

† That is, "giving his name to" the year.

Such is the traditional account of the transition from monarchy to oligarchy in the Athenian state, which seems to have been effected without any violent revolution. The Council of the heroic age was replaced by the Senate, afterwards called Areopagus, from its place of meeting.* This Senate was composed entirely of the Nobles, or *Eupatridæ*, and its ranks were filled up by the Archons, as they retired from office. The whole body of citizens was organized on the basis of the family constitution. There were four Tribes, each divided into three *Phratriæ* (Brotherhoods); each *Phratry* into thirty *Gentes* (Clans), and each *Gens* into thirty Families. Thus there were 4 Tribes, 12 Phratries, 360 Gentes, and 10,800 Families, numbers which of course could not have been exactly maintained. In each of these divisions there was a common organization for social and religious purposes. Throughout the whole constitution the ruling principle was that of birth; and none were prouder of their birth than the Athenian aristocracy.

The want of written laws placed an almost unlimited power in the hands of the Archons, which was naturally used in favour of their own class; and the sanguinary legislation of Draco (B.C. 624), instead of affording any relief, seems only to have perpetuated the severe interpretation of the law by the Archons. Death was made the penalty for almost every offence, and it was well said that the laws of Draco were written in blood. The people found a champion in one of the nobles, named Cylon, who, encouraged by an ambiguous oracle, and aided by Theagenes, the Tyrant of Megara, whose daughter he had married, seized the Acropolis at the time of the Olympic festival (B.C. 612). The insurrection failed; but it led to important consequences. Megacles, the Archon, enticed the comrades of Cylon from their sanctuary at the altar of Athena by a promise of safety, and then put them to death. The stain of his sacrilege was imputed to the whole of the great family of the Alcmæonidæ, to which Megacles belonged, and, after some delay, they were banished as a polluted race (B.C. 597). The city was purified by the Cretan seer, Epimenides (B.C. 596).

These events were followed by the greatest constitutional change yet made at Athens, the legislation of Solon. Most readers are

* The "Hill of Ares (Mars)" is one of the isolated rocks which rise from the plain of Athens. Its site is between the Acropolis and the Pnyx; the latter being the hill on the slope of which was the place of meeting for the Popular Assembly. The name *Areopagus* was first given to the ancient Senate when Solon established the Council of Four Hundred. When it afterwards lost its legislative functions, it retained the highest dignity as a court of religious judicature.

familiar with the story of the sage's first appearance in public life, to give, under the disguise of madness, advice which wisdom was not permitted to utter, and thereby to effect the important conquest of Salamis* (B.C. 600). He is said to have moved in the Amphictyonic Council the resolution against Cirrha, which began the First Sacred War;† but the story that he effected the reduction of the city by poisoning the water of the river Pleistus is probably a late invention. A poet as well as a philosopher, at a time when wisdom chose the medium of poetry, Solon not only invoked the Muse to stir up the spirit of patriotic conquest, but described in his verses the wretched disorganization of his country. Still he was trusted by the Eupatrids, among whom he held high rank, as the descendant of Codrus. It was by his advice that the Alcmæonidæ were induced to submit to trial on the charge of sacrilege. Weakened by their exile, the nobles preferred entrusting Solon with the reform which had become inevitable, rather than to be swept away by the impending revolution. In the year B.C. 594 they chose him Archon, with full power to make new laws. It was on this occasion that Solon gave the memorable warning against lawless ambition, which has been illustrated by all history down to our own times. Urged by his friends to make himself Tyrant of Athens, and even taunted with madness for refusing to haul up the net when the fish were caught, he replied that "tyranny might be a fair country, only *there was no way out of it.*" The answer says as much for his far-sighted discernment of political wisdom, as for his plain sense of political honesty.

The evil relations that had grown up, as in the rest of Greece, between the rich nobles and the poorer citizens were complicated in Attica by other elements. The very formation of the peninsula‡ had a marked influence on the social divisions of its population. The rugged limestone mountains, which cover the northern and eastern parts, enclose, where they approach the sea, especially towards the western coast, plains of comparatively large extent and of considerable fertility. These plains were the possessions of the Eupatridæ, while the poorer proprietors had to content them-

* The Athenians soon wrested the island from the Megarians; but they were only secured in its possession by a decision of the Lacedæmonians, B.C. 596. The loss of Salamis gave rise to a lasting feud of Megara against Athens.

† B.C. 595. See above, p. 329.

‡ Its decided shape of a triangular promontory, like Cornwall, ending in "Sunium's marble steep," was expressed by its most ancient name of *Acté*, i.e., the Promontory.

selves with the sterile highlands. But, besides this, the large seaboard of Attica, and the adventurous character of her people, gave rise to a commerce which, while adding to the wealth of the nobles, created also an independent maritime population, dwelling on the coast. Hence had arisen, not as elsewhere two, but three divisions of the citizens, the *Lowlanders*, or rich proprietors of the plains; the *Highlanders*, or poor cultivators of the hills; and the *Parali*,* or mercantile people of the sea shore. The existence and growing prosperity of the last class heightened the social contrast between the other two, and their free spirit threatened the power of the oligarchy. The gulf between the rich and poor was of necessity always widening. The poor borrowed of the rich, pledging their persons as well as their property; and then, under the severe laws of debt, they became their serfs. Some were even sold into foreign slavery. Such a state of things, recurring as it does in the history of aristocratic republics and monarchies, tends to prove the wisdom and mercy of the Mosaic law of the jubilee. A similar remedy was adopted by Solon for the emergency in his celebrated ordinance of the *Seisachtheia*, or shaking off of burthens. This law set free all the estates and persons that had been pledged to creditors, and means were taken to ransom those who had been sold abroad as slaves. At the same time, Solon is said to have reduced the standard of the coinage, by increasing its nominal value, to assist creditors who had suffered loss by the former measure in meeting their own engagements.†

Having thus removed the chief source of enmity between class and class, and having repealed the sanguinary laws of Draco, Solon was called, by the united voice of the Athenians, to remodel their political constitution. He adopted an entirely new principle for the adjustment of political rights, the first working of which did not materially disturb the existing balance of political power. The basis of his system was what the Greeks called *timocracy*—a distribution of power to the citizens according to their wealth.

As the Eupatrids were by far the wealthiest class, they were not suddenly deprived of their ascendancy; but the way was open for the other citizens, and especially those enriched by commerce, to

* The Greek word is borrowed for want of a single English term: the two other classes were called in Greek *Pedicis* and *Diacrii*.

† Respecting the details of these measures, the points of political economy involved in them, and their effect in obviating the recurrence both of similar evils and similar remedies, see the masterly discussion of Mr. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. chap. xi.

political power. Solon made an assessment of the landed property of all the citizens, taking the medimnus of agricultural produce (about a bushel and a half) as the standard of value, and as equivalent to a drachma in money;* and he divided them into four classes, according to their annual income. The first class were named, with careful avoidance of all aristocratic titles, from the amount of their income (500 medimni and upwards) *Pentacosiomedimni*. They alone were eligible for the Archonship and other high offices; and, as we shall presently see, they bore by far the largest share of the public burthens. The second class were called the *Horsemen* (or *Knights*), because they were bound to serve as cavalry, providing and equipping their horses at their own expense. They filled the inferior offices in the state, farmed the revenue, and had the commerce of the country for the most part in their hands. Their activity and intelligence combined with their secondary rank to place the balance of power very much in their hands. The third class were called *Zeugitæ* (Yokesmen) from their ability to keep a yoke of oxen: the name marks them as small farmers. They served in the heavy-armed infantry; and, in common with the two higher classes, were subject to a property-tax, which was assessed at a graduated rate.† All whose annual income fell short of 200 medimni formed the fourth class, called *Thetes*. They served as light-armed troops, were exempt from the property-tax and disqualified for public office. But they were not excluded from all political power: they had a vote in the popular assembly, where their numbers would give them an influential voice in the election of the Archons and other officers, and in the judgment passed upon their conduct at the expiration of their year of office. This direct responsibility of all the magistrates to the popular assembly was the most democratic of the institutions of Solon; and though the government was still in the hands of the oligarchy, Solon clearly foresaw, if he did not purposely prepare for, the preponderance of the popular element. As a security against the adoption of hasty measures by the assembly, he instituted the Senate of Four Hundred, chosen year by year from the

* The Athenians used a silver currency, the purity of which was proverbial throughout Greece. Its principal unit was the drachma, a coin nearly equal in value to the French franc. Its worth, computed by the present value of silver, is 9¾*d.*; but how little idea such computations give of the real value of ancient money, in exchange for the most necessary commodities, is seen by the statement in the text.

† The details of Athenian taxation are far too intricate and important to be explained here. They are fully discussed in the *Histories* of Bishop Thirlwall and Mr. Grote, and in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*.

four old Ionic tribes by the people, to whom they were responsible. Their office was to prepare all business for the popular assembly, to regulate its meetings, and to give effect to its resolutions. The Areopagus retained its ancient functions, to which Solon added a general oversight over the public institutions and over the private life of the citizens. Solon enacted many other laws for the administration of justice, the regulation of social life, and the encouragement of commerce, which cannot here be described in detail. His whole legislation tended to cultivate a patriotic public spirit, and an energetic development of the resources of the state; and it prepared the way for a safe transition to a more popular form of government. How fully Solon comprehended the true principle of legislation is proved by the saying attributed to him, that his laws were not the best he could have made, but the best that the Athenians were able to receive. One of the most interesting parallels in history is furnished by the contemporary legislation at Rome by Servius Tullius, whose constitution was likewise based on a census of the citizens according to their property.

To secure a fair trial for his constitution, and to avoid importunities for its amendment, Solon took his departure from Athens for the period of ten years, during which he bound the Athenians by an oath to make no alterations in his laws. He visited Egypt and Cyprus, and probably Asia Minor; but the beautiful story of his interview with Crœsus is usually rejected on chronological grounds. He returned to Athens about B.C. 562, to find his work at the point of destruction by the ambition of a kinsman and friend of his own, the associate of his labours for Athens. The old dissensions had broken out afresh during his absence, and the party of the Highlands had found a leader in a noble named Pisistratus, who traced his descent from Pisistratus, the son of Nestor, and whose mother was first cousin to Solon. His wealth and liberality, his eloquence and fame in war, secured the favour of the popular party, which a bold stratagem stirred up to fury against his enemies. One day he drove into the crowded agora, bleeding from self-inflicted wounds, and declared that he had been waylaid and nearly murdered in the country. An assembly hastily convened voted him a guard of fifty citizens, armed with clubs; he increased its number; and soon ventured to seize the Acropolis (B.C. 560). Solon alone had the courage to upbraid the citizens with their weakness in permitting this usurpation, from which he had already tried in vain to dissuade his kinsman. Pisistratus bore with magnanimity an opposition which met with no

support: and Solon died peacefully within two years at the age of eighty. He is said even to have been consulted by Pisistratus, whose first government was conducted with no further violation of the law than the outrage of the usurpation itself. A combination of the parties of the Plain and of the Shore soon drove him into exile; but their mutual hatred broke out afresh; and Megacles, the leader of the faction of the Shore, formed an alliance with Pisistratus, giving him his daughter in marriage. Pisistratus re-entered Athens in his chariot, with a woman chosen for her great stature, and clad with the ægis and helmet of Athena, and the people welcomed him as restored to them by the goddess. He took the daughter of Megacles for his wife, but in name only, as he would not mingle his blood with the accursed race of the Alcmæonids. This result drove Megacles to renew his alliance with Lycurgus, the leader of the party of the Plain; and Pisistratus was expelled for the second time. He spent ten years at Eretria in Eubœa, using his great wealth to collect forces for his restoration. When at length he landed at Marathon, his enemies were taken by surprise: a victory in one battle was followed up by an amnesty to all who would submit; and the leaders of the other parties left the country.

Having no mind to risk a third expulsion, Pisistratus hired a body of Thracian mercenaries, and sent the children of the citizens whom he suspected as hostages to the island of Naxos. Like the Roman Cæsars, he veiled his despotic power under the forms of the constitution, and even submitted himself to the judgment of the Areopagus on a charge of murder; but his accuser did not venture to appear. He maintained his popularity by mingling generosity with affability, opened his gardens to the citizens, adorned the city with splendid edifices, and extended a munificent patronage to art and letters. He was the first Greek who founded a public library; and it was by his care that the Homeric poems were first collected into one volume. In short, Pisistratus used his power in a manner only paralleled by Julius Cæsar; and if the plea of benefit to his subjects, so often advanced to cover worse usurpations, could ever avail the despot, it might have been said with truth that

> "Such chains as his were sure to bind."

He died thirty-three years after his first usurpation, B.C. 527.

His sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, succeeded to his principles of government; and we have the decisive testimony of Thucydides,

that they cultivated wisdom and virtue. Hipparchus, in particular, imitated his father's patronage of art and letters; and the great lyric poets, Anacreon and Simonides, were among those entertained at his court. But his sensual passion supplied the test which sooner or later reveals the insecure basis of a Tyranny. The celebrated story of Harmodius and Aristogeiton compels us for the first time to notice that hateful practice which the Greeks called pæderastia, and which forms the deepest shade in Paul's dark picture of the heathen world.* Harmodius, a beautiful youth, beloved by a citizen of moderate rank, named Aristogeiton, rejected the temptations of Hipparchus, who took his revenge by publicly excluding the sister of Harmodius from the honour of carrying one of the sacred baskets in the procession of Athena. Incensed by this insult, Harmodius plotted with Aristogeiton the death of both the Tyrants. Only a few were admitted to the plot; and its execution was fixed for the great feast of the Panathenæa, when those who had to take part in the procession could appear in arms without suspicion. The day came; the conspirators assembled with hidden daggers in addition to their other arms; and Hippias was arranging the procession in the Ceramicus, when Harmodius and Aristogeiton were alarmed at seeing him in familiar conversation with one of the conspirators. Thinking themselves betrayed, they resolved at all events to be revenged upon Hipparchus; and rushing into the city, with their daggers concealed in the myrtle boughs which they carried in honour of the goddess, they slew him where they found him. Harmodius was at once slain by the guards; Aristogeiton was rescued by the crowd, but was afterwards taken, and died under the torture. They were honoured ever after as the first martyrs to the principle of Tyrannicide, and

"The sword in myrtle dressed"

became a household word with the Athenians. Meanwhile Hippias's presence of mind disarmed the rest of the conspirators. The guilty and the suspected were put to cruel deaths. The whole spirit of the government was changed; arbitrary taxes were imposed; and the worst features of a Tyranny were developed. Hippias took measures to secure aid from Persia for his government, or a refuge in case of his expulsion (B.C. 514).

For four years he maintained his power against the discontent of the people and the attacks of the banished Alcmæonids. These had secured the favour of the Delphic oracle by their liberality in

* Romans i. 26. 27.

executing their contract for rebuilding the temple;* and its voice was heard, like that of Cato in the Roman Senate, reiterating the same response:—"Athens must be liberated." The Lacedæmonians, now at the height of their power, and proud of having put down the rest of the Tyrants throughout Greece, resolved to obey the oracle. After a brief struggle, Hippias retired to Sigeum in the Troad (B.C. 510). He afterwards repaired to the court of Darius, became his adviser in planning the attack on Greece, and himself guided the expedition of Datis and Artaphernes to the plain of Marathon. Some said that he fell in the battle, others that he died at Lemnos on his return. The family of the Pisistratids were doomed to perpetual banishment, and were ever afterwards excepted from acts of amnesty. Their rule had lasted exactly fifty years, reckoning from the first usurpation of Pisistratus. Its whole story forms one of the most instructive lessons in all history against the usurpation of a private citizen, on whatever pretext, and however his power may be used.

The Lacedæmonians retired from Athens after the departure of Hippias, but not till their king, Cleomenes, had established close relations of friendship with Isagoras, the leader of the aristocratic party. Opposed to him was Cleisthenes, the head of the Alcmæonids, who found themselves in a strange position between their claims of high nobility and the ban that rested on their family. After some struggles, in which Isagoras got the better, Cleisthenes threw himself upon the people, and effected a change in the constitution, which formed the true establishment of the Athenian democracy. Herodotus says, "He took into partnership the People, who had before been excluded from everything," proving how little importance the historian attached to the germs of popular power in the constitution of Solon.

Cleisthenes began by remodelling the basis of citizenship, which had hitherto rested on the old patriarchal system of the four Ionic tribes, with their brotherhoods, clans, and families. But, as was natural in a prosperous commercial and maritime state, Attica contained a large free population which had no place in these corporations, and so no franchise. Cleisthenes divided the whole country into *demes*,† each of which managed its own local affairs;

* The temple was burnt in B.C. 548. Party spirit attributed the conflagration to the Pisistratids.

† These divisions may be compared to *parishes*. The word signifies *peoples*, as if each deme were a miniature of the whole body of the people. The number of demes was afterwards 174; the original number under Cleisthenes is unknown.

and he grouped the demes into ten new tribes. The demes composing each were not contiguous, lest the old local factions should preponderate in particular tribes. All freemen, including some at least of the resident foreigners and emancipated slaves,* were enrolled in the demes, and so became members of the tribes, which entirely superseded the four old Ionian tribes.

Solon's Senate of Four Hundred became now a Senate of Five Hundred, fifty members being elected from each tribe. The mode of election was by lot; but it is uncertain whether this was the case from the first.† To this body Cleisthenes committed the chief functions of executive government. It sat in permanence; and its business was arranged on a curious artificial system. The senate was divided into ten sections, or committees, one for each tribe, called the *Prytanies;* and a similar division was made of the year, thirty-five days each being allotted to six of the prytanies, and thirty-six days each to the other four. These made up the common year of twelve lunar months, or 354 days. Each prytany had the presidency of the Senate and Ecclesia during its term, in an order decided by lot. Every prytany of fifty members was subdivided into five committees of ten, each of which held the presidency for seven days with the title of *Proëdri* (Presidents); and out of these a chairman (*Epistates*) was chosen by lot every day, to preside in the Senate and the Ecclesia, and to keep the keys of the Acropolis and Treasury, as well as the public seal. How great a power the office of Epistates put into the hands of its holder for the day, is seen in the case of Socrates, who refused to put an illegal question to the vote, in the case of the ten generals accused for their conduct at Arginusæ.

The Ecclesia, or Assembly of the People, gained a great extension of power, from being regularly and frequently summoned; and it became the arena for debating all important public measures. The Archons were elected as before, and with the same exclusion

* Aristotle, *Polit.* iii. 1, § 10; vi. 2, § 11. See Mr. Grote's discussion of the meaning (*History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 170).

† The practice of choosing public officers by lot is one of the most curious developments of democratic equality at Athens. It was of course open to the ridicule heaped upon it by Socrates, as having nothing to do with the fitness of the persons chosen, but it does not, like some systems of patronage, give a preference to men known to be unfit. It had the advantage of avoiding the evils of some popular elections, in which bitter faction and unbounded corruption often leave a result as unsatisfactory as the lot could have turned out. It may be as well to caution some readers against confounding election by *lot*, which depends entirely on chance, without any voting at all, with election by *ballot*, which is a device to insure secresy in voting.

of the lowest of Solon's four classes from this and the other chief offices of the state. Their political power was transferred to the Senate and the Ecclesia; and a beginning was even made of that transference of their judicial functions to the people which was afterwards effected. The third Archon retained the title of Polemarch, or Commander-in-chief, but he was associated with a body of ten Generals (*Strategi*), elected annually by the people, one from each tribe. Besides the command in war, the Strategi had the direction of foreign affairs. They thus became the most important executive officers in the state. The first Strategus was in fact the Prime Minister of the people; and Pericles, for example, governed in this character.

As a safeguard against new attempts to set up a Tyranny, Cleisthenes devised the remarkable institution of *Ostracism*, the nature of which has been obscured by much thoughtless declamation, especially in relation to Aristides,

> "Him whom ungrateful Athens could expel,
> At all times Just, save when he signed the shell."

It was a plan for nipping in the bud any danger that might seem to threaten the state from the too great influence of a powerful citizen. Without subjecting him to any accusation or casting any stigma upon his character, it removed him from the city for a period nominally of ten years (afterwards reduced to five), but often abridged by a vote of recall, which was sure to be passed when his services were needed by the state. When the banishment was not of long duration, it probably involved no great hardship beyond the exclusion from power, the inevitable penalty of defeat in the party struggles of a popular government. The retirement of Aristides to his estate in Salamis, the travels of Themistocles among his Argive and other friends, were to them what "the cold shades of opposition" are to our party leaders; only they lost neither salary nor pension, for they served their country without pay. The exile's property remained intact, and his rights as a citizen revived on his return; with his political influence probably increased by reaction. How little any idea of disgrace was involved in the sentence, is proved by the fact that the Athenians disused ostracism as having been degraded by its application to the worthless demagogue Hyperbolus. The institution was fenced with securities against abuse. No vote of ostracism could be taken except by the direction of the Senate and the Ecclesia at a fixed period of the year. When they had

declared that such a vote was needful for the safety of the state, it remained for the people to designate its object, for the person was as yet unnamed. Every citizen wrote a name on an oyster-shell or tile,* or got it written for him, as in the well-known story of Aristides. The Archons and Presidents of the Senate collected the votes in the agora, and the citizen designated by not less than 6000 votes had to withdraw from the city within ten days. It should be observed that ostracism was not only a direct check on the too great power of any one citizen, but a means of averting civil discord, when threatened by the even balance of parties, as in the rivalry of Aristides and Themistocles. The efficacy of the remedy is proved by the fact, that no tyrannical usurpation occurred at Athens after that of Pisistratus, though there were not wanting men, like Alcibiades, quite disposed to make the attempt.†

As compared with the constitution of Solon, the measures of Cleisthenes were a democratic revolution; and the aristocratic party did not submit without a struggle. Isagoras called in the aid of the Lacedæmonians. They had recourse to the religious pretext which they afterwards used against Pericles, and required the expulsion of the accursed race of the Alcmæonids. The time had not yet come when such a demand could be disregarded, and Cleisthenes retired from Athens. But the violence with which the counter-revolution was begun roused the people to resistance. Isagoras and Cleomenes, blockaded in the Acropolis, were forced to surrender for want of provisions: they themselves were dismissed, but their Athenian adherents fell victims to the rage of the people; and Cleisthenes was recalled. Thus began the long rivalry between Athens and Sparta, as the representatives of democracy and oligarchy in Greece.

Both parties prepared for war, and both gave proofs of the fatal influence of such discords on Greek patriotism. Cleisthenes sought the alliance of Persia; but the Athenians indignantly repudiated the consent of his envoys to send earth and water, the customary tokens of submission, to the Great King. The Spartans, who boasted of having put down the tyrants throughout Greece, marched into Attica with their Peloponnesian allies, and the forces of Thebes and Chalcis in Eubœa, to set up Isagoras as tyrant at

* Hence the word *ostracism*, from ὄστρακον, a *tile* or *shell*.

† See further the discussion of the whole subject by Mr. Grote, who has for the first time explained the real nature and working of ostracism (*History of Greece*, vol. iv. c. xxxi.

Athens. This was the object proposed by Cleomenes; but it was defeated by the opposition of the allies, and even of his own colleague Demaratus. A like scheme on behalf of Hippias was rejected at a congress of the allies, chiefly through the bold remonstrances of the Corinthians. In these proceedings we see the Peloponnesian confederacy already established, and meeting for consultation and action, under the leadership of Sparta, but with the Corinthians as a check on her preponderance.

Meanwhile the Athenians took vengeance on the Thebans and Chalcidians, and established their dominion in the island of Eubœa. On this occasion we first meet with their celebrated system of colonizing conquered states. The lands of Chalcis were divided into 4000 portions (*cleri*, i.e. *lots*), which were distributed by lot among 4000 poor citizens of Athens, who were called *Cleruchi* (*lot-holders*).* Thus began the dominion of Athens in the island of the Ægæan. During these campaigns the people of the islands of Ægina, which was at this time a great maritime power, were induced by the Thebans to ravage Attica; and thus began the internecine hatred between the Athenians and Æginetans. The democratic constitution was now firmly established; and, whatever seeds of abuse it might contain, the first-fruits of popular liberty were seen in the glorious part taken by Athens in the Persian Wars.

Having thus traced the rise and progress of the principal Hellenic states, and having fully described the political condition of the two which became the leaders of all the rest, a few words will suffice concerning the others. The belt of land forming Central Greece was occupied by races chiefly of Æolian descent, but with a strong intermixture of the Dorian element. Next to Attica, the large district of Bœotia contained fourteen independent cities, united in a confederacy, of which Thebes was the head. The common affairs of the league were directed by magistrates named Bœotarchs, who were elected annually—two by Thebes, and one by each of the other cities. The governments were for the most part *oligarchies;* and it was the constant policy of Thebes to support the aristocratic party in the other states, as a means of strengthening her own ascendancy. This policy was resisted by a few of the cities, and especially by Platæa, whose firm attachment to Athens, at the cost of the severest sufferings, forms one of the most interesting episodes in Grecian history. Phocis lay west of

* By one of those curious concatenations which often make up the history of a word, this term reappears in the vocabulary of the Church as *Clergy*.

Bœotia, with a small territory reaching to the Corinthian Gulf, and was chiefly remarkable for its possession of the oracle of Delphi. Its people, who were of Achæan origin, had as yet played no part in Grecian history, except in the First Sacred War, which has already been related.* The little state of Doris, north-west of Phocis, was no otherwise of consequence than for its fame as the cradle of the Dorian race. The Locrians were parted into two divisions, differing in dialect and manners; but both were regarded as mixed races, whose infusion of Hellenic blood had but partially tempered the rudeness they inherited from the Leleges. The Eastern Locrians,† on the coast north of Phocis and opposite Eubœa, were the more civilized of the two. They appear in Homer under their king Ajax, the son of Oileus: part of them were afterwards subject to Phocis. The western or Ozolian Locrians, who inhabited the rugged country between the mountains of Corax and Parnassus and the Corinthian Gulf, were little better than mountain robbers. The like character was borne by the people of Ætolia, which was still only partially colonized by the Hellenic race. This country had obtained some celebrity in mythical history; and its mountain range of Calydon was the scene of the famous hunt of the Calydonian boar by the heroes of the Argonautic age.‡ As civilization advanced, its cities formed a federation, which became renowned in the latest age of Grecian independence for its antagonism to the Achæan League. West of all lay Acarnania, divided from Ætolia by the Acheloüs, the largest river of Greece, and having an extensive sea-coast opposite to the Ionian islands. It was peopled of old, like Ætolia, by the Leleges, Curetes, and other wild races, among which Achæan colonists from Argos were said to have settled; but they were still only a half Hellenic people, living by robbery and piracy.

North of the isthmus between the Maliac and Ambracian Gulfs, lay the extensive regions of Thessaly and Epirus, of which only the former belonged to the political aggregate of the Hellenic states. Thessaly is a great plain, enclosed on every side by lofty

* See p. 329.

† These included the two tribes of the Locri Epicnemidii (so-called from Mount Cnemis) and the Locri Opuntii, named from their city of Opus.

‡ One of the stories connected with this hunt was that of Ancæus, an Arcadian chieftain. He was about to taste a new vintage, and the cup was already in his hand, when news was brought that the hunt was up. He set down the cup untasted, took up his boar spear and rushed out, and was killed by the boar. Hence an old hexameter verse, which says—"There are many things between the edge of the cup and of the lip."

mountains, and watered by the river Peneius. It was thus fitted by nature for a great state, and comparatively severed from the rest of Greece. The earliest inhabitants, were of various races. The original Thessalians are said to have been a Pelasgian people from Thesprotia in Epirus; but the Æolian race predominated in historic times. The inhabitants like those of Laconia, were divided into three classes; the Thessalian conquerors, the subject population, and the Penestæ, whose condition resembled that of the Helots. In the earliest age they were governed by kings, who claimed a descent from Hercules; but, as in the other states of Greece, these monarchies were transformed into aristocratic republics. Some of the noble houses, as the Aleuadæ at Larissa and the Scopadæ at Cranon, rivalled the tyrants of Southern Greece in power and magnificence, and attracted the greatest artists and poets to their courts. The great Thessalian plain was divided into four districts, called tetrarchies (besides four others in the mountains); and these were united in a federation, chiefly for military purposes. When occasion required, they elected a military chief, or dictator, with the title of *Tagus* (Marshal), whose authority was supreme in all four districts. The Thessalians were represented in the Amphictyonic Council. Their conduct in the Persian War proves how little interest they had in the Commonwealth of Greece.

To the north-east of Thessaly, along the sea-coast at the foot of Mount Olympus, lay Pieria, a district connected by tradition with the earliest intellectual culture of the Greeks. As the Hellenic Deities had their home on the summit of Olympus, so the Muses had theirs at its foot; and this too was the country of Orpheus.* In the historic times Pieria formed a part of Macedonia, which lay beyond the boundaries of Greece, and was peopled by Thracian and Illyrian tribes. Hellenic settlers, however, migrated into the southern part of Macedonia, and intermarried with the barbarians, forming a race who spoke a rude dialect in which Doric forms predominated. This dialect, transported into Syria and Egypt by the followers of Alexander, became a chief element in the Hellenistic Greek, which was spoken throughout the East, and which has been handed down to us in the Septuagint and New Testament. The Macedonian monarchy is said to have been founded about the seventh century B.C.; but its history is altogether obscure till the epoch of the Persian Wars, when the reigning king was Amyntas I. The royal house claimed to be Greeks of the

* As Pieria belonged geographically to Thrace, the later legends transported Orpheus into the heart of that country, where the people were entirely barbarians.

Heraclid family; and Alexander I. was not admitted to contend at the Olympic games until he had proved his descent from Temenus the king of Argos. This resemblance to the position of the house of Romanoff is only one point of the curious parallel between the relations of Macedonia to Greece and those of Russia to Western Europe.

West of Thessaly and Macedonia lay Epirus, that is, the *Mainland*, a name evidently applied to the region by the Greeks of the Ionian islands. Here, as we have already seen, the Pelasgians of Molossus preserved the most ancient worship of the Dodonæan Jove, whose oracles were uttered from a grove of sacred oaks. The country was occupied by a number of different tribes under their own princes; till at length the kings of Molossus, who claimed their descent from Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, founded the monarchy which shook the power of Rome. Lastly, the chain of islands (now called Ionian, from the ancient name of the sea which washes the western shores of Greece), stretching from Corcyra off Epirus to Zacynthus off Elis, had already been peopled by the Achæans and Æolians in the heroic age, and were now occupied, in part, by flourishing Dorian colonies, the offspring of the maritime enterprise of Corinth. We have already had occasion to speak of Corcyra as the most important of these colonies, and of others which were founded by the Corinthians and Corcyræans jointly along the same shores; Leucas, on the island off Acarnania, and Anactorium on the opposite shore, near the cape long after renowned under the name of Actium; and further north, on the coast of the wild Illyrians, Apollonia, a great seat of commerce and learning under the Romans, and Epidamnus, famous among the causes of the Peloponnesian War.*

The relations between these colonies and Corinth exhibit to us in practice the principles of Greek colonization. A colony was no mere body of outcasts thrown off from a state to find a home where and how they could, at one time the refuse of society, got rid of alike for poverty or for crime, at another, the exiles for conscience sake, of whom their country was not worthy. The former home of the colonists was truly named their "mother city" (*metropolis*); † the colony was a "removal of their homes" (*apœcia*); they went

* Under its other name of Dyrrachium, which the Romans adopted to avoid the ill-omened sound of Epidamnus, it became the chief landing-place for voyagers from Italy to Greece.

† Few inaccuracies of language are more striking than the application of this word to the capital of a nation, unless perhaps the calling the country districts *provinces*

forth under a duly appointed leader (*Œcist*, that is, one who forms a settlement or home), who, in the oldest times, was generally a prince of the royal family, carrying with them their country's gods, their city's laws, and the sacred fire which always burnt on the hearth of the Prytaneum. When a colony grew strong enough to send out new settlements, an Œcist was sought from the mother city; and the new colony regarded this city as their metropolis. The bond between a mother city and her colonies was most sacred, and a war such as those between Corcyra and Corinth had the nature of sacrilege. The colonists sent deputations to the great festivals of the metropolis, and received her citizens with the highest honors. The Œcist was deified after his death as the representative of the mother city.

On the opposite side of northern Greece, Corinth planted the colony of Potidæa, which became another cause of the Peloponnesian War. It stood on the isthmus of the westernmost of the three long and lofty promontories that jut out from the peninsula between the Thermaic and Strymonic Gulfs, at the north-western corner of the Ægæan. This region, called from its position, "the parts adjoining Thrace," was also named Chalcidice, from the numerous colonies planted there by the Eubœan city of Chalcis, as well as by her neighbor Eretria. It became the scene of some of the greatest events, both in the Peloponnesian War and in the contest with Philip of Macedon. Other colonies extended all along the coasts of Thrace, on the Ægæan, the Hellespont, the Propontis and the Euxine, as far as Istria, near the mouth of the Danube, a settlement of the Milesians. Of these we can only stay to mention the cities which made the Thracian Chersonese entirely Greek, the Samian colony of Perinthus on the northern shore of the Propontis, and the Megarian settlement of Byzantium, at the entrance of the Thracian Bosporus, long afterwards the capital of Constantine.* The commercial enterprise of the Ionians led them as far as the inhospitable shores of Scythia. Miletus planted the colony of Olbia on the Hypanis (*Bug*),† which became a great port for the corn of the Ukraine. The Dorians of Heraclea in Pontus founded the city of Chersonesus on the cape of the same name, which terminates the peninsula, now so well known to us, of Sebastopol in the Crimea.‡ The wild spot was

* Byzantium was colonized from Megara in B.C. 658.

† Its ruins are still to be seen at *Stomogil*, about twelve miles below Nicholaev.

‡ This peninsula was called, from its colonizers, Chersonesus Heracleotica, and also the Little Chersonese, in contradistinction to the Crimea itself, the Chersonesus Taurica.

already celebrated in the legend of Orestes as the seat of the savage worship of the Tauric Artemis, with her human sacrifices. Other settlements were planted on the north-eastern shore of the Euxine, chiefly by the Milesians, who founded Phasis, at the mouth of the river of the same name. The southern shore of the Euxine, along the north coast of Asia Minor, was studded with Greek colonies, the chief of which were Cyzicus, on the Propontis, Chalcedon, opposite Byzantium, and Heraclea Pontica,* both founded by the Megarians; Sinope,† which was twice colonized from Miletus, having been destroyed in the great Cimmerian invasion, and which, after being long the greatest seat of Greek commerce in the Euxine, became the splendid capital of Mithridates; and Trapezus (*Trebizond*), planted by Sinope on the confines of Armenia. We have been particular in noticing these colonies on the Euxine, to show how firm a hold the Greeks had gained, in the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries B.C., of regions till recently little known to ourselves. The remains of Hellenic civilization, of the kingdoms of Pontus and the Bosporus, and of the Roman Empire, may be traced like successive deposits beneath the deluge of barbarism which overwhelmed those shores.‡

Concerning the great colonies on the western shores of Asia Minor, little need be added to the traditions already related of their first foundation in the heroic age.§ At the beginning of the historic period, we find them further advanced in civilization than most states of the mother country. The fresh free life of a new colony always favours the popular element in a state; and the aristocratic governments were abolished in these settlements at a very early period, while the federal bond between those of the same race was maintained more closely than in Greece. Their relations with the Asiatic nations seem to have been peaceful from the first;‖ the Asiatics perceiving the advantage they could gain from the maritime activity of the Greeks; and the Greeks being stimulated to commerce by the wealth of the Asiatics. Moreover, the ancient civilization of Asia was imparted to a people fitted, above every other race, to give it a new and energetic development; and music, poetry, and art made their first great advances among

* Now *Harakli.*

† Now Sinoub.

‡ The last example of such barbarian ruin was the destruction of the beautiful Greek remains at *Kertch*, the ancient capital of Bosporus, in the Crimean war.

§ See pp. 324—326.

‖ The war of Troy cannot be considered an exception, as we are ignorant of its real character, and it precedes the age of colonization.

the Asiatic Greeks. The Ionians rapidly outgrew the other colonists in wealth and enterprise, and Miletus, their most powerful city, is said to have planted no less than eighty colonies. The greatness of Ephesus was a later growth, due to the extensive territory which she obtained from the Lydians, and to the splendid temple of Artemis, which was built and enriched by the contributions both of Greeks and Asiatics. It is enough to refer to the colonies along the shores of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, as far as the Gulf of Issus and Cyprus. We have already seen how the colonies on the west coast were subjugated, first by Crœsus, and more completely by Cyrus. Their condition under Darius forms the starting point of the history of the Persian Wars.

Colonization was almost equally active beyond the sea that washes the western shores of Greece, on the coasts of Sicily and Southern Italy, regions occupied in the earliest times by the barbarian Sicani and Siceli. The south of Italy, originally known to the Greeks as Hesperia (the Land of the Evening Star), obtained the name of Magna Græcia, or Great Greece. This was the scene of the fabled golden age, under the rule of the ancient deities expelled by Jove,

> "And who, with Saturn old,
> Fled over Hadria to the Hesperian fields,
> And o'er the Celtic roamed the utmost isles."

Here, too, were placed those colonies, founded by the heroes who had fought at Troy, of which Fenelon has made so ingenious a use. Passing over these legends, the earliest known settlement was the Æolic colony of Cumæ, on the northern promontory of the Bay of Naples, founded jointly by Cyme in the Asiatic Æolis, and by Chalcis in Eubœa. It was the northernmost of the colonies which fringed the whole coast down to the straits of Messina, and up again round the Bay of Tarentum to the Iapygian promontory. A few only of these can be noticed:—Parthenope, a colony from Cumæ, famous to the present day under its later name of Neapolis (*i.e.* the *New City*, *Napoli*, *Naples*); Posidonia (Pæstum), a colony of Sybaris, renowned for its temples of pure Doric architecture; Elea, already mentioned in the story of the migration of the Phocæans;* Rhegium, on the strait of Messina, a Chalcidian colony; then, on the eastern side of the "toe," Locri Epizephyrii, built on Cape Zephyrium by a body of Locrian Freebooters (B.C. 683), to whom the legislator Zaleucus gave the first written

* Chap. x., p. 277.

code enacted in any Greek state (B.C. 664).* Croton and Sybaris deserve more particular attention. They were among the oldest Achæan colonies on this coast, Sybaris having been founded in B.C. 720, and Croton in B.C. 710. Both obtained dominion from shore to shore of the Calabrian peninsula. The wealth of Sybaris tempted it to a luxury which has given the word *sybarite* to the European vocabulary. Croton enjoys the better fame of its physicians and Olympic victors, including

"Him who of old would rend the oak,"

and was caught by its rebound, a prey to the wild beasts; and the far higher honor of having been the chosen residence of the Samian philosopher Pythagoras (about B.C. 540—510). The rivalry between the two cities broke out into a war, in which the forces of Croton were commanded by the athlete Milo, and which ended in the utter destruction of Sybaris (B. C. 510). The Spartan colony of Taras, or Tarentum, at the head of the gulf named after it, became now the most powerful city of Magna Græcia. But the destruction of Sybaris proved a fatal blow to the power of the Greeks in general, and the Samnites and Lucanians, advancing from Central Italy, took some of the cities, and deprived the rest of their inland territories. Our epoch of B.C. 500 coincides fairly with the beginning of their decline.

The Greek colonies of Sicily are of special interest for the length of time that some of them maintained their power, chiefly under the despotic form of government. The island which Homer calls Thrinacria† was already famous in the mythical age. All know the adventure of Ulysses with the one-eyed Cyclops, Polyphemus. The volcano of Etna, which would be a striking object to mariners, was imagined to be both the forge of the god Hephæstus, and the scene of the punishment of the giant Typhœus, who lay stretched out beneath the whole volcanic region of Calabria. The earliest credible accounts represent it as occupied by the Sicani or Siceli,

* The code of Zaleucus vied in severity with the laws which Draco gave the Athenians forty years later. It was observed so strictly, that the mover of an alteration had to speak literally with a rope round his neck, and was forthwith strangled if his motion failed. Zaleucus is said to have paid the penalty of an eye, to save his son from losing both eyes, in accordance with the law; and at last to have put himself to death on discovering that he had committed an offense which his own law made capital.

† Other early forms are Trinacria and Trinacris, all signifying the land of the Three Capes. So the Roman poets call it Triquetra, *i.e.*, triangular.

probably a Celtic people.* With the light thrown on Homer's fable of Polyphemus by the character of the peasantry in the historic age, we may perhaps conclude that the earliest Sicilians were a pastoral people; at all events, they seem to have given but little trouble to the Greek settlers. Sicily was colonized by the same states, whose activity in this work we have before witnessed, the Chalcidians, Megarians, and Corinthians; but one of the most famous cities, Gela, was a joint colony from Rhodes and Crete. The preponderance of the Dorian element had much to do with the subsequent history of the cities. On the east coast were the Achæan and Æolian settlements of Zancle, afterwards Messana, founded by the Chalcidians and Cumæans; Naxos, the oldest of all, founded jointly by the Chalcidians and Megarians, under an Athenian œcist (B.C. 725); Catana and Leontini, colonies of Naxos (B.C. 730); and Hyblæan Megara, founded by Megara (B.C. 728). On the southern part of the same coast was the famous Syracuse, founded by the Corinthians only one year later than Naxos (B.C. 734). The remaining Dorian colonies occupied the southern coast; the chief of them being Gela (B.C. 690), its colony Acragas or Agrigentum (B.C. 582). On the same coast westward was Selinus, a colony of the Hyblæan Megara (B.C. 630). The only Greek settlement on the north coast was Himera, a colony of Zancle; west of which lay the Phœnician colony of Panormus (*Palermo*), and the Tyrrhenian cities of Egesta and Eryx. The free scope given to the settlers by the retirement of the Sicels inland, and the vast fertility which caused the island to be sacred to Demeter,† led to the rapid growth of these colonies; but their connection with the general history of Greece only begins with the usurpation of Gelon at Syracuse, in B.C. 485, immediately after which began their first hostilities with the Carthaginians, who had meanwhile occupied the western portion of the island. Agrigentum alone had as yet become famous, and that chiefly for the cruelties of its tyrant, Phalaris, who caused his victims to be roasted alive in a brazen bull. His usurpation must have followed close upon the foundation of the colony in B.C. 582, as he was contemporary with Pisistratus. His victories over his neighbours made Agrigentum the first state of Sicily; but he met his well merited fate in an insurrection of his subjects. The truth of the story of the

* Some writers distinguish the two tribes, placing the Sicani in the west and the Siceli in the east. The Siceli or Itali of Southern Italy were the same race.

† Hence the scene of the abduction of her daughter Persephone (Proserpine) by Pluto was placed in Sicily.

brazen bull is proved by the contemporary authority of Pindar, and the figure itself was preserved at Agrigentum.*

To the west of Italy and Sicily the shores of the Mediterranean were occupied by numerous Phœnician colonies; the fleets of Carthage commanded the sea; and her jealous policy left little room for the intrusion of other nations. But for all this, the enterprise of the Ionian Phocæa had founded on the coast of Gaul, east of the mouth of the Rhone, the famous city of the Massalia,† which in its turn planted several settlements along the Ligurian coast, and at the eastern foot of the Pyrenees. Firmly united under the lead of Massalia, and possessing a powerful navy, these distant colonies held their own against the attacks of Carthage, extended the commerce of Greece to the Pillars of Hercules, and brought the Celts of Gaul and Spain in contact with a civilization which they could never have learned from the Carthaginians. We have already noticed the Phocæan colony of Alalia, or Aleria, in Corsica.

Of the Mediterranean coast of Africa, the Carthaginian dominion extended over the western half, from the straits to the bottom of the Greater Syrtis, while Egypt claimed the coast of the Libyan Desert west of the Delta.‡ But between the two empires the Dorian Greeks had established themselves on the beautiful peninsula directly opposite to Peloponnesus, which received from their chief city the name of Cyrenaïca. A body of settlers from the island of Thera, itself a colony of Sparta, were led thither by Battus, who built Cyrene (about B.C. 630), and founded a royal dynasty, which reigned for eight generations.§ Cyrene enjoyed one of the fairest sites on the face of the earth; standing about ten miles from the sea, and 1800 feet above its level, it is sheltered by the table-land behind from the hot blasts of the Sahara, and is open on the north to the breezes of the Mediterranean, over whose

* The spurious "Letters of Phalaris" gave rise to one of the interesting literary controversies of modern times. In his masterly "Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris," the great scholar, Dr. Bentley, not only proved them a forgery of later date, but threw a flood of light on the literary history of the age, and especially upon the origin of Greek dramatic poetry.

† In Latin Masillia, now *Marseilles*. The date of its colonization was B.C. 600.

‡ Concerning the Greek settlements in Egypt under Psammetichus and Amasis, see chap. vii. pp. 131, 137.

§ The kings with their probable dates were as follows:—(1) Battus I., B.C. 630—599; (2) Arcesilaus I., B.C. 599—583; (3) Battus II., the Happy, B.C. 583—560; (4) Arcesilaus II., the Oppressive, B.C. 560—550; (5) Battus III., the Lame, B.C. 550—530; (6) Arcesilaus III., B.C. 530—510; (7) Battus IV.; (8) Arcesilaus IV. from before B.C. 466 to B.C. 450.

blue waters it commands a glorious prospect. It was well supplied with water from the fountain of Cyre, which ran down to the sea through a beautiful ravine, along which a well-paved road led to the port of Apollonia. The terraces descending from the mountain to the shore, on one of which Cyrene stood, were covered with the richest variety of luxuriant vegetation; and the different harvests lasted for eight out of the twelve months. Thus favoured, the colony attracted settlers from different parts of Greece, and obtained a wide dominion over the Libyan tribes. To the west her territories met those at Carthage at the bottom of the Great Syrtis, the boundary being marked by the "Altars of the Philæni," concerning which Sallust relates a curious legend. The two states had agreed to settle their boundary at the spot where two parties should meet, having started at the same time from either city. The Carthaginian envoys, two brothers named the Philæni,* made the better speed, and performed much more than half the distance. The Cyrenæans accused them of having started before the appointed time, but proposed to abide by the place of meeting if the others would consent to be buried alive there in the sand, or else that they themselves would advance as far as they pleased and then suffer the same fate. The Philæni sacrificed their lives for their country, which rewarded them with divine honours.

Cyrene reached the height of her prosperity under the third king, Battus the Happy, who repulsed the attack of Apries, king of Egypt, B.C. 570.† But the tyranny of Arcesilaus II. drove out a large party under his brothers, who founded the new city of Barca, and separated the western part of the peninsula from the territory of Cyrene (about B.C. 560). The popular party found leaders, who put restrictions on the royal power; civil war ensued; Arcesilaus III. tried to keep his crown by submitting as a tributary to Cambyses (B.C. 525), but he was forced to fly to his father-in-law Alazir, the king of Barca, and both were killed there by the Barcæans and the Cyrenæan exiles. Pheretima, the mother of Arcesilaus, who was reigning at Cyrene, sought the means of vengeance from Aryandes, the satrap of Egypt under Cambyses. He sent his whole army against Barca, under Amasis, who, after a long siege, took the city by a strange fraud. Summoning the people of Barca to a parley, he agreed to withdraw his

* Evidently no Punic name, but a Greek epithet, signifying "lovers of praise."

† Comp. chap. vii., pp. 134—5

army on payment of a fair sum to the king, and an oath ratified the capitulation, "as long as the ground beneath their feet stood firm." Now Amasis had so contrived that the parties to the treaty stood over a hidden trench; and, the moment the gates of Barca were thrown open, the props that supported the covering of the trench were removed, and with them the sanction of the oath! The revenge of Pheretima was glutted with unheard of cruelties, but she afterwards perished by a death like that of Herod Agrippa. The great body of the Barcæans were carried off to the city of the same name in Bactria, and Cyrene itself narrowly escaped a sack by the retreating Persians (B.C. 510). Thus, at the epoch of the Persian Wars, the colonies of Cyrenaica were under the supremacy of Darius, who assigned them to the satrapy of Egypt. The tie, never close, was dissolved by the rebellion of Egypt. Two more of the Battiadæ reigned at Cyrene; Battus IV., whose name only is known to us; and Arcesilaus IV., whose victory in the Pythian chariot race is celebrated by Pindar (B.C. 466). Upon his death, about B.C. 450, a democracy was established. Cyrenaica became again of consequence under the Ptolemies.

Such was the wide extent, not of the Hellenic *empire*, for it was the peculiar distinction of Hellas from the other great powers of the earth, that it had neither the outward unity and force, nor the inner vices, of a great empire. From the central seat of the nation's life in Attica and the Peloponnesus, the Greeks looked eastward over the Ægæan, and westward over the Ionian Sea, to shores peopled with their offspring, who were already before them in the gentler arts of life. Commanding the centre of that great inland sea, which was for many ages the highway of commerce and civilization, they had planted their settlements on its shores from Cyprus to Marseilles, and from the Crimea to Cyrene. All these states formed the one great whole called HELLAS, and no map of Hellas deserves the name which does not include them all.* They not only spoke the same language, and practised the same customs and religious rites, but they preserved, as we have seen, a real union, by means of their great festivals and their active intercourse. The philosopher of Samos teaching at Croton,—the exiles of Phocæa seeking new abodes in the Tyrrhenian Sea,—the lyric poet of Thebes celebrating the Pythian victory of an African prince,—the citizen first of Halicarnassus, then of Athens,

* For the best representation of the Grecian lands, in whole and in detail, the reader is referred to Kiepert's great *Atlas von Hellas*.

and then of Thurii in Italy, wandering to the furthest colonies and the nations beyond their bounds, to collect the information which delighted all who could read Greek, whether they heard him read it at Olympia or not; —these are a few of the practical signs of Hellenic union. These wide regions were occupied by a number of small states, each forming, within its narrow limits, a complete political microcosm; and nearly all had wrought out for themselves the series of political experiments which lead from the simple order of a patriarchal monarchy to the energetic freedom of democracy. To have welded Hellas into an empire would have stifled her true life, and frustrated the part she had to play in the history of the world. For the performance of that work she was truly, what we have just called her, a great power, a power mightier than any of the eastern empires. Her domain was the mind and heart of man; and to cultivate that, the first necessity was to keep herself free from the repressing force of empire. To cultivate the imagination by poetry, the understanding by philosophy, the taste by art;—to work out the great problems of social life and government, and to try if liberty and order could be reconciled;—all this required a freedom of the very kind which was enjoyed in the Greek republics. If that freedom proved dangerous to themselves, it bore precious and lasting fruits for all the world. It must never be forgotton that, ranking next to, though immeasurably below, the higher source of spiritual culture, Hellas was the parent of intellectual and æsthetic life for all subsequent ages of the world. It is her alphabet that has become the prevailing medium of knowledge; her poetry has inspired the muse of successors who have never been able to surpass it; her first great historian is still called the father of all history; her philosophy has prescribed the modes of intellectual enquiry, and has exerted a vast influence in the higher province of religion; her art reached the standard of perfect beauty, and helped to form even those styles which are often regarded as the most opposed to it in principle. In a word she was the source and pattern of the highest forms of life to which man can attain by his own free energies; and her faults and vices do but prove that a still higher influence is needed for the perfection of humanity.

But to suppose that even this higher influence was entirely absent from such vigorous forms of life, would be to take a view of history narrower than than of the Apostle, when he quoted the testimony of a Greek poet, that all men are the offspring of God, and declared to the Athenians that the Unknown God whom they

worshipped was the true Lord of heaven and earth. Viewed in this light, their intellectual gifts to us acquire a double value: they are an inheritance, as a living poet has suggested, like that which the heathens of Palestine left for the chosen people to enter on:—

"And now another Canaan yields
To thine all-conquering ark;—
Fly from the 'old poetic fields,'
Ye Paynim shadows dark!
Immortal Greece, dear land of glorious lays,
Lo! here the unknown God of thine unconscious praise.

"The olive wreath, the ivied wand,
'The sword in myrtles drest,'
Each legend of the shadowy strand
Now wakes a vision blest:
As little children lisp and tell of Heaven,
So thoughts beyond their thoughts to those high bards were given.

"There's not a strain to memory dear,
Nor flower in classic grove;
There's not a sweet note warbled here
But minds us of thy love:
O Lord, our Lord, and spoiler of our foes,
There is no light but thine: with Thee all beauty glows." *

It belongs to the province of more special histories to trace in detail the advance of Grecian literature, philosophy, and art down to the epoch of the Persian Wars. We have already noticed the early progress of Epic Poetry, both of the heroic type of Homer, and the didactic type of Hesiod. Whatever doubts exist about the former, the latter was a real personage, and his poems tell us something of his history. He was a native of Ascra, in Bœotia, but his father came from Cyme in Æolis, so that in him too we may trace the Asiatic influence. His probable date is about B.C. 735. The chief literary product of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. was Lyric Poetry, using the term in that wide sense which includes nearly all the forms of poetry that are not epic and dramatic. We ought, however, to distinguish the form called *Elegiac*, a term commonly associated with mourning for the dead, but really embracing a much wider range. Its beautiful antiphonal rhythm, the direct offspring (unless it be rather the parent) of the Homeric Hexameter,† fitted it for every composition requiring

* Keble: *Christian Year.*

† The Elegiac couplet is in fact a pair of Hexameters, the second of which wants those unaccented syllables which give the common verse its *continuous* rhythm, and so becomes fit for a rest or termination. This is both described and illustrated in Schiller's couplet, translated by Coleridge:—

In the Hexameter ri|ses the|fountain's silvery col|umn,
In the Pentameter aye| |falling in melody back|.

sententious brevity or effective point; and it was used, in a vast variety of applications, by a long series of poets, from Callinus, at the beginning of the 7th century B.C., to the latest epigrams contained in the Greek Anthology. Lyric poetry is essentially the offspring of music. It is only in a later age, when reading has gone far to supersede hearing, that music is employed as an ornament superadded to poetry. The sweet Thracian singer, Orpheus, was the mythical father both of music and of poetry; and the first historical cultivators of music were the teachers of the first lyric poets. The earliest native music of the Greeks was traced back by tradition to that Pieria of which we have before spoken,* the home of Orpheus and the Muses. Its character was probably preserved in the stately "Dorian mode;" and its original instrument was the lyre of four strings, forming a *tetrachord*. Terpander of Lesbos, the real father of Greek music,† invented the seven-stringed lyre. The addition of the eighth string, to complete the octave, is often ascribed to Pythagoras. The Dorians cultivated that form of lyric poetry, in which hymns were sung by a Chorus in honour of the gods and heroes; and hence the choral odes of the Attic tragedians preserved the Doric dialect. But, as in the case of epic poetry, the first great development of the art came from the Ionian colonies. The names of the Phrygian and Lydian modes, which co-existed from time immemorial with the Dorian, are a sufficient proof of Asiatic influence. From the same quarter the Greeks borrowed the many-stringed harp and the more impassioned music of the flute. These innovations were not unresisted; and the well-known tale of the contest between Apollo and the Phrygian flutist Marsyas, who was flayed alive as the penalty of his defeat, seems to represent the conflict between the Greek and Asiatic styles. Asiatic Greeks were among the chief cultivators even of the Dorian choral poetry; nay, the earliest distinguished composer in this kind, the Spartan Alcman (B.C. 670—611), is said to have been originally a Lydian slave. Arion, its improver, who has been already mentioned, was a native of Methymna in Lesbos. Stesichorus, who perfected its form, was a genuine Dorian, but a colonist of Himera in Sicily.‡ Lasus, of Hermione in Argolis, who, like Arion, was a great improver of the form of choral poetry called the Dithyramb (a hymn

* See p. 358.

† He flourished about the beginning of the seventh century.

‡ He lived about B.C. 632—560, and invented the Strophe, Antistrophe, and Epode.

in honour of Dionysus), lived under the patronage of Hipparchus at Athens; where also Simonides of Ceos, one of the two great masters of the *Epinicia*, or Odes in praise of victors in the Grecian games, passed the greater part of his long life (B.C. 556—467). Pindar, his great rival, whom alone of all these poets we have the means of appreciating by his extant works, was a native of Thebes, was trained at Athens under Lasus, and, like Simonides, visited the courts of the princes whose victories he celebrated, in Macedonia, Thessaly, Sicily, and Cyrene. Born in B.C. 522, he had just begun his career at the epoch of the Persian Wars.

That other form of lyric poetry, which consists in odes for a single performer, generally shorter than the choral pieces, and divided into regular stanzas, was chiefly cultivated by the Æolian and Ionian Greeks of Asia, who formed two separate schools. The style of their poems is generally known best through the exquisite imitations of Horace and Catullus; but the few fragments we possess suffice to show how far the originals surpass the copies. The island of Lesbos was the home of the Æolian school, immortalized by the "manly rage" of Alcæus,* and the passionate strains of the "dark-haired, spotless, sweet smiling Sappho." The term "school" may be applied literally to these poets, for in Greece every art was regularly taught, and became a tradition in certain families, and we know that Sappho surrounded herself with a circle of female friends and pupils. The most famous poet of the Ionian school was Anacreon of Teos, in whose praise of love of wine "we see the luxury of the Ionian inflamed by the fervour of the poet." He was courted both by Polycrates and Hipparchus. The story that he was choked by a grape-stone seems to be one of many like inventions in which the scholars of antiquity indulged their fancy, to make the deaths of great poets worthy of their lives.†

Contemporaneously with the earliest lyric poetry there sprung up the form of composition called *Iambic*,‡ the light and pointed measure of which was first used as a vehicle of fierce satire by

* The phrase is Pope's, who doubtless had in mind the "Alcæi minaces Camenæ" of Horace. Much of the poetry of Alcæus referred to the civil contests in which he bore a part (see p. 342), but much of it was of another character; as, for instance, the amatory addresses to Sappho, from which the line in the text is quoted. Alcæus and Sappho both flourished about B.C. 606—580.

† The Greek "Anacreontics," known by name to English readers by Moore's imitations, are the productions of a much later age. We possess very few genuine fragments of Anacreon.

‡ *Iambus*, from a verb signifying to *fling* or *pelt*, expresses a tonce the character of the metre and the uses to which it was applied.

Archilochus of Paros (about B.C. 700), and in a gentler spirit of satire and moral sentiment by his contemporary, Simonides of Amorgos. By inverting the rhythm of the last foot of the verse, Hipponax of Ephesus (B. C. 546—520) produced the *Choliambus* or "Lame Iambic," the grotesque effect of which gave point alike to satire and to fables such as Æsop's.* The familiar rhythm of the Iambic verse caused it to be adopted for the conversational parts of dramatic poems. The highest form of the art had already begun to develop itself at Athens in the hands of Thespis, Chœrilus, and Phrynichus (B.C. 535 and onwards), but its perfection was reserved for that great intellectual movement which followed the Persian Wars.†

Nor was this exuberant growth of the imagination inconsistent with the culture of the understanding. The same age that bore these rich fruits of poesy laid the solid foundations of Greek Philosophy. This word now appears in our story almost for the first time. The wisdom of the earliest ages expresses itself for the most part in the form of practical precepts, bearing on the duties and affairs of common life. It was by throwing such precepts into a terse proverbial form, rather than by speculating on the sources of knowledge and the reason of things, that men acquired the reputation of being wiser than their fellows. Such are the sayings that have been current in the East in the earliest times, and of which we have the great example in the Proverbs of Solomon. Such were the maxims that were repeated throughout Greece as the utterance of certain distinguished men who obtained the title of the Seven Sages, about the epoch of B.C. 600. Among these were Solon, Thales, Bias, Pittacus, and Periander, whose names have already occurred in our work; the list was filled up variously; but the two generally included in it were Cleobulus, the tyrant of Lindus in Rhodes, and Chilo, an Ephor of Sparta. Many maxims, which passed current throughout Greece as their sayings, have been handed down to us; and the joint product of their wisdom is said to have been embodied in the mottoes inscribed on the temple at Delphi:—"Examine thyself;" "Nothing in excess;" "Know thy opportunity."

But there were some who, besides cultivating this practical wisdom, had begun to investigate those questions of physical

* In the latter application it was used by Babrius, a Greek poet of the Augustan age, whose recently discovered version of Æsop's Fables was edited by Sir George Cornewall Lewis.

† We possess several fragments of Iambic poetry by Solon.

and abstract science, which always formed a favourite part of Greek philosophy. Thales of Miletus is said to have predicted the solar eclipse which broke off the great battle between Alyattes and Cyaxares,* and electricians claim him as the father of their science, because he is said to have observed the attraction of light bodies by amber † when it is rubbed. He was one of the earliest cultivators of geometry. A discrepancy has been often noticed between the very elementary character of the propositions he is said to have demonstrated and the knowledge needed for calculating an eclipse. But Greek science in this age does not profess originality. Like Solon, Thales visited Egypt, and may have there learnt, with the elements of geometry, enough of the results of Egyptian astronomy to enable him to predict the eclipse, though he had not calculated it himself. Thales is said moreover to have ventured on the vast field of speculative science, propounding the doctrine that water, or matter in a liquid state, is the element from which all things are generated, and into which all things will be resolved. How far Thales acted as a teacher we do not know; but at all events his doctrines found disciples, and so he ranked as the founder of the first school or sect of Greek philosophy, the Ionic. He lived from B.C. 640 to B.C. 550. The Ionic school rapidly attained high distinction under Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Anaxagoras. The first (B.C. 610—547) devoted himself to science. He is said to have introduced into Greece the sun-dial, an instrument long known to the Babylonians and Egyptians. ‡ As the author of a geographical description of the earth, he is one of the earliest Greek prose writers; and the work was illustrated by the first map which is known to have been constructed. This was probably the map, engraved on a tablet of bronze, which Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletus, exhibited at Sparta at the time of the Ionic revolt. § Anaximenes, on the other hand, pursued his master's speculations upon the origin of

* See chap. x., p. 256.

† In Greek *electron.*

‡ It is impossible for us to do more than glance, from time to time, at the very interesting subject of the History of Inventions. The work of Beckmann, with that title, contains a vast mass of information, and the reader may also consult the articles in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, under the guidance of the Index.

§ The map of Anaximander, as corrected by the logographer Hecatæus is ridiculed by Herodotus, for affecting to show the form of distant regions, of which the map-maker could know nothing. The modern writers, who retort upon Herodotus the charge of ridiculing the true doctrine of the earth's globular figure, have not perceived that he is speaking of nothing of the sort, but of the exhibition of the earth as a plane circle, with the river Oceanus flowing all around it, a view which he justly refers to the imagination of the poets.

the universe, which, however, he referred not to water but to air, while his contemporary, Heraclitus of Ephesus, made fire the all-producing element. His successor, Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ, who raised the Ionian school to its highest pitch of fame, and whose teaching influenced some of the greatest minds of Athens,—Pericles, Socrates, and Euripides,—was not born till B.C. 499. He belongs to that second stage of philosophy,* in which the enquirer looks beyond the material world in search of some incorporeal principle of power, to the action of which all things owe their being. This, Anaxagoras found in the Nous, that is, Mind or Intellect, which he conceived of as independent of matter, but also as impersonal. The Nous was not the creator, but a force which acted upon self-existent matter, reducing it from chaos into order, and uniting with it to form intelligent beings, in whom the Nous alone perceives reality and truth, the senses being always deceptive. This view was understood to imply disbelief, not only in the received Greek Pantheon, but in any personal god, and Anaxagoras was accused of atheism. We shall see hereafter how this charge was used against Pericles. A different mode of solving the problem of the universe, was suggested by Xenophanes of Colophon, who taught the doctrine which has since received the name of Pantheism, that all nature collectively is God. From his residence at Elea in Italy, after the Persian conquest of Ionia, his school was called the Eleatic. It became especially famous for its subtile dialectics.

The greatest name in early Greek philosophy is Pythagoras. but much of the doctrine called Pythagorean is to be ascribed to later followers of the school. Pythagoras was born at Samos about B.C. 580, and travelled to Egypt and other countries of the East, probably as far as Babylon. The result is seen in three elements which entered into his philosophy, the physical, the psychological, and the religious, as well as in the mysticism affected by his followers; but, as no genuine writings of his have been handed down to us, we can only form a very general notion of his doctrines. He advanced the sciences of mathematics and astronomy considerably beyond their former limits. In geometry he is said to have solved the celebrated proposition, which lays the basis for the application of number to magnitudes of space.† In arithmetic

* Perhaps more properly called the third, the first being that of practical ethics.

† Euclid I. 47. The square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other sides.

he framed certain theories respecting the connection of harmony with proportion, which entered more or less into his philosophical doctrines. Not only musical intervals, not only the distances of the planets, but the whole constitution of the universe was conceived by Pythagoras to be based upon the arithmetical laws of harmony. In astronomy there seems good reason to believe that he or his disciples held, in part at least, the true theory of the solar system, which was revived two thousand years later by Copernicus. But the chief distinctive doctrine of Pythagoras was that of the transmigration of souls from body to body both of men and animals, which, as we have seen, was held by the Egyptians from a remote period. This doctrine was used to account for those strange phenomena of consciousness which Plato represents Socrates also as referring to knowledge acquired in a former state of existence. Pythagoras found it useful too for acquiring religious ascendancy over his disciples. He did not disdain the arts by which intellectual reformers have often appealed to the imaginations of common men. He declared that he himself had lived on earth in the person of the Trojan hero Euphorbus, whom Menelaus had slain and dedicated his shield in the Temple of Hera near Mycenæ; and, in proof of the assertion, Pythagoras took down the shield from the midst of all the other votive offerings. The man who can make good such a claim might well be supposed a favourite of the gods, endowed with the gifts of prophecy and divination. He was reverenced by his disciples as a superior being. Their unquestioning faith in his teaching has passed into the proverb, *Ipse dixit* —"*He* has said it." It was at Croton in Italy,—whither he probably retired because Samos, under the despotism of Polycrates, allowed his system no free scope,—that his most attached disciples were formed into a secret society, and initiated in peculiar religious mysteries. This Pythagorean brotherhood numbered 300 members of the chief families of Croton; and there were similar societies in other cities of southern Italy. They passed through a probationary discipline, in which the power of keeping silence formed the great test of that serene self-control which was the great object of the whole discipline. They practised an ascetic purity of life; but it is doubtful whether Pythagoras enjoined abstinence from animal food.† They were bound to keep secret all that passed within their pale; and the Pythagorean maxim, that everything was not

* It has been observed that such a restriction was impossible for the athlete Milo.

to be told to everybody, gave rise to the celebrated and often abused distinction between esoteric and exoteric—inner and outer—teaching. But in what the esoteric doctrine of Pythagoras consisted, we have no certain information: it was probably a system of religious doctrine developed from a mystical exposition of certain parts of the old Mythology, perhaps with additions imported from the East. Little information can be gained on these matters from the later Pythagoreans, who were inclined to trace back to their founder some part of all the truth and wisdom they found throughout the world.

The Pythagorean brotherhood, consisting almost entirely of the richer class of citizens, and looking with scorn upon those beyond its pale, became an object of jealousy to the democratic party, whose views were certainly not favoured by the teaching of Pythagoras himself. It is not improbable that they incurred great odium from the destruction of Sybaris, the war having been advised by Pythagoras, and conducted by his disciple Milo. The athlete's house was assaulted and burnt in a popular tumult; many of the members who met there perished; and the brotherhoods were suppressed throughout Magna Græcia. Pythagoras himself is said to have fled for his life to Tarentum, and thence to Metapontum, where his tomb was visited by Cicero. According to one account, he starved himself to death. His school survived the suppression of the secret societies; and its influence may be especially traced in the philosophy of Plato. Among its most celebrated members were the mathematician and mechanician Archytas, and Damon and Phinthias (not Pythias), who have furnished one of the proverbial examples of devoted friendship. All three lived under Dionysius I., tyrant of Syracuse, about B.C. 400.

Among the products of Hellenic genius, none are more wonderful than their perfect works of art. Though the paintings of the Greek masters have perished, the descriptions which are preserved leave no doubt of their surpassing excellence. In sculpture, not to speak of other examples, it is the glory of our country to possess, in the Elgin marbles, the unapproachable standard of perfect beauty. If in architecture, as in poetry, the majestic harmony of the classic school has been rivalled by the bold variety of the romantic, it is none the less true that the former is perfect of its kind; and sober criticism shrinks from awarding the palm between the Parthenon and Westminster Abbey, any more than between Sophocles and Shakspere. Both styles possess the merit of perfect adaptation to the climate, the spirit, and the uses, for which

each was first designed; and both must be judged by this standard of fitness.

What was the source of imitative art among the Greeks, and how far their first efforts may have been influenced by Egyptian or other models, is too wide and difficult a question to be discussed in the present work; nor shall we attempt to trace those steps of progress, which belong to the special history of art.* We can only glance at the state of art at this epoch, as an evidence of the intellectual state of Hellas, and an essential element of Hellenic life and strength. In Greece, as in every other nation, the fine arts had their origin in religion. Their first productions were the temples and statues of the gods; their next, the tombs and monuments of great men and memorable events. These became works of architecture and sculpture, while cities and houses were still only buildings, in the lower sense of mere utility. Colour was used to enrich form before painting arose as an imitative art.

Thus architecture preceded sculpture, and sculpture painting; and the two latter arts were but the handmaids of the former. At the epoch of the Persian Wars, sculpture and painting were both in a state of transition from the archaic stiffness which marks, not only the imperfect skill of the earlier artists, but the fetters imposed on them by tradition. But the rapid development of both arts before the middle of the next century proves how much had been done to prepare the way for Phidias and Polygnotus. From the beginning of the sixth century, schools of statuary flourished in several Grecian cities; usually in families, which had handed down the traditions of the art from the old carvers of wooden statues of the gods, who are represented by the mythic names of Dædalus in Attica and Smilis in Ægina. About the same time artists among the Asiatic Greeks, especially in Chios and Samos, began to employ the mechanical processes of metal working, such as casting, soldering or welding, chasing and embossing. Of the progress made in the last-named art the great bowl dedicated by Crœsus is an example; while the ring of Polycrates proves the skill attained in gem-engraving. It would be absurd to doubt that these artists had learnt much from that earlier Asiatic art, the fruits of which we have seen in the sculptures and engraved seal-rings of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings. An impulse was given to the art about the middle of the

* The writer may be permitted to refer to the articles on art and artists in Dr. Smith's *Dictionaries*, as furnishing a general guide to the subject.

sixth century B.C. by the erection of the statues of victors in the games. The ancient Greek works in metal have perished, with comparatively few exceptions, but of their sculpture we have remains dating from the mythical age, to which belong the rude but bold lions rampant carved over the gates of Mycenæ. The archaic sculptures of the temple at Selinus, in Sicily, belong to the beginning of the sixth century. A most decided advance in the imitation of natural forms is shown in the figures in the pediment of the temple of Ægina, casts of which may be seen in the British Museum. The Æginetan school of sculpture was at its acmé during the last half of the sixth century.

Greek architecture may be said to have attained its perfection, in all the essentials of form, at the epoch of the Persian Wars. The prevailing order was the majestic Doric, splendid specimens of which are seen in the two magnificent temples at Pæstum and in the less perfect temple of Jove Panhellenius, in the island of Ægina. The comparison of the larger and older temple of Pæstum with the Parthenon at Athens is the most instructive commentary on the progress made between the middle of the sixth and of the fifth centuries. The great Doric temples of Hera, at Samos, built about B.C. 600, and of Apollo at Delphi, rebuilt after the fire of B.C. 548, have entirely perished. The Doric seems to have been the true native Hellenic order. The graceful Ionic had its origin in Asia; and it is most interesting to find its characteristic ornament, the capital with its double volute, several times repeated among the Assyrian monuments.* Like the Doric, it was perfected at Athens in the time of Pericles. The chief early example of the style in Ionia itself was the immense temple of Artemis at Ephesus, begun about B.C. 600, and reckoned one of the wonders of the world. The temple standing at Ephesus in the Roman age was a still more splendid edifice, erected by contributions from all the states of Asia Minor, after the former temple had been burnt by the maniac Herostratus on the birthnight of Alexander the Great (B.C. 356). The third order of Greek architecture, the beautiful Corinthian, dates from the latter part of the fifth century B.C.; but the earliest known example, the choragic monument of Lysicrates, is still a century later (B.C. 335). This order is often regarded as only a modification of the Ionic.

No new order of classic architecture has since been invented; nor have these ever been modified without injury, as in the Roman

* Layard: *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 119, 444, 648.

Doric, and its variety the Tuscan, and in the Composite, which is a hybrid between the Ionic and Corinthian. It needed those other original elements, which were supplied by the Arabian and Gothic races, to form new styles at all worthy to be placed in competition with the Greek.

Of Greek painting the earliest remains are the vases of Corinth, the city which shares with Sicyon the fame of being the earliest seat of the art (about B.C. 600). They are in the stiff archaic style, and the figures are mere outlines in profile or *silhouettes.* The earliest painter of eminence was Cimon, of Cleonæ in Argolis, who was contemporary with Pisistratus. He is said to have invented the art of foreshortening the figure, and to have been the first who indicated the muscles and veins, and gave drapery its natural folds. About the same time the art must have made considerable progress in Ionia; for there were paintings among the goods which the Phocæans carried with them when they left their city (B.C. 544). Near the close of the same century we hear of a picture representing the passage of the Hellespont by Darius. This work was preserved in the Heræum at Samos, the chief seat of the art after the Persian conquest of Ionia.

The moral effects of all these great political and intellectual movements, especially upon the Athenians, are summed up in the words of Herodotus:—"Liberty and Equality of civic rights are brave spirit-stirring things; and they who, while under the yoke of a despot, had been no better men of war than any of their neighbours, as soon as they were free, became the foremost men of all; for each felt that, in fighting for a free commonwealth, he fought for himself, and, whatever he took in hand, he was zealous to do the work thoroughly." *

* Herodotus V. 87, as quoted by Sir E. S. Creasy (*Fifteen Decisive Battles*, p. 30), who compares the sentiment with the beautiful lines in Barbour's *Bruce*:—

"Ah, Fredome is a noble thing:
Fredome makes man to haiff lyking.
Fredome all solace to men gives,
He lives at ease, that freely lives."

See also the admirable conclusion of the 31st Chapter of Mr. Grote's *History of Greece.*

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PERSIAN WARS, FROM THE IONIAN REVOLT TO THE BATTLES OF THE EURYMEDON. B.C. 500—466.

"Age shakes Athena's tower, but spares gray Marathon.
* * * * *
Preserves alike its bounds and boundless fame,
The battle-field, where Persia's victim horde
First bow'd beneath the brunt of Hellas' sword,
As on the morn, to distant glory dear,
When MARATHON became a magic word;
Which utter'd, to the hearer's eye appear
The camp, the host, the fight, the conqueror's career,

"The flying Mede, his shaftless broken bow;
The fiery Greek, his red pursuing spear;
Mountains above, Earth's, Ocean's plain below;
Death in the front, Destruction in the rear!"—BYRON.

CAUSES OF THE IONIAN REVOLT—MILTIADES AND HISTIÆUS—AFFAIR OF NAXOS—REVOLT OF ARISTAGORAS—AID SOUGHT FROM SPARTA AND ATHENS—SARDIS BURNT BY THE IONIANS AND ATHENIANS—DEFEAT OF THE IONIANS AND CAPTURE OF MILETUS—HIPPIAS AT THE PERSIAN COURT—FAILURE OF THE EXPEDITION UNDER MARDONIUS—HIS CONQUEST OF MACEDONIA—PREPARATIONS OF DARIUS—ATHENS AND SPARTA ALONE REFUSE EARTH AND WATER—EXPEDITION UNDER DATIS AND ARTAPHERNES—CONQUEST OF THE ISLANDS—PREPARATIONS AT ATHENS—BATTLE OF MARATHON—FATE OF MILTIADES—THE ÆGINETAN WAR—FOUNDATION OF THE MARITIME POWER OF ATHENST—HEMISTOCLES AND ARISTIDES—XERXES PREPARES A THIRD INVASION—PROGRESS OF THE EXPEDITION—THERMOPYLÆ—LEONIDAS AND THE THREE HUNDRED SPARTANS—EVENTS PRECEDING THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS—DEFEAT OF THE PERSIAN FLEET—RETREAT OF XERXES—BATTLE OF HIMERA IN SICILY ON THE SAME DAY—MARDONIUS IN BŒOTIA—BATTLES OF PLATÆA AND MYCALE—AFFAIRS OF THEBES—LIBERATION OF THE ISLANDS, THRACE, AND MACEDONIA—THE WAR TRANSFERRED TO ASIA—CAPTURE OF SESTOS—THE LEADERSHIP TRANSFERRED FROM SPARTA TO ATHENS—TREASON AND DEATH OF PAUSANIAS—OSTRACISM OF THEMISTOCLES—CIMON AND PERICLES—CAMPAIGNS OF CIMON ON THE ASIATIC COAST—DOUBLE VICTORY OF THE EURYMEDON—UNSUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN OF THE ATHENIANS IN EGYPT.

WHEN Darius the son of Hystaspes invaded the land of the Scythians, under the pretext of punishing their inroad upon Western Asia, the tyrants of the chief cities of the Hellespont and Ionia followed in his train. As their power was maintained by his support, he reposed in them the greatest confidence. On plunging into the wilds of Scythia, he entrusted to their charge the bridge of boats by which he had crossed the Danube. If he did not return within sixty days, they might conclude that the expedition had perished, and consult their own safety. The sixty days had expired, when a body of Scythians brought the news that Darius was in full retreat. They urged the Greeks to break the

bridge, and so to ensure the destruction of the Persian army and the recovery of their own freedom. Among the Grecian chieftains was Miltiades, the tyrant of the Chersonese. He belonged to a noble family at Athens, and was the second owner of his deathless name. The first Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, had been induced by an oracle, and by the desire to escape from the tyranny of Pisistratus, to lead a colony to the Thracian Chersonese.* He established his authority over the whole peninsula, and built a wall across its narrow isthmus. Himself childless, he had a half brother, Cimon, whose two sons were Stesagoras and Miltiades. Stesagoras succeeded his uncle, but on his death the tyranny was in danger of overthrow. The young Miltiades was sent from Athens by Pisistratus to secure the inheritance. By a stratagem he seized and imprisoned the popular leaders, raised a force of mercenaries, and gained the friendship of the neighboring Thracians by marrying the daughter of their king Olorus. Such was the early career of the man who inflicted the first decisive defeat on the power of Persia. He held his power in the Chersonese without that support from Darius by which the Ionian tyrants were upheld, and he had nothing to lose by the course his patriotism dictated. His proposal to break the bridge was approved by the other despots, till Histiæus, the tyrant of Miletus, reminded them that such a blow to the Persian power would recoil upon themselves. To get rid of the Scythians, and perhaps to keep the final decision in their own hands, the wily Ionians adopted the course of severing the further end of the bridge. It was night when the Persian army reached the river, and found no traces of the boats. Thereupon Darius ordered a loud-voiced Egyptian to stand upon the bank and call Histiæus, the Milesian, who at the first summons brought forward the fleet to restore the bridge. By this means Histiæus obtained all the credit of saving Darius and his army. We have seen how he was rewarded, and how he again lost the royal favor.†

Darius returned to Susa, leaving the western provinces in profound peace under the government of his brother Artaphernes. A trifling incident lighted the flame of rebellion. One of those political conflicts, which we have seen occurring throughout Greece, broke out in Naxos, an island of the Cyclades (B.C. 502).

* The district so often mentioned in Greek history by this name is the long and narrow peninsula which forms the north side of the Hellespont (Dardanelles). "Chersonesus" means an island attached to the mainland.

† Chap. x., p. 293.

The exiles of the oligarchical party applied for aid to Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletus, who persuaded Artaphernes to send an expedition against Naxos. The Persian commander, incensed by the interference of Aristagoras on a point of discipline, warned the Naxians, and so caused the failure of the expedition and ruined the credit of Aristagoras, who saw no course open to him but revolt. Meanwhile, his father-in-law, Histiæus, was plotting to revenge himself for his detention at Susa. He shaved the head of a trusty slave, and having branded on the scalp a message calling on Aristagoras to revolt, kept him till the hair grew again, and then sent him to Miletus. With the consent of the Milesian citizens, Aristagoras seized the tyrants who were on board of the fleet that had returned from Naxos; he laid down his own power; popular governments were proclaimed in all the cities and islands; and Ionia revolted from Darius (B.C. 501).

Aristagoras went to Sparta, carrying with him the bronze map of which we have already spoken,* and tried to tempt the king, Cleomenes, by displaying the greatness of the Persian empire; but his admission that Susa was three months' journey from the sea ruined his cause. He had better success at Athens; for the Athenians knew that Artaphernes had been made their enemy by Hippias. They voted twenty ships in aid of the Ionians, and the squadron was increased by five ships of the Eretrians. Having united with the Ionian fleet, they disembarked at Ephesus, marched up the country, and surprised Sardis, which was accidentally burnt during the pillage. Their forces were utterly inadequate to hold the city; and their return was not effected without a severe defeat by the pursuing army. The Athenians re-embarked and sailed home, while the Ionians dispersed to their cities to make those preparations which should have preceded the attack. Their powerful fleet gained for them the adhesion of the Hellespontine cities as far as Byzantium, of Caria, Caunus, and Cyprus; but this island was recovered by the Persians within a year. The Ionians protracted the insurrection for six years. Their cause was early abandoned by Aristagoras, who fled to the coast of Thrace and there perished. Histiæus, who had lulled the suspicions of Darius by promising him not only vengeance on the rebels, but the conquest of Sardinia, returned to Ionia only to be repulsed from Miletus and to have his treachery detected at Sardis. After some further adventures, he perished by crucifixion. The fate of the revolt turned at last on the siege of Miletus. The city was protected

* Chap. xii., p. 373.

by the Ionian fleet, for which the Phœnician navy of Artaphernes was no match. But there was fatal disunion and want of discipline on board, and the defection of the Samians gave the Persians an easy victory off Ladé (B.C. 495). Miletus suffered the worst horrors of a storm, and the other cities and islands were treated with scarcely less severity. This third subjugation of Ionia inflicted the most lasting blow on the prosperity of the colonies (B.C. 493).

Throughout his narrative of these events, Herodotus declares his opinion of the impolicy of the interference of the Athenians. The ships they voted, he says, were the beginning of evils both to the Greeks and the barbarians. When the news of the burning of Sardis was brought to Darius, he called for his bow, and shot an arrow towards the sky, with a prayer to Auramazda for help to revenge himself on the Athenians. Then he bade one of his servants repeat to him thrice, as he sat down to dinner, the words, "Master, remember the Athenians." Upon the suppression of the Ionian revolt, he appointed his son-in-law Mardonius to succeed Artaphernes, enjoining him to bring these insolent Athenians and Eretrians to Susa. A great fleet started from the Hellespont, with orders to sail round the peninsula of Mt. Athos to the Gulf of Therma, while Mardonius advanced by land. His march was so harassed by the Thracians, that when he had effected the conquest of Macedonia, his force was too weak for any further attempt. The fleet was overtaken by a storm off Mt. Athos, on whose rocks three hundred ships were dashed to pieces, and twenty thousand men perished. Mardonius returned in disgrace to Asia with the remnant of his fleet and army.

This failure only added fury to the resolution of Darius. While preparing all the resources of his empire for a second expedition, he sent round heralds to the chief cities of Greece, to demand the tribute of earth and water as signs of his being their rightful lord. Most of them submitted: Athens and Sparta alone ventured on defiance. Both treated the demand as an outrage which annulled the sanctity of the herald's person. At Athens the envoy was plunged into the loathsome Barathrum, a pit into which the most odious public criminals were cast. At Sparta the herald was hurled into a well, and bidden to seek his earth and water there. The submission of Ægina, the chief maritime state of Greece, and the great enemy of Athens, entailed the most important results. The act was denounced by Athens as treason against Greece, and the design was imputed to Ægina of calling in the

Persians to secure vengeance on her rival. The Athenians made a formal complaint to Sparta against the "Medism" of the Æginetans; a charge which is henceforth often repeated both against individuals and states. The Spartans had recently concluded a successful war with Argos, the only power that could dispute her supremacy in Peloponnesus;* and now this appeal from Athens, the second city of Greece, at once recognized and established Sparta as the leading Hellenic state. In that character, her king Cleomenes undertook to punish the Medizing party in Ægina "for the common good of Greece;" but he was met by proofs of the intrigues of his colleague Demaratus in their favour. There had long been a feud between the royal houses of the Eurysthenids and Proclids, and we have already seen the invasion of Attica under Cleomenes frustrated by Demaratus.† This second check, in Ægina, sealed the fate of Demaratus. Cleomenes obtained his deposition on a charge of illegitimacy, and a public insult from his successor Leotychides drove Demaratus from Sparta. Hotly pursued as a "Medist," he effected his escape to Darius, whose designs against Athens and Sparta were now stimulated by the councils of their exiled sovereigns, Hippias and Demaratus. Meanwhile, Cleomenes and his new colleague returned to Ægina, which no longer resisted, and having seized ten of her leading citizens, placed them as hostages in the hands of the Athenians. Ægina was thus effectually disabled from throwing the weight of her fleet into the scale of Persia: Athens and Sparta, suspending their political jealousies, were united when their disunion would have been fatal; their conjunction drew after them most of the lesser states: and so the Greeks stood forth for the first time as a nation prepared to act in unison, under the leadership of Sparta (B.C. 491). That city retained her proud position till it was forfeited by the misconduct of her statesmen.

It was time for Greece to be united. In the spring of B.C. 490, the preparations of Darius were complete. A vast army was collected in a plain upon the Cilician shore, whence a fleet of six hundred triremes convoyed it to the rendezvous at Samos. The Ionians and Æolians were compelled to serve on board their own ships as a part of their conqueror's navy. Like the Spanish Armada, the fleet carried fetters to bind the Athenians and Eretrians, who were to be brought back as slaves, when their cities

* B.C. 496—495.

† Chap. xii., pp. 355—6.

had been burnt to the ground. The expedition was commanded by Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, son of the former satrap of Lydia. The exiled tyrant, Hippias, undertook to guide them to a convenient point of descent on the shores of Attica. The failure of Mardonius had suggested a wiser plan for the new campaign. The armament sailed across the Ægean, reducing the Cyclades on the way, and meeting with no resistance till it reached Eubœa. The people of Carystus, the southernmost town of the island, yielded on seeing their fields ravaged, and the Persians landed without opposition before the devoted city of Eretria. Such was the despair and dissension within its walls, that the four thousand Athenian *cleruchi* of Calchis,* who had been sent to aid the defence, received timely warning that treason was meditated, and retired to Attica. Yet the Eretrians made a brave defence for six days. On the seventh, the traitors opened the gates, and the doom pronounced by Darius was executed to the letter. Herodotus says that the Persians, as before at Chios and at Samos, joined hands so as to form a chain across the territory of Eretria, and made a clean sweep of every living creature.† The Eretrian captives, with the spoils of their city, were placed in security on the little island of Ægileia, while Hippias guided the Persian fleet down the channel of the Euripus, to the spot on the Attic coast he had chosen for their debarkation—the bay of MARATHON. Flushed thus far with success, he might well deem it a favourable omen that he had performed with his father this same voyage from Eretria to Marathon, when Pisistratus was finally restored. The night before, he had dreamed that he was lying in his mother's arms; and he thought the gods had promised him a quiet old age of secure power in his native land. But, as he directed the landing, there occurred one of those trivial incidents which were supposed to fulfil a dream to the letter, only to cheat more substantial hopes, and he exclaimed, "After all, the land is not ours, and we shall never be able to bring it under." He knew his countrymen well enough to have a better ground for despondency than even an omen could supply to the superstition of a Greek. It was early in September, B.C. 490, that the Persian host disembarked at Marathon.

Athens now alone remained to fulfil the object of the expedition,

* See p. 356.

† The impression produced may be mainly correct, but the statement is not to be accepted to the letter. A sufficient number of the Eretrians were left behind to build a new city, which was already flourishing ten years later.

and Athens had to bear the brunt of the danger by herself. There is no reason to suppose that Sparta evaded her obligations; but the direct movement of the Persians across the Ægean had probably taken all Greece somewhat by surprise; and when the crisis came, a religious scruple caused a delay which might have been fatal. The courier, Phiddipides, despatched from Athens as soon as Eretria had fallen, performed the journey of 150 miles, on foot, in forty-eight hours.* He laid before the Ephors an urgent request for aid, which was readily promised. But it wanted nearly a week to the full moon, and religious scruples would not permit a march during the interval. That this was no mere excuse, is proved by the rapid march of the two thousand Spartans, who, having started as soon as the moon had changed, reached the frontier of Attica on the third day. But on the day before, the fate of Greece had been decided, and immortal glory gained by Athens.†

We can hardly, indeed, believe that Sparta would have perilled her influence in Greece by holding back at such a crisis. But, in the ferment of agitation at Athens, and within twenty years of the Spartan invasion to restore Isagoras, such a suspicion would naturally be felt, and it must have added to the indecision which divided the counsels of the Athenians. Besides the terror inspired by the threats of Darius, the fate of Ionia, the submission of the Cyclades, and the fall of Eretria,—it should be remembered how lately the city had been rent by opposing factions, and how short had been the trial of the institutions of Cleisthenes. Hippias was keeping up a correspondence with his partisans in Attica and in Athens itself. The plan of vesting the military command in ten generals, with

* "Mr. Kinneir remarks that the Persian Cassids, or foot messengers, will travel for several days successively at the rate of sixty or seventy miles a day."—*Geographical Memoirs of Persia*, p. 44; quoted by Mr. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 460.

† It was on the ninth day of the moon that Phidippides arrived at Sparta. The moon would be full on the 15th day. The Spartans marched on the following day, the 16th, and reached Athens late on the 18th. They marched on and saw the battle-field with the bodies still unburied, which would hardly have been the case in that climate more than two days after the battle. These calculations, from the data supplied by Herodotus, confirm the statement of Plato, that the Spartans arrived at Athens the day after the battle, which would thus be fought on the *17th of the moon.* The month, as we learn from Plutarch, was Boëdromion, which corresponds nearly to September. Plutarch says that the day of the battle was the 6th of Boëdromion, which is evidently inconsistent with the month's being strictly lunar. We are indebted to the kindness of the Astronomer Royal for the information, that the moon was full on September 9th, about four o'clock in the morning. The date of the battle of Marathon may therefore be fixed, with great probability, to the 11th of September.

the Archon Polemarch, had to be tested for the first time in the presence of the whole force of Persia; and at the critical moment the generals were equally divided. But among them was one man who saved Athens by the ascendancy of his genius.

Miltiades had retained his government of the Cheronese, either because his advice to destroy the bridge over the Danube was not betrayed, or because Darius chose a prudent magnanimity. He availed himself of the confusion of the Ionian revolt to subdue the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, with the aid of an Athenian force, a service never forgotten by his countrymen, and an act of open hostility to Persia. Then came the suppression of the revolt, and the appearance of the Phœnician fleet off the Hellespont. Hastily embarking his property and nearest friends, Miltiades fled, so hotly pursued that one of his five ships, carrying his son Metiochus, was taken before he reached a haven of safety in Imbros, whence the remaining four got safe to the port of Athens. Miltiades had now to stand his trial on the capital charge of tyranny, but his recent services procured him an honourable acquittal. His bold career had established his reputation at Athens,* and he was chosen the general of his tribe, in prospect of the Persian invasion. Among his colleagues was Aristides, and probably Themistocles, names which will soon fill their due space in our narrative.†

Under such leaders the whole force of Athens marched out to meet the invaders, and beheld from the heights of Pentelicus the plain and bay of MARATHON crowded with their tents and ships. The story of the battle is told by Herodotus, who heard it from the men who fought there, with his usual fondness for striking incidents.‡ But this brief account leaves several questions undecided, and it is entirely wanting in those details which enable a reader to look down upon a battle-field as if spread out beneath his sight, and so to understand the movements of the combatants. That unchanged aspect of the scene, on which the poet dwells in the lines at the head of this chapter, helps us to supply what the historian has left untold. At this day, just as twenty-three centuries and a half ago—

"The mountains look on Marathon,
And Marathon looks on the sea."

---

* Herod. vi. 132.

† Themistocles was certainly at Marathon, though it is doubtful whether he was a general. He had been archon in B.C. 493.

‡ Æschylus, who himself fought at Marathon, throws some light upon the battle by allusions in his play of "The Persians," which was written to celebrate the victories of Salamis and Platæa.

Just below the great headland commanding the southern entrance to the channel which separates it from Eubœa, the eastern coast of Attica is indented by a fine bay. It is enclosed on the north

PLAN OF THE PLAIN OF MARATHON.

A A. Position of the Greeks on the day of the battle.
B B. Position of the Persians on the day of the battle.

1. *Mt. Argaliki.*
2. *Mt. Aforismó.*
3. *Mt. Kotróni.*
4. *Mt. Koráki.*
5. *Mt. Dhrakonéra.*
6. Small Marsh.
7. Great Marsh.
8. Fountain Macaria.
9. Salt Lake of *Dhrakonéra.*
10. Heracleium.
11. Temple of Athena Hellotia?
12. Village of *Lower Súli.*
13. *Soró:* tumulus of Athenians.
14. *Pýrgo:* tomb of Miltiades.

Roads:

a a. To Athens, between Mts. Pentelicus and Hymettus through Pallene.
b b. To Athens, through Cephisia.
c c. To Athens, through Aphidna.
d d. To Rhamnus.

by a long rocky promontory, called, from its shape, Cynosura (the Dog's Tail), and on the south by a lesser spur of Mount Brilesus, or Pentelicus. The limestone hills sweep round from

cape to cape, leaving at their feet a plain of a crescent shape, about six miles in length and less than three miles wide in the centre. It was the ancient site of a tetrapolis, forming one of the twelve Attic districts before the time of Theseus; and one of its four villages was called, from a local hero, Marathon. The name occurs in Homer; the place was sacred to Hercules, and associated with some of the oldest Attic legends. Here Xuthus, the father of Ion, had reigned; and here the Athenians had helped the Heraclid refugees to defeat their persecutor Eurystheus. "The pleasant mead of Marathon," as it is called by Aristophanes, is a grassy level,* almost entirely free from trees, terminated at both ends by marshes, dry in summer, but flooded in the autumn, that on the north being much the larger. These marshes confined the ground available for an army to a length of between two and three miles; but a strip of firm land extends between the marshes and the sea, along the whole length of the beach, upon which the Persian galleys were drawn up, or, as some suppose, remained at anchor close to it. The ships of burthen and the horse-transports were anchored in the bay, and the Persian army lay encamped upon the plain. On the land side, the hills are crowned with cedars, pines, and olive-trees; and their lower slopes are covered with "the myrtle, arbutus, and the other low odoriferous shrubs that everywhere perfume the Attic air."

Through the passes of these hills, three roads lead up to Athens. The central and most direct is that through *Vrana*, the supposed site of Marathon. The small Athenian army, on arriving at the heights, is presumed to have taken up its position so as to command this road; equally ready to fall back and meet the enemy behind the ridge, if they penetrated it by the more circuitous route through Œnoë or, if the Persians attempted to pass to the left, over the spur of Pentelicus, the Athenians might have fallen on their exposed flank.† The position was alike strong for defence, and commanding for attack; and weighty arguments might be urged for either course.

It is not easy to place ourselves in the position of the Athenian

* As at Waterloo, the surface of the ground is now broken, though far more worthily, by the mound which was raised over the Athenian slain.

† In ancient warfare, an attack on the right flank was considered far more perilous than one on the left, because the left side was covered by the shield. This was one reason why the right of the line was the post of honour, as being the post of danger.

generals. Our minds are dazzled by the glories of the event, and of the many similar victories down to the days of Plassy and Meeanee. With a small united band of disciplined freemen opposed to a host of Asiatic slaves, it would seem that the resolution to attack was at once the pledge of victory. One bold swift charge upon the unwieldy host, who are now paralysed with astonishment at the daring of their foes—one vain effort of resistance by their best troops—and then a confused scene of panic, flight, and fierce pursuit:—such is the conception often formed of Marathon and the like battles. But the Greeks who fought at Marathon could be sure of no such easy victory. The army before them was no mere horde of effeminate barbarians, whose very numbers ensured their confusion and defeat. They represented the power which, little more than half a century ago, had overthrown the three empires of Western Asia, subdued the Asiatic Greeks, and conquered Egypt;—the power which, newly organized by their present warlike king, had quelled the rebellions of Media and Babylon, extended the frontiers of the empire, crushed the revolt of Ionia, and subjected the islands of the Ægæan. The Persians were the conquerors of Greeks, and not only of barbarians. Their unbroken course of victory had reached the shores of Hellas itself in the sad example of Eretria. The strangeness of their dress and arms had not yet come to be regarded as signs of weakness. The rhetorical exaggeration of Herodotus shows at least that the Persians were not an enemy to be despised. The Athenians, he says, "were the first of the Greeks who dared to look upon the Median garb, and to face men clad in that fashion. Until this time, the very name of the Medes had been a terror to the Greeks to hear."*

It is one of the strange omissions of Herodotus, that he gives no account of the strength of either army, telling us only the numbers of the slain. Plato makes the Persians half a million; and other authorities vary from 200,000 to 600,000. A careful calculation based on the known strength of the fleet, 600 triremes, seems to prove the last number to be not far from the truth.† The crews of the triremes are estimated at 120,000, and of the horse-transports at 40,000; the Persian and Sacian warriors, who were the flower of the army, at 30,000; the cavalry at 10,000;

* Herod. vi. 112.

† All these points of details are fully discussed in the following works:—Leake, *Demi of Attica*, pp. 99, foll.; Creasy, *Fifteen Decisive Battles;* Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Notes to Book vi., and Appendix, Essay i.

besides about 10,000 Greeks pressed into the service, from the conquered islands. It is assumed that about half the crews would be required to remain on board;* and, making some allowance for the sick, the actual numbers on the field of Marathon would be from 100,000 to 120,000. Among these, the only heavy-armed troops were the 30,000 Persians and Sacians.

Of the Athenian force we have no earlier enumeration than in the writers of the Augustan age, who make it 9,000 or 10,000 men. Looking at what we know of the number of the Athenian citizens, and the force they sent to the battle of Platæa, we may accept the 9,000 as the complement of heavy armed soldiers, adding an equal number of light-armed slaves; for we know that great efforts were made to enrol this class.† But this little army was reinforced in a manner which forms one of the most affecting incidents of ancient history. They were already encamped on the heights above Marathon, when they were joined by the Platæans, who had marched out with their whole force, to requite the Athenians, in the hour of their extremity, for their protection against the tyranny of Thebes. For this noble act the Platæans were rewarded with a certain share of the Athenian citizenship, and they were henceforth included in the public prayers of Athens. The like attachment involved the destruction of their city in the Peloponnesian War; and to the latest age of Greek freedom it was told how the Platæans, alone of all the Greeks, had stood by the Athenians in the fore-front of the danger at Marathon.

The total force of the Greeks was thus raised to 20,000 men; and the disparity between the two armies was five or six to one—about the same proportion as afterwards at Platæa. The heavy-armed, on whom the brunt of the battle would depend, were about three to one. Battles have often since been gained against even greater odds; but at Marathon the Persians were truly formidable as soldiers, and still more formidable from their unbroken course of victory. It was not, perhaps, impossible, by a bold advance, to have passed over the bodies of their foes along the road to Athens; but Hippias was there to tell the Persian generals how dear such a victory would be bought; and Darius had not sent them to purchase it by the blood of his best troops. He

* This is on the assumption that the fleet remained at anchor. If the triremes were drawn up on the beach, nearly all their crews would be available as combatants.

† Pausanias I., c. 32, § 3. The Athenians had neither cavalry nor archers.

looked to see the Athenians driven like a flock of sheep before his throne, and there was reason to hope for a bloodless conquest through the intrigues of the Pisistratids. Those same intrigues, on the other hand, rendered delay most dangerous to the Athenians, while the answer brought by Phidippides from Sparta caused fresh discouragement. But was it not better to wait in their strong position above Marathon for the arrival of the Spartan succours? To march down to battle on the plain would involve, besides the unequal conflict the danger of being outflanked by the enemy's numbers and cut to pieces by his cavalry. So the Ten Generals were equally divided; and the decision hung on the casting vote of the polemarch Callimachus. We should have liked to know the parts taken by Aristides and Themistocles. The latter would probably be found on the side of action; but history reserves for him the palm of council at Salamis; that of Marathon belongs to Miltiades alone. Of all the generals, he only had experience to discern those elements of Oriental weakness which were yet to be revealed, and the skill to suit his plan of battle to the enemy. He saw, not only that safety lay in victory, but that the very isolation of Athens opened a boundless prospect to her ambition. He implored Callimachus to earn for himself a name more glorious than that of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, by at once saving his country from the fate prepared for her under Hippias, and raising her to become the first state in Greece. If they delayed to fight, the disturbance of men's minds at Athens would soon end in submission; but if the battle were fought before unsoundness revealed itself in the city, and while Heaven still granted them fair play, they were well able to overcome the enemy. Callimachus gave his vote for battle, and the four generals who had supported Miltiades in the debate gave up to him their turn of command.*

Miltiades, however, waited for his proper day of command before engaging. It would be wise to leave no ground for jealousy, or for the charge of having assumed undue responsibility. His turn may have been close at hand, and his preparations might

* Each of the Ten Generals commanded for a day in rotation. It is an error to suppose that all the generals joined in the renunciation of the four. (See Herod. vi., 110.) As to the time of the debate, the testimony of Herodotus seems quite to outweigh Mr. Grote's reasons for placing it at Athens before the march. The case only fairly arose when the armies were in sight of each other; and the allusions to the influence of the course taken by the army on the state of feeling *in the city* seems quite decisive.

well occupy the interval. The decision to fight once taken, there was the less need for haste; and he seems to have had special reason for choosing his opportunity. Hippias had selected the plain of Marathon especially on account of its fitness for cavalry evolutions; and yet no mention is made of cavalry in the battle. The only satisfactory explanation—though others have been proposed—is, that the cavalry had been sent away to find forage, and that Miltiades seized the opportunity of their absence to make the attack.

On both sides the order of battle was the extended phalanx, or line several men deep, which seems to have been the only array in use up to this time. The Persian line was drawn up about a mile from the sea, with the heavy-armed Persians and Sacæ in the centre, which has always been in Oriental armies the post of honour; the contingents of the satrapies were posted on either wing, in all their picturesque variety of arms and dress. Their front extended about three miles between the two marshes that here bound the plain—a space which might be nearly filled by their best troops, in their customary order of four deep. The light-armed troops and archers were placed, as usual, in the rear.

To match the extended front of the enemy and guard against their sweeping round his flanks, and so taking him in the rear, Miltiades made a new disposition of the Grecian phalanx. Its usual array was eight deep, and, so drawn up, the 10,000 hoplites would have covered, at the most, little more than two-thirds of a mile—enough to block up the valley of Vrana while they remained on the defensive, but sure to be outflanked when they descended into the plain. Miltiades extended his front by weakening the centre, rightly deeming the wings the critical points. If the wings were only as much as four deep for a space of two hundred yards, the centre must have consisted only of one file; so that Miltiades ventured on the extreme of that formation in *line*, which is the peculiarity of British tactics, as opposed to the phalanx or column of almost every other nation.* The light-armed troops would doubtless be employed chiefly as supports to

* This calculation is taken from Professor Rawlinson. Making every allowance for the probability that Herodotus states the equalizing of the fronts too literally, the central line could not have been more than two deep. The usual English line is two deep, with a third line of subalterns and other supernumeraries. At Balaklava, during the heat of the battle, the "thin red line" of the Guards formed only a single rank.

this weakened centre. The men of each tribe stood together in the array, securing mutual encouragement and emulation. The polemarch Callimachus held the post of honour on the right; the second place, on the left, was given to the phalanx of the Platæans; while the centre was entrusted to the steady calmness of Aristides and the daring courage of Themistocles.

All now depended upon the vigour of the onset. Had the Greeks advanced across the plain with their wonted steady pace, singing the pæan—the war-hymn to Apollo—they must have been galled by the Persian archery, and perhaps easily surrounded. So, when Miltiades had sacrificed, and the omens were pronounced favourable, the whole Greek line crossed the mile of ground that divided them from the enemy at a run, and fell upon them while astonished at this novel charge.* But the battle was not yet gained; the front ranks joined in furious conflict, and the cloud of arrows from the Persian rear darkened the heavens above them.† The phalanx of Greek spearmen on the wings, protected by their shields and armour, found no match in the light bucklers and scimetars of the Asiatics; but in the centre, where spears were opposed to spears, and the Athenians were met by the Persian veterans, the force of numbers prevailed. How far the Greek centre gave way is one of the problems of the battle. Herodotus represents them as flying in full rout up the valley, either of Marathon or Œnoë, pursued by the main body of the Persians. But the victorious wings fell upon the flanks of the crowded column; the fugitives rallied in its front; the tide of battle turned; and the Persian host fled for refuge to their ships. The Greeks pursued them to the water's edge, and many were entangled in the marshes that lay between them and the beach. Eager efforts were now made to capture or burn the ships, and the combat that ensued recalls the attack of the Trojans on the fleet of the Achæans.‡ Cynægirus, the brother of the poet Æschylus, had seized a ship by the feathery ornament that crowned its stern,§

* The athletic training of the Greeks removes all wonder from this exploit. The French Zouaves traverse miles together at a swinging trot, little slower than the "double." The idea that the Athenians were disordered by the mode of their advance is opposed to the express statement of Herodotus.

† Aristoph., Vespæ, 1082.

‡ Homer, *Iliad*, xiii.

§ The *aphlaston*, or, in Latin, *aplustre*. It was formed of several curved pieces of board set in the same plane (see the figure in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, art. *Navis*). The ancient ships were drawn up with their sterns to the beach, ready to put to sea.

when his right hand was severed by an axe; nor was his a solitary case. The chief loss of the Athenians was suffered in this conflict at the ships; here fell the general Stesagoras, and here the polemarch Callimachus received, in a glorious death, the fittest recompense of his heroic decision.

A few ships only were detained, and the successful embarkation proves the military qualities of the Persian army, as well as the skill of their commanders. They had spirit left to attempt to snatch a triumph that would have outweighed their defeat. Instead of bearing off for Eubœa, they sailed down the coast of Attica intending to double the promontory of Sunium, and surprise Athens before the army could return. Miltiades saw the meaning of their course; and, on a neighbouring promontory, an uplifted shield, flashing in the rays of the setting sun, betrayed a treasonable signal from the shore. For the second time on the same day the prompt energy of Miltiades saved his country. He left Aristides and his tribe to keep watch in the field covered with the slain and the Persian spoils, and led his army by a rapid night march back to Athens.* He arrived but just in time. The Persian fleet appeared in the morning off the coast of Phalerum; but the sudden return of Miltiades overawed the partisans of Hippias, who took his last tantalizing view of the heights of the Acropolis. Finding no encouragement to disembark, Datis put out again to sea; and, having gathered up his spoils, with the Eretrian prisoners from the island of Ægilea, threaded his backward course among the Cyclades. The tyrant Hippias did not long survive the defeat of his last hopes. One account is that he fell in the battle; another, that he died on one of the islands of the Ægæan, on his return to Asia. The fate of the Eretrian captives demands a passing word. They arrived at Susa, with their numbers thinned by the toils of the march up through Asia, and were placed before Darius. Their sad plight stirred his compassion, even in the first bitterness of his disappointment. He settled them at a spot not far from Susa, on the road to Sardis, where they were visited by Herodotus. Before saying more of the

* Among his other unfortunate omissions, Herodotus gives no certain indications of the time of day when the battle was fought. Plutarch makes Miltiades return to Athens on the day after the battle. From all the indications, it seems most probable that the morning was occupied by the tactical arrangements of Miltiades, the battle fought in the afternoon, and the march back to Athens accomplished in the night. The September moon, approaching her highest declination, a few days past the full, shone at once on the white sails of the Persian fleet, the path of the Athenian army, and the night-watch of Aristides.

effect produced upon the Great King by the disastrous failure of his generals, we must cast a backward glance at Marathon, where we left Aristides watching over the dead.

Before the corpses were buried, the Spartans, who had reached Athens too late for the battle, arrived upon the field to see the dead bodies of the Persians, and having praised the Athenians for their achievements, they returned home. Six thousand four hundred of the Persians were left upon the field, while the Greeks lost only 192.* The Athenians interred the bodies of their enemies after they had buried their own dead. It was the custom with the Greeks to carry home the bodies of their comrades who fell in battle, to be honoured with a public funeral. The heroes of Marathon obtained the unwonted honour of resting on the battle-field itself under the *Soros*, or tumulus, which is still seen by passing ships rising above its level. Ten pillars, one for each tribe, bore the names of the slain; and the epitaph was written by Simonides:—

> "At Marathon for Greece the Athenians fought,
> And low the Medians' gilded power they brought."

It was well for the poet to call the Athenians the champions of Greece; could he have seen the course of history as a whole, he might have named them the champions of the world. For the real question decided on the plain of Marathon was whether the rising liberties of Europe, with all their precious fruits, material and intellectual, should be crushed beneath the despotism which had weighed on Asia for two thousand years. A more deadly struggle was still needed to secure the victory; but it was at Marathon that the moral victory was gained which involved the triumphs of Salamis and Platæa—the Greeks learnt that the Persians could be conquered. "Of what avail," asked Napoleon, "would have been the millions of men moving down from all parts of Europe, if the English and Prussians had been beaten at Waterloo?"—and less doubtfully still may it be asked—"What resistance could Greece, or even Europe, have made if the Athenians and Platæans had been crushed at Marathon?" Sparta might have anticipated Thermopylæ in one universal slaughter; but the rest of Greece would assuredly have submitted. The wave

* The great disparity is not only characteristic of battles in which a great host is routed by a small force, as at Morgarten and Morat, Crecy and Poictiers, but it is a striking peculiarity of Greek battles, except in cases of utter defeat. (See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vi. 117, note.) That the great loss of the Persians was in the marsh, we learn from the description of the picture in the Stoa Pœcile.

of conquest would have broken upon Italy at the moment when Rome was weakened by intestine broils; and no other nation of the peninsula could have offered resistance. The Phœnician fleet would have soon reduced the Grecian colonies, and have joined in a conflict of deadly rivalry with Carthage. Even had the western republic gained the victory on the sea, the jealous oligarchy of Carthage would have been scarcely less dangerous to civilization than the despotism of Persia. We shall soon see that it was given to Greece to perform the double work of repulsing both powers on the same day, in the bay of Salamis and on the field of Himera.

Justly, therefore, did the Attic orators ever rouse their fellow-citizens to emulate "the men who adventured themselves in the fore-front of danger at Marathon;" while others extolled the ancient discipline that had trained "the men who fought at Marathon." * The artists of the succeeding generation vied with one another in representing their great achievement on the edifices with which the city was adorned under the brilliant rule of Pericles. A huge block of marble, which Datis was believed to have brought with him to form a monument of his conquest, was fashioned by the hand of Phidias himself into a colossal statue of Nemesis, expressive of that solemn irony in which the Greek religion delighted; it was erected in the temple of the goddess at Rhamnus, about eight miles from Marathon. The temple dedicated in the Acropolis to Wingless Victory, the goddess who was never again to take flight from Athens, still shows on its broken frieze "the figures of the Persian combatants, with their lunar shields, their bows and quivers, their curved scimetars, their loose trousers, and Phrygian tiaras." But the most interesting of these monuments was the Colonnade in the Agora, called the Stoa Pœcile, or Painted Porch, from the great picture of the battle painted upon its walls by Panænus, the nephew of Phidias and Polygnotus. A description of this great work has been handed down to us by the traveller Pausanias. Miltiades and Callimachus held the most conspicuous place of honour in the front; in the middle distance, the Athenians and Platæans chased the Persians to the marshes and to the sea, which appeared in the back-ground covered with the ships. The tutelary deities of the place were represented as joining in the encounter to aid the Greeks. The same traveller, who visited Marathon in the second century of our era, speaks with full faith of the noise of super-

* The Ἄνδρες Μαραθωνόμαχοι. This is a favourite topic with Aristophanes.

natural war heard nightly on the battle-field; and such is the power of local tradition, that to the present day the clash of arms, the shouts of the combatants, and the neighing of their steeds, strike awe into the watching shepherds.*

A separate monument was erected on the battle-field to Miltiades, for whom fate had reserved a separate doom. The various ends of great warriors are among the most affecting episodes of history:—Callimachus and Epaminondas, Wolfe and Nelson, rejoicing to die in the arms of victory; Leonidas and Gustavus Adolphus content to give their blood as an offering to expiate defeat; Wellington exposing his life as a worthless thing when the field of Waterloo was won, but living to be satiated with honour; Napoleon only escaping from the same field, to "eat his heart away" on his far distant rock. But it was the fate of Miltiades to reap all the glory that a grateful country could bestow, only to peril all in a rash and selfish enterprise. It is not the least of Mr. Grote's services to Grecian history that he has set the end of Miltiades in its true light—the light derived from the character of the public men of Greece on the one hand, and of the Athenian people on the other. "There is no feature," he says, "which more largely prevades the impressible Greek character, than a liability to be intoxicated and demoralized by success; there was no fault from which so few eminent Greeks were free; there was hardly any danger, against which it was at once so necessary and so difficult for the Grecian governments to take security—especially the democracies, where the manifestations of enthusiasm were always the loudest. Such is the real explanation of those charges which have been urged against the Grecian democracies, that they came to hate and ill-treat previous benefactors; and the history of Miltiades illustrates it in a manner no less pointed than painful."†

No sober student of Greek history now questions that, in the intoxication of success, Miltiades abused the confidence of his countrymen for his own objects. How far those objects went is still only a matter of conjecture. But it is no extravagant idea that the former tyrant of the Chersonese may have been eager to compensate his loss by another principality, even if the final removal of Hippias did not suggest still higher thoughts He asked the Athenians for an armament of seventy war galleys, to be placed at his disposal for a secret service; and we may well

* Tradition, however, has forgotten that no cavalry were engaged.

† Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 504.

believe that the people hoped to see him return laden with wealth from the Persian shores, or having inflicted some signal blow on their great enemy. Miltiades led the expedition against the Greek island of Paros, celebrated for its beautiful white marble. Like the rest of the Cyclades, it had submitted to Datis and Artaphernes; and its having furnished a trireme to the Persian fleet was the pretext used by Miltiades.* The enterprise met with an ignominious failure, and Miltiades was carried back in his galley with a broken leg.

To explain his reception at Athens, we must again make use of the philosophic discrimination of Mr. Grote:—"There were two circumstances in the working of the Athenian democracy, which imparted to it an appearance of greater fickleness [than that shown by an irresponsible one or few] without the reality;—first, that the manifestations and changes of opinion were all open, undisguised, and noisy; the people gave utterance to their present impression, whatever it was, with perfect frankness; if their opinions were really changed, they had no shame or scruple in avowing it; secondly, the *present* impression, whatever it might be, was not merely undisguised in its manifestations, but also had a tendency to be exaggerated in its intensity. This arose from their habit of treating public affairs in multitudinous assemblages, the well-known effect of which is to inflame sentiment in every man's bosom by mere contact with a sympathising circle of neighbours. Whatever the sentiment might be—fear, ambition, cupidity, wrath, compassion, piety, or patriotic devotion, and whether well founded or ill founded—it was constantly influenced more or less by such intensifying cause." †

Such impulses of popular feeling never want leaders. It is an essential feature of free popular governments—in none more conspicuous than our own—that the chiefs of parties are ever on the watch for the errors of their rivals. Nor can the story of Miltiades be properly understood, without considering the quarter from which the attack was made upon him. Parties at Athens had now resolved themselves into two, traceable to those of the Pisistratids and the Alcmæonids. The old oligarchical party adhered more or

* Herodotus, who visited Paros to make enquiries, makes the true motive of Miltiades an old grudge against a Parian citizen, who had accused him to the Persian satrap, Hydarnes. It was at Paros that Herodotus heard the story of the intrigue of Miltiades with the Parian priestess to betray the city, the supernatural terror which seized him on entering the precincts of the temple, and his breaking his leg by a fall in his hasty flight.

† Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iv. pp. 505, 506

less openly to the former, in opposition to the democracy; the latter had thrown themselves into the arms of the people. The founder of the democratic constitution was Cleisthenes, the son of Megacles, the great opponent of Pisistratus. It was, therefore, natural that Miltiades, the former friend of the Pisistratids, should find an accuser in Xanthippus, who had married into the family of the Alcmæonids, and whose son Pericles afterwards governed the republic as the leader of the party of Cleisthenes. Nor is it improbable that such a leader would see in Miltiades the emulator of Pisistratus. Miltiades was brought to trial for his life before the popular court of the Heliæa, on the charge of deceiving the people. The victor of Marathon was borne into the court on a litter, unable to stand or speak in his own defence. His friends could only plead his unparalleled services in mitigation of his crime. His life was spared—not, it would seem, without difficulty; and he was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents. It has been supposed that this sum was the cost of the expedition; but Mr. Grote has pointed out the probability that it was the penalty assessed by the friends of Miltiades; for, in a public trial at Athens, if the defendant was found guilty, he was required to propose a penalty as an alternative to that named by the accuser in the indictment; and the judges were bound to pronounce one of these sentences, and no other. It was obviously for the defendant's interest to name a substantial penalty; for otherwise the court would feel insulted, and would at once vote the heavier punishment, as actually occurred in the case of Socrates. The later writers tell us that Miltiades, being unable to pay the fine, was thrown into prison, and there died; but of this Herodotus says nothing. All we know for certain is, that soon after the sentence, Miltiades died in consequence of his wound mortifying, and that the fine was paid by his son Cimon. The disastrous end of the great victor atoned for his faults, and his memory was held in deserved honour. His tomb is still to be seen upon the field itself; and the great picture of the battle in the Stoa Pœcile at Athens bore the inscription—

> "Miltiades, thy warlike deeds are to all Persians known;
> But still thy valour lasts for aye, enshrined at Marathon."

While Darius prepared to avenge his defeat by a new expedition of overwhelming magnitude, Athens started on the career which raised her to the maritime supremacy of Greece. The immediate impulse to this course was given by the fresh outbreak of that

feud with Ægina, which we have seen raging just before the Persian War. It became evident that Athens could only put down a rivalry which the position of Ægina so near her coast rendered doubly galling,* by becoming a maritime power of the first class. Among her chief resources were some very productive silver mines at Laurion, in the mountains of southern Attica, near Cape Sunium.† The State received from these mines a superfluity of wealth, which it had been proposed to divide among the poorer citizens. At this crisis Themistocles came forward with the proposition that the surplus should be employed in building 200 triremes. Moreover he persuaded the Athenians to add twenty ships to their navy every year. He used the exigency of the Æginetan war as an argument for a provision which he saw would be soon needed to meet the fresh efforts of the Persian king. "Thus," says Herodotus, "the Æginetan war saved Greece by compelling the Athenians to make themselves a maritime power." The war went on irregularly till the common danger from Xerxes suspended mutual animosity, and the Æginetans fought at Salamis like the Athenians. It was not till B.C. 456 that Athens finally subdued her hated rival.

During the ten years' interval between the campaigns of Marathon and Salamis, the internal politics of Athens derive all their interest from the rivalry of Themistocles and Aristides. The striking contrast of character in these two statesmen belongs to the history, not of their own country merely, but of human nature. It was the rivalry of expediency and justice, of unscrupulous ability and high principle, of a policy in which self-interest coincided for a time with the public welfare, and an unselfish though mistaken patriotism. The politician who is unencumbered by principle has an unfettered choice among the expedients which he may have the genius to devise; and such genius was the most striking characteristic of Themistocles. In a celebrated passage, which defies translation, Thucydides describes him as neither slowly preparing for events by long forecasting of probabilities, nor learning by reflection on the past; but as meeting every emergency when it arose with an unfailing intuitive sagacity; and "by his natural power most able to extemporize what was needful." ‡ His native genius formed the most striking contrast to

* The island of Ægina lies in the middle of the Saronic Gulf, between Attica and Argolis.

† A full account of these mines, and of the revenue derived from them, is given in Böckh's *Public Economy of Athens*.

‡ Thucyd. i. 138.

the elaborate training which the statesmen of the next generation, like Pericles, received from philosophers and rhetoricians. The first appearance of Themistocles in history agrees with this view of his character. Having been just mentioned at Marathon, he is seen immediately afterwards devising and carrying through that policy which alone could save Greece from the Persian, and raise his own state to the supremacy.

Of this policy the chief opponent was Aristides, whom we have seen acting as a general at Marathon, and who was archon for the following year (b.c. 489–8). Far less ready in invention, and slower to perceive the changes passing round him, he could not see that any innovation was needed on the old policy of training the citizens as heavy-armed soldiers, and trusting them to meet an invader who dared to set foot on their soil, as they had met him at Marathon. Aristides probably looked forward with distrust to those consequences which we shall soon see that a maritime policy involved—the grasping at extensive empire abroad, and the decay of a military spirit at home. It must not, however, be supposed that Aristides belonged to the reactionary or oligarchical party. He had been the friend of Cleisthenes, on whose reformed constitution he took his stand, firmly resisting the innovations of a younger generation. As the counsels of his rival prevailed, Thucydides has not given us a sketch of Aristides, which we should have valued as a parallel to that of Themistocles. But the master's hand was hardly so much needed to trace the outlines of a character whose great feature was that simplicity of integrity which called forth the eulogies of Herodotus and Plato, and which is depicted in the sketches of Plutarch and other late writers. The surname of "the Just" at once expressed the esteem in which he was held at Athens, and roused not only the hostility of the rogues who felt his justice, but the jealousy and dislike with which common-place minds always regard superior merit. The story is true to nature that, when the vote of ostracism was being taken, an unlettered citizen, not knowing Aristides, asked him to write for him on the shell. "And what name shall I write?" "Aristides." "And pray what wrong has Aristides done you?" "Oh, none; but I am tired of hearing him always called the Just." Aristides made no reply, but wrote the name. His own disgust for the party conflict in which he was involved with Themistocles was expressed by the saying that, if the Athenians were wise, they would throw them both into the Barathrum. The ostracism of Aristides took place in b.c. 483 or 482; and

he was only recalled from his exile in Ægina when the battle of Salamis was at hand. Thus far the career of the two leaders might seem to be an exception to the proverb—that "honesty is the best policy;" but their subsequent fortunes illustrate the sounder form of the same proverb—"Honesty lasts longest." The history of the other Greek states is a blank for the interval of ten years between the two great acts of the Persian wars.

It is time to ask why so long a respite was allowed to the Greeks. Darius, indignant at a second failure, had resolved to lead the whole force of his empire in person against Greece. His vast preparations occupied three years, and were just completed when the revolt of Egypt claimed his first attention (B.C. 486), and in the following year he died (B.C. 485). Egypt was subdued by the generals of Xerxes in the second year of his reign; and the young king was at liberty to carry out his father's designs. But the change in the ruler of Persia had made a vast difference in the prospects of Greece. Xerxes, the eldest son of Darius by his second wife, Atossa, had obtained his designation to the crown during his father's lifetime, in preference to his elder half-brothers. In personal beauty and stately bearing, he was the fairest among the many myriads he gathered for the expedition against Greece; but in all else he proved how a noble race might be corrupted in one generation by the training of the seraglio. Vain and fickle, blinded by conceit and passion, and jealous of good advice, he was such a leader as the Greeks might have desired to be set over their enemies. Nor did he show at first any zeal for the enterprise; but his cousin, Mardonius, eager to gratify his own ambition and to wipe out his former disgrace, tempted him with the conquest of Europe, which he represented as no less fertile than Asia. The family of the Aleuads came from Thessaly to Susa to invite him to march against Greece. The Pisistratids produced a seer named Onomacritus, to stimulate him with garbled prophecies, which told of the bridging of the Hellespont and the march of a Persian host to conquer Greece; while all the ancient predictions of disaster were studiously kept back.

As soon as the Egyptian rebellion was suppressed, Xerxes summoned the great council of the empire, and announced his plans. The occasion is seized by Herodotus to put the arguments for and against the enterprise into the mouths of Mardonius, the king's cousin, and Artabanus, his uncle, as the representatives of his evil and good genius. The latter prevailed for the time, but repeated dreams forced Xerxes on, and compelled Artabanus to withdraw

his opposition. Thus the events that followed were seen to be by the appointment of the gods, to chastise the overweening prosperity and arrogance of the Persian power.* It was not enough for Xerxes to collect an armament sufficient for the conquest of Greece; he resolved to overwhelm Europe with a force such as the world had never seen gathered together. Edicts went forth from Susa, commanding the satraps to muster all their troops, and to provide supplies of every kind in vast abundance. "The whole of Asia," says the historian, "rang with the din of arms," and the prophecy of Daniel concerning the fourth king of Persia was fulfilled:—"By his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia." † It is for the poet, rather than the historian, to attempt a vivid description of the dress and accoutrements, the aspects and manners, of the myriads who flocked together, from the banks of the Indus to the confines of Thessaly, from the deserts of Scythia to the sands of Libya, to the appointed rendezvous at Critala in Cappadocia.

In the autumn of B.C. 481, Xerxes arrived from Susa, and led his mighty host to Sardis, there to spend the winter, while other preparations were making for his march to Europe. His plan of campaign resembled, not that of Datis and Artaphernes, but that of Mardonius, only on an immense scale. It would have been impossible to transport so vast a host across the Ægæan; and as Thrace and Macedonia, as well as the islands, now belonged to Xerxes, the whole march lay through his own territory. Magazines of provisions were prepared at stations along the whole coast from the Hellespont to the Strymonic Gulf. A fleet of 1207 ships was collected in the ports of Phœnicia, Caria, Ionia, the Hellespont, and Thrace.

Meanwhile two gigantic engineering works were undertaken, in order to facilitate the march, the bridging of the Hellespont, and the cutting of a channel through the peninsula of Mount Athos. It is needless to relate the oft-told story of the former undertaking —how the first bridge of boats was scattered by a storm; how the blind fury of the despot scourged the Hellespont, and affected to chain it with the fetters which its waves swallowed up; ‡ and how

* See the admirable remarks of Mr. Grote on this religious conception of history, common both to Greeks and Persians, and perpetually colouring the narrative of Herodotus. *History of Greece*, chap. xxxviii., beginning.

† Daniel xi. 2. The conquest of Persia by Alexander is represented in this prophecy as the sequel to the expedition of Xerxes; and such it was, morally and politically, in spite of the interval of 150 years.

‡ None can fail to mark the contrast to the pious modesty of Canute.

the engineers, taught by the decapitation of their predecessors, linked the European and Asiatic shores by two broad causeways resting on ships, one for the soldiers and the other for the baggage. The ship canal through Mount Athos was intended to guard against such risks as had befallen the fleet of Mardonius in doubling its stormy cape. But Herodotus observes that it was a work as much of ostentation as utility, for it would have been easier to have drawn the ships across the isthmus.* This may account for the fact that the canal was not kept in repair; while the convenience of land travellers caused a space of about 200 yards in the centre to be filled up, as is seen from its present state. It scarcely needed the accurate observations of modern travellers to confirm the testimony of Herodotus and Thucydides to the execution of the work; and modern distrust of historic evidence is perhaps less excusable than the incredulous prejudice of the Roman satirist:—

> "Creditur olim
> Velificatus Athos, et quidquid Græcia mendax
> Audet in historia."†

The sight of the soldiers of Xerxes labouring under the lash gave the Greeks a keen foretaste of what they might expect from the Persian yoke.

Xerxes set out from Sardis, in the spring of B.C. 480, with the combined pomp of a royal progress and of an anticipated triumph. The beasts of burthen and the baggage led the way. The army was divided into two columns; and between them rode the monarch in his chariot, preceded by the sacred chariot of Auramazda,‡ and surrounded by his chosen body-guard of horse and foot, and the 10,000 infantry called the "Immortals." Herodotus indicates the pell-mell confusion in which the rear division followed. This part of the force at least must have been a mob, rather than an army, good for nothing but to plunder in

* The implied testimony of Herodotus to the common practice of those times is important; but we may be allowed to doubt whether he was not thinking rather of the light triremes than the ponderous storeships and transports. The width of the isthmus is 2500 yards, and its surface is nowhere higher than 15 feet above the sea; while, both towards the continent and the peninsula, the hills rise abruptly to 800 or 1000 feet. The width of the canal seems to have been 18 or 20 feet. The soil is a light clay. An interesting contribution is made by Herodotus to the history of engineering, when he tells us that the Phœnicians, alone of all the nations that laboured on the work, had the skill to commence on a scale wider than the intended breadth, so that the sides should not fall in as they dug down.

† Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 174.

‡ Herodotus, as on other occasions, says Jove.

the wake of the main body. The whip was freely used to get them across the bridges of the Hellespont, the passage of which occupied seven days and nights without cessation. As Xerxes overlooked the scene from a marble throne, he is said to have wept at the thought that, in a hundred years, not one man of all these myriads would survive. He little thought how much shorter was the term within which this vast instrument of his power was to be broken in his hands. Many are the picturesque incidents of the setting-forth of the expedition, mingled with omens of its fate, for which we must be content to refer to the graphic pages of Herodotus.

The river Hebrus, which drains the great inland basin of Thrace between the chains of Hæmus and Rhodope, forms at its mouth a vast plain, which was named after the town of Doriscus. Here Xerxes, having been joined by his fleet, held a review of the whole armament, which, like the miser's money in the proverb, had to be *measured* in order to count it. The space in which 10,000 men could stand, when closely packed, was made the measure of the whole multitude. The result, according to Herodotus, presented the astounding numbers of 1,700,000 infantry, 80,000 cavalry, and 20,000 men who went with the camels and war-chariots. The 1207 triremes had each a crew of 200 rowers, and 30 fighting men, and there were 3000 smaller vessels, the crews of which averaged eighty a-piece, making a total of 517,610 men on board the ships. The combined force which Xerxes led from Asia is thus estimated at 2,317,610 men; and the subject countries of Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly added 300,000 men, and 120 triremes, manned by 24,000 sailors, making an aggregate of 2,641,610. These, Herodotus expressly tells us, were the fighting men; and he calculates the slaves, attendants, and hangers-on at a still greater number, so that the whole host would not fall far short of FIVE MILLIONS AND A HALF! We know not what results might follow from applying to these numbers the method of curious arithmetical criticism. On the one hand, we may be sure that Herodotus wrote from the best information he could obtain; he proves that great pains were taken to ascertain the numbers;* and they agree tolerably well with the time said to have been occupied in passing the Hellespont: on the other, one cannot doubt that the numbers were exaggerated to gratify the vanity of Xerxes; and the difficulty of feeding such a host is sufficient to

* The Persian royal scribes attended the king to note all the memorable incidents of the campaign.

discredit the calculation. Still, the immence preparations made to meet this very difficulty confirm the general conclusion, that the army of Xerxes was probably the greatest ever set in motion in ancient or modern times. Again and again are we told that it comprised the whole force of the empire, which Æschylus represents as drained of men by its destruction.* Calculated as these vast numbers were to inspire a vague terror, they quite overpassed the limit of military efficiency. The ostentation of Xerxes had gone far to secure his defeat; and Demaratus, the exiled king of Lacedæmon, is said to have warned him, on the very field of Doriscus, that the Spartans at least would not submit without a deadly struggle.

While this deluge of barbarian power rolls round the shores of the Ægæan, where the Greek cities were ruined in preparing meals for Xerxes and his retinue, let us turn to see how his approach was regarded by the Greeks. We can only notice the events directly connected with the invasion; many interesting points relating to the internal history of the several states, such as the madness and death of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, must be left to the historians of Greece. While Xerxes wintered at Sardis, he sent heralds through the Greek states to demand earth and water. The significant exception of Sparta as well as Athens proved the wide scope of the expedition, and united both the leading states in concerting measures of defence. They summoned a congress at the isthmus of Corinth, the first great Panhellenic union since the Trojan War; though the prevailing fear of Persia kept many of the states away. It began its work in a truly national spirit, by reconciling the Grecian states that were at variance, Athens and Ægina in particular. Envoys were next sent to the cities which still stood aloof, and which were so numerous as to indicate a deep and general discouragement. This feeling was increased by the return of the spies who had been sent to Sardis, and whom Xerxes dismissed, after showing them the full magnitude of his armaments. The envoys sent to the great maritime states brought back disheartening replies. Crete sheltered her neutrality under an oracle. Corcyra promised a fleet of sixty vessels, but kept them cruising on the western coast of Peloponnesus, to await the issue of the first conflict. Gelo, the tyrant of Syracuse, now probably the most powerful Hellenic state, is said to have claimed the supreme command, a condition

* Mr. Grote has discussed the whole question with his usual exhaustive ability. (*History of Greece*, chap. xxxviii.)

which neither Athens nor Sparta had the folly to admit. In fact he had upon his own hands a war only second to the Persian in danger to the common interests of Greece.* In the heart of Peloponnesus, the Argives could not bring themselves to imitate the patriotic submission of Athens to the leadership of Sparta: they were even suspected of a secret understanding with Persia. Nearly all Northern Greece, except Athens and Phocis, abandoned the common cause. Thebes only waited the approach of Xerxes to submit, and she was followed by all the cities of Bœotia, except Thespiæ, and Platæa, faithful as ever to the Athenian alliance. Even the Delphic oracle prophesied terrible calamities to the Athenians, and bade them fly far from their devoted land and city. Dreading to carry back such an answer, the envoys placed themselves as suppliants before the god, and it was then that they received the celebrated response, which taught them to look for safety in their *wooden walls*, and named SALAMIS as the destined scene of a great slaughter. The following literal translation preserves something of the ruggedness of the original verses:—

"Pallas can not th' Olympian Jove appease
With oft-repeated prayers and crafty wiles;
But hear thou yet this word, as firm as adamant:—
When all is lost that lies within the bounds
Of Cecrops and divine Cithæron's caves,
Wide-seeing Jove still grants the Triton-born †
The wooden wall to save thee and thy sons.
Abide not then the cavalry and hosts
Of foot, advancing from the continent;
But turn thy back, and live to fight again.
Thou too, O Salamis divine, the sons
Of women shalt destroy, when Ceres' corn
Is cast abroad, or gathered from the ground.‡

Strange as the prophecy sounds after the event, the statements of Herodotus leave no doubt that it was actually delivered, and that it was warmly discussed at Athens; in fact, every great public event was heralded by predictions which passed from mouth to mouth, as Thucydides expressly tells us in the case of the Peloponnesian war; nor were the professional expositors of prophecy silent at such times. They were puzzled to interpret the wooden wall—some contending for the palisade which had of old fenced the Acropolis; but most hit the mark designed by those who doubtless procured the oracle, and whose policy had provided

* See below, p. 401.

† An epithet of Athena.

‡ That is, either in the spring or the autumn.

the very wooden walls which were now pointed out as a refuge.* But the prophets proposed to use the ships for flight rather than resistance, urging that the oracle pointed to Salamis as the scene of a great disaster. "Yes!" rejoined Themistocles, "a slaughter of the enemies of Greece, for which Salamis shall ever bear the epithet given to it in the oracle—the *divine*." In short, this master of statecraft persuaded the Athenians, by his artifice and his eloquence, to the most momentous decision ever adopted, at the price of the greatest sacrifice ever made by a nation. They resolved that, on the approach of the invader, they would abandon their lands and villages, and the very city of Athena, and embark as an entire people, not to seek a distant home, like the Phocæans, but, having deposited their wives and children in Salamis, they would abide the enemy between the land that they had lost and the island that contained all they had still left, to conquer if they could, or to perish if they must. Their resolution saved the liberties of Greece and of the West.

But Northern Greece was not to be abandoned without a struggle; and pressing circumstances called on the Congress to make an effort for its defence. The Thessalians, well knowing that the success of Xerxes would rivet the yoke of the Aleuads on their necks, proposed that a stand should be made in the pass of Tempe, the great gorge through which the Peneius escapes at the north-east corner of the plain of Thessaly. For a distance of about four miles and a half, the foot-hills of Olympus on the one side and the precipices of Ossa on the other enclose a defile not so wide in some parts as a hundred yards, the savage grandeur of which is well described by its modern name of *Lycostomo*, the *Wolf's Mouth.* The road made by the Romans is in one place pent up to a width of thirteen feet; but in the time of Xerxes no

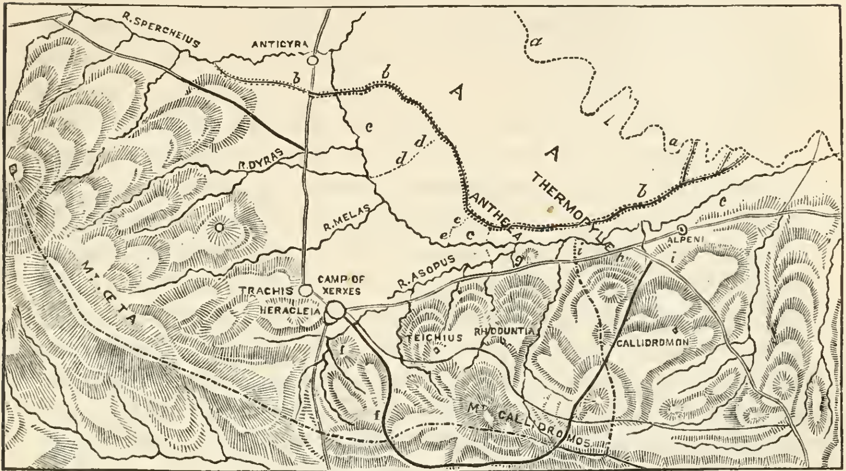
* The reader will have seen before now that we reject the theory which attributes to the oracles any supernatural knowledge, from whatever source derived. Without entering into the full argument, it is enough to say, first, that the facts on which such a theory is based are either insufficiently made out, or capable of explanation by collusion or otherwise; and, secondly, that the studied ambiguity of the responses is a confession of ignorance. It is a common error to suppose that an imposture can only be unmasked by explaining every case of its exercise; but this is superfluous, if the credit of the pretender is broken down by a few decisive tests. In the case before us, however, there can be but little difficulty in tracing the response to the inspiration of Themistocles, whose plan of campaign may from the first have marked the bay of Salamis as the scene of the decisive naval combat. Whether the first part of the response was designed to frighten the Athenians into obedience, or whether the oracle had to earn, by a double answer, wages received from both parties, is of comparatively little importance.

such aid subdued the difficulties of the pass; and a few determined men might have kept a host at bay. The Congress sent 10,000 men, the bulk of their disposable force, to hold the pass; but it was found that Xerxes could land an army in the rear; and they were informed by Alexander, king of Macedonia, of another pass over the range of Olympus, by which the position could be turned. This latter was the very route by which Alexander afterwards guided Xerxes into Thessaly; and the Greeks probably understood the professedly friendly warning as a hint of his intention. They gave up the defence of Tempe, and returned by sea to the isthmus about the time that Xerxes crossed the Hellespont.

The retreat from Tempe sealed the defection of the northern states, some of which had already made their submission. All Thessaly was at once lost; and, as the occupation of Thermopylæ was not yet suggested, the line of defence seemed thrown back to Mount Cithæron, which forms a sort of outwork, covering the isthmus of Corinth. All the states north of that boundary, except Phocis and the two Bœotian cities of Thespiæ and Platæa, sent in their submission to Xerxes on his arrival at the Gulf of Therma. They were compelled to send contingents to swell his force; and the Thessalians especially, given back to the Aleuads, and indignant at being deserted, were zealous in the cause of Persia.

This defection did but stimulate Athens and Sparta, with the few faithful allies in Peloponnesus, to more concentrated efforts. Their unconquerable spirit was expressed by a solemn engagement to punish the seceders in due time, and by a resolution not even yet to let go their hold upon the north. To understand the ever memorable campaign that followed, we must bear in mind the mode of progress necessarily adopted by Xerxes. His army and fleet, so to speak, leant upon each other. It was alike essential for his march to keep near the coast and for the fleet to hug the shore as they advanced southwards from the Gulf of Therma. Nature has provided a spot singularly fitted for a stand against a combined armament advancing in this manner. South of Thessaly the eastern half of Greece is deeply indented by a hollow which runs far inland between the chains of Othrys on the north and Œta on the south. The upper part of this hollow forms the valley of the Spercheius: its lower part the Maliac Gulf, in the mouth of which the northern end of Eubœa lies like a wedge. Unless the fleet were to separate from the army, by passing outside of Eubœa, it must enter the Maliac Gulf through the strait between Thessaly and Eubœa, which is less than five miles wide.

The course of the army round the Maliac Gulf and down the coast of Locris lay through the pass of THERMOPYLÆ (the *Gate of the Hot Springs*), often called simply *Pylæ* (the Gates), between Mount Œta and an impassable morass, which the small rivers running down its sides formed on the sea-shore. A glance at the map will show the nature of the position better than whole pages of description.



MAP OF THERMOPYLÆ AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY.

AA. Alluvial deposits.
aa. Present line of coast.
bb. Present course of the Spercheius.
cc. Ancient line of coast.
dd. Present course of the Dyras.
ee. Present course of the Asopus.
ff. Track of the Persians under Hydarnes.
g. Hot springs at the western entrance, or the false Thermopylæ.
h. Hot springs at the eastern entrance, or the real Thermopylæ.
i. Phocian wall.

The Congress resolved to avail themselves of this double position of defence both by sea and land. Their whole fleet was despatched, under the Spartan Eurybiades, to the roadstead of Artemisium, on the north coast of Eubœa. But, as on the eve of Marathon, a religious scruple interfered with the defence of Thermopylæ. The Olympic games and the great Dorian festival of the Carneia were both close at hand, and the latter imposed an obligation to abstain from offensive military operations. It was hoped that the strength of the pass would enable a small force to keep the Persians at bay till the festivals were over; and so Leonidas, who had succeeded his brother Cleomenes as King of Sparta, was sent with 300 Spartans, 2120 Arcadians, 400 Corinthians, 200 men from Philus, and 80 from Mycenæ—in all, 3100 Peloponnesian hoplites, besides Helots and other light troops. On the march through Bœotia,

Thespiæ sent them an addition of 700 heavy-armed men; and even Thebes, though on the point of submitting to Xerxes, furnished 400 men to the requisition of Leonidas. The Athenians had put their whole force on board their ships, and the Platæans served with them, though till now ignorant of the sea. On his arrival at Thermopylæ, Leonidas summoned to his aid the Phocians and the Opuntian Locrians. The former sent him a force of 1000 men; the latter, afraid to disobey, or desiring to wipe out the disgrace of having sent earth and water to Xerxes, joined Leonidas with their whole force.*

It was about midsummer B.C. 480, and when Xerxes had reached Therma, that the Greek fleet and army set out for their allotted posts. The position taken up by Leonidas was in the middle of the pass, where two openings, each so narrow as scarcely to leave room for a single carriage, were separated by a wider space of about a mile in length.† The eastern or hindmost of these openings was the true Thermopylæ. Here the Phocians had formerly built a wall, besides taking other means to increase the difficulty of the pass, in order to keep off the inroads of the Thessalians. Leonidas repaired this wall, and took up his station behind it, having in his front, first, the broken ground of the pass, and then the little plain, shut in at the western end by the second or "false" Thermopylæ. This western pass does not appear to have been occupied by Leonidas, but it served to coop up the van of the antagonists within a space far too narrow to allow support from their main army. Thus far the pass was absolutely impregnable, when held by such men as the Spartans and their allies, unless the Persian fleet should enter the Euboic sea, and land an army in the rear, or means should be found of turning the position on the land side; and the Peloponnesians might keep their festivals, as the Constantinopolitans long afterwards wrangled over their texts, with all Asia thundering at their gates. Unhappily, if we may use such a word where the issue was so glorious, a wild path led up from Trachis, where Xerxes presently pitched his camp, over the wooded crest of Œta, descending to the Locrian town of Alpeni, in the rear of Thermopylæ. This path was unknown to Leonidas until his arrival; and now he had cause bitterly to regret the scruples which made his strength so small. Another

* It was even said that the Locrians had promised to seize the pass for Xerxes, but their design was anticipated by the advance of Leonidas.

† The past tense is used strictly, on account of the great alterations since caused by the Spercheius.

such army might have made the mountain path as safe as the gates themselves. What, then, if the 8000 citizens of Sparta had been with him? The best he could do was to trust the defence of the path to the Phocians, who knew the ground and volunteered for the service. Thus Leonidas and his little army of 10,000 men* found themselves in the very position which had seemed so dangerous at Tempe, and the Peloponnesian troops began to talk of falling back upon the isthmus, their last line of defence; but the indignant remonstrances of the Phocians and Locrians helped Leonidas to keep the allies to their post, while he despatched urgent demands for reinforcements.

Much now depended on the fleet, which was stationed at Artemisium, under Eurybiades. It consisted of 271 triremes (besides a few smaller vessels), of which 100 were furnished by Athens, besides 20 lent by her to the Chalcidians, 40 by Corinth, 20 by Megara, 18 by Ægina, 12 by Sicyon, and 10 by Lacedæmon.† The Athenian ships were commanded by Themistocles, the Corinthian by Adimantus. Three triremes were sent to reconnoitre the Persian fleet, which still lay in the Gulf of Therma; and their capture by ten Persian ships, which had sailed out on a like errand, formed the first collision of the war. A panic seized the Grecian fleet, which abandoned its all-important post, and fell back to the narrowest part of the Euripus, off Chalcis, leaving Thermopylæ uncovered just about the time that Xerxes, having been guided from Therma by the Macedonians and Thessalians, encamped off the entrance to the pass.

And now for the first time during his progress Xerxes was visited by that divine rebuke of overweening arrogance, in which the Greeks so stedfastly believed. His fleet, on the report of the ten ships that the Thessalian coast was clear, set sail from the Gulf of Therma eleven days after the king had begun his land march, and advanced, in one long day's voyage, down the iron-bound coast of Magnesia, to the open beach of Sepias Acte.‡ Some of

* This is a rough estimate, including the light-armed troops.

† These numbers show in a very interesting manner the distribution of naval force among the chief maritime states. The remaining triremes were—8 Epidaurian, 7 Eretrian, 5 Troezenian, 2 from Styrus in Eubœa, and 2 from the island of Ceos. The 9 "penteconters" (vessels propelled by 50 oars in one rank, 25 on each side) were furnished by Ceos and the Opuntian Locrians.

‡ This part of the coast is lined by the precipices of Mount Pelion. The long peninsula running out to the south, and finally bending round to the west, encloses the Pagasæan bay. The promontory of Sepias is at the S. E. point of this peninsula, just opposite to the N. E. point of Eubœa. Aphetæ, the subsequent station of the

the ships were drawn up on shore, and the rest were crowded at anchor in the roadstead, when a furious storm burst full upon the coast, and raged for three days and nights. Four hundred ships of war and innumerable transports were cast away, with a frightful loss of life and stores. On the fourth day the Persian admiral carried round the shattered remnant of his fleet to the roadstead of Aphetæ, opposite to Artemisium. The Greeks, on hearing of the disaster, plucked up courage, returned to their old station, and captured fifteen stray ships of the enemy.

Xerxes meanwhile lay encamped at Trachis, awaiting the appearance of his fleet. Any serious resistance from the handful of Greeks who occupied the pass did not enter into his calculations. So at least Herodotus informs us; but while we are bound to repeat the story the great historian has told, we must bear in mind the poetical complexion of his narrative. "Though we read thus in Herodotus, it is hardly possible to believe that we are reading historical reality; we rather find laid out before us a picture of human self-conceit in its most exaggerated form, ripe for the stroke of the jealous gods, and destined, like the interview between Crœsus and Solon, to point and enforce that moral which was ever present to the mind of the historian, whose religious and poetical imagination, even unconsciously to himself, surrounds the naked facts of history with accompaniments of speech and motive which neither Homer nor Æschylus would have deemed unsuitable." * And yet we must not forget, on the other hand, how much of the inner spirit of history is revealed only by a writer who unites the genius of a poet to the research of a chronicler. It required imaginative power to bring out the oriental element of exaggeration in the facts themselves.

Four days of expectation exhausted the king's patience, the more that his curiosity was vehemently excited. A horseman whom he had sent to espy the pass, reported that he had seen the Spartans of the advanced guard, in front of the wall, practising their gymnastic exercises as if no enemy were near; and once more the king heard with incredulity from Demaratus, what sort of a foe he had to deal with. On the fifth day he sent the Median and Cissian divisions with the simple order to bring the rebels into his presence. The Medes advanced, eager to blot out the disgrace of which they had borne the chief share at Marathon; but again they encountered the serried phalanx of long spears in the grasp

Persian fleet, lies further west, after rounding the headland, and just at the entrance of the Pagasæan bay.

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. v. pp. 116–7.

of warriors whose broad shields and full panoply were less invulnerable than the courage that armed their hearts, and whose steady ranks and narrow front made numbers of no avail. The wicker shields and tunics of the Medes were as useless for defence as their short spears for attack, and the storm of arrows from the rear rattled vainly on the surrounding rocks. Their repulse, with murderous slaughter, was shared by the guard of Immortals on the following day. Xerxes, who sat in state at the mouth of the pass, to receive the expected prisoners, thrice gave vent to his terror for his army by starting from his throne.

It was at this crisis that the secret of the pass over Mount Œta was revealed to Xerxes by a Malian named Ephialtes.* Hydarnes, despatched about nightfall with a body of Persian troops, easily dispersed the Phocians, and descended into the rear of Thermopylæ shortly after noon. The news of their betrayal had reached the Greeks in time for them to retreat, and we might suppose that a position now untenable might have been abandoned even with glory after such a defence. But the Spartans had another code of honour. Neither general nor soldier might yield his post to the most overwhelming numbers, and what we call the useless sacrifice of life was to them a simple act of duty. The glory of Leonidas and his three hundred Spartan citizens consisted, not in a deed of extraordinary self-sacrifice, but in standing faithful, in the hour of extreme trial, to the ordinary discipline of Sparta. As Demaratus told Xerxes over their dead bodies, there were 8000 citizens left, each ready to do the same. No such stringent law was binding on the other Greeks, and the Peloponnesians in particular might live to do good service behind the ramparts of the isthmus. Well knowing how the great example of heroism, which Greece sorely needed, would be tarnished by the presence of a craven spirit, Leonidas, like another leader of Three Hundred against a host,† ordered the allies to retire. His command was seconded by the prophet Megistias, who sent away his only son, but persisted in staying to share the sacrifice he had predicted. There still remained the 700 Thespians, who would not survive their city, now laid open to the invader; and, strange to say, the 400 Thebans, who may have deemed surrender on the battle-field their best policy.‡ The 300 Spartans were, of course, attended by their Helots.

* The Amphictyons set a price upon his head after the repulse of the invasion, and he was slain by a private enemy.

† Gideon: Judges vii.

‡ See Mr. Grote's criticism of the statement of Herodotus, that they were detained by Leonidas as hostages. (*History of Greece*, vol. v., pp. 122–3.) We are not, how-

The main attack of the Persians was delayed till noon, to give time for Hydarnes to complete the circuit of the mountain-path. Leonidas and his Thousand left their rampart, and came forward into the wider plain, resolved to crown their own sacrifice by the immolation of as many barbarians as possible. Their resistless charge on the crowd of Asiatics, hemmed in by the second pass behind them, forced numbers into the sea and the morass, while numbers more were trampled down by the fresh hosts who were driven forward by the whips of the Persian officers. At length the Grecian spears were broken, and Leonidas himself was killed. Sword in hand they fought over his body, like the heroes on the plain of Ilium for the corpse of Sarpedon or Patroclus. Four times did the Greeks repulse the utmost efforts of the enemy, killing two brothers of Xerxes, with many Persian nobles. The Spartans at length carried off the body of their king. The force led by Ephialtes over the mountain path was now seen approaching, and the Greeks retired behind the shelter of the wall. And now the Thebans, seeing that all was lost, advanced in the attitude of suppliants, exclaiming that they had been among the first to give earth and water to the king. They were admitted to surrender, but their bodies were branded to mark them as royal slaves. The exhausted remnant posted themselves in a close body upon a hillock in the entrance of the narrow pass. Few had swords or daggers left; the rest still fought with hands and teeth. The barbarians at length pulled down a large portion of the wall, and, pouring round them on all sides, overwhelmed them beneath a shower of missiles. They were slain to the last man, Thespians as well as Spartans. When Xerxes came to view the slain, his first transport of rage at the enormous slaughter vented itself, contrary to the Persian custom, in insults on the body of Leonidas, whose head he ordered to be cut off, and his body to be hung upon a cross. The other Greeks were buried where they fell, and monuments were afterwards erected to them on the battle-field by the Amphictyons. One, in honour of all who fell during the whole defence, bore the inscription:—

> "Here did four thousand men from Pelops' land
> Against three hundred myriads bravely stand."

A second commemorated the Three Hundred Spartans—

> "Go, stranger, and to Lacedæmon tell
> That here, obeying her behests, we fell."

---

ever, precluded from the more generous hypothesis, that the Thebans were the faithful representatives of the *Anti-Medizing* minority in their city.

The seer Megistias was honoured by his warm friend, Simonides, with a separate pillar and epitaph—

> "The great Megistias' tomb you here may view,
> Whom slew the Medes, fresh from Spercheius' fords;
> Well the wise seer the coming death foreknew,
> Yet scorned he to forsake his Spartan lords."

On the hillock where the last stand was made, a marble lion was erected to the memory of Leonidas; and the allusion to his name, in the emblem chosen for his monument, is pointed by an epigram doubtfully ascribed to Simonides. We still possess the following fragment of a lyric ode, composed by the same great poet to the glory of the heroes of Thermopylæ:—

> "Of those who at Thermopylæ were slain
> Glorious the doom, and beautiful the lot;
> Their tomb an altar: men from tears refrain,
> To honour them, and praise but mourn them not.
> Such sepulchre nor drear decay
> Nor all-destroying time shall waste—this right have they.
> Within their grave the home-bred glory
> Of Greece was laid; this witness gives
> Leonidas, the Spartan, in whose story
> A wreath of famous virtue ever lives." *

The individual names of the Three Hundred became familiar to the Greeks; Herodotus knew them all, and the traveller Pausanias saw them six hundred years later inscribed on a pillar at Sparta.

Well did they deserve the highest honours from the gratitude of their country, and the admiration of freemen in every age. At a crisis when the few states that had not bowed to the despot were trembling for their fate, their example was a pledge of the issue of the conflict—

> "For Freedom's battle once begun,
> Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,†
> Though baffled oft, is ever won."

Many a wavering resolution must have been fixed by the sense of shame, forbidding to desert the cause baptized with the blood of

* Translated by Sterling. The three former translations are from Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, book vii., chap. 228.

† The literal application of this to the Three Hundred Spartans is a very interesting fact. Herodotus tells us that Leonidas chose for the Three Hundred, men of mature age, and who had sons. "In selecting men for a dangerous service, the Spartans took by preference those who already had families. If such a man was slain, he left behind him a son to discharge his duties to the state, and to maintain the continuity of the family sacred rites, the extinction of which was considered as a great misfortune. In our ideas, the life of the father of a family in mature age would be considered as of more value, and his death a greater loss, than that of a younger and unmarried man." Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. v., p. 100.

Leonidas, or to leave him and his comrades unavenged. The slaughter of the Persians was an offering due to their Manes; the freedom of Greece a reward owing to their devotion. In that freedom were involved the liberties of the whole world; and the Locrian pass deserved, in the most literal sense, the description which has been used as a figure, "THE THERMOPYLÆ OF THE UNIVERSE."

Their glory was contrasted by the disgrace of one solitary survivor. Two Spartans, Eurytus and Aristodemus, were detained at the village of Alpeni by severe ophthalmia during the first days of the contest. When news was brought that the fatal hour was at hand, the former called for his armour, and, supplying the loss of sight by the guidance of his Helot, stood and fell in his place. The latter, too weak in body or resolution to follow the example, was carried back to Sparta by the Greeks who left the field, and only wiped away the infamy which was heaped upon him as "the coward Aristodemus," by a glorious death at Platæa in the following year.

Meanwhile the sacrifice of Leonidas might seem to have been made in vain. During the contest at Thermopylæ, the fleet which had returned to Artemisium had been kept there only by the use of unsparing bribery among the Peloponnesian commanders by Themistocles, with money supplied by the Eubœans. The two indecisive battles which ensued at Artemisium taught the Greeks that they could fight on at least equal terms with the Phœnician, Egyptian, and Carian mariners, who formed the chief strength of the Persian fleet; and a second great storm dashed to pieces, on the rocks of Eubœa, a detachment of 200 ships which had been sent around the island to take the Greek navy in the rear. The loss of Thermopylæ of course rendered the continuance of the Grecian fleet at Eubœa useless as well as doubly dangerous, and they retired through the Euboic channel to the bay of Salamis. On every conspicuous headland Themistocles set up inscriptions, entreating the Ionians not to fight against their countrymen, not so much in the hope of gaining them over, as of weakening the Persian navy by the working of suspicion.

The whole of Northern Greece now lay defenceless before the invader; and, had Xerxes followed the advice of Demaratus, the Isthmus of Corinth would have proved a vain defence for Peloponnesus. It was directly after the slaughter of the Three Hundred at Thermopylæ, that Xerxes consulted the exiled king as to what he might expect from the compatriots of such men, and what would be

the least difficult way of subduing their resistance. Demaratus advised him to send part of his fleet to seize the island of Cythera, as a station from which to assault the coasts of Laconia, and so to recall the Spartans from the defence of the Isthmus. But Xerxes was strongly urged by his brother Achæmenes not to divide his fleet, already weakened by the two great storms, but to keep the whole campaign under his own eye. No prompt effort was even made to pursue the Grecian fleet.

The Greeks had waited the event at the stand at Thermopylæ and Artemisium. No advance had been made even when the festivals were over, nor had the succours been despatched which the Spartans had promised to send into Bœotia to cover Athens; and now their alarm was in proportion to their previous supineness. All the wavering states of the north, and those which had already sent in their submission secretly, sided openly with Xerxes. Thebes opened her arms to a detachment under Demaratus, and the other Bœotian cities received garrisons, still with the exception of the two faithful states. The Thespians fled to the Peloponnesians behind the Isthmus; the Platæans landed from the Athenian ships in the Euripus, only to remove their families and reëmbark in the bay of Salamis. The Peloponnesians abandoned the hope of naval resistance, and set to work with all their might to fortify the Isthmus. The Athenians lay naked to the vengeance which had been aimed first of all at them. Though they had accepted the extreme measures proposed by Themistocles, they seem to have trusted that the necessity would not arise, until their fleet cast anchor at Phalerum, then the port of Athens. Xerxes might be expected at Athens in six days. As soon as an assembly could be convened, the edict was published throughout Attica, that homesteads must be dismantled, property abandoned, and every family must embark as speedily as possible. We should attempt in vain to depict the agony of the sacrifice; the misery suffered by the aged and infirm, the women and the children; the despair of ever revisiting their homes; the desolation to which they returned at last.* No wonder that some of the poorest class still sought a despairing refuge behind the "wooden wall" of the Acropolis, and made their interpretation of the oracle more literal by a timber barricade at the western entrance. But the guardian goddess of the city † gave an omen that she, too, had flitted from

* Three times in modern history the scene has been repeated in Attica.

† Athena Polias. In her ancient sanctuary on the Acropolis a serpent was supposed

her temple; and Themistocles ceased not to remind the people that the oracle had promised safety behind their wooden walls. That all might be united at such a crisis, he himself proposed the recall of Aristides. Cimon, the son of Miltiades, acted in full concert with Xanthippus, his accuser; and the liberality of the wealthy vied with the wise measures of the state in providing for the support of the fleet and the maintenance of the poorer citizens. The voluntary exiles found refuge, some at Ægina, most at Troezen, on the opposite coast of Peloponnesus, while many refused to go further than Salamis, and watched from its rocky shores the crisis of their country's fate. Troezen had been first appointed as the rendezvous of the allied fleet; but the Athenians had entreated Eurybiades to stay at Salamis and assist in the removal of their families. The Athenians had now a new motive for remaining near the island and almost in sight of Athens; and we cannot doubt that Themistocles had marked its bay as the fittest scene of the naval battle on which he knew that the fate of Greece depended.* Before describing that position, we must trace the march of Xerxes to the heights from which he saw the destruction of his hopes.

The astonishment of the Persian at seeing no army appear to support or avenge Leonidas became extreme, when he learnt that the Greeks had been wholly occupied with games, in which a wreath of wild olive was the prize. His whole armament was now directed upon Athens, the contumacious city that had heaped so many insults on his father and himself. His troops plundered and destroyed the towns of the Phocians, his only remaining enemies outside of Attica and the Isthmus; and the same fate befell Thespiæ and Platæa. But the Delphic god knew how to protect his shrine against the Persians, just as, long afterwards, against Brennus and the Gauls. The Delphians, while seeking safety for themselves among the cliffs of Parnassus, were forbidden by the oracle to remove the sacred treasures; and the consecrated arms, which hung in the inmost shrine, were found transferred to the vestibule of the temple. Only sixty of the Delphians took courage to remain; but their defence was needless. The force detached by Xerxes from his line of march to plunder the temple had advanced up the defile between the cliffs of Parnassus as far as the temple of Athena, when the war-cry of the goddess was

to live concealed, and to feed upon the honey-cake which was placed for it every month. At this juncture the cake was for the first time untouched.

* See the remark above, p. 408, note.

heard; a crash of thunder burst above their heads, and two huge crags fell across the path, killing many of the assailants. The rest fled in panic terror, pursued by the small Delphian garrison; and, as they themselves averred, by two unearthly champions, in whom the Greeks recognised tutelary heroes of the place. Such, at least, was the story told to Herodotus by the Delphians, witnesses as interested as the historian was credulous.* The sight of the fallen crags was all the confirmation he needed. We might easily make guesses about an opportune storm, and so forth; but it is enough to say that we have no sufficient historic evidence of a miracle which, if real, would prove the deity of Apollo and Athena.

From the deserted territory of Attica, Xerxes could only glean five hundred prisoners, to represent the host of captives he had expected to carry back to Asia. The feeble remnant made a desperate defence of the Acropolis, which was at last taken, like Sardis, by a sudden escalade.† The garrison were put to the sword, and the temples and other buildings of the Acropolis were plundered and burnt. But from the very midst of the ruins the goddess vouchsafed an omen of the life which would yet flourish on the sacred spot. The wild olive which had won for her the city had been burnt in the conflagration. Two days later, the Pisistratids who had followed Xerxes, having obtained permission to perform expiatory rites for the desecration of the Acropolis, found that the charred stump had thrown out a fresh shoot of a cubit in length. Nor was this the only portent. The day chanced to be that on which, in happier times, the Initiated marched in procession from Athens to Elusis; and the fancy of one of the Pisistratid party, that he heard the solemn chaunt and saw the cloud of dust in the Thriasian plain, was accepted as an omen that the Elusinian deities were passing over to aid the Athenians at Salamis. Such were the indications that faith in the cause of liberty was not confined to the fleet which seemed to be the ark of its refuge; nor can we deny to such a faith a purer source than the worship of Athena or the mysteries of Eleusis.

Just at the time when the Acropolis was burnt, the Persian fleet arrived at Phalerum, the port of Athens; and Xerxes was able, just four months after he had left Asia, to delight his

* Huge fallen blocks are still to be seen in the pass; and the region bears many marks of volcanic action.

† See chap. x., p. 273. The capture of Edinburgh Castle, by Randolph, was a similar feat.

courtiers at Susa with the news that he held the rebellious city in his grasp by sea and land—a city indeed no longer, for nothing remained of it but its ashes. But the doom of overweening arrogance trod close upon his footsteps.

The promontory of Ægaleos now alone divided his immense navy from the Grecian fleet in the bay of Salamis, and all his thoughts were bent upon a great victory at sea. In a council of the naval commanders, Artemisia, the Carian queen of Halicarnassus, alone had the courage to advise that the army should at once be pushed on to the Isthmus, when the Peloponnesian ships would return to guard their own shores, and an easy victory might be gained over the Athenians. But Xerxes was not conducting the campaign on strategic principles. His was to be a triumphant progress, crushing all resistance where it met him; and his pride was above all concerned in carrying away the whole Athenian people as captives. This must have been well known to the kings of Tyre and Sidon, and the other chiefs of the fleet, when, with the one dissentient voice of Artemisia, they advised an attack, which Xerxes fixed for the following day.

Meanwhile the object at which Artemisia had pointed was almost gained by the folly of the Peloponnesians. The fleet in the bay of Salamis numbered 366 ships, of which 200 were Athenian, 40 Corinthian, 30 Æginetan, 20 Megarian, and 16 Lacedæmonian; the remaining 50 belonging to other states. All Italy sent but one trireme, equipped and led by a volunteer, Phaÿllus. This is the statement of Herodotus; but we have another authority of the highest order in the tragedy of Æschylus, entitled "The Persians," acted just seven years after the battle, at which the poet himself was present. Æschylus makes the number of the Greek ships engaged at Salamis 300, besides ten chosen ships. He reckons the Persian navy at 1207 ships, the very number named by Herodotus as present at the review of Doriscus, though the reinforcements received meanwhile do not seem to have been equal to the numbers lost.

The hope of success in a conflict so unequal depended not only on the valour of the Greeks but on the peculiar naval tactics of that time. The great step had as yet been but partly taken, of making the ship herself the chief weapon of attack, and disabling an antagonist by rapid evolutions and repeated charges;* now sweeping away a whole bank of oars, and now urging the sharp stem upon the

* From very early times the Greek ships were furnished with some sort of a beak, to run down an enemy; but this plan was not yet exclusively relied on.

enemy's broadside. Such evolutions, by which the Athenians gained their great battles in the Peloponnesian War, required both an open sea and daring seamanship. But while a naval battle was conducted by grappling ship to ship, so that the hoplites fought hand to hand upon the decks, an open sea gave the superior force the best chance of surrounding the inferior, and crushing them by the weight of numbers. In a strait, or other narrow space, not only was the advantage of numbers neutralised in a great degree, as in a narrow pass on land, but the crowded ships caused far more mutual danger than a crowded army, especially when manned by various nations. The Greeks had chosen Artemisium for the sake of fighting in a narrow space, and the position they now held at Salamis was singularly adapted to the same tactics. That position is shown in the accompanying map (on p. 425).

Between Megara and Athens, the coast makes a great bend to the north, forming the bay of Eleusis, on the east of which the headland of Ægaleos divides Eleusis and the Thriasian plain from the plain of Athens. The island of Salamis lies in the mouth of the Eleusinian bay, its rocky heights forming a connecting link between Ægaleos on the east and the hills of Megara on the west. Ægaleos is divided from the eastern side of the island by a strait widening at the middle into the bay on which stood the town of Salamis. Here lay the Grecian fleet, covering the town of Salamis in front, with all that it held dear to them, while a rampart was thrown up round the heights in the rear, and prepared to sally forth and meet the enemy at either end of the strait. Beyond the eastern opening of the strait lies the headland on the shores of which the Athenians afterwards formed their celebrated harbours, Peiræus on the west, Phalerum on the east, and Munychia at the centre. At present Phalerum was the port of Athens, and the head-quarters of the Persian fleet, which would naturally occupy all the neighbouring ports; its western wing was probably at Peiræus. Such being the position, the Greeks had still the choice to fight or fly; and, in a council called by Eurybiades, the general voice of the Peloponnesians was in favour of retiring to the Isthmus, where they would be in communication with the land army. In vain did Themistocles represent that such a step would not only surrender the best possible position, but would break up the navy into separate contingents, each hastening to defend its own state. The news of the burning of Athens arrived in the midst of the debate, and struck such terror that some at once left the council, to make preparations for flight, and

the rest decided on a retreat next day. Themistocles seems for the moment to have lost heart, oppressed as he was not only with the ruin of the common cause, but with the care of once more removing the families that had taken refuge in Salamis. But a faithful friend induced him to make one more effort. He went the same night to Eurybiades, and persuaded him to convene another council. In the angry debate that ensued, Themistocles was openly insulted by Adimantus, the admiral of the Corinthians, who were naturally the most eager advocates of a retreat to the Isthmus. At length Themistocles made a vehement appeal to Eurybiades, throwing upon him the responsibility of the issue, and threatening that the Athenians would embark their families and sail away to Siris. Thus pressed, Eurybiades took the decision upon himself, and issued orders to stay and prepare for battle.

The next day was that upon which Xerxes held his naval council, and towards evening movements of preparation were observed among the Persian fleet. At the same time news was brought to the Peloponnesians that their brethren at the Isthmus were complaining that they still clung to Attica, which was already lost, instead of hastening to the real point of defence. An open mutiny broke out, and Eurybiades convened a third council, which became a wrangling altercation between the Athenians, Megarians, and Æginetans on the one side, and the Peloponnesians on the other. It was then that Themistocles resolved on the most astute and daring stratagem recorded in military diplomacy. Making a pretext for leaving the council, he despatched across the narrow strait a trusty slave—an Asiatic Greek who could speak Persian—with a message to the Persian admirals—that Themistocles, as a well-wisher to the king's cause, had sent to tell them that the Greeks were seized with fear, and were meditating a hasty flight; it would be the best work they had ever done to hinder them from escaping; in fine, so much were the Greeks at variance, that, instead of resisting, they would probably fight among themselves. The audacity of this act is the more remarkable, that we find Themistocles pleading it as a claim on the favour of Xerxes, when he sought a refuge in his exile; nor does the suggestion seem improbable, that the wily Greek foresaw the possibility that such an occasion might arise, and framed the terms of his message accordingly.

The Persian admirals fell at once into the trap. They landed a detachment on the little island of Psyttaleia, off the north-east point of Salamis, the direction in which the wrecks might be

expected to drift, with the view of rescuing their own men and destroying those of the enemy. Meanwhile, the western division of the fleet sailed through the strait of Salamis, as far as the

MAP OF SALAMIS.

A. A. A. Persian fleet.
B. B. B. Grecian fleet.
C. C. C. Persian army.
D. Throne of Xerxes.
E. New Salamis.
F. Old Salamis.
G. The island Psyttaleia.
H. Peiræus.
I. Phalerum.
1. Athenian ships.
2. Lacedæmonian and other Peloponnesian ships.
3. Æginetan and Eubœan ships.
4. Phœnician ships.
5. Cyprian ships.
6. Cilician and Pamphylian ships.
7. Ionian ships.
8. Persian ships.
9. Egyptian ships.
a. Prom. Silenia or Tropaea. (*Cape of St. Barbara.*)
b. Prom. Sciradium.
c. Prom. Budorus.

headland which terminates the bay on the north-west, followed by the main body, which ranged itself along the shore of Ægaleos across the mouth of the bay, closing the eastern strait, and still extending far beyond it along the Attic coast.* The manœuvre

* See the map, in which the Egyptian ships are represented in the position described by Diodorus, having sailed round Salamis to blockade the western exit from the bay of Eleusis. But the movement seems a superfluous precaution, and Herodotus not only says nothing of it, but seems to imply that the Egyptians took part

was completed while the Greek chiefs were still in fierce debate, which Themistocles took care to prolong. At length Aristides, who had not before returned since the revocation of his sentence of banishment, arrived at Salamis from Ægina, and was the first to announce that the Greek fleet was completely blockaded. Calling Themistocles out of the council he communicated to him the welcome intelligence which made an engagement certain, and undertook to inform the commanders. Even his word was received with incredulity, till the news was confirmed by a Tenian galley, which had just arrived from Ægina, having passed through the Persian fleet under cover of the night. Dissension was at once hushed, and all repaired to their posts. At dawn of day the men-at-arms were mustered on the beach, and after speeches from their commanders, among which that of Themistocles was conspicuous for its noble eloquence, they went on board their ships, and put out to meet the enemy.

The position of the two fleets now bore some resemblance to the lines of battle on the field of Marathon. They were drawn up face to face, the Greeks having their wings covered by the headlands of the bay. Owing to the confined space, their smaller numbers were confronted only by an equal line of the enemy, whose left wing lay useless far beyond the strait. The Persian army was drawn up along the shore; and Xerxes was seated on a lofty throne upon one of the promontories at the foot of Ægaleos, overlooking the whole scene, with the royal scribes beside him to record the behaviour of the combatants.*

> "A king sat on the rocky brow,
> Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis;
> And ships by thousands lay below,
> And men in nations—all were his.
> He counted them at break of day,
> And when the sun set, where were they?"

His discontent with their conduct at Artemisium was well known,

in the action. There is great difference of opinion concerning the positions of the two fleets. Our map represents the view of Colonel Leake, founded on the description of Herodotus, and followed by Mr. Grote and the majority of critics. But Canon Blakesley derives an entirely different view from the Persæ of Æschylus, and makes the open sea outside of the southern entrance of the strait the scene of the battle. See Leake, *Demi of Attica*, pp. 166, foll., and appendix ii., *on the Battle of Salamis;* Blakesley's *Herodotus*, Excursus on book viii., chap. 76; Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. v., note on pp. 172, 173; and Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. iv., p. 341.

* See the very interesting note of Sir Gardner Wilkinson on the position of the throne of Xerxes, with a panoramic view taken from the spot, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. iv , pp. 336–7.

and his presence seemed to inspire them with a zeal fit to cope with the free courage of their antagonists. Among them were the best sailors of the world—Phœnicians, Egyptians, Cilicians, and Greeks of Asia Minor, and the chosen Persian soldiers served on board the fleet. The Ionians seem to have been little affected by the solicitations of Themistocles. Some indeed were backward in the fight, but most showed a zeal fit to disarm suspicion; and some earned the special notice of the king by their gallant captures of ships from the enemy. They were opposed to the Lacedæmonians, Corinthians, and other Peloponnesians, who held the post of honour on the right of the Greek line, while on the left the Athenians confronted the Phœnicians and Egyptians. In the centre, the Æginetans and Eubœans faced the Cyprians, Cilicians, and Pamphylians. The Corinthians and Æginetans were the only Greeks whose maritime experience could compare with that of the enemy. The Athenians had only recently created their navy; but they fought with the view of their native shores before them, with the eyes of their wives and children upon them, with the memory of Marathon in their hearts. How weak was the courage, born of fear, which the presence of Xerxes exacted from his slaves, compared with the noble thoughts which Æschylus heard uttered by man to man along the line!—

> "Sons of the Greeks, advance!
> Your country free, your children and your wives,
> The temples of your fathers' gods,
> Your fathers' sepulchres—
> All—all are now at stake." *

As the rising sun of a September morning cast the shadows of Ægaleos across the bay, the Greek fleet put out from the shore with the accustomed notes of the war-hymn to Apollo. The Persians advanced to meet them with equal ardour. For a moment their steady front struck awe into the Greeks. They began to back their oars, and were already near the beach, when a single ship darted from the ranks and became locked in close combat with a Phœnician galley.† At the same moment the phantom of a woman appeared to hover over their line, exclaiming, "Wretches! how far are you going to

* Æschylus, *Persæ*, 402.

† Herodotus ascribes this deed t Ameinias of Pallene, an Athenian; but he tells us that the Æginetans claimed it for the galley which had arrived from Ægina the day before, bringing the sacred family of the Æacidæ. Æschylus says that "*one Greek ship* began the action," a simplicity of phrase which gives some countenance to the statement of Diodorus, that Ameinias was the brother of the poet, whose other brother, Cynægirus, had gained immortal glory at Marathon (see p. 394).

back water?" The whole fleet advanced to the support of the adventurous ship, and the action became general along the line.

The simple narrative of Herodotus at once sets before us the nature of the brief but decisive combat. In courage the Persians surpassed themselves, each man feeling that the eye of the king was upon him. But "as the Greeks fought in order and kept their line, while the barbarians were in confusion and had no plan in anything they did, the issue of the battle could scarce be other than it was." Crowded into a narrow space,—the front rank retiring while the rear rank attempted to advance,—the Persian ships ran aboard of one another, oars and helms* were broken,—and the vessels lay helpless on the water. The confusion soon became a panic, aggravated by the want of concert and confidence between the various nations that composed the fleet. Some ran down friendly ships in their eagerness to escape. Artemisia, the queen of Halicarnassus, whose good advice before the battle had been rejected by Xerxes, having fought her ship with distinguished gallantry, was escaping from the rout, hotly pursued by the Athenian Ameinias. The ship of another Carian prince lay full in her course; she charged it and sank it with its whole crew. Ameinias, not knowing that the ship before him was that of the obnoxious woman who had dared to fight with men, and for whose capture the Athenians had offered a high reward,† took this act as a sign of desertion to the Greeks, and gave up the pursuit. Xerxes noticed the deed, and his courtiers, knowing Artemisia's vessel by her flag, exclaimed, "Seest thou, Master, how well Artemisia fights, and how she has just sunk a ship of the enemy?" "Yes!" replied the king, "my men have behaved like women; my women like men!" In his extreme vexation, he was ready, says Herodotus, to find fault with every one. Some Phœnicians, whose ship had been destroyed, escaped to the shore, and came before the king, accusing the Ionians of being to blame for all. At that very moment Xerxes saw a Samothracian vessel which had just sunk an Athenian galley, herself run down by an Æginetan. The crew of the foundering ship plied their javelins so well as to clear the deck of the vessel that had disabled theirs,

* It should be remembered that the ancient ships were not steered by a rudder, but by a pair of oars with broad blades.

† Mr. Grote points out the similar feeling of indignation against Artemisia II., expressed by Demosthenes, *De Rhodiorum Libertate*, chap. x., p. 197. Herodotus, as himself a Halicarnassian, would have special information respecting the exploits of Artemisia.

which they then took by boarding. Turning fiercely on the Phœnicians, Xerxes ordered their heads to be struck off, that they might not again cast the blame of their own misconduct on braver men. No scene could more truly exhibit the Asiatic despot,—displaying a generous admiration of noble deeds and a wild sense of justice amidst the ungovernable fury of his defeated hopes, and finding time for an execution while carnage was raging among his men.

On the side of the Greeks, the Athenians and Æginetans were the most active in completing the victory. The former, wheeling round from their station on the left, charging, sinking, and capturing as they pressed on, drove the routed squadrons down the strait into the arms of the latter, who cut them off as they attempted to escape to Phalerum. Nor did the Persian garrison on the island of Psyttaleia avail them aught; for Aristides carried across the hoplites who had been left as a guard on Salamis, and put all on the island to the sword. The loss in the battle is not stated by Herodotus or Æschylus: later writers estimate it at forty Greek ships and two hundred Persian, besides those captured with all their crews. The loss of life was still greater in proportion among the Persians, as few of them could swim, while the Greeks easily swam ashore. Among the noble Persians slain was another brother of Xerxes, in addition to the two already killed at Thermopylæ. Thus ended the first of the three great sea-fights which have secured the liberties of the world: the second was the defeat of the Spanish Armada: the third the victory of Trafalgar.

The remains of the fleet, which had escaped to Phalerum, still far outnumbered the navy of the Greeks. The latter returned to their camp at Salamis, collected the dead bodies and the wrecks that were washed ashore, and prepared to receive a second attack. But once more all arguments of strategy yielded in the mind of Xerxes to personal considerations. As overweening confidence had hampered his advance, so now cowardice determined his retreat. He persuaded himself that his fleet was worthless and distrusted its fidelity. On the Phœnicians especially he vented his rage in such reproaches that they consulted their safety by a flight which deprived him of the best portion of his navy. Remembering the fate which had nearly befallen his father at the Danube, he frightened himself with the suspicion that the Ionians might lead the fleet to the Hellespont and destroy the bridge of boats. Nevertheless, he affected to make preparations

for a fresh engagement, and even began both a mound and a chain of ships across the mouth of the strait of Salamis. Mardonius, however, was not deceived. How fully he would be held responsible, as the chief adviser of the expedition, he knew as well as if he had heard the curses heaped upon his name when the second messenger of Xerxes surprised the people of Susa amidst their rejoicings for the fall of Athens. Once was enough to have returned to Persia in disgrace; nor would he yet despair of conquest. So he framed his advice to suit the king's inclination and his own ambition. "Grieve not, Master," said he "over thy loss. Our hopes do not rest on a few planks, but on our brave steeds and horsemen. Not one of these men will dare to land and meet our army. The shame of defeat affects only the Phœnicians and Egyptians, the Cyprians and Cilicians. Thy own faithful Persians are unbroken and undisgraced. Make them not a laughing-stock to the Greeks." He advised Xerxes to advance upon Peloponnesus, either immediately or at his leisure, for it was completely in his power; or, if the king were minded to return home, Mardonius asked to be left behind with 300,000 chosen troops, and he would bring Greece beneath his sway. This advice was seconded by Artemisia, who represented that the whole danger would fall upon Mardonius and his troops, whom at the worst Xerxes could afford to lose; while, so long as his own person and throne were safe, he might yet cause the Greeks to fight many a battle for their freedom. Nor did she omit to flatter the king with the idea that he would now return in triumph, since the chief purpose of his expedition was fulfilled by the destruction of Athens. This advice was the more acceptable to Xerxes as it exactly reflected his own thoughts. "I for my part," says Herodotus, "do not believe that he would have remained, had all his counsellors, both men and women, united to urge his stay, so great was the alarm he felt." The fleet were despatched towards the Hellespont, to guard the bridges against the king's return. Mardonius was ordered to choose his troops and make his promise good; and Xerxes prepared to return at leisure with the bulk of the immense army, which had achieved nothing save the dear-bought victory of Thermopylæ.

The Greeks pursued the retiring fleet as far as the island of Andros. Here a council was held, at which Themistocles, like Miltiades at the Danube, advised that they should press forward to the Hellespont and break down the bridges. Eurybiades pointed out the difference between shutting an enemy out, to be destroyed

by the barbarians, and shutting in an army powerful enough to conquer Europe, when driven to action by necessity.* Themistocles yielded, and urged the same advice upon the Athenians, who were eager for the pursuit, promising that they should sail in the spring to the Hellespont and Ionia. Then he sent his trusty messenger for the second time to Xerxes, who was still in Attica, to inform him that he had dissuaded the Greeks from destroying the bridges over the Hellespont. The fleet did not return to Salamis till Themistocles had raised contributions on some of the islands without the knowledge of the other commanders.

Meanwhile Xerxes retired with his land forces into Thessaly, where Mardonius remained to winter, having selected his 300,000 men from the best troops of the empire, Persians, Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians. The rest retraced their steps through Macedonia and Thrace, suffering severely from famine and disease. The magazines had been used up during their advance; the harvest lately gathered in was soon exhausted, and the winter was rapidly approaching.† The march to the Hellespont occupied five-and-forty days. The bridges which had caused the king so much anxiety, had been swept away by a storm, and the army was carried over the Hellespont in ships. That Xerxes himself crossed in a fishing boat, as later writers state, is a circumstance not needed to point the contrast between the pomp of his advance and the humiliation of his return. He reached Sardis just eight months after the premature triumph of his departure. He had marched forth in the prime of youth and manly beauty, buoyant in hope, and not devoid of generous impulses, to achieve a conquest and exact a vengeance demanded by filial piety as well as ambition; he returned disgusted with all active enterprise, to bury himself amidst those intrigues of the court and seraglio at Susa, of which we have so vivid a picture in the Book of Esther.‡ He perished fifteen years afterwards by a conspiracy of his chief officers (B.C. 465). His retreat may be regarded as the virtual decision of that great conflict between eastern despotism and European liberty, which forms one of the most important chapters in the history of the world.

* The obvious force of this argument suggests that Themistocles only raised the question in order to take credit with the king for the ultimate decision.

† Respecting the exaggerated accounts, which Herodotus felt bound to reject, see the criticisms of Mr. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. v., pp. 190, 191.

‡ Respecting the identity of Xerxes with the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther, and the distinction between Esther and Amestris the cruel queen of Xerxes, see the articles *Ahasuerus* and *Esther*, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible.*

Meanwhile a contest hardly less momentous had been decided on the plains of Sicily. While the hosts of Xerxes were poured into Hellas on the north-east, she was assailed on the south-west by a more active and perhaps more dangerous enemy. We cannot now stay to discuss the great question—which would have been more fatal to the liberties of Europe, and the world, the despotism of Persia, or the tyranny of the commercial oligarchy of Carthage. The rise of that republic will be more conveniently related when we come to speak of her wars with Rome. She now appears in her full strength, contending with the Greek colonies for the possession of Sicily. We have already seen that the government of tyrants was set up in those colonies about the epoch of the Persian Wars. Syracuse, one of the last to admit such a government, was raised by her new rulers to a place among the most powerful states in Greece. It was in the interval between the battles of Marathon and Salamis (B.C. 485), that Gelo, the tyrant of Gela, then by far the most powerful of the Sicilian cities, was applied to by the exiles of the aristocratic party at Syracuse, to restore them. He took the city without a blow, and at once assumed despotic power, resigning Gela to his brother Hiero. But he altogether changed the relative importance of the two cities, by removing half the inhabitants of Gela, and all those of Camarina, to people the new quarter, Achradina, which he added to Syracuse.* He soon obtained what may be truly described as an imperial power over the Greek cities of Sicily; and the account of his resources at the time of the invasion of Xerxes, even if exaggerated, confirms the statement of Herodotus, that no other Hellenic power could bear comparison with that of Gelo. He felt himself strong enough to attempt the reduction of the whole island beneath his rule. Thereupon commenced "that series of contests between the Phœnicians and Greeks in Sicily, which, like the struggles between the Saracens and Normans in the eleventh and twelfth centuries after the Christian era, were destined to determine whether the island should be a part of Africa or a part of Europe, and which were only terminated, after the lapse of three centuries, by the absorption of both into the vast bosom of Rome." † The first collision had taken place about B.C. 509, when the attempt of the Spartan prince, Dorieus, to settle a colony in the parts already occupied by the non-Hellenic inhabitants of Eryx and Egesta, was

* We shall have to notice the topography of Syracuse more particularly in the following chapter, in connection with the siege by the Athenians.

† Grote, *History of Greece*, vol., v., p. 277.

defeated by the aid of the Carthaginians. Gelo now undertook to avenge the death of Dorieus, and to expel the Carthaginians and their allies from the north-west corner of the island. The war had lasted for some time, when the Carthaginians resolved to take advantage of the intended invasion of Greece; so that just when Gelo was invited by the Athenian and Spartan envoys to aid in their defence, he was threatened with an attack in Sicily.

We can scarcely doubt that this attack was arranged between Xerxes and the Carthaginians, like the alliance of Carthage with Antiochus the Great against Rome; only on this occasion the allies timed their movements with far better concert.* In the same spring that witnessed the advance of Xerxes from Sardis, a great armament sailed from Carthage for Sicily, under Hamilcar, the Suffes or general, with the avowed purpose of restoring Terillus, the exiled tyrant of Himera; for there was a Punic faction among the Sicilian Greeks, just as there was a Medizing party in the mother country. Hamilcar's navy was even more numerous than that of Xerxes, consisting of 3000 ships of war, besides transports. The land force consisted of 300,000 infantry, the ships that carried the cavalry and war-chariots having been dispersed by a storm. The list of nations enumerated by Herodotus as composing this army shows that the Punic republic had already begun the system of dependence on mercenary forces. There were Phœnicians, Libyans, Iberians (from Spain), Ligurians (from the Gulfs of Lyon and Genoa), Helisyci (perhaps Volscians), Sardinians, and Corsicans. They disembarked at Panormus (*Palermo*), and marched forward to besiege Himera, which prepared for an obstinate defence. Gelo gathered his whole army for its relief, consisting only of 50,000 foot and 500 horse. But an opportune accident enabled him to throw confusion into the camp of the enemy. Having intercepted a letter from Selinus, promising to send a body of cavalry to the aid of Hamilcar, Gelo instructed a party of his own horse to personate this reinforcement. They were received into the Carthaginian camp, where they at once caused a disorder, which was doubtless aggravated by mutual distrust among the mingled nations. Gelo chose this moment for his main attack. A fierce and bloody battle raged from sun-rise till late in the afternoon, ending in the total rout of the Carthaginians, who are said to have left 150,000 men upon the field. Hamilcar him-

* Such an understanding, probable in itself, is said by the historian Ephorus to have existed. The negotiations may have been conducted by the Phœnicians on behalf of Xerxes.

self was among the slain, and romantic stories were related concerning the manner of his death.* The search of Gelo for his body was in vain. The Greeks erected a monument to him on the field of battle; and on that very monument his grandson, Hannibal, offered 3000 prisoners from Himera (B.C. 409). The rest of the Carthaginian army, for the most part, fled into the mountains, and were made prisoners by the Agrigentines, who employed them on the great works of art which adorned their city. The other cities subject to Gelo, and especially Syracuse, had their share of these public slaves, who worked in chains, either for the state, or for masters to whom they were let out. The battle of Himera was fought, according to Herodotus, on the same day as that of Salamis.

The easy terms of peace which the Carthaginians obtained from Gelo, and the alarm caused by their aggressions on the coasts of Italy a few years later, raise doubts whether their losses at Himera are not greatly exaggerated. At all events, their defeat was followed by a period of high prosperity among the Greek states of Sicily. Gelo died two years after his great victory (B.C. 478), and was honoured with obsequies and monuments on the most magnificent scale. His brother Hiero, the patron of Æschylus, Simonides, and Pindar, reigned with still greater splendour; and while gaining sea-fights against the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians, was one of the most distinguished victors at Olympia (B.C. 478—467); but his noble qualities were sullied by the innate vices of despotism; and these vices, displayed without restraint by his brother and successor Thrasybulus, provoked a rebellion, in which Syracuse was aided by the other cities. Thrasybulus was expelled; the dynasty of Gelo was overthrown; and the epoch which marks the issue of the Persian Wars is also that of the establishment of popular governments in all the Sicilian cities (B.C. 465). This revolution was not effected without angry dissensions, of which we shall see the bitter fruits in the following chapter.

Meanwhile the Greeks of the mother country had still to expel the Persians from their soil. It is said that, before Xerxes left Thessaly, the Lacedæmonians sent a herald to demand of him satisfaction for the death of their king and fellow-citizens slain by him at Thermopylæ. Xerxes laughed, and for some time gave no reply. At length, pointing to Mardonius, he said, "Mardonius here shall give them the satisfaction they deserve to

* One was that, when he saw that all was lost, he cast himself as a burnt offering into the fire in which he had been sacrificing whole victims.

get." And well did they take it on the field of Platæa. But first their glorious victory claimed rejoicings and rewards. Sophocles, selected at the age of sixteen, for his beauty, to lead the chorus of youths around the trophy erected by the Athenians on Salamis to celebrate the victory which Æschylus soon after represented on the stage, may be taken as a type of the outburst of intellectual life which was among the most precious fruits of the freedom won that day. The highest rank in honour, and the greatest share of the booty, were awarded to the Æginetans; the second to the Athenians. Three Phœnician triremes were dedicated, as the first fruits of the spoil, to Ajax at Salamis, to Athena at Sunium, and to Poseidon at the Isthmus, and splendid presents were sent to Delphi. For personal valour the first place was awarded to the Æginetan Polycritus and the Athenians Eumenes and Ameinias. The contest for the first and second prizes of skill and wisdom among the commanders had an issue which has become proverbial as a test of merit. When the votes were collected, each of the chiefs was found to have claimed the first prize for himself, but all had awarded the second to Themistocles—a certain proof that he really merited the first. Nevertheless, as no first prize was awarded, the second could not be bestowed. But, on a visit to Sparta soon afterwards, he received honours such as had never before been paid by that jealous republic to a foreigner. While Eurybiades was rewarded by his fellow-citizens with a crown of olive, a crown precisely similar was voted to Themistocles, together with a splendid chariot, as a special prize for sagacity; and, on his departure, he was escorted as far as the frontier of Tegea by three hundred chosen youths. We shall soon see the important results of the relations thus established between Themistocles and Lacedæmon.

Meanwhile Mardonius was wintering in Thessaly with his whole forces, except 60,000 men who had been detached under Artabazus to escort Xerxes on his march through Thrace. All Northern Greece remained faithful to the Persian king, except the Phocians, who were too weak to make any movement. The only open revolt was at a spot which has a most interesting relation to the subsequent history of Greece—the Chalcidic peninsular in the north-west corner of the Ægæan. The Corinthian colony of Potidæa, on the isthmus of Pallene, threw off the Persian yoke, and solicited the neighbouring city of Olynthus to join in the rebellion. Artabazus, on his return from the Hellespont, easily reduced Olynthus, exterminated its mixed population, and colonized it with Greeks from

Chalcis. We shall ere long see how Olynthus filled its new place as an Hellenic state. But the position of Potidæa proved impregnable, defended as it was on both sides by walls built across the narrow isthmus; and after wasting three months before it, Artabazus rejoined Mardonius.

The Persian commander opened the campaign of B.C. 479 by advancing into Bœotia; but, before commencing active operations he made an attempt to detach the Athenians from the common cause through the mediation of Alexander, king of Macedonia. He offered them the active friendship of the great king, reparation for the damage done in Attica, and a large accession of territory. The Macedonian prince found the Athenians amidst the ruins of their city, suffering from the loss of their last harvest and destitute of seed for the new year. The Lacedæmonians sent envoys, entreating them to resist the tempting offers, and promising relief for their present distress. The Athenians dismissed Alexander with the message that never, till the sun should change his course, would they become the friends of Xerxes; and they assured the Lacedæmonians that so long as a single Athenian survived, no alliance should be made with Persia. Declining their offers of present aid, they pressed them to send an army into Bœotia for the common defence against Mardonius. This the Spartan envoys promised; but they had no sooner returned home, than the Peloponnesians concentrated all their force on completing the defences of the Isthmus; and the Athenians recrossed the strait to Salamis, leaving their country a second time to the mercy of the Persians (May-June, B.C. 479). Even then, though indignant at the selfish policy of their allies, they spurned the renewed offers made by Mardonius from Athens, which he had reoccupied without injuring the country or the new buildings of the city. A single senator who dared to counsel submission was stoned to death by the common impulse of his colleagues and the people, while the Athenian women stoned his wife and children. But the consciousness of wrong infused a wholesome dread into the minds of the Spartans, lest Athens should after all consult her own safety; and then her fleet would have rendered useless the defences of the Isthmus. They at length posted a powerful army at the Isthmus, under their king Pausanias, ready to advance into Bœotia, to which country Mardonius had retired, after once more ravaging Attica. The Persian chose his position in the plain of the Asopus, as fitted for his cavalry, in a friendly country, and near his magazines at Thebes; and he fortified an immense camp between Platæa and

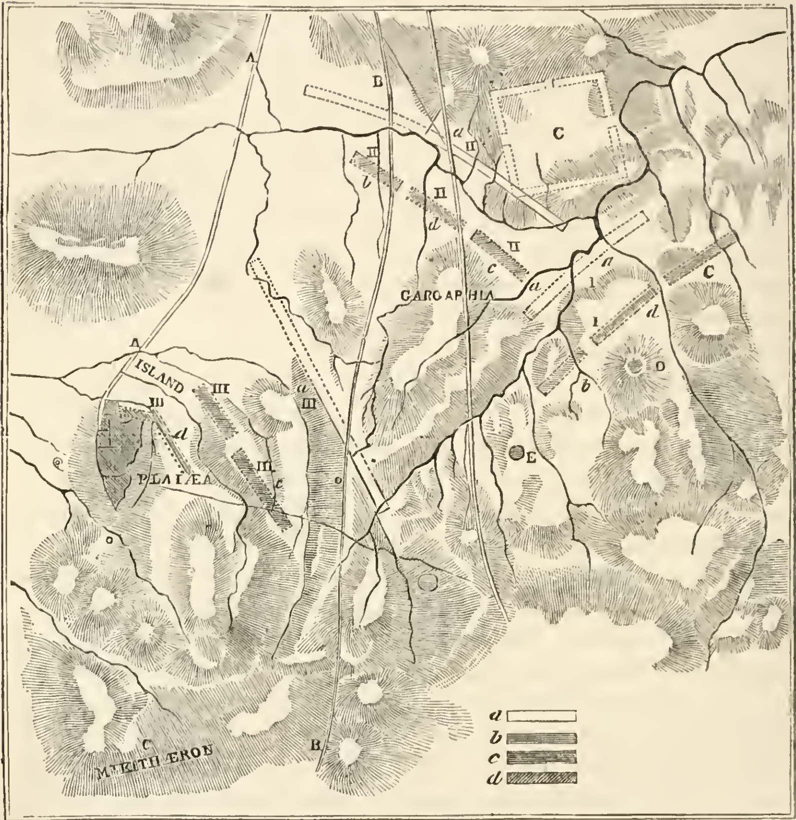
Erythræ. His forces appeared equal to the task he had undertaken; but they were demoralized by the king's retreat, and Artabazus was jealous of Mardonius. The feeling of the Persians is attested by a very interesting anecdote, which Herodotus heard from a person who was present at a banquet given by the Theban commander to Mardonius. A Persian, who was placed with him on the same couch, began to lament that of all his countrymen feasting there or lying in the neighbouring camp, but few would soon survive. And, on being asked why he did not utter this conviction to Mardonius, the Persian replied, that men could not avert what God had decreed, nor would those doomed to destruction believe the warning of their fate; adding the memorable words, so often repeated by those who would benefit men in spite of themselves: "The worst of human pains is this, to have a mind full of counsel, and yet the power to effect nothing." * Among the Medizing Greeks, only the Thessalians and Bœotians were staunch; the Phocians were held in such suspicion, that, if we may trust the story so picturesquely related by Herodotus, they were actually surrounded by the Persian cavalry, with the intention of massacring them, when their firm attitude induced Mardonius to change his mind.

At length the Spartans and their allies advanced from the Isthmus to the plain of Eleusis, where they were joined by the Athenians and Platæans, who crossed over from Salamis under Aristides. They numbered 5000 Spartans, 5000 Corinthians, 3000 Sicyonians, 3000 Megarians, 8000 Athenians, and 600 Platæans. The contingents of other states made up a total of 38,700 heavy-armed soldiers. There were no cavalry, and few archers. Herodotus reckons the Helots in attendance on the Spartans at 35,000, and the other light-armed troops at 34,500, besides 1800 Thespians so badly armed as to be reckoned only in this class. The entire Greek army amounted to 110,000 men.

Pausanias led them from Eleusis over the ridge of Cithæron, and hung upon its northern declivity near Erythræ, overlooking the camp of Mardonius, without venturing into the plain. An attack of the Persian cavalry, under Masistius, a chief whose courage equalled his splendid appearance, was repulsed by the

* *Herod.* ix. 16. *ἐχθίστη δὲ ὀδύνη ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν.* Those familiar with Dr. Arnold's Letters will recognise the quotation. Mr. Grote remarks on the strong impression we receive of the sources of information possessed by Herodotus, when we find him in direct communication with a person who had feasted with Mardonius.

Megarians and Athenians; and the death of the commander, whose body the Persians strove fiercely but in vain to recover, seemed to give an omen of the coming victory. The wailings of the Persians were echoed from the surrounding hills, and their whole army assumed the signs of mourning, while the Greeks



BATTLE OF PLATÆA.

a. Persians.	I. First Position occupied by the opposing armies.	A. Road from Platæa to Thebes.
b. Athenians.	II. Second Position.	B. Road from Megara to Thebes.
c. Lacedæmonians.	III. Third Position.	C. Persian camp.
d. Various Greek allies.		D. Erythræ.
		E. Hysiæ.

paraded the body through their ranks in a cart. Thus encouraged, and finding his position on the high ground short of water, Pausanias assumed the defensive by descending into the plain. The nature of his movement, and the consequent change of position effected by Mardonius, will be at once understood from the plan.

The two armies now faced each other on opposite sides of the Asopus. The right of the Greeks was held by the Lacedæmonians, the left by the Athenians, the centre by the troops of the other states. Mardonius deviated from the usual Persian array, which made the centre the post of honour, and himself took the left, with the chosen Persians and Medes, opposite to the Lacedæmonians. On the right he set his Macedonians and Greeks against the Athenians; the rest of the Asiatic soldiers filled the centre. Both sides hesitated to begin the encounter; and Mardonius used the pause for intrigues with some of the wealthier Athenians, which were firmly repressed by Aristides, while the Persian cavalry harassed the rear of the Greeks and cut off their supplies. But after two days Mardonius became impatient, and, against the advice of Artabazus and the Thebans, he prepared for a decisive battle. During the night his intention was communicated to Aristides by Alexander the Macedonian, who doubtless felt it high time to make his peace with the Greeks. On hearing the news, Pausanias took the step, most extraordinary for a Spartan general, of exchanging places between the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians, on the ground that the latter had already met and vanquished the formidable Persians, whom the Spartans had not yet encountered. The sign of alarm was not lost upon Mardonius, who forthwith attempted to shake the Greek array by repeated charges of cavalry, and not without success.* Thus harassed, Pausanias decided on withdrawing, during the night, into the so-called "Island," between two branches of the river Oëroë, which flow down from Cithæron. The confusion attendant upon a night march over unknown ground, and especially the obstinacy of one of the Spartan captains, who long refused to retreat when in presence of an enemy, caused such disorder and delay, that, while the Greek centre overshot their mark and retreated quite to Platæa, the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans were overtaken by the Persians before they had come up with the Athenians. The Persian archers, forming a breastwork of their wicker shields, poured in a galling flight of arrows, which Pausanias was obliged to bear till the victims, which even at this crisis he would not omit to offer, should become favourable. At length his prayer to Hera, whose temple stood in full view on the citadel of Platæa, was answered by a favourable omen, which was anticipated by the

* We can hardly decide whether the story of his challenge to a single combat with champions of equal numbers—Lacedæmonians against Persians—is anything more than a Homeric embellishment. See *Herod.* ix. 71.

onset of the Tegeans. The Lacedæmonians rushed to their support; the frail breastwork went down before the charge, and the Persians again found themselves, as at Marathon and Thermopylæ, engaged in close conflict with the serried phalanx, long spears, and full armour of the Greeks. They fought with even more than their wonted bravery, grasping the spears and breaking them with their hands. Mardonius, who doubtless felt that there was no return for him to Persia if he lost this field, was conspicuous in front on a white charger, till he was slain by a Spartan, whose name was curiously fitted to his exploit.* Nearly all his body-guard, of a thousand chosen men, died around him; the wearied Persians gave way when they saw their leader fall; the other Asiatics turned their backs without a blow; and the routed army fled for shelter to their palisaded camp behind the Asopus. One division of 40,000 Persians, under Artabazus, had been left behind in the rapid advance of Mardonius, and took no part in the battle. Artabazus, after trying in vain to moderate the rashness of his commander, had formed his division as a reserve, and was advancing to the scene of action, when he saw the total rout of the main army. He immediately retreated, and, passing by the camp and Thebes itself, began his march back to Asia.

Meanwhile the Athenians and Platæans, summoned by a hasty message from Pausanias, came up on the Spartan left, and encountered the Thebans and Bœotians. Those of the Greeks who had made the greatest sacrifices for their country stood front to front with those who had most completely sold themselves to the invader; and, besides, their animosity was inflamed by old domestic feuds. After a fierce contest, the Bœotians were forced back to Thebes, their retreat being covered by their cavalry. The other Medizing Greeks kept aloof from the fight, and fled as soon as they saw the defeat of the Thebans. Indeed it is remarkable how small a portion of the two armies was engaged on the field of Platæa. The battle was really decided by "the Dorian spear"† in the conflict of the Spartans and Tegeans with the Medes and Persians; on the left it was confined to the Athenians and Bœotians. The other contingents of the Greek army were far in the rear; the rest of the Asiatics fled without a stroke. The victory was followed up by the storming of the fortified camp with a slaughter which must have been truly fearful, to give even a colour of truth to the

* Aeimnestus, signifying *ever to be remembered.*

† Æschylus, *Persæ*, 817.

statement that out of the 300,000 soldiers of Mardonius only 3000 survived, besides those who had left the field with Artabazus.* Herodotus calculates the Greek loss (doubtless of hoplites only) with the precision of a muster-roll:—91 Spartans, 16 Tegeans, and 52 Athenians!† Ten days were occupied in burying the dead and dividing the spoil, which contained riches such as the Greeks had never seen before. The body of Mardonius was stolen away and buried,—it was never certainly known by whom,—after Pausanias had indignantly repelled a suggestion to retaliate upon it the insults of Xerxes to the corpse of Leonidas. The Greek army then marched against Thebes, to punish the Medizing leaders, who were given up after a siege of twenty days, and were put to death by Pausanias. Platæa, close to which the battle had been fought, and whose citizens had deserved so well of their country, was invested with a sacred character. She was finally released from the political ascendancy which Thebes had so long claimed over her, and the inviolability of her territory was guaranteed by an oath, on the condition of her celebrating the Feast of Liberty (the *Eleutheria*) with games every four years. To maintain the liberty thus commemorated, the allies ratified by another oath a permanent league for the common defence against Persia. They agreed to contribute fixed contingents towards a force of 10,000 hoplites, 1000 cavalry, and 100 triremes; and an annual meeting of deputies from each state was appointed to be held at Platæa. This measure, as much required in the present state of things as it was patriotic in its principle, is ascribed to Aristides. We shall soon see how both this scheme and the inviolability of Platæa were destroyed in the fatal rivalry of Athens and Lacedæmon.

The soil of Greece itself was now free from the invader; and another triumph had been gained at the same time on the coast of Asia. The Persian fleet, after conveying Xerxes and his army across the Hellespont, wintered at Cyme and Samos, and assembled at the latter station, 400 triremes strong, in the spring of B.C. 479. The Greek squadron of 110 ships mustered at Ægina, and seemed bent on an active campaign. Envoys from Chios, Samos, and other Ionian states, promised that the colonies would revolt as soon as the Grecian sails were seen upon their shores. But a voyage across the Ægæan, where the flag of Persia had so long flouted

* *Herod.* ix. 70.

† Plutarch makes the Greek loss 1360. We have already had occasion to remark upon the small numbers slain on the victorious side in other battles of the like nature.

the sky unchallenged, was too much for Spartan caution, and the Spartan king Leotychides, who commanded the fleet, refused to advance beyond Delos. At length the hesitation, which all the eloquence of the Samian envoy Hegisistratus* had failed to overcome, gave way before the omen suggested by his name, and the fleet sailed for Samos. The Persian navy retired, on their approach, to the promontory of Mycalé, near Miletus, to co-operate with the army of 60,000 men under Tigranes, on which the safety of Ionia depended. By dismissing the Phœnicians, and drawing their other ships on shore, and joining their forces to those of Tigranes, they virtually abandoned the sea to the Greeks:—such was the terror inspired by Salamis. The Spartan king, who had needed fresh persuasion from the Ionian envoys to advance beyond Samos, must have been rejoiced to find that his enemies had taken to the more congenial element. As he sailed past their army, which lined the beach, he caused a loud-voiced herald to invite the Ionians to revolt, hoping at least to bring them into suspicion with the Persians. The late events made the manœuvre more successful than when it had been practised by Themistocles at Eubœa. The Samians in the Persian force were disarmed, and the Milesians were sent to guard the mountain roads over Mount Mycalé in the rear. The Greeks disembarked, and prepared for an attack in the afternoon.

Then happened one of those marvellous coincidences, at the explanation of which we can only guess, while their truth is chiefly discredited by the haste with which theories are built upon them. The day was the fourth of Boëdromion (nearly corresponding to our September), the same month in which the battle of Marathon, and probably that of Salamis, had been gained. The remembrance of those victories, in itself of such cheering omen, was saddened by the thought of the peril of their countrymen from the army of Mardonius. It may have been that confidence in their brethren at home raised hopes which their own excitement ripened into certainty; but, at the moment when they were advancing to the battle, a rumour flew through the host from one end to the other that the Greeks had fought and conquered the army of Mardonius in Bœotia; and at the same time a herald's wand was seen lying on the beach—the sign that the message had been miraculously wafted across the western wave.† It was afterwards

* That is, *Leader of the Army.*

† *Herod.* ix. 100. Mr. Grote calls the message "a divine Phemé"—what the ancients believed to be "a divine voice, or vocal goddess, generally considered as inform-

found that both battles were fought near a temple of Demeter, a goddess whose mystic relation to her votaries was specially congruous with such an inspiration. Let the source of the impulse have been what it might, its effect was instantaneous and decisive. All fear vanished; they rushed into the fight at a quickened pace, and with the feeling that, as their brethren had freed Greece, they had to win the prize of the Hellespont and the islands.*

The battle that ensued bore some resemblance to that of Platæa, but the parts of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were interchanged. The former, marching along the beach, came into the presence of the enemy long before the latter, who had to pass over hills and along a difficult ravine. The Persian archers, ensconced, as at Platæa, behind a breastwork formed of their wicker shields, long maintained an equal combat; till the Athenians, eager to win the field before the Lacedæmonians came up, cheered each other on with shouts, and burst through the fence of bucklers. It was only after a further long and brave resistance that the Persians fell back into their entrenched camp, the Athenians entering it with them, supported by the Corinthians, Sicyonians, and Træzenians. Even then, though abandoned by the other Asiatics, the native Persians made a last stand against the superior arms and discipline which had now so often prevailed in fighting hand to hand. Collecting in small groups behind their trench, they met each body of the Greeks as they came up to storm it. Both the commanders of the land forces fell in this combat; but we may probably infer the demoralization of the fleet from the statement that both the admirals fled. Among the Greeks, the chief loss was suffered by the Sicyonians, whose general Perilaüs was slain.

ing a crowd of persons at once, or moving them all by one and the same unanimous feeling, the *Vox Dei* passing into the *Vox Populi*. There was an altar to Phemé at Athens. . . . . The descriptions of *Fama* by Virgil and Ovid are more diffuse and overcharged, departing from the simplicity of the Greek conception." He illustrates this phenomenon—"the common susceptibilities, common inspiration, and common spontaneous impulse of a multitude, effacing for the time each man's separate individuality"—by Michelet's description of the impulse which led to the capture of the Bastile on the 14th of July, 1789. (Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. v., pp. 260, 262.) The rationalizing explanation of Diodorus, that the report was circulated by the generals, assumes a positive fact, of which we have no evidence. Herodotus, by-the-bye, does not make the rumour so specific as writers who repeat it on his authority:—nothing is said of the victory having been gained at Platæa or on that very day. He adds that this exact coincidence became known by subsequent enquiry.

* *Herod.* ix. 101. It is to be observed that he does not name Ionia. Whatever the Greeks may have hoped at the time, he knew—writing after the event—that the Persian hold upon Ionia was not to be so easily unloosed.

It was not till the arrival of the Lacedæmonians that the victory was decided. The rout was rendered irremediable by the defection of the Ionians. The disarmed Samians in the Persian camp did all they could to help the Greeks; and the Milesians used their knowledge of the mountain paths to guide whole bands of fugitives into the way of their pursuers, and set upon them themselves. The Greeks completed their victory by burning the Persian fleet, which had been drawn up on shore at Mycalé; and the remnants of the Persian army retired to Sardis, to complete the mortification of Xerxes, who had remained there since his retreat from Europe. His military resources were for the time exhausted; and the battle of Mycalé liberated the islands, and placed Ionia a second time in the attitude of revolt.

And now arose the question—How were the Ionians to be defended? or, Were they to be defended at all?—for the selfish caution of the Peloponnesians did not scruple to hesitate at the latter alternative. The great islands of Lesbos, Chios, and Samos, which were well able to protect themselves, now that the Persian fleet was destroyed, were received at once into the confederacy; but the Lacedæmonians could see no better course for the Ionians of the continent than a wholesale deportation. They proposed to give them the sea-port towns of those Greeks who had sided with the Persians. The Athenians refused to listen to a plan so derogatory to the importance of their city as the metropolis of the Ionian colonies. The argument was admitted by the Lacedæmonians; but they left all the responsibility with the Athenians, who thus gained an important step towards maritime ascendancy and the leadership of the Asiatic Greeks. These debates took place while the fleet were at the rendezvous of Samos. Thence the allies sailed to the Hellespont, not being yet aware that the bridges were destroyed. On finding that Xerxes had recrossed the strait ten months before, the Peloponnesians returned home, while the Athenians under Xanthippus remained to expel the Persians from the Chersonese; an operation which was completed by the capture of Sestos, the chief Persian garrison; and then the fleet returned to Athens. This victory rendered certain the liberation of Thrace and Macedonia. The History of Herodotus concludes with the taking of Sestos (B.C. 478).

The last events of this campaign could not fail to cast the cloud of mutual jealousy over the glories won by the united arms of Greece. Athens now stood forth as the leader of the Ionian race and the guardian of Hellenic interests on the sea. During the

very time when the Athenians had been without a country, their military organization had been perfected; and their character had been established as the first of the Greeks, both in patriotic resolution and effective counsels. This position was sure to rouse that Spartan jealousy, which the extremest peril of the common cause had scarcely checked. Athens had many other jealous rivals, and especially the Æginetans and Corinthians. No sooner did the people begin to rebuild their ruined city, than all these feelings burst forth; and the notable project was started by Sparta, that Athens, in common with all the cities of Northern Greece, should be left unfortified, and that the common defence should henceforth be concentrated at the Isthmus. It is by no means our intention to treat the internal politics of the Greek states on the scale which we have thought suitable to those wars of freedom which formed the chief crisis of ancient history. It is for the historian of Greece to recount the oft-told story of the firmness of Themistocles, and his daring craft in amusing the Spartans with excuses for delay, while men, women, and children laboured at the fortifications; so that the work was done, and an open rupture with Sparta avoided. Nor can we stay to describe his vast plans, which it was reserved for Pericles to complete, for the fortification of the ports of Peiræus and Munychia, in addition to Phalerum, to which was afterwards added their connection with Athens by means of the "Long Walls." The object of these works was to combine Athens and her ports into one vast fortified enclosure, within which the population of Attica might find refuge from an invader, while the sea remained open to their fleets. This plan was the key to all the future policy of Athens as a maritime state. We shall soon see how it was carried out by Pericles in the Peloponnesian War; and how a more ambitious policy led to the downfall of the state.

At present, however, we have to follow the war with Persia to its final issue. An expedition was fitted out under the Spartan king Pausanias to prosecute the war on the shores of Asia. It was composed of twenty Peloponnesian ships, and thirty Athenian, under Aristides and Cimon, besides others from Ionia and the islands (B.C. 478). After liberating most of the cities of Cyprus, they took Byzantium from the Persians, and so cleared the passage to the Euxine, the quarter from which Greece obtained her chief supplies of foreign corn. It was here that Pausanias began the treasonable correspondence with Xerxes, which is so graphically related by Thucydides. His proposals to marry the

daughter of the king, and to bring all Greece under his sway, were eagerly responded to; and the promise of support from Xerxes converted an arrogance already scarcely tolerable into the open and outrageous license of an oriental ruler. Pausanias even adopted the Persian dress, and surrounded himself with Median and Egyptian body-guards. He was recalled to Sparta, and placed on his trial. Though he was acquitted on the charges of wrongs committed against individuals, and though his correspond ence with Xerxes was as yet undiscovered, the presumptive proofs of "Medism" were so strong, that he was not permitted to resume his command. How he carried on his intrigues in his private capacity; how, when his treason was at last detected, he attempted to raise the Helots in rebellion; and how he perished by famine, blockaded in the temple of "Athena of the Brazen House," in which he had taken sanctuary, his own mother laying the first stone against the gate,—all this we must leave to the historians of Greece.* Our present concern is with the momentous result of his treason upon the Hellenic confederacy.

We have seen how fully the leadership of Sparta was recognised in the late combined efforts of the Greeks, and with what patriotic forbearance Athens herself had submitted to it. But a feeling seems long to have been growing among the allies, that the power of the Athenian navy and the maritime character of her people gave her a right to the leadership at sea. Her unparalleled services during the late conflict might well cast the traditional claims of Sparta into the shade, especially with the Ionians and islanders who formed a large proportion of the fleet on the coast of Asia. In that fleet Athens was represented by leaders as wise and conciliating as Pausanias was rash and overbearing; and, on his departure with the Spartan squadron, the allies placed the command in the hands of Cimon and Aristides. When Dorcis came out as the successor of Pausanias, he found that, in the fleet which was the only force that the Greeks had now on foot in common, the supremacy had been transferred to the Athenians; and he could only return to inform the Spartans of the loss they had sustained.

This great change had been rendered inevitable by the fatal incapacity of Sparta to follow out a comprehensive policy, which

* Another memorable example of the prevailing tendency of Greek leaders to be corrupted by prosperity was furnished about the same time by the other Spartan king, Leotychides, the victor at Mycalé. Sent against the Medizers of Thessaly, he was detected in taking bribes, condemned to exile, and his house razed to the ground.

should have embraced the whole Hellenic race. It put an end to all hopes of Panhellenic union. For, though Athens was distinguished by the qualities which Sparta wanted, the latter, and the Peloponnesian states in general, were sure not to submit to the leadership of the former. Henceforth, Hellas was divided into two great parties, distinguished both by race and military habits—the Dorians, and the land states in general, adhering to Sparta; the Ionians and the maritime states transferring their sympathies to Athens. The immediate result was to place in the hands of the latter the whole direction of the allied fleet, from which the Peloponnesians had in fact seceded, and the prosecution of the war with Persia; and it was fortunate that the command lay in the hands of Aristides. His inflexible fairness organized the maritime states into the famous Confederacy of Delos. This island, lying conveniently in the midst of the Ægæan, and of old the chief political and religious centre of the Ionian race,* was chosen for the common treasury and place of meeting. Each state was bound to contribute its quota in ships or money or both, for the general defence, and especially for the prosecution of the war with Persia. To Athens was committed the work of assessment, subject to the confirmation of the synod; and it was in this task that the probity of Aristides was as invaluable as the shifty policy of Themistocles would have been ruinous. It was the singular good fortune of Athens that each of these statesmen was called, at this crisis, to do the work suited to his genius. The assessment of Aristides was not only cheerfully accepted at the time, but was appealed to as just and moderate after the leadership of Athens had passed into a tyrannical supremacy. Of its details we only know that the aggregate amount in money, besides ships, was 460 talents (about 106,000*l.*). The magnitude of the amount proves the wide extent of the confederacy. The common treasury at Delos was managed by a board appointed by the Athenians, and called the *Hellenotamiæ*, that is, stewards for the Greeks.

It is of the first importance to distinguish between the voluntary confederacy of Delos, with Athens as its responsible head, and the maritime empire afterwards built upon its ruins. "Thucydides," says Mr. Grote, "makes us clearly understand the difference between *presiding* Athens, with her autonomous and regularly assembled allies in B.C. 476, and *imperial* Athens with her subject allies in B.C. 432: the Greek word equivalent to *ally* left either of these epithets to be understood by an ambiguity exceedingly con-

* This is the position which Delos holds in Homer.

venient to the powerful states."* In its original form, the league was a spontaneous movement for mutual help and strength, as well as for defence against the danger which was still by no means to be despised. For Persia not only threatened the islands from her Asiatic coast, and still held several important positions in Thrace, but the Medizing party was strong in the heart of Greece: and how suddenly it might become formidable was proved by the cases of Pausanias and Themistocles.

While the confederates of Delos were energetically prosecuting the maritime war with Persia, events of the deepest interest were taking place at Athens. It belongs to more special histories to trace in detail the rapid development of democracy which resulted from the ascendancy of "the maritime multitude, authors of the victory of Salamis."† We have to glance at the fortunes of the men who had led them on to the victory, and at the rise of a new generation of statesmen to fill their places. The positions of Aristides and Themistocles were entirely changed. We hear of no renewal of their rivalry. Aristides may be said almost to have been placed above rivalry by his public services and his tried integrity. His simple patriotism received a fresh illustration from his acceptance of the new order of things in the state; and in the administrator of the confederacy of Delos we scarcely recognise the opponent of the naval policy of Themistocles. But Themistocles found a more violent opponent in Cimon, the son of Miltiades, who now appeared as the head of the party of the old nobles.‡ But it was his own conduct that most shook his influence in the state. Like Pausanias, his head was turned by success, and he disgusted his fellow-citizens by personal ostentation, and perpetual boasts of his services. But this was not all. As the commander of a squadron sent to arrange the affairs of the islands, he was accused of the grossest corruption and partiality in expelling or restoring citizens charged with Medism, and even with putting some to death at his arbitrary pleasure. While his conduct tended to bring the leadership of Athens into odium with the allies, it raised up for himself a host of enemies; and the

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. v., p. 355.

† Aristot. *Polit.* v. 3, § 5.

‡ This is commonly called the aristocratic party; but the term is calculated to mislead. Democratic institutions were now too firmly established at Athens to allow of any question, for the present at least, about the restoration of aristocratic government. In fact, the relations of parties at Athens are not to be understood by applying to them general political names—much less by viewing them, as some do, in the light of our own party divisions—but by studying the actual course of their policy.

hatred he had incurred with the Lacedæmonians by outwitting them in the fortification of Athens was inflamed by a suspicion that he was implicated in the treason of Pausanias. It is said to have been at the instigation of Sparta that his rivals brought against him the charge of Medism, on which he was acquitted; but not long afterwards a vote of ostracism banished him from Athens, and he retired to Argos (B.C. 471). The known leaning of this city towards Persia would make it a favourable spot for any Medizing intrigues that Themistocles might be disposed to carry on; and he was not the man to shrink from such a mode of providing for his own safety, and recovering elsewhere the importance he had lost at home. The extent of his guilt is a point still involved in obscurity; but the proceedings against Pausanias brought out evidence so strongly affecting Themistocles, that the Lacedæmonians proposed to the Athenians that he should be put on his trial before the congress of the allies at Sparta. Envoys from the two states were sent to apprehend him; but, before they reached Argos, he fled to Corcyra, and thence to the opposite mainland of Epirus. All know the romantic stories of his sitting as a suppliant on the hearth of his old enemy, King Admetus, who refused to give him up to the envoys, and sped him on his way to Persia; and of his safe passage by the Athenian fleet besieging Naxos, through his presence of mind in dealing with the captain of the vessel that carried him. Landing at Ephesus, he was conducted to Susa, where Artaxerxes Longimanus now reigned. To that king he addressed a letter, rather in the tone of a high ambassador, or a royal visitor, than of a suppliant:—"I, Themistocles, am come to thee, having done to thy house more mischief than any other Greek, as long as I was compelled in my own defence to resist the attack of thy father; but having also done him yet greater good, when I could do so with safety to myself, and when his retreat was endangered.* Reward is yet owing to me for my past service; moreover, I am now here, chased away by the Greeks in consequence of my attachment to thee, but able still to serve thee with great effect. I wish to wait a year, and then to come before thee in person, to explain my views." The delay was granted, and Themistocles used the interval so well as to be able to play the courtier after the Persian fashion, and to converse with the king in the Persian tongue, amusing him with fresh schemes for the subjugation of Greece. He was rewarded with a Persian wife and a princely residence at Magnesia in Ionia,

* See pp. 424, 431.

where his wants were provided for after the fashion of the Persian kings. Magnesia with its territory, the revenues of which amounted to fifty talents (about 12,000*l.*), was assigned to him for bread; Myus for condiments; and Lampsacus on the Hellespont for wine. His family came out to join him; and he was content to enjoy these splendid rewards of his treason, without an attempt to perform his promises to the king. That he died by his own hand when he found himself unable to fulfil those promises, is the addition of later writers to a story which needs no such embellishment to point its moral. A philosopher like Plutarch could hardly dismiss such a man without some signal retribution. But there are characters too selfish to feel, or at least too self-contained to display remorse; and the worldly success of such men is a problem not to be solved by altering the facts of history and of human nature. "Verily they have their reward." The unimpeachable testimony of Thucydides assures us that Themistocles died of natural illness in his sixty-fifth year. A splendid tomb was erected to him at Magnesia; but a report prevailed in later times, that his family had, at his express desire, transported his bones to Attica, and buried them privately in the ground where no traitor was allowed to rest. Aristides had already died a few years after the ostracism of Themistocles, and was honoured with a public funeral and a tomb at Phalerum. The stories of his poverty may be exaggerated; but it is certain that the man who made the assessment of Delos added nothing to his own fortune, while his rival, who is said to have begun life with only three talents, left behind him at Athens 100 talents, besides what he carried with him in his flight. This contrast is almost sufficient of itself to stamp the characters of the men.

The party leaders who succeeded them were Cimon, the son of Miltiades, and Pericles, the son of Xanthippus. The political rivalry of these statesmen was inflamed by hereditary personal opposition; for, as we have seen, Xanthippus had been the accuser of Miltiades; and, besides, Pericles belonged, on his mother's side, to the family of the Alcmæonidæ. The remarkable contrast between their personal characters cannot be better drawn than in the words of Mr. Grote:—"In taste, in talent, and in character, Cimon was the very opposite of Pericles—a brave and efficient commander, a lavish distributor, a man of convivial and amorous habits, but incapable of sustained attention to business, untaught in music and letters, and endued with Laconian aversion to rhetoric and philosophy; while the ascendancy of Pericles was founded on

his admirable combination of civil qualities—probity, firmness, diligence, judgment, eloquence, and power of guiding partisans. As a military commander, though no way deficient in personal courage, he rarely courted distinction, and was principally famous for his care of the lives of the citizens, discountenancing all rash or distant enterprises: his private habits were sober and recluse—his chief conversation was with Anaxagoras, Protagoras, Zeno, the musician Damon, and other philosophers—while the tenderest domestic attachment bound him to the engaging and cultivated Aspasia." * Such were the two men who now headed what—for want of a more exact definition—are called the oligarchical and democratic parties in the Athenian state. In foreign politics, Cimon was a staunch advocate of the alliance with Sparta, with which city he had intimate personal relations; and the extent to which he sometimes permitted his "Laconism" to influence his Athenian policy,—not corruptly, but from a coincidence of personal bias with political conviction,—was as marked as the similar leanings of some of our own statesmen to continental powers. Cimon was considerably older than Pericles. We have seen the former acting in opposition to Themistocles soon after the second Persian war: it was not till after the ostracism of that statesman that Pericles began his long public life of forty years (B. C. 469—429).

The brilliant administration of Pericles belongs to the following period of Grecian history: at present we have to trace the sequel of the liberation of Greece by Athens and the Delian confederates, under the leadership of Cimon. The ten years from B.C. 476 to B.C. 466 must have been a period of constant warfare; but we have very few details of the operations by which the Persians were dislodged from the posts they still occupied in Thrace and elsewhere. Among these was the capture of Eïon, on the Strymon (just above the site afterwards occupied by the celebrated city of Amphipolis), where the Persian governor destroyed himself, with his family and property, rather than surrender. At length a great expedition was sent to the south-western coast of Asia Minor, consisting of 200 Athenian triremes, and 100 from the other allies, under the command of Cimon (B.C. 466). While he was occupied in expelling the Persian garrisons from the chief cities of Caria and Lycia, the satraps collected a fleet and army at the mouth of the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia. On one and the same day, Cimon attacked and dispersed their fleet of 200 ships, and then,

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. v., pp. 488–9.

landing his hoplites, routed the Persian army on the shore. Then, sailing to Cyprus, he destroyed a squadron of eighty Phœnician ships, which were on their way to reinforce the fleet at the Eurymedon. This double victory, which rewarded the allies with an immense spoil, was justly regarded as crowning the work begun at Salamis and Platæa. The Persian no longer ventured westward beyond the bay of Pamphylia, and the freedom of Greece and the islands was confirmed. But those dissensions had already begun among the allies, which were soon to convert the confederacy into the maritime dominion of Athens, and which occupied the energies that might have been devoted to the liberation of the Asiatic colonies. The Athenians, however, did not renounce the idea of an aggressive war, to exact vengeance from their great enemy; and six years later they seized the opportunity offered by the revolt of Inarus in Egypt* (B.C. 460). The first success of their expedition sent to his aid was overshadowed by a terrible reverse after a war of six years, involving the utter destruction not only of the original armament, but of a reinforcement of fifty ships, which entered the Nile not knowing that the Persians were masters of the country (B.C. 455). But not even then did the Athenians give up a hope of at once obtaining a footing in Egypt, and damaging the empire at its most vulnerable point. After another six years, a great expedition of 200 ships was sent out under Cimon, with the double object of attacking Cyprus and of assisting Amyrtæus, who still held out in the marshes of the Delta (B.C. 449). Detaching sixty ships to Egypt, the rest of the armament laid siege to Citium, in Cyprus; and before this place Cimon died. His successor, Anaxicrates, encountered the Phœnician and Cilician fleet near the Cyprian town of Salamis, and repeated the exploit of the Eurymedon in a double victory by sea and land. This was the last action in the series of wars which had occupied full fifty years from the outbreak of the Ionian revolt. Though the transaction is involved in some obscurity, there is no reason to doubt that a formal convention was concluded at Susa by the Athenian envoy Callias, under which a boundary line was drawn between Persia on the one side, and the possessions of the Asiatic Greeks and the maritime empire of the allies on the other. Artaxerxes bound himself to leave the maritime colonies of Western Asia free, untaxed, and unmolested, and not to send troops within a certain prescribed distance of their coast; nor to send ships of war to the west of the Cheli-

* Compare chap. vii., p. 139.

donian islands on the southern coast, or of the Cyanean rocks at the mouth of the Thracian Bosporus. The Athenians, on their part, agreed to abstain from all further attacks on Egypt and Cyprus. In its most important article, the convention proved before long to be a dead letter. The states of Greece, which had already begun to turn their arms against each other, were so far from maintaining the independence of Ionia, that they sought Persian aid and submitted to Persian arbitration in their own internal conflicts. The brilliant campaigns of Agesilaüs (B.C. 396—394), which promised to carry the Greek arms into the heart of Persia, were frustrated by a league which the great king formed against Sparta in Greece itself; and the shameful peace of Antalcidas definitively gave up all the Greek cities in Asia, as well as Cyprus (B.C. 387). But just twenty years later, and a hundred years after the battles of the Eurymedon (B.C. 366), the conqueror was born, whose vast ambition renewed the aggressive war, and avenged the invasion begun by the first Darius in the overthrow of the last.

CHAPTER XIV.

RIVALRY OF THE GREEK REPUBLICS.

FROM THE CONFEDERACY OF DELOS TO THE END OF THE THEBAN SUPREMACY. B.C. 477 TO B.C. 360.

> "'T were long to tell, and sad to trace,
> Each step from splendour to disgrace;
> Enough—no foreign foe could quell
> Thy soul, till from itself it fell;
> Yes! self-abasement paved the way
> To villain-bonds and despot sway."—Byron.

STATE OF GREECE AFTER THE PERSIAN WARS—RISE OF THE MARITIME EMPIRE OF ATHENS—REVOLTS OF NAXOS AND THASOS—AFFAIRS OF THE CONTINENT—DECLINE OF SPARTAN ASCENDANCY—REVOLT OF THE HELOTS: THIRD MESSENIAN WAR—ATHENIAN POLITICS—OSTRACISM OF CIMON—ADVANCE OF DEMOCRACY—WARS WITH THE DORIAN STATES—THE FIVE YEARS' TRUCE—NEW WARS—BATTLE OF CORONEA—MEGARA AND EUBŒA—LACEDÆMONIAN INVASION OF ATTICA—THIRTY YEARS' TRUCE—ASCENDANCY OF PERICLES—BRILLIANT EPOCH OF ATHENS—SPLENDOUR OF ART AND LITERATURE—CAUSES AND OUTBREAK OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR—ITS FIRST PERIOD, TO THE FIFTY YEARS' TRUCE OF NICIAS—INVASIONS OF ATTICA—PLAGUE AT ATHENS—NAVAL SUCCESSES—REVOLTS OF ALLIES—ATHENIAN STATESMEN AND DEMAGOGUES—NICIAS, DEMOSTHENES, AND CLEON—ARISTOPHANES—WAR OF AMPHIPOLIS—BRASIDAS AND THUCYDIDES—SECOND PERIOD OF THE WAR, TO THE FAILURE OF THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION—ALCIBIADES—THIRD PERIOD OF THE WAR—FORTIFICATION OF DECELEA—DECLINE OF ATHENS—NAVAL CAMPAIGNS ON THE SHORES OF ASIA—BATTLES OF ARGINUSÆ AND ÆGOSPOTAMI—CAPTURE OF ATHENS—THE THIRTY TYRANTS—COUNTER REVOLUTION—PEACE WITH SPARTA—DEATH OF SOCRATES—SPARTAN SUPREMACY—EXPEDITION OF THE YOUNGER CYRUS AND THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS—LACEDÆMONIAN WAR IN ASIA—AGESILAÜS—LEAGUE AGAINST SPARTA—CORINTHIAN WAR—BATTLES OF CORONEA AND CNIDUS—PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS—OLYNTHIAN WAR—WAR BETWEEN THEBES AND SPARTA—EPAMINONDAS AND PELOPIDAS—PEACE OF CALLIAS—BATTLE OF LEUCTRA—SUPREMACY OF THEBES—INVASION OF PELOPONNESUS—LEAGUE AGAINST SPARTA—BATTLE OF MANTINEA AND DEATH OF EPAMINONDAS—GENERAL PACIFICATION—AGESILAUS IN EGYPT: HIS DEATH—DECLINE OF THEBES—STATE OF GREECE AT THIS EPOCH—ORATORS AT ATHENS—AFFAIRS OF SICILY—THE DIONYSII, DION AND TIMOLEON—ART, LITERATURE, AND PHILOSOPHY.

The interval of one hundred and twenty years, from the final repulse of the Persians to the accession of the Macedonian Philip (B.C. 479—459), presents a very different aspect in the annals of Greece and in the history of the world. To the classical student it offers a field for the most minute research, on a scale which would be alike impossible within the limits of our work and inconsistent with our plan. All we can attempt is to trace, in broad outline, the part which was played in general history by the restless activity and mutual rivalries of the Greek republics, when freed from the danger of despotic rule;—the immense impulse which they gave to the intellectual progress of our race;—their

experiments in free government;—the proof they furnished, how much easier it is to gain liberty by a tremendous effort of patriotic courage, than to preserve and use it wisely by a course of moderation and self-sacrifice.

We have seen, in the earliest condition of Greece, the local barriers by which her inhabitants were severed from each other, and grouped into small states which were driven into mutual hostility, at first by the instinct of self-preservation, and afterwards by a real or supposed diversity of interests. Minor varieties of race proved more powerful to dissever, than common blood, language, and religion to unite the sections of the Hellenic race; nor had those grand institutions, in which their unity was cherished by themselves and displayed before the world, power to still the passions roused by the great conflict, which human nature is ever waging, between the Poor and the Rich, the Nobles and the Commons, the Many and the Few. Intercourse with other nations at once tested and developed the differences of national character; and the new interests created by foreign commerce widened the separation between the maritime and non-maritime states; while the former were driven, as in the cases of Corinth and Corcyra, Athens and Ægina, to fight among themselves for that empire of the sea, which seems, in its very nature, to admit of no partition.*

The collision with Persia suspended for a moment, and even then far from completely, the action of these disorganizing influences; and the patriotic submission of Athens to the leadership of Sparta held out the hope of an Hellenic union which should solve the great problem of the harmony of liberty with order. We have seen how the current of events, the conduct of the different states, and the characters of their statesmen, worked together to frustrate such a hope. The intrigues of Themistocles and the insolence of Pausanias completed the severance of the Greeks into two great parties, with Athens and Sparta for their acknowledged leaders; the one Ionian, maritime, and democratic, the other Dorian, continental, and oligarchical;—the one organized in the league of Delos, the other in the Peloponnesian confederacy.† In the form which the two divisions ultimately as-

* The wars of Corinth and Corcyra are a peculiarly strong illustration, as the two states were of the same race, and were united by the sacred relation of metropolis and colony.

† These general characters of the two parties are subject to particular exceptions. For instance, maritime Corinth was drawn to Sparta as a Dorian and Peloponnesian state,

sumed, that of Sparta embraced the Peloponnesus (except Argos, which maintained a trimming policy), and the greater part of Northern Greece; that of Athens the islands of the Ægæan and the Ionian seas, and the colonies of Asia Minor.*

The position of Athens at the head of the Delian confederacy, as the leader of free and voluntary allies, could only have been maintained by an extraordinary exercise of self-denial on her part, and of vigilance by each member of the confederacy. The power placed in her hands, at first in conjunction with the synod, of enforcing on the states the obligations they had voluntarily incurred, was sure to prove a temptation to herself and a cause of offence to her allies. The constant burden of personal service began to be irksome as soon as its immediate necessity ceased, and many of the lesser states welcomed the compromise of a money payment in place of their appointed contingent of ships and men. This measure, which was clearly based on the wishes of the allies themselves, strengthened Athens doubly at their expense. For while they were deprived at once of their resources and their military organization, those very resources went to increase the force which Athens was bound by the treaty, and eager by her own enterprising spirit, to keep on foot. The result was inevitable, that Athens came to regard herself as the imperial head of a body of tributary allies, owing to her the allegiance which they had at first sworn to the common cause. Her ambition made her more than ready to accept the position thus forced upon her; and its maintenance soon came to be a matter of self-preservation. Her empire, as her great statesman declared, became a tyranny, which it might have been unjust to acquire, but was ruinous to let go. The more her resolution to enforce the conditions of the pact made her unpopular with her own allies,—the more her determination to hold them fast exposed her to general odium as the oppressor of a large part of Hellas,—the less was she likely to permit the subject states to be added to the force of her enemies. Such were the tendencies which assumed a practical form when some of the allies began to discover their mistake and to try the experiment of armed resistance.

The epoch at which Athens appears most conspicuous as the head of the voluntary maritime confederacy is marked by a strik-

as well as by maritime jealousy of Athens; while the Dorian islands of the Ægean were sooner or later drawn perforce into the Athenian confederacy.

* See the enumeration of the two alliances, at the epoch of the Peloponnesian War, in Thucydides, ii. 9.

ing incident. Shortly after the allies had retaken Eïon on the Strymon from the Persians,* they turned their arms against certain of the old semi-barbarous peoples, who formed piratical communities in the Ægæan, such as the Dryopes of Carystus in Eubœa, and the Dolopes and Pelasgians of Scyros. The latter is one of those rocky islands, possessed of excellent harbours, which seem made for the home of the corsair. Its position near the centre of the Ægæan gave it importance, and an old tradition marked it as the burial-place of Theseus. An oracle had directed the Athenians to bring back the bones of their hero (B.C. 476); but it was not till the piratical inhabitants were expelled by Cimon, that the search could be made. It was, of course, successful. The remains were brought to Athens, and carried in solemn procession to the Theseum, the earliest and still the most perfect of the splendid Doric monuments which adorn the ruins of Athens (B.C. 469). In that procession, the Athenians must have felt that they were celebrating their own triumph, as the leaders of maritime Greece.

But about two years later the sore first broke out in the revolt of Naxos, the largest of the Cyclades. The Athenians made no hesitation about subduing a rebellious confederate by force of arms. The conquered state was stripped of its navy, and its fortifications were razed to the ground;—an example to all the allies who should henceforth attempt to recover their independence (B.C. 467—466).

The strength added to Athens by this conquest may have had an important influence on the success of Cimon in the battles of the Eurymedon (B.C. 466).† Next year the large island of Thasos, close to the coast of Thrace, revolted from the alliance, on account of a quarrel with the Athenian settlers at Eïon on the Strymon about the Thracian gold-mines‡ (B.C. 465). Thasos was only conquered after a prolonged blockade (B.C. 463), in the course of which the Athenians made their first unsuccessful attempt to form the settlement of Ennea-Hodoi (the *Nine Ways*) on the Strymon, which became afterwards so famous under the name of Amphipolis. The siege of Thasos had all but precipitated the inevitable collision between Athens and Sparta. The Thasians had secretly applied for aid to the Lacedæmonians, who were only

* See chap. xiii., p. 451. † Ibid.

‡ The most productive were those at Scapté Hylé (the *Wood of the Diggings*), in which the historian Thucydides possessed property.

kept back from a treacherous invasion of Attica by a terrible calamity at home.

Sparta had naturally taken the lead in the settlement of continental Greece after the Persian War. Her zeal against the Medizing states in general was mitigated by the prudent moderation of Themistocles. But in the case of Thebes, the policy of strengthening the rival of Athens led Sparta to restore her supremacy over the cities of Bœotia, always excepting Thespiæ and Platæa. In the Peloponnesus, Sparta was engaged in wars with the Arcadians and Eleians, and the latter people formed a confederacy, with its capital at Elis. The rapid growth of Athens, and the effect produced on the Greek mind by the misconduct of Pausanias and Leotychides, had already detracted much from the Spartan ascendancy, when the city was almost destroyed by a terrible earthquake, in which many of the citizens perished (B.C. 464). The Helots, already excited by the instigations of Pausanias, seized the opportunity to revolt, and the earthquake was represented as the judgment of Poseidon for the sacrilege committed in dragging certain Helots from his sanctuary at Tænarus. Sparta was only saved from surprise by the young king Archidamus; and the insurgents held the field for some time before they were shut up in the fortress of Ithome in Messenia. In this stronghold, the same which had been held by Aristodemus,* they maintained themselves for the ten years of the Third Messenian War (B.C. 464—454). The Lacedæmonians, who were proverbial for their want of skill in sieges, called in the aid of their allies, and among the rest, 4000 Athenians marched to their help under Cimon, who had some difficulty in prevailing on the Athenians to send the required aid. "Do not," said he, "suffer Hellas to be lamed of one leg, or our city to draw without her yoke-fellow." Soon, however, there sprung up a distrust—due to continued ill-success, and perhaps to the Lacedæmonians' conciousness of their meditated treachery in the affair of Thasos,—and the Athenian auxiliaries were unceremoniously dismissed (B.C. 461).

The effect was as marked on the internal politics of Athens, as on her foreign relations. Up to this period Cimon had maintained his political ascendancy against Pericles and the still more advanced democratic leader, Ephialtes; but the failure of his Laconizing policy brought himself and his party into utter discredit, and he was banished by a vote of ostracism. Pericles and Ephialtes now proceeded to complete the democratic constitution

* See chap xii., p. 336.

of Cleisthenes by transferring judicial functions to the people, in addition to the political power which they already possessed. The Senate of the Areopagus was stripped both of its censorial and judicial attributes, except in cases of homicide; and the senate of the five hundred, as well as the Archons, were restricted almost entirely to administrative duties. The decision of judicial questions was transferred to the *Dicasteries*. From the whole body of full citizens, 6000 were chosen every year by lot to serve the office of *Dicasts*, or jurymen, and they received pay during their attendance at the courts. They were subdivided by lots into ten sections of 500 each,* among which the several courts and causes were distributed. Referring to special works on Athenian antiquities for the details of the institution, we need only say that it popularized the administration of justice in perfect accordance with the whole spirit of the Athenian polity. Mr. Grote has well summed up the character of the Dicasteries as "nothing but jury-trial applied on a scale broad, systematic, unaided, and uncontrolled beyond all other historical experience, and therefore exhibiting, in exaggerated proportions, both the excellences and the defects characteristic of the jury system, as compared with decision by trained and professional judges. All the encomiums which it is customary to pronounce upon jury-trial will be found predicable of the Athenian dicasteries in a still greater degree: all the reproaches, which can be addressed on good ground to the dicasteries, will apply to modern juries also, though in a less degree."† Their large numbers secured them against intimidation, and against corruption, the prevailing vice of individual Greek judges, and secured the application to the question in hand of the average intelligence of the whole body of citizens. On the other hand they were liable to err from the absence of professional knowledge directed by the calmness of a judicial mind, and they were subject to be misled both by prevailing prejudices and passions, and by the rhetoric of advocates. Modern experience, however, proves that twelve men, even under the presidence and direction of a judge not inclined to favour a popular sentiment, are quite as capable as five hundred of strokes of wild justice or passionate injustice; and the artifices of rival advocates would make the less

* The supernumerary 1000 were reserved to fill up accidental vacancies.

† Grote: *History of Greece*, vol. v., pp. 517, 518. The whole account in that 46th chapter, of the changes at Athens under Pericles, deserves the most attentive perusal, not only of the classical student, but of every politician—nay of every educated citizen of a free state.

impression on dicasts whose naturally keen intellect was sharpened by constant attendance in the courts. Mr. Grote has triumphantly refuted the calumny which depicts the dicasts as delighting, with a sort of wanton levity, in hunting down an unhappy defendant; and has shown that they are most truly represented, even by their satirist, Aristophanes, as "obeying the appeals to their pity as well as those to their anger—as being yielding and impressionable when their feelings are approached on either side, and unable, when they hear the exculpatory appeal of the accused, to maintain the anger which had been raised by the speech of the accuser." One effect of the new judicial system is undeniable; it gave a most powerful stimulus to thought and speech, and aided that intellectual development which is the most striking character of the age of Pericles. So violent was the resistance of the aristocratic party to these changes, that they procured the assassination of Ephialtes, thereby probably only strengthening the hands of Pericles, who now began to exercise the vast power which went on increasing till his death.

The insult put by Sparta upon Athens broke the last link of the alliance between the two states. Not only was that alliance renounced by a formal vote of the Athenian people, but they formed a new league with her constant rival, Argos, a state which had regained much of its old power while the Spartans were occupied with the Messenian War. Another alliance with Megara, then at war with Cornith, gave Athens a footing upon the Isthmus. To protect this new ally against the land forces of the Peloponnesians, and to place her in direct communication with their own maritime power, the Athenians devised that new and ingenious species of fortification called "Long Walls." They connected Megara with her port, Nisæa, by a pair of parallel walls extending for the whole distance of about a mile. It was about two years later that the Athenians began their own celebrated "Long Walls," which completed the scheme begun by Themistocles in the fortification of the Piræus. A wall about four miles and a half long united the Piræus with Athens, and with another, about four miles long, to Phalerum, enclosed the whole space between Athens and her two ports in one vast fortified *enceinte* (B.C. 457—6). These steps were not taken without opposition. The Spartans were occupied with the siege of Ithome; but Cornith and Epidaurus leagued with other Peloponnesian states to avenge the intrusion of Athens into Megara, and the Æginetans made a last effort to dispute her dominion of the sea.

A great sea-fight off Ægina, between the Athenians and the allies, resulted in the destruction of the navy of the Æginetans, and the siege of their city by land and sea; while an attack of the Corinthians upon Megara was repulsed, and the whole detachment were cut to pieces in their retreat (B.C. 457). Athens now only needed to become the protectress of the Bœotian towns, as she was already of Platæa, in order to stand at the head of a great continental league. To guard, it would seem, against this danger, the Spartans marched an army into Bœotia on another pretext. They were in secret communication with the oligarchical party in Athens, who vehemently opposed the building of the Long Walls, and by whose aid they hoped both to frustrate that work, and even to overthrow the democracy. The Athenians promptly met the danger by a march to Tanagra, on the Bœotian frontier, with the whole force that they could muster (their main army being occupied in the siege of Ægina), aided by some Argive infantry and Thessalian cavalry. A hard-won victory gained for the Lacedæmonians no other advantage than a safe retreat; while the defeat of the Athenians was compensated by the reconciliation of her two great statesmen. The exiled Cimon presented himself on the field of battle; and, when not permitted to take his place in the ranks, urged his friends to fight with desperate courage. Struck with this generous devotion, Pericles himself proposed his rival's recall; and the two chiefs entered into a compact which secured to the state the military services of Cimon, while the internal administration was left to Pericles. The first effect of this reconciliation was seen in an ample revenge for the defeat of Tanagra. Only two months after that battle, the Athenians marched into Bœotia, and defeated the whole body of the allies of Thebes at Œnophyta. The Bœotian towns were not only released from the supremacy of Thebes, but their governments were made democratic under the protection of Athens. The Phœcians and Locrians joined her alliance, and she found herself at the head of a confederacy extending from the Isthmus of Corinth to Thermopylæ. About the same time the Long Walls were completed, and the surrender of Ægina reduced this ancient enemy to the condition of a tributary ally of Athens, her fortifications being razed, and her ships surrendered. To the mastery of the Ægæan Sea was now added that of the coasts of Greece. The Athenian admiral, Tolmides, sailed round Peloponnesus, burned the Lacedæmonian harbours of Methone and Gythium, and took from the Ozolian Locrians the important port of Naupactus, at the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth.

A friendly garrison was secured for this post, which commanded both the entrance of the Gulf and the passage across its mouth into Peloponnesus, by the establishment there of the Messenian Helots who had surrendered Ithomé under a capitulation, after holding out ten years (B.C. 455). This brilliant career of victory received a check in the failure of expeditions against Thessaly and Sicyon; and in the following year Pericles himself was equally unsuccessful in a renewed attack on Sicyon, and an expedition to Acarnania (B.C. 454). The severe loss inflicted on Athens by the destruction of the force sent to Egypt, and the depression of Sparta in consequence of the Messenian War and the Athenian successes among her allies, disposed both parties to peace, and a Five Years' Truce between Athens and the Peloponnesians was negotiated by Cimon (B.C. 450). This singular form of compact was quite in accordance with Greek ideas. A treaty of peace between two European states begins with the mutual promise of perpetual amity and good-will; but the Greek states came to regard war for their own interests as their normal condition, only to be interrupted by truces for fixed periods, and even these seldom lasted their full term. These truces were armistices solemnly sworn to with libations to the gods, from which libations the truce received its name in Greek.* It was soon after the conclusion of the Five Years' Truce that Cimon undertook the successful naval expedition to Cyprus, during which he died (B.C. 449). He was succeeded in the leadership of the aristocratic party by Thucydides, the son of Melesias, who proved no match for Pericles, and was ostracized after five or six years (B.C. 444–3).†

Some time—but we do not know how long—before the death of Cimon, the final step was taken in the establishment of the maritime empire of Athens by the transference of the common treasury of the confederacy from Delos to Athens itself. This measure was proposed by the Samians even during the lifetime of Aristides, who is said to have characterized it as unjust but useful; and when most of the allies ceased to take any personal share in the affairs of the confederacy, and the synod of Delos became a mere form, it would have been mere affectation to leave the treasure exposed to a bold maritime raid, or indeed to carry the contribu-

* Hence the humour of Aristophanes makes his rustic lover of peace *taste* the truces, which he has had privately fetched for him from Sparta in jars. He finds a Five Years' Truce to smell of pitch and naval preparations, and discusses a Ten Years' and Thirty Years' Truce after a like fashion (*Acharnians*, vv. 186—202).

† He must not be confounded with the great historian Thucydides, the son of Olorus.

tions anywhere but direct to Athens. Thus the middle of the fifth century B.C. saw the Athenians at the head of a real empire, extending over the Ægæan Sea and the coasts of Asia Minor, from which the Persians withdrew about this time under the convention of Callias, and embracing the most important part of Northern Greece. Besides maintaining her position as the natural head of the Ionian race, she numbered many Dorian states among her subject allies, one of them, Ægina, an island which had been a great seat of commerce, civilization, and maritime empire, while Athens was in her infancy. It is no wonder that she was hated throughout Dorian Greece. Sparta herself had suffered the humiliation of seeing her coasts ravaged and her ports burnt; and even when she attempted to restore the sanctuary of Apollo to the Delphians, who had been displaced by the Phocians, her army had no sooner retired than the Athenians reversed the proceeding, and replaced the Phocians in possession of the temple and oracle (B.C. 448). These proceedings did not, however, involve a breach of the Five Years' Truce.

But it was not the destiny of Athens to maintain an empire on the continent, and her reverses began from the very moment of her highest power. The plains of Bœotia were to the states of Greece what the Netherlands have been to Europe—a common battle-field. The battles of Tanagra and Œnophyta were speedily followed by that of Coronea,* in which the revolted aristocratic party in Bœotia totally defeated an ill-prepared Athenian force under Tolmides (B.C. 447). One consequence of this battle is important for the light it throws upon Grecian sentiment. Many members of the best families of Athens were taken prisoners at Coronea. Had they fallen, fresh efforts would have been made to avenge their death; but their lives were held worth redeeming at the price of the total evacuation of Bœotia. The oligarchical governments were restored in all the cities except Platæa; and the country once more placed under the supremacy of Thebes, became again the bitter enemy of Athens.

The loss of Bœotia involved the defection of the Phocians and Locrians. At the same time Eubœa revolted, and Megara was seized by a force of Corinthians and others, admitted into the city by a conspiracy (B.C. 445). This last achievement opened the passes which led through Mount Geranea from the Isthmus into Attica; and, now that the Five Years' Truce had expired, the

* Just half a century later, Coronea was the scene of the victory of Agesilaüs over the states allied against Sparta (B.C. 394).

Lacedæmonians invaded Attica under their young king Pleistoanax. Pericles returned in all haste from Eubœa; and, according to the common belief, bribed Pleistoanax to retreat.* He then returned to Eubœa, and reconquered the island. But the continental power of Athens was completely broken. The revolt of Megara severed her hold upon Peloponnesus, and laid her open to invasion. She consented to a truce for thirty years with the Spartans and their allies, surrendering her conquests in the Megarid, Trœzen, and Achæa, and submitting to see Megara return to the Peloponnesian confederacy (B.C. 445).

The interval of sixteen years between the conclusion of the Thirty Years' Truce, and its rupture by the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, forms the most brilliant period of Athenian history. The loss of her continental empire was indeed a severe blow to her power; but there remained to her what might now be considered her natural dominion over the islands and the Asiatic colonies. The process was now almost complete, by which these states were converted from voluntary allies to tributary subjects. Only the three great islands of Lesbos, Chios, and Samos retained their independence. As for the rest, even the affectation of consulting their common interests was abandoned. They were avowedly treated as owing obedience to Athens, to be enforced if it were withheld, but as having upon her no other claim than that of protection from Persia. A force of sixty triremes maintained order in the Ægæan, and exercised her mariners. Her tributary cities are said to have amounted to a thousand, probably an exaggerated number; the tribute derived from them to 600 talents, and her total revenue to 1000 talents (somewhat less than £250,000); while the accumulated treasure in the Acropolis reached almost ten times that sum. Her commercial activity corresponded to her wealth, and she engaged in fresh enterprises of colonization. Of these the most important were the foundation of Thurii in the territory of the destroyed city of Sybaris, in the south of Italy (B.C. 443), and of Amphipolis on the Strymon (B.C. 437). It is curious that the two great historians of the age were closely connected with these two colonies. Thurii is chiefly interesting from the fact that Herodotus was one of the settlers: Amphipolis, extremely valuable for the gold mines in its neighbourhood, soon became of great historical importance; and Thucydides, who had property in the

* One form of the story is that when Pericles, according to the constitutional form, rendered his annual account, it contained an item of ten talents *spent for a necessary purpose.*

mines, was banished from Athens on account of his failure to relieve Amphipolis, in B.C. 424. This place became again very famous in the wars with Philip. Besides the new colonies, many Athenian citizens were settled as *cleruchi* in the ports and islands of the Ægæan.

The political administration of Athens was now in the hands of Pericles, who had for a few years a powerful antagonist in Thucydides, the son of Melesias. This statesman was better qualified than Cimon had been to cope with Pericles on his own ground in the popular assembly, and the aristocratic party were better organized. But the vast superiority of Pericles in debate was confessed, if we may believe the anecdote of Plutarch, by his rival. Being asked by Archidamus, king of Sparta, whether Pericles or he were the better wrestler, Thucydides replied—"Even when I throw him he denies that he has fallen, gains his point, and talks over those who have actually seen him fall." * The time was past for discussing the foundations of the democratic constitution; and the attacks of Thucydides and his party were chiefly directed at the pacific policy of Pericles towards Persia, and the employment of the money levied from the allies, originally for the Persian war, in the decoration of the city. To the first objection it was enough for Pericles to reply, that all danger of attack from Persia had ceased, and that an aggressive war against her would be a waste of resources, demanded neither by the common voice nor the common interest of Greece. The other point was one which had long passed out of the sphere of justice into that of policy, and Pericles only gave by his genius form and consistency to the ambition of the people, that their city should be invested with an imperial grandeur answering to the imperial state she had usurped. After a fierce contest, the public will was clearly expressed by the ostracism of Thucydides (B.C. 444 or 443), leaving to Pericles the ascendancy which was undisputed for the rest of his life.

The only external event of great importance, till the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, was the revolt and reduction of Samos, the most powerful of the three islands which were the sole remaining independent allies of Athens. It would seem that the oligarchical party, which had gained the upper hand in this wealthy state, was inclined to try the experiment of real independence. Having wrested from Miletus the small town of Priene on the Ionian coast, they refused to appear at Athens to answer the complaint of the Milesians. Forty ships were sent out to punish this

* Plutarch, Pericles, 8; Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vi., p. 21

act of contumacy; an Athenian garrison was placed in Samos, the government was changed into a democracy, and hostages of the noblest families were carried off to Lemnos. But the oligarchical party succeeded, by the aid of the Persian satrap of Sardis, in surprising the island and the Athenian troops, whom they sent as prisoners to Sardis, at the same time recovering their hostages from Lemnos. They then openly revolted (B.C. 440). A fleet was sent against them under the ten generals for the year, of whom Pericles was the chief, and another was the poet Sophocles After an obstinate resistance for nine months, Samos capitulated, and was reduced to the condition of the subject allies. Byzantium, the only other state that had joined in the revolt, submitted at the same time. The suppression of the revolt of a state which had ranked second to Athens in the confederacy, must have convinced the subject allies of the hopelessness of any attempt at emancipation, nor does there seem as yet to have been any strong desire for a change. "The feeling common among them towards Athens seems to have been neither attachment nor hatred, but simple indifference and acquiescence in her supremacy."* Her dominion was more firmly established than ever.

But Athens shines at this period with a lustre far surpassing that of empire. We naturally feel a hesitation in applying a word, associated both in earlier and later times with power over vast regions, to so small a space as the subjects of Athens occupied on the surface of the earth. But there are other realms, depicted on no map, which own her supremacy to this very day, and this supremacy was chiefly earned in the age of Pericles. That statesman, whose own mind had been trained by the acutest thinkers of Greece, and whose daily life was spent in converse with her master-spirits, conceived the grand idea of investing Athens with an intellectual glory which no change of empire should blot out. Once, indeed, he had formed the project of making her, by the willing consent of the Hellenic states, the capital of a united Greece, and he sent out envoys to invite the assembly of a congress. Such a scheme was not only premature, but incompatible with the temper of the Greek mind, and the organization of the Greek states. There remained to him the power of making Athens, by the resources which she possessed in herself, the centre of the intellectual life of Greece,—of

* Grote, History of Greece, vol. vi., p. 43. The remark quoted occurs in the midst of a most important discussion on the position of the allies in reference to Athens at this time.

exhibiting her to the Hellenic world as the home of art and letters, of philosophy and eloquence,—of clothing her with a beauty worthy of the queen of Hellas. Nor was this the unpractical idea of a statesman in advance of his age. The people, excited by the still recent glories of the Persian War, elated with the possession of the empire they had so rapidly acquired, stimulated by the activity of their commerce and maritime expeditions, and still more by the sense of personal freedom and the restless energy of their public life,—trained to the highest efforts of intellect in not only listening to, but judging of, the poetry of Æschylus and Sophocles, and eloquence such as that of Pericles himself,—endowed by nature with the nicest sense of harmony and beauty, and passing their lives together in the public places of their beloved city—such a people were more than ready to carry out the most magnificent schemes of improvement that a statesman could devise. When such a spirit moves at once the rulers and the people, there is sure to be no want of the best instruments that genius can supply, and the age of Pericles was the epoch of the highest creative genius ever known in the annals of the world. It is this that gives Athens her unique position in human history, the intellectual supremacy which was the fruit of her political freedom. The faults, and even the crimes, which the Athenians committed in the immoderate use of that liberty of which they were the foremost champions, wrought out their own punishment, and passed away like the ruins of their city and their empire, but the products of their intellectual energy rise, like the remains of the Parthenon, above those ruins, a landmark and a pattern to intellectual effort in every age.

It were a task far beyond our limits to describe the works with which the artists who flourished under Pericles beautified the city, or the nobler products with which poets and historians glorified the literature of Athens. The city itself had been rebuilt in haste after the departure of Xerxes, like London after the fire of 1666; and its streets, in common with those of most Greek towns, had far more than all the irregularity and narrowness which deform our own city. But the Wren of that age, Hippodamus of Miletus, found ample exercise for his skill in laying out the regular streets and noble Agora of Peiræus, which gained for great works of city architecture the proverbial title of "Hippodameian." This chief port of Athens was also furnished with a splendid arsenal and docks. The system of defence connecting Athens with her ports was completed by the building of the inner

ENVIRONS OF ATHENS.

A. The Asty.
B. Peiræus.
C. Munychia. D. Phalerum.
EE, FF. The Long Walls; EE the northern wall, and FF the southern wall.
GG. The Phaleric Wall.
H. Harbour of Peiræus.
I. Phaleric Bay.

1. The Cephissus; 2. The Ilissus; 3. The Eridanus; 4. Mount Hymettus; 5. Mount Lycabettus; 6. Mount Anchesmus; 7. Mount Corydallos; 8. Mount Pœcilum (this mountain and 7 are parts of the range of Ægaleos); 9. The outer Ceramicus; 10. Academia; 11. Œum Ceramicum? 12. Colonus; 13. Acharnæ; 14. Cropeia; 15. Pæonidæ; 16. Eupyridæ; 17. Alopece; 18. Larissa; 19. Halimus; 20. Prospalta; 21. Ceiriadæ? 22. Æxone; 23. Thymœtia; 24. Corydallus; 25. Xypete? (Troja); 26. Hermus; 27. Oia; 28. Upper Agryle; 29. Lower Agryle.

wall to the Peiræus, to prevent the communication being cut off in case an enemy should gain a footing in the wide space between the Periæan and Phaleric walls. While the safety of the city was consulted in these works of utility, the nobler sentiments of religious and intellectual life were ministered to by works of surpassing beauty. The theatre called Odeon was erected for the musical and poetical contests at the Panathenaïc festival;* the temples of the Acropolis were rebuilt; and a worthy approach to them was constructed in the splendid Doric Propylæa.† The crowning triumph of Athenian art was in the Parthenon, or "House of the Virgin"—the great temple of Athena on the Acropolis, constructed of white marble, after the purest Doric mould—adorned with the most perfect sculptures in the pediments of its eastern and western porticoes, in the metopes‡ of its frieze, and on the frieze in low relief round the wall of the "cella" within the colonnade—and enshrining the colossal statue of the goddess in ivory with ornaments of pure gold. How zealously the Athenians lighted up "the lamp of sacrifice," and how strong

* The Great Theatre, for the exhibition of dramas at the Dionysiac festivals, was hollowed out in the south-eastern slope of the Acropolis. Its construction was commenced about B.C. 500, in consequence of the breaking down of the temporary wooden erection which used to be put up at each festival. The final completion of its architectural features seems not to have been effected till B.C. 340.

† A copy of the Propylæa, furnishing a striking example of the modern misapplication of classical forms, may be seen at Euston Square, leading into the courtyard and offices of a railway station. Equally correct and equally misplaced copies of other Athenian monuments are combined into an extraordinary medley in the neighbouring church of St. Pancras.

‡ This technical term needs explanation. The chief features of a Doric portico are supposed to represent the essential parts which were present and *visible* (as construction always ought to be in works of art) in the primitive wooden edifices. The portico formed the gable end. Across the pillars ran the *architrave* (chief-beam). On this rested the ends of the longitudinal beams, the plainness of which was relieved by a kind of channelling, called a *triglyph* (from its triple stiles and grooves). The opening between these beam-ends, called *metopes* (*μετόπαι*, because they were between the beds of the beams, *ὀπαί*), were at first left vacant: afterwards they were filled in with plain slabs, and lastly these slabs were sculptured in high-relief; affording a splendid example of the true principle of basing decorative art upon construction. This whole surface ornamented by the triglyphs and metopes formed the *frieze* (in Greek *ζωφόρος*, the sculpture-bearer), and its richness was balanced by the plain architrave below. The projecting *cornice* (*κορωνίς*, crown) above sheltered it from the weather, and cast over it a rich shadow; and above this rose the triangular *pediment*, representing the gable of the roof. The opening enclosed by its sides, and filled in with plain slabs, formed the *tympanum* (i.e., *drum*), and afforded a space for groups of colossal sculpture. In the Parthenon, the sculptures of the eastern or principal front represented the birth of Athena; those of the western front, her contest with Poseidon for Attica. The back parts of all the figures are as elaborately finished as the parts which were seen.

a sentiment of pride was mingled with their zeal, is seen in the anecdote that they chose ivory and gold rather than marble for this statue because they were the most expensive. A curious contrast is presented by the prudence of the statesman, who contrived that the golden ornaments should be removable, and ventured to enumerate them among the resources available for the support of the Peloponnesian war. These costly materials were of themselves enough to ensure the destruction of the statue; but the temple itself and its sculptured ornaments have survived, though sorely mutilated by war and barbarian hands. The extensive fragments brought over by Lord Elgin, and preserved in the British Museum, where the sight of them moved the envy of Canova, enable us to study for ourselves the most perfect works ever framed by the sculptor's chisel. The majestic forms of deities that filled the pediments, and the groups of Athenians and Centaurs in the varied attitudes of close combat on the metopes of the frieze, are mutilated into the mere relics of their pristine beauty; but the exquisite frieze of the *cella*, better preserved by its sheltered position and low relief, still exhibits the joyous procession which carried up the "peplus," or sacred robe, to the goddess at the Panathenaic festival. Nor should we forget, as we view them, that what are to us the dead forms of decayed beauty, were to the Greeks of the age of Pericles the fresh images of living realities, grouped round the goddess whose might had saved, restored, and magnified their city. *

The Odeon and Parthenon were finished during the first seven years of the sole administration of Pericles (B.C. 444—437), the Propylæa not till the eve of the Peloponnesian War (B.C. 431). Other temples and statues were erected at Athens and throughout Attica, among which a special notice is due to the colossal bronze statue of Athena Promachus (the Fighter in the Van), cast from the spoils of Marathon, representing the goddess in full panoply and warrior attitude as the guardian of the city, towering above the wall of the Acropolis, and visible to the mariner far out at sea. The marvellous rapidity with which these works were completed

* The models of the Parthenon, both as ruined and restored, in the Elgin room of the British Museum, not only give a good general idea of the edifice, but aid us in referring the fragments of sculpture to their proper places. It is impossible to enumerate the many important works written upon the temple and its sculptures. An admirable popular account is given in the little work entitled "The Elgin Marbles," first published as a part of the "Library of Entertaining Knowledge." See also the articles "Athens" and "Pheidias" in Dr. Smith's Dictionaries of Geography and Biography.

enhanced the admiring astonishment which they excited throughout Greece. They were designed and executed by numerous artists—Ictinus (the chief architect of the Parthenon), Callicrates, Corœbus, Mnesicles, and others; but the presiding genius was that of the sculptor Phidias, the greatest of those great names which mark distinct epochs in the history of art.

This position is not only assigned to Phidias by the concurrent voice of antiquity and the judgment of modern critics, but his place in the history of art is legibly inscribed on the existing fragments of his works. We have said that the end of the preceding century was an epoch of transition from the archaic stiffness of old conventional forms to the freer graces of Phidias. The last stage of this transition is actually visible in the sculptures of the Parthenon. We know not which of those works were from the hand of Phidias himself; but we do know that among the artists who wrought with him were some who belonged to the older schools, and in the metopes especially there is a marked difference of style, some of them being strikingly archaic. In others of the metopes, in the Panathenaic frieze, and especially in the colossal statues of the pediment, the archaic stiffness has disappeared, replaced by the perfection of beauty.

But that beauty is still harmonized by the reverential dignity and repose which mark the highest works of Grecian genius, both in art and poetry. The imitation of nature has not yet degenerated into those forms which may seem even more beautiful to the uninstructed eye, but in which soul is wanting: gods and goddesses are not yet degraded into the likeness of sculptors' models. This downward step was prepared, though not yet taken, by the successors of Phidias, whose highly elaborated forms, whether of graceful beauty or animated action, exhibit the art in that last stage of ripeness which precedes decay. Of the chryselephantine statues of Phidias we can only judge from the descriptions of ancient writers, such as Pausanias, who saw them in all their glory, aided by works which are no doubt imitated from them. Phidias' masterpiece in this style was the colossal statue of the Olympian Jove at Elis, representing the supreme deity of the Hellenic nation at the centre of Hellenic union, as having laid aside the thunderbolts which had smitten down the Titans and the Giants, enthroned as a conqueror in perfect majesty and repose, and ruling with a nod both Olympus and the subject world. This idea is said to have been expressed by Phidias himself in words. When asked by his nephew

Panænus, what model he meant to follow in the statue, he replied by quoting the lines of Homer which describe Jove thus ruling among the gods, and which evidently suggested those magnificent verses of Milton:—

> "Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance filled
> All heaven, and in the blessed spirits elect
> Sense of new joy ineffable diffused." *

We possess various copies of the bust of this grand statue, in which the high and expansive forehead, the enlarged facial angle, the arch of the eyebrows, the majesty of the large calm eye, the features full of expression, though in perfect repose, the slight indication of the nod, and the masses of hair gently falling forward, combine to make up the ideal of supreme majesty and divine complacency, embodied in a human form. This statue was probably executed about B.C. 437, immediately after the completion of the Parthenon.†

The nearest rival to this great work, showing how the influence of Phidias affected the Dorian schools of art, was the chryselephantine statue of Hera in her temple between Argos and Mycenæ, the work of the Argive Polycletus, who was as famed for his statues of men as Phidias for those of gods, a statement which implies the less ideal character of his art. Myron of Eleutheræ, a younger contemporary and fellow-pupil of Phidias, excelled in the more impassioned representation of athletes in the various attitudes of the games. These statues were for the most part in bronze: one of the best was the Discobolus, or Quoit-player, of which we possess a marble copy in the British Museum, unfortunately deformed by modern restorations. Myron was one of the first great artists who moulded the figures of animals, other than horses. His bronze cow, represented in the act of lowing, stood in the centre of an open place in Athens.

The sister art of painting was approaching to the perfection which architecture and sculpture had reached; but its development was slower. The laws of perspective, the combinations of colour, and the mechanical processes of the art, were longer in attaining perfection than the simpler modes of working in bronze and marble. The great painters, who aided in the decoration of

* Homer, Il. i. 528—530; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, iii. 135—137. The head of the statue is seen on the coins of the Eleians, and in several busts, the finest of which are in the Museo Pio-Clementino and in the Florentine Gallery.

† See the author's article "Pheidias" in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.*

Athens, were Polygnotus of Thasos, and Panænus, the nephew of Phidias; and their works, though far inferior in execution to those of their successor, Apollodorus of Athens, and of their later contemporaries, the Asiatic Greeks, Zeuxis and Parrhasius, marked the same transition from the old archaic style that was made in sculpture. Their paintings were still essentially statuesque and deficient in perspective, and they adhered to the old plan, which we see on the early vases, of affixing names to their figures. The most important of their works were the paintings in the temple of Theseus, representing the hero's exploits, and the great picture of the battle of Marathon, in the Painted Porch, which has been already described. The masterpiece of Polygnotus was the series of paintings from the epic cycle, with which he decorated the *Lesche*, or Conversation-Hall of the Cnidians at Delphi.

It was under the administration of Pericles too that Greek Literature reached its culminating height in the Attic Drama, a form of poetry which Aristotle justly considers as the most perfect; and it shone with undiminished splendour almost to the end of the century. We have already indicated briefly how the Greek dramatic poetry, in both its forms, sprung up in connection with the worship of Dionysus. The distinction, now so marked, between Tragedy and Comedy, was at first almost accidental. Bands of Dionysiac revellers celebrated the praises of the god, chiefly at the season of the vintage, with songs and dances, both in the cities and the villages. But the polished inhabitants of the cities demanded a more intellectual entertainment than the simple rustics. The songs of the revellers were gradually moulded into the regular choral dithyramb, while the performers still preserved the wild dress and gestures of the Satyrs, beings half goat and half man, who accompanied Dionysus, whence their performance received the name of *Tragedy*, the *Goat Song*.* The prevalence of tales of crime and fate and suffering, like those of the houses of Labdacus and Pelops, among the mythical subjects chosen for the tragic chorus, naturally impressed on tragedy a mournful and fatal character; while the rude merriment and unrestrained license of the village festival, venting itself in coarse

* This form of the Chorus was preserved in the Satyric Drama, or burlesque, which was exhibited in association with Tragedy. In a fragment of a Satyric drama by Æschylus, on the story of "Prometheus the Fire-Kindler," a Satyr who wants to embrace the fire is warned by Prometheus:—"Take care, you goat! you'll burn your beard off."

jokes and personal jibes, in "quips, and cranks, and wanton wiles," as naturally made *Comedy*, the *Village-Song*, the vehicle of fun and satire. Both forms received their earliest development among the Dorian states, so far as their choral poetry was concerned, and comedy found its chief home among the democratic Megarians, both of the mother city and the Sicilian colonies. The first regular comedies were composed by Epicharmus, who was born at Cos about B.C. 540, and exhibited at Syracuse before the Persian Wars. Long before his time, the Megarian Susarion introduced comedy into Attica, at the village of Icaria, a special seat of the worship of Dionysus (B.C. 578), nearly a century before the art reappeared during the Persian Wars.

The same village of Icaria was the native place of Thespis, who first gave to Tragedy its dramatic character, in the time of Pisistratus (B.C. 535). He laid the foundation of the dialogue, which afterwards became the most essential part of a drama, the very name of which signifies action, introducing a single actor, who not only relieved the choral performances by the recitation of mythological stories and heroic adventures, but by carrying on a conversation with the leader of the Chorus. This actor, who in the earliest times was often the poet himself, personated different characters by means of linen masks. Thespis is said to have travelled about Attica in a waggon, which served him for a stage; but the art soon found a home at Athens, where dramatic contests for prizes were established in connection with the festivals of Dionysus. These exhibitions became institutions of the state. The provision of choruses was one of the "Liturgies," or public services, which the wealthy citizens had to discharge. The citizen at whose expense each particular chorus was provided was called its Choragus (Bringer-on of the Chorus), and it was to him that a prize won by the drama was awarded. The poet was recognised solely as the "Teacher of the Chorus," which he must obtain by application to the Archon Basileus. Each competitor had to produce three tragedies (called a *Trilogy*), to which a Satyric drama was generally but not always added (forming a *Tetralogy*), after that form of composition had been separated from the regular drama by Pratinas, a Dorian of Phlius, who exhibited at Athens in competition with Æschylus. The immediate successors of Thespis were the Athenians, Chœrilus (B.C. 523—483), and Phrynichus, who first exhibited in B.C. 511, when his choragus was Themistocles. He first ventured down from the regions of mythology to a subject of contemporary history, the capture of

Miletus by the Persians; and it is a curious example of Athenian sentiment, that, after being melted to tears by the poet's pathos, they fined him 1000 drachmæ for making an exhibition of the sufferings of their Ionian brethren. It was at the epoch of B.C. 500, that ÆSCHYLUS, the son of Euphorion, exhibited his first tragedy. Not only by his transcendent genius, but by the improvements he introduced into dramatic performances, did he earn the fame of being the real founder of Tragedy. His addition of a second actor provided for a real dialogue on the stage, and enabled him to make the choral odes subordinate to the action. The personation of characters was aided by elaborate masks, and the actors were raised to the heroic stature and dignity by high-heeled buskins,* lofty head-dresses, and magnificent robes. He first used scenes painted according to the rules of perspective, a new invention of the artist Agatharcus. The extent to which he made use of theatrical mechanism may be judged of from the scenes in the *Prometheus*, where the ocean nymphs enter in a flying chariot, and their father, Oceanus, comes in bestriding a winged monster, or, as the poet himself calls it, a four-legged bird, half horse and half griffin.† He also invented new figures for the dances of the chorus. Nothing remained, in order to give the drama its final form, but the third actor, who was added by Sophocles. Such were the strides which tragedy made in the course of a single generation from the first performance of Thespis.

The improvements in the mechanism of the art prepared it to receive the mighty impulse of intellectual life, which was given to the whole nation by the Persian Wars. We have seen that Æschylus was one of the combatants both at Marathon and at Salamis. He was no doubt among the throng who gazed with delight on the youthful beauty of Sophocles, the son of Sophilus, leading the chorus, lyre in hand, round the trophy of the latter fight. That youth, twelve years later, snatched from him the tragic prize, under circumstances of peculiar interest (B.C. 468). The approaching contest had excited such expectation and party

* From the contrast between the tragic buskin (*cothurnus*) and the low-heeled shoe (*soccus*) of comedy, we have borrowed the figurative terms *buskin* and *sock* for the two species of the drama.

† Aristophanes makes fun of this creature more than once, and gives us some insight into its mechanism. He makes the patron god of tragedy lie awake half the night "wondering what sort of a bird that yellow horse-cock might be;" and in another play, an old man, who undertakes to fly up to heaven on a beetle, shouts out to the attendants to mind the ropes aloft.

feeling, that the Archon had postponed drawing lots for the judges till the last moment, when Cimon and the nine generals, his colleagues, entered the theatre, having just returned from Scyros with the bones of Theseus. The Archon administered the oath to them as judges, and their decision awarded the first place to Sophocles, and the second Æschylus, who retired in disgust to the court of Hiero at Syracuse.* Æschylus was again at Athens ten years later, exhibiting his magnificent trilogy on the fates of Agamemnon, Clytemnestra, and Orestes (B.C. 458), and he died in Sicily two years later. With this one exception, Sophocles held the supremacy of the Attic stage till the epoch at which we have now arrived. The very year before that in which we have seen him associated with Pericles in the command against Samos, he had been compelled to yield the first prize to Euripides (B.C. 441), who, born at Salamis on the very day of the battle, had begun to exhibit in the year after the death of Æschylus (B.C. 455). The two great dramatists continued to work with unabated fertility, against the competition of many other poets, who would have made the period illustrious had the great masters never written, till just before the end of the Peloponnesian War, when they both died in the same year (B.C. 406). It is not within our province to enumerate the works or to compare the merits of these three masters of the tragic art.†

The memorable year which forms about the central point of the sole administration of Pericles, the same year in which the Parthenon was finished, is a marked epoch in the history of Comedy. The "Old Comedy," that form of the art which consisted in personal and political satire, launched in humour of the broadest license, had, like Tragedy, its three great masters, who are enumerated by Horace in the well-known lines :—

> "Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poëtæ
> Atque alii quorum Comœdia Prisca virorum est,
> Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur,
> Quod mœchus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui
> Famosus, multa cum libertate notabant." ‡

But Aristophanes is the only one of the three to whom the common voice of antiquity has assigned a pre-eminence over the

* It is uncertain what piece Sophocles produced on this occasion. It was not one of his extant plays.

† See the article "Sophocles" in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.*

‡ Horat, *Sat.* I. iv. 1—5.

multitude of his rivals. It was just after the battle of Marathon that Comedy was revived at Athens by Chionides (B.C. 488—7), but Cratinus, the first distinguished poet of the Old Comedy, did not begin to exhibit till a generation later (B.C. 454); and ten years later still, in the year that marks the great ascendancy of Pericles, Aristophanes was born (B.C. 444). Meanwhile the license of the comedians reached such a pitch, that a decree was passed to prohibit their performances, in the year of the revolt of Samos (B.C. 440). The repeal of that decree, three years later, forms a new starting point in the history of Comedy (B.C. 437). Cratinus gained the first prize in the following year (B.C. 436); and a new generation of poets directed their attacks against the administration of Pericles. It is not, however, till two years after the great statesman's death, that the most interesting period of the art begins with the first exhibition of Aristophanes at the age of seventeen (B.C. 427).

The dramatic poetry of the Athenians must not be considered simply as the fruit of the people's intellectual life and liberty: it was one of the chief means by which that life and liberty were sustained in vigour. The stage answered truly to its Latin name, the *pulpit;* and it discharged also, to no small extent, the functions of the press. Quick of thought and utterance, of hearing and apprehension, living together in open public intercourse,—reading would have been to the Athenians a slow process for the interchange of ideas. But the many thousands of auditors in the great theatre caught, as with an electric flash of intelligence, the noble thought, the pointed sentiment, the wail of agony, the piteous appeal, the withering sarcasm, the flash of wit, the covert innuendo. All that the poet exhibited before them was invested with the interest of reality, though clad in the halo of imagination. The gods and heroes who swept majestically over the tragic stage were the objects of their religious and national faith, real beings, whose actions and sufferings claimed their deepest sympathy, and whose heroic fortitude served for an example, or their terrible fate for a warning. At times, as in the *Persæ* of Æschylus, the events of their own history were so pourtrayed as to keep alive the flame of patriotic enthusiasm; or, as is doubtless the case in the *Eumenides* of the same poet, and in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, their own political institutions and principles were illustrated from scenes laid in the heroic ages. It was the privilege of the poet, as it now is of the orator and preacher, to teach many a lesson and throw out many a hint which would either have fallen

dead or have been at once rejected if proposed in conversation or in council. So too in the Old Comedy, the persons, habits, manners, principles, held up to ridicule, the measures attacked with the keen weapons of satire, were all familiar to the audience in their daily lives; and the poet might exhibit in a humorous light objects which to attack seriously would have been treason or sacrilege, and might recommend, from behind the shelter of the comic mask, measures which he could only have proposed in the popular assembly with the halter round his neck. Of the examples which abound in the plays of Aristophanes, it will be enough to mention the display of Cleon and the impersonation of the Athenian People, in the *Knights*. All the complaints that may be urged against the abuse of these great powers can be answered by the arguments which, in modern times, have triumphantly defended the "Liberty of unlicensed Printing."

The age of Pericles was likewise adorned with the more solid fruits of intellect and research. First among its prose writers stand the two historians of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. The year in which Æschylus gained his first tragic prize, in the midst of the interval between Marathon and Salamis, was that of the birth of Herodotus at Halicarnassus (B.C. 484); and the year of the death of Æschylus is that in which Herodotus is supposed to have read his great work at the Olympic festival, when the assembled Greeks bestowed the names of the Muses upon his nine books, and the youthful Thucydides was moved to tears by the awakened spirit of emulation.* The story is worth mentioning as showing the relation of the two historians to each other in respect of age; but it has scarcely a claim to be believed. It rests on the sole authority of Lucian; and, besides that it has all the air of a rhetorical invention, it is altogether incredible that Herodotus, at the age of twenty-eight, should have completed his extensive travels and finished the nine books of his history. It is far more probable that Herodotus was still engaged at this time in collecting the materials for his history, and in so doing it seems certain that he visited Athens and conversed with the men who had fought at Marathon,

B.C. 456. In this year Herodotus was twenty-eight, and Thucydides fifteen. It may be worth while to refer to the common error, into which we are apt to be led by the venerable character of Herodotus as the "Father of History," of forgetting that he was younger than Sophocles, much younger than Æschylus, only four years older than Euripides, and thirteen older than Thucydides, and that he lived nearly, and perhaps quite, to the end of the Peloponnesian War. He alludes incidentally to the death of Amyrtæus in B.C. 408.

Salamis, and Platæa; for he shows as perfect a familiarity with the scenes as with the incidents of those battles, and some of his information could scarcely have been obtained except upon the spot. Other indications of his familiarity with the leading men of Athens are found in his work; and it contains, in particular, passages bearing such a resemblance to Sophocles, both in political sentiment and expression, as to have suggested the theory, which is supported by the express statement of Plutarch, of a personal intimacy between the poet and the historian. It has been supposed that Herodotus was residing at Samos when Sophocles was sent to the island, as one of the ten generals, in B.C. 440.* Certain allusions in his work have led to the supposition that he was again at Athens at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (B.C. 431). He joined the Athenian colony of Thurii, probably a considerable time after its first foundation in B.C. 443; and to the later years of his life there we ought doubtless to refer the final composition of his history. But, let his personal connection with Athens have been what it might, his latter books form a monument of her glory more imperishable than the works of Phidias.

The literary activity of Thucydides falls later than the age of Pericles; but, as he was thirty years old at the epoch of the war, the history of which he undertook to write, we cannot doubt that he was now already bearing his part in the active duties of an Athenian citizen, and collecting by watchful observation and enquiry those profound observations on the previous history of Greece, the character of the Athenian empire, and the spirit of her institutions, which form some of the most valuable portions of his work. Especially does his accurate delineation of the character of Pericles, his exposition of that statesman's policy, and his faithful report of some of his greatest speeches, justify our referring to the age of Pericles the beginning of the literary career of Thucydides.

There is another class, not so much of writers as of teachers, who had far too great an influence on the intellectual character of the age, to be omitted in this survey of its greatness. We have traced the beginnings of philosophy in Greece: we have seen how its professors formed distinct schools, and how powerful—as, for example, in the case of Pythagoras—was their influence on the social and political life of the states in which they took up their abode.† The condition of Athens at the present epoch opened

* See Donaldson's *Antigone*, Introduction; and *Transactions of the Philological Society*, vol. i. No. 15.

† Chap. xii., pp. 372, foll.

a wide and inviting field for the exercise of such influence. While her wealth and imperial power made her the centre to which all forms of talent would naturally tend, and while her free spirit pointed her out as the natural home of freedom in speculation, the practical requirements of her political institutions demanded of her citizens a special intellectual training. The man who desired to take an active part in public life must be able to hold his ground in the debates of the ecclesia, and to defend himself in the courts of justice; and, in the latter arena especially, the great satirist of the age declares that it was often needful to make the worse appear the better reason,—a necessity not unknown to courts of law in other times. The old-fashioned course of Greek education, lauded by Aristophanes as that which trained "the men who fought at Marathon," made no provision—and it was the boast of its admirers that it made none—for these new wants. The plan of education common to all the Greek states, except those which had adopted a special public course of training—such as Sparta and Crete—may be described, in one word, as that of making a good man and an accomplished gentleman. Boys were placed under the care of the "pædagogue,"* often a trusty slave, whose office it was to keep a constant watch over their safety and their behaviour; his only part in their school education was to conduct them to and from the school. There they were first taught to read Homer and then to commit to memory passages from the old poets, chosen for the sake of their moral precepts. Music, singing, and dancing, were taught not only as essential accomplishments, fitting a man to take part in the public choruses as well as to amuse himself and his friends in private life, but as tending to bring his whole nature into an harmonious balance. Gymnastic exercises were practised with the utmost care and regularity, under the eye of the pædagogue, as the means of keeping up that perfect physical condition which the Greeks rightly regarded as essential to usefulness as well as happiness, the "mens sana *in corpore sano*." These exercises were moreover a training for the military duties which every citizen had to discharge, and for those contests in the public games, success in which was the highest honour he could achieve. This may in fact be called their only professional education. All but the poorest classes—the labourers and sailors—lived either upon the produce of their estates or the gains earned by the labour of

* The word signifies "boy-leader:" its modern use in the sense of a schoolmaster quite misrepresents its proper Greek sense.

their slaves, and in the latter way extensive manufactures were carried on. Mercantile enterprises were engaged in according to each man's pleasure or opportunities, and there was no separate class always clamouring for a commercial education.

But the democratic institutions of Athens provided a profession, in which most Athenians were ready to embark—the profession of politics, a profession pursued to occupy a man's energies and to gratify his ambition, not to earn a livelihood. This profession demanded, in addition to the highest culture of intellectual energy and keenness, an extensive acquaintance with the principles of moral and political science and of the facts of history as illustrations of them, and the most perfect and ready skill in the arts of rhetoric and dialectics. For such knowledge the youth of Athens resorted to the lectures which the teachers of philosophy gave in the public Gymnasia, of which the principal bore names that have ever since been connected with education,—the *Academia*, in the grove of the Attic hero Academus,—the *Lyceum*, near the temple of Apollo Lyceus,—the former afterwards the school of Plato, the latter of Aristotle.* The opening of these lectures was in fact the institution of the University of Athens—an university in the proper sense of the word—such as the universities of modern Europe were before they became surrounded with the accidents of royal and noble patronage, elaborate systems of government, extensive buildings, honours and emoluments, and special privileges—mere voluntary associations of teachers and scholars. These classes appear to have been opened at first with a far wider object than that for which they came to be most valued. They embraced all the philosophical knowledge and speculation of the age, mathematics, astronomy, and natural science—such as natural science then was,—literary criticism, and enquiries concerning the foundations of morality, harmony, and beauty, as well as the practical rules of oratory and dialectics. Among the intellectual people of Athens there were always a certain number who pursued the study of philosophy for its own sake, but the majority of the wealthy and ambitious youths frequented the schools of the philosophers for the practical purpose of acquiring dialectic skill and the art of public speaking. The teachers naturally adapted their instruction to the wants of their pupils; and thus from being philosophers in the widest sense, they became *Rhetors*—professors of oratory—and *Sophists*, a term

* Respecting the arrangements of the public Gymnasia, see Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities.* The third of the three great Attic Gymnasia, that of Cynosarges, had not the fortune to attain celebrity as a philosophic school.

which properly denotes one who himself possesses, and who makes it his business to communicate to others, skill and cleverness in any department of knowledge or in any special art.*

So far from the name of Sophist involving any reproach, it was adopted by the first man who became celebrated under the title (Protagoras of Abdera), as his own professional description. Its exact force may be perhaps defined by saying that the philosopher was the enquirer, the sophist the teacher. There was nothing essentially immoral or dishonest in the profession or in the teaching of the Sophists. One of the most popular fables handed down to us from antiquity in praise of a virtuous life—the choice of the youthful Hercules between the invitations of Virtue and the allurements of Vice—was the production of a distinguished Sophist of this age, Prodicus of Ceos. The fact is, however, unquestionable that, during the period of the Peloponnesian War, the name of Sophist, and the class of teachers it denoted, fell into that reproach which we see reflected in the opposition of Socrates and the satire of Aristophanes. We say *reflected*, for it is incredible that the philosopher and the comedian should have been able to *create* so strong a prejudice, had it not begun to work already in the popular sentiment; but neither can it be denied that both were leaders, and not merely followers, of this sentiment. Four causes chiefly tended to bring the Sophists into disrepute. One was their receiving pay for their lessons.† According to our modern ideas, this would only place them in the position of professional men, earning an honourable livelihood from their profession. But such a view of the position of a public teacher was as yet foreign to the Greek mind. Men of letters might take, without disgrace, the honorary rewards which princes and states heaped upon them: and might calculate upon them with the certainty of Simonides, who, when shipwrecked, cared not to save his goods: "For," said he, "I carry my property with me." But when direct payment was not only received, but demanded, for lessons in truth and virtue, as well as in learning, it seemed as if priceless things were reduced to venal commodities, and their teacher to a mere trafficker. Next, though the instruction

* One impediment to the clear understanding of the whole subject is our association of the Greek words σοφός and σοφία with our modern sense of the word *wisdom*. They are more akin to the word *wit* in its old sense, *practical skill and cleverness*.

† Protagoras, who first adopted the professional name of Sophist, is said also to have been the first who received professional payment. His fee was sometimes as high as 100 minæ (about 400*l*.), and Plato says that he made more money than Phidias and ten other sculptors put together.

offered by the Sophists was various, and much of it respected the highest objects of human thought, it was soon found that the ambitious youth of Athens cared little for aught but what had a direct bearing upon their success in public life; and, as they paid for the lessons they took, the teacher had no choice but to suit his instruction to the demand. In the case of Socrates, who took no pay, and resolutely followed his own method of instruction, we have the express testimony of Xenophon, that Critias and Alcibiades consorted with the master so long only as they supposed they could gain such practical skill from his lessons, and then they immediately deserted him; but their connection with him was still made an important element in his accusation. Those, again, who may have cared but little for the intellectual or moral tendency of the Sophists' teaching, felt themselves quite competent to detect the absurdity of many of their physical speculations. These philosophers had scarcely an idea of the inductive method of enquiry. Instead of regarding themselves as "the servants and interpreters of Nature," they attempted to decide by an *à priori* method what was the best course for her to follow in each particular case, and they brought all phenomena to the test of these foregone conclusions. The consequence was that science made no progress in their hands, and gained for them no respect. Socrates perceived so clearly the failure of these speculations, as not only to renounce them himself, but to regard them as unworthy the attention of the philosopher. Is it, he asked, because these men think themselves well enough versed in human affairs, that they busy themselves about those which belong to the gods?—those concerning which man can attain to no certainty, as is proved by the different opinions held about them?—those, in fine, which give no practical results, for none of those who are learned in them profess to be able to *make* the things they study, the winds, the seasons, and the like? It is easy for us to expose these fallacies—which, however, have not yet ceased to be repeated—and to point to the lightning itself pursuing the path marked out for it by man, and recording his thoughts instead of destroying his works; but what wonder was it, when a Socrates reasoned thus, that the common people should despise the professors of natural science? This is one of the most telling points in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, where Socrates himself is ridiculed as the representative of the Sophists, as experimenting on how many of its own foot-lengths a flea leapt over, and the like trivial investigations. The same play affords one of many proofs of a far more serious feeling

than contempt. The speculations of the Sophists about the nature of the universe extended beyond natural objects to the supernatural; and their opinions respecting the gods, and their relations to the world and man, soon alarmed the sensitiveness of the popular religious feeling. Anaxagoras, whose abode at Athens and intercourse with Pericles may be regarded as the beginning of the great influence of the philosophers in that city, was prosecuted for atheism (about B.C. 450). The immediate motive of the attack was doubtless to aim a political blow at the friend of Pericles, then in the heat of his conflict with Thucydides; but its success proves the strength of the popular feeling. All the influence of Pericles is said to have hardly saved the life of Anaxagoras, who was condemned in a fine of five talents (more than 1000*l.*), and banished from Athens. A like charge was brought against Protagoras for his book on the gods, which began with the sentence, "Concerning the gods, I am unable to discover whether they exist or do not exist;" and he too is said to have been banished from Athens (B.C. 411).* The fate of other Sophists is doubtful; but the climax of the feeling against the whole body of philosophers is seen in the condemnation of Socrates on the twofold charge, of not believing in the gods believed in by the city, and of corrupting the young men. The chief part of the history of the Sophists, and of the contests held with them by Socrates on the one hand, and by the comic poets on the other, belongs to the period of the Peloponnesian War, the age when Protagoras, Prodicus, Hippias, and Gorgias chiefly flourished at Athens. But the influence of the philosophers who preceded the Sophists properly so called is seen in the intimacy of Anaxagoras with Pericles; and Protagoras, the first of the latter class, was already at Athens before B.C. 445, as he drew up a code of laws for the new colony of Thurii, which was sent out in that year.

Such was the condition of Athens in the age of Pericles; and the whole history of the world does not offer a more striking example of the intellectual perfection to which it is given to man to attain by the powers of a high natural organization, acting with the unfettered energies secured by political freedom, and impelled, first by the efforts needful to secure that freedom, and further, by the conscious pride of empire. But there is a terrible reverse to the picture in the moral condition of the people; for they also hold forth an example of the general truth, that the

* The date of this prosecution, just after the aristocratic revolution, indicates that, like those of Anaxagoras and Socrates, it was not unconnected with party politics.

selfish cultivation of intellectual and æsthetic enjoyment is a source of moral weakness, and not of strength. All the outward glories of Athens must not blind us to the personal and political profligacy which are attested both by her history and her literature. We may be excused from dwelling upon the details, not only from their repulsive nature, but because they can only be properly understood through a study of the contemporary authors. Meanwhile we have to regard the feelings which the empire of Athens produced among her jealous rivals, and to trace the progress of the destructive war which was waged for her humiliation.

The state of things in Greece, recognised by the Thirty Years' Truce, in B.C. 445, was that of the two great confederacies we have described, each invested with the power of chastising its rebellious members. The distinct acknowledgment of this power, in the refusal of the Peloponnesian allies to aid Samos in her revolt against Athens (B.C. 440), was brought about mainly through the influence of Corinth.* This state, though after the conquest of Ægina the chief rival of Athens on the sea, had for that very reason the strongest motive to uphold a principle essential for the maintenance of her own maritime empire, as the case of Corcyra soon proved. But all this was changed by an infraction of the principle on the part of Athens herself, and that at the expense of Corinth.

We have already noticed the ancient rivalry between Corinth and her powerful colony Corcyra, the modern *Corfu*. In the year B.C. 435, a fresh quarrel broke out concerning the city of Epidamnus (the later Dyrrachium), on the mainland of Epirus.† The contest between the Few and the Many, almost universal in the Grecian states, had ended at Epidamnus in the expulsion of the oligarchical party. The exiles joined with the barbarian Illyrians in harassing the city by sea and land; and the Epidamnians, having in vain applied to Corcyra for aid in their distress, complained to Corinth, their original metropolis, offering to place the city in her hands. The acceptance of this offer, accompanied by the sending out of a new body of colonists to Epidamnus, led to open war between the Corinthians and Corcyræans. The latter were victorious in a great sea-fight, and they laid siege to Epidamnus. Resolved to retrieve the disaster, and to subdue her ancient enemy, Corinth employed the two following years in immense preparations (B.C. 434—433). The danger of the

* Thucydides, i. 40.

† Comp. chap. xii., p. 359.

Corcyræans was increased by their isolated position, for they had not yet joined the confederacy either of Sparta or of Athens. In the former, Corinth had an influence only second to that of Sparta herself, and the only course that remained was to seek the Athenian alliance. Both parties sent envoys to Athens; the Corcyræans to sue for the alliance, the Corinthians to deprecate it as alike impolitic and unjust. Thucydides expends all his power on the report, or rather composition, of the speeches delivered on this occasion before the ecclesia;* and it is interesting to find the subsequent policy of Athens shadowed forth in a main argument used by the Corcyræans, that their island would form the starting-point for an expedition against the Dorians of Sicily. The Corinthians urged the arguments of their own recent services to Athens, of good faith to the existing truce, and of the danger of a war with the Peloponnesian confederacy; but all this availed little against the tempting offer of the Corcyræan navy. The decision which was taken under the advice of Pericles is an indication of the course to which Athens was now committed, of extending her empire by all possible means. At first, indeed, she only formed a defensive alliance with the Corcyræans, and sent a small squadron of ten ships to their aid. These were followed by a reinforcement of twenty more, which arrived so opportunely as to save the Corcyræans from utter defeat in a great naval battle with the Corinthians (B.C. 432).

For the aid thus furnished to her enemies in the Ionian Sea, Corinth sought revenge in another quarter. The colonies on the Chalcidian peninsula, in the north-west corner of the Ægæan, belonged to the Athenian empire, and Perdiccas, the king of the adjacent land of Macedonia, had till lately been her firm ally. But the aid given by Athens to his brothers, Philip and Derdas, in maintaining the position of independent princes, alienated Perdiccas. He joined with Corinth in exciting disaffection among the Chalcidian cities, and formed the scheme of collecting the

* The speeches in this and other cases, which form so important a portion of the work of Thucydides, must generally be regarded as, *in form*, the composition of the historian; though in some, those of Pericles in particular, there are peculiarities of style, which suggest a pretty close adherence to the speech actually delivered. We have the historian's own testimony that he aimed at a faithful report of these speeches, some of which he had heard himself; but that, when this was impracticable, he put into the speakers' mouths what he thought suitable to the occasion. (Thuc. i. 22.) The speeches composed on the latter principle are, therefore, the vehicles of his own profound views concerning the moving principles of Grecian politics at the great crisis recorded in his history.

people of the coast into the strong inland city of Olynthus, which dates its importance from this epoch. To counteract these movements, the Athenians sent an armament to the Thermaic Gulf, and took measures to secure Potidæa, which, as being a colony of Corinth, was justly suspected of disloyalty. The Potidæans openly revolted, and applied for help both to Corinth, as their metropolis, and to Sparta, as the head of the Peloponnesian confederacy. A direct collision ensued between the Athenians and the Corinthians, who had sent a force to aid the Chalcidian insurgents, in which the former gained the victory; and the blockade of Potidæa was formed (B.C. 432). Thus had the great maritime powers of Corinth and Athens come into collision on both sides of the peninsula, to the decided disadvantage of the former. Her pacific policy was now transformed into the most bitter hatred, and she set herself to draw the whole Peloponnesian confederacy into war with Athens.

All matters which affected the common interests of the confederacy, and questions of peace and war in particular, were first debated by the Spartans in their own assembly. If their decision involved a common course of action, a congress of the allies was convened to determine whether it should be pursued; and in such a congress each state had an equal vote. We are again indebted to Thucydides for a full report of these proceedings in the present case, the interest of which is greatly increased by the introduction of certain Athenian envoys, who happened to be present at Sparta on other business, when the first assembly was held. Besides the Corinthians, there were envoys from the Megarians, who had been reduced to deep distress by a decree excluding them from all the ports and markets of the Athenian empire: the Æginetans, though not openly represented, through fear of Athens, found means of preferring the complaint, that they were deprived of the self-government stipulated for them in the truce: and others of the allies made other accusations against Athens, as the common tyrant of Greece. When all these had been suffered to sharpen the indignation of the Lacedæmonians, the Corinthians came forward last with their elaborate indictment, to which the Athenian envoys made a characteristic reply. The speech of the Corinthians dwells mainly on the aggressive policy and restless activity of Athens, with which they contrast the habitual sluggishness of Sparta; and, while upbraiding her for suffering the evil to grow to such a height, they hint at the necessity of seeking another alliance. The Athenians plead their services in the Persian Wars;

they urge that the imperial power, which has excited such envy, was at first gained without their own seeking, and that its retention had become a matter of self-preservation; instead of blame, they claim praise for having abused their power so little; as for the odium they had incurred, it was the inseparable result of a sovereign power which had to be maintained by force, and it would have been equally earned by the Lacedæmonians or any other state in the like position; and they end by advising that the matters in dispute should be settled by negotiation. The historian then exhibits, with consummate art—or else with a close adherence to what was actually said—the two sentiments which divided the Spartan mind in the speeches of the king Archidamus and the ephor Sthenelaïdas. The former urges every motive of prudence against encountering the power of Athens without adequate preparation and new maritime allies; he prays his countrymen not to be goaded into war by the taunts of the Corinthians against their national character and policy, a steady adherence to which had gained for them a long possession of glory and independence; in fine, he advises that negotiation should be tried, but that war should be prepared for. Lastly, the ephor Sthenelaïdas put the question, in a speech of Laconic brevity, which evidently expressed the popular feeling of the Spartans:—the many words used by the Athenians in their praise were no answer to the charge of wronging the allies of Sparta;—if they had done well formerly against the Medes, but now ill against the Greeks, they deserved double punishment, because they had become bad instead of good; but the Spartans were the same as ever, the protectors of their faithful allies:—in the courage of those allies lay their strength against the wealth, and ships, and horses of the Athenians:—nor did it beseem them to settle by *words* injuries done by *deeds*.

The Lacedæmonian ecclesia voted, like our own parliament, by voice, followed if necessary by a division. By professing his inability to decide between the *Ayes* and *Noes*, the Ephor brought out, in the division, the decisive majority for war. The treatment of the whole discussion by Thucydides forms perhaps the most interesting development, in all history, of the feelings which prompt nations "to go to war for an idea." The Peloponnesian War stands, in the annals of the world, at the head of what we now call wars of principle. Its immediate occasion arose, doubtless, out of the interests of the complaining states; and Corinth, in particular, precipitated the conflict in the hope of saving Potidæa. The allies were moved, too, by a deep conviction of

danger from the power of Athens, and by the special peril which threatened the Sicilian colonies, now that her navy was reinforced by the Corcyræan. But mere policy would have suggested the course proposed by Archidamus, to prepare to meet this danger by a firm alliance with the Dorians of Sicily. Policy, however, cannot fix the moment at which fires long smouldering shall burst into a conflagration. The real question at issue was whether the dominant power of Hellas should be Ionian, maritime, and democratic,—or Dorian,* military, and aristocratic; and whether that power should be wielded by Athens, as a supreme state, avowedly dictating the policy and commanding the resources of her subject allies, or by Sparta, as the head of a confederacy nominally voluntary, but really bound to her by means of the aristocratic governments which she was always ready to uphold by force in the several states. The short-lived victory of the Peloponnesians was purchased by the loss of Hellenic independence, after two generations of constant war.

It was in the fourteenth year of the Thirty Years' Truce, that this decision was taken by Sparta, encouraged by a response of the Delphic oracle, and ratified by a general congress of the allies, in which the Corinthians, while again foremost in advising war, took pains to point out the measures needed to ensure success. There was still needed both time for preparation and a definite pretext for the war; and a demand was made upon the Athenians, that they should expel "the accursed" from among them. The "accursed" were the family of the Alcmæonidæ, who had treacherously slain the adherents of Cylon, after enticing them from the sanctuary.† Pericles was descended from that race through his mother; and the requisition was aimed at him, not in the hope of obtaining his banishment, but in order to bring him into odium at Athens, as if the state were plunged in war for his sake. Pericles was fortunately in a position to retort the blow twofold upon the most eminent men among the Spartans,—requiring the expulsion of those who had committed sacrilege, by killing Pausanias in the temple of Athena, and by dragging the revolted Helots from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Tænarus.‡ The negotiations were prolonged by demands for the raising of the siege of Potidæa, for the independence of Ægina, for the reversal of the decree against Megara; and at last the Lacedæmonians

* In a well-known oracle, preserved by Thucydides, the war is called "a Dorian War." This, however, is from the Athenian point of view.

† See chap. xii., p. 345. ‡ See chap. xiii., p. 446; xiv., p. 458.

summed up all by offering peace, on the condition that the Athenians should restore every Grecian state to independence,—in other words, that the city should abdicate her empire and become again the weak and isolated Athens of the time before the Persian Wars, while the Lacedæmonian supremacy over her allies would remain untouched, because they were nominally self-governed.

Inadmissible as this demand was in itself, it brought to a head the whole question of war or peace. In the assembly held for the purpose of coming to a final decision, many voices had been raised in favour of purchasing peace by the repeal of the decree against Megara, when Pericles came forward to exhort the people to a determined resistance. Thucydides defines the position of the great statesman as "at that time the first of the Athenians, and the most able both in speech and action." His ascendancy over his fellow-citizens had lately been subjected to severe trials. All the splendours of his administration had not silenced his enemies, who had made a series of fierce attacks upon him in the persons of his most cherished friends. Three distinguished persons, of the most different pursuits, all endeared to Pericles, not only as personal friends but for their intellectual eminence, were the objects of prosecution for his sake,—the philosopher Anaxagoras, the sculptor Phidias, and the courtezan Aspasia. It is time to say a word respecting the last of these personages, and the class she represents. The position of the free women was a weak point in Greek society; and in the Ionian states, especially, they led nearly the life of Asiatics.* Secluded in the *gynæceum*, both before and after marriage, from all objects of interest beyond the narrow range of their domestic affairs, indifferently educated, and allowed no voice in determining their own lot in life, they were little fitted to become the companions of the lively and intellectual husbands, to whom they were given in marriage from motives of family policy. Such a state of domestic life of course favoured the irregular connections to which the Greeks were prone from their sensual temperament, and which the state generally encouraged. The courtezans were exceedingly numerous in every Greek city except Sparta, and most of all at Corinth, where they bore a name which marks the same connection with a debased religion that still subsists in the East, the "sacred slaves" of Aphroditè. This name, too, denotes the class by which most of them were

* These remarks do not, of course, apply to Sparta, where the women lived in public, and were subjected to the training which was deemed fit for the mothers of Spartan citizens, and which can have left little room for feminine graces.

supplied; being either slaves, from whom their owners made a gain, or unhappy persons whom poverty had reduced to this worst of slavery. But there was a distinct class, generally called in Greek, by a euphemism, "Hetæræ" (*Companions*),—foreigners, whose love of freedom and distinction led them to enter on this sort of life as an adventure, and whose intellectual powers and accomplishments enabled them to form private connections with the most distinguished men. Such were Aspasia, Laïs, and Phryne, who are celebrated by the Greek poets and antiquaries; and among these Aspasia is especially distinguished by her intellect and wit, and by her constancy to Pericles. That statesman had been peculiarly unfortunate in his marriage, which had ended in a divorce by mutual consent. He took Aspasia into his house, where she formed the ornament of the intellectual society in which he spent his leisure hours; and he lavished upon her son, whom he named Pericles, the affection of which his legitimate children proved unworthy.* It is said to have been by the jealousy of his son Xanthippus that the comic poets were in a great measure prompted to their scandalous attacks on the private life of Pericles. One of these poets, after the banishment of Anaxagoras, preferred a formal indictment against Aspasia for her part in the anti-religious speculations of that philosopher. She was defended by Pericles himself, with a passion which overcame his usual self-command, and his eloquence and tears gained an acquittal. He was less fortunate in the case of Phidias, who was accused of having purloined some of the gold entrusted to him for the statue of Athena; and Pericles himself seems to have been implicated in the charge. The statesman's well-known probity was doubtless a sufficient answer, in his own case, even without his challenge to have the gold taken off and weighed;† but the dicasts did not choose to accept the proof on behalf of Phidias. It is characteristic of the temper of the Athenians, that they may have been equally ready to show their true respect for Pericles,

* These two sons of Pericles were named Xanthippus and Paralus. Both, though carefully educated, were of inferior capacity; but Paralus was less undutiful than his brother. Both fell victims to the great plague of B.C. 429; and one of the few occasions on which Pericles is said to have yielded to his feelings in public was when he placed the funeral garland on the head of Paralus. After their death, Pericles was permitted to enrol his surviving son, by Aspasia, in his own tribe. The young Pericles was one of the generals put to death by the Athenians after the battle of Arginusæ (B.C. 406).

† Allusion has already been made to the precaution, which Pericles took, of having the gold removable.

and at the same time to humiliate him in the person of his friends.* At all events, Phidias was found guilty, and he seems to have died soon afterwards in prison (about B.C. 432). It was even suggested that Pericles obtained the decree against Megara expressly in order to "blow up the flame of the Peloponnesian War," and thus to divert the attacks of his political antagonists; but the very way in which the comic poet mentions this charge proves that he did not himself believe it.†

It was, therefore, amidst personal difficulty and danger that Pericles stood forward to pilot the state through the passage from peace to war. His enemies had not dared to suggest compliance with the demand for his banishment; but they raised a vehement opposition to his policy. But there was in him that element of personal ascendancy with which the greatest statesmen have been gifted at rare intervals in the history of the world; and his very aspect, voice, and gestures were in harmony with his character and his policy. With that respect which often breathes through the mask of caricature, the comic poets found in his dignified bearing and even in the form of his head a resemblance to the Olympian Jove, like whom they represented him as ruling with a nod the subject world—of Athens. When those, whom Demosthenes calls "the multitude of the usual speakers" in the ecclesia, had had their say, then

> "with grave
> Aspect he rose, and in his rising seemed
> A pillar of state: deep on his front engraven
> Deliberation sat, and public care;
> . . . . . his look
> Drew audience and attention still as night,
> Or summer's noontide air."

Above all, he possessed that highest power, of stemming the current of popular feeling, as Thucydides testifies in these striking words, "When Pericles saw the people in a state of unseasonable and insolent confidence, he spoke so as to cow them into alarm; when again they were in groundless terror, he combated it, and brought them back to confidence."‡ The historian reports at length, having himself very probably heard it, the speech by which Pericles persuaded the people to give a final negative to all

* The Athenians are not the only free people who have been prone to amuse themselves with badgering a statesman, whose stern probity has won more respect than love, at the very time when they were admiring him in their hearts, and reaping the fruits of his policy.

† Aristophanes, *The Peace*, B.C. 587—603, with the criticism of Mr. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vi., p. 139.

‡ Thucyd. ii. 65.

the demands of Sparta, and in which he laid down the policy that would ensure success in the coming war. That policy was, in one word, that Attica should be abandoned to the invasions of the enemy, while the people, collected within the shelter of Athens, the Piræus, and the Long Walls, should send out naval expeditions to ravage the coasts of Peloponnesus. Well knowing the impatient temper of his countrymen, he warned them against two great dangers, with a foresight which subsequent events proved but too well founded. The one was that, indignant at the devastation of their land, they might risk an unequal battle against the superior forces of the enemy; the other, that they might be tempted to acquire new dominions during the war. "I have more fear," said he, "of our own errors than of our enemies' designs." In fine, he advised them to reply, that they would admit the Megarians to their markets and harbours, provided that the Lacedæmonians would abandon their periodical expulsions of foreigners;—that they would grant independence to all states that were independent at the time of the truce, if the Lacedæmonians would allow their own allies to govern themselves as they pleased;—that they would give satisfaction for all wrongs according to the terms of the treaty;—in short, that they would not begin the war, but would resist those who should begin it. But, do what they would, the war must come, and the more willingly they met it, the less dangerous would it prove. Let them remember how their fathers repelled the Medes, beginning the contest with no such advantages as they now possessed, but from the abandonment of all they had, and how they advanced the city to its present state, and let them resolve to hand down what they had received, unimpaired to their posterity. The assembly adopted his advice, and the answer sent to Sparta put an end to negotiation. All this time, both parties had carried on ordinary intercourse, not indeed without mutual suspicion, but without the intervention of heralds, as in a state of war. The first beginning of hostilities was due to the eagerness of the Thebans to seize a long-coveted prize.

In the early spring of the fifteenth year of the Thirty Years' Truce (B.C. 431), a body of Thebans surprised Platæa in the night; but, after being admitted by traitors of the aristocratic party, they were overpowered by the citizens. Some were put to death; others were detained as prisoners. A force sent from Thebes to demand the captives retired on receiving a promise of their liberation; and the Platæans forthwith massacred the prisoners. They then sent

news of what had been done to the Athenians, who put a garrison of their own citizens into Platæa, and removed to Athens all the men who were useless for its defence, with the women and children. This open violation of the truce at once committed both parties to the war, and gave a foretaste of the spirit in which it would be waged. Nothing, indeed, is more striking in the conflict which ensued, than the deadly animosity and mutual treachery of men of the same race, language, and religion, who had so lately fought side by side against the Persian.

Both parties now completed their preparations for the war, and sought to extend their alliances in every quarter. Scarcely could a single city remain neutral, amidst the excitement of all Greece at the collision of her leading states. Thucydides lays stress upon the fact, which has so often since contributed to the outbreak of a war, that a new generation had risen up, both at Athens and at Sparta, who had never seen the calamities of warfare, and who were eager for its excitement and glory. The dealers in oracles chaunted their prophecies in every Grecian city. Prodigies, eagerly sought for, were found in abundance; and, above all, the island of Delos, the old religious centre of the Hellenic world, was shaken by an earthquake, an event which had never occurred before in the memory of man. The general feeling inclined to the Lacedæmonians as the liberators of Greece.

It would be foreign to our purpose, even were it possible within our limits, to recount the details of the war, as they are related by Thucydides and Xenophon.* It lasted, with slight intermissions, for twenty-seven years (B.C. 431—404), which may be divided into three great periods. (I.) *A Ten Years' War*, from the attack on Platæa to the Fifty Years' Truce, negotiated by Nicias (B.C. 431—421). During this first period, the balance of success was on the side of the Athenians. This truce lasted nominally seven years, but it was really broken in the third year, and was followed by

* The great work of Thucydides is in eight books. The first is introductory, on the importance and causes of the war. The narrative of the war itself begins with the second book, and is brought down to the destruction of the Athenian expedition to Sicily, at the end of the seventh book (B.C. 413). The eighth book, which is most probably genuine, though not revised with the same care as the other seven, breaks off in the middle of the twenty-first year of the war (B.C. 411). From this point our chief authority is Xenophon, or whoever wrote the first two books of the "Greek History" (*Hellenica*) ascribed to him. These two books continue the story a little beyond the end of the war (in B.C. 404), to the restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulus, the amnesty, and the peace with Sparta (B.C. 402). The remaining five books of the "Hellenics" bring down the history of Greece to the battle of Mantinea (B.C. 362), the epoch we have taken for the close of this chapter.

(II.) *A Five Years' War*, ending with the disastrous expedition of the Athenians to Sicily (B.C. 418—413). (III.) The remaining *Nine Years* were occupied by the gallant resistance of Athens to the fate which had become inevitable since the loss of her Sicilian armament. It was waged chiefly on the coast of Asia, for the maritime command of the Ægæan, and ended with the taking of Athens by Lysander (B.C. 412—404).

Immediately after the abortive attempt upon Platæa, the Lacedæmonians summoned the allies to send their contingents to the Isthmus, for the invasion of Attica. It was in this way alone that Athens seemed really vulnerable. Though the confederacy comprised Corinth, Megara, Sicyon, and other maritime states, their united fleets were quite unable to cope with the navy of Athens. Active measures were at once adopted to remedy this disparity, especially by the aid of the Italian and Sicilian Greeks. Meanwhile, the one hope of the Peloponnesians lay in provoking the Athenians, by the devastation of their lands and villages, to risk an unequal contest with their own far superior army. It needed all the firmness of Pericles to disappoint this hope; and the Spartan king Archidamus was all but justified in the expectation that the mere threat of invasion would be enough. Before he entered Attica, he sent the herald Melesippus to announce his approach and to offer terms for the last time. But the Athenians had resolved not to receive another envoy, and Melesippus was conducted back to the frontier, where he took leave of his escort with the exclamation,—afterwards so terribly verified,—"This day will be the beginning of many evils to the Greeks." While Archidamus still lingered on the road, to give the experiment time to work, Pericles had the greatest difficulty in persuading the Athenians to abandon their beautiful villages and homesteads, their smiling corn-fields, their luxuriant vineyards and orchards. Their distress when cooped up within the walls was of course far greater than had been foreseen. All the open places, even those left vacant from religious scurples, as well as the space between the Long Walls, were crowded with huts, tents, and even tubs; and the enforced idleness of the dense throng, many of whom were unused to obey the ascendancy of Pericles, must have disposed them to listen to his enemies, and to ascribe all their sufferings to his policy. At length the army of Archidamus, numbering not less than 60,000 hoplites, was seen descending the slopes of Mount Ægaleos, on to the village of Acharnæ, just seven miles north of Athens, and in sight of its walls. This was the largest of the

demes of Attica, and its military force numbered 3000 full-armed men. Their rage at beholding all their rural wealth destroyed before their very eyes gave an impulse to the general indignation. Groups of citizens, gathered in every quarter, inflamed each other's discontent, and the eager youth demanded to be led out against the enemy. In such a state of popular feeling, Pericles would not trust even his own vast influence to avert some fatal resolution; and he used his power, as the first of the Ten Generals, to prevent the ecclesia from meeting till the ferment had subsided. Meanwhile he gave some vent to the impatience for action by sending out the Athenian and Thessalian cavalry to check the too near approach of the ravagers; and, in pursuance of his own policy, he fitted out a squadron of 100 triremes to make incursions on the enemy's coasts. This armament, united with fifty Corcyræan ships, besides attacking various points on the shores of Peloponnesus, took some of the Corinthian colonies on the coast of Acarnania, and reduced the island of Cephallenia.

The endurance which Pericles required of the Athenians had a natural limit. Like the levies of the middle ages, the Peloponnesian allies gave their military service only for a limited period; and when nearly forty days had passed without drawing the Athenians out to battle, Archidamus led off his army into Bœotia about the middle of July. The Athenians avenged themselves for their sufferings by ravaging the territory of Megara with their whole army, united with the sea force which had now returned to Ægina,—an operation which they repeated annually while the war lasted; and they took a further precaution for their maritime security by removing the whole population of Ægina to the Peloponnesian coast, and parcelling out their lands among Athenian cleruchi. The Spartans granted the expelled Æginetans a home at Thyrea. The summer campaign closed about the end of September, B.C. 431.*

During this summer the Athenians had adopted two important measures of preparation for the future. They deposited a treasure of 1000 talents in the Acropolis, as a sacred reserve, only to be used if the city should be attacked by a hostile fleet. Till then, any proposal to touch it subjected the mover to the penalty of death. This resolution was never violated till after the disaster in Sicily and the revolt of Chios, the firmest of all the allies, and even then the constitutional form was observed, of passing a vote

* Thucydides relates the events of each year of the war separately, distinguishing those of the summer and the winter.

of indemnity to the mover of the decree to use the money. For the more effectual protection of the Athenian possessions in the Chalcidian peninsula, alliances were made with Sitacles, who had founded a powerful kingdom over the Odrysians of Thrace, and with Perdiccas, king of Macedonia. The latter received back the port of Therma (afterwards Thessalonica) from the Athenians, and united his army with that of the Athenian Phormio, in operating against Potidæa; and the aid of the Thracians was promised for the same object.

According to the annual custom of Athens, the soldiers who had fallen in the campaigns of this summer were honoured with a splendid public funeral and a monument in the suburb called the Ceramicus (the Potter's Quarter). Their children were educated at the public expense, and when the sons came to the military age, they received a suit of armour, and were presented to the people on the stage at the Dionysia. The Greek religion required a strict performance of funeral rites, till which the shades of the dead were supposed to wander around the abode of Hades, forbidden to pass the water of the Styx. For this reason, as well as not to leave such trophies in the hands of the enemy, the utmost importance was attached to the recovery of the bodies of those who fell in battle. They were burnt upon the field, and their bones were carried home for the public funeral. Two days before the ceremony, the remains were laid in state under a tent, whither the relatives brought their offerings. At the time of the funeral, the bones were placed in coffers of cypress wood, one for every tribe, and borne forth on cars, followed by an empty bier, covered with a pall, representing those who were not found at the taking up of the dead. Every resident in Athens who pleased, whether citizen or foreigner, joined in the procession, and the tomb was surrounded by wailing women, the relatives of the deceased. When at last they were deposited in the ground, a man appointed to the office for his intelligence and worth mounted a lofty platform and pronounced their eulogy, and so the people were dismissed. On this occasion the funeral oration was delivered by Pericles; and the report of it in the pages of Thucydides forms one of the most remarkable remains of the literature of any people.* The peculiarity of its style is a sufficient proof that here, above every other instance, Thucydides acted on his avowed plan of reporting the speeches he himself heard as faithfully as he could. It is, as Mr. Grote observes, "every way worthy of Pericles—comprehensive, rational, and full not less of

* Thucydides, ii. 35—46.

sense and substance than of earnest patriotism. It thus forms a strong contrast with the jejune though elegant rhetoric of other harangues, mostly not composed for actual delivery; and deserves, in comparison with the funeral discourses remaining to us from Plato and the pseudo-Demosthenes, and even Lysias, the honourable distinction which Thucydides claims for his own history—an ever-living possession and not a mere show-piece for the moment."* The general tenor of the speech is to show that the free polity and free social life of the Athenians not only secured them an amount of enjoyment of which the Spartans were deprived by their severe discipline; but even that this discipline was a less effective preparation for war than the confidence, the patriotism, and the unimpaired resources with which Athens could meet each danger as it arose. But the speech can only be judged of by reiterated perusal.

In the second year of the war (B.C. 430), the full force of the Peloponnesians again invaded Attica in the spring. They remained in the land forty days, ravaging it more extensively and thoroughly than before. Before they had been long in the country, Athens was visited by that memorable pestilence, which is the earliest of what have been called, from their intensity and their wide diffusion, "Œcumenical Plagues." Of the others which have been included under that name, the most celebrated are those of Constantinople, in A.D. 532; of Florence, in A.D. 1348; of Milan, in A.D. 1630; and in London, A.D. 1665.† It so happens that nearly all these great pestilences have been described by writers of the highest power, that of Athens by Thucydides, that of Constantinople by Procopius, that of Florence by Boccaccio, and that of London by De Foe. In all cases the horror of the sufferings endured, and the frightful picture of desolation, is intensified by the recklessness, the licentious levity and cruel selfishness, the disregard of all moral ties, which formed the real though most unseasonable fruit of the presence of impending death. Thucydides, himself a sufferer from the Plague of Athens, has left us an account of it as remarkable for the accuracy of detail, as for the vivid picture of its devastation and its social consequences. It appears to have been an eruptive typhoid fever. Like the other epidemics just mentioned, it was spread far and wide over the

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vi., pp. 191–2.

† We might fairly add the great visitations of cholera in our own times, especially those of 1832 and 1849; but they have not yet found an historian. The original accounts of the Great Plagues mentioned in the text are collected into one view in Malkin's *Historical Parallels*.

world, though associated with the name of the city where its ravages were most remarkable. It was said to have broken out first in Ethiopia, whence it descended to Egypt, and spread to Libya on one hand, and to Asia on the other. Passing over to Europe, it had been felt at Rome and in other parts of Italy about sixteen years before, and more recently it had visited some islands of the Ægæan. Reaching Attica, it first appeared, according to the general law of such epidemics, in the port of Piræus. The people, collected from all Attica, crowded together in their wretched temporary abodes within the fortifications of Athens and the Long Walls, and depressed by the devastation of their lands, were in the fittest state to receive the full force of the disease. It was as sudden as it was fatal. Attacking first the head and throat, it soon spread over the whole system, and was generally fatal in the course of seven or nine days. Many who recovered from the first seizure died from subsequent exhaustion, and many lost the use of their limbs, their sight, and their memory. No specific was found for the complaint, and the physicians, and others who had the rare courage to visit the sick, were among the surest victims. Quacks and impostors tried their nostrums and incantations; professors of prophecy recited, among many others, a famous oracle which had declared,

"A Doric war shall fall,
And a great plague withal:"

and while the superstitious saw in the infliction the fulfilment of the promise of Apollo to help the Lacedæmonians, whether invoked or uninvoked, vulgar suspicion charged the enemy with poisoning the wells. As mental depression was a constant attendant of the disease, the universal terror aggravated its violence. The sick were soon left to die untended, except by the few who, having recovered, were not liable to a second attack; and the rites of burial, so sacred among the Greeks, were either quite neglected, or performed with indecent confusion. This selfish disregard of the sufferers was accompanied by a selfish desire to make the most of a span of life which any moment might cut short, and the disorder which prevailed in the state made punishment for the grossest crimes uncertain. The one point of favourable contrast with plague-stricken cities at other times, is that there were no cruel persecutions directed against imaginary authors of the calamity. Commencing in the spring of B.C. 430, the pestilence raged till the close of the following year, and, after the intermission of a year and a half, it broke out

again for another year, with the same violence as at first. The loss from the whole pestilence inflicted a frightful blow on the power of Athens. Three hundred out of the 1200 knights, and 4400 hoplites, represent the deaths among the better classes, besides a vast number of the poorer citizens. The epidemic was almost confined to Athens and the more populous islands, and it scarcely touched the more scattered population of the Peloponnesus. Amidst all these sufferings, Pericles maintained his policy, and himself sailed out with a fleet of a hundred ships to ravage the Peloponnesus. The dispirited Athenians showed no such eagerness as in the former year to march out to battle. But when the enemy had retired, and the people began to examine their losses, they were seized with an uncontrollable desire for peace, and sent envoys to Lacedæmon. The rejection of their overtures incensed them against Pericles more than ever, but the universal outcry failed to shake his firmness. He convened an assembly, and delivered the last of those great speeches which are reported by Thucydides, accepting all the responsibility of his policy; pleading his claims to their confidence; urging them not to suffer the resolutions they had deliberately adopted to become the sport of a sudden calamity; and encouraging them by enumerating all the advantages they still possessed, especially in the unimpaired dominion of the sea. Victory would soon make good all their losses; defeat would deliver them, disgraced and helpless, to their bitter enemies; nor, indeed, had they now the power to recede from a position in the maintenance of which lay their safety and their glory. Though convinced by his eloquence, and renewing their resolution to carry on the war with vigour, their irritation vented itself in the sentence of the dicastery, which condemned Pericles to a fine, on a charge the exact nature of which is uncertain; but they soon afterwards re-elected him to the office of strategus. He held this post about twelve months longer, till his death in the autumn of the third year of the war (B.C. 429). At the beginning of that year Potidæa capitulated, and the campaign of the summer was marked by the great naval successes of Phormio in the Corinthian Gulf.

There was no invasion of Attica this year, probably through fear of the plague, but the Peloponnesian forces were led by Archidamus against Platæa, to gratify the revenge of the Thebans, and to punish the gallant little city for its fidelity to Athens. The Platæans might even yet have escaped their fate by renouncing the alliance of Athens, and consenting to

remain neutral; but the Athenians appealed to their oath of fidelity, and promised never to desert them; and the Platæans, after in vain recalling to the memory of their enemies the immunities secured to them by the common voice of Greece, prepared for an obstinate resistance. The siege of Platæa forms one of the most interesting episodes of Grecian history. The town was manned by a garrison of only 400 citizens and eighty Athenians, with 110 female slaves for cooking; all the other inhabitants having been removed to Athens after the former attempt of the Thebans. Such, however, was their resolution, and such the want of skill on the part of the besiegers, that this little force baffled all the attacks of the Peloponnesian confederates. While the assailants occupied seventy days and nights of uninterrupted labour in heaping up a mound of earth and timber against the wall, the defenders heightened the part threatened by a wooden wall covered with hides. As the embankment rose, they broke a hole through the city wall and drew away the earth, so that the top kept foundering; and when the besiegers stopped the chasm with masses of clay bound up in reeds, they undermined the very centre of the mound. As a last defence, the Platæans built a second wall, in the shape of a crescent, behind the part of the wall attacked by the embankment. The result was, that the siege was converted into a blockade: the city being entirely surrounded with a double wall and ditch, the intermediate space was occupied by a garrison of Peloponnesians and Bœotians. The circumvallation was completed in the autumn of B.C. 429. At the end of the following year, when the Platæans began to suffer the extremities of famine, they resolved to break through the lines. Half of them recoiled at the last moment from the dangers of the attempt, the other half escaped to Athens (B.C. 428). The remaining half, 200 Platæans and twenty-five Athenians, surrendered at discretion in the course of the following summer. After a form of trial before a court of five Spartans, in which their touching appeal to their past services to Greece was hardly turned aside by the reply of the Theban orators, they were all put to death to a man (B.C. 427).*

This atrocious deed was not without a parallel in the conduct of the Athenians. The death of Pericles had deprived the city, not only of the leader best qualified to conduct the war, but of the statesman who was alone able to control the excesses of opposite

* These two speeches are among the most interesting of those reported by Thucydides.

parties, and who had gained from all, except his bitter personal foes, the praise of surpassing wisdom and moderation.* But, as Thucydides expressly tells us, "Those who succeeded after his death, being more equal one with another, and each of them desiring pre-eminence over the rest, adopted the different course of courting the favour of the people, and sacrificing to that object even important state interests." His controlling mind was withdrawn at the very time when mutual exasperation provoked rash counsels. Even before his death, in the second year of the war, the Lacedæmonians had imported a systematic cruelty into their naval warfare. Unable to cope with the Athenian navy, they fitted out privateers to prey upon the mercantile and fishing vessels that sailed round their coasts, and massacred the crews not only of Athenian but of neutral ships. The Athenians retaliated by the murder of some envoys, whom the Lacedæmonians, in pursuance of the policy adopted from the very beginning of the war, had sent to solicit aid from Persia, and who were delivered up to them by their ally the Thracian king. Among them were the Corinthian Aristeus, who had instigated the revolt of Potidæa, and two Spartan heralds, whose fathers had gone to Susa to offer their lives in atonement for the murder of the heralds of Darius, but had been dismissed unhurt by Xerxes. But the event that roused the bitterest passions of the Athenians was the revolt of one of the most important of their own allies, Lesbos, one of the three large islands on the coast of Asia (reduced to two since the revolt and subjugation of Samos), which alone of all the Delian confederates remained on an equal footing with Athens.

It was early in the fourth year of the war (B.C. 428) that the news reached Athens that Mytilene had revolted, at the instigation of the oligarchical party, drawing after it the three towns of Antissa, Eresus, and Pyrrha, whose governments it absorbed into its own. Methymna, the second city of the island, and the jealous rival of Mytilene, remained faithful to the Athenians. The revolt was purely political, and the Mytilenæans sent a solemn embassy to the Peloponnesians assembled at the Olympic festival, proposing to join their alliance, and begging for their aid. But before the promised succours could be sent, the fate of the revolt was decided by the energy of the Athenians. Though their strength had been drained by the plague, and their accumulated treasure exhausted, they raised a direct contribution of two hundred talents at home,

* The eulogy of Thucydides (ii. 65) is decisive of the esteem in which Pericles was held by moderate and impartial men.

and sent ships to collect money from the islands; they demanded the personal service of all citizens, except the two highest Solonian classes, and of the resident foreigners; and, disregarding the Peloponnesian army, which had again invaded Attica, they sent out a fleet of 100 triremes to blockade Mytilene. After a long resistance, the spirits of the Mytilenæans were raised by the presence of a Lacedæmonian, Salæthus, who had contrived to enter the city, bringing the news that a Lacedæmonian fleet was on its way to their relief (B.C. 427). But the time passed on without the appearance of the promised succours; the provisions were exhausted; and Salæthus resolved to try one united sally. But no sooner had he put arms into the hands of all the people, than the democratic party refused to act under the former leaders, who were obliged to capitulate, as the only means of preventing an unconditional surrender. Paches, the Athenian general, agreed to refer the fate of the rebels to the Athenian people, before whom Mytilenæan envoys were to plead their cause; and he sent to Athens a thousand of the chief citizens as prisoners, together with Salæthus. The debate which ensued at Athens forms one of the most memorable episodes of the war. Cleon now appears for the first time, as the representative of those demagogues for whom the removal of Pericles had made way.

The reader of Thucydides cannot fail to be struck with the great void among the party leaders of the higher class from the death of Pericles to the rise of Alcibiades. Almost the only names of any eminence in the ecclesia, besides the demagogues, are those of Nicias and Demosthenes. The latter, who does not appear prominently till B.C. 426, was little more than the honest straightforward soldier. The former had already been associated in command with Pericles; and his wealth, birth, and character must have secured him considerable respect. But his quiet and irresolute disposition by no means fitted him to seize the reins as they fell from the hand of Pericles. It is not till after the rise of Cleon that we find him impelled by his sense of patriotism and by the claims of his party, to wage an unequal contest with the demagogue; * and his political ascendancy only dates from Cleon's death in B.C. 422.

Free as the arena of the government had been to all the citizens since the reforms of Pericles and Ephialtes, the great leaders had till now been, for the most part, men of the old families. It is

* The orator who opposes Cleon in the affair of the Mytilenæans, is not Nicias, but Diodotus, a politician otherwise unknown.

but slowly that the power passes out of the hands of that class in a free state; and their influence was upheld at Athens by their social and political associations. No such help,—but the jealous opposition of a body anxious to preserve by their union privileges no longer allowed to them by the law,—met the men of the people who, enriched by the growth of commerce, or possessed of power of speech and of the assurance needed to face the ecclesia and the dicasteries, aspired to a leading part in politics. "A person of such low or middling station obtained no favourable presumptions or indulgence on the part of the public to meet him half-way, nor had he established connections to encourage first successes, or help him out of early scrapes. He found others already in possession of ascendancy, and well disposed to keep down new competitors; so that he had to win his own way unaided, from the first step to the last, by qualities personal to himself; by assiduity of attendance—by acquaintance with business—by powers of striking speech—and withal by unflinching audacity, indispensable to enable him to bear up against that opposition and enmity which he would incur from the high-born politicians and organized party clubs, as soon as he appeared to be rising up into ascendancy."* Such men were Eucrates, the rope-seller; Lysicles, the sheep-seller; Hyperbolus, the lamp-maker; and, above all, Cleon, the leather-seller.

The character of this remarkable man is delineated by Thucydides in a few of his masterly touches, and roughly drawn by Aristophanes with the broadest strokes of caricature. The great comedian began his public career in this very year, B.C. 427, with a play called "The Banqueters," which is now lost. His second comedy, "The Babylonians," which is also lost (B.C. 426), first opened the attack on Cleon, which was followed up two years afterwards in his celebrated "Knights" (B.C. 424). This play furnishes a leading type of the spirit of the Old Attic Comedy, as perfected by its greatest master. DEMOS (the people), an old man who has reached his dotage, without being the less cunning and suspicious, irascible and tyrannical, has fallen into the hands of his steward, Cleon, a leather-seller, smelling of the tan-yard, brawling and bullying, cozening and fawning, pilfering and lying, bringing accusations against his fellow servants, and withdrawing them for bribes. The old man's faithful servants, Nicias and Demosthenes, set up a rival to Cleon in the person of a sausage-seller, who surpasses him in all his foul arts, cheating ways, and over-

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vi., pp. 330–1.

bearing tyranny, till he has entirely supplanted Cleon. He then throws off his assumed character; appears as the model of old aristocratic virtue; restores Demos to youth by the magic virtue of a cauldron like Medea's, and exhibits him in all the freshness of the age of Marathon.

The exact influence of Aristophanes on the mind of his age, and his value to us as an authority, are often misunderstood through forgetfulness of the essential spirit of caricature. Once let it be exactly truthful, moderate, sober, cautious, and it ceases to be caricature at all. Truthful, indeed, it must be, in one sense, if it be not dishonest and contemptible; if its object be simply to amuse, the pleasure must not be purchased by falsehood; if serious, it is still more bound to refrain from any positive deception. The comic masks of the Attic stage, like the pictures of our great modern caricaturists, would lose all merit unless they preserved the likeness of their originals, however laughably distorted or exaggerated in the several features; and their "counterfeit presentment" of character was governed by the same laws. But, as we should scarcely place pictures of the former class in a portrait gallery, so we should beware of following the latter delineations of character too literally. Still more mistaken, however, is the view which sets them aside as mere buffoonery. The prevalence of that element on the comic stage of Athens—an element which he himself claims to have reduced within a far more moderate compass than before—does not make Aristophanes a mere buffoon. A serious purpose is manifested throughout his works. He is the strenuous advocate of the old views in politics and social life, in poetical criticism, in philosophy and religion, if indeed we ought not rather to say that he condemned all the philosophy of his age as irreligious and demoralizing. The vividness of his fancy, the exquisite beauty of his more poetical passages, and the purity of his language, even in his scenes of broadest humour, have won the admiration of every age, whose universal verdict has re-echoed the praise of Plato:—

> "The Muses seeking for a shrine
> Whose glories ne'er should cease,
> Found, as they stray'd, the soul divine
> Of Aristophanes.*

In politics, the poet came forward to resist the demagogues at a time when they scarcely had any effective opposition in the ecclesia. The seriousness of his purpose, in this field at all events, was

* Epigram in the Greek Anthology, translated by Merivale.

proved by the courage with which he attacked Cleon in the year after his popularity had reached its height by the capture of the Spartans in Sphacteria (B.C. 424). Of this the play of "The Knights" is itself a sufficient proof, even if there be no sufficient foundation for the story that, when no artist had the courage to make the mask of Cleon, Aristophanes acted the part himself, with his face daubed with lees of wine, after the fashion of the early comedians. Whatever there may have been exaggerated in the character thus pourtrayed, and whether or no the personal turpitude of Cleon was as deep as Aristophanes depicts it, we have the testimony of Thucydides to his political profligacy, his dishonest calumnies, and his reckless invectives. He first appears as an instigator of the popular discontent against Pericles during the invasion of Attica in the first year of the war; and now again as the vehement advocate of a most cruel act of popular vengeance, which has brought indelible disgrace on the Athenian democracy, though its consummation was hindered by their repentance.

The revolt of Lesbos had startled the Athenians by its discovery of the insecurity of their maritime empire. They had seen a Lacedæmonian fleet invited into the Asiatic waters by their faithless ally, at the moment when they were weakened by the plague at home. The very defence of the Mytilenæan advocates was calculated to increase their indignation; for they alleged no injury done to them by Athens, and the only plea they urged was most offensive by its distrust, and by its implied censure on the whole course of the Athenian empire,—the fear that she might oppress and subdue them hereafter, as had been the fate of the other allies. To an assembly thus excited, Cleon suddenly proposed that all the male population of military age should be put to death, and the women and children sold for slaves; and the decree was passed after a vehement opposition. But the assembly had no sooner broken up than a revulsion of feeling followed, the more readily, as Mr. Grote has suggested, from a well-known law of human nature, "that the sentiment of wrath against the Mytilenæans had been really in part discharged by the mere passing of the sentence, quite apart from its execution." The Mytilenæan envoys induced the strategi to call another assembly for the next day, in which the decree was reversed, in spite of the furious opposition of Cleon, but only by a small majority.* A swift trireme was despatched to overtake the ship which had been sent off immediately

* Thucydides, who only mentions the first assembly very briefly, gives a full report of the speech of Cleon and the reply of Diodotus, iii. 37—48.

after the first decision; and such was the zeal of the crew, that they reached Mytilene just as Paches had read the former mandate, and was preparing to put it into execution. Thus the Mytilenæans were saved from extermination; but their lands became the property of Athenian cleruchi, and the rage of Cleon was partly gratified by the execution of the thousand prisoners who had been sent to Athens. This whole transaction, like the massacre of the Platæans, displays in a strong light the inhumanity of the Greeks to their political enemies; but the Athenians, besides having wrongs to avenge, which the Spartans could not plead, deserve some credit for their effectual repentance. They soon after proved their sense of justice by the arraignment of Paches, for crimes committed in the course of his command, only paralleled by the deeds of men like Carrier in the French Reign of Terror. He anticipated his sentence by falling on his sword in open court. Before this year closed, a still more terrible example of the internecine hostility of the two great parties was afforded by the seven days' massacre of the aristocratic party in Corcyra, in revenge for the murder of a popular leader, and amidst the fear of an attack from the Peloponnesian fleet, just as the September massacres were perpetrated amidst the terror caused at Paris by the advance of the duke of Brunswick. Thucydides dwells upon these atrocities as showing how completely all the bonds of religion, morality, and common humanity had been overthrown in a few years by a civil war waged for an idea.

We have dwelt the more fully on the early years of the war, on account of their political and social importance; the more stirring military incidents of the next few years can only be glanced at. The offensive operations of the Athenians took a wider range; and their confidence was strengthened by the successful campaigns of Demosthenes in Acarnania and its vicinity (B.C. 426). The seventh was a memorable year in the history of the war. Demosthenes conceived the plan of fortifying a permanent station on the coast of Peloponnesus. For this purpose he chose the headland of Pylos (*Old Navarino*), on the north side of the bay which has again become memorable in our time for the battle of Navarino. This bay lies on the western shore of Messenia, about forty-five miles from Sparta. Across its mouth the long, wooded island of Sphacteria (*Sphagia*) stretches like a breakwater, leaving two narrow passages on the north and south, of which the former was commanded by the fort built by Demosthenes. The news of this bold step recalled the Spartan king, Agis, from the invasion of Attica

(the fifth during the war); the Peloponnesian fleet was transferred from Corcyra to Pylos; and its commander, Thrasymelidas, at once occupied the island of Sphacteria. An attack of the Lacedæmonians on the little garrison was repulsed by Demosthenes; and the Athenian fleet, which had been sent to his relief, entered the bay without opposition, and gained a great naval victory over the Peloponnesians. The detached force in the island of Sphacteria was thus entirely cut off from relief; and, as it included many members of the first Spartan families, their lives were considered worth redeeming by a general peace. Envoys were sent to Athens, and the Lacedæmonian fleet was placed in the hands of the Athenian admiral, Eurymedon, as a security for the armistice. The elated Athenians were persuaded by Cleon to accept of no terms short of the restoration of all the places on the continent which had been ceded by the Thirty Years' Truce. The negotiations were broken off; Eurymedon found a pretext for keeping the Peloponnesian fleet; and the blockade of Sphacteria was continued. Means were, however, found of conveying provisions to the island. Demosthenes resolved to carry it by force before the winter storms broke up the blockade. With this view, he sent to Athens for reinforcements.

The impatience of the Athenians at this delay vented itself upon Cleon, who had persuaded them to reject an advantageous peace. With his ready effrontery, he turned the attack upon the leading statesmen. Pointing to Nicias, he exclaimed, "If our generals were *men*, it would be easy with a proper force to sail and take the soldiers in the island. That is what *I* at least would do, if *I* were general." Amidst the burst of merriment which followed this sally, a voice was heard, which challenged him to make good his boast. Nicias caught at the suggestion, as a means of Cleon's certain ruin, and offered to resign to him his right to command the expedition, as chief strategus for the year. In vain did Cleon attempt to draw back, exclaiming, "It is your place to sail: you are general, not I." His enemies were ready to risk the armament, so that Cleon should risk his life and reputation; and they gladly embraced the alternative either of getting rid of him or reaping the fruit of his daring; and it is not improbable that a large party in the ecclesia felt that confidence in his success which the event justified. Finding evasion useless, he not only resumed his assurance, declining the aid of the regular troops, and only requiring some Lemnian and Imbrian infantry, with a body of light-armed Thracians, and 400 archers; but he had the prudence

to require that Demosthenes should be named as his second in command. So he engaged, within twenty days, either to bring the Lacedæmonians as prisoners to Athens, or to kill them in the island. That fortune, which favours the bold, enabled him to make good his boast. On reaching Pylos, he found that Demosthenes had completed his preparations. The Athenian forces were landed in the island, and, after a long and obstinate struggle, in which many of the Lacedæmonians fell, the survivors were surrounded and forced to capitulate. They numbered 292, out of an original force of 420; and 120 were native Spartans, belonging for the most part to the first families in the city. Such prisoners were invaluable as hostages; and while they were in the hands of the Athenians, the enemy were no longer at liberty to conduct the war as they pleased. More than this, the prestige of the invincible Spartan hoplites was broken through, and her force seriously weakened by the loss of so many citizens. Cleon's share in the achievement was represented by his enemies as a mere "filching from Demosthenes a cake already baked;" * but, besides the credit due to success, he had the merit of urging prompt action, when Nicias and his party only proposed to temporize. One sequel of the affair of Pylos is too terribly characteristic of the spirit engendered by the war to be passed over. Alarmed at the importance which the Helots had acquired by their services, especially in conveying supplies to Sphacteria, the Spartans planned their massacre. Those who had distinguished themselves were invited to come forward and receive emancipation. Two thousand of them were crowned with garlands, amidst the public ceremonies of liberation; and they all soon afterwards disappeared by methods known to the Ephors. As if to match these horrors on the other side, the massacres at Corcyra were renewed under the direct sanction of the Athenian fleet, which had returned to the island after the reduction of Sphacteria. The fortified position of Pylos was held by the Athenians almost to the end of the war.

In the eighth year of the war (B.C. 424), the Athenians followed up their recent success, rejecting fresh overtures for peace. They captured the island of Cythera, which lies off the southern promontory of Laconia, as well as Nisæa, the port of Megara. But the same year was marked by terrible reverses. An expedition into Bœotia was utterly defeated in the disastrous battle of Delium, in which both Socrates and Alcibiades fought with distinction.

* Aristoph. *Equit.* 54. See Mr. Grote's most ingenious discussion of the whole question; *History of Greece*, vol. vi., p. 458.

On this occasion we first hear of the heavy Bœotian phalanx of twenty-five deep, and of the Theban Band of Three Hundred chosen warriors, afterwards known as the Sacred Band. A worse disaster soon after befell the Athenians in Thrace. A Lacedæmonian army was sent into that quarter at the joint request of Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, and the Chalcidian towns. Its commander was Brasidas, the man most distinguished for personal gallantry in the whole annals of the war. In its first year he had saved Methone from surrendering to the Athenian fleet, and had been elected Ephor (B.C. 431). In the attack on Pylos he was wounded while leading the way in his galley (B.C. 425). While engaged in collecting forces for his Thracian expedition, he had saved Megara from the Athenians (B.C. 424). Now again, by operations of surpassing skill, he took from the Athenians their recently founded colony of Amphipolis on the Strymon, the key to their empire in Thrace and to the secure possession of their valuable gold-mines. Just after the city had surrendered, an Athenian squadron arrived at Eïon, and preserved that town, though too late to save Amphipolis. The loss, which was most keenly felt at Athens, was ascribed, it would seem not unjustly, to the culpable delay of the commanders, one of whom was the historian Thucydides. On the motion of Cleon, Thucydides was condemned to banishment, and remained in exile for twenty years (B.C. 423).*

While Brasidas made his conquest of Amphipolis the starting-point for an attack upon the Athenian possessions in the Chalcidian peninsula, the Lacedæmonians at home were eager for peace for the sake of the citizens captured at Sphacteria. Negotiations were carried on during the winter, and a truce for one year, with a view to a peace, was concluded in March, B.C. 423. The truce was virtually inoperative in Thrace, where Brasidas continued to exhibit his skill and vigour in campaigns which we cannot stay to follow. The end of the year found the negotiations little advanced, and Athens divided into a peace and war party, headed by Nicias and Cleon. The policy of the latter prevailed, and he himself led an expedition for the recovery of Amphipolis (B.C. 422). After retaking Torone, on the Sithonian peninsula, he sailed to Eïon, and there waited for reinforcements from the Macedonians and Thracians, while Brasidas remained quiet in Amphipolis. The

* The whole question of the reasons of the failure of Thucydides before Amphipolis, and the justice or injustice of his sentence, is fully discussed by Bp. Thirlwall (*History of Greece*, vol. iii., p. 268) and Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. vi., p. 565).

discontent of the Athenian citizens in Cleon's army, and their undisguised contempt for his military qualities, goaded him into a movement up the Strymon, to reconnoitre Amphipolis from an eminence outside its wall. All seemed quiet within the city, and no defenders appeared upon the battlements; but Brasidas was preparing for a sally upon the enemy, thus lulled into a false security. Indications of his movements reached Cleon, who began a disorderly retreat. Brasidas looked over the city-wall upon the retiring masses, and, exclaiming that men who carried their spears and heads with that wavering gait would never stand the shock of steady troops, he gave orders for the attack. The Athenians were completely surprised; Cleon lost all presence of mind and was among the first to fly, but he was overtaken and slain by a Thracian peltast. Brasidas was mortally wounded while pressing on the attack; but his victory was complete, and not more than half the Athenian force returned to Eïon.

It has been doubted which was the greater gain to Athens, the loss of her enemy's general, or of her own leader. Be the sarcasm upon Cleon just or unjust, it is certain that he and Brasidas were equally opposed to peace, and their removal was a double step towards its conclusion. Negotiations, re-opened during the winter under the auspices of Nicias and of the Spartan king Pleistoanax, led to the conclusion of a Fifty Years' Truce, on the basis of a mutual restitution of prisoners and places captured during the war. Thus ended all the high pretensions of Sparta to redress the wrongs of her allies and to free Greece from the empire of Athens; while the Athenian statesmen, in their eagerness for peace, sacrificed the most faithful of her allies, permitting the Thebans to retain Platæa, on the ground that it had been surrendered voluntarily. Athens kept Nisæa, the port of Megara, and Anactorium, on the same ground (B.C. 421).

Lots were drawn to decide the order in which the restitutions should be made, and Athens drew the favourable lot. But when the Spartans began to perform the terms, their envoy to Thrace met with such opposition from the Chalcidians as rendered the restitution of Amphipolis impracticable; and the Athenians, on their part, retained the post of Pylos.

The treaty was meanwhile deprived of the character of a general peace, by the discontent of the most powerful allies of Sparta. The Corinthians, Eleans, Megarians, and Bœotians refused to ratify the truce. Upon this, the Athenian envoys, who were still at Sparta, formed a new treaty of defensive alliance with the Lace-

dæmonians; but this hasty measure of the peace party failed to remove the dissatisfaction of their countrymen at the non-fulfilment of the treaty by the allies of Sparta. The Corinthians, disappointed of those maritime objects which had made them so eager for the war, formed the scheme of a new Peloponnesian confederacy, headed, as in ancient times, by Argos, to counterbalance the influence alike of Athens and of Sparta. A congress was held at Corinth; and the Eleans, the Arcadians of Mantinea, and the Chalcidians of Thrace, at once joined the new league; but the Megarians and Bœotians kept aloof, and Tegea, the rival of Mantinea, declared its determination to stand by Sparta. We have not space to follow all the complicated intrigues that ensued between the leading states, and which ended in the Athenians being drawn into the Argive alliance by the cunning policy of Alcibiades (B.C. 420).

This man, whose extraordinary combination of brilliant qualities with reckless profligacy has made him one of the most prominent characters in history, now makes his appearance for the first time in political life, having already astonished and fascinated his fellow-citizens. He was about thirty years of age, having been born about B.C. 450. His father, Clinias, claimed descent from the race of the hero Æacus, and on his mother's side he was connected with the Alcmæonidæ, and so with Pericles, who was his guardian. Xenophon records an amusing instance of his delight in sophistical arguments with the great statesman; and this intellectual wilfulness was united with ungovernable petulance and passion. From his boyhood he took pleasure in surprising the citizens of Athens by his capricious freaks; while his extreme beauty exposed him to solicitations of the kind at which we have previously felt compelled to allude as characteristic of the age. His natural powers of mind, and his skill in all manly exercises, encouraged him to assert a superiority over his comrades, which he abused by outrageous exhibitions of vanity and insolence, so that his enemies were as numerous as his admirers, and many scarcely knew themselves to which class they belonged. His great wealth enabled him to dazzle the people by a splendid extravagance; and there was a fascination about his whole character, which shielded him from punishment; for it is remarkable that he was never prosecuted by any of the numerous persons he had injured. In performing the military service of an Athenian citizen, he gained the highest reputation for courage. When only twenty years of age, he distinguished himself at the siege of Potidæa (B.C. 432), where

he was severely wounded, while fighting in the front of the battle, and his life was saved by Socrates, to whom he repaid the service at the battle of Delium (B.C. 424). The warm attachment of the wayward youth to the great philosopher is a redeeming feature in the character of Alcibiades; but the sentiment was neither strong nor lasting enough to have a permanent influence on his conduct. We have already given some account of the motives with which the young men of Athens attended the lessons of the sophists. Among them, Alcibiades heard Protagoras, Prodicus, and the rest; but he had the quickness to recognise the dialectic method of Socrates as the most powerful instrument of successful speaking in the ecclesia and the courts. The acute philosophical discussions and the still nobler moral teaching of the master cannot but have exerted a good effect on his disciples, creating in them some taste for intellectual pleasure, and setting vividly before them the claims of duty; and Xenophon assures us that Alcibiades was thus the better for his intercourse with Socrates. But the partial effort of self-restraint soon disgusted a temper that had never known control; and Alcibiades became a less frequent companion of Socrates, as soon as he had acquired the needful skill in dialectics. There were not wanting those who thought they could trace in the wanton eccentricities and splendid profusion of Alcibiades a subtle scheme for raising himself to the illegal power which his pride might prompt him to seize; and thus he appeared in public life already a mark for political suspicion as well as private hatred. But the predominant feeling towards him seems to have been that vague admiration, which made him a popular favourite without securing him esteem and confidence. The higher classes, who petted him as a youth, and the people, who applauded him in the ecclesia, shared with him the responsibility of his crimes and follies; and from the very first, his position justified the opinion expressed near the close of his career by Aristophanes:—"It is better not to rear a lion in the city; but if you rear him, you must submit to his behaviour." *

Entering upon public life at about the age of thirty, he soon proved that he added to his other qualities the unprincipled astuteness of Themistocles. His grandfather, who bore the same name, had been a warm opponent of the Pisistratids, and had renounced an old tie of hospitality with Sparta, as the pledge of his devotion to the democracy. With that party the young Alcibiades was also naturally connected by his relationship to Pericles.

* Aristophanes, *Frogs*, vv. 1432–3. This play was exhibited in B.C. 405.

Choosing his own course, however, he came forward as a supporter of the policy of Nicias, and a zealous philo-Laconian. By the kindnesses he showed to the Spartan prisoners from Sphacteria, he tried to establish a claim for the renewal of the ancient relations of his family with Lacedæmon. But it was too much for the temper and policy of the Spartans to trust their interests to a dissolute youth; and the prisoners, on returning home, were unable or unwilling to fulfil the hopes of Alcibiades, who became forthwith an ardent supporter of the Argive alliance. A joint embassy from Argos, Elis, and Mantinea appeared at Athens, at his suggestion; while the Spartans, in alarm, hastened to send envoys to explain their alleged breaches of the truce, and to demand the restoration of Pylos. The Spartan envoys had already been introduced by Nicias to the Senate, and had made a favourable impression by declaring that they came with full powers, when Alcibiades obtained a private interview with them, and persuaded them that their only hope of meeting the hostile temper of the ecclesia, and avoiding the being forced into disgraceful concessions, was by disowning the character of plenipotentiaries. If they followed his advice, he promised to advocate the restoration of Pylos. The envoys fell into the trap, and declared, to the astonishment of Nicias and the Senate, that their powers only extended to explanation and discussion. Amidst the outburst of indignation that ensued, Alcibiades rose up to denounce the perfidy of Lacedæmon, and proposed that the Argive ambassadors should be called in, and a treaty concluded with their state. The interruption of the meeting, by some unfavourable omen, gave Nicias an opportunity of going to Sparta; but his negotiation failed, and a treaty of alliance for a hundred years was concluded with the Argive confederacy (B.C. 420).

The truce, however, was still in force, and in the following summer the Athenians appeared at the Olympic festival, for the first time since the beginning of the war, on the invitation of their new allies, the Eleans. Their enemies looked forward with malicious hope to the sorry figure which their exhaustion through the war would compel them to make. But Alcibiades resolved, not merely to save the credit of his country, but to exalt its splendour to a pitch unknown before. The *Theory*, or sacred embassy to the Olympian Jove, of which Alcibiades was a member, was furnished at his expense with golden sacrificing vessels and other magnificent appointments for the great procession. He himself entered seven four-horsed chariots for that race, in which the princes of

Thessaly, Sicily, and Cyrene had often been competitors, but never with so many chariots. He carried off both the first and second prizes; and having been twice crowned with the sacred olive, he gave a public banquet in a tent he had provided for the purpose. It is said that the Ionian allies of Athens lent their aid to this grand display in honour of the head of their race (B.C. 419).

This exhibition of wealth and splendour seems to have been intended in part as a preface to the campaign which Alcibiades made the same year in Peloponnesus, but without any decisive results. In the following year, the Spartans took the field in force under their king Agis; and, after a campaign of varied fortune, the steady discipline of their infantry broke the power of the Argive confederacy at the decisive battle of Mantinea (B.C. 418). An aristocratic revolution, followed by a democratic counter-revolution, still further weakened Argos, and put an end to her pretensions to supremacy (B.C. 417). In all these movements Athens took part with Argos, and an Athenian force was present at the battle of Mantinea; but the truce with Sparta remained nominally unbroken, though the Athenians in Pylos continued to make incursions into Laconia, and the Lacedæmonians harassed the Athenian commerce by their privateers.

The Athenians now took the last and worst step in their career of maritime empire by the conquest of Melos, one of the only two islands of the Ægæan which had submitted to them, the other being Thera. The population was purely Dorian; and there was no pretext for the conquest except the power of effecting it. Ten years before, an attack upon the place had been repulsed, and it was now only taken after a siege of several months. In their rage at this resistance, the Athenians condemned the Melians to the fate previously designed for the people of Mytilene. But in this case the sentence was fully executed: the adult males were put to the sword; the women and children were sold as slaves; and the island repeopled by a colony from Athens. This atrocious act, which is said to have been proposed, or at least strenuously supported, by Alcibiades, proves his ascendancy at Athens to have been as mischievous as that of Cleon, or the worst of the demagogues. One chief motive of the outrage—the humiliation of Sparta—was achieved by her not venturing to aid so faithful an ally in her extremity (B.C. 416).

Thucydides takes great pains to exhibit the destruction of the Melians as the crowning act of tyranny on the part of imperial Athens, before the retribution which befell her by means of

the Sicilian expedition. To trace the causes of this event, we must glance back at the state of Sicily during the preceding fifty years. We have seen that the splendid rule of the tyrants of the Gelonian dynasty, after the battle of Himera, was ended by popular revolutions in all the cities (about B.C. 465).* These revolutions were not merely political. Property changed hands to a great extent; and citizens, who had been exiled or transplanted by the tyrants, returned to their homes eager to avenge their wrongs. One fruitful source of dissension was the disposal of the adherents of the exiled dynasty, who were at length settled partly in Messana, and partly at Camarina, near Syracuse. A period of great prosperity and intellectual activity ensued, disturbed however by the remains of the former dissensions, by the old feud of race between the Dorian and non-Dorian cities, and by the relations of the Grecian states to the native Siceli, who rose up under their prince, Ducetius, and were with difficulty subdued by Syracuse (about B.C. 440). There was an eager rivalry between this leading state and Agrigentum, the position of which gave it the command of an extensive trade with Carthage. Leontini, the native city of the sophist Gorgias, and the most ancient colony in the island, after Naxos, would have disputed the precedence; but it was overshadowed by the proximity of Syracuse. As a Chalcidian colony, it was the more impatient of subjection to a Dorian state; and this enmity between Syracuse and Leontini became the indirect cause of the ill-fated Athenian expedition. At the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, the Sicilian states were divided, like the rest of Greece, between the alliances of Sparta and Athens. We have seen that the former counted on providing an effective navy by the aid of the Dorian states of Sicily; and that the latter were tempted by the Corcyræans with the dazzling prospect of the conquest of the whole island. It was doubtless with especial reference to this scheme, that Pericles uttered his emphatic warnings against attempting new conquests during the war. The Sicilians, on their part, showed no disposition to join in the general conflict; but the Dorians, led by Syracuse, preferred the more immediate advantage of subduing the Ionian cities of Naxos, Catana, and Leontini; the latter were aided by Camarina, whose new inhabitants were naturally hostile to the Syracusans; and the neighbouring Italian cities of Rhegium and Locri sided respectively with the Ionians and the Dorians. The Syracusan league proved too strong for the other states. Leontini

* Chap. xiii., p. 434.

was blockaded by sea and land, and the Ionians implored the aid of Athens by an embassy, at the head of which was the celebrated Gorgias (B.C. 427). The eloquence of the rhetorician proved too strong for the traditional policy of Pericles, who had been succeeded, as we have seen, by politicians of very different views; and an expedition was sent out under Laches. This armament effected little beyond the reduction of Messana and an alliance with the non-Hellenic city of Egesta; and a subsequent expedition under Eurymedon and Sophocles alarmed the states of Sicily into a pacification, to which the Athenian commanders assented (B.C. 424). An aristocratic revolution at Leontini, aided by Syracuse, caused a new application to Athens by the expelled democratic party; but the peaceful policy of Nicias was now in the ascendant; the armistice preparatory to the Fifty Years' Truce had begun; and the negotiations were not suffered to be imperilled by a new quarrel in Sicily (B.C. 422).

Six years later, however, when the truce was virtually broken, and Alcibiades was at the height of his power, a fresh opening occurred in Sicily for his ambitious policy. The city of Egesta, in the west of the island, being hard pressed in a war with Selinus, sent an embassy to Athens, to represent the danger that, if the Dorians were allowed to reduce the whole island beneath their power, they would at length bring their united force to the aid of the Peloponnesians. The prudence of Nicias obtained a commission to be sent out, to see whether the Egestans had the ability of performing their promise, to bear the expenses of the war. The bare-faced imposture practised upon the envoys could hardly have succeeded, had not the Athenians been willing to be deceived; the Leontine exiles at Athens added their entreaties to those of the Egestans; and the eager persuasions of Alcibiades, who now saw the opportunity of gratifying his ambition and recovering the wealth wasted by his profusion, and who held out the prospect of conquering Carthage as well as Sicily, prevailed over the opposition of Nicias (B.C. 415). When, as a last means of deterring the people, Nicias urged the vast magnitude that the armament must have, their only answer was to take him at his word, and to vote the largest force which he himself would say to be necessary, namely, 100 triremes, instead of sixty, 5000 hoplites, and a proportionate number of light-armed troops. The command was given, with the fullest powers, to Nicias, Lamachus, and Alcibiades, a choice which seemed at once to secure a prudent balance of power in the military operations, and to unite all parties in a

common responsibility. The efforts made to equip the armament with the utmost efficiency were equalled by the eagerness of all the citizens to bear a part in it; nor was the excitement confined to the military class. Merchants prepared to join the expedition, in the hope of large profits during its continuance, and a vast opening for commerce from its success. The city and its ports resounded with the din of preparation, amidst which were heard the voices of the professional prophets chanting oracles which chimed in with the universal confidence of success. To all this animation the strangest contrast is furnished by the apathy of Sparta.

In the midst of the excitement, all Athens was startled by a strange and alarming incident, which still forms one of the insoluble problems of history,—the mutilation of the Hermæ. It was an ancient religious custom to mark boundaries by stones sacred to the deities, and especially to Hermes (Mercury), the god who was supposed to preside over ordinary intercourse and traffic. As art advanced, these stones were shaped into quadrangular pillars, surmounted by a bust of the god, and sculptured with certain other emblems.* They were set up, not only to mark the boundaries of fields, but as milestones along the roads, at the intersection of cross ways, in the markets, and in front of temples, porticoes, and private houses. They were especially numerous in Athens and throughout the roads of Attica, where the tyrant Hipparchus set up many Hermæ, inscribed with moral sentiments, such as—

> "Hipparchus' monument:—Think justly as you walk."
> "Hipparchus' monument:—Do not deceive thy friend."

The horror of the Athenians, when, upon rising on a morning in May, they found the Hermæ throughout the city mutilated into shapeless blocks, has been well compared by Mr. Grote to the excitement of a Spanish or Italian town on finding that all the images of the Virgin had been defaced during the same night; but the historian only offers this as "a very inadequate parallel to what was now felt at Athens, where religious associations and persons were far more intimately allied with all the proceedings of every-day life. It would seem that the town had become as it were godless; that the streets, the market-place, the porticoes, were robbed of their divine protectors; and, what was worse still, that these protectors, having been grossly insulted, carried away with them alienated sentiments, wrathful and vindictive instead of

* Specimens may be seen in the British Museum.

tutelary and sympathizing." * The elation of hope was suddenly struck down into deep despondency concerning the fate of the expedition; and the natural explanation would be that the act was contrived by the opponents with this very view. If so, their plot was most skilfully laid to turn suspicion in the opposite direction, and to effect the ruin of Alcibiades. His lawless character was but the type of a spirit which pervaded the clubs of insolent young men, who alone seemed capable of such a deed. When a commission of enquiry was appointed, and evidence invited from every quarter, it was no wonder that witnesses came forward to depose to previous acts of sacrilegious outrage; especially under a law which permitted the examination of slaves by torture. On such evidence, Alcibiades was publicly charged in the ecclesia with having profaned the Eleusinian Mysteries in a private house; and the accuser went on, though without a shadow of proof, to charge him with the mutilation of the Hermæ, as part of a plot for subverting the democracy. Alcibiades denied the charge, and demanded an instant trial; but his enemies preferred to keep the accusation hanging over him during his absence. Meanwhile, in spite of the evil omen, all the preparations had been completed, and the expedition set sail from Piræus, amidst religious solemnities so imposing, and a concourse of spectators so vast, as had never before attended the departure of a Greek armament. The animation of the scene was increased, and the enthusiasm of the sailors found vent, in a race of all the triremes as far as Ægina; but, in the language of the Greek religion, Jove turned aside all their prayers into thin air.

The island of Corcyra was the appointed rendezvous for the fleets of Athens and her allies; and the whole armament sailed thence for the coast of Italy in July, B.C. 415. They were ill received by the cities of Magna Græcia; and at Rhegium, which they made their first station, they received news of the inability of Egesta to perform its promises. The objects of the expedition had been to protect Egesta, to restore the Leontinian exiles, and in general to make a war of conquest upon the Dorian states of Sicily; but no plan of operations had yet been formed. The evils of a divided command became at once apparant. The straightforward soldier Lamachus could not prevail on his colleagues to make an immediate attack on Syracuse, where the patriotic warnings of Hermocrates had been scorned by the democratic party, and the city was almost destitute of defence. Nicias would have

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vii., p. 231.

been content with obtaining terms from Selinus in favour of Egesta; and Alcibiades advised negotiations to unite Messana * and the other Chalcidian cities in a great league against Syracuse and Selinus. This plan was followed with imperfect success, Naxos alone joining the Athenians, who obtained a greater advantage in the surprise of Catana,† which became their head-quarters. Here they received bad news of the progress of affairs at home. The orator Andocides, a young man only second to Alcibiades in ability and evil reputation, had made a disclosure which, true or false, satisfied the public indignation with the execution of the persons he had denounced for the mutilation of the Hermæ. But the other charge against Alcibiades, of profaning the mysteries, had been pressed so successfully that the state galley called the "Salaminian" now came out to conduct him home to stand his trial, but with permission for him to sail in his own trireme. On reaching Thurii, in Italy, he made his escape, doubtless judging that all the accumulated charges which would now be produced against him would prove his ruin. He was condemned to death in his absence, and his property was confiscated—a sentence which expressed the just indignation of the people, but which was procured by his enemies through the basest means. On receiving the news, he exclaimed: "I shall show them that I am alive." He carried to Lacedæmon a knowledge of the best means of attacking Athens, and an ability to stimulate the natural Spartan slowness, which were worth more than an army to the Peloponnesians.

His departure cast a damp over the armament, where he had many friends, especially among the allies, and where the inspiration of his energy must have been sorely missed. Nicias reverted to his own plans, and while he wasted time on the north-western coast, the Syracusans not only completed their preparations, but gained such confidence as to insult the Athenians in their camp at Catana. Nicias was now shamed into action; and, when thus roused, he was not wanting in military skill. Having enticed the Syracusans out to attack Catana, he sailed into the Great Harbour, on the south of the city, and fortified his camp near the mouth of the river Anapus, which runs into the harbour. Here he gained a victory over the army of Syracuse, and then retired into winter quarters at Naxos, to await reinforcements from Athens and the allies in Sicily (B.C. 415).

* The capture of Messana by the Athenians has been mentioned above, but it was now no longer in their hands.

† This city (now *Catania*) was on the eastern coast, near the foot of Etna.

The winter was spent at Syracuse in throwing up new defences, while envoys were sent to Corinth, the mother city, as well as to Sparta, to solicit aid. And now the revenge of Alcibiades began to work. He prevailed on the Spartans to send an army to Syracuse under Gylippus; while he recommended a new method of carrying on the war at home, the effect of which we shall soon see. In the spring of B.C. 414, Nicias and Lamachus invested Syracuse. The siege that followed is one of the most memorable in history for the efforts of the defenders, the sufferings and final fate of the assailants, and the political magnitude of the result; but for its long and intricate details we must refer the reader to the special histories of Greece. At first all went well with the Athenians, who completed their circumvallation, except at one point, defeated the Syracusans in contests for certain posts, and established their fleet in the Great Harbour, so that the besieged began to sound Nicias respecting terms. Satisfied with so much success, Nicias was content to wait for the surrender of the city. The bolder counsels of Lamachus had been lost to the army by his death in one of the early attacks on the Syracusan outposts.

Such was the position of affairs when Gylippus arrived at Himera with only two Corinthian and two Lacedæmonian ships. He soon raised an army of 3000 men, and entered Syracuse unopposed by Nicias, announcing himself as the forerunner of a larger force from Sparta. His insulting message to the Athenians, offering them a five days' truce to evacuate the island, indicated the spirit he was likely to infuse into the besieged; and his vigorous operations soon determined the neutral cities of Sicily to espouse the cause of Syracuse. His attacks on the Athenian lines, and his counter-works, broke up their blockade; and the arrival of thirty triremes from Corinth and her allies enabled him to dispute the mastery of the sea. In the end, Nicias retired to the headland of Plemmyrium, on the southern side of the Great Harbour, where he was as much besieged as a besieger. He sent to Athens an urgent demand for the dispatch of reinforcements under a new general, as his health and spirits were utterly broken down. A new expedition was prepared, under Demosthenes and Eurymedon, but the people insisted on retaining Nicias in his command (B.C. 414).

Under these circumstances it was mere affectation to regard the Fifty Years' Truce as any longer in force; and in the spring of B.C. 413 it was formally ended by the renewed Lacedæmonian invasion of Attica, under the king Agis. But, unlike former invasions, this was no mere incursion for ravaging the country.

By the advice of Alcibiades, a permanent fortified station was established at Decelea, a village on the ridge of Mount Parnes, about fourteen miles north of Athens. The Lacedæmonian garrison were always ready to sally forth to ravage the plain of Athens; and, among innumerable other annoyances, a constant refuge was provided for the fugitive slaves. Supplies were cut off from the city, which was now placed in a permanent state of siege on the land side; and scarcity was soon felt within the walls. Of all imaginable plans, this was the best fitted to wear out the Athenians into submission.

But all this could not turn aside the Athenians from their great scheme of conquest. They not only sent out to Sicily a fleet of 75 triremes, with 5000 hoplites and a corresponding light-armed force, but they spared 30 triremes more to ravage the coasts of Laconia. At Syracuse, meanwhile, their affairs seemed desperate. They had lost their fortified station at Plemmyrium, with most of their stores and provisions; they had suffered the disgrace of a naval defeat; and now they were reduced to a fortified camp at the innermost part of the Great Harbour, where their ships were hauled up on the beach. It was but a deceitful hope that raised their spirits, when the splendid armament of Demosthenes sailed into the Great Harbour. The new general was foiled in his attempts to retake the suburb of Epipolæ, on the heights commanding the city on the land side. Reduced again to inaction, and with sickness breaking out among the troops, he saw that a retreat had become inevitable; and he proposed to use the splendid force that still remained in expelling the Lacedæmonians from their new position in Attica. But Nicias did not dare to return to Athens unsuccessful. His colleague at last prevailed upon him to extricate the armament from the Great Harbour, and take up a new position at Catana. The fleet was ready to sail on the following morning, when the superstition of Nicias was alarmed by an eclipse of the moon, and the soothsayers bade him postpone the departure for a month (b.c. 413, August 27). Meanwhile Gylippus attacked the Athenians both by land and sea. He was again victorious in the naval engagement, and the general Eurymedon was slain. The Syracusans now blockaded the mouth of the harbour, and Nicias gathered his whole fleet, still numbering 110 ships, to force the passage. The Syracusans had only 76 triremes; but to these were added a number of small vessels, manned by young men of the best families, like the Danish floating batteries at the battle of Copenhagen. The Great Harbour of Syracuse is about five

miles in circuit; and within this space the two fleets joined battle in full sight of the people of Syracuse and the land force of the Athenians. The conflict was such as might have been expected from those who fought, on the one side for liberty, on the other for safety and the last hope of empire. When at last the Athenians began to retire towards the shore, no deity appeared, as at Salamis, to upbraid their retreat and reanimate them to new efforts; but a despairing cry arose from the soldiers on the shore, some of whom rushed into the water to aid in saving the ships. With their force reduced to 60 vessels, the generals would still have made one more effort to break out, but the crews refused; and it only remained to abandon the ships and draw off the land forces to some friendly city, while the Syracusans were occupied with rejoicings for their victory, and with a feast of Hercules. A stratagem of Hermocrates induced Nicias to postpone the departure till the next day; when a retreat began, as disastrous as any that history records. The two generals having been compelled to divide their forces, Demosthenes was first surrounded by the pursuers, and surrendered after a brave resistance, with 6000 men. Nicias continued his retreat, pursued by Gylippus, till he reached the river Asinarus, in the attempt to cross which the army became a confused struggling mass, and Nicias had no choice but to surrender.* Only a few stragglers escaped to Catana. The survivors, who did not exceed 10,000 men out of 40,000, were crowded together in the quarries about the city, with no shelter from the burning sun and cold nights of autumn, supplied with only half of a slave's rations of bread, and half a pint of water for every man each day. The sick and wounded soon died, and their unburied bodies filled the pits of the quarries with stench and disease; till, after seventy days, the Syracusans, who had at first come daily to the quarries, with their wives and children, to gloat over the sufferings of the captives, were driven by regard to their own safety to remove all except the native Athenians and the Greeks who had joined them from the Italian and Sicilian cities. While these remained to work in the pits, which we may suppose to have been cleared of some of their horrors, the survivors were sold as slaves. Many captives of both classes would doubtless ultimately be admitted to ransom; and their fate is gilded by a ray of that light which the gentler arts have often shed over the passions of war.

* The surrender was probably made about twenty-four or twenty-five days after the eclipse of August 27, that is, on the 21st or 22nd of September. (See Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vii., p. 479, with his remarks on the earlier date of Clinton.)

The popularity of Euripides, then at its height, was almost as great in Sicily as at Athens; and the poet is said to have lived to receive the thanks of many of the returned prisoners for the kindness they had obtained from their masters through being able tc recite scenes and passages from his dramas. Nicias and Demosthenes were both condemned to death by the council of the Syracusans and their allies,—a measure urged especially by the Corinthians, in opposition both to Hermocrates, who wished to spare them, and to Gylippus, who would gladly have carried to Sparta the great enemy who had fortified Pylos, and the friend who had always pleaded for peace. Their bodies were exposed before the gates of Syracuse; and when a monument was erected at Athens to the memory of those who had fallen in the expedition, it was inscribed with the name of Demosthenes, while that of Nicias was omitted. The energy and courage he displayed in the retreat, though suffering from an incurable malady, were not deemed a sufficient atonement for the irresolution which ruined the enterprise from the first. The calm judgment of history on the general ought neither to be blinded by the virtues of the man, nor to withhold its admiration from those virtues and its pity from his fate.

As the expedition to Sicily was the greatest military effort ever made by a Grecian power, so its destruction was the heaviest blow short of destruction that any Greek state had ever suffered. Combined with the constant pressure from the garrison in Decelea, it was decisive of the issue of the war, the last nine years of which (B.C. 413—404) were occupied with the brilliant but unavailing efforts of the Athenians to retrieve the disaster. Worse even than the consumption of their resources in men, ships, and money, was the loss of their naval prestige; and that not in Sicily alone, for a Corinthian fleet had lately fought a drawn battle with them near Naupactus. There remained, however, to Athens her elasticity of spirit, which soon rebounded from the first blow of the fatal news. While the people were occupied with measures for defending the city, providing a new fleet, and repairing the embarrassment of the finances, a fresh calamity was announced, in the revolt of Chios, hitherto the most faithful of the allies (B.C. 412).

The news of the Sicilian disaster had been received in Persia as a signal for a great effort to overthrow the empire of Athens in Asia Minor; and the satraps of that country began now to take a prominent part in the affairs of Greece. The most powerful of these was Tissaphernes, the satrap of Ionia and the south-western coast; and next to him, Pharnabazus, who governed the country

near the Hellespont. During the winter, both sent embassies to Sparta, where envoys appeared also from Chios, Lesbos, Eubœa, and other subject allies of Athens, seeking encouragement to revolt. Their appeal was eagerly supported by Alcibiades, who prevailed on the Lacedæmonians to begin operations at Chios. While their armament was preparing, he himself sailed with the advanced squadron under Chalcideus to Chios, where his presence was the signal for revolt. Erythræ, Clazomenæ, Teos, Miletus, and the island of Lesbos were led by the energy of Alcibiades to follow the example; while Chalcideus made a treaty with Tissaphernes, promising the restoration to Persia, not only of the Greek cities in Asia, but of all the territory the king had ever held in Greece, and placed Miletus in his hands as an earnest. Thus did the Spartans complete the shameful alliance with the common enemy, which they had contemplated from the beginning of the war. The combined revolt of the Asiatic Greeks from Athens was only prevented by the fidelity of Samos; but the Athenians had now to contend with the whole force of Sparta, supported by Tissaphernes, in the waters which she had long regarded as her own. From this first peril she was extricated by her own energy and the jealousies of her foes.

As soon as the news of the revolt of Chios reached Athens, the 1000 talents, set aside by Pericles as a sacred reserve, were devoted to the emergency,* and a fleet was sent out to Samos as the head-quarters. Lesbos and Clazomenæ were soon recovered, the Chians were defeated, and a victory was gained over the Peloponnesians at Miletus. The fresh Lacedæmonian fleets, which appeared on the coast of Asia, were occupied less in supporting the revolt than in pressing Tissaphernes to modify the late treaty, till the satrap and his new allies became mutually disgusted. This result was owing chiefly to the restless intriguer, who seemed created to be in turn the evil genius of all who trusted him.

It was in the nature of things that the popularity of Alcibiades at Sparta should be short-lived. The volatile Athenian temperament, exaggerated in him to the highest pitch, would have been disgusting enough to the Spartan gravity, even if the reckless voluptuary had been able to control his actual profligacy. Instead of this, he chose for his victim the wife of Agis himself, and so made the king his relentless enemy. Meanwhile, the people began to ascribe their want of success on the coast of Asia to the treachery of Alcibiades; and Agis procured a decision of the

* See p. 496.

Ephors to send out instructions for his death. He was warned in time to escape to Tissaphernes, on whom he urged it as the interest of Persia not to give a decisive superiority to either of the contending parties. Tissaphernes was induced to keep the Peloponnesian fleet inactive, first on various pretexts, and then by bribing the Spartan commander; but, when Alcibiades tried to persuade him to make a treaty with Athens, the satrap remained faithful to his neutral policy.

Alcibiades seems now to have satisfied his resentment against Athens, and to have convinced himself that his native state was the best field for his ambition. Failing to secure the aid of Tissaphernes, he opened negotiations with the Athenian commanders at Samos, offering the alliance of Persia as the price of his restoration. He proposed, as an essential condition of aid from Persia, that the democratic government should be overthrown at Athens, where the recent disasters had encouraged the aristocratic party to prepare for a revolution. The discovery that Alcibiades was unable to perform his promises on behalf of Tissaphernes came too late to stay the intrigue at Athens. The clubs paved the way by indirect attacks on the constitution as unsuited to the present exigencies of the state; while private assassinations spread terror through the democratic party. An irregular ecclesia adopted a new constitution, which vested the whole power of the state in a body of Four Hundred, subject to no other check than that supplied by the convocation of five thousand citizens, of their own selection, at such times and in such manner as they chose. The Five Thousand were, in fact, a mere pretence of popular government, added to the despotism of the Four Hundred. The principal leaders in the revolution were Pisander and the orator Antiphon (B.C. 411).

When the news of the revolution reached Samos, the army, convoked by Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, took an oath to maintain the democracy, and constituted themselves as an ecclesia, in place of the popular assembly that no longer existed at Athens. Thus the two parties formed, as it were, two republics on the opposite shores of the Ægæan, and a conflict for the mastery seemed imminent. The army at Samos was tempted by the weight which Alcibiades could throw into their scale through his own ability and the alliance of Tissaphernes. Distrust was still strong, however, and it was not without reluctance that the military ecclesia passed the vote for his recall and for his appointment as one of the generals. The envoys of the Four Hundred were sent back to Athens with a

demand for the restoration of the old Senate of Five Hundred, to govern in conjunction with the Assembly of Five Thousand. The tyranny of the Four Hundred had by this time deprived them of all popular support, and dissensions had arisen between the extreme and the more moderate party among themselves, the former headed by the orator Antiphon, the latter by Theramenes, whose unprincipled policy gained him the nickname of *Buskin*—a boot that fitted either foot. The news from Samos impelled each party to consult its own safety. The violent faction sought the support of Sparta, and offered to put Piræus in her hands. While the Spartans prepared an expedition with their accustomed slowness, the democratic party met in arms at Piræus, where their strength lay in the maritime population, reconstituted the ecclesia, and adjourned to Athens. An attempt of the Four Hundred to negotiate was interrupted by the approach of the Lacedæmonian fleet, which, finding Piræus guarded, bore up for Eubœa. An Athenian fleet, manned and launched in haste, was utterly defeated, and the island was lost to Athens. While the Lacedæmonians again neglected to follow up their success by blockading the shores of Attica, and supporting their party in the city, the aristocrats were left at the mercy of the indignant people. The popular ecclesia was restored, but on the basis of the new body of Five Thousand, in which every citizen able to furnish himself with a full stand of arms and armour might be enrolled; but the restriction was soon neglected, and the citizenship became universal as before. The old magistracies and forms of government were revived; but the payment for attendance in the courts remained abolished. The Four Hundred, after a reign of only four months, were deposed and condemned to death, with the forfeiture of their goods and the demolition of their houses. Most of them made their escape; among the few executed was the orator Antiphon, whose magnificent speech at his trial delighted the dicasts, without averting his fate. Lastly, a vote was passed for the recall of Alcibiades to Athens (B.C. 411).

It seemed as if Alcibiades were now animated by a nobler spirit than his selfish and unprincipled versatility. Restored to his position in the state, and virtually placed at its head, he would not return till he could bring with him a worthy peace-offering of victory. He saw that the contest must be fought out between the fleets on the shores of Asia; for the possession of Decelea and Eubœa by the enemy, however distressing, threatened no immediate danger to Athens. On the other hand, the Lacedæmonians

were at length aroused, very much through his own teaching, to the importance of naval operations. Since the catastrophe in Sicily, their fleets were superior in number to those of Athens, and not inferior in tactics and discipline. They had also established the new annual office of Admiral (*Nauarchus*), free from the control of the Ephors, to which the kings were subject, and resembling in power that of the Athenian General (*Strategus*).

Distrust of the vacillating policy of Tissaphernes had caused the Spartan admiral, Mindarus, to form closer relations with Pharnabazus, and to transfer his operations to the Hellespont and Propontis. His defeat by the Athenians under Thrasyllus, near the promontory of Cynossema (the *Dog's Monument*) * in the straits, was followed by the surrender of Cyzicus to Athens; and he was again defeated by Alcibiades near Abydos. The Athenian's wily course was nearly cut short in the following winter, when, visiting Tissaphernes as if he were still a friend, he was cast into prison at Sardis. He contrived to effect his escape, and reached the Hellespont at the critical moment when Mindarus and Pharnabazus were besieging Cyzicus by sea and land. His masterly tactics with the fleet gained a great victory, both by sea and land, in which Mindarus was slain, and his Secretary (the Spartan name for the second in command) described the result in this laconic despatch to the Ephors:—"Our luck is gone; Mindarus is slain: the men are starving: we know not what to do." (B.C. 410.)

The battle of Cyzicus made the Athenians masters of the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Bosporus, so that Athens again received her supplies of corn from the Euxine. The Spartans made overtures for peace, which were rejected by the Athenians under the influence of a new demagogue, Cleophon the lamp-maker. Pharnabazus gave active help to his allies in Asia, especially in defending Chalcedon, which was besieged by Alcibiades. The famous Hermocrates, who commanded the Syracusan contingent of the Peloponnesian fleet, aided the Ephesians in defeating the Athenians under Thrasyllus; and, in this year, the garrison of Pylos at length surrendered to the Lacedæmonians (B.C. 409). But these successes were fully counterbalanced by the progress of Alcibiades on the Bosporus, which was crowned by the capture of Byzantium towards the close of B.C. 408. In the following spring Alcibiades returned to Athens in triumph. He was received with a public welcome worthy of the saviour of the state, but many

* The mound was supposed to mark the tomb of Hecuba, the queen of Priam, who was fabled to have been transformed into a dog.

a recollection of private and public injury was working secretly in the minds of his fellow-citizens. He was appointed sole commander of a new armament of 100 triremes, 1500 hoplites, and 150 cavalry; but he delayed his departure till September, in order to celebrate with the greatest pomp those Eleusinian Mysteries which he had been charged with profaning. With his whole force, he escorted the sacred procession along the road from Athens to Eleusis, over the Thriasian plain, which they had not dared to cross since the Lacedæmonians had occupied Decelea. Truly it is one of the strangest scenes of history; an exiled statesman returning to his native city, from the suppression of a revolt he had himself instigated, victorious over the enemy he himself had aided, celebrating the great festival which he had been found guilty of profaning, in despite of the garrison which had been planted in the country by his own advice. Still stranger is it, when viewed in contrast with the fate to which he was hastening back.

During the summer he had spent at Athens, the state of affairs in Asia was entirely changed. The king of Persia (Darius II., surnamed Nothus) had resolved no longer to allow the satraps to indulge their caprice, but to take an active part against the Athenians, his hereditary enemies. Darius had two sons, Artaxerxes and Cyrus. The latter, who was the favourite of his mother Parysatis, was of an enthusiastic, generous, and ambitious temperament, and full of eagerness to emulate the great ancestor whose name he bore. He cherished the desire of vengeance on the Athenians like a true Persian; and with such feelings he was sent to govern the satrapies of Lydia, the Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, with the supreme command of the forces in the west. Arriving at Sardis in the spring of B.C. 407, he at once entered into communication with the new admiral Lysander, the most able commander whom Sparta had yet sent forth to the war. Inferior to Brasidas and Gylippus in generous enthusiasm, he owed it perhaps to his birth below the rank of full citizenship, that he was free from the Spartan narrowness of view and slowness of resolution. Free also from the Spartan vice of corruption, and above the seductions of pleasure, he was restrained by no scruples of humanity or good faith in pursuing power for his country and glory for himself. An interview at Sardis satisfied Cyrus and Lysander that they could rely upon each other; and measures were concerted for carrying on the war with the help of Persian gold. Alcibiades now found himself compelled to raise elsewhere the resources which he had hoped for from Tissaphernes. His exactions from the subject states, his

dissolute conduct, and his inaction, disgusted both the allies and his own army; and above all, the prestige of success was damaged by the defeat and death of his lieutenant Antiochus, who fought the Peloponnesian fleet off Notium during his temporary absence. The distrust, which had not ceased when his old offences were forgiven, broke out afresh at Athens, and he was once more driven into exile. He was replaced in the command by ten generals, of whom Conon was the chief, while Lysander was succeeded, at the expiration of his year's service as admiral, by Callicratidas, a blunt Spartan of the old school. Hampered by the jealousy of Lysander, and receiving but faint support from Cyrus, Callicratidas yet succeeded, by his own energy, in reinforcing his fleet from Miletus and Chios; and then, sailing to Lesbos, he took Methymna, and laid siege to Mytilene, where the inferior fleet of Conon narrowly escaped capture. By immense exertions, a new armament was sent out from Athens, and the ten generals found themselves in command of 150 ships at Samos, whence they sailed to the group of islets called Arginusæ, opposite the south-eastern coast of Lesbos. Here one of the greatest sea-fights of the whole war ended in the total defeat of the Peloponnesians, with the loss of 77 vessels and their admiral Callicratidas. We cannot stay to relate the cruel injustice with which the Athenians sullied their victory by the execution of six of the ten generals on the charge of not making sufficient efforts to save the crews from the Athenian wrecks (B.C. 406). This year is memorable in literary history for the deaths of Sophocles and Euripides, events which gave occasion for the masterly criticism of the Athenian tragedians, which Aristophanes brought out the next year under a comic guise, in his play of the *Frogs*.

The victory of Arginusæ was the last ray of glory which the setting sun of Athenian empire threw upon its arms. The Spartans were induced, by the common interest and the urgency of Cyrus, to restore the command to Lysander, though not with the title of admiral. Evading the superior force of Conon, he laid siege to Lampsacus on the Hellespont. The city fell before the arrival of the Athenian fleet, which took up a most unfavourable position on the exposed beach of Ægospotami (the Goat's River). Failing to draw out the wary Lacedæmonian from his stronger station, the Athenians began to regard him with contempt. Discipline was relaxed, and the men strayed from their ships. In vain did Alcibiades, who was residing near the spot, warn the commanders, while Lysander watched his opportunity. It came on the fifth day, when the Athenians had left their ships

so deserted, that Lysander had only to cross the strait in order to make himself master, almost without resistance, of the Athenian navy, numbering 180 vessels, of which scarcely a dozen escaped. The prisoners, amounting to nearly 4000, were put to death by Lysander. The battle of Ægospotami, which virtually decided the war, was fought in September, B.C. 405. In November, Lysander appeared at Ægina, having in the meantime received the submission of all the Athenian allies, except Samos; and while he blockaded Piræus, the Peloponnesian army under Agis invested Athens on the land side. After a siege of four months, the city was driven by famine to surrender at discretion. The allies who had met at Sparta twenty-seven years before, to take counsel for the overthrow of her empire, reassembled, their work at length accomplished, to decide upon her fate. Her implacable enemies, the Thebans and Corinthians, proposed nothing less than that the city should be razed to the ground, and her people sold as slaves. But the Spartans, with all their faults, still cherished the spirit of Hellenic patriotism, and refused to forget the days of Salamis and Platæa. They were content with terms which would, as they supposed, disable Athens from again becoming their rival, and reduce her, under an aristocratic government, to the rank of a subject member of their alliance. The Long Walls and the fortifications of the Piræus were to be demolished; all foreign possessions, beyond the confines of Attica itself, were to be resigned; the navy was to be surrendered, with the exception of twelve sail; all exiles were to be restored; and Athens was to become the ally of Sparta. No words could describe the humiliation of Athens like the simple fact, that her people received such terms as these with joy.

The execution of the sentence was entrusted to Lysander, who sailed into Piræus with his fleet in the month of March, B.C. 404, and kept possession of the city and ports till the fortifications, docks, and arsenals were demolished. The work proceeded amidst a display of insensate joy, as short-sighted on the part of the victors, as it was ruthlessly insulting to the vanquished. The walls fell to the sound of flutes and amidst the performances of dancers crowned with garlands; and, as the efforts of the workmen threw down mass after mass of the solid masonry, the Peloponnesians exulted in the belief that freedom began for Greece that day. Far better would it have been, as the orator Lysias said, "for Greece to have shorn her hair on the fall of Athens, and mourned at the tomb of her heroes, as over the

sepulchre of liberty itself:" for Athens had been her intellectual light and liberty, and the well-spring of her freedom, in spite of her abuses of the sacred gift. These abuses were fully punished by the loss of her power and the humiliation of her pride; but no proud insulting foe could rob her, even in that hour, of her past glories, or of her lasting empire—the intellectual supremacy of the world. The shores of Salamis lay unchanged in face of the scene of ruin, and the monuments of the Acropolis looked calmly down on the commotion; the plays of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Aristophanes were still acted; Socrates still taught, and Plato wrote; the highest fruits of philosophy and eloquence awaited their maturity in coming years; and even when all Greece had shared the ruin which fell that day on the Athenian empire, and the liberty which the Hellenic states had sacrificed by their dissensions had been surrendered to the power of Rome, the intellectual supremacy of Athens widened with the power of her conqueror, till she became no longer the seat of arts and letters for Greece, but the University of the World.

Meanwhile, though she never regained her former empire, she was not doomed to remain long in the depths of her political degradation. While the Spartans demolished her fortifications, they were content to leave the destruction of her constitution to her own factions. The returned exiles, headed by Critias, joined with Theramenes, who had taken the leading part in the negotiations with Sparta, in establishing an oligarchical government. A committee of Thirty, appointed nominally to draw up a new constitution, took all the power into their own hands, and soon earned, by their lawless proceedings, and especially by the judicial murders of their political opponents and private enemies, the name of the THIRTY TYRANTS. A Spartan garrison remained in the Acropolis to support this Reign of Terror; while Lysander, having finished the war by the reduction of Samos, returned to Sparta in a magnificent triumph, and, like Pausanias long before, disgusted the allies by the insolence with which he used his power (B.C. 404). In closing the narrative of this memorable year, a passing word is due to the fate of Alcibiades. Condemned as a public enemy under the Thirty, he fled from the Chersonese to the court of Pharnabazus, and was preparing to visit the new king Artaxerxes at Susa,* when his house was one night surrounded and set on fire by a band of armed assassins, and, as he rushed out sword in

* Artaxerxes II., surnamed Mnemon (from his good memory), succeeded his father Darius II., in B.C. 405.

hand, he fell pierced with arrows. It is uncertain whether the murderers were employed by Sparta, or by private enemies, whom he had injured by his profligacy.

Meanwhile, the tyranny of the Thirty had become odious in the eyes of all Greece. Theramenes, the most able of their number, had been dragged to death at the bidding of his colleague Critias for his moderation, and the attempt was made to silence all discussion of the principles of government by a decree forbidding the teaching of "the art of words," that is, rhetoric, philosophy, and, in one word, all the learning of the Sophists.* On the other side, the Corinthians and Bœotians resented the arrogance of Sparta and Lysander, and Athenian exiles were permitted to take refuge in Bœotia. The Thebans even aided the enterprise of Thrasybulus, who seized the border fortress of Phylé, in Mount Parnes; and, after two successful skirmishes with the followers of the Thirty and the Lacedæmonian garrison, established himself at Piræus. Here he was again victorious over an assailing force led by Critias, who was killed in the attack. On his death, the more moderate faction deposed the Thirty, and set up a new government of Ten. There were now three parties contending for the mastery of Athens: the democratic exiles under Thrasybulus at Piræus; the Ten in the city; and the remnant of the Thirty at Eleusis. Both the aristocratic factions appealed to Sparta, and Lysander re-entered Athens, prepared to put down opposition with a high hand, while his fleet blockaded Piræus. But his policy was no longer in the ascendant at Sparta; and he was superseded by the king Pausanias. Having vindicated the honour of the Spartan arms by a victory over Thrasybulus, Pausanias granted a truce for negotiation at Sparta, which resulted in a treaty of peace between the two states, the withdrawal of the Lacedæmonian garrison from Athens, the restoration of the democratic constitution, and a general amnesty. The laws of Solon were revised and re-enacted, a proceeding connected with a curious fact in literary history. The old Attic alphabet, of sixteen or eighteen letters, introduced from Phœnicia, had till now been kept in all public documents, though superseded in common usage by the new Ionic alphabet of twenty-four letters. The latter was now for the first time employed in the inscription of the laws on the walls of the Painted Porch. The

* Socrates, whom Critias had once followed, was especially dreaded for his sharp criticism of the acts of the Thirty, under the guise of his wonted familiar illustrations. Xenophon gives an amusing account of the interview in which Critias forbade him to teach any longer (*Memorabilia*, bk. i. c. ii.).

acts of the Thirty were annulled, and the year of their government was stigmatized in the public annals as "the year of anarchy;" * while the year of the resoration of the republic became memorable by the name of its archon, Euclides (B.C. 403).

Before proceeding to the narrative of the period from the Peloponnesian War to the Macedonian ascendancy, we have to notice two important episodes which mark the transition from the fifth to the fourth century B.C.,—the death of Socrates, and the expedition of the younger Cyrus. The former event did not take place till the second year of the new century; but it may be regarded as a fruit of the animosities that prevailed during the war. We need not repeat at length the oft-told story of the life and teaching of Socrates,—his ungainly person, his eccentric and ascetic mode of life, always in the open view of the citizens, discoursing in the market-place, the porticoes, and the streets, with all who chose,—fascinating them with the charm of his voice, the point of his homely illustrations, and the triumphant skill of his dialectics, by which an opponent was committed, early in the argument, to a position which he was then led on step by step, through a series of artful interrogations, to contradict. Nor have we space for an account of the new philosophy, of which he was the great master, the speculative side of which is developed in the brilliant dialogues of Plato, while its moral aspects are exhibited in the works of Xenophon. There is, in fact, no positive system of philosophy which can be fairly represented by the name of Socrates. His special work was to break down prejudicies, to expose fallacies, to unveil the mischievous tendencies of false principles and false methods of enquiry, to assert the existence of great necessary truths—of the good, the true, the beautiful—in the consciousness of mankind; leaving the positive results of such teaching to those who came after him. His own explanation of the reason why the Delphic oracle pronounced him the wisest of mankind—because he alone knew that he knew nothing—was no affected paradox, but the very sum of all his philosophy—that the mind must be emptied of all conceit of its own knowledge, before it can receive any truth pure and absolute—and to convince men of this in their own case was the great aim of his dialectic method. It was in the inculcation of the plain duties of morality that the positive side of his teaching was exhibited most clearly; and so, though Xenophon's

* The exact period of their rule was eight months; from the summer of B.C. 404 to the spring of B.C. 403.

picture of Socrates is doubtless very incomplete, it furnishes, as far as it goes, an exacter portrait than that of Plato.

Through a long and irreproachable public life, in which he never neglected his duties as a citizen,* the admiration which Socrates earned was clouded by many enmities. At first, he was confounded with the Sophists; and his personal peculiarities marked him as the natural butt for the indignant satire which was levelled at them by Aristophanes in the *Clouds* (B.C. 423). His real life for twenty-four years must surely have dispelled any impression made by so gross a caricature; but meanwhile stronger grounds of offence arose against him. The enmity of the politicians, orators, poets, and other leading men, whose pretensions he had exposed by his merciless dialectics, was added to the envy which always dogs the steps of superior virtue. But what told most against him was the suspicion of disaffection to the popular beliefs as to religion and politics. The former charge resolved itself into a vague distrust of his philosophic views; the latter was supported by the ridicule which he did not hesitate to pour on certain points of the democratic constitution, such as the election of the magistrates by lot; nor can it be denied that the tendency of his teaching was against government by the many. Added to this was the fact, skilfully used by his accuser, that the greatest internal enemies of the state, Critias and Alcibiades, had been his disciples. He was arraigned by Meletus, Anytus, and Lycon, on the double charge of not believing in the gods of the city, but introducing other new deities, and of corrupting the youth by his teaching. The issue is well known:—his firm and uncompromising defence, his condemnation by a bare majority of the dicasts, his rejection of the opportunity to escape because it would be disobedience to the law, and his calm death, by means of the cup of hemlock, surrounded by the friends whom he delighted, in that last hour, by his discourse on the Immortality of the Soul.† He died at the age of 70, in B.C. 399.

Of the two disciples, to whom we owe our knowledge of Socrates, Xenophon was at this time absent from Athens on the expedition

* Examples of distinguished merit in the performance of those duties are furnished by his conduct at Potidæa and Delium, and his resistance to the illegal vote for the death of the generals after the battle of Arginusæ.

† Plato's celebrated dialogue, the *Phædo*, which contains this discourse, with a most touching account of the master's death, doubtless conveys his own views quite as much as those of Socrates. The main argument resolves itself into our consciousness of the possession of a life which is indestructible.

which has immortalized him as a soldier and a writer. The attempt of the younger Cyrus to wrest the crown of Persia from his brother Artaxerxes, by the aid of a body of Greek mercenaries, chiefly from the Dorian states, and the masterly retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, under Xenophon, from the neighbourhood of Babylon, along the upper Tigris, and through the mountains of Kurdistan and Armenia to the Greek settlements on the Euxine,—forms a military study of the deepest interest. Its chief importance in general history arises from its having prepared the way for the conquests of Alexander, by proving how vulnerable was the Persian empire at its very heart (B.C. 401—400). It remains to give a brief sketch of the events that filled up the interval.

The period of forty years, from the expedition of the younger Cyrus, to the accession of Philip in Macedonia, is full of incidents, which must be mastered by the student of Greek history, but only a few of which stand out prominently in the history of the world. It corresponds almost exactly to the long reign of the Spartan Agesilaus, who divides with Epaminondas the distinction due to the leading men of the whole period. It may be divided into the supremacies of Sparta and of Thebes. The former lasted from the fall of Athens, in B.C. 404, to the battle of Leuctra, in B.C. 371; but during the whole period, except the first nine years, the supremacy of Sparta was disputed by nearly all the other leading states, and Athens regained for some time the mastery of the seas. The remaining ten years are occupied by the brief but brilliant supremacy of Thebes, under Epaminondas, ending with the battle of Mantinea (B.C. 362), and the pacification of Greece (B.C. 361).

During the first years after the fall of Athens, the power of Sparta was strengthened by the conquest of Elis by king Agis (B.C. 401—399). On this king's death, his elder son Leotychides was set aside, on a suspicion of illegitimacy, through the influence of Lysander, who was endeavouring to pave the way for his own accession to the crown. But in the person of Agesilaus, the younger son of Agis, by his second wife, he raised up an insuperable obstacle to his ambitious projects (B.C. 398). The new king, who had already reached his fortieth year, has been held forth by his friend Xenophon as the model of every excellence. Though this estimate is exaggerated, he was a skilful general, a prudent statesman, an ardent patriot, and distinguished for all Spartan virtues. The air almost of deformity, due to the shortness of

his stature, combined with lameness of one leg, was counterbalanced by his pleasing countenance and affable manner. He was content with the reality of power, which he held all the more firmly for the respect he always paid to the senators and ephors. Among his qualities as a soldier, none was more remarkable than his constancy under defeat.

While the fall of the Athenian empire had imposed on Sparta the duty of protecting the Ionian colonies, the part taken by her citizens in the expedition of Cyrus drew upon her the enmity of Persia. A war ensued in Asia between the satraps, Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, against the Spartans, first under Thimbron and then under Dercyllidas (B.C. 399). The success of the latter general led to an armistice (B.C. 397), during which Pharnabazus, among other vast preparations, raised a powerful fleet, and placed it under the command of the Athenian Conon, who had resided at Salamis since the battle of Ægospotami. Agesilaus was now induced by Lysander to proceed to Asia in person; and he went out in the character of successor to his ancestor Agamemnon, since whom no Grecian king had passed over into Asia. In attempting to inaugurate his expedition by sacrifices at Aulis, he provoked the religious jealousy of the Thebans, who incurred his lasting enmity by driving him away.

Arriving at Ephesus in B.C. 396, Agesilaus soon checked the arrogance of Lysander, who was glad to depart on a separate service to the Hellespont. Repulsed in a sudden attack on Dascylium, in Phrygia, the capital of Pharnabazus, Agesilaus returned to winter at Ephesus, and took the field in great force the next spring against Tissaphernes, whom he defeated, ravaging the country up to the gates of Sardis (B.C. 395). Tissaphernes being soon after murdered by the contrivance of the queen-mother Parysatis, his successor concluded an armistice with Agesilaus, who then marched into Phrygia. Having received a commission from Sparta, making him general-in-chief by sea as well as land, he again spent the winter at Ephesus in vast preparations. Xenophon gives a very picturesque account of an interview between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus during this winter. On the opening of spring, he had just taken the field for a new campaign, when his career in Asia was cut short by his recall home to meet a combined attack on Sparta by her chief allies (B.C. 394).

The refusal of Corinth, Thebes, and Athens to join Agesilaus in his expedition to Asia was a proof of the discontent of the allies towards Sparta. The new satrap of Ionia had the skill to turn

this feeling to account; and his envoy, a Rhodian named Timocrates, succeeded in stirring up a war against Sparta (B.C. 395). A quarrel between the Phocians and Opuntian Locrians, in which the Thebans aided the former, gave the signal for hostilities. The Lacedæmonians, who on their part bore a most hostile feeling towards the Thebans, listened to the appeal of the Phocians, and Lysander invaded Bœotia with a force designed to form the advance guard of a great army under the king Pausanias. The Thebans now invoked the aid of the Athenians, who accepted the alliance of their ancient enemy. But before the full forces could be mustered on either side, Lysander fell in a battle under the walls of Haliartus; and, when Pausanias arrived, he was content to gain permission to bury Lysander and his fallen comrades by consenting to retire from Bœotia.

The victory of Haliartus was the signal for a formal alliance against Sparta, in which Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Argos were joined by other powerful states on both sides of the continent, the Ozolian Locrians, Eubœans, and Chalcidians of Thrace, on the east, the Acarnanians, Ambraciots, and Leucadians on the west. The war that ensued is known in history as the *Corinthian War*, Corinth having been chosen by the allies as their place of meeting. The Lacedæmonians anticipated the attack of the allies by an advance to the Isthmus, and gained a decisive victory under the walls of Corinth (about July 394). Meanwhile Agesilaus was marching back to Greece through Thrace and Macedonia, followed by several veterans of the Ten Thousand and other chosen troops. So bitter were his feelings at having to renounce his plans in Asia, that the news of the victory of Corinth, which greeted him at Amphipolis, caused him no exultation. He could only lament that so many of the Greeks, whose union might have easily freed their brethren in Asia, had fallen in arms against each other. After some skirmishes with the Thessalian cavalry, he had passed the strait of Thermopylæ, when an eclipse of the sun warned him of some great disaster (B.C. 394, August 14), and the portent was soon explained by the news of the annihilation of the fleet he had left behind him on the coast of Asia, an event to be related presently. Having announced it to his army as a great victory, and offered suitable sacrifices, he hastened to meet the confederates, who awaited him on the plain of Coronea in Bœotia.* He had been joined by the Orchomenians,

* This battle-field had already been signalized by the victory of the Bœotians over the Athenians, in B.C. 447. (See p. 463.)

who had taken the side of Sparta through jealousy of Thebes, and who now formed the left wing of Agesilaus. But they only proved a source of weakness; for at the first impetuous shock of the Thebans, who were opposed to them on the right of the allies, they broke their ranks and fled. Instead of assailing the flank of the enemy's severed line, the Thebans pursued the defeated wing till they were separated from the rest of the allies, who, in their turn, had given way before Agesilaus. They drew up in a new line of battle upon Mount Helicon, and endeavoured to cut their way through the army of Agesilaus. The close combat that ensued was not only the fiercest in which Greek ever met Greek, but a hand to hand conflict such as seldom occurs in the history of war. In the front ranks, the broken spears and shields were replaced by daggers, which were plied amidst a silence only broken by deep tones of rage. Agesilaus himself was thrown down, and hardly dragged from under the feet of the combatants by his chosen body-guard of fifty. The Thebans at last forced their way through to their comrades with great loss, leaving in the hands of Agesilaus a dear bought and indecisive victory (B.C. 394).

Among the circumstances of this memorable battle must be reckoned the part taken in it by Xenophon. After his brilliant success in leading back the Ten Thousand Greeks had been crowned by their incorporation with the army of Thimbron, his movements are somewhat uncertain. Having deposited his share of the booty in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, he seems to have returned to Athens shortly after the death of Socrates.* His deep indignation at the event was not likely to be diminished by the vehement revival of democratic and anti-Laconian feeling, and he appears soon to have returned to the more congenial society of the Lacedæmonian army in Asia. He served as commander of the remnant of the Ten Thousand under Dercyllidas, and again under Agesilaus, for whom he conceived the admiration that is expressed so warmly in his works. To that friendship he sacrificed his loyalty to his country. He accompanied Agesilaus to Greece and fought against Athens at Coronea. Banished most justly for this offence,†

* The opening words of the *Memorabilia* are those of a person regarding the event from a distance:—"*I often wondered* on what grounds the accusers of Socrates persuaded the Athenians that he deserved death."

† See the argument of Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. viii., p. 242), in opposition to the view which places the banishment of Xenophon at an earlier date. On the whole subject of Xenophon's character and his relations to his country, there are some admirable essays by Niebuhr and Bishop Thirlwall, in the *Philological Museum*.

Xenophon identified himself completely with the Spartans. He retired to an estate which he purchased at Scillus, near Olympia, in Elis; and there divided his time between hunting, entertaining his friends, and the composition of his works. He was driven from this retreat by the Eleans after a residence of about twenty years; and he is said to have retired to Corinth. His sentence of banishment was repealed on the motion of Eubulus; but he seems never to have returned to Athens.

In Asia, meanwhile, utter ruin had befallen the fleet of Sparta, and her short-lived empire of the sea had again been lost. During the second campaign of Agesilaus, Conon, placed by Pharnabazus in command of the combined Athenian and Persian fleets, had been blockaded at Caunus in Lycia by the Lacedæmonian fleet of 120 sail, under Pharax. Conon had only forty ships; but the arrival of forty more not only broke up the blockade, but enabled him to take possession of Rhodes, which revolted from the Lacedæmonians; a proof that the maritime allies soon became as impatient of the Spartan supremacy as they had formerly been of the Athenian. During the winter, Conon went to the court of Artaxerxes at Babylon, and returned with a large sum of money, which enabled him and Pharnabazus to fit out a combined Athenian and Phœnician fleet superior to that of the Lacedæmonians. The latter, reinforced by the exertions of Agesilaus, and placed under the command of his brother-in-law, Pisander, was stationed in Cnidus, in Caria. Thither Conon proceeded, and offered battle, which Pisander had not the prudence to decline. He was deserted by his Asiatic allies, and utterly defeated, with the loss of more than half his fleet, and of his own life. The battle of Cnidus was fought early in August, B.C. 394, shortly after that of Corinth, and before that of Coronea. The combined fleet, under Pharnabazus and Conon, followed up their victory by the reduction of the islands and the cities on the Hellespont; but Abydus and the Thracian Chersonese were preserved to Sparta by the energy of Dercyllidas. In the following spring (B.C. 393) they crossed the Ægæan, ravaged the coasts of Laconia, placed an Athenian garrison in the island of Cythera, and finally took up their station off the Isthmus, to co-operate with the allies, whose head-quarters were at Corinth. A century had almost elapsed since the victory of Salamis, when the incredible spectacle was seen of a Persian satrap and an Athenian commander conducting their united navies past the shores of the island; and in that sight the Greeks beheld the natural fruit of their long dissensions.

But, instead of yielding to patriotic shame, the Athenians were content to reap substantial advantage from their strange alliance. Pharnabazus, in his anger against the Spartans for their victories in Asia, not only granted Canon permission to rebuild the fortifications of Piræus and the Long Walls, but left the fleet at his disposal, and supplied him with money for the work. Stranger than all, the new allies of Athens, and among them their inveterate foes the Thebans, were seen heartily co-operating in the restoration of those bulwarks the destruction of which they had celebrated eleven years before with music and dancing. The Spartans, once more confined to the land by the loss of their fleet, and shut up within the Isthmus by the lines of Corinth, were helpless to resist the work. Its completion was celebrated, together with the victory of Cnidus, by a splendid festival, at which Conon was hailed as a second Themistocles. His statue was set up by the Athenians, and a decree was engraved on a pillar, celebrating his services to his country. Nor was it possible to exaggerate the importance of the event. It was not indeed the restoration of Athens to her old empire, which would have been a mockery of its former self, if raised up under the protection of Persia; and the Athenian empire was one of those great political structures which are not repeated when once destroyed. But it restored Athens once more, in her own strength, to that independent position which she had lately held only by precarious alliances; and while protecting her, as of old, from her enemies on shore, it held out to her the prospect of an ascendancy over the maritime states, which might at least be the reflection of her former glory. "It re-animated her, if not into the Athens of Pericles, at least into that of Isocrates and Demosthenes; it imparted to her a second fill of strength, dignity, and commercial importance, during the half century destined to elapse before she was finally overwhelmed by the superior military force of Macedon." * Nor was Conon slow in taking advantage of her new position. He led forth the Athenian navy among the islands, to reunite them with Athens in a maritime confederacy; and he made an effort, in conjunction with Evagoras, the ruler of Salamis, in Cyprus, to gain over Dionysius, the celebrated tyrant of Syracuse; but this overture was unsuccessful. He also organized a mercenary force for the defence of Corinth, a measure now for the first time adopted in the wars of the Greek states.

In the restoration of Athens to so much of her former power, it is impossible not to see one of the most striking examples of a

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. viii., p. 450.

lesson that history is continually teaching, but which the passions of succeeding generations as constantly prevent their learning;—the lesson, how often the longest and most bloody wars prove altogether fruitless for their object, however fruitful in misery, exhaustion, and ill-will. Comparing the condition of the state with what it was before all the sacrifices of the Peloponnesian War, her enemies had nothing to show for all those sacrifices, unless it were the miserable consolation that, though they had failed to destroy her, she no longer possessed the power to save them, with herself, from the common dangers that were approaching. Meanwhile Sparta seemed to be struggling for her very existence against the states, now allied with Athens, which had been the keenest in goading her on to the former war.

Corinth was now again the critical point of the contest. The Lacedæmonians were established at Sicyon, and the allies were defending the Isthmus, so as to keep them pent up within Peloponnesus. The natural line of defence at Corinth is formed by the Onean mountains, which leave passes between their extremities and the two seas, while a third cuts through the ridge beside Corinth itself. The last pass, and that on the Saronic Gulf, were held by the allies, while the pass along the shore of the Corinthian Gulf was blocked up by the Long Walls connecting Corinth with its port Lechæum. Factions broke out in the city; and, while the democratic government called in the Argives to overawe the wealthy citizens, who were disaffected at seeing their lands ravaged, the latter admitted the Lacedæmonians within the Long Walls, where a battle was fought, which ended in the defeat of the Argives and the Corinthians (B.C. 392). The way was now laid open into Attica and Bœotia, and great alarm was felt at Athens and Thebes. The Athenians hastened to repair the Long Walls of Corinth, but in the following summer Agesilaus took Lechæum, and pulled down the long walls entirely.

The renewed danger induced both Thebes and Athens to send envoys to Sparta to treat of peace. Those of the former state were rudely repulsed, for Agesilaus had not forgiven the insult put upon him at Aulis. The envoys of Athens obtained very favourable terms, which the people however rejected, chiefly through the opposition of Argos and Corinth. It was on this occasion that the orator Andocides, who has already been mentioned in connection with Alcibiades, made his speech, which is still extant, in favour of the Peace. Agesilaus, proceeding from his head-quarters at Lechæum, took Piræum, the chief stronghold

remaining to the Corinthians on the Isthmus, and placed Corinth itself under a close blockade.

It was now that the new element introduced by Conon into Greek warfare began to produce its results. The mercenaries had been trained by the Athenian Iphicrates as light troops, clad in a linen breastplate in place of the cumbrous panoply of the hoplites, and armed with swords and javelins longer than those of the peltasts. At the head of this band, Iphicrates seized an opportunity to sally out from Corinth upon a procession escorted by a division (*mora*) of 600 Spartan hoplites, a force wont to despise many times their number of light-armed troops, while those of Iphicrates were one-third less numerous. Yet they were completely baffled by the agile movements of the enemy, and on the approach of a body of Athenian hoplites, they fled to Lechæum, pursued by the soldiers of Iphicrates, and nearly the whole *mora* was cut to pieces. Such a defeat was a disgrace to the Spartan arms and a shock to Spartan sentiment, such as had not been suffered since the capture of Sphacteria. Agesilaus received the news at the very moment when he had returned an insulting answer to the envoys whom the Thebans, alarmed at the state of Corinth, had sent to treat for peace. He marched off instantly to dispute with the victors the bodies of the slain; but news met him that Iphicrates had erected his trophy and retired. He then advanced to Corinth; but all his taunts failed to draw forth the Corinthians to battle; and he marched back to Sparta almost by stealth, fearing to expose his humiliated army to the scorn of their own allies. Strikingly contrasted with this covert retreat, and with the shame and anger displayed by the Lacedæmonians in general, was the bearing of the sons and fathers and brothers of the slain, who went about with bright and joyful air, like men who had been victorous in the games. For such was the custom at Sparta, to exult for those who were bravely slain, and only to mourn over the captives and the disgraced. Iphicrates remained master of the Isthmus, and retook the captured posts. Having fallen into odium at Corinth, owing, it is said, to his domineering temper and some suspicion of designs on the independence of the state, he was recalled, and succeeded by Chabrias. The Spartans appear to have made no further attempt on Corinth; but Agesilaus conquered Acarnania; and Agesipolis, his colleague in the kingdom, invaded the Argive territory, disregarding alike the common pretext, that the people were engaged in a religious festival, and the omen of an earthquake. It was not till a flash of lightning killed

several men in his camp, that this daring contemner of Greek superstitions retired from the country. Xenophon does not enable us to fix with certainty the dates of the few events which occurred on the mainland between the victory of Iphicrates and the peace, the causes of which we have now to relate.

The successes of Conon had filled Sparta with alarm at the threatened restoration of the maritime empire of Athens. For this danger there seemed but one remedy left,—the intervention of the Persian king. It was not enough that both parties had sought the aid of the arch-enemy of their common country: he must now be made the arbiter of its disputes. The Spartans well knew the price of his intervention; and they resolved to surrender the liberties of their Asiatic brethren. With such offers, Antalcidas, a Spartan as clever and unscrupulous as Lysander, was sent to Tiribazus, the new satrap of Ionia (B.C. 391). As to the internal affairs of Greece, it was proposed to adopt the principle of "*autonomy*," that is, that every city, continental or insular, great or small, should be independent and self-governed. Thus there would be no more great confederacies, like those which had been led by Sparta and Athens, and the Great King would have nothing to fear from the combined hostility of Greece. The last proposal was aimed principally at the maritime empire which Athens seemed now likely to re-establish. It cost Sparta nothing to renounce for herself a supremacy at sea, which recent events had left no hope of her re-establishing; and, isolated as she now was on the land, her best chance of weakening her enemies was by breaking up those separate confederacies, of which that of the Bœotian states, under Thebes, was the most important. She had proposed the same principle to Athens, on the eve of the Peloponnesian War, when its acceptance would have allowed her to have retained her own power, as the head of an alliance nominally voluntary; and subsequent events proved that she was ready to seize the first opportunity of resuming that position.

The allies had much—Thebes, in particular, almost everything—to lose by the admission of such a principle; nor were they prepared to sacrifice the Asiatic Greeks. They sent envoys to the court of Tiribazus, to oppose the designs of Antalcidas; and, among them, Conon went up on the part of Athens. These envoys made it clear that the terms proposed by Antalcidas would be accepted by none of the leading states, except Sparta herself, nor did the resentment of the Persian court as yet suffer it to unite with Sparta in forcing terms on the rest of Greece. All that

Tiribazus could do was to promise to go up to Susa, and try to convince the king that it was his interest to accept the proposals of Antalcidas, while he secretly furnished money for the Lacedæmonian fleet. To this he added an act of perfidy, as damaging to Athens as it was acceptable to Sparta, the imprisonment of Conon, in violation of his sacred character as an ambassador, and of his close connection with Pharnabazus. The latter may, indeed, have been a chief motive for his seizure, as his influence with the rival satrap would have furnished the best means of counteracting the philo-Laconian policy of Tiribazus. The most probable account of Conon's subsequent fate is that he escaped, and again took refuge with Evagoras in Cyprus, and there died of sickness. At all events, his public life was now closed, and Athens lost in him the best hope of recovering her empire.

The mission of Tiribazus to Susa did not prosper; and while he was detained at the court, his place was supplied by Struthas, a Persian, who represented the full animosity of Artaxerxes against the Spartans. The command of the Lacedæmonians in Asia was entrusted to Thimbron, who had been superseded by Dercyllidas, at the beginning of the war, for his rashness and incompetence. The same qualities now exposed him to defeat in a disorderly battle, which was brought on by the skilful manœuvres of Struthas, and in which Thimbron himself was slain (B.C. 390).

The maritime war, which had been suspended since the battle of Cnidus, now broke out afresh in consequence of the desire of the Lacedæmonians to assist the oligarchical exiles, who had been expelled from Rhodes when it revolted from Sparta,* and who were now plotting with a party in the island. The seizure of Conon had again deprived the Athenians of the mastery of the Ægæan, and the Spartans were able to gather a fleet of twenty-seven triremes at Cnidus, under Teleutias, the brother of Agesilaus, and next to him the most enterprising of their commanders. He was fortunate enough to open the campaign by the capture of ten Athenian triremes, which were sailing under Philocrates to aid Evagoras of Cyprus against Persia. With his force thus augmented, Teleutias was enabled to establish the oligarchical exiles on the island of Rhodes, and to annoy the government by a civil war; but, when he attempted to meet the Rhodians in the field, he was defeated.†

* See p. 540.

† The three ancient cities of the island, Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus had lately coalesced into the new capital of Rhodes, a city destined to high fame both in ancient and medieval history.

The Athenians resolved on a vigorous effort to recover their naval superiority. Thrasybulus, the restorer of the democracy, sailed with forty triremes to the Hellespont and Bosporus, where he completely re-established the supremacy of Athens, and reimposed the toll on passing ships, which the Lacedæmonians had abolished. Landing at Lesbos, he defeated the Lacedæmonian harmost, and he sailed down the coast of Asia Minor, levying contributions for his main object, the expedition to Rhodes. The last place he visited was Aspendus in Pamphylia. On the eve of his departure, the Aspendians, irritated by the excesses of his soldiers, surprised his camp in the night, and slew him (B.C. 389). He did not leave behind him a more patriotic citizen, nor one who had conferred greater services upon his country. The movements of his successor Agyrrhius are uncertain; and the Rhodian war seems to have languished, while Teleutias, being as much in want of money as the Athenians, was compelled to waste his time in levying it by the same means.

The Hellespont now became the chief seat of the war. Dercyllidas, who had commanded there for some years, was succeeded by Anaxibius. The new commander went out with great promises, which his first successes seemed likely to redeem; but he found his match in the Athenian Iphicrates, who laid an ambush for Anaxibius, on his return from an overland march, in the passes of Mount Ida. The surprise was completely successful. With the true Spartan spirit, Anaxibius declared that his duty bound him to die at his post, but he dismissed his followers, who fled to Abydus; while twelve other Spartan harmosts remained and died with him. By this victory, the Athenians became again masters of the Bosporus and Hellespont, and re-established the toll on ships passing from the Euxine. But a new danger menaced them in their own seas, whither Teleutias had now transferred his restless energy.

Amidst the changes of the last few years, Ægina, the ancient enemy of Athens, retained the independence restored to her by the issue of the Peloponnesian War. Many of the old inhabitants had been replaced in the island by Lysander; and their privateers vindicated for Ægina its ancient title of "the eyesore of the Piræus." The Athenians had blockaded the port of Ægina, and planted a fort upon the island, when Teleutias, who was levying contributions among the Cyclades, hastened to its relief and drove off the blockading squadron. Just at this time, his term of command expired, and he departed for Sparta amidst the warmest demonstrations of the affection of the sailors. His successor,

Hierax, sailed back to Rhodes, leaving Gorgopas to command at Ægina, with twelve triremes. After some successful exploits, which made him over-confident, Gorgopas was surprised and slain by the Athenian Chabrias, who had secretly landed a force on Ægina.

His successor found the Lacedæmonian crews unmanageable and mutinous, on account of their pay being in arrear. Teleutias was sent out, as the only commander likely to appease them. Addressing the seamen amidst their first enthusiasm at his return, he told them that he came without money, but to show them the way of procuring it; that he would himself take nothing till their wants were supplied; and that it became brave men to seek their pay from their enemies, sword in hand. They responded with a shout, bidding him to lead them where he pleased, and they would obey him. Without disclosing his object, which would doubtless have alarmed them as impracticable, he commanded them to get their suppers and come immediately on board, bringing with them provisions for a day—a supply to be reckoned as a generous advance on their part.

The night had just closed when the little fleet of twelve triremes started from Ægina, and at dawn of day Teleutias led them straight into the harbour of Piræus, the mouth of which the Athenians had always left open, in the confidence of their strength. To surprise it, "even at the maximum of the Athenian naval power, was an enterprise possible, simply because every one considered it to be impossible." * Teleutias found, as he expected, no preparations for defence; the triremes, many times his own in number, were unmanned. These he ordered his triremes to charge and disable; the merchant ships were boarded and plundered, and their crews carried off as prisoners; and many of the smaller vessels were towed away, with a few triremes. The whole force of Athens flew to arms at the first alarm; but before they could march down to Piræus, Teleutias had sailed away with his prizes, adding to them several coasting vessels, which mistook his for an Athenian squadron.

The success of such an enterprise, combined with the constant annoyance experienced from Ægina, must have gone far to convince the Athenians that the restoration of their maritime empire was hopeless, especially as their progress on the Hellespont now received a severe check. At the same time the financial pressure of the contest, coming upon them when they were reduced to the

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. ix., p. 523.

greatest poverty by the Peloponnesian War, must have disposed them to accept the peace, which the Spartans were at length successful in persuading the king of Persia to impose. Shortly before the fall of Gorgopas at Ægina, Antalcidas had sailed from that island at the head of a fleet, which he despatched to the Hellespont under his secretary Nicolochus, while he himself went up to Susa with Tiribazus. This time, his dexterous address gained the favour of Artaxerxes, who not only assented to peace on the terms proposed two years before, but placed his armaments at the disposal of Sparta, to enforce it on all recusant states. Pharnabazus was honourably called from the scene of action by an invitation to the court and a marriage with the king's daughter, and his satrapy was committed, during his absence, to a personal friend of Antalcidas. The following were the terms of the treaty, or rather the edict—for so it was worded, in the most degrading form, as emanating from the will of the Great King, and imposed by him upon Greece: "King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia, and the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should belong to him. He also thinks it just to leave all the other Grecian cities, small and great, independent—except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which are to belong to Athens, as of old. Should any parties refuse to accept this peace, I will make war upon them, along with those who are of the same mind, both by land and sea, with ships and money." The exception to the principle of autonomy, in favour of Athens, seems to have been inserted since the first negotiation of Antalcidas.

In the spring of B.C. 387, Tiribazus and Antalcidas appeared on the coast, as bearers of the decree under the seal of the Great King, and commanders of the whole force of Persia; while twenty ships were sent to the aid of the Spartans by Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse. By a skilful manœuvre, Antalcidas formed a junction between these ships and the twenty-five ships of Nicolochus, which had been blockaded at Abydus by the superior force of Iphicrates; and further reinforcements from the Persian satraps raised his fleet to eighty triremes, the largest force which had appeared in the Hellespont since the battle of Ægospotami. While Athens trembled to hear that a blow equally disastrous had befallen her fleets under Chabrias and Iphicrates, she was distressed by the cutting off of her supplies of corn from the Euxine, and by the redoubled activity of the Æginetan privateers. She had no choice but to accept the peace: without her aid, Corinth and Argos could not hope to repel the attacks of Sparta: and Thebes was

threatened by Agesilaus with instant war, when she attempted to nullify the article designed for her humiliation by signing in the name of the Bœotian confederacy. Not many years elapsed before Sparta had reason to repent bitterly of her overbearing insistance and of the triumphant hatred of Agesilaus to Thebes. Meanwhile, the treaty was accepted unconditionally: and, as its first result, Corinth was obliged to dismiss her Argive allies, with whom their political friends left the city, while the aristocratic constitution was restored by the return of the philo-Laconian exiles.

Such was the disgraceful "Peace of Antalcidas," by which, within a century after the battle of Salamis, the Greeks accepted terms of peace from a Persian king, and finally gave up their Asiatic colonies to his rule; not scrupling to perpetuate their infamy by inscribing the treaty on pillars at Olympia, and the other sanctuaries of the nation. There were not wanting patriots among the Spartans themselves, who viewed the matter in this light. "Alas! for Hellas, that our Spartans should be *Medizing!*" exclaimed some one in the hearing of Agesilaus, who at once rejoined, "Say rather that the Medes are *Laconizing*." The answer revealed the whole object of Sparta in the treaty, by which she and the Persian king were the only gainers. The sacrifice of Ionia was the price paid for permission—and if it should be necessary for assistance—to restore the Lacedæmonian supremacy over the rest of Greece, weakened and isolated under the hypocritical pretext of autonomy.*

Nor was Sparta slow to prove by deeds that such was her real object. The dissolution of the tie between Argos and Corinth, and the aristocratic revolution effected in the latter city, gave Sparta virtually the command of the Isthmus. As the hatred of Thebes was a leading motive of the treaty, so was she chosen for the first victim of its real working, and of the persistent hatred of Agesilaus. While proclaiming the independence of the Bœotian cities, the Spartans resumed their ancient policy of fostering local oligarchies friendly to themselves. The two cities which had sided with them in the late conflict, Orchomenus and Thespiæ, had their *independence* protected by the continued presence of Lacedæmonian garrisons. But when Sparta proceeded to rebuild Platæa, and to restore such of its exiled families as could still be

* See Mr. Grote's careful exposition of the course by which, from the very beginning of the Peloponnesian War, Sparta declined from the principle of Panhellenic dignity, and fell into submission to Persia for the sake of her own objects (*History of Greece*, vol. x., chap. 76).

found at Athens, it must have seemed as if the old political relations of the Hellenic states had been reversed. Nor were these proceedings adopted with the full consent of the moderate party in Sparta herself. How little she would allow, in her own case, the independence of neighbours supposed to be unfriendly, was proved by her treatment of Mantinea, which was besieged by the King Agesipolis, her fortifications dismantled, and her people redistributed into their former five open villages under separate oligarchical governments. Our great historian of Greece has pointed out that the political tyranny of this act was its least evil. "All the distinctive glory and superiority of Hellenism—all the intellectual and artistic manifestations—all that there was of literature and philosophy, or of refined and rational sociality—depended upon the city life of the people. And the influence of Sparta, during the period of her empire, was peculiarly mischievous and rotrograde, as tending not only to decompose the federations such as Bœotia into isolated towns, but even to decompose suspected towns such as Mantinea into villages; all for the purpose of rendering each of them exclusively dependent upon herself." * While thus breaking up the Grecian world into the smallest possible fragments, she endeavoured to add each unit to the sum of her own power by restoring the oligarchical exiles to the cities which had expelled them.

In her attempt to lay the foundations of renewed ascendancy at sea, by collecting tribute from some of the smaller islands, she found a rival in Athens, who was not likely to forego any chance of recovering her maritime empire in the Ægæan, a nucleus of which seemed to have been left her by the treaty. In the port of Piræus, and in her mercantile navy, she had natural advantages of which Sparta was destitute. The commercial interests of the lesser islands were identical with hers, especially as to the need of imports of corn; and they had no protection but her navy from the pirates that have always infested their waters. Her administration of the sanctuary at Delos not only gave her a moral influence over the islanders who attended its festivals, but placed at her command the sacred treasures, which she lent out at interest to them, establishing thereby the tie which binds the debtor to the creditor. On such grounds she collected tribute from some of the islands, while others continued to pay it to Sparta; and she began to build up that new maritime power, of which we shall soon see her in possession. In fact, no political arrangements could annul the

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. x., p. 53.

prescriptive right which Athens had long ago established to supremacy in the waters of the Ægæan.

This progress in the power of the two leading states seems to have suggested to some enthusiastic patriots, that the disgrace of the treaty of Antalcidas might yet be wiped out by a combined effort for the liberation of the Asiatic Greeks, who already began to complain of the Persian rule, while Artaxerxes was occupied in the war with Evagoras of Cyprus, and in the attempt to reduce Egypt again beneath his power.* The Athenian rhetorician, Isocrates,—the greatest composer of those elaborate and ornate orations which are adapted rather for the pleasure of perusal than for producing an effect in public causes,—pursued this theme in his great "Panegyrical Oration," in which he urges Sparta and Athens to undertake the common cause, while he vindicates for Athens the post of leader, on account of her services to Greece from ancient times (B.C. 380).† But men's minds were occupied with more selfish objects, and Sparta found about this time a new field for her ambition.

We have seen, again and again, how intimately the states of the Chalcidian peninsula were connected with the general politics of Greece; and we have related how, as a measure of protection against Athens, the smaller maritime states transferred themselves to Olynthus.‡ Meanwhile the neighbouring kingdom of Macedonia declined from the power to which it had been raised by Perdiccas and his son Archelaüs, owing to the assassinations of successive kings, till the murder of the usurper Pausanias by Amyntas II., the nephew of Perdiccas II., and father of Philip the Great (B.C. 393). Scarcely had Amyntas obtained the throne, when he was driven to flight by an invasion of the Illyrians. He made over to Olynthus the towns on the coast which he was unable to defend, including the important city of Pella (B.C. 392). A confederacy now rose up, of the Greek and Greco-Macedonian cities of Chalcidicé and Lower Macedonia, under the leadership of Olynthus, based on the most liberal principles of commerce, intermarriage, and proprietorship in land. No combination could have been of higher promise for the future liberties of Greece, though few could have seen in the fugitive Amyntas the father of her destined enslaver. The danger of returning beneath the yoke of Athens had almost ceased with the catastrophe in Sicily, following close

* See Chap. vii., p. 140

† It was about this time that Demosthenes was born, in B.C. 382.

‡ See pp. 486–7.

upon the loss of Amphipolis. But there remained the greater danger of Spartan ascendancy under the guise of autonomy. Several of the Chalcidic cities preferred that independence which was so deeply rooted in Greek sentiment, to the benefits of union with Olynthus; and, while lesser states gave in their reluctant adhesion, the powerful cities of Acanthus and Apollonia refused to join the league. Olynthus was now powerful enough to threaten to bring them in by force; and it was no part of Greek political morality to shrink from such a measure, when the whole confederacy was endangered by a recusancy which would ripen, on the first foreign war, into hostility. The case is one of those in which the concession of independence is forbidden by the law of self-preservation,—a principle which, right or wrong, has always been a powerful antagonist to the noble sentiment of autonomy. The threatened states sought aid from Sparta; and their representations of the ambitious designs of Olynthus were backed by envoys from Amyntas, who was now restored to his kingdom (B.C. 383).

Blind to the real danger from Macedonia, the Spartans pursued their anti-Hellenic policy. The growth of their new supremacy is proved by their being able to raise a force of 10,000 men from their allies. An obstinate war of four years, which cost the lives of Teleutias and Agesipolis, was ended by the reduction of Olynthus, in B.C. 379. The confederacy, which might have been a barrier against Macedon, was dissolved: the Chalcidic towns were added, for a brief space, to the Lacedæmonian alliance: and the restoration of the maritime cities of Macedonia to Amyntas raised his kingdom to the strength which, in the next generation, proved fatal to Grecian liberty.

Out of this Olynthian War there arose incidentally the worst breach of faith ever committed by Sparta—an act which, while crowning her revenge on Thebes, prepared the retribution for her recent policy. The main army sent against Olynthus, under Phœbidas, marched through Bœotia without respecting the territory of Thebes. Phœbidas was encamped at a gymnasium outside the city on the eve of the festival of the Thesmophoria, at which the Acropolis of Thebes (called the *Cadmea*, from its mythical founder), was given up by religious custom to the women. The Spartan faction, headed by the polemarch Leontiades, admitted Phœbidas into the city on a hot summer's afternoon, when the streets were empty. The Cadmea was seized; the women who were celebrating the festival were detained as hostages; terror was struck into the national party by the judicial murder of the other

polemarch, Ismenias, and 300 citizens fled to Athens. The indignation of Greece forced Sparta to disavow Phœbidas, who was fined and dismissed, though Agesilaus openly defended his conduct; but he was soon restored to his command. The Lacedæmonians kept possession of the Cadmea, and compelled the Thebans to march as their subject allies against Olynthus (B.C. 382). The city remained in their hands, amidst the increasing disaffection of the people at the tyranny of Leontiades, till after the close of the Olynthian War. Nor was the discontent towards Sparta confined to the cities that suffered directly under her oppression. The rapid growth of her supremacy, which now embraced all the continent of Greece, except Thessaly, Attica, and Argos, roused the same feeling of mingled fear and hatred with which the empire of Athens had once been regarded; and the treatment of Thebes and Olynthus proved her capable of the worst political crimes of which her rival had ever been accused. The general indignation at her alliance with Dionysius of Syracuse found vent in a demonstration against that tyrant at the first Olympic festival after the peace of Antalcidas (B.C. 384), where the Athenian orator Lysias delivered an indictment against Sparta, such as that more elaborately framed in the "Panegyrical Oration" of Isocrates. Even the philo-Laconian Xenophon marks the transition, at this epoch, from Sparta's highest power to her deepest disgrace, as a proof that the gods take careful note of impious men and of evil-doers; when "the Lacedæmonians, who had sworn to leave each city autonomous, having violated their oaths by seizing the citadel of Thebes, were punished by the very men whom they had wronged."

Among the Theban patriotic party were two friends, who had been bound together by one of the strongest of all ties—EPAMINONDAS had saved the life of PELOPIDAS in battle at the greatest danger to his own. The former was one of the noblest and purest characters of history. As a youth he cultivated the training of the gymnasium to its highest perfection, yet so as to secure activity and endurance rather than the mere strength of the pugilist and wrestler. He was accomplished in music, dancing, and elocution. He was an ardent student of philosophy, in its two highest schools, the Pythagorean and Socratic. He heard the celebrated Theban, Simmias, and others who had been taught by Socrates; but he cherished an almost filial friendship for Lysis, an aged member of the Pythagorean brotherhood, who had been driven into exile from Tarentum. To the patience with which he was

content to learn, rather than display his own crude opinions, in philosophical discussion, we have the testimony of the philosopher Spintharus, that he never met with any one who understood more or talked less. Endowed with a commanding eloquence, he never used it to cultivate mere popularity, but to advocate the measures he deemed best for the city. Though already of middle age, he had as yet had no opportunity to call forth that military genius which has given him a place among the inventors of the art of war: but he had already established the far higher character of integrity, sincerity, and self-controul, and he gave even now a proof of a virtue almost unknown to the Greek character, the conscientious refusal to do evil that good might come of it. His gentle spirit, and his freedom from political animosities, raised him above those besetting sins of the Greek character, cruelty to conquered enemies, and sanguinary revenge of civil foes. His modest and unambitious disposition made him content with poverty, notwithstanding all the offers of his wealthy friend Pelopidas, and helped to keep him firm against all corrupting overtures. His gentler virtues had already gained the esteem and confidence of his countrymen; and it only remained for him to display that power of action and capacity for affairs, which extorted from Agesilaus the admiring apostrophe, "O thou man of great deeds!"

Pelopidas was much younger than his friend, and could lay little claim to his combination of well-balanced powers; but he was an enthusiastic patriot, a daring man of action, and a skilful leader. His noble birth and great wealth, of which he made a generous use, had already given him the influence needed for the enterprise he now meditated. Pelopidas, who was one of the Theban exiles at Athens, contrived a secret correspondence with his friends at Thebes, to organize a plot for the liberation of the city. Epaminondas, who was at Thebes, declined to take part in the conspiracy, from scruples of conscience respecting tyrannicide, which, on his part at least, were sincere, though few Greeks would have shared them. He seems, also, to have been influenced by the improbability of success in overthrowing a government upheld by 1500 Spartan troops. The chief manager of the conspiracy was Phyllidas, whose position as secretary to the polemarchs, Archias and Philippus, gave him the means of introducing Pelopidas with a few chosen exiles, who were to assassinate them at a banquet, to which they were invited on the pretence of meeting some Theban women of rare beauty. The invitation was accepted, and on the eve of the appointed day the seven exiles came straggling

into Thebes, in the disguise of countrymen, and were concealed in the house of Charon, one of the conspirators. It seemed as if the goddess Nemesis had laid her grasp upon the infatuated victims. The feast had already begun, when a message from Athens created some vague distrust; and Charon was alarmed by a summons to attend the polemarchs. He found them half intoxicated; and Phyllidas aided him in lulling their suspicions. Presently, however, a letter arrived from Athens for Archias, describing the whole plot in detail; and, to ensure his attention, the messenger had been instructed to say that it was on serious business. The precaution defeated itself. "Serious business for to-morrow," said Archias, as he thrust the letter beneath his pillow, and called for the women to be introduced. The drunken senses of the polemarchs were awake to but one idea when they saw the seven figures draped in ample robes, their attempt to lift which was repaid by the dagger's thrust. Leontiades was slain in his own house, after a vigorous resistance; the gaol was opened, and the prisoners armed. Epaminondas now came forward, with a few devoted friends; the citizens were summoned to meet; the freedom of Thebes was proclaimed; the conspirators were crowned with garlands; and Pelopidas, Charon, and Mellon were named Bœotarchs. The rapid advance of the remaining Theban exiles, with a band of volunteers from Athens, cut off all aid to the garrison from Thespiæ and Platæa; and the Lacedæmonians in the citadel made a cowardly capitulation. After various party conflicts, which we cannot stay to trace, Athens joined Thebes in a new alliance against Sparta (B.C. 378). But this was only the beginning of a new confederacy, on the model of that of Delos, which speedily embraced seventy cities. Timotheus, a worthy successor of his father Conon, took the chief part, with Chabrias, in its organization. Great care was taken to avoid those points which had become odious in the old maritime empire of Athens. The "tribute," for example, became a "contribution," and Athens herself was assessed to a property tax, a source of revenue reserved for great emergencies. The Thebans completed their military organization, and Pelopidas enrolled the famous "Sacred Band" of 300 hoplites, chosen from the youth of the best families, specially for the defence of the Cadmea. Epaminondas took an active part in the preparations for defence (B.C. 378).

In this and the following year Agesilaus invaded Bœotia, and, avoiding a pitched battle, ravaged the Theban territory (B.C. 378, 377). Being lamed by a wound, he gave up the command to

Cleombrotus, who was repulsed by the Thebans at the passes of Cithæron (B.C. 376). The Spartans now resolved to invade Bœotia by sea; but their fleet was totally defeated by Chebrias, off Naxos, and Athens was once more mistress of the seas. The battle of Naxos was the first great naval victory gained by the Athenians since the Peloponnesian War. They hailed it as the revenge for Ægospotami, and followed up the advantage by sending a fleet into the Ionian Sea under Timotheus, who added Cephallenia, Corcyra, and Acarnania to the Athenian alliance (B.C. 375).

Meanwhile the Thebans had made equally rapid progress by land; and all the cities of Bœotia, except Orchomenus, had submitted to them by the end of the year B.C. 374. It was in an expedition against Orchomenus that Pelopidas performed one of his most daring feats of valour. Having failed to surprise the city, he was returning with only the Sacred Band and a few cavalry, when he found himself surrounded by a Spartan force twice as numerous as his own. "We are fallen into the midst of the enemy!" exclaimed one of his followers. "Why so, more than they into the midst of us," replied Pelopidas; and his words were made good by a decisive victory. The two states grew jealous of each other's success, and they found mutual causes of complaint. Athens, pressed by the expense of the war, and by the Æginetan privateers, called for a contribution from the allies, which Thebes refused to pay; while Thebes had offended Athens by the invasion of Phocis, her old ally. The Athenians made a separate peace with Sparta, and recalled Timotheus from the Ionian Sea; but, in the very act of returning, that commander put an end to the new treaty by restoring some exiles to Zacynthus, a proceeding for which Athens refused satisfaction. The Spartans now sent a large fleet to take Corcyra; and the city was reduced to great distress, when the besieged, taking advantage of the carelessness and disorder of the Spartan army, made a sally and slew the general Mnasippus. The Lacedæmonians evacuated the island on the approach of an Athenian fleet under Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Callistratus; and Iphicrates again occupied the same commanding position in the Ionian Sea, which Timotheus had held the year before (B.C. 373).

The rapid alternations of this Seven Years' War had again brought down Sparta to a position not unlike that which she occupied before the Peace of Antalcidas. She sought the same remedy; and sent the successful negotiator once more to Persia, to complain that the allies had violated the treaty and to ask for supplies of money. But this time Antalcidas had no colonies in

Asia to offer as a bribe; and the only result of his mission was an empty mandate from the satraps of Asia Minor, that the Greek states would settle their differences on the basis of the former edict. But in the mean time, Thebes had given Athens a new ground of discontent, or rather of indignation. Platæa, restored by Sparta for her own objects, began to look to Athens as her natural protector, and sought for readmission to her citizenship. The ancient jealousy of Thebes was again roused against the devoted city. Once more were its inhabitants expelled, and driven for refuge to Athens: once more was their town destroyed and their territory added to Thebes; while the Thespians also were compelled to raze their fortifications because of their supposed leanings to Athens (B.C. 372).

The "Plataïc Discourse" of Isocrates expresses the feelings of the Athenians at these insults to themselves, for in that light they regarded them. They opened negotiations for peace, supported by nearly all the allies, except Thebes. In the spring of B.C. 371, a congress was assembled at Sparta of the respective allies of Lacedæmon and Athens, and Thebes was invited to send deputies. The envoys of Athens were Callias, the head of one of the greatest of the old families, Autocles, and the orator Callistratus; among those of Thebes was Epaminondas, who then held the office of Bœotarch. The Athenians took the lead in the conferences; and their orator, Callistratus, laid the basis for the treaty in the principle of autonomy,—the real, and not merely nominal independence of each city,—to be enjoyed, however, consistently with such supremacy as the two leading states might acquire by the accession of voluntary allies,—Sparta by land, and Athens on the sea. The garrisons and Spartan harmosts were to be withdrawn from the subject cities. The peace was concluded on these terms, which tacitly deprived Thebes of her headship of the Bœotian confederacy.

Epaminondas, who had protested vehemently against Spartan ambition as the cause of all the recent troubles, reserved his last effort for the following day, when the oaths were taken, first by Sparta for herself and her allies, next by Athens for herself only, followed by her allies severally. It was now the turn of Thebes; and when Epaminondas insisted on taking the oaths in the name of the Bœotian confederacy, he was opposed by the Spartans and most vehemently by Agesilaus. In an eloquent speech, he rebuked the arrogance of Sparta, and maintained that her supremacy in Laconia was no better founded than that of Thebes in Bœotia.

Stung by this boldness, Agesilaus interrupted him with the question—"Will you, or will you not, leave to each of the Bœotian cities its independence?" The rejoinder was as pointed—"Will *you* leave each of the Laconian towns independent?" Agesilaus, for his only answer, struck the name of the Thebans out of the treaty, which is known in history as the *Peace of Callias* (B.C. 371, June).

The Spartans lost no time in carrying out their threats of vengeance against Thebes, now left without an ally. Cleombrotus, who was in Phocis, was ordered to march into Bœotia. Skilfully evading the army with which Epaminondas occupied a defile on the main road near Coronea, he descended upon Creusis on the Crissean Gulf, where he seized twelve Theban triremes. Having thus secured his communications with Sparta by sea, instead of through the defiles of Cithæron, he marched inland, and encamped on the plain of Leuctra, between Thespiæ and Platæa. His first successes had spread a discouragement in the Theban army, which was increased by threatening portents; but their spirits revived when, on reaching the field of Leuctra, a Spartan exile pointed out the tombs of two maidens of the place, who had slain themselves after being outraged by Lacedæmonians, and whose time of revenge was now come.

The battle of Leuctra is memorable for the new tactics invented by Epaminondas. The force of the respective armies is not certainly known, but the Thebans were decidedly inferior in number, and their Bœotian troops could not be relied on. In place of the usual Greek tactics, in which two armies confronted each other in lines as nearly equal in length and depth as their numbers would allow, and the battle was joined along the whole front at once, Epaminondas collected his choicest troops on his left, in a close column fifty deep (more than its width in front), to oppose the Spartans, who were drawn up twelve deep on the right, under Cleombrotus himself. Not only was the great plan thus secured—which was revived in modern warfare by Napoleon—of directing an overwhelming force upon one point of an enemy's line, but by withdrawing his centre and right wing *enéchelon*, Epaminondas kept them back till his chosen troops had borne the first brunt of the encounter. The disposition was triumphantly successful. The Theban column, headed by the Sacred Band, crushed the Lacedæmonian right. Cleombrotus was slain, and 400 out of the 700 Spartans in the field fell with him. Their allies on the centre and left, many of whom were disaffected, afforded an easy

victory to the Bœotians. The Spartans made that most complete confession of defeat, the praying for a truce to bury their slain; but the bodies only were restored to them, and the shields were exhibited centuries later at Thebes as a trophy of the victory.

The battle of Leuctra, gained by the Thebans within three weeks after their exclusion from the Peace of Callias, was received by all Greece as, what in truth it was, a death-blow to the supremacy of Sparta, and a proof that a new military power had arisen in Hellas. We can but briefly notice the short and brilliant period of the ascendancy of Thebes, for we have reached the limits of a chapter which the immense mass of important details has extended far beyond its anticipated limits:—

> "Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus æquor,
> Et jam tempus equûm fumantia solvere colla."

Having thoroughly established their supremacy over the Bœotian cities, and extended their alliances in Northern Greece, the Thebans assumed the offensive against Sparta. Four times did Epaminondas lead his army into Peloponnesus. In the first invasion, the city of Sparta was only saved by the energy of Agesilaus, and Epaminondas accomplished two great measures, which finally reduced her to a state of the second rank,—the restoration of Messenia, with its new capital of Messené on Mount Ithomé, and the consolidation of forty Arcadian townships into the new city of Megalopolis, afterwards so famous in the days of the Achæan League (B.C. 369). We must hasten over the complicated struggles of the following years in Peloponnesus, which arose chiefly out of the new pretensions of the Arcadians; the alliance of Athens with Sparta, through jealousy of Thebes (B.C. 369); the mission of Pelopidas to Persia, to secure the supremacy of Thebes; and the events in the north of Greece; to the close of the brilliant career at once of Epaminondas and his country at the battle of MANTINEA (B.C. 362). The dying exclamation of Epaminondas—"I have lived long enough, for I die unconquered"—was the farewell to that glory which he alone had obtained for Thebes; and his last breath was spent in bidding his countrymen make peace. Pelopidas had fallen two years before at the battle of Cynoscephalæ in Thessaly (B.C. 364). All parties, except Sparta, were content to join in a general pacification, on the basis of the *status quo*, recognising the new constitution of Arcadia, and the independence of Messené. To this last article Sparta would not consent; but her spirit of practical resistance was confined to the

aged Agesilaus, who, in his eightieth year, sought a new field for his restless energy in Egypt. After aiding Nectanebo II. to obtain the crown,* he died on his road to Cyrene, B.C. 361.

After the pacification, the power of Thebes speedily collapsed in a manner that showed how completely she owed her sudden elevation to the brilliant qualities of her few great statesmen. Sparta was finally fallen. The new power of Arcadia was yet in its infancy. A dull pause appears to fall upon the scene of energy and conflict, while the exhausted states await the new destiny which was prepared for them by the accession of Philip to the throne of Macedonia (B.C. 359). Athens alone seemed to retain, in her free constitution, her maritime power, and her succession of able statesmen, vigour enough to become the champion of Hellenic life and liberty. The long train of matchless orators, who ruled the debates of her ecclesia and pleaded causes in her courts, had been crowned by the first appearance of Demosthenes in his eighteenth year (B.C. 364). Her drama was still flourishing, though her tragedians were no longer comparable to Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and the satire of the Old Comedy had passed into the comparatively pointless Middle Comedy. It was not till the following generation that the New Comedy of manners and intrigue flourished in the hands of Philemon and Menander. Plato was still alive, and Aristotle was twenty-four years old; but the great sects of philosophy were yet in their infancy. The art of Phidias had lost none of its beauty in the hands of Scopas and Praxiteles; and painting was approaching the perfection which it afterwards reached in the hands of Apelles. These fair fruits from the root of Hellenic liberty attained their perfection as the stem that bore them began to wither.

We must not close this chapter without one hasty glance at the fortunes of the Sicilian Greeks, from the defeat of the Athenians to a period somewhat later than the present epoch. The repulse of the Athenian attack on Syracuse was followed by a succession of party contests, which ended in the triumph of the aristocratic party under the celebrated Dionysius, who seized the tyranny in the same year that witnessed the close of the Peloponnesian War (B.C. 405). He terminated a long series of conflicts with the Carthaginians by a peace in B.C. 393; and he had reduced most of Sicily and Magna Græcia beneath his rule by B.C. 384 Syracuse was now only second to Athens in the extent and splendour of its buildings, docks, and fortifications, and to Sparta in

* See chap. vii., p. 140.

political influence. Dionysius was a warm friend to Sparta, and we have more than once had occasion to allude to the succours he sent her. He was a munificent patron of literature, in which he himself so far excelled as to have his poems recited at Olympia, and to carry off prizes for his tragedies at Athens. But the caprice of the despot was shown in his dislike to the lofty morality of Plato, whom he is said not only to have dismissed from his court, but to have consigned to slavery, from which the philosopher was rescued by a friend.

Dionysius the Elder died in B.C. 367, and was succeeded by his son of the same name. The younger Dionysius was greatly influenced by Dion, the brother of his father's second wife, and the enthusiastic disciple of Plato. The philosopher was again induced by Dion to visit the court of Syracuse, which became a pattern of philosophic moderation. But Æschylus had said, "This vice is somehow inbred in tyranny—to distrust friends." Dionysius was taught to believe that the philosopher was in league with Dion to dethrone him. Dion was forced to embark without a moment's warning for Italy; and, after a time, his property was seized to enrich the courtiers. Plato, having made his escape from the capricious lenity of Dionysius, and having again ventured back to intercede for his friend, finally left Syracuse, not without difficulty, and met Dion at the Olympic festival in B.C. 360. The news he brought of the tyranny of Dionysius, and of his outrages on the family of Dion, incited the latter to an effort for the despot's overthrow. In the summer of B.C. 357, he landed in Sicily with 800 men, and, favoured by the absence of Dionysius, with a great part of his fleet, on the coast of Italy, he marched to Syracuse in the night, and at sunrise his little force was seen approaching the gates, their heads crowned with garlands, as in a festival procession. They were welcomed as deliverers; but it was not till after a conflict of some months that Dion became master of the whole city (B.C. 356). The possession of power proved fatal to his philosophic liberalism; his acts of tyranny were the more odious from the hopes he had disappointed; and he fell a victim to the ambition of his intimate friend Callippus (B.C. 353). After seven years of intestine conflict between successive tyrants, the exiled Dionysius became once more master of the city (B.C. 346). But his power was precarious; other despots ruled in the neighbouring cities; and the Carthaginians threatened to be the only gainers by the confusion.

Once more, as in olden times, the Syracusans sought aid in their

extremity from their mother-city; and a liberator was found in the person of Timoleon, a man who united the civic patriotism of the Greek with the inflexible sternness of the Roman.

Space fails us to relate how, with most inadequate means, he succeeded in the enterprise;—how Dionysius was again expelled (B.C. 343); the tyrants of the other cities put down; the vast hosts of Carthage defeated at the Crimisus, and a treaty concluded with the Carthaginians (B.C. 338). A nobler moral victory crowned all these exploits, when Timoleon, refusing the temptation to assume the tyranny, retired to the private house in Syracuse, which, with a modest estate, had been granted him for his services. His real reward was in the gratitude of his new fellow-citizens, who always received him with enthusiastic plaudits in the public assembly, and on his death, a few years after the completion of his work, followed him to the grave with universal mourning, the only tears he had ever made them shed. He died in the same year as Philip of Macedon (B.C. 336).

Meanwhile the younger Dionysius had retired to Corinth, where he amused his literary tastes with the instruction of public singers and actors, and by opening a school for boys. Historians and moralists have never tired of viewing the two Dionysii as types of the Nemesis of tyranny,—the insecurity of its enjoyment, the humiliation of its loss. The lesson is trite, but there are those who are ever needing to learn it. The sleepless suspicion of the elder despot is symbolized by the "Ear of Dionysius," a chamber into which concealed air-tubes conducted the complaints of the captives in his vast dungeons. His ceaseless terror was taught by himself to the flatterer Damocles, whom he placed at a most luxurious banquet, with the naked sword suspended over his head by a single hair. Many a despot has since experienced reverses as strange as those of the younger Dionysius; but the time has not yet come to withhold the warning

> "That Corinth's pedagogue may now
> Transfer his byword to thy brow."

END OF VOL. I.

Any of these Books sent free by mail to any address on receipt of Price.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

OF

D. APPLETON & COMPANY,

443 & 445 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

Life and Correspondence of Theodore

PARKER, Minister of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, Boston. By JOHN WEISS. With two Portraits on Steel, fac-simile of Handwriting, and nineteen Wood Engravings. 2 vols., 8vo. 1,008 pages. Price, $6.

"These volumes contain an account of Mr. Parker's childhood and self-education; of the development of his theological ideas; of his scholarly and philosophical pursuits; and of his relation to the Anti-Slavery cause, and to the epoch in America which preceded the civil war. His two visits to Europe are described in letters and extracts from his journal. An autobiographical fragment is introduced in relation to Mr. Parker's early life, and his letters of friendship on literary, speculative, and political topics, are freely interspersed. The illustrations represent scenes connected with various periods of Mr. Parker's life, the houses he dwelt in, his country haunts, the meeting house, his library, and the Music Hall in which he preached."

Catechism of the Steam Engine,

In its various Applications to Mines, Mills, Steam Navigation, Railways, and Agriculture. With Practical Instructions for the Manufacture and Management of Engines of every Class. By JOHN BOURNE, C. E. New and Revised Edition. 1 vol., 12mo. Illustrated. Cloth, $2.

'In offering to the American public a reprint of a work on the Steam Engine so deservedly successful, and so long considered standard, the Publishers have not thought it necessary that it should be an exact copy of the English edition. There were some details in which they thought it could be improved and better adapted to the use of American Engineers. On this account, the size of the page has been increased to a full 12mo, to admit of larger illustrations, which, in the English edition, are often on too small a scale; and some of the illustrations themselves have been supplied by others equally applicable, more recent, and to us more familiar examples. The first part of Chapter XI., devoted in the English edition to English portable and fixed agricultural engines, in this edition gives place entirely to illustrations from American practice, of steam engines as applied to different purposes, and of appliances and machines necessary to them. But with the exception of some of the illustrations and the description of them, and the correction of a few typographical errors, this edition is a faithful transcript of the latest English edition."

Life of Edward Livingston,

Mayor of the City of New York; Member of Congress; Senator of the United States; Secretary of State; Minister to France; Author of a System of Penal Law for Louisiana; Member of the Institute of France, etc. By CHARLES H. HUNT, with an Introduction by GEORGE BANCROFT. 1 vol., 8vo. Cloth. $3 50.

"One of the purest of statesmen and the most genial of men, was Edward Livingston, whose career is presented in this volume. * * * * *

"The author of this volume has done the country a service. He has given us in a becoming form an appropriate memorial of one whom succeeding generations will be proud to name as an American jurist and statesman."—*Evangelist.*

History of the Romans under the

Empire. By CHARLES MERIVALE, B. D., late Fellow of St. John's College. 7 vols., small 8vo. Handsomely printed on tinted paper. Price, in cloth, $2 per vol. Half Morocco extra, $3 50.

CONTENTS:

Vols. I. and II.—Comprising the History to the Fall of Julius Cæsar.
Vol. III.—To the Establishment of the Monarchy by Augustus.
Vols. IV. and V.—From Augustus to Claudius, B. C. 27 to A. D. 54.
Vol. VI.—From the Reign of Nero, A. D. 54, to the Fall of Jerusalem, A. D. 70.
Vol. VII.—From the Destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70, to the Death of M. Aurelius.

This valuable work terminates at the point where the narrative of Gibbon commences. . . . . "When we enter on a more searching criticism of the two writers, it must be admitted that Merivale has as firm a grasp of his subject as Gibbon, and that his work is characterized by a greater freedom from prejudice, and a sounder philosophy. . . . . "This History must always stand as a splendid monument of his learning, his candor, and his vigorous grasp of intellect. Though he is in some respects inferior to Macaulay and Grote, he must still be classed with them, as one of the second great triumvirate of English historians."—*North American Review, April*, 1863.

Thirty Poems.

By WM. CULLAN BRYANT, 1 volume, 12mo. Cloth, $1 25; cloth gilt, $1 75; mor., $3 50.

"No English poet surpasses him in knowledge of nature, and but few are his equals. He is better than Cowper and Thomson in their special walks of poetry, and the equal of Wadsworth, that great high priest of nature."—*The World.*

Hints to Riflemen.

By H. W. S. CLEVELAND. 1 vol., 12mo. Illustrated with numerous Designs of Rifles and Rifle Practice. Cloth. Price, $1 50.

"I offer these hints as the contribution of an old sportsman, and if I succeed in any degree in exciting an interest in the subject, my end will be accomplished, even if the future investigations of those who are thus attracted should prove any of my opinions to be erroneous."—*Extract from Preface.*

Queen Mab.

A new Novel. By JULIA KAVANAGH. 1 vol., 12mo. Cloth, $1 50.

"No English novelist of the present day ought to hold, we think, a higher rank in her own peculiar walk of literature than Miss Kavanagh. There is a freshness of originality about all her works, and an individual character stamped on each,—there is, moreover, a unity of thought and feeling, a harmony, so to speak, pervading each separate work, that plainly speaks original genius, while the womanly grace of her etchings of character, is a marvel of artistic excellence."—*Tablet.*

My Cave Life in Vicksburg.

By a Lady. 1 vol., 12mo, cloth. $1.

"Altogether we commend the book as worth more than almost any dozen of books on the war we have lately noticed."

Thoughts on Personal Religion.

Being a Treatise on the Christian Life in its Two Chief Elements, Devotion and Practice. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Prependary of St. Paul's, Chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford, and one of Her Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary. First American from the Fifth London Edition. With a Prefatory Note. By GEORGE H. HOUGHTON, D.D., Rector of the Church of the Transfiguration in the City of New York. 1 vol., 12mo, 430 pages. Price $1 50.

There is nothing in it that is dry, uninteresting, unreal, extragavant, impracticable, or beyond ordinary reach and compass. It is full of stimulus and full of encouragement. It is a manual, not so much, perhaps, for those who have abundant leisure and live a retired life, as for those especially, who are engaged in the ordinary avocations of the world. It will teach them how, while living in the world—amid its cares and perplexities—to live above the world; while not slothful in business, to be fervent in spirit, serving the Lord; in one word, how to sanctify the secular all-engrossing pursuit, and the daily toil.—*Extract from Prefatory Note.*

The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer.

First Principles. Large 12mo. 507 pages. Price $2.

The present Volume is the first of a series designed to enfold the principles of a new Philosophy. It is divided into two parts, the aim of the first being to determine the true sphere of all rational investigation, and of the second, to elucidate these fundamental and universal principles which science has established within that sphere, and which are to constitute the basis of the system. The scheme of truth developed in these First Principles is complete in itself and has its independent value; but it is designed by the author to serve for guidance and verification in the construction of the succeeding and larger portions of his philosophic plan.

The Management of Steel.

Including Forging, Hardening, Tempering, Annealing, Shrinking, and Expansion. Also, the Case Hardening of Iron. By Geo. EDE. Employed by the Royal Gun Factories Department, Woolwich Arsenal. First American from second London edition. 1 vol., 12mo. 50 cents.

"Steel being one of the most valuable metals, and requiring great care in the forging, hardening, tempering, annealing, and management of it in general, I think, after having had nearly twenty years' good practice, experience, and study combined, I am now able to give a little information to those who have not had so much to do with it as I have."—*Extract from the Work.*

Church Essays.

By GEORGE CUMMING MCWHORTER. Author of a "Popular Hand-Book of the New Testament." 1 vol. 12mo, cloth. Price $1.

The Essays are upon various points of Christian faith and duty, embracing some of the most important and interesting topics, such as the Trinity, Redemption, Grace, Charity, Providence, Prayer, and Death. Some of the Essays may be considered as Theological, yet all are written in a popular style, and interesting to the general reader. The Essay on Death, and that on Grace, are particularly instructive and beautiful. They are conceived in the spirit of devout piety, and are replete not only with instruction in Faith, but with lessons of practical duty. The style is classical and chaste, free from meretricious ornament, and unsafe excursions of the imagination.

D. APPLETON & CO.'S PUBLICATIONS.

Round the Block.

An American Novel. With Illustrations. 1 volume, 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1 50.

"The story is remarkably clever. It presents the most vivid and various pictures of men and manners in the great Metropolis. Unlike most novels that now appear, it has no 'mission,' the author being neither a politician nor a reformer, but a story teller, according to the old pattern; and a capital story he has produced, written in the happiest style, and full of wit and action. He evidently knows his ground, and moves over it with the foot of a master. It is a work that will be read and admired, unless all love for good novels has departed from us; and we know that such is not the case."—*Boston Traveler.*

The History of Civilization in England.

By Henry Thomas Buckle. 2 vols., 8vo. Cloth, $6.

"Whoever misses reading this book, will miss reading what is, in various respects, to the best of our judgment and experience, the most remarkable book of the day—one, indeed, that no thoughtful, inquiring mind would miss reading for a good deal. Let the reader be as averse as he may to the writer's philosophy, let him be as devoted to the obstructive as Mr. Buckle is to the progress party, let him be as orthodox in church creed as the other is heterodox, as dogmatic as his author is sceptical—let him, in short, find his prejudices shocked at every turn of the argument, and all his prepossessions whistled down the wind—still there is so much in this extraordinary volume to stimulate reflection, and excite to inquiry, and provoke to earnest investigation, perhaps (to this or that reader) on a track hitherto untrodden, and across the virgin soil of untilled fields, fresh woods, and pastures new—that we may fairly defy the most hostile spirit, the most mistrustful and least sympathetic, to read it through without being glad of having done so, or having begun it, or even glanced at almost any one of its pages, to pass it away unread."—*New Monthly (London) Magazine.*

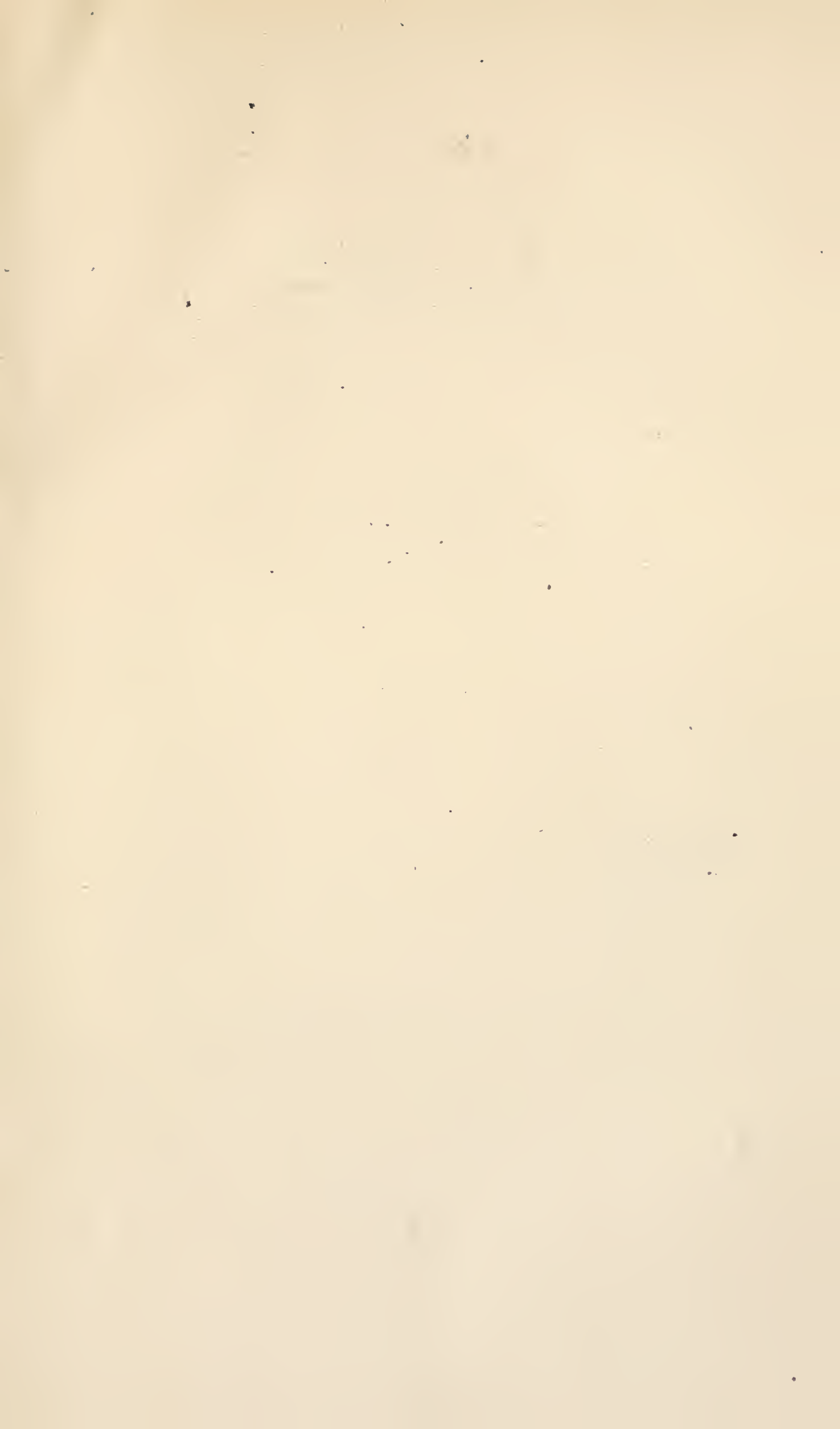
The Iron Manufacture of Great Britain,

Theoretically and Practically considered: Including Descriptive Details of the Ores, Fuels, and Fluxes employed; the Preliminary Operation of Calcination; the Blast, Refining, and Puddling Furnaces; Engines and Machinery; and the Various Processes in Union, etc., etc. By W. Truran, C. E., formerly Engineer at the Dowlais Iron Works, under the late Sir John Guest, Bart. Second Edition, revised from the manuscripts of the late Mr. Truran, by J. Arthur Phillips, author of "A Manual of Metallurgy," "Records of Mining," etc., and Wm. H. Dorman. One vol., imperial 8vo. Containing 84 Plates. Price, $10.

Illustrations of Universal Progress.

A Series of Essays. By Herbert Spencer, Author of "The Principles of Psychology;" "Social Statics;" "Education." 1 volume, 12mo. Cloth, $1 75.

"The readers who have made the acquaintance of Mr. Herbert Spencer through his work on Education, and are interested in his views upon a larger range of subjects, will welcome this new volume of 'Essays.' Passing by the more scientific and philosophical speculations, we may call attention to a group of articles upon moral and political subjects, which are very pertinent to the present condition of affairs."—*Tribune.*



COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

This book is due on the date indicated below, or at the expiration of a definite period after the date of borrowing, as provided by the library rules or by special arrangement with the Librarian in charge.

DATE BORROWED	DATE DUE	DATE BORROWED	DATE DUE
	13 Oc'450		

C28(842)M50

BRITTLE DO NOT
PHOTOCOPY

930 Sm62
2

Columbia University
in the City of New York

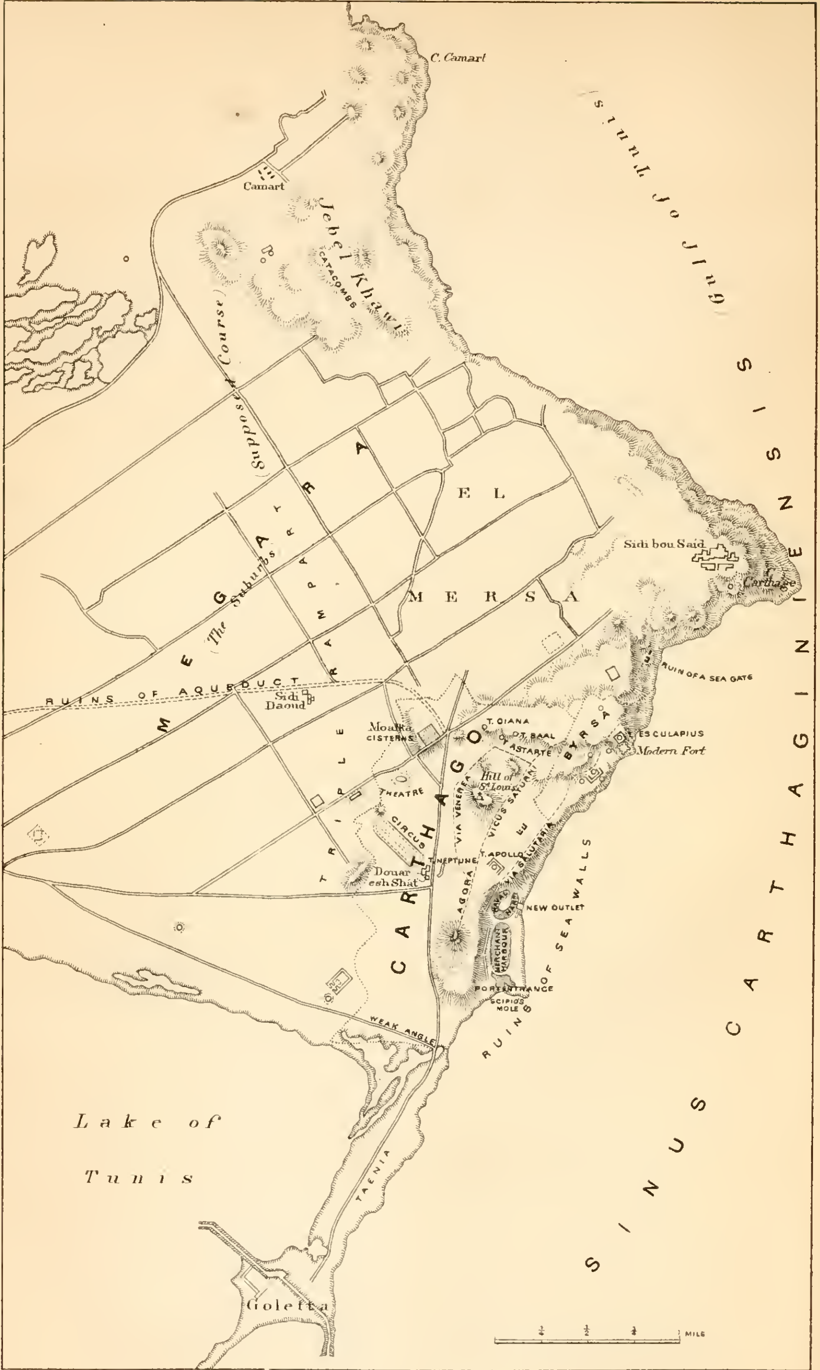
LIBRARY

HISTORY OF THE WORLD,

FROM THE

EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT TIME.

ANCIENT CARTHAGE



A HISTORY OF THE WORLD,

FROM THE

EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

PHILIP SMITH, B.A.,

ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL CONTRIBUTORS TO THE DICTIONARIES OF THE GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES, BIOGRAPHY, AND GEOGRAPHY.

VOL. II.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP OF MACEDON TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF CARTHAGE AND ASIA.

Illustrated by Maps, Plans, and Engravings.

NEW YORK:
D APPLETON & CO., 443 & 445 BROADWAY.
1865.

930
Sm62
v.2.

CONTENTS.

BOOK IV.

THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE AND RISE OF THE HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS.

From the Accession of Philip to the Accession of Antiochus Soter.
B.C. 359 to B.C. 280.

CHAPTER XV.

Philip of Macedon.—B.C. 359 to B.C. 336.

PAGE

Accession of Philip—His first successes—The Macedonian monarchy—Education and character of Philip—His relations to Athens—Capture of Amphipolis and Pydna—The Social War—The Sacred War—The Amphictyons—Philip in Thessaly—Stopped at Thermopylæ by the Athenians—Sparta and Megalopolis—Demosthenes—The First Philippic—Peace Party at Athens—Phocion—The Olynthian war—Æschines—Peace between Athens and Philip—End of the Sacred War—Demosthenes and Isocrates on the Peace—Progress of Philip—New war with Athens—Philip in Scythia—The Locrian War—Philip general of the Amphictyons—Capture of Elatea—Alliance of Thebes and Athens—Battle of Chæronea—Death of Isocrates—Demosthenes "on the Crown"—Philip general of the Greeks for the Persian War—Death of Philip . . . 1—31

CHAPTER XVI.

The Conquests of Alexander.—B.C. 336 to B.C. 323.

Accession of Alexander—His character and education—His early public life—Quarrel with his father, and outward reconciliation—State of Greece at his accession—Second congress of Corinth—Alexander and Diogenes—Campaigns in Illyria and Thrace—Revolt of Thebes and Athens—Destruction of Thebes—Submission of Athens—State of the Persian empire: rebellions and dissolution—Greek mercenaries—Bagoas, Mentor, and Memnon—Reconquest of Cyprus, Phœnicia, and Egypt—Accession of Darius Codomannus—Events preceding the invasion—State of feeling in Greece—Policy of Demosthenes—True view of Alexander's conquest—Constitution of the Macedonian army—Antipater left as regent of Macedonia—Small force of Alexander—His departure from Pella, and rendezvous at Sestos—Alexander at Troy—Battle of the Granicus—Conquest of Asia Minor—Siege of Halicarnassus—Death of Memnon—The Gordian knot—Battle of Issus—Capture of Tyre and Gaza—Conquest of Egypt—Visit to the oracle of Ammon—Foundation of Alexandria—Alexander passes the Euphrates—Battle of Arbela—Alexander at Persepolis—Death of Darius—March into Hyrcania, Drangiana, and Bactria—Death of Philotas—Alexander crosses the Paropamisus and Oxus—Reaches the Jaxartes—Conquers Sogdiana—Murder of Clitus—Marries Roxana—Death of Calisthenes—Invasion of India—Defeat of Porus—Alexander is compelled to turn back from the Hyphasis—Voyage down the Hydaspes and Indus—Voyage of Nearchus to the Persian Gulf—March through the Desert of Gedrosia—Return to Susa—Alexander marries the daughter of Darius—Other intermarriages with Persians—Mutiny of the army—Death of Hephæstion—Alexander at Babylon—His vast schemes—His death . . 32—81

CHAPTER XVII.

Division of Alexander's Empire. From the Death of Alexander to the Accession of Antiochus Soter.—B.C. 322 to B.C. 280.

PAGE

Settlement of the kingdom on Philip Aridæus—Perdiccas regent—Division of the provinces—The Diadochi—Funeral of Alexander—Birth of Alexander Ægus—The Lamian war—Perdiccas and Eumenes, Antipater and Olympias—Death of Perdiccas—New partition of the Provinces—War of Eumenes with Antigonus—Death of Eumenes—Murder of Philip Aridæus—Cassander master of Greece, Antigonus of Asia—Coalition against Antigonus—Demetrius Poliorcetes—Battle of Gaza—General pacification—Murder of Alexander Ægus—Renewal of the war—Ptolemy in Greece—Battle of Salamis in Cyprus—The generals become kings—Siege of Rhodes—Demetrius in Greece—Successes of Seleucus Nicator—New coalition against Antigonus—Battle of Ipsus—The Hellenistic kingdoms—Syria—Egypt—Pergamus—Bactria . . . . 82—92

CHAPTER XVIII.

Last Years of Liberty in Greece. From the Death of Alexander to the rise of the Achæan League.—B.C. 334 to B.C. 280.

Condition of Greece at Alexander's departure—Athens and Sparta—Movements of Agis—His defeat and death—Æschines and Demosthenes—Affair of Harpalus—Exile of Demosthenes—Alexander's edict for restoring the exiles—Effect of Alexander's death—The Lamian war—Victory of Antipater—Deaths of Hyperides, Demosthenes, and Demades—Polysperchon—Proclamation of Greek liberty—Death of Phocion—Cassander master of Athens—Demetrius the Phalerean—Cassander in Peloponnesus—Fortification of Sparta—Affairs of Macedonia—Restoration of Thebes—Successes of Antigonus in Greece—General pacification—Cassander master of Macedonia and Greece—Demetrius Poliorcetes at Athens—His second visit—Successful war with Cassander—Recall to Asia, and return to Greece—Repulse from Athens—Death of Cassander—Philip III., Antipater, and Alexander—Demetrius Poliorcetes takes Athens—King of Macedonia—His wars in Greece—With Pyrrhus and Lysimachus—His flight to Asia, imprisonment and death—Expulsion of Pyrrhus by Lysimachus—Anarchy in Macedonia—Antigonus Gonatas and his dynasty—Death of Lysimachus—Pyrrhus in Italy—Irruption of the Gauls—Rise of the Ætolian and Achæan Leagues—Connection of Greece with the West—Sicilian and Italian Greeks—Agathocles—Literature and art during the Macedonian period—Schools of philosophy . 93—128

BOOK V.

ITALY AND THE RISE OF THE ROMAN STATE.

From the Earliest Accounts to the subjugation of Italy by Rome, in B.C. 264.

CHAPTER XIX.

Italy and its Primitive Populations.

Rome and her empire—Its relation to Italy—Description of the Peninsula—The Alps and Apennines—Comparison with Greece—Natural unity of Italy—Its primitive inhabitants—Its three chief stocks—The Iapygian race—The Italian race—Its two divisions, Latin and Sabellian—The Etruscans—Their country—Their origin—Tyrrhenians and Rasenna—The Etruscan Language—Their early power by land and sea—Relations to Greece and Carthage—Their decline and con-

PAGE

quest by the Romans—The Etruscan confederacy—Their religious institutions—Etruscan art and science—Architecture—Sepulchres—Statuary and metal-work—Paintings—Domestic life—Science, borrowed by the Romans . 129—149

CHAPTER XX.

Rome under the Kings.

The Campagna and surrounding hills—The Tiber: its course and character—The site of Rome—Its primeval aspect—Description of its Seven Hills—Mythical character of the early Roman history—Evander—Æneas—Ascanius and the Alban kings—Legend of Romulus and Remus—Romans and Sabines—Institutions and conquests ascribed to Romulus—His death and apotheosis—Roman chronology—Era of the foundation of Rome—Interregnum—Legend of Numa Pompilius—His religious and social institutions—The Roman calendar—The subsequent kings of Rome—Discussion of the legends—Latin origin of Rome—Early settlements on the Seven Hills—The city of the Ramnes on the Palatine—Two principal theories of its origin—First, as a robber colony of Alba, extended by war, conquered and remodelled by the Sabines—Character and institutions of this people—The settlement on the Quirinal, and union with the Ramnians—The second theory of a natural growth from Latin settlements on the Seven Hills—Rome viewed as the emporium of Latium—Extent of the primitive city—The original Septimontium—Amalgamation with the city on the Quirinal—Tullus Hostilius—Legend of the Horatii and Curiatii, and of the conquest of Alba—Etruscan and Sabine wars—Ancus Marcius—His conquests in Latium and along the Tiber—His works at Rome—Origin of the Plebs The Etruscan dynasty—Tarquinius Priscus—His institutions, wars, and public works—Servius Tullius—His new constitution—The walls of Rome—Alliance with the Latins—Legend of his death—Tarquinius Superbus—His foreign alliances and wars—The Sibyl—Taking of Gabii—L. Junius Brutus—The legend of Lucretia—Expulsion of the Tarquins—Review of Regal Rome . 150—216

CHAPTER XXI.

The Patrician Republic. From the Expulsion of the Tarquins to the Taking of Rome by the Gauls.—B.C. 509 to B.C. 390.

Beginning of the Republic—Institution of the Consulate—Brutus and Collatinus consuls—Retirement of Collatinus—Conspiracy for the Tarquins—Brutus and his sons—Death of Brutus—Valerius Poplicola—Right of appeal—Treaty with Carthage—Dedication of the Capitol—Legend of Lars Porsenna—Battle of the Lake Regillus—Sabine War—Immigration of the Claudii—End of the mythical period of Roman history—Real state of Rome—Conquest by Porsenna—Repulse of the Etruscans—Independence of Latium—Institution of the Dictatorship—The Senate—Rise of a new nobility—The constitution aristocratic—Position of the Plebeians—Distress of the small landholders—Consulship of Claudius and Servilius—M. Valerius dictator—Secession to the Sacred Mount—Tribunes of the Plebs and Plebeian Ædiles—Colony sent to Velitræ—Continued dissensions—Legend of Coriolanus—Spurius Cassius—Treaties with the Latins and Hernicans—Wars with the Volscians and Æquians—Agrarian law of Spurius Cassius—His death—Wars with the Etruscans—Legend of the Fabii at the Cremera—Impeachment of consuls—Murder of the tribune Genucius—Publilian law—Impeachment of Appius Claudius—Rogation of Terentilius—Long conflict of the orders—Æquian and Volscian wars—Story of Cincinnatus—The Decemvirs—Laws of the Twelve Tables—Story of Virginia—Second Secession of the Plebs—Fall of the Decemvirs—Valerian and Horatian laws—Military Tribunes in place of consuls—Institution of the Censorship—Famine at Rome—Death of Mælius—War with the Etruscans, Æquians, and Volscians—Victory at Mount Algidus—Rise of the Samnites—Fall of Fidenæ—Last war with Veii—Draining of the Alban lake—Legend of Camillus and the fall of Veii—Agrarian law—Banishment of Camillus—The Gauls in Etruria . . . . . 217—258

CHAPTER XXII.

WARS WITH THE LATINS AND SAMNITES. FROM THE TAKING OF ROME BY THE GAULS TO THE END OF THE SAMNITE WARS.—B.C. 390 TO B.C. 290.

PAGE

The remoter nations of the ancient world—The Celtic race—Their migration from the east in historic times—Their national character and military habits—Transitory effects of their enterprises—Their early settlements in Italy—Cisalpine Gaul—Common story of the invasion—Siege of Clusium—Interference of the Romans—Battle of the Allia—Preparations at Rome—Self-devotion of the Fathers—Capture and sack of the city—The Capitol saved by M. Manlius—Ransom of Rome—Retreat of the Gauls—Legend of Camillus—Subsequent encounters with the Gauls—Results of the invasion—Distress at Rome—Wars with the Etruscans—Settlement of Cisalpine Gaul—Disruption of the Latin alliance—Wars with the Latins and Volscians—Internal dissensions—Condemnation of Manlius—The Licinian rogations—Plebeians admitted to the consulship—Institution of the Prætorship and Curule Ædileship—Union of the orders—Death of Camillus—Results of the revolution, to the final settlement of the popular constitution—Renewed wars with the Italians—New league with the Latins and Hernicans—Great Samnite and Latin Wars—Origin and growth of the Samnites—First Samnite War—Mutiny at Capua—Great Latin War—Battle near Vesuvius, and self-devotion of P. Decius—Battle of Trifanum—Dissolution of the Latin confederacy—Roman colonies in Latium—Second or Great Samnite War—Papirius and Fabius—Romans defeated at the Caudine forks—Successes of the Romans—Defeat of Etruscans and Samnites—Roman conquests—Coalition of Etruscans and Italians against Rome—Third Samnite war—Victory of Sentinum—Truce with Etruscan cities—Defeat of the younger and victory of the elder Fabius—End of the Samnite wars . . . . . . 259—302

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE WAR WITH PYRRHUS, AND THE CONQUEST OF ITALY.—B.C. 290 TO B.C. 266.

State of Italy after the Samnite wars—The Etruscans and Gauls in the North—The Lucanians and Bruttians in the South—Lucania and the Greek cities—The Romans protect Thurii—New Italian Coalition—War in Etruria—Irruption of the Gauls—A Roman army destroyed before Arretium—Defeat and extinction of the Senones—Defeat of the Etruscans at the Vadimonian Lake—Successes of Fabricius in Lucania—Tarentum—Its influence in Italy—Calls in aid from Greece—Archidamus—Alexander of Epirus—Cleonymus—Alliance with Rome—The Tarentines attack a Roman fleet and seize Thurii—Outrage on the Roman ambassador Postumius—Pyrrhus invited to Italy—He becomes master of Tarentum—March of the Romans to meet him—Their defeat at Heraclea—Mission of Cineas to Rome—Appius Claudius Cæcus in the Senate—Impression made on Cineas—Advance of Pyrrhus to Præneste—The Etruscans make a separate Peace—Pyrrhus retreats to Tarentum—Embassy of Fabricius—Campaign in Apulia—Battle of Asculum—State of the Sicilian Greeks—League of Rome and Carthage—Siege of Syracuse—Pyrrhus passes into Sicily—His first successes and repulse at Lilybæum—His return to Italy—His defeat at Beneventum and final departure—Capture of Tarentum, Rhegium, and Brundisium—Submission of Picenum—Lucania, and the Bruttii—Conquest of Italy completed—Naval affairs—Political and Social state of Italy and Rome . . . 303—336

BOOK VI.

THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF CARTHAGE AND GREECE.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE PUNIC WARS TO THE ACQUISITION OF THE PROVINCE OF ASIA.—B.C. 265 TO B.C. 130.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.—B.C. 264 TO B.C. 241.

PAGE

Sicily the battle-field of Rome and Carthage—Its connection with Italy, Greece, and Carthage—Seizure of Messana by the Mamertines—They are besieged by Hiero—Aid voted to them by the Romans—Beginning of the First Punic War—Successes of the Romans—They are joined by Hiero—Their victory at Agrigentum—History of the Phœnicians—Their proper name Canaanites—Their language Semitic—Tradition of their migration from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean—The cities of Phœnicia—History of Tyre and Sidon—Their commerce and navigation—Colonies of the Phœnicians—Carthage—Legends of its foundation—Its dominion in Africa—Its maritime and colonial empire in Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily—Rivalry with the Greeks and alliance with the Tyrrhenians—The Carthaginian constitution and religion—Relations with Rome to the time of the Punic Wars—History of the First Punic War resumed—Attacks on the coasts of Italy—The Roman fleet—Naval victory of Duilius—Campaigns in Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily—Naval victory of Regulus—His successes in Africa—His defeat and imprisonment—The war resumed in Sicily—Victory of Panormus and siege of Lilybæum—Regulus at Rome—Wreck of the Roman fleet—Exploits of Hamilcar Barca in Sicily—Roman victory off the Ægatian Islands—Conclusion of the War—Sicily a Roman province—Revolt and Reconquest of the Falisci—Population of Rome . . . . 337—415

CHAPTER XXV.

INTERVAL IN THE STRUGGLE WITH CARTHAGE.—B.C. 240 TO B.C. 219.

War of Carthage wlth her mercenaries—The Romans seize Sardinia—Devotion of Hannibal to avenge his country—Affairs of Rome in Italy—Wars with the Boii and Ligurians—The temple of Janus shut—Agrarian law of Flaminius—Illyrian wars—Impression made in Macedonia and Greece—Celtic wars—The Gauls pass the Alps—Battle of Telamon—Conquest of the Boii and Insubres—Roman Italy extended to the Alps—Colonies and roads—Affairs of Carthage—The house of Barca and the party of Hanno—Hamilcar in Spain—Kingdom of the Barcides—Hasdrubal's treaty with Rome—Hannibal—His rupture with Rome—Capture of Saguntum—Fruitless embassies—Rome declares war against Carthage—Preparations of Hannibal . . . . 416—428

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.—B.C. 218 TO B.C. 201.

Character of the Second Punic War—Its three periods and three scenes, Italy, Spain, and Africa—*First Period:* March of Hannibal through Spain and Gaul—Movements of the consul Scipio—Hannibal's passage of the Alps—Battles of the Ticinus and the Trebia—Cneius Scipio in Spain—Hannibal in Etruria—Battle of the Trasimene lake—Fabius Maximus made Dictator, "qui cunctando restituit rem"—Hannibal in Apulia—Third Campaign: Battle of Cannæ—Roman fortitude—Revolt of Capua—Carthaginian winter-quarters—*Second Period:* Hannibal's first defeat, at Nola—His repulse from and Capture of Tarentum—Roman successes in Sardinia and Spain—Sicilian war—Death of Hiero—Revolution and revolt of Syracuse—Its siege and capture—Death of Archimedes—Death of the two Scipios in Spain—Hannibal's march to Rome—His retreat—

PAGE

Recovery of Capua and Tarentum—Defeat and death of Marcellus—Hasdrubal marches to aid Hannibal—His defeat and death at the Metaurus—*Third Period:* P. Cornelius Scipio—His conquest of Spain—His journey to Africa—His election to the consulship—Invasion of Africa—Defeat of the Carthaginians—League with Masinissa—Hannibal's recall from Italy—Battle of Zama—Conclusion of the war . . . . 429—479

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE MACEDONIAN AND ASIATIC WARS.—B.C. 220 TO B.C. 187.

Accession of Philip V.—State of Macedonia and Greece—Philip's part in the Social War—His alliance with Carthage—First Macedonian War—Anti-Macedonian League—Attalus and the Rhodians—Affairs of Egypt—Peace with Philip—Renewed Macedonian intrigues—Alliance of Philip and Antiochus the Great—Views of Rome regarding the East—Embassy to Egypt, Antiochus, and Philip—The Second Macedonian war—Titus Quinctius Flamininus—Philip loses Northern Greece—The Achæan League joins the Romans—Proposals for peace—Battle of Cynoscephalæ—Peace with Philip—The freedom of Greece proclaimed by Flamininus—His triumph—Discontent of the Ætolians—Their intrigues with Antiochus—Review of the Syrian kingdom—Wars with Egypt for Cœle-Syria and Palestine—Invasion of and wars with the Parthians—Affairs of Asia Minor—Accession of Antiochus the Great—His warlike vigour—Revolt of Media and Persia suppressed—His war with Egypt and defeat at Raphia—Wars in Asia Minor and with the Parthians—Death of Ptolemy Philopator—Alliance of Antiochus and Philip—Conquest of Cilicia, Cœle-Syria, and Palestine—Attack on Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Greek cities of Asia Minor—Successes of Antiochus on the Hellespont—He crosses over into Europe and occupies Thrace—Protests of the Romans—Flight of Hannibal to Antiochus—He prepares for war—The Ætolians seize Demetrias and declare war with Rome—Antiochus lands in Greece—Beginning of the Asiatic War—Attitude of Macedonia and the Greeks—Defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ—Greece again subject to Rome—Reduction of the Ætolians—Maritime campaign—Roman expedition to Asia—Battle of Magnesia—Fall of the Syrian empire—War with the Galatians—The kingdom of Pergamus—Settlement of Asia and Greece—The Ætolians again subdued—Philip and the Achæans—Death of Antiochus . . 480—501

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE SUBJUGATION OF GREECE.—B.C. 187 TO B.C. 146.

Discontent of Philip—His renewed preparations for war—His sons Demetrius and Perseus—Murder of Demetrius—Death of Philip—His character—Accession of Perseus—His preparations against Rome—Barbarian alliances—State of Hellenic feeling—Third Macedonian war—Indecisive campaigns—The Roman generals incompetent: their armies disorganized—Q. Marcius Philippus—Invasion of Macedonia—The armies at Tempe—Lucius Æmilius Paulus elected consul—His character—Decisive Battle of Pydna—Final destruction of the Macedonian phalanx—Capture and fate of Perseus—Settlement of Macedonia—New relations of Rome to the Hellenic states—Pergamus and the Rhodians—Affairs of Syria and Egypt—Antiochus Epiphanes and the Roman envoy—How to circumscribe a circle about a king—Roman alliance with the Maccabees—Policy of Rome towards foreign states—Settlement of Greece—Patriot and Roman parties—Executions and deportations—The Achæan league—Lycortas and Callicrates—Deportation of 1000 Achæans—The historian Polybius—Devastation of Epirus—Triumph and death of Æmilius—The Adelphi of Terence—Quarrel of Athens and Oropus—Embassy of the philosophers to Rome—Oropus, Sparta, and the Achæan League—Return of the Achæan exiles—Andriscus, the Macedonian pretender—Roman commissioners in Greece—Riots at Corinth—War with the Achæans—Sack of Corinth by Mummius—Greece becomes the Roman province of Achaia . . . . 502—518

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.—B.C. 150 TO B.C. 146.

PAGE

State of Carthage between the First and Second Punic Wars—Her prosperity and resources—Her loyalty to Rome—Encroachments of Masinissa—Roman commissioners in Africa—M. Porcius Cato and P. Scipio Nasica—Delenda est Carthago—Hostilities with Masinissa—Scipio in Masinissa's camp—His dream—Embassies to Rome—Declaration of war—The consuls land in Africa—Conference at Utica—The Carthaginians give up their arms—The final sentence—Rage and resistance of the city—Preparations for defence—The first campaign—Operations of Censorinus—Services of Scipio—The second campaign—Hopes for Carthage—New allies—Her internal dissensions—The two Hasdrubals—Scipio elected consul—He lands in Africa—Progress of the Siege—Capture of the city—The seven days' fight—Destruction of Carthage—The tears and triumph of Scipio—Later history of Carthage . . . . 519—534

CHAPTER XXX.

CONQUESTS OF ROME IN THE WEST, AND CONDITION OF THE REPUBLIC. FROM THE END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR TO THE DEATH OF THE YOUNGER SCIPIO, AND THE FORMATION OF THE PROVINCE OF ASIA.—B.C. 200 TO B.C. 129.

The Roman dominions in the West—War in Cisalpine Gaul—Conquest of the Insubres and Boii—Ligurian wars—Condition of Spain—Consulship of Cato—Government of Tiberius Gracchus—His triumph over Sardinia—First Celtiberian war—Numantia—Marcellus and Lucullus in Spain—Cruelties of Galba—Lusitanian war—Viriathus—Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus and Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus—Murder of Viriathus—Numantine war—Mancinus—Brutus subdues Lusitania and the Gallæci—Scipio Africanus in Spain—Siege and destruction of Numantia—Triumph of Scipio—Servile war in Sicily—Roman slavery—Laws and ovation of Rupilius—Attalus III. bequeaths Pergamus to the Romans—The war with Aristonicus—Crassus in Asia—Formation of the Province of Asia—Extent of the Roman empire—Condition of the Republic—The new nobility and the city rabble—The nobles in possession of the Senate and the chief civil and military offices—The government of the oligarchy—Successful foreign policy—Internal affairs—Financial administration—Increase of corruption—Public works—The aqueducts of Rome—Party of opposition and reform—M. Porcius Cato—His early life—Service in the Second Punic War—Quæstor in Sicily—Opposition to Scipio—Cato at Thermopylæ—The prosecution of L. Scipio Asiaticus—Violence of Africanus—Prosecution and triumph of Scipio Africanus—His retirement and death—Scipio and Wellington—Censorship of Cato—His vast influence and its small results—The Younger Africanus—Vote by ballot at Rome—Laws against Bribery—Unpopularity and Death of Scipio—Religion and manners—Roman Literature . . . . 535—568

MAPS AND PLANS.

ANCIENT CARTHAGE . . . . *Frontispiece.*
THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER . . . . Page 82
ANCIENT ITALY . . . . " 129
ANCIENT ROME . . . . " 155
THE KNOWN WORLD AT THE FOUNDATION OF ROME . . . . " 158
ZEUGITANA . . . . " 359
PLAN OF CANNÆ . . . . " 440

BOOK IV.

THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE AND RISE OF THE HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP TO THE ACCESSION OF ANTIOCHUS SOTER, B.C. 359 to B.C. 280.

CONTENTS OF BOOK IV.

CHAP.

XV.—PHILIP OF MACEDON.

XVI.—THE CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER.

XVII.—DIVISION OF ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE.

XVIII.—LAST YEARS OF LIBERTY IN GREECE.

CHAPTER XV.

PHILIP OF MACEDON. B.C. 359 TO B.C. 336.

Λέγεταί τι καινόν; γένοιτο γὰρ ἄν τι καινότερον ἢ Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ 'Αθηναίους καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν 'Ελλήνων διοικῶν;

"Do you ask, What is the news? What could be greater news than a *Macedonian* making war upon the Athenians, and regulating the affairs of Greece?"—DEMOSTHENES.

"That dishonest victory
At Chæronea, fatal to liberty,
Killed with report that old man eloquent." *—MILTON.

ACCESSION OF PHILIP — HIS FIRST SUCCESSES — THE MACEDONIAN MONARCHY — EDUCATION AND CHARACTER OF PHILIP — HIS RELATIONS TO ATHENS — CAPTURE OF AMPHIPOLIS AND PYDNA — THE SOCIAL WAR — THE SACRED WAR — THE AMPHICTYONS — PHILIP IN THESSALY — STOPPED AT THERMOPYLÆ BY THE ATHENIANS — SPARTA AND MEGALOPOLIS — DEMOSTHENES — THE FIRST PHILIPPIC — PEACE PARTY AT ATHENS — PHOCION — THE OLYNTHIAN WAR — ÆSCHINES — PEACE BETWEEN ATHENS AND PHILIP — END OF THE SACRED WAR — DEMOSTHENES AND ISOCRATES ON THE PEACE — PROGRESS OF PHILIP — NEW WAR WITH ATHENS — PHILIP IN SCYTHIA — THE LOCRIAN WAR — PHILIP GENERAL OF THE AMPHICTYONS — CAPTURE OF ELATEA — ALLIANCE OF THEBES AND ATHENS — BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA — DEATH OF ISOCRATES — DEMOSTHENES "ON THE CROWN"—PHILIP GENERAL OF THE GREEKS FOR THE PERSIAN WAR — DEATH OF PHILIP.

FOR the space of nearly a century and a half, from the Ionic revolt to the battle of Mantinea, the whole interest of the world's history has centered in the Greek republics. Having proved the power of liberty to raise the intellectual state of man to its highest pitch, they failed to show how the liberty they had achieved could be made the basis of a permanent constitution or extended to the world at large. Exhausted by their intestine conflicts, they were doomed to follow in the train of a master, who, in the name of the old cause of Hellenic liberty against Persian despotism, founded yet another Asiatic empire, short-lived indeed in itself, but which proved the means of extending Greek civilization to the East. That master was the ruler of a country adjacent to Greece, but hitherto regarded as beyond the Hellenic pale. The military genius of its new and youthful sovereign now first brought its natural resources into full action.

PHILIP II., sometimes called the Great, ascended the throne of Macedonia in B.C. 359. He was the youngest of the three sons

* The allusion is to the death of Isocrates on hearing of the battle of Chæronea. See p. 30.

of Amyntas II. His eldest brother, Alexander II., had been slain, at the age of twenty-three, after a reign of only two years, by Ptolemy Alorites (B.C. 369—367). The second brother, Perdiccas III., who recovered the crown by killing the usurper, fell in battle against the Illyrians, after a reign of five years (B.C. 364—359), having left his infant son, and probably his kingdom, to the guardianship of Philip, when he set out on the campaign. A minority, always intolerable in a rude state, such as Macedonia then was, invited rival claimants for the crown, and gave Philip a fair pretext for seizing it himself. Young as he was, he at once displayed that deep policy which was always a chief source of his success. Of his two competitors, Pausanias was favoured by the king of Thrace, whom Philip gained over by liberal offers: the other, Argæus, was supported by the Athenians, to whom he promised to restore their ancient, and still much regretted, possession of Amphipolis;—in which Perdiccas had placed a Macedonian garrison. Philip made the same offers, and withdrew the garrison; and, having defeated Argæus, he showed great kindness to some Athenian volunteers, who had accompanied the pretender, and sent them back to Athens as envoys of conciliation. These measures were followed by a peace with Athens, and the formal acknowledgment of their right to Amphipolis (B.C. 359).

Having disposed of these rivals, Philip hastened to meet the dangers that threatened Macedonia from the barbarian tribes on the north and west. The upper courses of her rivers were occupied by the Pæonians, a powerful Thracian tribe, long dangerous neighbours, and who were now threatening an invasion. Philip speedily subdued them, but allowed them to remain as his subject allies, under their own kings, whom we find ruling over them down to the time of the Roman conquest. He next advanced against the more formidable Illyrians. As a geographical term, Illyria denotes the country between Mount Pindus and the Mediterranean, from the borders of Epirus on the south, as far north and west as the river Save and the Julian Alps, corresponding to the modern Albania and Bosnia. But, in an ethnic sense, the name describes no compact and united people, but a number of tribes of Thracian race, intermixed with others of Celtic origin, in consequence of that great movement from the west, which we shall have to notice in connection with the history of Rome. It was one result of this movement, that the Illyrian tribes pressed more and more upon their neighbours; and of late a large body of them, under their aged king Bardylis, had occupied a consider-

able portion of Western Macedonia. Against this people Philip marched at the head of 10,000 men; and, in the battle that ensued, he conquered by the tactics which Epaminondas had used at Leuctra and Mantinea. About 7,000 of the Illyrians fell; and Bardylis purchased peace by the sacrifice of all he had conquered in Macedonia, at the same time placing the passes of Pindus in the hands of Philip. These victories made Philip master of the whole country within what may be considered the natural limits of Macedonia, the Cambunian Mountains on the south, Pindus and Bernus on the west, Scardus, Orbelus, and Scomius on the north, and the Strymon on the east. The last, however, like most rivers, was rather a conventional than a natural boundary; and, beyond it, Thrace awaited the time when Macedonia should be strong enough to subdue her. Secured, meanwhile, against the dangers that had menaced him from within and without, Philip finally set his nephew's claims aside, but brought him up at his own court, and afterwards married him to his daughter.

The line of Macedonian kings, of whom Philip thus became the representative, claimed an Hellenic descent, though ruling over a non-Hellenic people; and we have already seen that Alexander I. was permitted to contend at the Olympic games on the strength of the proofs he produced of his descent from Temenus, the Heraclid king of Argus.* The claim thus admitted was a pretext ready to be used on any opportunity for interference with the politics of Greece; and the close neighbourhood of Macedonia to the Greek settlements on the Chalcidic peninsula caused her aid to be sought, as we have seen, by the contending parties in the Peloponnesian War. A better effect of the Hellenic pretensions of her kings was the inducement to cultivate Greek civilization. Such was the course taken by Archelaüs, who made his new capital at

* The following is the entire succession of the Macedonian kings, from the foundation of the monarchy to its conquest by the Romans:—(1.) Perdiccas I.; (2.) Argæus; (3.) Philip I.; (4.) Aëropus; (5.) Alcetas; (6.) Amyntas I., about B.C. 540—500; (7.) Alexander I., to about B.C. 454; (8.) Perdiccas II., to B.C. 413; (9.) Archelaus, to B.C. 399; (10.) Orestes and Aëropus, to B.C. 394; (11.) Pausanias, to B.C. 393; (12.) Amyntas II., to B.C. 369; (13.) Alexander II., to B.C., 367; [Ptolemy Alorites, usurper, to B.C. 364]; (14.) Perdiccas III., to B.C. 359; (15.) PHILIP II., to B.C. 336; (16.) ALEXANDER III., THE GREAT, to B.C. 323; (17) Philip III., Aridæus, and Alexander IV., Ægus, to B.C. 315; (18.) Cassander, to B.C. 296; (19.) Philip IV., to B.C. 295; (20.) Demetrius Poliorcetes, to B.C. 287; (21.) Pyrrhus to B.C. 286; (22.) Lysimachus, to B.C. 280; [various rivals, ending with Pyrrhus again, to B.C. 277]; (23.) Antigonus Gonatas, to B.C. 239; (24.) Demetrius II., to B.C. 229; (25.) Antigonus Doson, to B.C. 220; (26.) Philip V. to B.C. 178; (27) Perseus, to B.C. 167, the date of the Roman conquest.

Pella the resort of some of the greatest literary men,—such as Euripides, who died there,—and who employed Zeuxis to decorate his palace. The same monarch organized the resources of his kingdom, improved the army, constructed roads, erected fortresses to check the inroads of his barbarian neighbours, and seemed ready to take a decisive part in the affairs of Greece, when his assassination, and the troubles that ensued, postponed the crisis for two more generations. Meanwhile, another point of contact between Macedonia and Greece was occasioned by those relations between Thebes and Thessaly, which we have not considered important enough to narrate. In B.C. 368, Pelopidas, having been successful in his expedition against Alexander of Pheræ, advanced into Macedonia, and decided the contest for the crown between Ptolemy of Alorus and Alexander II. in favour of the latter, who gave, among other hostages, his youthful brother, Philip.

Thus it happened that Philip spent the best years of his youth at Thebes, at the time when Thebes held the supremacy of Greece. His quick parts enabled him to improve the opportunity, which his ambition taught him to value. He acquired such mastery over the Greek language, and studied to such purpose under the masters of rhetoric, as to be able to meet the great orators of that age on their own ground. He heard the philosophers who had heard Socrates, and he is said to have conversed with Plato. If so, he must have had for his fellow-pupil the great Aristotle, whom he afterwards invited to his court to be the tutor of Alexander.* But there were two things that he valued above any literary culture—the lessons in the art of war which he learnt from Epaminondas, and the personal acquaintances which he formed with the leading statesmen of Athens, as well as Thebes. On the tactics of the great Theban general, Philip founded his invention of that irresistible engine of war, the Macedonian phalanx; but he found a surer way to victory in what he learnt of the weaknesses of the Athenian orators. We shall soon see how he corrupted some and cajoled others, while nearly all were prepared to trust the goodwill of the illustrious prince who had lived so familiarly among them. They forgot that the knowledge which a foreign despot may thus acquire of the internal working of a free country is sure to be used, in the long run, for his own

* Aristotle went to Athens in B.C. 367, and heard Plato from the return of the latter from Sicily, in B.C. 365 to his death in B.C. 347. He went to the court of Philip in B.C. 342, and was received with honours which prove the king's true respect for philosophy.

purposes, and, when he resolves on an attack, he knows the weak points at which to aim it. Nor was Philip burthened by any scruples of conscience or good faith. Treacherous himself, his only assured confidence seems to have been in the treachery and corruption of others. His saying has passed into a proverb, that he could take any city, the wicket of which would give passage to an ass laden with gold. His Greek education had varnished over, without subduing, the coarseness as well as the cunning of the barbarian; and there were almost daily opportunities for the proverbial appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober. But the hostile orator, who perhaps overdraws the picture of his orgies, admits that they never interfered with business. He was as persevering as he was prompt, and his unyielding will was served by an iron constitution. He was generous to his friends, and seldom wanting in clemency to conquered foes.

There can be no doubt that Philip ascended the throne of Macedonia with the direct design of becoming arbiter of the destinies of Greece. His territory lay compact and self-contained across the base of the peninsula, while it touched the sea at the Thermaic gulf, which received its three great rivers—the Haliacmon, the Lydias, and the Axius. Once master of the Chalcidic peninsula, and of the Greek colonies on the Strymon, he would gain a great accession of maritime power, and soon extend his dominion into Thrace. His first step towards this object gave an earnest of his cunning and duplicity, and no less of the apathy of the free States of Greece. Amphipolis, once so choice an Athenian possession, and so disgracefully lost in the Peloponnesian War, was the key to the Strymon and the Thracian border. Philip had bought off the opposition of the Athenians, as we have seen, by promising to give them the city, of which they had unaccountably neglected to take possession, though a year had elapsed since the withdrawal of the Macedonian garrison, and it had remained independent while Philip was engaged in the Illyrian War. Delivered from his internal enemies, Philip was not the man to forego the advantage which the Athenians had neglected. Towards the end of B.C. 358, he marched against Amphipolis, at the head of the 10,000 troops with which he had gained the victory over the Illyrians, and which became the nucleus of the first standing army known in Europe. The Amphipolitans applied to Athens, offering to surrender their independence rather than fall into the hands of Philip; but the wily prince wrote to the Athenians—he was always powerful as a letter-writer—

assuring them that he was only besieging Amphipolis in order to perform his promise of restoring it to them. Resentment against their refractory colony and blind confidence in Philip's intentions combined to lead the Athenians to a most fatal decision. Well did they deserve the taunt of Demosthenes, when, at a later period, he charged them with being so slow in courage and military preparations, that they would not even take Amphipolis if it were offered to them. The city soon fell by treason, and the Olynthians, justly alarmed for themselves, sent an embassy to Athens to propose an alliance. Philip's friends at Athens procured the dismissal of these envoys; but they had not confidence enough in his good faith to expect the surrender of Amphipolis without an equivalent, so they entered into a secret negotiation to give him Pydna, on the Thermaic Gulf, in exchange. Philip, on his part, won over the Olynthians by giving them Potidæa, which belonged to Athens. While the siege of that city was formed, Philip marched to Pydna, which was treacherously surrendered to him. Several citizens, known to be hostile to Macedonia, were put to death; and the Athenian residents were sold as slaves. Philip then refused to give up Amphipolis to the Athenians, since they had not placed Pydna in his hands.

These acts of open hostility are explained by the change which the Athenians had now suffered from a state of high prosperity. They had engaged in a tedious but ultimately successful war for the recovery of the Chersonese from the Thracian king Cersobleptes and the mercenary captain Charidemus. A more important conquest was that of Eubœa, which was wrested from Thebes, chiefly by means of the animated appeals of Timotheus to the Athenians, and the patriotic zeal of certain citizens who voluntarily assumed the burthen of the trierarchy.* Among these was Demosthenes (B.C. 358). The city was now at the height of her recovered maritime power, when a sudden change once more stripped her of her empire, and with it of the means of resisting Philip. The fair promises which accompanied the renewal of the confederacy, had been disappointed. Relieved by the victories of Epaminondas from the check of Spartan rivalry, Athens had again yielded to the temptation of administering the common affairs according to her own interests. The system of mercenary forces invented by Conon, and developed by Iphicrates and Chares, had tempted the citizens to decline active service. This evil, which is con-

* The trierarchy was one of the "liturgies," or public services, which fell upon the citizens of the highest Solonian census. It consisted in fitting out a trireme.

stantly denounced by Demosthenes, sapped the military power of the state, while the allies were outraged by the exactions of the ill-paid mercenaries. Four of the most important of the allies—Byzantium, Chios, Cos, and Rhodes—revolted from Athens, and began the "Social War" (B.C. 358—355). The two latter states were supported by the Carian prince Mausolus, whose wife and sister Artemisia has conferred on his name a renown as lasting as the world by the erection of his magnificent tomb, called the *Mausoleum*.* The Athenians made their first attack on Chios, where the revolters had united their forces; but Chabrias fell while leading his ships into the harbour, and the land force under Chares was compelled to re-embark.

The loss of Chabrias was followed by the retirement of Timotheus and Iphicrates. At the annual account rendered by Athenian officers, they were accused by Chares of corruption. Timotheus, who had made many enemies by his overbearing conduct, was sentenced to a fine of 100 talents, the heaviest, it is said, ever inflicted at Athens: he retired to Chalcis, where he died in B.C. 354. Iphicrates was acquitted, but he was not again employed. Thus the city, in the time of her extreme need, lost her three best generals; and the loss was aggravated by the undisputed military ascendancy which it left in the hands of Chares, a brave, but reckless and selfish leader, chiefly intent on satisfying his mercenaries and enriching himself. Phocion, of whom we have to speak presently, held as yet no prominent command; nor were his the qualities to save the state. But the worst evil of all was the habit into which the Athenians had now fallen of declining to serve in person, while they did not even pay the mercenaries to whom they committed their defence. The result was that, in the next campaign, Chares took service with his mercenaries under the rebel satrap Artabazus, and the Athe-

* The old dynasty of Carian princes, founded at Halicarnassus by Lygdamis, soon after the Persian conquest of Asia Minor, and made famous by the queen Artemisia, who fought at Salamis, ended with the overthrow of her grandson Lygdamis, in the time of Herodotus. The new dynasty was founded, about B.C. 380, by Hecatomnus, who left three sons, Mausolus, Idrieus, Pixodarus, and two daughters, Artemisia and Ada, who were married to their two elder brothers. All five reigned in turn till the conquest by Alexander, when the kingdom lost all its importance. It was ultimately merged in the government of Rhodes. The Mausoleum, which was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world, was a sort of castle-tomb, surmounted by a pyramid, and crowned at the summit by a statue of the king in a marble quadriga, the work of Pythis. Its other sculptures were executed by Scopas, Bryaxis, Timotheus, and Leochares, all Athenian artists of the highest note. Considerable remains of these sculptures are now in the British Museum.

nians forgave his desertion of his proper post for the sake of the rich reward he earned (B.C. 356). But Artaxerxes did not so easily forgive the aggression; and his threat, to support the revolted allies with the whole Persian fleet, decided the issue of the war. In the following spring, Athens consented to a peace which secured the independence of her principal allies, and reduced her revenue from their tribute to only forty-five talents (B.C. 355). The Social War left her weak, impoverished, and deprived both of military power and prestige; and, worse than all, its conduct proved how much of her old confidence and energy had gone, even before these losses. In such a condition, she had to meet the aggressions of Philip, which had now become alarming; and it is only by a clear view of this state of affairs, that we can appreciate the moral heroism with which Demosthenes now began to fight the last battles of patriotism.

While the Athenians were occupied in the Social War, Philip was strengthening his position on the Thracian border, not only by his arms, but by gaining the friendship of Olynthus. Potidæa fell about midsummer, B.C. 356, an epoch ever memorable in the annals of Macedonia and the world; for, just at the same time, Philip gained a victory in the chariot-race at Olympia; his general Parmenio won a great battle against the Illyrians; and his wife Olympias* gave birth to his son ALEXANDER, of whose future renown an omen was given in the conflagration of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus by the maniac Herostratus, on the same night. Passing the Strymon, Philip obtained possession of the auriferous region of Mt. Pangæus, where he founded the famous city of Philippi, and derived an immense revenue from an improved working of the gold mines.

Meanwhile the opportunity for his interference in the affairs of all Greece was prepared by the suicidal conflicts of the Greeks themselves. The occasion arose out of the "Sacred War," which began shortly after the Social War. The old enmity between the Thebans and the Phocians had been inflamed by the reluctance of the latter to join the Theban alliance, and some actual hostilities had taken place after the general peace of B.C. 361. The

* Olympias was a daughter of Neoptolemus, prince of the Molossi, in Epirus, who claimed Æacid descent. She is conspicuous among the queens who have been notorious in history for violence of temper and vindictive cruelty, and she was addicted to the enthusiastic orgies of the Dionysiac worship. Philip first met her at the mysteries celebrated in the island of Samothrace, and married her in B.C. 359, the year of his accession.

Amphictyonic Council, of which we have already spoken,* had lately been called forth from its dignified obscurity, to exercise a political influence, and the time had now come, when this great Panhellenic union was destined to give the final blow to Grecian liberty. It must be remembered that the council, constituted of the representatives of the twelve ancient divisions of the Hellenic nation, at a time when that nation had its seat in the north, altogether failed to represent the actual states of historic Greece. Each of the twelve nations, great or small, had alike two votes, and such cities as Sparta and Athens possessed only the fraction of a vote due to them as subdivisions of the Dorian and Ionian nations. A clear majority was commanded by the states of Thessaly and Central Greece, which were now greatly influenced by Thebes, and about to become the mere creatures of Philip. These states, moreover, had many a ground of quarrel with the Phocians.

The Thebans had invoked the sentence of the Amphictyons against Sparta, with little effect, for her seizure of the Cadmean citadel, but against Phocis they had power to carry a sentence into execution. They are said to have found a pretext in the curse pronounced of old on any who should cultivate the devoted plain of Cirrha, but other grounds of accusation are alleged. The imposition of a fine, which it was known the Phocians could not pay, was followed up by a decree that the whole nation should be expelled from their possessions, and their territory devoted for ever, like that of Cirrha, to Apollo. Shut up to the choice between extermination and resistance, the Phocians found an able and unscrupulous leader in Philomelus. By his advice they revived their old claim to be themselves the guardians of the Delphic temple, citing the verse in which Homer mentions the Phocians as holding the "rocky Pytho," the ancient name of Delphi.† Philomelus, with a force 2,000 men, surprised the temple, destroyed the records of the sentence against the Phocians, raised a fresh body of mercenaries, fortified the temple, and carried on a successful war with the Locrians, who attempted to rescue Delphi. Having extorted from the reluctant priestess a sort of half sanction to his proceedings, and having issued a manifesto promising to respect the treasures of the shrine, Philo-

* Vol. I. chap. xii. p. 328. The last act of the Amphictyons, important enough to be recorded in Greek history, was the execration of Ephialtes for his treason at Thermopylæ. They are not once mentioned by Thucydides, or in Xenophon's Hellenics.

† Iliad, II. 519.

melus appealed to the states of Greece. Athens, the old ally of Phocis, and Sparta, the bitter enemy of Thebes, almost alone of the leading states espoused his cause; but the former was in the crisis of social war, and the latter had enough to do to hold her ground against her new rivals, Megalopolis and Messene. In fact, the position in which Sparta had been left by the Theban War disabled her from any effective aid to the common cause in the approaching crisis. It was easy for Thebes to organize a confederacy of the northern states against the Phocians; and the danger became so pressing that Philomelus, disregarding his scruples and his pledges, applied the sacred treasures to the payment of mercenaries, and soon gathered a force of 10,000 men. The war now assumed the most savage character; the Thebans, Thessalians, and Locrians put to death all Phocian prisoners as sacrilegious outlaws, and the Phocians retaliated. Success declared at first for Philomelus; but, having become entangled amongst some rocks and woods, he was surrounded by the superior numbers of the enemy, and he only avoided being taken prisoner by a fatal leap over a precipice (B.C. 354). His brother Onomarchus rallied the defeated army, roused the spirit of the Phocians, who with their bad fortune had begun to repent of their sacrilege, and overawing the malcontents by his mercenaries, he was made their despot as well as general. He used the temple treasures more freely than ever, not only to pay his troops, but to bribe the leading men both of friendly and hostile states. He became master of the country as far as Thermopylæ, on the one side; while, on the other, he invaded Bœotia, took Orchomenus, and laid siege to Chæronea, but was repulsed by the whole force of the Thebans (B.C. 353).

The time had now come for the intervention of the Macedonian. Philip had pushed on his advance into Thrace as far as Abdera, with a view to support Cersobleptes against the Athenians in the Chersonese; but his progress had been checked by another Thracian chieftain, Amadocus, as well as by the presence of Chares on the coast, with an Athenian fleet. With his usual activity he marched back to the Gulf of Therma, and laid siege to Methone (B.C. 353). This last remaining possession of the Athenians on the Macedonian coast fell, like Pydna and Potidæa, through their delay in sending the succours that they voted (B.C. 352).* Philip had now recovered the sea-coast of Lower Macedonia, and the way lay open into Thessaly, where his aid was solicited by the Aleuads

* It was at the siege of Methone that Philip lost an eye.

of Larissa against Lycophron, the despot of Pheræ. Lycophron looked for help to Onomarchus, who was glad to find occupation for his numerous mercenaries. A force of 7,000 men, sent into Thessaly under his brother Phaÿllus, was defeated by Philip, but this disaster was fully repaired by Onomarchus himself, who drove Philip out of Thessaly, beaten in two great battles. Onomarchus now led his victorious army into Bœotia and took Chæronea; and seemed to be rapidly attaining the position of master of Northern Greece.

Philip had retired into Macedonia, with his army dispirited and mutinous; but his energy soon enabled him to take the field again. Lycophron once more turned for aid to Onomarchus, promising to give him all Thessaly as a dependency of Phocis. With such a prize in view, Onomarchus put forth all his force, and entered Thessaly with an army of 20,000 foot and 500 horse. But Lycophron's cruel abuse of the former victory had united nearly all Thessaly against him, and Philip soon found himself at the head of an infantry as powerful as the enemy's besides 3,000 of the splendid Thessalian cavalry. He roused the enthusiasm of his followers by assuming the character of an avenger of the Delphic god, and crowns of laurel, gathered in the vale of Tempe, marked his soldiers as the servants of Apollo. One decisive battle made Philip the master of Thessaly and confirmed his loftier pretensions. The army of Onomarchus was annihilated, 6,000 men being slain, 3,000 taken prisoners, and the remainder utterly dispersed. The body of their leader, who fell in the battle, was fixed to a cross;* and all the prisoners were drowned, in punishment of their sacrilege (B.C. 352). The victory was followed by the capitulation of Pheræ, and the expulsion of Lycophron; and the capture of Pagasæ, which the Athenians again failed to relieve in time, gave Philip a naval station on the great gulf which opens into the Eubœan Sea. His character as champion of the Delphic god formed a sufficient pretext for advancing to the relief of the violated sanctuary and so crushing the Phocians in their very citadel. But at last the Athenians were effectually alarmed: the energy of which they were always capable was roused: by ready contributions and personal service, they promptly despatched a force sufficient to defend Thermopylæ; and Philip,

* This is, we believe, the first instance of the use of crucifixion in Greece; and here it is only an exposure of the corpse, not yet a mode of inflicting death. The form of punishment was essentially Oriental. The Romans borrowed it from the Phœnicians of Carthage.

who always knew how to bide his time, turned back without attempting the pass (B.C. 352). Phaÿllus, the successor of Onomarchus, held almost undiminished power in Phocis, Locris, and Bœotia; using the remaining sacred treasures to recruit his mercenary force, and to distribute presents among his supporters throughout the Greek cities. But this final plunder reached those venerable offerings of ancient kings, which were cherished with keen national pride; as the sacrilege became less scrupulous, the use of its proceeds grew more reckless; and the general indignation was redoubled, when goblets and statues dedicated by Crœsus were melted down to enrich the favourites of the despot. Thus, at the very moment when Philip was repulsed from Thermopylæ, the public feeling of Greece was preparing to accept him as a deliverer. Meanwhile he was engaged in consolidating his power nearer home; and he advanced so far into Thrace that his movements were almost unknown, and the Athenians were amused with reports, sometimes of his death, sometimes of his illness. But there was one man who would not suffer them to forget that Philip was still alive; and this pause in the Sacred War calls us to observe what was going on in the other parts of Greece.

The new power that had risen in Phocis was viewed with favour both at Athens and Sparta, as a counterpoise to Thebes; and had the two states been capable of a vigorous and united effort, Greece might have had another history. But the thoughts of Sparta were bent on deliverance from the bonds drawn round her by the policy of Epaminondas, and the successes of Onomarchus in Bœotia were welcomed as an opportunity for attacking Megalopolis. On this point the interests of Sparta and of Athens came into collision; and the Athenians had to decide whether they would purchase the Lacedæmonian alliance by the reversal of the recent settlement for making Peloponnesus free, and Sparta incapable of aggression. It was about the winter of B.C. 353—352, when Onomarchus was at the height of his power, that two embassies arrived at Athens; the one from Megalopolis to ask for alliance and support, the other from Sparta to resist the appeal, and to propose a close alliance of Athens with herself and her Peloponnesian allies, to complete the humiliation of Thebes. This view was supported by the large party at Athens who cherished the old traditional hostility towards the Thebans; and the Spartans held out as a bait the recovery of Oropus, an Attic town on the Bœotian frontier, which Thebes had long held. The decision was mainly influenced by Demosthenes, who delivered his speech "For the Megalopolitans," the second,

in order of time, of his extant public orations; the first, "On the Symmories," having been made the year before, on the question of war with Persia. He succeeded in persuading the Athenians that it was their true interest not to strengthen either Sparta or Thebes at the expense of the other, but to uphold Megalopolis and Messene, not only as a check upon Sparta, but as an obstacle to any future attempt on the part of Thebes to interfere again in the Peloponnesus. That this was sound policy, both for the interests of Athens, and for the independence of the Grecian states, there can be no doubt. Its bearing upon the Macedonian danger seems hardly to have been considered, for Philip is not mentioned in the speech. It was not the vote of the Athenians, but the selfish policy of Sparta, in offering her alliance only on such conditions, that left her without influence on the common cause of Greece (B.C. 353). Her persistence in the attack on Megalopolis provoked a league of Thebes, Argos, Sicyon, and Messene, for the defence of the city; and, after several indecisive battles, Sparta was compelled to make peace (B.C. 352).

It would seem, however, that Demosthenes had as yet formed no adequate conception of Philip's power. The events of the following campaign in Thessaly, which, as we have seen, roused the Athenians to the great effort by which they stayed Philip's progress at Thermopylæ, convinced the orator that the safety of Greece was now at stake; and that Athens, standing in the forefront of the danger, must not be satisfied to wait till it was upon them, and then to make efforts as inefficient as they were sudden; but that now, while Philip's absence in Thrace allowed them the opportunity, they must calmly but resolutely make the needful preparations. It was this lesson that he came forward to impress upon the people in the first of those great orations which, named after the king of Macedonia, have caused the title of *Philippics* to be applied, in general, to speeches in which a person is denounced, though in the vast majority of cases the resemblance is only in the name. The delivery of the first Philippic forms the crisis of the orator's public life.

Demosthenes was now about thirty years of age, the probable date of his birth being B.C. 382—381, one year after the birth of Philip. His father, who bore the same name, was possessed of great wealth, and carried on manufactures of swords and beds by means of his slaves. He died when the young Demosthenes was about seven, leaving his two sons and their property to the care of three guardians, men of wealth and station, and relations of his

own. Though they received handsome legacies under his will, these guardians abused their trust; and when Demosthenes reached sixteen, the Athenian age of majority, he received less than two talents out of the fourteen which his father had left. Meanwhile they had kept him, in his father's place, on the roll of the wealthiest class of citizens, and he found himself subject to all the burthens of that position. His remonstrances having proved in vain, he commenced an action against Aphobus, one of his three guardians; and in the exertions which he made to fit himself to plead his cause, his biographers find the source of his greatness as an orator. Other causes contributed to his adoption of public speaking as a profession. A body too weak to bear the hard training of the gymnasium or the toils of war, was to him, as to many other distinguished men, a motive for devotion to intellectual pursuits.

This want of physical hardihood, and of the contempt of danger which often attends it—a quality distinct from the moral courage in which Demosthenes was rarely deficient—followed him through life, always as a hindrance, and sometimes even a disgrace. "It disqualified him from appropriating to himself the full range of a comprehensive Grecian education, as conceived by Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle; an education applying alike to thought, word, and action—combining bodily strength, endurance, and fearlessness, with an enlarged mental capacity and a power of making it felt by speech." * What he might have been, but for this defect, is recorded in the lines which his countrymen inscribed upon his statue:—

> "Had thy strength match'd thy soul, Demosthenes,
> The Macedonian Ares ne'er had ruled in Greece."

The time had however come when the statesman, who would hold ascendancy over his fellow-citizens, need no longer combine, like Themistocles and Pericles, Nicias and Alcibiades, the powers of the orator and the general. On the one hand, the wider diffusion of the art of public speaking, under the teaching of the Sophists and rhetoricians, and, on the other, improved tactics and the employment of mercenaries, who would only serve certain leaders, had tended to separate the functions of the general and the councillor, and to make each a distinct profession. But neither did Demosthenes narrow his studies to those of the professional rhetorician. While he placed himself under the special tuition of the orator Isæus, and attended the lectures of Isocrates, he heard

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. xi., p. 374.

Plato, and perused his dialogues with the greatest diligence. But his chief intellectual culture, as his speeches constantly attest, was derived from the history of Thucydides. He well knew the truth of the maxim, which a great soldier of our age has prescribed even for the military profession:—"By reading you will be distinguished; without it, abilities are of little use." He is said to have copied out the entire work of Thucydides eight times with his own hand, and to have re-written it from memory. The attentive reader of his political harangues perpetually hears the echoes of the historian's wisdom in the more harmonious but not less nervous periods of the orator.

The best Athenian critics recognized in his earliest efforts the political principles and the very tone of thought which Thucydides has taken such pains to delineate as those of Pericles. But at first his manner fell far short of his matter; and when some success in his action against Aphobus encouraged him to come forward in the Ecclesia, his repeated failures were marked by general derision. But there were those who were willing to foster the germs of promise which they had the discernment to detect. Eunomus, an aged citizen, who had heard Pericles sixty years before, comforted Demosthenes, as he wandered disconsolate about Piræus, by telling him how his speech reminded him of the great statesman, and assuring him that he only wanted confidence and preparation. "You are too much disheartened," said he, "by the tumult of a popular assembly, and you do not take the pains even to acquire the bodily strength needed for the rostrum." He found another counsellor in the actor Satyrus, who desired him to recite a passage of Sophocles, which the actor then repeated, with a difference of accent that astonished Demosthenes. While he thus learned the source of his defects from advisers, he relied for their cure on self-disclipine alone; and never did any man pursue a more resolute course of self-culture. To correct a defect of articulation, which approached to a lisp, he practised speaking with pebbles in his mouth. He found a substitute for the hoarse murmurs of the people in the noise of the waves upon the beach of Phalerum during a storm. The power of his lungs was expanded by running, and by declaiming while walking up-hill. For months together he shut himself up in a subterranean chamber to practise recitation and composition, and took precautions against interruption from any want of resolution on his own part by shaving his head in so absurd a guise that he could not stir abroad.

The fruit of all this training was soon visible in the style of oratory so perfect, that the severest critics could only find fault with it for being too artificial in manner, and too elaborately prepared in the matter. But the greatest orators in every age, down to the venerable master of the art, who in our own time has been thought worthy to rank with Demosthenes and Cicero, are all agreed that, whatever power may have been occasionally exerted by sudden bursts of unpremeditated eloquence, the most laborious preparation is needed for sure and habitual success. Thus, while no orator has ever surpassed Demosthenes in that vigour which some associate only with extemporaneous speaking, it was the judgment of some of his contemporaries, that the rich matter of his speeches could only be fully enjoyed on reading. This judgment is the more remarkable, as we know that he himself laid the greatest stress on the accessories of oral delivery, especially on "action," which he declared to be the first and second and third essential for an orator. Nor was his labour bestowed, as that of Cicero too often was, chiefly in rounding periods and elaborating ornaments. He has left us, indeed, the most perfect examples of prose rhythm ever embodied in the most effective of human languages; but what above all distinguishes him from the most accomplished of mere rhetoricians, is the direct practical purpose of every word he utters. So long as there was any hope, he never ceased to encourage the Athenians by the consideration that the advantages which had been lost solely by their negligence might yet be recovered by renewed energy and careful preparation, and to show them how such preparation should be made in all its details,—the number of ships and men required, the amount of money needed to support them, and the sources from which it might be provided.

Such was the burthen of the First Philippic, which was delivered while Philip was making progress in Thrace, threatening the possessions of Athens on the Chersonese, and annoying her nearer home by maritime expeditions. His command of the Pagasæan Bay enabled him to send out fleets to ravage the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, and even to make a descent at Marathon and plunder the coast of Attica. In November, B.C. 352, the news was brought to Athens, that Philip had emerged from his obscure operations in the interior of Thrace, and had laid siege to Heræon-Teichos on the Propontis. In sudden alarm the Athenians voted an armament, to be manned by the citizens, and imposed on themselves a property-tax of sixty talents. Then

came a report of Philip's illness, which was true, and which the wishes of the popular indolence magnified into his death; and all the preparations were suspended. It was during this pause that Demosthenes came forward to insist on the folly alike of despondency and carelessness, and the equal folly of trusting to desultory efforts and ill-paid mercenaries. Philip's military power and reputation had now reached such a height, that Demosthenes confessed the hopelessness of meeting him in the field, but he urges the policy of setting on foot, before the danger became more pressing, a moderate force which might keep him in constant alarm by descents on his coasts, and by carrying help to every point at which disaffection or resistance might break out, as they were sure to do under a tyrannical government. He shows how such a force might be provided, if the people would revert to the old plan of personal service and well-ordered contribution, instead of trusting to that chance, which seemed in fact to do better for them than they did for themselves. All this practical advice is pointed by keen reproofs:—"What does it matter whether Philip is dead or sick, since, should anything befall him, you would soon make yourselves another Philip, if you apply yourselves to business thus?" Yet there was encouragement to be derived from their very remissness, as it left room for them to do better.

The First Philippic was delivered in the spring of B.C. 351, but with so little effect that even the armament already voted was not despatched to the Chersonese till the following autumn, and then on a wretchedly inadequate scale. The reason for this was not merely the general supineness of the Athenians, and the decay of the ancient spirit of self-sacrifice, but there was at Athens a peace party which systematically thwarted the views of Demosthenes. Its chief leaders were the orator Eubulus and the general PHOCION, the last of that race of statesmen who led the people both in the field and in the assembly. His unsullied character—the more conspicuous from the venality of other leaders of his party—has too often blinded historians to the evils of his policy; and, like Nicias in both points, his fate has gained for him a sympathy which tends to cloud the judgment. No praise, indeed, can be too high for the personal character of "Phocion the Good." Born about B.C. 402, just twenty years before Demosthenes, he had reached his 85th year when he was put to death on a charge of treason, arising out of the troubles that followed the death of Alexander (B.C. 317). His humble birth was ennobled by the

simplicity of his life; and his hardy constitution was preserved unimpaired by luxury. Above all, the contrast of his incorruptible probity with the insatiable avarice of other generals and the venality of the orators—among whom even Demosthenes did not escape undeserved suspicion—had such an effect on the sentiment of the Athenians that they gave him a confidence more unreserved than they had ever yielded to Pericles himself. From his first entrance on public life, when he was already of middle age, he held the annual office of chief Startegus (General)* almost without interruption. He was elected no less than forty-five times, without once soliciting the people's choice. His chief military friend and pattern was Chabrias, under whom he distinguished himself at the battle of Naxos (B.C. 376); † but he is not named as holding an important command till B.C. 354 (or B.C. 349), when he led an expedition into Eubœa. His philosophic indifference to the present fame and emoluments of active service led him to find his chief field at Athens, in administrative details, and in the politics of the ecclesia; and his almost constant presence in the city placed a constant check upon the policy of Demosthenes. Phocion's training in the school of Plato and Xenocrates made him intellectually a fit antagonist for the ablest of the orators, and he was the more able to cope with them because he despised all the artifices of popular rhetoric, and extinguished their elaborate periods by a pointed brevity almost laconic. To a friend who found him deep in thought when he had to speak, he said, "I am meditating whether I cannot shorten what I have to say to the Athenians;" and, when Demosthenes saw Phocion rise to reply to him, he used to say—"Here comes the cleaver of my speeches." This plain soldier-like style of speaking carried with it a sort of military force; and it was the testimony of an orator, who was himself a friend of Demosthenes, that Phocion was the more effective speaker. Nor was his influence diminished by that contemptuous sternness and rigour of life which were accepted as signs of his independence. It is said that he was never seen weeping or laughing, or bathing in the public baths. Once, when a speech of his was followed by applause, he turned to a friend and asked, "Have I unawares said something bad?" He made a boast of his opposition to the popular feeling; and he gained that credit for sincerity which is generally yielded to such a temper, and which the spectacle of a general averse to war naturally excited.

* We have already explained the nature of this function, which was a sort of premiership.

† See vol. I., p. 556.

It has been often pleaded that Phocion consulted the true interests of Athens and of Greece by opposing the policy of resistance to Macedonia, when effective resistance was hopeless. But here, as Mr. Grote has shown most conclusively, it is necessary to draw a distinction between the earlier and later years of Phocion's career. "His biographers mislead our judgment by pointing our attention chiefly to the last twenty years of his long life, after the battle of Chæronea. At that time, when the victorious military force of Macedonia had been fully organized, and that of Greece comparatively prostrated, it might be argued plausibly (I do not say decisively, even then) that submission to Macedonia had become a fatal necessity; and that attempts to resist could only end by converting bad into worse. But the peace-policy of Phocion—which might be called prudence, after the accession of Alexander—was ruinously imprudent, as well as dishonourable, during the reign of Philip. The odds were all against Philip in his early years; they shifted, and became more and more in his favour, only because his game was played well, and that of his opponents badly. The superiority of force was at first so much on the side of Athens, that, if she had been willing to employ it, she might have made sure of keeping Philip at least within the limits of Macedonia. All depended upon her will; upon the question whether her citizens were prepared in their own minds to incur the expense and fatigue of a vigorous foreign policy—whether they would handle their pikes, open their purses, and forego the comforts of home, for the maintenance of Grecian and Athenian liberty against a growing, but not as yet irresistible destroyer. To such a sacrifice the Athenians could not bring themselves to submit; and, in consequence of that reluctance, they were driven in the end to a much graver and more irreparable sacrifice—the loss of liberty, dignity, and security. Now it was precisely at such a moment, and when such a question was pending, that the influence of the peace-loving Phocion was most ruinous. His anxiety that the citizens should be buried at home in their own sepulchres—his despair, mingled with contempt, of his countrymen, and their refined habits—his hatred of the orators who might profit by an increased war-expenditure—all contributed to make him discourage public effort, and await passively the preponderance of the Macedonian arms; thus playing the game of Philip, and siding, though himself incorruptible, with the orators in Philip's pay." *

Such were the antagonistic forces by which the fate of Greece

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. xi., pp. 388, 9.

was now to be determined: the details of the conflict need only a brief notice. The first great crisis was brought about by the attack of Philip on Olynthus, upon the territory of which he had already begun to make incursions at the date of the First Philippic. The Olynthians, foreseeing the danger, had made peace with Athens about the close of b.c. 352, and in b.c. 350 envoys arrived at Athens bringing the news that Philip had taken one of the thirty-two cities of their confederacy, and asking for an alliance and active aid. Their cause was pleaded by Demosthenes in those brief, but most vigorous harangues, entitled the *Olynthiacs*, all three of which were delivered in the last six months of b.c. 350.* The Athenians made the desired alliance, and promised help; but under the influence of the peace party, they did nothing at first. Their attention was distracted by a war in Eubœa, undertaken against the advice of Demosthenes, who himself served in it as a hoplite (b.c. 349). Their finances were embarrassed; and one great resource, the *Theoric Fund*, for the expenses of the religious festivals, was fenced about by a law making it criminal to propose its application to any other purpose. Demosthenes had hinted, in the *Olynthiacs*, that this money should be made available for the army; a citizen was at length found bold enough to propose its use; and the motion was carried unanimously, though the proposer was indicted and fined (b.c. 348). But even then, though three successive expeditions were sent out to Chalcidice, they effected nothing of importance.

Meanwhile Philip strained every nerve to complete his conquest before the Athenians awoke to the danger. City after city fell before him; till at last the gates of Olynthus were opened by treachery; the city was razed to the ground; the inhabitants were sold as slaves; and the whole Chalcidic peninsula was added to the Macedonian kingdom (b.c. 347). The suppression of thirty-two free Hellenic states, whose confederation had seemed to balance the power of Philip on his frontier, was a political disaster unparalleled since the time of Xerxes; for even the Peace of Antalcidas had left some municipal freedom to the Ionian cities; and the true nature of the new despotism was made visible to the Greeks—to the deep shame of many of themselves—in the gangs of captives of both sexes, who were dragged along their roads, even into Pelopo-

* The order of the Olynthiacs in the editions is certainly not that in which they were delivered. Bishop Thirlwall, following Dionysius of Halicarnassus, places them in the order II., III., I. The order adopted by Stüve and Mr. Grote, II., I., III., seems preferable.

nesus, to be received by the adherents of Philip with thanks for his generosity; while the conqueror celebrated his victory by splendid games at Dium at the Thessalian frontier.

The indignation at Athens was the more intense, as among the captives sold into slavery there were some of her own citizens, who had been serving as auxiliaries at Olynthus. Besides, the victory of Philip threatened the loss of the Chersonese and the islands that still were hers. Loud complaints were heard against Chares, who was gone no one knew whither. Even Eubulus, and the other orators of the peace party, were energetic in their denunciations of Philip; and the occasion called forth the orator who was destined soon to become Philip's chief supporter, and to be handed down to fame as at once the ablest and bitterest rival of Demosthenes. ÆSCHINES, though six years older than Demosthenes, began his professional career much later. His low birth is frequently a point for the sarcasm of Demosthenes; but we have no other authority for attaching any stain of dishonour to his family. In early youth he had assisted his father in teaching boys; he had tried his fortune as an actor with little success; he had been a scribe and reader to some of the Government boards; and he had acted as secretary to the orators Aristophon and Eubulus. When raised to the office of public scribe to the assembly, for which he was qualified by his powerful and melodious voice, he gradually took courage to come forward as an orator, and displayed a great native power of unpremeditated speech. Nature had gifted him with the physical strength which she had denied to Demosthenes, and he had served with distinction as a soldier in the expedition to Phlius, in B.C. 368, at the battle of Mantinea in B.C. 362, and in Eubœa in B.C. 349. The praise he obtained from Phocion on this occasion would naturally bind him more closely to the party with which he was already connected through Eubulus. After the fall of Olynthus, Æschines went to Megalopolis, as one of the envoys who were sent throughout Greece to stir up resistance to Philip. In this mission he earned as much distinction by his patriotic spirit as by his eloquence, not sparing the traitors who had sold themselves to the Macedonian, and whose opposition now neutralized his efforts. The Arcadians seem, in fact, to have been too much absorbed in their rivalry with Sparta, to spare a thought for the remoter danger from Philip. The reports of the other envoys were not much more encouraging; and such was the general despondency at Athens, that even Demosthenes acquiesced in the necessity for peace.

The progress of the Sacred War tended to the same point. The lavish expenditure of Phaÿllus had nearly exhausted the treasures of Delphi; but Phalæcus, the youthful son of Onomarchus, still carried on the war, though he only kept down a strong opposition among the Phocians themselves by his mercenaries. Once more the Thebans applied to Philip as the champion of the Amphictyons and of Apollo, and a Macedonian army entered Thessaly. The Phocians, in alarm for the safety of Thermopylæ, applied for aid to Athens as well as Sparta; but Phalæcus, who held the pass, insultingly dismissed the forces which the Athenians promptly sent to guard it. Philip hastened to profit by his rashness to secure the neutrality of Athens; and, after preliminary overtures on both sides, the Athenians sent that Embassy of Ten to the Macedonian court at Pella, which became afterwards the occasion of such bitter recriminations between Demosthenes and Æschines, both of whom served upon it, that the truth respecting it cannot be discovered. All we know is, that Philip gained favour with all the ambassadors by his banquets and personal attentions, and won over some of them by bribes; so that they obtained no terms from him, either for themselves or the Phocians, but vague promises. On the return of the ambassadors to Athens, Demosthenes, whose courage had failed him when he rose to address Philip, expressed entire approval of the conduct of his colleagues, and he entertained the envoys whom Philip sent to Athens to conclude the treaty. But his old distrust was revived by the conduct of Philip in leading about the ambassadors, who were sent again to ratify the treaty, from place to place, while he was preparing for the invasion of Phocis. When the peace was finally made, on Philip's own terms, with the express exclusion of the Phocians, and the ambassadors returned to Athens the second time, Demosthenes protested against their conduct, and charged Æschines as the chief offender. But the people, overjoyed at the thought of peace, passed a vote of thanks to Philip, and summoned the Phocians to surrender Delphi; and, in the following year, Æschines gained an easy victory over Timarchus, who had indicted him for misconduct in the embassy.*

Meanwhile Philip had followed almost on the steps of the

* The details of these mutual recriminations (besides the allusions in other speeches, and especially those "On the Crown") are contained in the speech of Æschines "Against Timarchus," and in those of Demosthenes and Æschines "On the False Embassy." The two latter were not speeches actually delivered, but memorials composed for circulation among the people, in B.C. 343.

departing envoys towards Thermopylæ. On his approach, Phalæcus made terms for himself and his mercenaries. The Phocians, thus left without defence, surrendered all their towns; and their fate was decided by the Amphictyons, whom Philip convoked at Delphi. All their cities were destroyed, except Abæ, and the people were dispersed into villages of not more than fifty houses each. They were condemned to repay, by annual instalments, 10,000 talents, as the value of the plundered treasures of the temple. They were struck out of the list of the Amphictyons; and Thebes was gratified with the same sentence against Sparta. The two votes of Phocis in the council were given to Philip, who was to share the Presidency of the Pythian games with the Thebans and Thessalians; Macedonia was thus recognized as an Hellenic power; and it only remained to yield her the supremacy of Greece (B.C. 346). In this Sacred War, which (like the first, in B.C. 595—585)* had lasted for ten years, the badness of the Phocian cause had done much to invest Philip with the appearance of a champion of right.

His ascendancy over the minds of the Greeks at this epoch is best shown by the speech of Demosthenes "On the Peace," advising acquiescence in the existing state of things; while Isocrates, who had now reached the age of ninety, put forth, in his "Oration to Philip," a formal renunciation of Hellenic independence. Recognizing the conqueror as the chief of Greece, raised up to benefit her like his ancestor Hercules, he invites him to reconcile the differences of Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and Argos, and to march at the head of their united forces against Asia. Philip at once assumed the character of dictator, by declaring in favour of Messene and Megalopolis, and making an alliance with Argos. But there remained a strong undercurrent of distrust at Athens, which was confirmed by Philip's proceedings in Peloponnesus; and it found expression in the *Second Philippic* (B.C. 344) and succeeding orations of Demosthenes. The peace lasted nominally for six years (B.C. 346—340); but during this whole period, Philip was making new aggressions in various parts of Greece, and especially in Thrace, which the Athenians put forth desultory efforts to counteract; till his attacks upon the Greek cities of the Propontis, and at last his invasion of the Chersonese, led to open war (B.C. 340). The campaign began under the evil auspices which had so long beset the Athenian arms. Chares, who had been sent to the relief of Byzantium and Perinthus,

* See vol. I., p. 229.

began the old exactions from the neighbouring allies; but he was speedily superseded by Phocion, who urged the prosecution of the war in a spirit of true patriotism. He had distinguished himself in the preceding year (B.C. 341) by a successful expedition to counteract the schemes of Philip's partisans in Eubœa, which thus became a new bulwark for Athens, and on this occasion Phocion was heartily engaged in carrying out the policy of Demosthenes. The Athenians, once more roused to effort, sent out an armament of 120 triremes. The distrust of the allies vanished. Phocion was received at Byzantium as a deliverer. The maritime powers of the Ægæan, such as Chios, Rhodes, and Cos, joined in the effort for her relief. Philip was compelled to raise the siege both of Byzantium and Perinthus: he was repulsed in an attack on the Chersonese; and the Bosporus and Hellespont were again open to the Athenian corn-ships. Thanks were voted to Athens by Byzantium, Perinthus, and the cities of the Hellespont, while the Athenians conferred the like honour on Demosthenes (B.C. 339).

Thus baffled in the field, Philip fell back, as usual, on the arts of policy. His overtures for peace converted the Byzantines and other maritime states from enemies into neutrals, and left the Athenians to carry on the naval war almost alone; while he sent out fresh cruisers to harass their commerce. Meanwhile he undertook an expedition against a tribe of Scythians, between the Hæmus and the Danube; on his return from which he was defeated by the Thracian Triballi, and severely wounded. This expedition was not improbably planned with a view of giving his partisans in Greece free scope for their intrigues, while he appeared himself to have retired from the scene.

An immediate advance to Thermopylæ would probably have forced Thebes and Athens to unite before it was too late. But even in the hands of Athens alone, the common cause was more hopeful than it had long been. The vigorous efforts of Demosthenes to correct the abuses of the system of trierarchies had placed the navy on a most efficient footing. But all was ruined by the treason of the Philippizing party, who, with Æschines at their head, kindled the new Sacred, or "Locrian War." The town of Cirrha, long since devoted to Apollo, with its territory, in the First Sacred War, was too conveniently situated not to be used as a sea-port; and it had come into the possession of the Locrians of Amphissa, who had been warm opponents of the Phocians during the recent conflict. At a meeting of the Amphictyons at Delphi, in the spring of B.C. 339, Æschines took advantage of an attack on

Athens by a Locrian deputy, to retort on the people of Amphissa the charge of sacrilege for having cultivated the Crissæan plain. The passions of the assembly were so roused by his vehement invectives, that, had day-light been left, the Delphians, with the whole force at the command of the Amphictyons, would have rushed down at once to destroy Cirrha. The resolution was carried into effect on the following day, before the people of Amphissa could muster to the rescue; but they came down in time to drive out the assailants from the ruins of Cirrha, without violating the sacred character of the Amphictyons by inflicting any loss of life. The baffled council resolved to call a full meeting at Thermopylæ, to inflict condign punishment on the Locrians, who had thus added contumacy to sacrilege. The place appointed for the meeting was enough to indicate the purpose both of calling in the aid of Philip and securing for him the possession of the pass.

The deputies returned to their cities; and even at Athens the force of religious sentiment neutralized the warning voice of Demosthenes:—"Æschines, you are bringing war, an Amphictyonic war, into Attica." At length, however, he prevailed in inducing the people to send no delegates to the meeting; and the same course was taken by Thebes. The first proceedings of the council are obscured by the contradictions of Demosthenes and Æschines; but they reassembled at the usual time of the autumnal meeting at Thermopylæ, when the Athenians were again represented by Æschines and others, and the Thebans would also be present of course (September, B.C. 339).* Æschines now came forward as the open advocate of Philip's leadership, and the Macedonian king was invited to lead the forces of the Amphictyons, with his own, for the punishment of the Locrians. Philip, who had now recovered from his wound, opened the campaign without delay by taking Nicæa, a town which helped to command Thermopylæ, and which was now held by the Thebans. His designs became clearer still when, instead of marching upon Amphissa, he fortified the Phocian town of Elatea. He himself now threw off the mask, and invited the Thebans to unite with him in crushing their ancient foe, or at least to grant him a passage through their territory into Attica. Meanwhile the news of the capture of Elatea had reached Athens just as the Prytanes were sitting down to supper; and, while steps were taken in all haste to convene an assembly for the following day, the alarmed

* Their secession applied only to the special meeting.

people began to clear the city as for a siege. In the crowded assembly, which met at the earliest dawn, Demosthenes alone dared to speak. Pointing out the groundlessness of the fear that Philip was acting in concert with Thebes, he urged an immediate alliance between the two cities as the only chance of saving either. His advice was adopted unanimously; and he was sent with other envoys to Thebes, where his eloquence hardly prevailed over the suggestions of old animosity and the new solicitations of Philip. But the alliance once made was as cordial as the danger was pressing; and the part taken by Thebes was resented by Philip with the most revengeful bitterness. He appealed to the Peloponnesian states in his character as champion of Apollo, but seemingly with little effect; while the Athenians and Thebans gained some successes in a winter campain in Phocis, and began to restore the Phocian cities as a barrier against Philip. The enthusiasm of Athens was expressed by the vote of a golden crown to Demosthenes at the Dionysiac festival (March, B.C. 338).

It seemed as if the policy of the patriot statesman were about to receive the nobler crown of complete success. He laboured hard to enlarge the alliance, and obtained contingents from the Achæans, the Corinthians, and probably the Eubœans and Megarians. But the mutual jealousies of the other Peloponnesian states kept them aloof. Meanwhile Philip marched upon Amphissa, defeated a large body of mercenaries, and executed the decree of the Amphictyons. This victory left him master of Phocis; and, advancing into Bœotia, he met the united Grecian army on the fatal plain of Chæronea. His force consisted of 30,000 infantry, and 2,000 cavalry; that of the allies is not accurately known, but it was probably inferior in number, and certainly in discipline; nor could the presence of Demosthenes on the field supply the want of an able general. Phocion, whose field of action had so long been at Athens, was now absent on a maritime command, and his place was ill supplied by the united incompetency of the Athenians Lysicles and Chares, and the Theban Theagenes.

On the other side, the Macedonians, a rough and hardy race, admirable as the raw material of soldiers, the Thracians, and the other warlike barbarians under Philip's rule, had been moulded by the incessant training of twenty years into a veteran army, complete in all the branches of horse and foot, heavy and light armed, archers and slingers. Its chief force lay in the renowned phalanx, the depth of which at Chæronea was sixteen men; far

less than the phalanx of Epaminondas at Leuctra and Mantinea; but this depth was quite sufficient, and the phalanx of Philip owed its great strength to the impenetrable array of long spears which projected from its front. The masterly generalship of Philip was seconded by the fiery courage of ALEXANDER, who, at the age of eighteen, decided the victory by a charge with the phalanx upon the Theban Sacred Band. That devoted body fell to a man in the ranks they occupied, while the Athenians, after a long conflict with Philip in person on the other wing, were broken by the new effort which the king made on hearing of his son's victory, and the rout was complete.

The scene of the battle was long marked by a colossal stone lion which surmounted the tumulus raised over the Theban dead, from the earth of which the monument has lately been disinterred. Its date, the 7th of August, B.C. 338, is the epoch of the extinction of Grecian liberty. The loss of the Thebans and Achæans, who suffered most severely, is not stated: among the dead was the Theban general, Theagenes. The Athenians left 1000 citizens on the field, and 2000 prisoners in the hands of Philip. Both their generals escaped; but Lysicles suffered death by a judicial sentence. Demosthenes, whom his enemies never ceased to taunt with cowardice for sharing the general flight, survived to rouse the Athenians from their first despair, exhorting them to put the city in a state of defence, and himself contributing three talents to the work. Their confidence was expressed by his selection to pronounce the funeral oration over those slain at Chæronea.

The accounts of Philip's wild orgies in the first joy of his victory may reasonably be suspected; but, if true, never was "the appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober" made more successfully than by himself. In the consummate prudence of his conduct to the allies, we cannot but trace a mixture of generosity. He seems to have been moved by respect for Athens, as the centre of Hellenic civilization, as well as for her resolute attitude of defence and her still great maritime power. For the present, at all events, he was content to wreak his vengeance upon Thebes, by selling her prisoners as slaves, putting to death several of her leading citizens, banishing others, confiscating their property, setting up an oligarchy of his own adherents, and placing a Macedonian garrison in the Cadmean citadel. The Bœotian cities were liberated, and the frontier town of Oropus restored to Athens, which obtained terms of surprising moderation, and received back her prisoners without ransom. In return, she recog-

nized Philip as the leader of the Hellenic world, a disgrace little short of political extinction. Her fall was not unfitly symbolized by the death of the eldest, and one of the most famous of her citizens. Isocrates, who had been born when the city was at the acmé of her glory under Pericles, and who, only two years before, had celebrated that glory in his great Panathenaic oration, died at the age of ninety-eight, of grief, at hearing of the battle of Chæronea.

But Athens had still the spirit left to honour the orator who bore his grief and assuaged hers. To understand her feelings at this epoch, we must look forward a few years to the contest which has given the world its two great master-pieces of forensic oratory. Rising superior to the prejudice which makes success the only test of merit, the Athenians, after the battle of Chæronea, voted to Demosthenes a golden crown (B.C. 337—336). Several attempts to impeach him had already failed; and Æschines renewed the attack in the form of an indictment against Ctesiphon, the mover of the vote, for proposing an illegal decree; but the trial did not come on till B.C. 330. We need not recount the well-known result; the disgraceful defeat of Æschines; his retirement from Athens; and the memorable tribute which he paid to his rival's surpassing eloquence when he read his speech "On the Crown" to his class of rhetoric at Rhodes. But in that masterpiece of oratory there is one passage which sums up the whole question of the policy of Demosthenes in an apostrophe as true as it is daring:—"It cannot be that you were wrong, Athenians, when you took upon you the peril of the universal freedom and salvation! No! by our forefathers who confronted the danger at Marathon, who stood in their ranks at Platæa, who fought at Salamis!" To such an appeal ill success is no reply.

The lenity of Philip towards Athens was doubtless prompted in part by his ambition to lead the united forces of Greece to the conquest of Persia. At a congress held at Corinth, from which Sparta alone was absent, war was declared against the Great King, and Philip was appointed to conduct it as general of the Greeks. After a triumphant progress through Peloponnesus to enforce the submission of Sparta, and after receiving the adhesion of the western states, Philip returned to Macedonia to complete his preparations. The expedition was delayed during the whole of the next year (B.C. 337) by his domestic dissensions with Olympias and Alexander, consequent upon his marriage with Cleopatra, to which we shall have to recur in the next chapter. In the following

spring his preparations were complete. Some troops had already been sent forward under Parmenio to rouse the Asiatic Greeks; and he only stayed to provide a fresh security for the safety of his kingdom, by the marriage of his daughter to Alexander of Epirus; when, at the wedding festival at Ægæ, he fell by the sword of Pausanias, a young Macedonian noble. The assassin is supposed to have been instigated by Olympias, and some have charged Alexander with a share in the crime, but upon no adequate evidence. Philip had only reached the forty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-seventh of his reign, when he left to his son Alexander the inheritance of his great conquests and his far greater schemes.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER.
B.C. 336 TO B.C. 323.

"And, as I was considering, behold an he goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns: and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he goat waxed very great. . . . . . The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia. And the rough goat is the king of Grecia: and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king."
Daniel, chap. viii. 5–8, 20, 21.

"High on a throne with trophies charged, I viewed
The youth, that all things but himself subdued;
His feet on sceptres and tiaras trod,
And his horn'd head belied the Lybian god."—Pope.

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER — HIS CHARACTER AND EDUCATION — HIS EARLY PUBLIC LIFE — QUARREL WITH HIS FATHER, AND OUTWARD RECONCILIATION — STATE OF GREECE AT HIS ACCESSION — SECOND CONGRESS AT CORINTH — ALEXANDER AND DIOGENES — CAMPAIGNS IN ILLYRIA AND THRACE — REVOLT OF THEBES AND ATHENS — DESTRUCTION OF THEBES — SUBMISSION OF ATHENS — STATE OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE: REBELLIONS AND DISSOLUTION — GREEK MERCENARIES — BAGOAS, MENTOR, AND MEMNON — RECONQUEST OF CYPRUS, PHŒNICIA, AND EGYPT — ACCESSION OF DARIUS CODOMANNUS — EVENTS PRECEDING THE INVASION—STATE OF FEELING IN GREECE—POLICY OF DEMOSTHENES — TRUE VIEW OF ALEXANDER'S CONQUEST — CONSTITUTION OF THE MACEDONIAN ARMY — ANTIPATER LEFT AS REGENT OF MACEDONIA — SMALL FORCE OF ALEXANDER — HIS DEPARTURE FROM PELLA, AND RENDEZVOUS AT SESTOS — ALEXANDER AT TROY — BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS — CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR — SIEGE OF HALICARNASSUS— DEATH OF MEMNON — THE GORDIAN KNOT — BATTLE OF ISSUS — CAPTURE OF TYRE AND GAZA — CONQUEST OF EGYPT — VISIT TO THE ORACLE OF AMMON — FOUNDATION OF ALEXANDRIA — ALEXANDER PASSES THE EUPHRATES — BATTLE OF ARBELA — ALEXANDER AT PERSEPOLIS — DEATH OF DARIUS — MARCH INTO HYRCANIA, DRANGIANA, AND BACTRIA — DEATH OF PHILOTAS — ALEXANDER CROSSES THE PAROPAMISUS AND OXUS — REACHES THE JAXARTES — CONQUERS SOGDIANA — MURDER OF CLITUS — MARRIES ROXANA — DEATH OF CALLISTHENES — INVASION OF INDIA—DEFEAT OF PORUS — ALEXANDER IS COMPELLED TO TURN BACK FROM THE HYPHASIS — VOYAGE DOWN THE HYDASPES AND INDUS — VOYAGE OF NEARCHUS TO THE PERSIAN GULF — MARCH THROUGH THE DESERT OF GEDROSIA — RETURN TO SUSA — ALEXANDER MARRIES THE DAUGHTER OF DARIUS — OTHER INTERMARRIAGES WITH PERSIANS — MUTINY OF THE ARMY — DEATH OF HEPHÆSTION — ALEXANDER AT BABYLON — HIS VAST SCHEMES —HIS DEATH.

Alexander III., of Macedonia, was the first of those conquerors whom men have rewarded for the sufferings they have inflicted, in the pursuit of power and fame, with the title of the Great. Born in B.C. 356, he was only in his twentieth year when the murder of his father called him to the throne (B.C. 336); and his dazzling career lasted less than thirteen years. Nature had endowed the young prince with that enthusiastic temper which

deems no end too high to aim at, no difficulty too great to be surmounted. This spirit was inflamed, from his earliest youth, by the influence of Lysimachus, one of his tutors, who imbued his mind with the knowledge of Homer, and with admiration for the heroes of the Iliad. Claiming descent, on his father's side from Hercules, on his mother's from Achilles, he took the latter for his own exemplar. And, while he resembled him in that thirst for fame, which Homer has so beautifully depicted as reckless of early death, he inherited from his Epirot mother a fierce, impatient, and ungovernable temper, as disastrous as "the wrath of Achilles" to himself and others. Of Alexander, as well as Philip, it should be borne in mind, that the basis of character was thoroughly barbarian, and this element never ceased to break out through the superficial culture of an elaborate Greek education. To provide such an education for his son had been one of Philip's chiefest cares. The young prince was trained in a discipline of almost Spartan hardihood by his mother's kinsman, Leonidas. All know the proof he gave of his courage and skill in manly exercises by taming the horse Bucephalus, which Philip had bought for thirteen talents, and which no one else at the court dared to mount. This renowned charger carried Alexander through his campaigns in Asia; till, dying in India, he was buried at the town of Bucephala, on the Hydaspes (B.C. 327). But the chief advantage of Alexander's education was the tuition he received from Aristotle during the three best years of his youth, from the age of thirteen to that of sixteen. We know nothing certain of the course which the philosopher pursued; but we are told that Alexander threw himself into it with all the energy of his nature, and that he retained the warmest affection for his preceptor. Still we may feel sure that the lessons he most valued were those which developed the heroic spirit of the old Greek poetry. He carried with him, through all his campaigns, a copy of the Iliad, corrected by Aristotle; but no similar example is recorded of his fondness for the more peaceful beauties and civil lessons of the Odyssey. He is said to have entertained the Athenian ambassadors, when they were feasted by Philip at Pella, with recitations from the Greek poets; and his whole career was marked by a taste for literature, and a splendid patronage of art. But even here the bent of his character was shown in his preference for what was most striking, especially when it flattered himself, like his portrait by Apelles, wielding the thunderbolts of Jove. The lessons of Aristotle probably

contributed to that early maturity of judgment and political knowledge, by which he is said to have astonished certain Persian ambassadors, who arrived at the court during his father's absence, and which he displayed in adjusting the affairs of Greece after Philip's death. As a speaker, he could always express himself in a manner equal to the occasion; and, if he wanted his father's finished eloquence, he was free from the deep dissimulation of which it was so powerful an instrument. In fine, the epithet "superficial," applied just now to his Hellenic culture, was not intended to deny a considerable effect produced upon his mental character, but to signify that it could not reach deep enough to alter that basis of nature, common to his father and himself, which is so well described by Mr. Grote as "the self-will of a barbarian prince, not the *ingenium civile*, or sense of reciprocal obligation and right in society with others, which marked more or less even the most powerful members of a Grecian city, whether oligarchical or democratical." * This quality distinguishes him from Pisistratus and Cæsar, and marks the oriental character of his despotism, even before he became an Asiatic sovereign.

Alexander began his public life as early as his sixteenth year, in the capacity of regent during Philip's campaign on the Bosporus (B.C. 340); and we have seen how he distinguished himself at Chæronea two years later. The brief interval before Philip's death was marked by a violent quarrel in the royal family, which seemed to endanger Alexander's succession. His mother, Olympias, had so disgusted Philip by her intolerable temper, that he divorced her and married Cleopatra, the niece of his general, Attalus. At the wedding banquet there occurred a scene, thoroughly characteristic of the essential barbarism of the Macedonian court:—

> "Natis in usum laetitiæ scyphis
> Pugnare Thracum est."

Heated with wine, Attalus called for a toast to the prospect of a legitimate heir to the throne, thus placing Olympias and her offspring on the same footing as Philip's numerous illicit connections. Alexander flung his drinking-cup at Attalus, with the furious cry, "Am I then a bastard?" Philip rushed up to his son with his sword drawn; but, too intoxicated to keep his footing, he fell prostrate on the floor, while Alexander left the hall, exclaiming, "Behold the man who was about to pass from Europe to Asia, but has been overthrown in going from one couch to another."

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. xii., p. 2.

Little did he foresee how bitterly the taunt would recoil upon himself by his murder of Clitus.

Olympias withdrew to her brother Alexander in Epirus; and Alexander fled into Illyria. Their prospects were darkened by the birth of a son to Philip and Cleopatra, who received the very significant name of Caranus, the mythical ancestor of the Macedonian kings. The relatives of Cleopatra were promoted, while the friends of Alexander were banished. They appear to have stirred up the Epirots and Illyrians to an invasion of Macedonia. Civil war would have been a fatal hindrance to Philip's schemes of Asiatic conquest. He effected an outward reconciliation; and Olympias and Alexander returned to his court; both, however, still with hostile feelings, and the former with that implacable resentment, to which probably Philip fell a victim.* We have no ground to conjecture what might have been the result to Alexander, had his father lived; but Philip, at the age of forty-seven, might well postpone the question of the succession, and the services of Alexander would be too precious to lose in the meantime.†

The dagger of Pausanias cut through the doubt, and the crown was placed on Alexander's head by his namesake, Alexander of Lyncestis, who owed his life to this good service, when the other conspirators were put to death with Pausanias. Other persons, not implicated in the conspiracy, were despatched as obstacles to be removed out of Alexander's way. Among them was his cousin Amyntas, whom Philip had set aside to seize the throne. The Persian king boasted, whether truly or not, that he had had a share in contriving Philip's murder: and the Athenians, prompted by Demosthenes, made public demonstrations of a joy so exulting, that it was rebuked by Phocion as ungenerous. Demosthenes,

* Cleopatra, the unfortunate cause of the quarrel, was tortured to death with hot irons by the order of Olympias, after her infant had been murdered in her arms; and Olympias dedicated in a temple the dagger which had given Philip the fatal blow.

† It is one of the curious coincidences of history, that in the two monarchies, so much alike in many points, of Macedonia and Russia, Alexander the son of Philip, and Alexander the son of Paul, should have mounted the throne each at a most critical epoch, and each under the suspicion of a share in his father's murder, founded on the well-known legal maxim of "*Cui bono.*" But even this ground of suspicion, though strengthened in the ancient example by the previous quarrel and still existing risks, is of little force in the absence of positive evidence. Niebuhr, indeed, declares that "Alexander was no doubt deeply implicated in this murder. A jury would have condemned him as an accomplice. But he was prudent enough to make away with the participators in the conspiracy, who might have betrayed him; . . and their blood was shed that he might not become known as a parricide."—*Lectures on Ancient History*, Lect. lxix.

who was already in communication with Persia, with the view of impeding Philip's march, used every effort to stir up revolt; and agitation prevailed through all Greece, though no open movement was attempted.

Alexander soon gave proof of how much Demosthenes had underrated his ability. About two months after his father's death, he marched into Thessaly, where he was recognised as the head of the Greek nation, by a public vote, which was confirmed by the Amphictyons at Thermopylæ. He entered Thebes without opposition, and, leaving Athens alone for the present, he passed through the Isthmus into Peloponnesus, where his presence was sufficient to stifle all germs of resistance. By this time Athens was completely overawed. The city had been prepared for a siege, and the country people collected within the walls; but submission was decided on; and Demades, who had negotiated the peace with Philip, was appointed to carry a full apology to Alexander, with the recognition of his headship of Greece, and an adulatory vote of divine honours. Demosthenes declined the dangerous distinction of accompanying him.

Returning to Corinth, Alexander convoked the states of Greece, and demanded the appointment as generalissimo for the Persian War, which had been conferred on his father at the same place. As before, Sparta alone had the courage to stand aloof, under the influence of Agis III., who had succeeded to the throne in the very year of the battle of Chæronea (B.C. 338), and whose attempt to throw off the Macedonian yoke, during Alexander's absence in Asia, came to a disastrous issue, in B.C. 330. The supremacy conferred upon Alexander included, besides the command of the Greek armies abroad, the preservation of the peace, and the settlement of disputes at home. The Hellenic states were united into a confederacy under his dictatorship; each, however, preserving its freedom and autonomy; and certain articles were drawn up, and ratified by oaths, to secure freedom of commerce and the general peace.

It was during the congress of Corinth that Alexander had his celebrated interview with Diogenes of Sinope, the founder of the Cynic school of philosophy.* True to his principles, Diogenes had refused to mingle with the crowd in which philosophers joined with the rest to congratulate the king, and Alexander was fain to

* It matters nothing to the spirit of the transaction, whether the interview took place at this time, or on Alexander's return to Corinth in the following year, after the destruction of Thebes.

gratify his curiosity by a visit to the suburb where Diogenes resided. He found him basking in the sun—some say at the mouth of the tub which served him for a kennel—and with affable condescension asked how he could serve him. "By standing out of my sunshine" was the answer, which veiled, under its churlish form, the lesson which sovereigns so often need to learn, that they are not lords over the elements:—

> "What though, like commoners of air,
> We wander out, we know not where,
> But either house or hall:
> Yet nature's charms, the hills and woods,
> The sweeping vales, and foaming floods,
> Are free alike to all."

Amidst the ridicule of the courtiers at the man who had no favour to ask of a king, Alexander, almost envying his contented independence, turned away with the remark, "If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes."

With the ensuing spring Alexander found it necessary to take order with the barbarians on his northern frontier, before he could pass over into Asia. Crossing the Hæmus (Balkan), he subdued the Triballi and other Thracians; advanced against the Getæ, and received the submission of the tribes as far as the Danube. Then, turning westward, he crushed a revolt among the Illyrians and Taulantians (B.C. 335).

Meanwhile, the conduct of the Macedonian officers in Greece began to prove that Alexander's government would be a tyranny, and that the recent stipulations would be held in little respect. During the winter of B.C. 336–5, the Athenian orators became bold in their remonstrances, and Demosthenes renewed his correspondence with the Persian king, who sent both money and emissaries into Greece. But hatred of the conqueror was most bitterly felt at Thebes, where the Cadmean citadel was still occupied by a Macedonian garrison. On a report that Alexander had been killed in his northern expedition, the city openly revolted, and Demosthenes persuaded the Athenians to support the Thebans. The insurrection was at once crushed by the rapidity of Alexander's movements. Thebes was taken, amidst a fearful massacre; and the Greeks were subjected to the humiliation of passing the sentence, by which the city was razed to the ground. The Cadmea was left to be held as a Macedonian fort, and the people were sold as slaves. The house in which Pindar had lived was alone spared in the destruction of the city:—

"The great Emathian conqueror bid spare
The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower
Went to the ground." *

Alexander is said to have afterwards recognized a punishment from the hand of Dionysus, the patron deity of Thebes, in the drunken fury which drove him to murder Clitus, and in the mutiny of his army in India. A few years after his death, Cassander, the son of Antipater, joined with the Athenians in rebuilding the city (B.C. 316).

This terrible example at once secured the submission of the other states, and caused extreme alarm to the Athenians, who had been culpably remiss in neglecting to send aid to Thebes. A letter soon arrived from Alexander, demanding the surrender of eight orators and two generals, who were named as the chief authors of the resistance to Philip at Chæronea, and of all the hostile demonstrations since. Among them, of course, was Demosthenes. He urged the people to resist a demand that struck a fatal blow at the free speech on which their whole polity hung; and related the old fable of the wolf requiring the sheep to give up their watch-dogs for the sake of peace. Phocion, only coming forward at the repeated call of the assembly, counselled submission to the irresistible power of Alexander, and called on the Ten to sacrifice themselves for the public safety, a course which he declared he would not have shrunk from had the case been his own. But a more generous spirit moved the assembly, and they dared to send a refusal, though it was by such a reply to a like demand that Thebes had sealed her fate. But they sent their answer in the form of an apology by one and a second embassy; and the influence of Phocion at last prevailed on Alexander to be satisfied with the banishment of Charidemus and Ephialtes. These, with other military leaders, took service among the Greek mercenaries of the Persian king. Phocion's influence was now supreme at Athens; and Alexander had the wisdom to prefer the hold he might thus keep on the city, which he flattered with the title of the second state in Greece, to a conflict which must have been fierce, and perhaps long and even doubtful, considering the maritime power of Athens. On his return to Pella, Alexander visited Delphi, and received the sanction of the oracle to his expedition against Persia (B.C. 335). He never set foot in Greece again; but he left behind him proofs enough of his civil as well as military energy, and partisans sufficiently numerous in the several states,

* Milton's *Sonnet*, "When the assault was intended to the city."

to secure submission during his absence. Sparta alone maintained a sullen independence; and her unavailing effort for liberty, under Agis, is almost the only important event in the history of Greece during the eleven years of Alexander's Asiatic conquests. The events of the last eighteen months had also given ample proof of his ability to lead on to victory the forces, which he spent the winter in finally preparing, and which mustered between Pella and Amphipolis early in the following spring (B.C. 334). A glance must now be thrown to the other side of the Ægæan, that we may see in what condition the Persian empire was to receive the coming storm.

We left the history of Persia, at its constitution by Darius, the son of Hystaspes, only adding a brief summary of its subsequent fortunes.* We have since seen how, after the collapse which followed the expedition of Xerxes, the events of the Peloponnesian War revived the power of Persia, under Darius II. Nothus (B.C. 424—405). During the long reign of his successor, Artaxerxes II. Mnemon (B.C. 405—359), the empire seemed to have recovered much of its ancient vigour. The death of the younger Cyrus confirmed his brother's power, though their mother, Parysatis, contrived to avenge his fate by refinements of cruelty known only to orientals. The slave who, at the command of Artaxerxes, had cut off the head and hands of Cyrus, was won by her from the king at dice, and put to death with unutterable tortures; and the queen, Statira, is said to have been despatched by means of food which Parysatis cut for her with a knife poisoned on one side. Such scenes reveal the internal life of the Persian court.

Meanwhile, the league in Greece against Sparta delivered the empire from the invasion of Agesilaus (B.C. 394), and the intrigues of Sparta, on the other hand, enabled Artaxerxes to dictate to Greece the shameful peace of Antalcidas (B.C. 387).† Evagoras, who had recovered the kingdom of Salamis, in Cyprus, from the tyrant who had usurped it (B.C. 410), and had reigned with equal ability and justice, was subdued, after a ten years' war, in B.C. 385. This war was with a Greek on the frontier of the empire, who had only been a subject in name. There were others against rebellious satraps, in which Artaxerxes was less successful. Of these the most remarkable was Datames, the satrap of Cilicia, whom his biographer, Cornelius Nepos, calls the

* Chap. x. vol. I. p. 294. For a complete list of the Persian kings see the note on that page.

‡ Vol. I. pp. 536, 549.

ablest and bravest of all barbarian generals, except Hamilcar and Hannibal. Driven into rebellion by the intrigues of his enemies at court, he set the example of revolt to other satraps, and was murdered by Mithridates in B.C. 362. Ariobarzanes, the father of this Mithridates, succeeded in establishing the independence of his satrapy of Pontus, which we shall see hereafter as a powerful kingdom, under his son's celebrated namesake.

In the very centre of the empire, there were nations which refused obedience to the great king. The expedition of Cyrus shows us the Cilician prince Syennesis, bearing the same name as his ancestor in the time of Cyaxares,* and seemingly preserving an independence handed down from that period. The neighbouring Pisidians, as well as the Carduchi or Kurds of Mount Zagrus, were at perpetual war with the Persians. The Uxii held possession of the passes between Susa and Persepolis, and the king had to pay them tribute in order to keep open the road between the two capitals. Egypt, as we have seen, preserved its independence from the tenth year of Darius Nothus (B.C. 414), through the whole reign of Artaxerxes, till she was subdued, by the aid of Greek mercenaries, under Artaxerxes III., Ochus (B.C. 353).† In short, the empire was rapidly tending to dissolution when Artaxerxes died, in the same year in which Philip ascended the throne of Macedonia (B.C. 359).

Ochus, who probably obtained the tiara by the murder of his father, secured it by the extirpation of the other members of the royal family, and his court realized the oriental ideal of mingled cruelty and voluptuousness. But his power was preserved from contempt by the energy of Bagoas, his chief eunuch, or, as the Greek writers call him, "chiliarch," and by the aid of his Greek mercenaries. Bagoas equalled Ochus in cruelty, and governed him in everything else; carrying the king about with him on his expeditions, to prevent his exercising any independent authority. In putting down the rebellions of the satraps, Bagoas used the services of the Greek mercenaries. Among the most notorious of these were two brothers, Rhodians, named Mentor and Memnon, who first became conspicuous in the service of Artabazus, the satrap of Phrygia, who married their sister. Artabazus, who had aided in putting down the revolt of Datames, rebelled in B.C. 356, but was defeated by Bagoas, and took refuge with Philip of Macedon. Memnon fled with him, and Mentor entered the service of Nectanebo II., King of Egypt.

* Vol. I. p. 256. † Ib. p. 140.

About this time, the oppression of the Persian governors had driven the Phœnicians to revolt, and Mentor was sent by the King of Egypt to their aid, at the head of a body of mercenaries. Bagoas now urged Ochus to make a great effort to re-conquer Phœnicia and Egypt, and he succeeded in enrolling a body of 10,000 Greek mercenaries. Phocion did not scruple to serve the Persian king, and the Thebans furnished him with a body of troops. The Sidonians, betrayed by their king Tennes, burnt themselves with their city (B.C. 351). The catastrophe is one of the most fearful recorded in history. Forty thousand human beings perished in the flames, and Artaxerxes sold the ruins to speculators in the gold and silver to be dug out from the ashes. Tennes was put to death as soon as his treachery was of no further use. Mentor, who had gone over with Tennes, and entered the service of Ochus, now led back his mercenaries into Egypt as an enemy, and contributed greatly to the conquest of that country. Raised high in the favour of the Persian king by these services, he threatened to become a formidable rival of Bagoas; but their intrigues ended in a mutual understanding, by which they shared the power nominally held by Ochus. Mentor was invested with the satrapy of the maritime coasts of Asia Minor, a new distinction for a Greek; and his influence procured the pardon of Memnon and Artabazus. On his death Memnon succeeded to his power, which promised to be the most serious obstacle to the designs of Alexander (B.C. 336). Bagoas, who two years before had murdered Ochus and all his sons, except the youngest, Arses, put him also to death, and placed on the throne the unfortunate DARIUS III. CODOMANNUS, who was descended from Darius Nothus only on his mother's side. The ambitious eunuch had planned the removal of this last obstacle between himself and the crown, but his plot was discovered by Darius, and he was compelled to drink the poison he had mixed for the king.

The favourable judgment generally formed of the last sovereign of Persia seems to have been much influenced by sympathy for his misfortunes. He had been brought up in comparative freedom from the emasculating corruption of the court; and he has one great, though negative merit, that no act of cruelty can be laid to his charge. He had already gained reputation as a soldier;* but he gave no signs of the energy or foresight needed to meet the invasion, of which he had ample notice. Darius is said, indeed,

* The accounts of his personal courage at Arbela are quite disproved by Arrian's narrative.

to have spent the summer of B.C. 335 in collecting great forces both by sea and land; but the defence of Asia Minor was left chiefly to Memnon and his mercenaries. The Macedonian army, which, as we have seen, was sent over into Asia by Philip, under Parmenio and Attalus, after taking possession of the Greek cities in Mysia, was kept in check by Memnon, and even—it would seem—driven back across the Hellespont. Meanwhile Demosthenes and the patriot party at Athens maintained communications with Memnon, with a view to embarrass the enterprise of Alexander. This policy has often been represented as a siding with the ancient enemy of Greece, in order to revenge themselves on the present foe. But, as matters now stood, Demosthenes regarded Macedon, rather than Persia, as the arch-enemy of Hellenic liberty and civilization. The prevailing sentiment of Greece tended in the opposite direction. It was not at once easy to believe that the empire of Darius and Xerxes, the kingdom which had lately dictated terms of peace to the Greek states, and had reconquered the provinces of Egypt, Phœnicia, and Cyprus, was in a state of harmless decrepitude. When Demosthenes himself began his public career, there were great apprehensions of war with Persia, on account of the aid given by Chares to Artabazus. His first extant speech "On the Symmories," though delivered in the very year in which Philip was actively intriguing in Eubœa (B.C. 354), deals, not with the danger so near home, but with the means of organizing the resources of the city against its former enemy. Each peace that was made with Philip gave new life to the sentiment, of which we have the eloquent expression in the "Panegyric Oration" of Isocrates, that Greece had found a champion to avenge the invasions of Darius and Xerxes; and the hope of a last triumph of Hellenism over barbarism formed some consolation for the catastrophe of Chæronea and the fate of Thebes. Which view was right? Not necessarily that which was justified by the issue: for, in politics, as in other human affairs, success is not the sole test of principles. The party of Demosthenes had at least the rectitude of pure patriotism; nor was their failure so certain as to justify their opponents in a course, the motives of which were lower even than far-sighted policy. Athens was the centre of Hellenic liberty. A great modern historian, speaking in the light of the event, says,—"We feel indifferent how the rest fare, seeing there is no longer any help for Athens." But he none the less recognizes the different point of view from which Demosthenes regarded the possibility

that Greece might yet be saved, by playing Persia and Macedonia against each other. "The mere negative existence of Persia saved Athens after the battle of Chæronea; the fear lest the Persian and Athenian fleets should attack Macedonia induced Philip to grant to the Athenians such favourable terms. So long as the Persian empire existed, the servitude of Greece was anything but irretrievable; it was only necessary for the Peloponnesians to be informed of their true position, and to have their eyes opened to the tyranny of Macedonia, to put an end to its power." * Such is the true justification of Demosthenes, even when he received money from Persia to gain over the Greeks.

When, however, we turn from the questions of the day to the wider view of Alexander's enterprise, as a step in the history of the world, we cannot but see that the time had come for a great change upon both continents. Greece had, for the time, done her work; and her existing race, both of people and statesmen, had proved themselves unworthy to enjoy longer the liberty of which she had given the pattern to coming ages. However great *her* loss, it was an unspeakable gain to Asia to have the yoke of an effete despotism broken off her neck, and the language of Homer and Sophocles, the political wisdom of Pericles and Thucydides, the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, the art of Phidias and Apelles, spread from the Ægæan to the Caspian, from the Nile to the Indus. Above all, the general diffusion of the Greek language through the East proved a powerful instrument for the rapid spread of Christianity.

In the army which Alexander assembled for his expedition, the most important element was the Macedonian phalanx, which had been perfected by Philip. It was based on the *Lochus* or Band of sixteen men as its first unit, and this number expressed the regular depth of each file. Its chief component part was the *Pentacosiarchy*, or Regiment of Five Hundred, which consisted of 512 men (besides ten supernumeraries), being made up of two squares of 256 men, 16 on each face of the square, each square comprising 16 lochi.† Such a regiment formed a body complete in all its equipments, and capable of acting by itself as a phalanx. Eight of these regiments, or sixteen squares, formed the simple phalanx of 4096 men; and four times that number the quadruple

* Niebuhr, *Lectures on Ancient History*, by Schmitz, Lect. lxxi.

† The name of this square was *Syntagma*, which signifies a body drawn up in array.

phalanx, of 16,384, which appears to have been the full sum of Philip's heavy infantry. When Alexander reorganized his army at Susa, he doubled many of the regiments to the force of four squares, or 1,024 men, under the command of a Chiliarch. The whole phalanx bore the name of *Pezetæri* (*Foot-Companions*), or Foot-Guards of the king.

The ponderous strength of the phalanx required support from a body more flexible in its evolutions, and this was supplied by the *Hypaspists* (Shield-Bearers), or Guards, who originally formed the body-guard of the king. Their organization and array resembled that of the Greek hoplites. They were employed in operations requiring the strength of regular infantry, but for which the unchangeable order of the phalanx was too cumbrous,—such as rapid night marches, and the assault of fortified places. In some of Alexander's battles, the Hypaspists are used to support the cavalry and light-armed troops, and they are themselves supported by the phalanx. The light-armed troops consisted of a mixed multitude of peltasts, javelin-men, archers, and slingers, partly Macedonian, but for the most part foreigners. Either by themselves or mixed with the cavalry, they skirmished in the front and flank of the heavy infantry, or pursued an enemy in flight. Alexander kept them incessantly occupied. The Macedonian army was not more distinguished by the phalanx than by its splendid cavalry, a force cultivated by the earliest kings, and brought to perfection by Philip. The plains extending beside the Macedonian rivers were equally favourable to the breeding of horses and to the evolutions of cavalry; and the adjacent barbarian tribes, up to and beyond the Danube, have always been renowned as fearless horsemen. When Philip invaded Scythia a few years before his death, he is said to have sent 20,000 chosen mares into Macedonia. The cavalry, like the infantry, formed two distinct bodies. The heavy cavalry, who were honoured with the title of Companions (as the infantry of the phalanx were called Foot-Companions), were armed with a short pike (xyston) for dealing thrusts in close combat; the light-armed were called Lancers (Sarissophori), from their longer spears, and were employed for skirmishing and scouring the country. The Companions were divided into squadrons, some of which were named from the cities and districts of Macedonia. Their usual place was in the front of the battle array, and Alexander himself generally charged at the head of the *Agema* or Leading Squadron. His person was always surrounded by the Royal Youths, a select body of the sons

of the Macedonian nobles, and from these were chosen the most select corps of all, the Body-Guards, who fought around him in the field, and from whom he selected commanders for special services. Finally, the care of Philip had attached to the army what has been well called an effective siege-train, composed of the best engines for battering walls and hurling missiles which had yet been invented; and Alexander either carried this artillery with him or had it constructed as occasion required by his skilled engineers. This arm contributed greatly to his conquests, while its use gave to his celebrated successor, Demetrius, the title of *Poliorcetes*, the *Besieger of Cities*. The capital Pella was the great central depot of this vast military organization, which, as Mr. Grote has observed, was the embodiment of that martial pride, which stood the Macedonians in lieu of a national sentiment:—"The Macedonian kingdom was nothing but a well-combined military machine, illustrating the irresistible superiority of the rudest men, trained in arms and conducted by an able general, not merely over undisciplined multitudes, but also over free, courageous, and disciplined citizenship with highly gifted intelligence."

It is important to observe what part Alexander's newly acquired Greek subjects had in this greatly military organization. That part, in fact, was very small. The Thessalians, indeed, who had become almost a dependency of Macedonia, contributed their celebrated cavalry, and bodies of hoplites were raised in various parts of Greece. But mutual jealousy, combined with Alexander's pride in his own army, seems to have prevented any general muster of the national forces under their new generalissimo; and the Greek auxiliaries were more numerous in the Persian than in the Macedonian armies.

Such was the force with which Alexander marched forth to the conquest of Asia in the spring of B.C. 334. His oldest counsellors, Antipater and Parmenio, had advised the postponement of the expedition till he could leave an heir behind him; but he preferred to lessen the risks of his absence by putting to death the connections of his late step-mother Cleopatra, and entrusting the regency to Antipater, whom he continued to support firmly against the jealousies of Olympias. Leaving with Antipater an army of 12,000 infantry and 1,500 cavalry, he took with him a force probably of 30,000 infantry and 4,500 cavalry, while the highest estimate is only 43,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry.*

* This is the account of Diodorus, who gives us the detailed composition of the army as follows:—

The smallness of this force must not be viewed as a matter of vague wonder. There are three modes by which an invader may attempt the conquest of a country, not to mention the case of the migration of an entire people. There is the plan of the Asiatic despot, like Xerxes, attempting to carry with him an army numerous enough to overpower resistance, with all its supplies;—a plan as impracticable for Alexander as it was out of date. Next, there is the powerful and numerous army, resting on a vast base of operations, like that with which Napoleon invaded Russia in 1812, or more moderate numbers, reinforced and supplied by an open communication with their resources, like the allied army in the Crimea in 1854—6. Lastly, there is the movable column, which throws itself into the heart of an enemy's country, trusting to rapid success for safety. The last was the character of Alexander's movement into Asia; and he gave at once a proof of his great military qualities, by not encumbering himself with numbers difficult to maintain. He had, however, from the first, a secure military base in his possession of Thrace, and, after his first victories had given him the command of Asia Minor, reinforcements and supplies continued to reach him across the Hellespont.

It was in April, B.C. 334, that Alexander finally turned his back on his hereditary kingdom, to become the sovereign of a new empire. His march was from Pella, through Amphipolis, along the coast of Thrace, and down the Chersonese. In sixteen days he reached Sestos, and embarked on the fleet which had

---

INFANTRY.	
Macedonian phalanx and hypaspists	12,000
Allies, chiefly from the Greek states	7,000
Mercenaries	5,000
Total regular infantry, under Parmenio	24,000
Thracians and Illyrians	5,000
Agrianes (Pæonian javelin-men) and archers	1,000
Total infantry	30,000
CAVALRY.	
Macedonian heavy—under Philotas, son of Parmenio	1,500
Thessalian heavy, under Callas	1,500
Miscellaneous Grecian, under Erigyius	600
Thracian and Pæonian light, under Cassander	900
Total cavalry.	4,500

The above account of the Macedonian army is, in substance, that of Mr. Grote, *History of Greece*, chap. xcii.

been appointed to meet him there. While the passage of the army to Abydos was effected by Parmenio without resistance, Alexander went to Elæus, at the extremity of the Chersonese, to visit the shrine of Protesilaüs, who had been the first Greek to disembark on the Trojan shore, and had fallen by the spear of Hector. Having invoked the hero to give a happier issue to his own landing, Alexander crossed over in the admiral's ship, which he steered with his own hand for the beach near the mouth of the Hellespont, where the Greeks were believed to have landed for the war with Troy. He sacrificed midway to Poseidon and the Nereids; as he approached the land, he hurled his spear on shore, as a sign that he took possession of Asia; and was the first to leap in full armour on to the beach. There was no Hector to oppose him; no Troy to resist his progress; but he stayed to celebrate the former glories of the spot. On the hill of Ilium he sacrificed to Athena, the tutelary deity of the departed city. At the tomb of Priam he made expiatory offerings for the cruelty of his ancestor Neoptolemus. But his chief reverence was paid to his favourite hero and model, Achilles, whose monumental pillar he crowned with a garland, and ran naked round it, anointed with oil, after the manner of a Grecian athlete. The place where his army had crossed was marked by altars to Jove, Hercules, and Athena, both on the European and the Asiatic shores. In these proceedings we may see, not only the heroic youth emulating the fame of his ancestor, in the same spirit of seeking every good in war and conquest,—

"Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arrogat armis" *—

but also the chief captain of the Hellenic name carrying out the poetical idea with which Herodotus opens his history, that the wars of Greece and Persia were the decision of the long quarrel between the two continents, which began even earlier than the siege of Troy.

The unopposed passage of the Hellespont, notwithstanding the vastly superior naval force of Persia, and in opposition to the advice of Memnon, seems to imply that the satraps were confident in their ability to crush the army of Alexander. They had assembled a large force at Zelea, near the Propontis, under the command of Arsites, the satrap of Phrygia. With him were associated forty men of the highest rank, called the kinsmen of the king; among whom were Spithridates, satrap of Lydia and Ionia, Mithridates, Pharnaces, and others. A large proportion of

* We are indebted to Mr. Grote for this application of the verse.

the whole force was formed by the Asiatic cavalry, which numbered 20,000 men; the infantry are reckoned at the same number by Arrian, who is the best authority, though other writers make them far more numerous. A large part of them were Greek mercenaries, under the command of Memnon. This able leader, well knowing the might of the Macedonian infantry, and the confidence inspired by the presence of Alexander, earnestly dissuaded the risking of a battle. His advice was, to retire before the invaders, wasting the country, and even destroying the towns, and to employ the superior naval force of Persia in harassing the coasts of Macedonia and Greece. But the satraps were equally unwilling to incur the disgrace of retreat and to destroy the country on which they depended for their revenues. They resolved to hazard a battle, and took up their station on the little river GRANICUS (Koja Chai), which flows from Mount Ida into the Propontis. The post occupied by the Persians was on the right or eastern bank of the river, just where the last slopes of Ida sink down to a plain that extends to the sea. The river itself is shallow, and fordable in several places; but the steepness of the bank gave some strength to the position.

Alexander advanced steadily from Arisba, where he had reviewed his army, by a line of march parallel to the shore of the Hellespont and the Propontis. The phalanx was preceded by a strong advanced guard of cavalry and light-armed foot, and flanked on both wings by the rest of the cavalry, the baggage following in the rear. On the fourth day, Alexander approached the Granicus, and made his dispositions for an attack on the enemy, whose cavalry lined the opposite bank. The Macedonian army was divided into a right and left wing, each composed of half the phalanx, flanked on its outer side first by the Hypaspists, then by the light cavalry, and lastly by the heavy cavalry, consisting, on the right, of the "Companions," on the left, of the Thessalians. The king himself took the command of the right division, entrusting the left to Parmenio. Alexander's division was the first to attempt the passage of the river; and a close conflict was joined by the cavalry on both sides, Memnon and his sons fighting in the front rank with the bravest of the Persians. The latter, having the vantage of the bank, made a strenuous resistance to the landing of the Greeks. The battle became a press of horseman against horseman, in which the short pikes of the Macedonian Companions gave them an immense advantage over the missile javelins of the Persians. The bank was carried, and the battle continued on the high plain above it. Alexander, fore-

most, as usual, in the charge, became engaged in a personal conflict with several of the Persian satraps. A blow of his pike in the face hurled Mithridates from his horse. A second stroke thrust through Rhœsaces, whose scimitar had just shorn off part of Alexander's helmet. At this moment, the sword of Spithridates was uplifted over Alexander's head from behind, when Clitus, one of Philip's veteran officers, severed the Persian's arm from his body. How he was finally rewarded for saving his master's life, is one of the most melancholy passages in Alexander's history.

In this *mêlée* the Persian cavalry were broken; and they were soon in full flight, pursued by the Macedonian horse; while Alexander brought up the phalanx and the hypaspists to attack the infantry, who had as yet taken no part in the combat. These, consisting chiefly of Greek mercenaries, fought with a courage worthy of their race; but they were outnumbered and borne down by the weight of the phalanx. They fell in their ranks to a man, with the exception only of 2000 prisoners, and a few who lay hidden among the slain, so densely did these heap the field. Their destruction deprived Persia of a large part of the force best fitted to stand against Alexander. The loss of the Persian cavalry was not more than 1000, but among these were included a large number of their noblest princes. Their general, Arsites, escaped from the field, but put himself to death through mortification at his defeat.

The loss on Alexander's side is stated at only 25 of the Companions, 60 of the other cavalry, and 30 of the infantry; numbers which would be incredibly small were not the disproportion paralleled, as we have seen, in other battles of the ancient Greeks. The services of the fallen, and the sufferings of the wounded, were honoured by Alexander in a manner worthy of a victory that gave the presage of complete success. With his usual generosity to his followers, he consoled the wounded by visiting them in person, and granted to the relatives of the slain immunity from taxation and personal service. The twenty-five slain Companions were distinguished by bronze statues at Dium from the hand of Alexander's favourite sculptor, Lysippus. The funeral honours of the slain were shared by the bodies of the enemy. In dealing with the Greek prisoners as traitors to the common cause of Greece, and sending them to Macedonia to work in chains as slaves, Alexander might claim to be more merciful than the Greeks themselves, who had often put to death prisoners whom they viewed as rebels. While striking terror into the disaffected Greeks by this example,

he took a step at once to conciliate Athens, to express his resentment against Sparta, and to keep in view his character as the leader of the Hellenic nation, by sending three hundred panoplies to be dedicated to Athena in the Acropolis, with the inscription:—"Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks, except the Lacedæmonians, out of the spoil of the foreigners inhabiting Asia."

The moral effect of the battle of the Granicus was enormous. Not only was the first army of Persia overthrown, with the loss of many of her chief nobles, but two of those nobles had been killed by the victor with his own hand. The whole satrapy of Phrygia at once submitted to Alexander, and Sardis, with its impregnable citadel, surrendered at his approach. As master of the capital of Crœsus, Alexander proclaimed freedom to the Lydians. He then marched upon Ephesus, where Amyntas, a Macedonian exile, had found refuge. Amyntas and the garrison of Greek mercenaries escaped by sea, and Alexander entered the city unopposed. It is interesting to find a despot restoring the democratic government, which a recent revolution had subverted; but the oligarchical party, besides being probably friends to Sparta, had overthrown the statue of Philip in the temple of Artemis. While several of his officers were despatched to receive the submission of the other cities of Ionia, Alexander marched upon Miletus, to which place his fleet proceeded at the same time under Nicanor. The Persian governor of this great maritime city had offered to surrender, immediately after the battle of the Granicus, but his intentions were now quite altered by the approach of the Persian fleet of 400 Cyprian and Phœnician ships, with Memnon on board. An edict was already on its way from Susa, appointing this captain to the chief conduct of the war; and meanwhile the fleet and the garrison of Miletus chose Memnon for their commander. But it was too late. The Persian fleet found their access to Miletus barred by the Macedonian admiral, who had taken his station three days before with his 160 ships at the island of Ladé in the mouth of the harbour, to which Alexander had also sent across 4,000 soldiers; and they retired to the roadstead of Mycalé. Wisely refusing to risk a battle against the more numerous fleet and better trained seamen of the enemy, Alexander pressed the siege by land with his powerful engines, breached the walls, and stormed the city with great slaughter. One body of 300 Greek mercenaries, who had taken refuge on a rock at the harbour's mouth, were admitted to a capitulation, and received into the Macedonian army.

Memnon made his last and most desperate stand at Halicar-

nassus, to which place the Persian fleet retired. The princes of the house of Hecatomnus were now divided among themselves.* After the death of Artemisia, Idrieus had reigned with Ada, his sister and wife; but, on the death of Idrieus, Ada had been expelled by Pixodarus, the surviving brother, who warmly espoused the Persian cause. Ada, who still reigned over the rest of Caria, with Alinda for her capital, welcomed the approach of Alexander, addressed him as her adopted son, and made over to him her kingdom. The city had been fortified with works of immense strength by Memnon, whose fleet now shut out the Macedonians from approach by sea; while within, it was defended by the desperate courage of Ephialtes, one of the two generals who had been banished from Athens on the demand of Alexander. The Macedonian siege-train was now put to a severe but successful trial. The besieged opposed to them inventions like those of the defenders of Platæa,† and made two gallant sallies, in the second of which Ephialtes fell. Memnon now withdrew the garrison and stores and many of the inhabitants, and fired the town, which Alexander, marching in, saved with difficulty. He restored it to Ada, with the whole of Caria, as a tributary principality, and left Ptolemy the son of Lagus, with 3000 men, to blockade the two citadels, which were still held by the Persians. He then drew off his forces, partly to Tralles, and partly to his head-quarters at Sardis.

By these conquests of the sea-ports, Alexander had effected the great strategic object of shutting out the Persian fleet from the western coast of Asia Minor. The winter of B.C. 334—333 was occupied with operations on the southern coast. The terror of his name proved stronger than the barrier of Mount Taurus, and all Lycia submitted; the town of Marmareïs alone emulating the ancient obstinacy of Xanthus.‡ The very elements seemed to conspire with the conqueror, as he advanced to Perga in Pamphylia by the coast-road round the foot of Mount Climax. The south wind had blown for some time, covering this road with the sea; but, on Alexander's approach, the wind changed suddenly to the north, though even then the men waded through with water up to their waists. Meanwhile, the main body marched over the mountains, practicable roads being made by an advanced guard of light Thracian troops. The cities on the Pamphylian coast were soon subdued; and Alexander returned into Phrygia through the wild mountain tribes of Pisidia, taking several of their fastnesses. Arriving at Celænæ, the capital of Southern Phrygia, at the

* See Chap. xv. p. 9. † See Vol. I., p. 501. ‡ Ibid. p. 278.

sources of the Marsyas and the Mæander, with its royal paradise or park, mentioned by Xenophon, he found its citadel, which stood on a precipitous rock, garrisoned by 1000 Carians and 100 Greek mercenaries, who promised to surrender the fortress if it was not relieved within sixty days. Here he left Antigonus, with 1500 men, appointing him satrap of Phrygia ; while he pursued his march northwards to Gordium, on the river Sangarius, the ancient capital of the kings of Phrygia (February or March B.C. 333).

The founders of that dynasty, Gordius and his son Midas, were said to have been Phrygian peasants. Designated by an oracle to the royal dignity, they had ridden into their new capitol in a rude waggon, which had ever since been preserved as a sacred relic in the citadel of Gordium. The yoke was fastened to the pole by the complicated mass of cordage, which has become proverbial under the name of "the *Gordian Knot*;" and an oracle had declared that the empire of Asia awaited him who should untie it. Amidst the eager expectation both of Asiatics and Macedonians, Alexander ascended to the citadel, and cut the knot with the sword which was destined to fulfil the prophecy.

The means of making good the omen had been provided by his forethought, and he was joined at Gordium by the part of his army that had wintered at Sardis, under Parmenio, reinforced by new levies from Macedonia and Greece. Here also envoys came to him from Athens, to pray for the release of the Athenian prisoners taken at the Granicus ; but Alexander refused to loosen his hold upon the fears of allies so doubtful. In fact, his tenure of Greece seemed to be endangered by the proceedings of the Persian fleet, under the able command of Memnon, who was proceeding to execute his plan of carrying the war to the opposite shores of the Ægæan. He had taken Chios and the greater part of Lesbos, and had laid siege to Mytilene, when he fell sick and died. The city surrendered to Pharnabazus, whose immediate breach of the terms of capitulation proved his unfitness to conciliate the Greeks. Already several of the Cyclades had sent in their adhesion to Memnon ; Eubœa was looking for the Persian fleet as the instrument of liberation ; and the Lacedæmonians were preparing to rise. But the death of Memnon was the loss of the only leader capable of heading a combined movement ; as he alone, of all the brave and able Greeks in the service of Darius, had the perfect experience of Orientals, which he had acquired in his satrapy, and he alone possessed that influence with Darius, which might have induced him to persevere in Memnon's plan for the campaign.

Great as was the loss of Asia Minor, it left the Persian king with a better defensive position than before. First, there was the chain of Taurus, over which Alexander must cross into Cilicia ; next, the two narrow passes around the head of the Gulf of Issus, between Mount Amanus and the sea,—the "Gates of Amanus" on the west, and the "Gates of Cilicia and Syria" on the east,—and, lastly, the "Syrian Gates" over the chain of Amanus itself. Nor was Darius left without good advice, which he treated with the infatuation of a man doomed to ruin. Among the Greeks who had fled to him was the Athenian general Charidemus, who enjoyed a large share of his confidence. On hearing of the death of Memnon, Darius resolved to risk all upon his own military ability and the vast resources of his empire. An army, such as had not been assembled since the time of Xerxes, was collected in the plain of Babylon, consisting of 400,000, or, as some say, 600,000 infantry, 100,000 cavalry, and 20,000 or 30,000 Greek mercenaries. The review of these forces inflamed Darius with the sense of a power equal to the best days of the monarchy, and the eager applause of the courtiers encouraged his belief. He looked to Charidemus for a confirmation of his hopes ; but the Athenian replied with a boldness such as the Spartan Demaratus had used of old to Xerxes, pointing out the inefficiency of these Asiatic hordes, and advising the king to enlist an increased body of Greek mercenaries, whom he himself offered to lead. Enraged at the slight upon his mighty forces, Darius was easily persuaded by the courtiers to regard the proposal as an act of treason. With his own hand he delivered the too faithful counsellor to the executioners; and Charidemus was led away, exclaiming, "My avenger will soon be upon you."

The prediction was already in the course of being accomplished. Alexander left Gordium in the latter part of May, and advanced through Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which submitted to him, though they were not effectually subdued. As before, in the expedition of the Younger Cyrus, the unaccountable negligence of the Persians, or rather their infatuated reliance on the vast army behind, left open the high road from Cappadocia into Cilicia, through the Cilician Gates, a pass over the chain of Taurus, quite impracticable for an army in the face of any serious opposition.

At Tarsus, which he entered without needing to strike a blow, Alexander's course was nearly cut short by a fever, which he was thought to have contracted by bathing in the chilly waters of the

snow-fed Cydnus. All his physicians were helpless with fear of the disease, and of their own responsibility for its issue. One only, an Acarnanian named Philip, dared to prescribe for the king. The anxiety of Parmenio prompted him to send Alexander a letter, denouncing Philip as employed by Darius to poison him. Alexander placed the letter under his pillow, and awaited the arrival of the physician. Then, taking the potion from Philip's hand, he drank it off without a word, at the same time handing him Parmenio's letter, and watching his countenance as he read it. The physician's whole manner confirmed his protestations of innocence, which the king's recovery established, and a delay for some time at Tarsus completed his restoration to health.

While Alexander himself undertook the reduction of the Cilician towns and of the mountaineers of Taurus, he sent forward Parmenio to seize the pass on the eastern side of the Gulf of Issus, which was called the "Gates of Cilicia and Syria," as being the proper boundary between the two countries. The Persian guard fled after a slight resistance, and Alexander soon afterwards resumed his onward march from Tarsus. At Mallus, a town on the western headland of the Gulf of Issus, he received the news that Darius was at Sochi, in Syria, two days' march from the chief pass over Mount Amanus. Notwithstanding that the Persian army occupied a vast plain, most favourable for its immense numbers, and especially for its vastly superior cavalry, Alexander would not check the ardour of his followers to be led at once to battle, and he advanced round the Gulf of Issus, through both the great passes, to Myriandrus, a town on the southern side of the "Gates of Cilicia and Syria."

Meanwhile an important change had been made in the plans of Darius. On abandoning the defensive policy of Memnon, he had adopted the next best course, of choosing his own field of battle. But like Xerxes, he made all his arrangements, not as for a campaign to be fought out, but for an assured triumph, to be signalized with all possible splendour. He was accompanied by his mother, his wife, and all his harem, his children, his courtiers, and all the paraphernalia of luxury and splendour. In the enormous baggage-train, no less than 600 mules and 300 camels were laden with gold and silver. This treasure was left in the rear at Damascus, where it fell into the hands of Alexander after the battle. Meanwhile the passes of the Taurus and the Amanus were left, as we have seen, virtually open, that the Macedonian might advance to the field chosen for his destruction. But the

eagerness of Darius for a decisive battle could not brook the delay of Alexander in Cilicia ; and, once more rejecting the counsel of his Greek advisers, he resolved to meet him in the defiles so unfavourable to his own army. The Persians crossed the Amanus by the northernmost of its two passes, which brought them down into the plain of Issus, north of the "Cilician and Syrian Gates." It was fortunate for Alexander that this movement was not executed before his advance, in which case the detachment of Parmenio at the Gates would have been cut off. As it was, Darius obtained possession of Issus, with the Macedonian sick and wounded, who were partly put to death and partly mutilated, to gratify the cruelty of the Persian nobles.

It was while Alexander was detained for a day at Myriandrus by a storm, that he received the news that Darius was in his rear ; and, like Napoleon at Marengo, he faced round to meet the enemy thus interposed between him and his own country. He seized the gates during the night, and advanced at daybreak, deploying his narrow column as the ground opened. The Persian army was posted on the right bank of the river Pinarus, south of Issus, across which Darius had thrown 30,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry ; but this advanced guard was withdrawn as Alexander approached. Another detachment of 20,000 foot, posted in the mountains in order to outflank the Macedonian right, were easily driven back by the Agrianian javelin-men, and were kept in check during the battle by 300 heavy cavalry.

The right bank of the Pinarus, naturally steep in some places and scarped away in others, was lined by the best troops of Darius, who filled the whole width of the pass, from the mountains to the sea, while his mingled hordes were massed behind upon the plain, and took no part in the battle—the best use, perhaps, to which they could have been put. To meet the shock of the Macedonian phalanx, Darius relied upon his 30,000 Greek mercenaries, supported on each flank by an equal number of chosen Persian troops, armed after the same manner. These 90,000 hoplites formed one unbroken line, behind the centre of which Darius took his station in a magnificent chariot, surrounded by his chief nobles and his body-guard of Immortals. Alexander divided the phalanx, as at the Granicus, into two bodies, each supported by its auxiliary force of hypaspists, cavalry, and light-armed troops. He extended his front to equal that of the enemy ; and, himself taking command of the right, he entrusted the left to Parmenio, with orders to keep near the sea, lest he should be outflanked.

His own impetuous charge across the river at once routed the left wing of Asiatic hoplites, whose flight uncovered the position of the Persian king. There are different accounts of the degree of the danger to which the person of Darius was exposed;* but, at all events, he turned his chariot and fled with all speed to the hills. There he mounted a swift horse, and rode off, casting away his bow and shield and royal mantle as encumbrances to his flight.

His desertion of the field, followed of course by the whole centre, decided the battle which still hung in doubt upon the other wing. The advance of Parmenio, on the left centre, had been checked by the Greek mercenaries, with the loss of 120 men of the front ranks of the phalanx; while the Thessalian cavalry, stationed on the extreme left, were vigorously attacked by the Persian heavy horse. But, as Alexander pressed on his victory from the other flank, and the news of the king's flight was spread, the contest was abandoned. Some at least of the Greek mercenaries escaped in good order to the hills, but the Persian cavalry suffered severely in their flight. The routed combatants were thrown back upon the vast masses behind them, who were already in disorderly retreat, while Alexander pressed on the pursuit with all his might. Pent up in the narrow pass, and in the defiles of Amanus, which enclosed them in the rear, the masses of the Persians trampled each other to death, and, in one place, a ravine was bridged over by their dead bodies. Their total loss is reckoned at 10,000 horse, and 100,000 foot; that of the Macedonians at 150 horse and 300 foot. Amongst the enormous spoil of the camp, which was given up to the soldiers, there were no less than 3000 talents in money. Among the captives were Sisygambis, the mother of Darius, and Statira, his wife, who were taken into the royal tent. It was on returning from the pursuit, which he had continued till the dusk of the November day, that Alexander entered the pavilion of Darius, and saw for the first time all the rich and effeminate appliances of oriental luxury—the bath steaming with odours, the banquet

* Arrian says nothing of the fierce combat round the chariot of Darius, described by Diodorus and Curtius, in which one authority (quoted by Plutarch) even speaks of Alexander's being wounded in the thigh by the hand of Darius. A fine mosaic at Pompeii—whether or not copied from an ancient picture, we cannot tell—represents such a conflict. Alexander charging at the head of his horsemen, has just run through one of the body-guard of Darius with his spear: Darius is leaning over the side of his chariot, with his right arm stretched out towards his fallen follower, while his charioteer is urging to flight the horses, which seem entangled in the press.

spread to regale Darius after his expected victory. But from an inner compartment were heard the voices of the women wailing for the supposed death of Darius. The fancy of painters has delighted in the imaginary interview of the royal ladies with their magnanimous captor; but, in truth, Alexander was too respectfully observant of oriental customs to insult them by his presence. He sent them assurances that Darius was still alive, that he regarded him as no personal enemy, but as a rival for the possession of empire, and that they should be treated with the honour due to their royal dignity.

The battle of Issus not only decided the fate of Asia by the destruction of the army of Darius, and the proof it gave of the helplessness of the Asiatic hosts against Macedonian discipline and Alexander's consummate generalship, but its moral effect was equally decisive in Greece. The eighteen months of Alexander's absence had given his enemies time to encourage one another with the hope that some great disaster might befall him. When he passed the Taurus, and especially when he fell ill at Tarsus, Athens was agitated with such rumours as had been rife twenty years before, during Philip's absence in Thrace; and Demosthenes is said to have gone about, showing with exultation letters which declared that Alexander was pinned up in Cilicia. Meanwhile the successes of the Persian fleet in the Ægæan seemed to afford a basis for action, and Agis visited Pharnabazus, the successor of Memnon, with a view of persuading him to land a force in Peloponnesus. But the fleet had already been fatally weakened by the withdrawal of the Greek mercenaries serving on board, to reinforce the army of Darius; and, on receiving news of the battle of Issus, Pharnabazus hastened back to Asia in fear that Chios would revolt. Though Agis was too resolute to renounce his projects, Sparta was once more isolated, and the other states of Greece, assembled in full congress at Corinth during the Isthmian festival, sent Alexander a gold crown as their offering of congratulation.

It was Alexander's plan to secure full possession of the Mediterranean coast, and by the conquest of Phœnicia to deprive Darius of his fleet, before plunging into the heart of the empire. He first marched southwards through Cœle-Syria to Damascus, which was surrendered by the treachery of the satrap in command. Besides the vast treasure which had been left there by Darius, there were a host of persons of distinction, wives, daughters, and other members of nearly all the chief families of Persia, who

had accompanied the march from Mesopotamia. There were also many Greek exiles: those from Athens and Thebes were dismissed with honour, and those from Sparta were detained but for a short time. Among the former was Iphicrates (a son of the celebrated Athenian general), whom Alexander's kindness induced to remain with him; and, when he died of sickness not long after, his ashes were sent home to his family at Athens.

Advancing into Phœnicia, Alexander received the ready submission of the great maritime cities of Aradus, Byblus, and Sidon, whose naval contingents were at this very time serving with the Persian fleet. At Marathus, on the mainland opposite the island of Aradus, he received a letter from Darius, who had recrossed the Euphrates to Babylon, where he was collecting a second army from the contingents of the more distant provinces, which had not had time to reach him when he began his former march. The letter asked for the restitution of his family, and proposed friendship and alliance on equal terms, which Alexander haughtily rejected. "Come to me yourself"—he said, "as to the master of all Asia, and lord of all that belongs to you. You shall receive back your wife and children, and whatever else you wish. Or, if you intend to contest the kingdom with me, stand and fight for it, and do not run away. I shall march forward against you, wherever you may be."

But before he could perform this boast, which indicates how fully his mind was set on the one object of unbounded conquest, he had to finish his present enterprise, and his course was delayed by an unexpected obstacle. As he approached the great city of Tyre, the queen of the Phœnician coast, he was met by a deputation, headed by the son of the reigning prince, bringing the present of a golden crown and supplies for his army, and offering to submit to him, like the sister cities. But they reserved a point of vital importance, on which Alexander was equally determined to insist. Since Nebuchadnezzar's siege, the city had been transferred from its ancient position on the mainland, now called Old Tyre (Palætyrus) to the more secure site of a little island off the coast. The entrance of a foreign force into this New City had been forbidden with extreme jealousy; and the Persians had never been so admitted during the whole period of their domination. Alexander's was not the spirit to brook such a restraint, and he proposed to offer sacrifices at the altar of Melcarth (the Tyrian Hercules) within the city. The Tyrians tried to evade compliance by referring him to a more venerable shrine of the same deity in

Old Tyre. Upon this he cast aside the pretext, and began the siege;—the first example of his throwing away a substantial advantage for a mere point of pride; for the alliance of Tyre would at once have made him master of the Phœnician shores and fleet.

The Tyrians, trusting in their impregnable position, prepared for a determined resistance, and sent off many of their wives and children to Carthage. The island was divided from the mainland by a channel about half a mile wide, shallow near the coast, but deep where it touched the island, which rose up sheer out of the water in rocky precipices, crowned by the solid walls of the city, to the height of 150 feet. There were plentiful springs of fresh water in the island; and several ships of war in the harbour, though the greater part of the navy was absent, serving as a part of the Persian fleet, under the prince Azemilchus himself. Much now depended on the movements of that fleet. On hearing of the events in Phœnicia, the contingents of Aradus and Sidon had returned home, while Azemilchus hastened to the defence of Tyre. The Cyprians in the fleet remained for a time undecided which part to take.

Meanwhile, Alexander had begun his operations against Tyre, by constructing a mole from the mainland. Two towers were raised at its extremity, from which missiles were hurled against the Tyrian ships that perpetually harassed the work. But the besieged, choosing a windy day, let loose some fire ships, which burnt the towers, while an attack of their whole navy destroyed the greater part of the mole. The work was commenced anew on a larger scale; but Alexander saw that success depended on his being master of the sea; and, while he collected ships from other quarters, he went in person to Sidon, and obtained the eighty Phœnician ships which had lately returned from the Ægæan. To these 120 more were added by the voluntary submission of the Cyprians. It is needless to recount the noble but vain resistance of the besieged to this overwhelming force. The mole was pushed up to the city wall, which was breached by the mighty artillery of Alexander. He himself was among the first to mount the wall, while his fleet forced its way into the harbour. The townsmen made a desperate resistance in the streets, no quarter was given except to those who took sanctuary in the temple of Melcarth, among whom was the prince Azemilchus, and to a few for whom the Sidonians interceded. Two thousand prisoners, who from various causes escaped the general massacre, were

hanged along the sea-shore. The women and children, to the number of 30,000, were sold as slaves; and Alexander offered his promised sacrifice to Melcarth amidst the ruins of the devoted city, which never again rose to greatness. Its capture took place in July, B.C. 332, after a siege of seven months.

Shortly before the fall of Tyre, Alexander received fresh overtures from Darius, who ordered the cession of all Asia west of the Euphrates, with a payment of 10,000 talents as the ransom of his wife and mother, and proposed to ratify the alliance by the marriage of his daughter to Alexander. Such terms might well have tempted a man who aimed at any advantage short of universal empire, and Parmenio ventured to say that he would accept them, if he were Alexander. "So would I"—said Alexander—"if I were Parmenio; but since I am Alexander, I must give another answer:" and he sent that answer in the same arrogant language as before; its sum being this:—"All you have is mine already."

Still pursuing his great object of becoming master of all the points by which the East communicated with the Grecian seas, Alexander pursued his march southward towards Egypt. The resistance of the frontier town of Gaza, a place of enormous strength, delayed him for two months, and entailed on its defenders the same penalties that had been inflicted on the Tyrians; while Alexander showed himself able to improve upon the most savage act of his heroic model. Achilles had dragged the corpse of Hector round the walls of Troy, at the tail of his chariot; Alexander perpetrated the like cruel indignity on the living body of the eunuch Batis, the governor of Gaza. Before passing into Egypt, we are told by Quintus Curtius that Alexander visited some of the cities which still refused to submit to him; and among these, if we may believe a tradition preserved by Josephus, was Jerusalem itself. Critics still hesitate between the acceptance and rejection of the picturesque story, which at all events demands a notice.

Our last view of the restored Jews left them in the peaceful enjoyment of municipal liberty and of the religous constitution restored by Ezra and Nehemiah, under their own High Priests.* They repaid the protection of Persia with a devoted loyalty, which prompted them to refuse the demand of submission, made by Alexander during the siege of Tyre. He marched to chastise them after the fall of Gaza, and the beautiful city had already

* Vol. I. pp. 281–2.

risen before his view on the hill of Zion, when he found the High Priest Jaddua waiting his approach at the watch-station of Sapha, clad in his robes of gold and purple, and followed by a train of priests and citizens in pure white. The conqueror bowed in reverence to the Holy Name upon the high-priest's frontlet; and, being asked by Parmenio the reason of his conduct, said that in a dream, at Dium, he had seen the God of Jaddua, who encouraged him to pass over into Asia, and promised him success. Then entering Jerusalem, he offered sacrifice in the temple, heard the prophecy of Daniel about himself, and granted certain privileges to all the Jews throughout his empire. The desire to honour a shrine so celebrated as the Jewish temple is quite in accordance with the conduct of Alexander at Ilium and Ephesus, Gordium and Tyre. The privileges he is said to have conferred upon the Jews were enjoyed under his successors, and some minor matters have been adduced in confirmation of the story. On the other hand, the classical writers are entirely silent on the subject, and the details of Josephus involve grave historical inconsistencies. It seems not an unreasonable conjecture, that the story is an embellishment of some incident that occurred when the High Priest came to Gaza to tender the submission of the Jews. But we must not dismiss it without a remark on the vast influence which the conquests of Alexander had in bringing the Jews into closer relations with the rest of Asia, and so preparing them to fulfil their ultimate destiny as Christians.

It was about this time that Alexander was rejoined by his fleet, which had cleared the Ægæan of the Persian navy. All the conquests of Memnon among the islands had been regained. At Chios, Pharnabazus had been captured, with the whole fleet that had remained with him after the departure of the Phœnicians and Cyprians; and, last of all, Chares had surrendered Mytilene. There remained no fear that rebellion would be excited among the insular Greeks by the gold of Persia, and her communication with the continent was rendered difficult. The fleet met Alexander at Pelusium, the eastern city of the Delta, and was despatched to sail up the Nile as far as Memphis. Alexander was welcomed in Egypt as a deliverer from the hated yoke of Persia, and the satrap Mazaces was in no condition, even had he desired, to make any effectual resistance. The conqueror's habitual respect for the religion of the nations he passed through, enchanced as it was by the venerable antiquity of Egypt, won the hearts of priests as well as people. Here, at length, he found himself in a land which his

Greek instructors had described with minute curiosity as the most ancient seat of religion and civilization; as the source from which Greece had derived her arts, her laws, her gods themselves. Here, then, was the sacred spot where the descendant of Hercules and Achilles might set at rest the question, which had been suggested ever since his birth, and which his superhuman fortune seemed again to raise, whether he was not, in a still more literal sense, the son of Jove. With this view, he undertook a pilgrimage to the ancient oracle, where, in the midst of the Libyan sands, the god was worshipped under his most ancient name of Ammon.* The special favour of the god was shown in the incidents which facilitated Alexander's five days' march from the Mediterranean shore, which he followed westward from the Delta, across the desert to the sacred Oasis; nor were the hopes thus excited doomed to disappointment. He was well satisfied with the oracle, which the priests introduced him to consult in private; though he kept the response as a holy secret, the god was believed to have saluted him as a son; and his effigy on his coins bears the horn which was the sacred symbol of Ammon impersonated as a ram. The visit forms a marked epoch in Alexander's career, from which we may date the development of that superhuman arrogance, which already began to alienate his chief followers, who saw the fair fame of Philip sacrificed to the vanity of his son.

The most enduring memorial of Alexander's four or five months' stay in Egypt was the city to which he gave his name, and which still forms, though fallen far from its ancient greatness, the port that links the eastern to the western world. It was on descending the western branch of the Nile from Memphis, to visit the isle of Pharos, of which Homer had sung as lying a day's sail from the river Ægyptus (the Nile), that the intuitive genius of Alexander saw the fitness of the spot for a great commercial city. The site was chosen on the narrow tongue of land between the lake Mareotis and the sea; and this was joined to the isle of Pharos by a causeway called the Heptastadium (*Seven Stadia*), on each side of which was a harbour, protected by the island. Fifty years later, in the reign of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, the great lighthouse was erected, which caused the name of Pharos to be applied to all such structures. The ports were connected with each other by two channels through the Heptastadium, and by another with the lake Mareotis,

* The history of Alexander having come down to us through the Greek writers, custom has prescribed the use of this form of the name, instead of the *Amun* or *Amen* of the Egyptian mythology.

which communicated with the Nile by a number of canals. The city was laid out in two chief streets, exceeding 100 feet wide, the one extending more than three miles east and west from the "royal quarter" to the Necropolis; the other more than a mile north and south from the sea to the lake. The best architects were employed in planning and embellishing the city; and the inhabitants of Canopus were transported in mass to people it.

Having spent the month of January, B.C. 331, at Memphis, and received reinforcements from Macedonia and Greece, Alexander returned into Phœnicia. On his way, he took signal vengeance on the Samaritans, who had burnt alive the Macedonian governor. He remained three or four months in Phœnicia, arranging the affairs of Greece and Western Asia. During this time his new subjects began to witness the workings of Hellenism among them in the splendid festivals and dramatic contests, which were celebrated after the model of the Attic Dionysia, the princes of Cyprus taking the lead. Meanwhile, all preparations were made for advancing into the heart of Asia, and a force was sent on to make bridges over the Euphrates at Thapsacus. The Persian satrap Mazæus, who watched the passage with 3000 men, retired on the approach of the main army, and Alexander soon found himself beyond the "bordering flood," which Darius had vainly roposed as the limit of his empire.

At Thapsacus, "the fatal ford," as it has been called from the many adventurers who have crossed it, on the way either to empire or destruction, the direct route to Babylon lay down the left bank of the Euphrates. But Xenophon had recorded the difficulties of the march through the sandy desert which here reaches across the Euphrates into Mesopotamia; and the direction in which Mazæus retreated confirmed the report of some of the prisoners, that Darius was posted on the Upper Tigris. Alexander therefore struck across the plain of Upper Mesopotamia, having the foot-hills of Mount Masius on his left, and reached the Tigris at a point some distance above Nineveh. No Persian army was there, as he had expected, to contest his passage; but the river was only forded with great difficulty. It was not without misgivings that the followers of Alexander found themselves thus led on at the will of an all-daring youth, to tempt fortune in the unknown regions beyond the two mighty rivers. Profound discouragement was caused by an eclipse of the moon, which occurred while they were resting from the labours of the passage (September 20th, B.C. 331); but Alexander's astrologers, Grecian and

Egyptian, declared that it was the Greek god Helios asserting his supremacy over the Persian goddess Selené.*

While proceeding four days' march through the district of Aturia, between the Tigris and Great Zab, Alexander fell in with an advanced guard of Persian cavalry; and he learnt from them that Darius was near at hand. It was from a mixture of fear and policy that the Persian king had chosen so distant a region of the empire for his final stand. The defeat of Issus had lost him the confidence of his followers, and all thoughts of a bold policy were paralysed so long as his family were hostages in Alexander's hands. The only hope left was, that by surrendering the western part of his empire, with its rich provinces, he might be allowed to retain the old possessions of Media and Persis. But he learned from Alexander's replies, that this lesser half must be fought for as desperately as if it were the whole. Vast forces were still available from the more distant provinces, as far as Arabia on the south, the Indus on the east, and the Oxus and Jaxartes on the north. In his new army, which was said to be more numerous than that overthrown at Issus, we read of new descriptions of force, fifteen Indian elephants, and 200 scythed chariots, armed with a sharp point projecting in front of the pole, three sword blades stretching out on each side of the yoke, and scythes extending from the ends of the axle. The cavalry are reckoned at 40,000, the infantry at no less than 1,000,000. Among the latter, Darius had still a body of 50,000 Greek mercenaries. His own soldiers were armed with new weapons and shields, more nearly resembling those of the Macedonians.

This time he had chosen a field of battle admirable suited for the movements of a vast army, and for the courses of the chariots. The head-quarters were at ARBELA (Erbil), a caravan-station near the foot hills of Zagros, about twenty miles east of the Great Zab river, and about thirty miles from the battle field to which it has given its name. The latter was an undulating plain some twelve miles west of the Great Zab, marked by the village or post-station of GAUGAMELA (the *Camel's House*, now *Karmelis*) near the little river Burnadus. It was to draw the enemy to this spot, that the fords of the Tigris had been left open, and as soon as Alexander reached that river, Darius moved forward across the Great Zab, the passage of which occupied five days, leaving his baggage and treasure at Arbela. He formed a main

* So far as the interpretation meant anything more than flattery, the Moon-goddess (Selené) must have signified the Babylonian Beltis.

line of his most warlike forces, in the centre of which he took his own station, with the native Persian guards and other select troops, including the Greek mercenaries. In front of this line the cavalry and chariots were posted in three divisions. The multitude of less trustworthy troops were placed in large masses in the rear.

It was at the close of his fourth day's march from the Tigris, that Alexander found himself within seven miles of the Persian host. He entrenched his camp, and allowed his army four days' rest. Then, with only his effective troops, he made a night march towards the enemy, and the passage over a low ridge brought him in sight of them at daybreak. By Parmenio's advice, he halted for one day, to reconnoitre the ground, and formed a new entrenched camp, the distance between the armies being about three miles. The open field of battle presented a problem quite different from those of the Granicus and Issus; and Alexander showed his consummate generalship by adapting his tactics to the altered circumstances. Preserving his usual array of two wings, he drew up his army in two lines, the phalanx, hypaspists, and heavy cavalry in the front, and the light cavalry, the archers, and the Agrianian javelin-men in the rear. As the whole Macedonian army numbered but 40,000 foot and 7000 horse, it was essential to guard against attempts to outflank and surround it in the rear. With the same object, Alexander, who took his station on the extreme right, opposite to the Persian left centre, led his division into action with an oblique movement towards his right. The Bactrians, who formed the Persian left, endeavoured to outflank his advancing cavalry, and checked him for a short time, but being supported by his light horse, he broke their line where it was weakened by this lateral movement. Meanwhile, a charge of the scythed chariots had entirely failed, and Alexander wheeled round against the Persian centre, hoping to decide the battle, as at Issus, by an attack on the person of Darius. Once more, as at the Granicus, the short pike of the Macedonian Companions proved victorious in the *mêlée*, and by this time the phalanx was pressing on the Persian front. The native Persians and the Greek mercenaries made a fierce resistance around the king, but as Darius, from his lofty chariot, saw Alexander pressing on towards him, nearer and yet nearer, his courage again failed him as at Issus, and he gave the example of flight to his whole centre. Hotly pursued by Alexander, he is said to have owed his escape solely to the clouds of dust which wrapt the field in a darkness like that of the Homeric battles.

Meanwhile the left had been engaged in a more doubtful contest, and Parmenio was so hard pressed by the Persian cavalry under Mazæus, that he was fain to seek aid from Alexander. His messengers stopped the two left divisions of the phalanx, and so separated them from the other four, which were pressing on after Alexander in the pursuit. A body of Indian and Persian cavalry dashed right through the gap thus made to the Macedonian camp, and began to plunder the baggage; but the second line, recovering from their first surprise, repulsed them with great loss; while the cavalry of Mazæus, having by this time learned the rout of Darius, were in full flight before the Thessalian horsemen. The fugitives were met face to face by Alexander, who was returning across the field to the succor of Parmenio. The conflict that ensued was the fiercest of the whole day, no hope being left to the Persians but to cut their way through the enemy. Sixty of the Companions were killed, and Alexander himself was in great peril. At length he formed a junction with Parmenio, and the whole army pressed forward in pursuit. Here again, as at Issus, the defeated combatants were rolled back upon the inert masses that only served to block up the plain behind them, and the mingled multitude, driven one over another, wave upon wave perished as much by their own weight as by the sword and lance of the pursuers. The slaughter was most dreadful at the passage of the Great Zab, where hosts of prisoners were taken, and here the Macedonians halted for awhile from sheer exhaustion, But it was Alexander's eager desire to secure the person of Darius; so at midnight he pressed on towards Arbela, which he entered the next day, and found the bow, shield, and chariot of the king, with all his stores and treasures. Parmenio meanwhile took possession of the Persian camp, and the camels and elephants became, with the baggage, the prize of the conquerors. The numbers of the slain and prisoners were enormous. Arrian computes the former at 300,000; Curtius, whose estimate is the lowest, at 40,000. The Macedonian loss is variously stated at from 100 to 500, but the number of their wounded was unusually large. The battle of Arbela, which was fought on or about October 1st, B.C. 331, completely annihilated the military force of Persia, and left the empire at the disposal of Alexander.

He forthwith marched to Babylon, where he was met outside the gates by the great mass of the population, headed by the Chaldæan priests, who had been continually persecuted by the devoted worshippers of Auramazda. Their best hopes were

gratified by the respect which, according to his custom, Alexander paid to their religion. He sacrificed to Belus, and ordered his ruined temple to be rebuilt. The treasures of Babylon enabled him to make a liberal donative to his soldiers, who were permitted to refresh themselves for a month, after their four years' toil, while Alexander exercised his sovereign rights by the appointment of new satraps. In this act he commenced the policy of treating the Orientals no longer as enemies, but subjects. Mazæus, who had led the Persian cavalry so gallantly at Arbela, was confirmed in the government of Babylon, but associated with two Greeks, a commander of the forces and collector of the revenue, the city being of course occupied by a Macedonian garrison. Mithrines, who had betrayed the citadel of Sardis, was rewarded with the satrapy of Armenia ; that of Syria and Phœnicia was given to Menes, who was entrusted with 3000 talents for Antipater. About the middle of November, Alexander marched to Susa, one of the other capitals of the empire, which had surrendered to Philoxenus immediately after the battle of Arbela, with a treasure reckoned at eleven and a half millions sterling. Here he received a reinforcement of 15,000 men from Europe, and remodelled his whole army. The government of Susa, like that of Babylon, was committed to the satrap who had surrendered the city, in conjunction with two Macedonian officers. He next marched into Persia Proper, inflicting by the way a signal chastisement on the Uxii, a tribe of mountain robbers, who had dared to demand of him the tribute they had been accustomed to exact when the Persian king passed from one capital to another.

Persepolis lies in a plain environed by mountains, the road through which was by an impregnable pass, called the Susian or Persian Gates. Here the conqueror was checked by Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Persis. After a first attack had failed, he was hesitating whether he could bring himself to turn aside and approach Persepolis by a more circuitous route, when a Lycian captive, employed as a shepherd on the hills, made known to him a mountain path, by which, after a difficult passage over the snow-clad heights, he descended upon the flank of Ariobarzanes, while Craterus renewed the attack in front. The Persians were cut to pieces, or perished among the rocks, Ariobarzanes being one of the few who escaped. His final effort to save Persepolis, or at least a portion of its treasures, was frustrated by the commandant of the citadel ; and he himself was cut to pieces, with his band of devoted followers, by the rapid advance of Alexander and his cavalry.

Alexander was now master both of Persepolis and the more ancient capital of Pasargadæ. At the latter he visited the tomb of Cyrus, whose empire he had overrun, and whose further conquests he was about to follow; at the former he beheld a spectacle which roused other feelings than ambition. In this remote capital of the empire, he found 800 Greek captives, mutilated according to the barbarous custom of the Persians, of arms or legs, ears or eyes. Too ashamed of their condition to accept the offer of restoration to their homes, they were settled on lands granted them by Alexander's bounty. It remained to deal with the city of Persepolis. Too distant to be made a royal residence, it was sure to become the stronghold of the ancient national spirit, which had its home in the mountains of Persis. Nor did it seem impolitic to Alexander, amidst his prevailing clemency and toleration, to strike one blow which might terrify the disaffected. So after the royal treasure had been placed on 5000 camels and an immense number of mules, for conveyance to Susa and Ecbatana, Alexander gave up the city to pillage and conflagration. Some say that he set fire to the royal palace with his own hand. The male population were massacred, and the women sold as slaves. While the main body of the army rested for a month at the ruined city, Alexander, with a moveable column, secured the submission of all Persis. The return of spring, while Alexander was still at Persepolis, completed four full years since his departure from Macedonia (March, B.C. 334, to March, B.C. 330). During that period, he had effected the conquest of all the countries which have hitherto been prominent in history, and which became afterwards the region of Hellenic life in Asia. The remaining seven years of his life were occupied with wonderful adventures rather than political achievements; and he never revisited the countries west of the Euphrates.

His first object was the pursuit of Darius, who had fled to Ecbatana, where he waited to see whether any chance yet remained to him, or whether he must continue his flight into the wild regions of Central Asia. He was driven to the latter course by the approach of Alexander, who, after taking possession of Ecbatana, pressed on through Media with such speed, that in eleven days he accomplished the march of 300 miles to Rhagæ, 50 miles from the pass through Mount Elburz, called the "Caspian Gates." Learning that Darius had already passed the Gates, Alexander gave his followers five days' rest, and then followed to the same pass. The fugitive king was guided in his flight by Bessus, the satrap of Bactria, who had held a high command at the battle of Arbela,

with the satraps of the other distant provinces in the north and east of the empire. Their scheme was, if possible, to carry off Darius into Bactria, and there to make a stand in his name, but really for their own advantage; but, if Alexander should overtake them on the way, they were prepared to make their peace with him by giving up Darius. So they bound him with chains of gold, and carried him on in a covered chariot, so closely guarded by the Bactrian troops, that the small body of Greek mercenaries, who still remained faithful to the king, could attempt nothing in his behalf. Alexander heard this news when he was a day's journey beyond the Caspian Gates, and pressed forward eastward with redoubled speed at the head of a picked body of cavalry and infantry, with only two days' provisions. Twice he reached the site of the Persian camp, only to find that the fugitives were still before him. At length a shorter route was pointed out to him, and a night march of five and forty miles through the waterless desert of Hyrcania brought him to the encampment of the satraps on the fourth morning. Taken completely by surprise, Bessus tried to persuade Darius to continue his flight on a swift horse. But the fallen king preferred to cast himself on the clemency of Alexander. Incensed at his refusal, and well knowing that the possession of his person would complete Alexander's title to the obedience of the provinces, the satraps transfixed the king with their javelins, and fled with all speed. A Macedonian soldier, coming up with the covered chariot, found the dying and deserted monarch just able to utter a few words of thanks to Alexander for his kind treatment of his captive family. He was already dead when the victor himself reached the chariot; and Alexander cast his own cloak over the body of his rival. The death of Darius was a grievous disappointment to the conqueror on every ground both of pride and policy; but it would be unjust not to believe that a more generous sentiment prevailed alike over the desire to exhibit him as a prisoner and the advantage to be gained from the possession of his person. He granted Darius a royal funeral in the sepulchres of the Persian kings.

Alexander reunited his army at Hecatompylos, in Parthia, and granted them a period of repose, before continuing the pursuit of Bessus, and the subjugation of the northern and eastern provinces. He then rapidly subdued Parthia and Hyrcania, with the wild tribes of *Mount Elburz*, which divides the two provinces. Thence he marched eastward into Aria, the satrap of which province, an ally of Bessus, fled before him; and here he founded the city of

Alexandria Ariorum, the modern *Herat*. Reserving Bactria for his last attack, he turned southwards into Drangiana (*Seistan*), on the banks of the river Erymandrus (*Helmund*). His stay at the capital, Prophthasia (probably *Peshawarun*) was rendered but too memorable by the fate of Philotas and his father Parmenio. The true cause of this tragedy must be sought in the changed relations of Alexander to his nearest friends, consequent upon his uninterrupted tide of success. Parmenio was the chief of Philip's old officers. We have seen him not only acting ordinarily as second in command, but freely giving advice which was not always palatable to Alexander. Philotas shared his father's views, and, as commander of the Companion cavalry, stood next to him with Alexander. For some time, and especially since the visit to the oracle of Ammon, both had shown feelings of disgust at their master's increasing arrogance, while themselves betraying a somewhat exalted sense of their own share in his success. The incautious speeches of Philotas, repeated by a treacherous mistress, had been used by his rival Craterus to inflame the jealousy of Alexander; and he was now put to death on a charge of treason, after he had been tortured into a confession. His father, Parmenio, who was residing at Ecbatana in the high office of governor of Media, was despatched by the daggers of emissaries, who justified their act to the indignant soldiers by producing the orders of the king. For the details we must refer to the biographers of Alexander. It is enough to say that the evidence was utterly inconclusive, and even had it been otherwise, the case pre-eminently called for Alexander's boasted magnanimity. But, in truth, his character had by this time undergone a complete change; or rather, its barbarian elements had been irresistibly developed by unbroken prosperity. The habits of wild revelry which had degraded Philip in the eyes of the Greeks, now began to gain the mastery over Alexander, and his recent marches had been alternated with drunken debauches. It is but fair to make some allowance for the physical effect of his enormous toils, combined with the cares of the general and the sovereign, on a constitution predisposed to cerebral excitement. Henceforth his whole career is checquered with examples of the speedy retribution which overtakes the possessor of power too great for man. Meanwhile a most painful impression was produced upon his followers, whose unbounded confidence and admiration were replaced in no small degree by disgust and fear. The vacancy caused by the death of Parmenio was filled up by the division of the Companion cavalry

between Clitus and Hephæstion, who in some degree succeeded to the place which Parmenio had held in Alexander's confidence (October, B.C. 330).

Having spent the winter in completing the conquest of the provinces which occupy the north-eastern part of the table-land of Iran, in the angle between the two branches of Mount Paropamisus (the *Mountains of Soleiman*, and the *Hindoo Koosh*),* he crossed the latter mighty chain, which reaches to the height of 15,000 or 18,000 feet, while the passes were still covered with snow. His soldiers, whose imagination had been fed with the traditions of the Greek poets respecting Mount Caucasus, to pass which they deemed the highest achievement of foreign adventure, flattered their chief by transferring to this chain the name of the "Indian Caucasus," by which it has ever since been known. He was now in Bactria, which Bessus had found himself too weak to defend, and had crossed the Oxus (*Amoo* or *Jihoun*), into Sogdiana, the last border province towards the Massagetæ and Scythia. Alexander pressed on through the sandy deserts, amidst great sufferings, to the most difficult river he had yet crossed, and transported his army on their tent-skins, filled with air and straw.† Bessus, deserted by his fellow-conspirators, and even by his own followers, was overtaken by a light division under Ptolemy, and placed at the road-side, naked and in chains, to await the approach of Alexander's chariot. On arriving at the spot, Alexander upbraided him with his treason to Darius, and ordered him to be scourged and sent in chains to Bactria. On Alexander's return to Bactria, Bessus was again brought before him, condemned to the Persian punishment of the mutilation of his nose and ears, and sent to Ecbatana, that the Medes might take the final revenge upon him for his treacherous murder of their king. If these refined cruelties may be explained by a politic desire on Alexander's part to clear himself of all suspicion with regard to the death of Darius, they none the less bear witness to that growth of Oriental vices in his character, of which he gave another proof by the massacre of the Greek colony of the

* These provinces were Drangiana, Arachosia, and the Paropamisadæ, or people of Mount Paropamisus, corresponding to the modern *Seistan*, *Affghanistan*, and the western part of *Cabul*. During these marches, he founded two more cities, Alexandria in Arachosia (probably *Candahar*), and Alexandria ad Caucasum, at the foot of the Hindoo Koosh, about 50 miles north-west of Cabul. He seems to have crossed the Hindoo Koosh by the pass of *Bamian*, the only one of its four passes practicable for an army in the winter.

† The same mode of transport is seen on the old Assyrian sculptures.

Branchidæ,* in Sogdiana, though under the specious pretext of the avenger of Apollo. Having taken Maracanda (*Samarcand*), the capital of Sogdiana, Alexander advanced to the Jaxartes (*Sir*, or *Sihoun*), the boundary between the Persian empire and Scythia. On its banks he founded the most distant of the cities that bore his name,† near that which marked the limits of the empire of Cyrus (Cyreschata), who had failed in that attempt to subdue the Scythians, which Alexander proposed soon to renew. Meanwhile he returned into winter quarters at Zariaspé, the capital of Bactria,‡ where he punished Bessus in the manner already described (B.C 329).

In the following year, Alexander returned to Sogdiana, to put down a formidable revolt headed by the late satrap Spitamenes. After a successful campaign, in which his army, divided into five columns, traversed the whole country, he had returned to Maracanda. Intending to pursue his march into Scythia, he appointed his bosom friend, Clitus, who had saved his life at the Granicus, to the satrapy of Bactria, and gave a parting banquet on the eve of the day fixed for Clitus to set out. The drunken revels, which were now common on such occasions, ended in the most tragic of all Alexander's bursts of passion. His appetite for adulation had grown so insatiable, that he not only permitted flatterers to place him above his father, and to insult that father's memory by lauding him as the son of Ammon, who awaited an apotheosis like that of Hercules, but himself claimed all the merit of Philip's later victories. Clitus was one of those who reverenced the late king, and had taken deep offence at Alexander's wanton insults to the Macedonian soldiers. Wine had loosed the restraints of prudence, and he rebuked the flatterers severely. He went further, and boldly awarded the palm to the father above the son, since Philip had created the force which alone had enabled Alexander to conquer,—the force whose chief leaders, Parmenio and his son, had been put to death, and the soldiers scourged with Persian rods. The more such language provoked Alexander, the more did Clitus persist in it; till, holding himself forth as the champion of the old Macedonian party, he exclaimed, with an air of defiance, "This hand, Alex-

* These were the descendants of the Branchidæ, who had charge of the temple of Apollo near Miletus, and surrendered its treasures to Xerxes, by whom they were removed to Sogdiana, out of reach of the vengeance of the Greeks.

† This is called *Alexandria ad Jaxartem*, *Alexandria Eschaté*, or *Alexandreschata* (the *furthest Alexandria*), and was probably on the site of the modern *Khojend*.

‡ Also called Bactra; it is the modern *Balkh*.

ander, saved your life at the Granicus! Listen to the truth, or invite to your suppers none but barbarian slaves!" Alexander's attendants had put his dagger out of his reach; his chief officers clung round him as he rushed at Clitus, whom others tried to remove from the room. But the king's fury only provoked Clitus to more bitter taunts; while Alexander exclaimed that his officers were acting to him the part of Bessus to Darius. At length, overpowering their resistance, he transfixed Clitus with a pike which he snatched from an attendant, the blow being accompanied with the taunt, "Go now to Philip and Parmenio." The sight of his friend weltering in his blood produced an instant and complete revulsion of feeling. Overwhelmed with remorse, he lay upon his bed for three days and nights, refusing all food, and repeatedly calling upon Clitus, whose name he coupled with that of his nurse Lanicé, as the second saviour of his life. The lover of freedom, who looks beyond the exploits which blind men to the littleness of her enemies, could hardly desire to see the humiliating lesson read more plainly, unless it were in the abject flattery and superstition in which the illustrious drunkard and murderer at length found solace. While the prophets discovered at once a cause and excuse for his deed in the anger of Dionysus, and the philosophers told Alexander that his regret was a too generous sentiment, inasmuch as his will was the only law, the army passed a vote that Clitus had been justly slain, and their leader obtained the praise of magnanimity by refusing to allow his murdered friend to lie unburied.

But the best remedy for his grief was in renewed action, for which the enemy gave him ample opportunity. Assisted by the Scythians, the Sogdians carried on a desultory warfare for a whole year, during which Alexander penetrated their deserts and mountains, and subdued many of their fortresses, till Spitamenes was slain by his Scythian allies, and his head sent to Alexander. His celebrated storming of the impregnable "Sogdian rock," gave him among the captives, Roxana, the daughter of a Bactrian chief; and Alexander was so struck with her charms, that he made her his first Asiatic wife. The marriage, which was celebrated at Bactra, was made the occasion for another step towards Oriental despotism. Alexander exacted the ceremony of prostration even from his Greek followers, by the mouth of the philosopher Anaxarchus. The philosopher Callisthenes, of Olynthus, the nephew of Aristotle, dared to resist the proposal, which Alexander withdrew. But he soon found means to revenge himself on Callisthenes, who was tortured and hanged as an accomplice in a conspiracy which

was about this time detected among the royal pages. Nor did Alexander abstain from hinting that Aristotle shared in his nephew's disloyalty, and threatening that he should share his fate. "Fortunately for Aristotle, he was not at Bactra, but at Athens. That he could have had any concern in the conspiracy of the pages was impossible. In this savage outburst of menace against his absent preceptor, Alexander discloses the real state of feeling which prompted him to the destruction of Callisthenes; hatred towards that spirit of citizenship and free speech, which Callisthenes not only cherished, in common with Aristotle and most other literary Greeks, but had courageously manifested in his protest against the motion for worshipping a mortal." *

With the return of summer, Alexander left Bactra, to recross the Paropamisus and subdue the still unknown lands of India. We will not interrupt the progress of our narrative, to discuss the deeply interesting chapter of history which is opened by the mention of that name. There are indeed questions of the highest importance affecting the relations of India to the language, religion, and civilization of the ancient world; but these questions are almost entirely speculative. In ancient *history*, India appears but once or twice in the background, as a region stimulating a curiosity which there was little knowledge to gratify; exciting, only to disappoint, the ambition of conquerors, such as Semiramis, Darius, and Alexander; and chiefly known, after his time, by the rich products with which it rewarded the commercial enterprise that had its centre at Alexandria. The India, with which Alexander made his brief acquaintance of a year or two, was only the region so called in the proper but narrower sense, the *Land of the Indus* and its tributary streams, in other words, *Scinde* and the *Punjab*, or country of the *Five Rivers*. This, too, was the region occupied by the Indian branch of the great Aryan family of mankind, the original home of the Sanscrit language and the Hindoo religion; and the names of persons and places mentioned by the historians of Alexander can generally be explained by Sanscrit etymologies.

The details of Alexander's march through Cabul are full of interest for the geographer, but are only remarkable for the historian on account of the facility with which he subdued the mountaineers who have proved so troublesome in our time. The campaign, like his former passage of the Paropamisus, was made in the depth of winter. Following the course of the river Cophen

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. xii. pp. 301, 302.

(*Cabul*), he crossed the Indus about *Attock*, having first allowed his soldiers a rest of thirty days. The prince of the *Doab* * or country between the Indus and the Hydaspes (*Jeloum*),—whom the Greeks called Taxiles, from his capital Taxila, but whose real name was Mophis, or Omphis—came out to meet Alexander with valuable presents, among which were twenty-five war elephants, and brought a reinforcement of 5000 men. Porus,† the king of the next *Doab*, showed a very different spirit. He appeared with a large force, including many elephants, to dispute the passage of the Hydaspes. The skilful generalship of Alexander gained a passage some miles higher up, and a battle was fought on the left bank, in which Porus, conspicuous by his gigantic stature, and mounted on a huge elephant, fought with the greatest courage to the last, having seen two of his sons fall. After repeated efforts to rally his defeated troops, he was disabled by wounds and thirst from making good his retreat; and he was brought as a prisoner before Alexander. Struck by his noble form and undaunted bearing, Alexander asked him how he desired to be treated. "Like a king"—was the reply, uttered like a king, and received by Alexander like a king. As a tributary to the conqueror, he received an accession to his dominions. The town of Nicæa was built in commemoration of the victory, which was celebrated with games and sacrifices on the banks of the Hydaspes. The rest of the Punjab afforded an easy conquest. The swollen stream of the Acesines (*Chenab*) was crossed on inflated skins; and the quieter current of the Hydraotes (*Ravee*) was more easily passed. Here alone a serious resistance was made by the Cathæans and other independent tribes, whose capital, Sangala (probably *Lahore*), was stormed, 17,000 of the inhabitants being put to the sword, and 70,000 taken prisoners. The other towns of the *Doab* submitted, and the whole territory was added to the dominions of Porus.

Alexander had now reached the farthest limit of his conquests. At the Hyphasis (*Sutlej*), the last of the Five Rivers, his ambition received a new impulse from the intelligence, that a march of eleven days would bring him to the great river Ganges and the powerful nation of the Gandaridæ. But on his ordering the preparations for passing the river, the long-suppressed feeling of the soldiers, that they had done enough, and marched far enough into unknown regions, broke out into open mutiny. In vain did Alex-

* This term signifies the space between each two rivers of the Punjab.

† This name, or rather title, seems to be only a corruption of the Sanscrit *Paurusha*, a *hero*.

ander harangue his officers: they were as resolute as the men. He shut himself up in his tent for two days, indulging his moody grief, not that there were no regions left to conquer, but because he was at length made to feel the curb which dependence on fellow men imposes on the strongest will. He recovered himself so far as to submit with a good grace. As if still persisting in his design, he offered the preliminary sacrifices; but the omens proved unfavourable, and he yielded to the will of the gods what was forced on him by his followers.

The divine wanderers, Hercules and Dionysus, were said to have erected pillars to mark the furthest limits of their progress. Alexander, who boasted to have advanced further than either, imitated the example by building twelve immense altars on the banks of the Hyphasis, and celebrating games and sacrifices to the twelve great gods. He then retraced his steps to the Hydaspes, his double march across the Punjab having been the more wonderful as it was performed during the summer rains. Here he was met by a reinforcement which had marched from Europe, such was the tranquillity of his empire. He now formed the plan of following the course of the Indus to its mouth, and exploring the shores of the Ocean to the Euphrates. A fleet of 2000 vessels was prepared by the beginning of November, and Alexander embarked with his admiral Nearchus, while the main body of the army marched in two divisions along the banks, under Hephæstion and Craterus. Thus they went down the Hydaspes to the Acesines, and onwards past the mouths of the Hydraotes and the Hyphasis, to the junction of the united rivers with the Indus. It was, however, no peaceful progress of a conqueror. Alexander again and again disembarked to fight the tribes that lived along the banks. His encounter with the Malli was remarkable for the daring courage with which he scaled the wall of their citadel, and leaped down alone amongst the enemy, whom he kept at bay till aid arrived, though severely wounded in the breast.* Having founded a new city at the confluence of the Acesines and Indus, to command the navigation of the rivers, Alexander continued his voyage down the Indus, the mouth of which was reached after about nine months from the commencement of the voyage (August, B.C. 326). The soldiers were astonished at the Ocean tides, unknown to them in the Mediterranean.

Alexander now projected the great voyage which Nearchus suc-

* The scene of this exploit was near the confluence of the Hydraotes and Acesines. The town is thought by some to be *Mooltan*.

cessfully performed, from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian Gulf and the Tigris. To estimate this achievement, we must remember that the Greek knowledge of the geography of these distant regions had advanced little beyond the fables of Homer and the mythical wanderings of Io, as described by Æschylus. The theory that the earth was a flat circle, surrounded by the river Ocean, had a tendency to bring the outer parts of the earth into an imaginary proximity. Thus, when Alexander's soldiers reached the Jaxartes, they thought they were on the banks of the Tanaïs, and when they saw crocodiles in the Indus, they supposed they had reached the Nile. The better information which Alexander doubtless possessed, from the surveys of the empire made since the time of Darius Hystaspis, only reduces his project within the limits of a sagacious, instead of a foolhardy daring ; and the achievement of Nearchus was the true opening of the Indian Ocean to the commerce which has ever since enriched the world. The difficulty of the voyage was enhanced by the barrenness of the shores along which it lay, for navigation was still dependent on communication with the land; but he brought the fleet safely to the port of Harmozia (*Ormuz*), where he landed to report progress to Alexander in Carmania, and then returned to complete the voyage to the Euphrates. He finally rejoined Alexander on the Pasitigris, near Susa, about February, B.C. 325, having set sail from the Indus at the preceding autumnal equinox. He was rewarded with a crown of gold.

Alexander in the meantime accomplished his celebrated march through the desert of Gedrosia. How he shared the terrible sufferings of fatigue and thirst with the meanest of his soldiers, is illustrated by the well-known anecdote, which shows Alexander practising a generous self-denial, only paralleled by that of Sir Philip Sidney.

> "These are the precious balsam drops
> Which woeful wars distil."

The true hero is far more conspicuous in the general pouring out the helmet full of water on the sand rather than enjoy it alone, than in the ensuing progress of the pretended son of Ammon through Carmania, in emulation of the Indian Dionysus, a character which was sustained by an incessant drunken revel for seven days, after the fatigues and dangers of the desert. Crossing the mountains to Persepolis, and thence advancing to Susa, Alexander employed himself at both capitals in punishing the abuses of which the satraps had been guilty during his long absence. Some

were executed, and all were compelled to dismiss their mercenary soldiers.

Enthroned in the chief capital of the Persian kings, after far surpassing the exploits of Cyrus, Alexander assumed the full state of the Great King. He adopted the Persian costume, and the full ceremonial of the Persian court. Amidst splendid festivities, he celebrated his nuptials with Statira, the daughter of Darius, and with Parysatis, the daughter of Ochus. At the same time Hephæstion and others of his chief officers, to the number of about 100, espoused the noblest of the Persian ladies; and no less than 10,000 of the common soldiers took Asiatic wives. However politic these intermarriages might be, as a means of conciliating the rival nations, they brought the disgust of the Macedonian veterans to its climax. A mutiny broke out at a review held at Opis on the Tigris; and, when Alexander offered to send home the wounded and disabled, the soldiers cried out that he had better dismiss them all, and make his future conquests by the help of his father, Ammon. At this taunt Alexander leaped down among the crowd, followed by a few of his guards, and seized thirteen of the ringleaders, who were led off to instant execution. Then, haranguing the soldiers, who were cowed by the example, he reproached them with ingratitude to their king, who, having borne the chief part in all their toils and dangers, had given them the substantial rewards of success, reserving for himself only the honours and cares of the tiara. In fine, he ordered them to take their discharge; and he shut himself up in the palace, committing its guard to Persian troops. Soon the veterans came flocking round the palace, throwing down their arms, and praying for forgiveness. A solemn reconciliation cancelled the resentment which Alexander had never ceased to feel since the mutiny on the Hyphasis; and 10,000 of the most worn veterans were sent home under Craterus, who was appointed to succeed Antipater as viceroy of Macedonia.

In the summer Alexander visited Ecbatana, where his bosom friend Hephæstion died of a fever contracted amidst the incessant revelries; and Alexander mourned his loss with an extravagance of grief like that of Achilles for Patroclus. A funeral pile was ordered to be erected at Babylon for his obsequies, at a cost of 10,000 talents, and the extermination of the Cossæi, a border tribe between Media and Persia, was regarded as an offering to his manes. The ungovernable emotion of Alexander at this loss, attended as it was with an irritability so extreme that his courtiers

scarcely dared to approach him, seems like the presage of his own approaching fate—" the beginning of the end."

But he had first to quaff the full cup of triumph. Early in B.C. 324, he commenced his progress to Babylon, where, " as in the last scene of some well-ordered drama, all the results and tokens of his great achievements seemed to be collected to do honour to his final exit." Even before he reached the capital, he was met by embassies, not only from all parts of his own dominions, but from the distant nations of the west;—from Carthage, which had heard the fame of his exploits through the Tyrian fugitives;—from Sicily and Sardinia;—from the Etruscans and other nations of Italy;—and even, according to a probable tradition, from Rome itself, then struggling to hold its ground in Italy, amidst the fierce conflict of the Second Samnite War. There were envoys from Ethiopia, Scythia, Iberia, and Gaul; and, amidst this concourse of the nations, which seemed for the first time to hail a mortal as master of all the earth, the ambassadors of the Grecian states approached him with the sacred garlands which owned him as the divine son of Ammon. Still a drop of bitter was infused into the cup by the warning of the Chaldæan soothsayers, that it would be dangerous for him to enter the city. The warning seems to have made a deep impression on his mind, though pride and policy alike forbade him to turn his back on the capital of his empire and the destined centre of his new projects.

Of these projects, the first was the formation of a navy powerful enough to explore, command, and conquer the shores of the Indian Ocean. Orders had been despatched to Phœnicia and Cyprus, to have ships carried in pieces to Thapsacus on the Euphrates. There they were put together, and floated down to Babylon, where vast docks were already commenced. The capital was destined to be also the chief naval arsenal of the empire; while, for purposes of commerce, an emporium was to be founded on the Persian Gulf on a vaster scale than Sidon, Tyre, or Carthage. Finding the greater part of the fleet already collected at Babylon, Alexander concerted with his admiral Nearchus an expedition to circumnavigate and subdue Arabia. A squadron started on the adventure under Hiero, a pilot of Soli in Cyprus, who, however, abandoned the apparently interminable voyage. In the prosecution of these plans, Alexander went in person down the canal Pallacopas, to explore the Chaldæan marshes, and to restore the works of the old Chaldæan kings for the regulation of the course of the Euphrates;*

* See Vol. I., p. 191.

and he chose a spot on which he ordered a new city to be founded. It was probably in this voyage that Alexander contracted the germs of the fever which so soon proved fatal.

He returned to Babylon to complete the preparations for his expedition to Arabia, which he designed to be only a first step towards the conquest of the remaining nations of the world. Some new levies from the western shores of Asia were incorporated with his old soldiers into a sort of Perso-Macedonian phalanx, which he expected to be peculiarly efficient. All the preparations were made for the expedition; and at the same time the funeral pile was ready, which he had long since ordered to be constructed for Hephæstion. He resolved to combine the sacrifices inaugurating his enterprise with the obsequies of his friend. A splendid banquet was prepared for the whole army, at which the conqueror himself presided. After partaking freely in the universal revelry, he supped with his favourite, Medius, and spent the night in a carouse. A second night was passed in the same manner; and Alexander, who had gone to bed in the house of Medius, was unable to rise in the morning. For nine days he tried to shake off the fever, conversing with his generals about his schemes, playing at dice with Medius, and rising each day to bathe and offer sacrifice. At last, he was unable to make this effort; and by the time his generals had been summoned round his bed he had become speechless. His last act was to take off his signet-ring, and deliver it to Perdiccas; but it was reported that, just before his utterance failed him, he was asked to whom he bequeathed his kingdom, and that he replied, "*To the strongest!*" The soldiers, hearing of his approaching end, surrounded the palace, and being admitted without their arms, they passed before his bed in mournful and respectful silence, while their dying leader made them signs of recognition. His generals slept in the temple of Serapis, hoping to learn by a dream whether he might be healed if he were transported thither; but the oracle bade him be left where he was; and he expired in the afternoon of June 28, B.C. 323, at the age of thirty-two years and eight months, and wanting four months of completing the thirteenth year of his reign.

Historians have delighted in speculating on what would have been the result, had Alexander lived to carry out his new designs, and to come into conflict with the nations of the West. Considering the vast resources of his empire, his prudent skill in turning them to the best account, and his profound knowledge of the art of war, we may be quite sure that he would have accomplished

deeds surpassing any that he had yet achieved. But his success would only have tended to overwhelm the rising civilization of the West beneath the backward wave of that Orientalism which had already been once repelled from the shores of Greece. The world was reserved for another destiny, to be moulded by Roman energy, Roman law, and the stern Roman sense of duty. Meanwhile, the conquests of Alexander had a prodigious, and upon the whole a most beneficial effect, in bringing the East within the sphere of Hellenic civilization. It may be true that the spread of that civilization was due rather to his successors than to himself, and that his one moving principle was the insatiable lust of conquest. But perhaps the reaction from blind admiration of his exploits has led to a too sweeping denial of those civil qualities which time was not granted him to develope. Even amidst the rapid course of conquest, the pupil of Aristotle, the founder of Alexandria, and the projector of the voyage of Nearchus, was not altogether indifferent to the cause of science; and the genius which organized his army, and so soon reduced his vast empire to order, had equal capacities for civil administration, though it may be doubted whether his impatient temper could have rivalled the works of Cæsar or Napoleon. The cities that he founded in the distant regions of Asia may have been designed chiefly as the outposts of a great military empire; but they became, in fact, the germs of powerful states, which were influenced by Greek civilization from their very origin, and commercial centres by which communication was kept up between the nations of the West and the distant realms of India, and even China. The increased facilities of intercourse—an object at which Alexander was ever aiming—formed a result of his conquests only second in importance to the diffusion of the Greek language. His personal character has been sufficiently delineated in recounting the events of his marvellous career.

CHAPTER XVII.

DIVISION OF ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE.—FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER TO THE ACCESSION OF ANTIOCHUS SOTER. B.C. 323 TO B.C. 280.

"Therefore the he goat waxed very great; and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven. . . . . . Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power."—*Daniel*, chap. viii., 8, 22.

SETTLEMENT OF THE KINGDOM ON PHILIP III. ARIDÆUS—PERDICCAS REGENT—DIVISION OF THE PROVINCES—THE DIADOCHI—FUNERAL OF ALEXANDER—BIRTH OF ALEXANDER ÆGUS—THE LAMIAN WAR—PERDICCAS AND EUMENES, ANTIPATER AND OLYMPIAS—DEATH OF PERDICCAS—NEW PARTITION OF THE PROVINCES—WAR OF EUMENES WITH ANTIGONUS—DEATH OF EUMENES—MURDER OF PHILIP ARIDÆUS—CASSANDER MASTER OF GREECE, ANTIGONUS OF ASIA—COALITION AGAINST ANTIGONUS—DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES—BATTLE OF GAZA—GENERAL PACIFICATION—MURDER OF ALEXANDER ÆGUS—RENEWAL OF THE WAR—PTOLEMY IN GREECE—BATTLE OF SALAMIS IN CYPRUS—THE GENERALS BECOME KINGS—SIEGE OF RHODES—DEMETRIUS IN GREECE—SUCCESSES OF SELEUCUS NICATOR—NEW COALITION AGAINST ANTIGONUS—BATTLE OF IPSUS—THE HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS—SYRIA—EGYPT—PERGAMUS—BACTRIA.

The untimely death of Alexander left his empire without an heir, and found the generals unprepared with any plans. Alexander had left an illegitimate son, Hercules, by Barsine, the widow of the Rhodian Memnon; but no pretensions were put forward on his behalf till some years later. The child of the queen Roxana was not born till after Alexander's death. There only remained the half-brother of Alexander, Philip Aridæus, the son of Philip by a Thessalian woman, a youth of weak intellect, and therefore a convenient puppet in the hands of the generals, till time should decide the real heir by the test of Alexander's dying words,—"To the strongest." The conflict almost broke out at the council which was held the day after Alexander's death, under the presidency of Perdiccas, to whom the dying monarch had given his signet-ring; but an arrangement was at last made on the following basis. Philip III. Aridæus was recognized as the successor to the empire, a share in the inheritance being reserved to the unborn child of Roxana, should it prove to be a son. Perdiccas took the command of the Companion cavalry, which was vacant by the death of Hephæstion, with the regency on behalf of Philip. The eastern part of the empire was reserved for his immediate government. The prov-

THE
EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER.
Gallia
Alpes
Illyricum
Hispania
Gades
Pillars of Hercules
Massilia
Corsica
Sardinia
Numidia
Carthago
Africa
Syracusæ
Melita
Etruria
Roma
Latium
Amphipolis
Thracia
Macedonia
Hellespont
Byzantium
Pontus Euxinus
Bithynia
Colchis
R. Ister
Trapezus
Armenia
Gordium
Ephesus
ASIA
Issus
Olympus
Cyprus
Tyre
Syria
Damascus
Jerusalem
Judæa
Gaza
Alexandria
Cyrene
Libya
Ammonium
Memphis
Ægyptus
Thebæ
Berenice
R. Nile
Æthiopia
Meroe
Arabicus Sinus
Arabia
Babylon
Arbela
Ecbatana
Media
Rhagæ
Caspium Mare
Hyrcania
Parthia
Susa
Persepolis
Persia
Persicus Sinus
Carmania
Gedrosia
Scythia
Massagetæ
R. Jaxartes
Maracanda
Sogdiana
R. Oxus
Bactra
Bactriana
Aria
Drangiana
Arachosia
Nysa
Aornos
Taxila
Bucephala
Hyphasis
R. Indus
Pattala
Erythræum Mare

inces west of the Euphrates were divided among the other generals, nominally as satrapies, but virtually as independent governments. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who, besides his great talents, had the claim of consanguinity with the royal family, received Egypt and Syria. Eumenes, a Greek of Cardia in the Thracian Chersonese, who had been Alexander's secretary, and had of late shared his confidence with Hephæstion, was appointed to the government of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, provinces not yet thoroughly subdued. Phrygia Proper, with Lycia and Pamphylia, were assigned to Antigonus, the ablest soldier of them all; Hellespontine or the Lesser Phrygia, to Leonnatus,* and Thrace to Lysimachus, an officer of Sicilian extraction and of low birth, but of the most undaunted courage, and celebrated as a lion-killer. Macedonia itself, and Greece, were to be divided between the late regent, Antipater, and Craterus, who had been appointed by Alexander to supersede him, but had not yet started. Olympias, the mother of Alexander, was left out of the arrangement, but hers was not a temper to rest quiet. It was fortunate for the generals that Philip Aridæus was at Babylon; for the possession of his person might have transferred the decision to Antipater, who was at first disposed to claim the regency of the whole empire by virtue of his viceroyalty of Macedonia. But sufficient occupation was soon found both for him and Craterus in the common danger of a Greek war; and Olympias was so afraid of her old enemy Antipater, that she fled for the present into Epirus. One general remains to be mentioned, Seleucus, the son of Nicator, who, though omitted in the original distribution, raised himself at last to the possession of the seat of empire, and of all the Eastern provinces.

These, and others yet to be mentioned, are the men known in history as the Diadochi, that is, *Successors* of Alexander the Great. Their wars occupied a space of two-and-twenty years, before the final division of the empire in consequence of the decisive battle of Ipsus (B.C. 323—301). In untwining the intricate thread of these events, it is desirable to confine our attention as much as possible to Asia, reserving for a separate view the last struggles amidst which Greek liberty set, but not without the hope of a temporary revival. First, however, it is necessary to mention the obsequies of Alexander, which were conducted with the grandest barbaric pomp. The body was placed on a funeral car, of such size and so loaded with gold ornaments, that eighty-four mules

* Leonnatus only just needs to be named, as he was killed in the following year.

laboured for a whole year in drawing it to Syria, on its way to Alexandria, where the conqueror fitly rested amidst the most enduring monuments of his fame, in what afterwards became the sepulchre of the Ptolemies.* Meanwhile Roxana gave birth to a son, who was named Alexander Ægus; after she had got rid, by assassination, of the rival queen Statira, and her sister, Drypetis, the widow of Hephæstion.

For the present, we keep in the background the gallant struggle of Greece for liberty, attempted in vain by Agis, and renewed, after Alexander's death, by Athens in the "Lamian War," which ended in the victory of Antipater, and the proscription and death of Demosthenes (B.C. 322). During this war, Leonnatus crossed over into Europe to aid Antipater; but he was defeated and slain by the allied Greeks, and thus one name is already erased from the list of the Diadochi. Craterus also arrived in Greece in time to contribute to the victory of Antipater; and both had begun measures for the subjugation of Greece, when they were recalled to Asia to take part in the general war which was kindled by the ambition of Antipater and the arts of Olympias.

Perdiccas, possessed of the command of the choicest troops, and of the persons of the two nominal sovereigns—Philip Aridæus and the infant Alexander IV.—was not disposed to forego the substance of power over the satraps in Asia. He began the consolidation of his government by aiding Eumenes in the conquest of Cappadocia; and the campaign gained him, besides much military reputation, the alliance of the most intelligent and prudent of the Diadochi, for such was the character of Eumenes. Alarmed at the growing power of Perdiccas, Antipater made him overtures for an alliance, with the offer of the hand of his daughter Nicæa. But when Olympias proposed to him a marriage with Cleopatra, her daughter by Philip, as the price of his aid against Antipater, the aged Perdiccas was dazzled with the prospect of uniting the whole empire under his own government. Meanwhile, he attempted to assert his authority as regent by bringing Antigonus to trial for alleged misconduct in his satrapy. But Antigonus fled to Macedonia, carrying to Antipater information of the schemes of Perdiccas and Olympias. A league was formed by Antipater and Craterus with Antigonus and Ptolemy; while Perdiccas was joined by Eumenes, who, besides being moved by gratitude, had

* The beautiful sarcophagus in the British Museum, formerly supposed to be that of Alexander, has been identified by the inscriptions upon it as that of Nectanebo I. (See vol. I., pp. 140, 141).

now the prospect of becoming master of all Asia Minor, by the addition of the satrapies of Leonnatus and Antigonus to his own. While Eumenes defended himself against the united forces of Antigonus and Craterus, Perdiccas attacked Ptolemy, who stood on the defensive in an intrenched camp beyond the Nile, near Pelusium. The failure of all attempts to carry this position wore out the soldiers of Perdiccas, who mutinied and murdered their general. Antipater, who was in the camp of Ptolemy, now obtained the regency, with the persons of the two kings, whom he carried into Europe, with Roxana, the mother of Alexander Ægus, and Eurydicé, the wife of Philip Aridæus. After the death of Perdiccas, the allied generals met at Triparadisus in Syria, and made a new partition of the provinces. Antipater retained Macedonia and Greece, with the nominal regency of the empire; Ptolemy kept Egypt; Antigonus received Susiana, in addition to his former province; and Seleucus, as satrap of Babylon, succeeded to much of the central authority of Perdiccas. Eumenes was declared an outlaw by the vote of the Macedonian army (B.C. 321).

It devolved upon Antigonus to conduct the war with Eumenes, who, though deserted by Alcetas, the brother of Perdiccas, and embarrassed by the jealousy of his Macedonian officers, had gained a decisive battle, in which Craterus himself fell, shortly before the murder of Perdiccas. Pressed by the superior force of Antigonus, he shut himself up with a few followers in the fortress of Nora in Cappadocia, and held out against a long blockade, till he found an opportunity of escaping to the upper provinces (B. C. 319). Meanwhile, Antipater died in Macedonia, at the age of eighty, bequeathing his authority, not to his son Cassander, but to the Epirot Polysperchon, who was, like himself, one of Alexander's oldest generals. Cassander, whose military fame made him a formidable enemy, and who had a powerful party among the oligarchies which Antipater had established in the Greek cities, rose in open rebellion; and Polysperchon, feeling the need of new support, invited Olympias back from Epirus to become the guardian of the royal family, who were kept at Pella. Olympias engaged Eumenes to renew the war in Asia, and the influence which she had always been known to possess with Alexander obtained for him the support of the "Argyraspids," a body of veterans who were living in retirement in Upper Asia. His cause was espoused also by the satraps of the eastern provinces, who gave up to him the royal treasures in their possession. Thus the

whole monarchy, both in Europe and Asia, was involved in a war between those who used the name of Alexander's family and those who possessed the greater part of his power. Of the course of affairs in Europe we shall have presently to speak. Had Polysperchon and Olympias been content to abandon Asia, and to call over Eumenes to their aid, his vast ability would have consolidated their authority in Macedonia and Greece. That ability was vainly exerted on behalf of what Eumenes considered the cause of his master's family, in a series of campaigns which are among the most brilliant of any recorded in ancient history. For two years he maintained himself against the united forces of Antigonus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, while beset by treachery in his own camp. The seat of the war was first in Cilicia and Phœnicia, afterwards, as Eumenes was compelled to give ground, in Susiana, Persis, and Media. The struggle ended at last, not by his defeat, but by his betrayal by the Argyraspidæ, who added to the fickle arrogance of a favoured body of soldiery the cupidity which made them accessible to the bribes of Antigonus. Eumenes was put to death by the vote of a council of officers, in opposition, it is said, to the wish of Antigonus himself. He was the most honest and humane, the best educated, and in the whole combination of qualities, the most able of all the generals of Alexander. The best authorities are agreed that he was only prevented from distancing all competitors for the empire by the prejudice which his Greek origin excited among the Macedonians. He was forty-five years old at his death (B.C. 316).

It was his misfortune, in death as in life, to have fought for a cause that was falling of itself. For while Polysperchon was engaged in Greece in a fierce and doubtful contest with Cassander, Eurydicé, the wife of Philip Aridæus, formed the plan of casting off the regent's yoke. In her husband's name she gathered an army in Macedonia, and made an alliance with Cassander. Polysperchon and Olympias marched against her, in league with the king of Epirus. Olympias displayed herself at the head of a train equipped with Bacchanalian emblems. Her presence won over the wavering fidelity of the Macedonians. Eurydicé fled with her husband to Amphipolis, where both were seized and murdered in the most cruel manner by Olympias, who proceeded to put to death the family and friends of Antipater. Cassander now marched into Macedonia to stay and avenge these barbarities. After a siege of some months, Olympias surrendered Pydna, with Roxana and the young Alexander, on condition that her own life

should be spared; but Cassander broke his faith rather than incur the danger of letting her live. He imprisoned Roxana and her son at Amphipolis, entirely setting aside the claims of Alexander. Polysperchon retired into Æolia, and left Cassander master of Macedonia (B.C. 316).

Antigonus had not waited for the death of Aridæus and the captivity of Alexander to seize the vacant throne. As the prize of his victory over Eumenes, he claimed the mastery of all Asia,* being thus the first to cast off the mask. He had the claim of being the oldest of Alexander's generals, and the most skilful in the field. He was nothing but a rough soldier, cruel, faithless, and avaricious, with a savage manner, made the more sinister by the loss of one eye. Yet his blunt straightforward humour gained the affection of soldiers as rough as himself. Once, it is said, when he overheard two sentinels complaining that he was starving them to death, and they must go over to the enemy, he thrust his pike at them through the canvas of his tent, bidding them go out of his hearing if they wanted to abuse him. His kingdom now extended over all Asia Minor and Upper Asia, except the satrapy of Babylon, which was held by Seleucus. On his return from Upper Asia, Antigonus ordered Seleucus to be arrested; but the latter escaped from Babylon, and fled to Ptolemy in Egypt.

A league was now formed against Antigonus by Ptolemy and Seleucus with Cassander and Lysimachus, who during all these events had by the greatest skill subdued all Thrace. The allies required Antigonus to surrender Upper Asia, and to content himself with the lower provinces. The generals of Antigonus found sufficient occupation for Cassander in Greece, and Lysimachus took little part in the war in Asia, which was thus almost confined at first to Antigonus and Ptolemy. The latter held the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine,† which were destined henceforward to be the battle-field between the Greek kingdoms of Syria and Egypt. Here Antigonus waged a successful war with Ptolemy, and here we first meet with his son Demetrius, then quite a young man, who added to the vices he inherited from his father the most contemptible meanness, and a taste for the lowest debauchery. Niebuhr, with characteristic vehemence, calls him "the most unprin-

* He did not assume the title of king till some years later.

† The name Cœle-Syria (i. e. *Hollow Syria*) denotes properly the valley between the two ranges of Lebanon; but, in the history of the wars between the Greek kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, it is constantly used to include Palestine. Damascus was the capital of Cœle-Syria in this wider sense.

cipled and most detestable man that ever existed." Nevertheless, he has obtained a conspicuous name in history, and the high-sounding title of Poliorcetes (*Besieger of Cities*), by a peculiar development of that mechanical skill which distinguished the Macedonian engineers. Demetrius was only eighteen years old when he was entrusted by his father with the command in Cœle-Syria, having already distinguished himself in the campaign against Eumenes. His defeat at Gaza (B.C. 312) was partly retrieved by a subsequent victory, and Cœle-Syria was again overrun by Antigonus. Seleucus took advantage of the battle of Gaza to recover Babylon, and a victory over Nicanor, the lieutenant of Antigonus, soon afterwards gave him possession of Media, and laid the foundation of the great kingdom of his successors.* The exhaustion of all the combatants brought about a general peace, by which the division of power was left much as it was before the war. Antigonus kept Asia, Ptolemy Egypt, Lysimachus Thrace, and Cassander was to hold Macedonia and Greece till Alexander, who was now sixteen, should come to full age; but he at once made the crown his own by the murder of the young prince and his mother (B.C. 311). In the following year, Polysperchon, who was in Ætolia, sent for Hercules, the illegitimate son of Alexander, now seventeen years of age, from Pergamus, and proclaimed him king; but he was bribed by Cassander to murder him and his mother (B.C. 309). The last surviving relative of Alexander, his sister Cleopatra, who was about to marry Ptolemy, was secretly murdered by Antigonus at Sardis. Such was the end of Alexander's labours to found his imperial house.

The peace was not intended to be permanent, and it was broken in the following year. Ptolemy came forward as the liberator of the Greek cities, to which Cassander had failed to grant the freedom stipulated for them by the treaty. Having subdued Cyprus and the southern shores of Asia Minor, he appeared on the coast of Peloponnesus with a powerful fleet (B.C. 308). Sicyon and Corinth were at once surrendered to him by Cratesipolis, the widow of Alexander, the son of Polysperchon; but from the other cities he received only vague promises. He therefore made a treaty with Cassander, and withdrew from Greece, leaving garrisons in Sicyon and Corinth. Antigonus now resolved to attack Cassander in the name of the liberty of the Greek cities. The campaigns of his son Demetrius Poliorcetes will be noticed in the next chapter. His first stay in Greece, during which he captured Athens, was but

* The "Era of the Seleucidæ" dates from this year, B.C. 312.

brief, as he was recalled to Asia by Antigonus to besiege Salamis in Cyprus (B.C. 307). There he gained a decisive naval victory over the Egyptian fleet of 140 vessels under Menelaüs, the brother of Ptolemy, who was compelled, in consequence, to surrender Cyprus (B.C. 309). Antigonus, now master of the sea, and of almost the whole of Asia, assumed the title of king; and his example was followed by Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus. Each made his accession a new chronological epoch, the "Macedonian Eras," of which that of the Seleucidæ is alone used in chronology.

Antigonus and his son having been completely foiled in an attempt to decide the war by invading Egypt, Demetrius made an attack on Rhodes, which had refused its aid against Ptolemy. The siege is one of the most memorable in ancient history, for the new and tremendous engines of attack, and the preseverance of the defence; and the "Besieger of Cities" at length retired baffled (B.C. 305—304). He then returned to Greece; and had carried on the war against Cassander for nearly four years with such success, as to be saluted at Corinth as the Captain of the Greeks, when he was once more recalled to assist his father in Asia. Before his departure, he made a treaty with Cassander, by which Greece was declared free (B.C. 301).

The new danger which was now pressing upon Antigonus, arose from the growing power of Seleucus. Re-established, as we have seen, at Babylon, ten years before, he had employed the interval in subduing the whole of Upper Asia, from the Euphrates to the Oxus and the Indus. He now made a new coalition with Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, against Antigonus, whose Asiatic possessions were reduced to Asia Minor, Northern Syria, and Cyprus. Scarcely anything is known of the details of the campaign, except that the confederates poured from all sides into Asia Minor, where Antigonus mustered all his forces to resist them. Demetrius, marching from Thessaly through Thrace, joined his father before the decisive battle of IPSUS, in Phrygia (August, B.C. 301).* Immense numbers, with many elephants, fought on both sides. The victory was mainly decided by the heavy infantry of Cassander and Lysimachus. Antigonus died on the field of battle, at the age of eighty-one. Owing to the negligence of the allies in the pursuit, Demetrius made an orderly retreat to Ephesus with the remnant

* This is the received date, confirmed by the authority of Clinton; Mr. Grote's arguments for fixing the battle as late as the beginning of B.C. 300, do not appear to be decisive.

of the army. Thence he passed over to Cyprus, and afterwards to Greece and Macedonia. The possessions of Antigonus were divided between Lysimachus and Seleucus, the former obtaining the greater part of Asia Minor, and the latter Northern Syria, with part of Phrygia and Cappadocia, while Cassander seemed to be secured in the possession of Macedonia and Greece. The events that followed the battle of Ipsus are so connected, for the most part, with the history of Greece, that we reserve them for the following chapter; only now casting a glance at the settlement of those new Asiatic kingdoms which, from the large intermixture of Greek elements in their government, their population, and their language, have received the title of *Hellenistic.** Their further history is not of intrinsic importance enough to be pursued in detail; it will be best reviewed when they reappear as drawn within the sphere of Roman action.

By far the greatest part of the East was divided between the two kingdoms of Syria and Egypt. The former was the more powerful; the latter by far the more compact, and therefore the more lasting. Nor was this result less due to the very different policy pursued by the two dynasties of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies;—perhaps we should say, forced upon the former by their position between the growing powers of the West, and the forces still residing in the nomad tribes of the East. From the very first, Seleucus, as we shall soon see, was brought into a conflict with the kings of Macedonia and Thrace, which only ended with his assassination by Ptolemy Ceraunus (B.C. 280). He was succeeded by his son, Antiochus I., Soter. Amidst his constant wars, Seleucus had found time to carry on with great vigour the diffusion of Hellenic civilization through his empire, especially by the erection of cities, settled by Greek and Macedonian colonists, which were called by the names of Antioch, Seleucia, Apamea, and Stratonicea, after his father, himself, and his two wives, besides others bearing such Macedonian appellations as Berœa, Edessa, and Pella. The chief of these was the exquisitely beautiful Antioch, now *Antakia*, in Syria, which rose amidst its gardens, by the luxurious grove of Daphne, in the fair valley of the Orontes, between the mountain ranges of Casius and Amanus. Hither Seleucus transferred his capital from Babylon, and here the Seleucidæ reigned for nearly 250 years; but their wide empire was speedily narrowed to a precarious tenure of Syria itself. At

* The term *Grecian*, used by our old writers, and among the rest by the translators of the Bible, is not sufficiently distinguished from *Greek* to be exact.

the end of half a century (B.C. 250), the revolt of the Parthians cut off the provinces beyond the Euphrates. Half a century later, the ambitious interference of Antiochus III., the Great, with the Romans in Greece lost him all Asia Minor beyond the Taurus. His successor, Antiochus Epiphanes, forfeited Palestine by his mad persecution of the Jews. From his time, the history of Syria dwindles away into a succession of murderous contests within, and dangers on all sides from Parthia, Egypt, and Rome, till Pompey constituted Syria a Roman province in B.C. 65.

Meanwhile, in Egypt, the prudent policy of Ptolemy I., the son of Lagus, surnamed Soter (Saviour) by the Rhodians after their great siege, had laid the solid foundations of that growing prosperity and civilization which reached its climax under his successor, Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, who was associated with his father in the kingdom in B.C. 285, and began to reign alone in B.C. 283. We have already given a summary of the history of Egypt, down to its incorporation with the Roman empire in B.C. 30.*

A third kingdom arose in Asia Minor about this epoch out of the ruins of that of Lysimachus. It was founded by Philetærus, a Paphlagonian eunuch, who, having been left by Lysimachus in charge of his treasures at Pergamus, revolted to Seleucus, when he saw the scale turning in his favour. The death of Seleucus enabled Philetærus to found a kingdom, to which his successor gave an air of old legitimacy by assuming the name of Eumenes.† Comprising at first the north-western corner of Asia Minor, it was greatly enlarged by the Romans, who, after the defeat of Antiochus the Great, conferred upon their ally, Eumenes II., the whole of Mysia, Lydia, the two Phrygias, Lycaonia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia (B.C. 190), which his grandson, Attalus III., gratefully restored to them by his testament (B.C. 133), and which formed the province of Asia. It was under Eumenes II. that Pergamus became a seat of learning which rivalled Alexandria, with a library, in the formation of which the scarce ‡ and fragile papyrus was replaced by *parchment* (*charta Pergamena*).

It remains only to mention the Greek kingdom of BACTRIA,

* Vol. I. p. 141.

† The following is a list of the kings of Pergamus:—Philetærus, B.C. 280—263; Eumenes I., B.C. 263—241; Attalus I., B.C. 241—197; Eumenes II., B.C. 197—159; Attalus II., Philadelphus, B.C. 159—138; Attalus III., Philometor, B.C. 138—133.

‡ Scarce, because of the vast quantity used in Egypt.

founded by the revolt of Theodotus, the governor of the province, from Antiochus II., in B.C. 255, and overthrown by the Parthians about B.C. 125, after its kings had ruled over a considerable part of India; and the Persian kingdoms of Pontus and Cappadocia, which, established by the rebellion of satraps in the last days of the empire, regained their independence with the decline of the Seleucidæ, and will be heard of again in the course of Roman history.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LAST YEARS OF LIBERTY IN GREECE.—FROM THE EXPEDITION OF ALEXANDER TO THE RISE OF THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE. B.C. 334 TO B.C. 280.

"Much-suffering heroes next their honours claim,
Those of less noisy, and less guilty fame.
Here his abode the martyr'd PHOCION claims,
With AGIS, not the last of Spartan names."—POPE.

CONDITION OF GREECE AT ALEXANDER'S DEPARTURE—ATHENS AND SPARTA—MOVEMENTS OF AGIS—HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH—ÆSCHINES AND DEMOSTHENES—AFFAIR OF HARPALUS—EXILE OF DEMOSTHENES—ALEXANDER'S EDICT FOR RESTORING THE EXILES—EFFECT OF ALEXANDER'S DEATH—THE LAMIAN WAR—VICTORY OF ANTIPATER—DEATHS OF HYPERIDES, DEMOSTHENES, AND DEMADES—POLYSPERCHON—PROCLAMATION OF GREEK LIBERTY—DEATH OF PHOCION—CASSANDER MASTER OF ATHENS—DEMETRIUS THE PHALEREAN—CASSANDER IN PELOPONNESUS—FORTIFICATION OF SPARTA—AFFAIRS OF MACEDONIA—RESTORATION OF THEBES—SUCCESSES OF ANTIGONUS IN GREECE—GENERAL PACIFICATION—CASSANDER MASTER OF MACEDONIA AND GREECE—DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES AT ATHENS—HIS SECOND VISIT—SUCCESSFUL WAR WITH CASSANDER—RECALL TO ASIA, AND RETURN TO GREECE—REPULSE FROM ATHENS—DEATH OF CASSANDER—PHILIP IV., ANTIPATER, AND ALEXANDER—DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES TAKES ATHENS—KING OF MACEDONIA—HIS WARS IN GREECE—WITH PYRRHUS AND LYSIMACHUS—HIS FLIGHT TO ASIA, IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH—EXPULSION OF PYRRHUS BY LYSIMACHUS—ANARCHY IN MACEDONIA—ANTIGONUS GONATAS AND HIS DYNASTY—DEATH OF LYSIMACHUS—PYRRHUS IN ITALY—IRRUPTION OF THE GAULS—RISE OF THE ÆTOLIAN AND ACHÆAN LEAGUES—CONNECTION OF GREECE WITH THE WEST—SICILIAN AND ITALIAN GREEKS—AGATHOCLES—LITERATURE AND ART DURING THE MACEDONIAN PERIOD—SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY.

WE have now to look back upon the condition of Greece during the absence of Alexander in Asia, and the period of the wars of the Diadochi. It is seldom that a free country acquisces in the surrender of its liberty. Political rights may be snatched away by a surprise, borne down by force, or forfeited by apathy and internal dissensions; but a vigorous political life only expires, after many a hard struggle, in the crushing embrace of overwhelming strength. The Macedonian conquest had deprived Greece of the free use of her liberty; but it was only finally extinguished by the arms of Rome. When the time arrived for the catastrophe, it proved an immense gain to the conquerors, and to the whole world, that the Hellenic life had not first been absorbed into an Oriental despotism. The last efforts for liberty kept alive that "ingenium civile," which was a more precious gift even than the arts and letters which the victors received from the vanquished.

In accepting the results of Chæronea and of the fall of Thebes,

the Greeks had consoled themselves with the belief, whether real or affected, that their conqueror was their proper leader to the final triumph over Persia. How far this sentiment wrought among them, as at least a pretext for willing and even flattering consent, and how there remained a party which had not abandoned a truer view of the case, we have already seen. It is difficult to estimate the strength of that party throughout Greece; and we can only trace its working with certainty at Athens and at Sparta, in the party divisions of the former state and the sturdy secession of the latter. The intuitive sagacity of Alexander judged rightly of the position of the two cities, when he took every opportunity to flatter Athens, but without loosening his grasp upon her, while he excepted Sparta from all share in the honours of the common enterprise.* The difference was equally marked in the conduct of the two cities themselves.

While the patriot party at Athens were retailing every piece of news that seemed unfavourable to Alexander, with more curiosity than hope, the Spartans, under the guidance of King Agis III.,† were watching their opportunity for action, and meanwhile reviving, with considerable success, the confederacy of Poloponnesian states. How little reason there was for despair, if Darius had shown the least power of resistance, is apparent from the feelings excited by the successes of the Persian fleet under Memnon (B.C. 334—333). We have seen how the change in the plans of Darius, consequent upon Memnon's death, paralyzed the fleet by the withdrawal of the Grecian mercenaries, and how, though Pharnabazus continued the operations in the Ægæan, and met Agis to concert a landing in Peloponnesus, he was recalled to Asia by the news of the battle of Issus. He left, however, ten triremes and thirty talents with Agis, who sent his brother Agesilaus to reduce Crete, and Alexander found it necessary to send a naval force to act against him (B.C. 331).

In the following spring, Agis declared open war against Antipater, the regent of Macedonia. The time seems ill-chosen, so soon after the victory of Arbela; but he was perhaps encouraged by Alexander's increasing distance from Europe, as well as by the revolt of the Macedonian governor of Thrace. Agis was joined by many of the Greek mercenaries who had been serving Darius; and he obtained the support of the Eleans, the Achæans, and the

* See, for examples, chap. xvi. pp. 38, 47, 49, 50, 52, 58.

† The Eurysthenid king, Cleomenes II., appears to have been a mere cipher throughout his long reign of sixty-one years.

Arcadians, except Megalopolis, which was decidedly Macedonian. The influence of Phocion kept down the war party at Athens, and even Demosthenes would not advise the risk. The brief war which followed was confined to Peloponnesus. Agis, with an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, laid siege to Megalopolis, which Antipater hastened to relieve; and Agis fell, with 5000 men, in a battle so desperate that it cost the victors 3500 killed and wounded. The synod of Greek states was again convened at Corinth, to pronounce the complete submission of Greece, and Lacedæmonian envoys followed Alexander as far as Bactra to place their city at his disposal. We are not told what answer they received. The defeat of Agis seemed to secure a complete ascendancy to the Macedonian party at Athens, who seized the opportunity for that grand attack upon Ctesiphon and Demosthenes, which recoiled so signally upon Æschines (B.C. 330).

The history of Greece is now a complete blank till the return of Alexander from India to Susa (B.C. 325). Among the satraps who had abused their power during his absence, was Harpalus, whom he had treated with distinguished favour, and made governor of Babylon. While Harpalus was engaged in squandering the royal treasure in luxury, and treating his subjects with true Oriental tyranny, he was cultivating close relations with Athens, and sending presents both to the city and to many of the leading statesmen. So, when he fled from Babylon, with 5000 soldiers and a large treasure, he steered for Cape Sunium, secure of a favourable reception. Prudence, however, forbade a step so directly hostile to Alexander; and Phocion and Demosthenes were agreed in opposing it. Nay more, when envoys came from Antipater demanding that Harpalus should be given up, it was Demosthenes who moved his arrest. He contrived, however, to escape from the prison, and fled to Crete, leaving his treasure under sequestration in the Acropolis. On comparing its value with the account given in by Harpalus, a large deficiency was discovered; and the Areopagus, after investigating the matter on the motion of Demosthenes himself, preferred a charge of peculation against several citizens, amongst whom were Demosthenes and Demades. The latter fled, but the former was found guilty by a dicastery of 1500 citizens, and sentenced to a fine of fifty talents. Having no means of payment, he was cast into prison, whence he escaped, and resided sometimes at Trœzen, and sometimes at Ægina. It is said that he might often be seen upon the beach, shedding tears as he looked to the coast of Attica. Among his accusers was Hyperides, the

most violent enemy of Philip and Alexander; and there can be little doubt that his condemnation was secured by a disgraceful combination of the Macedonian party with the friends of Harpalus, whom he had refused to support, and who wanted a scapegoat for their own corruption.*

One of Alexander's last acts was to throw a firebrand into Greece. In the midst of his own final triumph in Asia, he doubtless felt secure of obedience in providing a triumph for his partisans at home. Nicanor was sent to the Olympic festival (B.C. 224) with a rescript proclaiming to the exiles throughout Greece their restoration to their cities, which Antipater was instructed to enforce. Under the guise of a universal amnesty, the edict provided in effect for the maintenance of a Macedonian party in every state—for its supremacy in many. Envoys were sent to remonstrate with Alexander; and the whole of Greece was already in excitement when the news arrived of the monarch's death.

The feeling produced is summed up in the striking image of the orator Demades, that the power of Macedonia was now like the monster Polyphemus when Ulysses had put out his single eye. The long-suppressed desire for free action found vent at Athens, in spite of the opposition of Phocion, who remained at his post, and kept his office as General, while others of his party fled to Antipater. Though Demosthenes was in exile, the youthful orator Leosthenes united with Hyperides in stirring up the people. Forty triremes, and 200 quadriremes,† were ordered to be equipped, and all citizens under forty years of age were called out. Envoys were sent round to the cities of Greece, and their efforts were seconded by Demosthenes, who was presently recalled in triumph. By the autumn, Leosthenes found himself in command of an allied army near Thermopylæ, though Bœotia, Corinth, Sparta, and Megalopolis, kept down by Macedonian garrisons, rendered no assistance. His force amounted to 13,000 foot and 600 horse, with 110 ships, which sailed along the coast.

The decision of the Thessalians for the Greek cause deprived Antipater of their splendid cavalry, and entailed upon him a great defeat in Thessaly. He threw himself into the town of

* See the elaborate argument of Mr. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. xii. pp. 402—416.

† Vessels with four banks of oars, which began about this time to replace the smaller but more handy triremes. The difference, to compare small things with great, is something like that between the first-rates and seventy-fours of the British navy, both now becoming as obsolete as the triremes. The battle of Salamis, mentioned in the last chapter, was remarkable for the large size of the ships engaged.

Lamia, near the Spercheius, to await the aid which he sent to ask from Asia. The allies were obliged to be content with a blockade, and Phocion indulged in sinister predictions:—"The short race has been run splendidly; but I fear we shall not have strength to hold out for the long course." The augury seemed confirmed by the death of Leosthenes, who was struck on the head by a stone hurled from a catapult; and a fatal delay took place while his successor was being chosen. Little advantage was gained by the defeat and death of Leonnatus, who had advanced from Asia into Thessaly with 20,000 foot and 2500 horse. His army was rallied by Antipater, who escaped from Lamia, and retired into Macedonia, to await the approach of Craterus; while his fleet gained some advantages over the Athenians.

In the following summer, the united forces of Antipater and Craterus gained a decisive victory over the allies at Crannon in Thessaly, and Greece lay once more at the mercy of the Macedonian regent (August, B.C. 322). Refusing to treat, except with individual states, he marched to the Cadmean fort, where Thebes once had stood, as if about to enter Attica. Demosthenes, Hyperides, and the other anti-Macedonian leaders, fled to Ægina, and thence to sanctuaries elsewhere, while Phocion and Demades went to intercede with Antipater for the city. The best terms they could obtain were the surrender of the leading orators, including Hyperides and Demosthenes, the restriction of the franchise, and the admission of a Macedonian garrison into the port of Munychia. Demades, who has been so often named as the servile partisan of Macedonia, moved the decree for the arrest of the orators, and officers were sent with the envoys of Antipater to pursue them. The temples in which they had taken sanctuary proved no protection. Hyperides was carried back to Athens and put to death, after Antipater—as it is said—had taken revenge for his free speech by ordering his tongue to be cut out and thrown to the dogs. Demosthenes escaped a fate probably still worse by a voluntary death, which was no crime in the eyes of a Greek. The story is related with various romantic details, but all we know for certain is that, when the satellites of Antipater came to drag him from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Calauria, he took poison in the temple, and then coming forth, as if to surrender himself, he died as he passed the threshold. It was affirmed by his nephew Demochares that, instead of dying by his own hand, he had been removed, like Sophocles, by an *euthanasia* in the sacred precinct, beyond the reach of Macedonian cruelty. At least it was time

for him to die, when he had survived the freedom to which his life had been devoted. His fate was less lamentable than that of his great rival Phocion, who perished by a similar death, after he had been compelled for a few years to administer the city according to the will of the Macedonian conqueror. But he deserves at least the praise of doing his best to govern justly.

Antipater followed up his victory by setting up oligarchies of Macedonian partisans in the leading cities of Greece, and by wholesale deportations of the free citizens. Having reduced all Peloponnesus, he had crossed over with Craterus into Ætolia, with the design of transporting the rude and warlike inhabitants, to people the deserts of Upper Asia, when both were recalled, as we have seen, to resist the projects of Perdiccas (B.C. 321). The only event worth recording, in Greece, before the death of Antipater, is the savage murder of Demades, who had been sent to Pella to request the withdrawal of the garrison from Munychia. Unluckily for the orator, a letter of his had been found among the papers of Perdiccas, urging him to come over and rescue Greece from her dependence on "an old and rotten warp." Cassander avenged the insult to his father by putting Demades to death, after his son had been killed in his arms. Thus were the friends as well as the foes of Macedonia cut down one after the other (B.C. 319).

The civil war which the will of Antipater caused between his son Cassander and his successor Polysperchon, involved the whole of Greece, and Athens first of all. Polysperchon, having allied himself with Olympias, and acting in her name and that of the sons of Alexander, who were now at Pella, issued an edict, proclaiming that the Greek cities should be delivered from the oligarchies set up by Antipater, and their constitutions restored, as they had existed under Philip and Alexander; and the exiles expelled by Antipater were recalled to their homes. The Athenians at once required the Macedonian garrison to evacuate Munychia. But Nicanor, who had been sent by Cassander to supersede the former governor, not only refused, but took Piræus by surprise, while Phocion, who was still at the head of affairs, not only neglected to take precautions, but refused to lead the Athenians to recover the port. Things were in this state, when Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, arrived with the advanced guard of his father's army, to enforce a peremptory mandate from Olympias for the evacuation of the garrison; but instead of making common cause with the Athenians, Alexander spent the time in fruitless negotiations with Nicanor, till Cassander arrived at Piræus with a large armament

supplied to him by Antigonus. The blame of all was laid on Phocion, who was accused of intriguing both with Nicanor and Alexander, to obtain protection against the returning exiles. These had no sooner recovered their power in the city, than they proceeded to depose the magistrates who had held office under the government established by Antipater, and among them Phocion. Some were condemned to death; others fled; and Phocion repaired to the camp of Alexander, who received him well, and sent him with letters to Polysperchon, to whom the Athenians also sent a deputation, accusing Phocion of high treason. Polysperchon affected to hear the case impartially; but, bent on obtaining Piræus for himself, he endeavoured to conciliate the Athenians by giving up Phocion, who was sent in chains to the city. He was tried by the popular assembly, and condemned to death, with four colleagues, amidst the most insulting exhibition of vindictive feeling by the returned exiles. He bore all with the most dignified patience; and his last words, before he drank the hemlock, were to bid his son to cherish no evil memory of the Athenians. He died at the age of eighty-five. The Athenians soon afterwards received Cassander into the city, who restored the oligarchical government, under the distinguished orator, philosopher, and poet, Demetrius of Phalerum, who held his power for ten years. Meanwhile, the repulse of Polysperchon from Megalopolis, and the defeat of his navy by that of Cassander, strengthened the party of the latter throughout Greece. In a progress through Peloponnesus, he received the adhesion of most of the cities. One incident, highly characteristic of the abandonment of old Greek traditions is, that the Spartans now for the first time surrounded their city with walls (B.C. 317).

We have seen how Cassander was recalled to Macedonia to put down the sanguinary tyranny of Olympias. His successes drove Polysperchon back into Ætolia, while Alexander maintained himself in Peloponnesus. It was on his way to attack the latter that Cassander rebuilt Thebes, twenty years after its destruction by Alexander, and invited back the Theban exiles from all the cities of Greece, Sicily, and Italy. The measure was most popular through the whole Hellenic world; the Athenians, Megalopolitans, and Messenians, being especially forward in aiding the work (B.C. 315).

Cassander had already gained great successes in Peloponnesus, when Antigonus began to interfere in the affairs of Greece, proclaiming freedom to the cities. He despatched an armament

under Aristodemus to the aid of Alexander, with whom Cassander proceeded to make terms, leaving him the government of the peninsula under himself; and both were thus united against Aristodemus. Alexander was soon after assassinated, but his widow Cratesipolis maintained herself in Sicyon, while Cassander gained considerable advantages over the Ætolians, formerly the allies of Polysperchon, and now of Antigonus. The latter now made a vigorous effort by sending over a new armament under his nephew Ptolemy, who was rapidly gaining ground in every quarter, when the war was suspended by the general pacification of B.C. 311, and all the powers united to guarantee the autonomy of the Greek cities, though the provision remained a dead letter, and Cassander kept his garrisons in the cities that he now held. He afterwards granted the government of Peloponnesus to Polysperchon, as the price of his treachery in the murder of Hercules; * while his own power in Northern Greece seems to have embraced all the western coast and a large part of Epirus (B.C. 309). We have seen how he secured the crown of Macedonia by the murder of Roxana and Alexander.

The abortive expedition of the Egyptian Ptolemy (B.C. 308)† had, however, the effect of drawing upon Cassander the more serious attacks of Antigonus, who sent over his son Demetrius Poliorcetes, with a formidable armament, from Ephesus. Such was the confused state of the relations between Greece and the generals in Asia, that when Demetrius suddenly appeared on the coast of Africa in May, B.C. 307, his fleet was mistaken for that of Ptolemy, the ally of Cassander, and he sailed into Piræus before the error was discovered. Demetrius the Phalerean, after governing well for some years, during which he improved the laws of Athens and adorned the city with splendid buildings, had degenerated into a sensual and luxurious despot. So, when Demetrius Poliorcetes proclaimed that he had come to free the city and to expel the Macedonian garrison, the people went over to him, and the late ruler retired to Thebes, and thence to Egypt. After reducing the Macedonian garrisons both of Munychia and Megara, and declaring the latter city free, Demetrius made a triumphal entry into Athens, proclaiming the freedom of the city, and promising magnificent donations from his father. He was received with such unbounded adulation and divine honours to his father and himself, that he is said to have declared himself ashamed of these degenerate Athenians. The only voice raised in opposition to the universal flattery

* See chap. xvii. p. 88. † Ibid.

was that of Demochares, the nephew of Demosthenes. Amidst the reaction against the philosopher Demetrius of Phalerum, a law was passed restricting the liberty of teaching in the philosophic schools, which were now, as we shall soon see, at the height of their reputation. The philosophers made a spirited appeal by leaving Athens in a body, and the decree was repealed the next year. Demetrius had remained only a few months at Athens, when he was recalled, as we have seen, to the naval war on the shores of Cyprus (B.C. 306).

During the absence of Demetrius in the East, the war in Greece was renewed between Polysperchon and Cassander. The latter had gained a decided advantage at many points—had taken Corinth, and was blockading Athens by sea and land, when Demetrius opportunely returned with a large fleet to the Euripus, and landed at Aulis in Bœotia. Cassander, thus threatened in the rear, raised the siege of Athens, and retired towards Thessaly. He was pursued and defeated near Thermopylæ by Demetrius, to whom a body of 6000 Macedonian troops went over. Demetrius once more entered Athens, to be received with flattery more abject and impious than had been paid to himself and his father some years before. A decree was carried by Stratocles, that Athena invited Demetrius to be her guest. Lodged in the back chamber* of the Parthenon, he profaned the temple with the most abominable orgies of Aphrodité, to whom he erected chapels throughout the city for his courtezans. The only voice raised against the decree of Stratocles is said to have been that of Demochares, the nephew of Demosthenes, who at all events was soon banished from Athens for his opposition to the extreme measures of the flatterers of Demetrius.†

In the following spring (B.C. 303), Demetrius prosecuted the war in Peloponnesus against the garrisons of Cassander and Ptolemy. He conquered Corinth, Sicyon, all the states of Argolis, and the whole of Arcadia, except Mantinea; and he made an expedition with his fleet to Leucas and Corcyra. After these successes, a congress at Corinth conferred upon Demetrius, as formerly upon Philip and Alexander, the dignity of captain-general of the Greeks. In the spring of B.C. 302, he returned to Athens, and

* It has been already explained, that the *Opisthodomus*, or back chamber, of a Greek temple was not the inner shrine, but a sort of vestry and treasury, as well as a lodging for the keepers of the temple.

† The return of Demetrius was in B.C. 304; the banishment of Demochares in B.C. 303–2.

was received as a god by a procession of the people, with garlands and incense. But even the hymn which they sang to him, as the god who alone had appeared to deliver them, was the measure of their debasement and distress. It is especially interesting to observe the language used respecting the growing power of the Ætolians, who are compared to the Sphinx, flying from its rock to carry off the helpless citizens. Both the order of the calendar and the most venerable customs of religion were made to yield to the wish of Demetrius, to be at once initiated into the highest grade of the Eleusinian mysteries. In the proper course, a candidate could only be initiated at the Lesser Mysteries, in the month of Anthesterion, and admitted to the higher decree sixteen months later, in Boëdromion. Demetrius had reached Athens in Munychion, two months after the former period; but, on the motion of Stratocles, it was declared that the current month should be considered as Anthesterion, and the next month as the Boëdromion of the following year; and then, after the two ceremonies, another decree set the calendar right again. A century before, Aristophanes had made Meton's reform of the calendar an occasion for the jest, that the gods and men would be celebrating their festivals at different times; but such proceedings as these prove, as Niebuhr observes, that "no one at that time had much faith in those matters; all was mere curiosity, and an obscure remnant of superstition." Demetrius repaid this adultation by exacting from the Athenians a contribution of 250 talents, which he insulted them by squandering on his pleasures.

Still pursuing the object of driving Cassander out of Greece and Macedonia, he marched into Thessaly at the head of 56,000 men, and became master of much of the country. His continued success was one cause of the new coalition against his father in Asia; and Cassander protracted the contest till Demetrius was recalled by Antigonus to share his defeat at Ipsus. Before he left Greece, he concluded a peace with Cassander, by which the Hellenic cities were declared free (B.C. 301).

The military talents of Demetrius were conspicuous in his conduct after the battle of Ipsus. Retreating with the remnant of the army, he, joined his fleet at Ephesus, and passed over to Cyprus, where he rallied all his forces, in order to secure Greece. There he might hope to hold out till the coalition of the generals in Asia should be dissolved by their mutual jealousies, and his own aid be sought, as in fact soon afterwards happened. For this contingency he at once paved the way by opening negotiations

with Ptolemy, through the medium of the young Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, whose name now appears in history for the first time, and of whose share in these transactions more will be said anon. But Demetrius had not calculated on the great effect produced in Greece by the defeat of Ipsus. Most of the cities that had so lately saluted him as their leader hastened to make their submission to Cassander. Even Athens had recovered from her servile prostration, and recalled Demochares, who guided her councils in the spirit of his uncle. Demetrius had already sailed from Ephesus, secure of a favourable reception at Athens, when he was met by an embassy, forbidding him to approach the city. At the same time they conducted his wife, with all her retinue and property, to Megara, and gave up to him the ships and treasures he had left behind. It was not the policy of Demetrius to involve himself in a war with Greece, which he had hoped to use as his basis of operations against Asia. So he carried his armament to the Thracian Chersonese, and there began an irregular warfare against Lysimachus.

Meanwhile Lysimachus and Ptolemy had formed a closer league with each other, to counteract which, Seleucus sought the aid of Demetrius, and sued for the hand of his daughter, whom he afterwards resigned to his son Antiochus. This is the earliest example of these incestuous marriages, which afterwards became common both among the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies. Demetrius forthwith sailed to Syria, and on his way he made himself master of Cilicia; and his refusal to give up this acquisition produced an ill feeling with Seleucus at the very moment of their alliance. About the same time, the negotiations which Demetrius had opened with Ptolemy were brought to a successful issue. Thus strengthened, he returned to Greece, and gained a footing in Peloponnesus before he attempted to recover Athens.

It was about this time that Cassander died, after he had enjoyed for a few years the power restored to him by the victory of Ipsus (B.C. 297). He left three sons, Philip, Antipater, and Alexander. The first succeeded to the Macedonian throne as Philip IV., but died of sickness the next year (B.C. 296). His death was followed by one of those murderous contests, which now became the usual incidents of the succession to the crown. Antipater killed his mother, whom he suspected of favouring Alexander; and the latter, esteeming his own life in danger, applied for aid both to Pyrrhus and Demetrius. The order of events is now obscure; but it seems that Demetrius was engaged in the siege of Athens;

and so Pyrrhus had the first opportunity, which he hastened to seize. It is now time to give some account of the life of this remarkable man up to the present period.

The country of Epirus, the most ancient seat of the Pelasgic religion, and, according to some accounts, the cradle of the Hellenic race, was now subject to the Æacid family of Molossian princes, who claimed their descent from Pyrrhus or Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles. It seemed to be the destiny of these princes to bring on the inevitable collision between the powers of Greece and Italy. The first who bore the title of King of Epirus, Alexander, the son of Neoptolemus, and brother of Olympias, was killed in the war which he waged on behalf of the Tarentines against the Lucanians and Brutti (B.C. 326). His cousin and successor, Æacides, was deposed by the Epirots, who disliked the part he took in the war of Olympias against Cassander (B.C. 316). He was subsequently recalled; but only to be defeated and slain in battle by Philip, the son of Cassander, who thus obtained the mastery of Epirus (B.C. 313). Pyrrhus, the son of Æacides, was born in B.C. 318. On his father's deposition, the infant, saved by his faithful servants, found refuge with Glaucias, the king of the Illyrian Taulantians, who brought him up with his own children, and refused to betray him to Cassander for a large bribe. Niebuhr observes the resemblance in the conduct of the old Illyrian chief to the respect of the modern Albanians for the ties of hospitality, when once their word is pledged, notwithstanding their cruelty and venality. The same historian sees a proof of the natural excellence of the character of Pyrrhus in the fact that he was not barbarized by his early training. Ten years later, Glaucias restored Pyrrhus, then only twelve years old, to the throne of Epirus; but, after five years, Cassander took advantage of the recall of Demetrius to Asia, to procure the expulsion of Pyrrhus by the Epirots. The young prince, who was now seventeen, fled to Demetrius, who had married his sister, and fought with great distinction on the field of Ipsus. He was then employed, as we have seen, in a negotiation with Ptolemy, whom, like all with whom he came in contact, Pyrrhus so won by the peculiar charm of his character, that the Egyptian king sent him back to Epirus with a large force, and the queen Berenicé gave him the hand of Antigoné, her daughter by a former marriage. Pyrrhus was well received by the Epirots, and concluded an arrangement with Neoptolemus,*

* Plutarch, who alone mentions this Neoptolemus, does not tell us who he was. Niebuhr supposes him to have been a son of Alexander, the late King of Epirus.

the reigning prince, to share the kingdom; but Neoptolemus was soon put to death, on the ground, as is supposed, of a plot against the life of Pyrrhus.

The wealth supplied by Ptolemy enabled Pyrrhus to raise Epirus to great prosperity. He founded cities, and developed the military resources of the country, doing for Epirus what Archelaus and Philip had done for Macedonia. Like the latter prince, he was passionately fond of war, and endowed by nature with the highest military genius. But here the resemblance ceased. Pyrrhus loved war, less for its substantial gains than for the excitement of the pursuit, as an artist works at his art to gratify an inward prompting. But, obeying only this impulse, his efforts were as desultory as they were eager. He is said to have purposely abstained from following up victory, lest the campaign should end too quickly, like a chase, the pleasure of which is lost if the game be caught too soon. Had he possessed Philip's steady purpose, and especially Philip's knowledge when to remain quiet, he might have been the greatest conqueror of his age, as he was almost, if not quite, the greatest captain of any age. Hannibal is said to have placed Pyrrhus first, Scipio second, and himself third, among the masters of the art of war; or, according to a more probable version of the story, he assigned the first rank to Alexander, the second to himself, and the third to Pyrrhus. He was one of the first generals that wrote on the art of war. But he was not cold-blooded enough to be a great conqueror. Some change of purpose, or some generous impulse, perpetually turned him aside from an advantage already won. He was compared by Antigonus Gonatas to a gambler, who is often favoured by the dice, but knows not how to use his luck;—he might have added, who cares not whether he loses or wins. For the most striking feature in the character of Pyrrhus was a frank and cordial cheerfulness, which bore him up through all the changes of fortune, and won the hearts of all with whom he had to deal. "There never was a prince," says Niebuhr, "in whom the character of a soldier had so much of poetry."

Pyrrhus had made some progress in the consolidation of his kingdom, when he was called to the aid of Alexander, who offered to give up to him certain districts which had been acquired by Macedonia on the frontier of Epirus, as well as Acarnania, Ambracia, and Amphilochia on the western coast. Pyrrhus speedily drove out Antipater, who fled to his father-in-law Lysimachus, in Thrace, and was not long after put to death by him.

Pyrrhus then withdrew to occupy his new possessions on the western coast, and fixed his residence at Ambracia. He soon became master of Corcyra, and probably of Leucas; and thus his kingdom looked towards Italy, in which he was destined soon to act so conspicuous a part.

Meanwhile Demetrius Poliorcetes had been prevented from at once obeying the call of Alexander by his occupation with the siege of Athens. The city had fallen under the tyranny of a certain Lachares, whom some call a demagogue, and others a creature of Cassander: he may have been both. The exiles whom he had driven out invited the aid of Demetrius; but the citizens in general, fearing his resentment for his former repulse, held out against a long blockade, till famine forced them to yield.* Demetrius forgave the past, and distributed corn to the famished people; but he took precautions for the future by placing garrisons in the ports of Piræus and Munychia, as well as on the hill of Museum (B.C. 295). He then advanced into Macedonia; and, having procured the assassination of Alexander, he was saluted by the army as king (B.C. 294). He was already in possession of nearly all Greece, except Bœotia, Ætolia, and the ports on the western coast in the hands of Pyrrhus. The reign of Demetrius lasted seven years, and was one perpetual series of wars with his neighbours in Europe, and with his rivals in Asia. For the greater part of this period he committed the government of Greece to his son, Antigonus Gonatas, who at last succeeded in founding a dynasty, which endured to the end of the Macedonian kingdom. In B.C. 292 Demetrius took Thebes, after an obstinate defence.

In the following year (B.C. 291), the misfortune of Lysimachus, who, having crossed the Danube, had been compelled to surrender with his whole army to the Getæ,† gave Demetrius an opportunity to invade Thrace; but he was recalled by a new revolt of Thebes, which was again taken in B.C. 290. During this campaign Pyrrhus invaded Thessaly, to make a diversion in favour of Thebes, but he was repulsed by Demetrius. At the same time the latter was engaged in war with the Ætolians. The confederacy of this rude people seemed now almost the sole refuge of Hellenic liberty, while the rest of the Greeks were passive spectators of the

* Among the more ordinary incidents of suffering, common to cities closely besieged, we are told of a father and son quarrelling for a dead mouse!

† These were the great and warlike people, apparently of Thracian origin, who were called Dacians by the Romans, and gave their name to the province of Dacia. The king of the Getæ behaved generously to Lysimachus, and soon released him.

conflicts of the two northern monarchies. Each invaded the other's country, and each gained victories over the other; but, while the conflict was thus indecisive, the moral victory remained with Pyrrhus. His chivalrous generosity, and his kindness to his prisoners, won the hearts of the Macedonians. Contrasting his frank simplicity with the ostentatious luxury and the tyrannical licence of Demetrius, they came to desire Pyrrhus for their king (B.C. 287).

While Demetrius was thus engaged at home, his Asiatic possessions were divided between Ptolemy and Seleucus, who now formed a new coalition with Lysimachus and Pyrrhus to strip him of his dominions in Europe. While Ptolemy sent a powerful fleet into Greece, and Lysimachus advanced against Macedonia from the east, Pyrrhus entered it from the west, the army went over to him, and he was proclaimed king, dividing the kingdom at first with Lysimachus. Demetrius fled to Asia, where, after adventures which it is not worth while to follow, he was compelled to surrender to Seleucus (B.C. 286). He was kept a close prisoner, though not otherwise ill-treated, till his death in B.C. 283.

The arrangement between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus soon came to an end. The latter had destined the crown of Macedonia for himself, and, when Pyrrhus had reigned only seven months, he again invaded Macedonia. The fickle people again went over from the Epirot stranger, as they now chose to regard Pyrrhus, to the old comrade of Alexander. Pyrrhus was driven back into Epirus (B.C. 286), whence, after a few years' rest, he undertook his memorable expedition into Italy. Thus, in the year which several other events concur to mark as an epoch in history, we find Greece for the first time brought into direct contact with Rome (B.C. 280). The celebrated campaigns of Pyrrhus in Italy and Sicily belong to the history of Rome (B.C. 280--275). After his return to Epirus he made a predatory war upon Antigonus Gonatas, whom he expelled, and became once more king of Macedonia (B.C. 273). He now aimed at the conquest of Greece. Repulsed from Sparta he marched to Argos, to support one of the contending factions, which admitted him into the city. But the citadel, and all the strong places, were held by the other party; and Pyrrhus was endeavouring to force his way back out of the place when a tile, hurled by a woman from a house-top, struck him on the nape of his neck, and he fell senseless from his horse. He was recognized and quickly despatched by the soldiers of Antigonus, who carried his head to their master. Antigonus showed great emotion on beholding it, and ordered the remains of

Pyrrhus to be interred with due honours. Thus fell this great and noble-minded soldier, like Abimelech at Thebez, by the hand of a woman, in the forty-sixth year of his age (B.C. 272). Had he lived in happier times, he might have devoted to the defence and establishment of freedom the powers which were wasted in wars without result.

The expulsion of Pyrrhus from Macedonia had left Lysimachus in possession of a magnificent kingdom, embracing nearly the whole of Asia Minor, with Thrace and Macedonia; but Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, still held his ground in Greece by means of his powerful fleet, and many of the Greek cities maintained their independence. Lysimachus reigned for five years and a half over these enlarged dominions (B.C. 286—281); but he was doomed to a violent death, like all the Diadochi, except Ptolemy, who, however, contributed indirectly to the fate of Lysimachus. The two families were connected by various intermarriages. Ptolemy had been twice married; first, to Eurydicé, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had divorced in favour of her attendant, the beautiful Berenicé.* Eurydicé had borne him two sons, Ptolemy surnamed Ceraunus (i.e. *Thunderbolt*), and Meleager, both of whom were excluded from the succession, and Ptolemy Philadelphus, the son of Berenicé, was associated with his father in the kingdom (B.C. 285). This step, which was probably taken through the influence of Berenicé, seems to have rested on the principle, still a point of dispute in the East, that the children of a king, "born in the purple," should take precedence of those born before his accession. Besides these sons, Ptolemy had, by Eurydicé, a daughter Lysandra (who was married to Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus by his first wife), and, by Berenicé, another daughter, Arsinoë, who was the second wife of Lysimachus himself. Such were the relations between the two families, when Ptolemy Ceraunus, enraged at his exclusion from the throne of Egypt, fled to Lysimachus. His kind reception appears to have brought to a head the jealousy of Arsinoë against Agathocles, both as the rival of her children and the husband of her step-sister. Agathocles, who was now a man of mature age, had distinguished himself in many of his father's campaigns, and was sure to be his successor, in which case Arsinoë, who had long been his declared enemy, might well fear, according to Macedonian precedents, for

* This name, so common in the Hellenistic royal families, is the Macedonian form of the Greek *Pherenice*, which signifies *bringing victory*.

her own and her children's lives. Lysimachus, induced by her to believe that his son was plotting against his life, first treated Agathocles with insult, and then caused him to be poisoned. The resentment of his subjects only confirmed the king in the belief of a conspiracy, and his rage was directed by Arsinoë against the brothers and friends of the murdered Agathocles. Several of the Asiatic cities now broke out in open revolt; and Seleucus, to whom the wife of Agathocles had fled for refuge, seized the opportunity of extending his power over Asia Minor. He crossed the Taurus at the head of a powerful army, and advanced to the plain of Corupedion in Phrygia, where Lysimachus, betrayed by the followers whom he had alienated, was defeated and slain (B.C. 281). By his death Seleucus became master of the whole empire of Alexander, except Egypt and its dependencies, Southern Syria, Phœnicia, and Cyprus. But he did not long enjoy his conquest; he had crossed the Hellespont to take possession of Thrace and Macedonia, and was sacrificing near Lysimachia, a city which Lysimachus had built on the neck of the Chersonese, when he was murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus, whom he had taken under his protection as a rival to the king of Egypt, seven months after the death of Lysimachus (B.C. 280).

The death of the last of Alexander's own followers forms a natural resting-place in the history of the East, especially as the epoch is marked by other great events. But those events must be noticed, and a glance must be cast forward on the settlement of the affairs of Greece, before we turn to the great rising power of the West. Ptolemy Ceraunus was at once recognized as king of Macedonia and Thrace. Antiochus Soter, the son of Seleucus, who had long since resigned to him the provinces of Upper Asia, was a thoroughly Asiatic sovereign, and cared nothing for power in Europe. After a brief war, for the purpose of avenging his father's murder, and checking any designs which Ptolemy Ceraunus might have had on Asia, Antiochus made peace with Ptolemy, who, in his turn, had the prudence to effect a reconciliation with his brother, Ptolemy Philadelphus, resigning to him all claims to the throne of Egypt. Thus, with the establishment of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus on the throne of Egypt, and of Antiochus I. Soter on that of Asia, the history of the East becomes separate from that of Europe, till they are again brought into contact by the ambition of Antiochus the Great.

Returning to Macedonia, Ptolemy Ceraunus found a rival in Antigonus Gonatas, whose operations, however, were confined to

Greece. Ptolemy's sister, Arsinoë, the widow of Lysimachus, had taken up her abode, with her family, in the fortress of Cassandrea. Fearing, it would seem, that this position might give the king of Egypt a hold upon the country, Ptolemy made a treacherous offer of marriage to his sister; and, being admitted to the fort, killed her sons and banished her to Samothrace. His crime was soon punished by an event, which requires us to take a glance beyond the northern boundaries of Macedonia.

We shall soon have occasion to speak more fully of the great nation of the GAULS or CELTS, who occupied, from very early times, all the regions of Western Europe, beyond the Alps and the Rhine, and who gave their name to the country of Gallia (*France*). Their early settlements in Italy, and the great irruption in which they sacked Rome (B.C. 390), will be noticed in the next book. During the ensuing century, the tribes which were established in the great plain of Northern Italy (Gallia Cisalpina) were constantly pressing on eastward round the head of the Adriatic; and these movements appear to have caused the irruptions of the Triballi and other Illyrian nations into Macedonia. About B.C. 308, a body of Gauls had reached the frontiers of Macedonia, and Cassander gave them settlements in Mount Orbelus. During the following years, new swarms arrived from Italy, and accumulated beyond the mountains of Scardus, Orbelus, and Scomius, through which they poured into Macedonia towards the close of B.C. 380. Ptolemy ventured to meet them in the field; but the Macedonian phalanx was broken before the superior numbers, the savage war-cries, and the broadsword of the Gael, like the Roman legions at Allia, and many a disciplined army since. Ptolemy Ceraunus was killed in the battle, and his kingdom fell into complete anarchy. His brother Meleager, and Antipater, a nephew of Cassander, successively failed in the attempt to establish themselves on the throne, which was at last offered by the army to Sosthenes, who had meanwhile succeeded in checking the invaders. Their main body seems to have retired behind the mountains when satiated with plunder; but they returned in the following year, and inflicted on Sosthenes a defeat, which was soon followed by his death (B.C. 279). On this occasion, the Gauls pressed on as far as Delphi, to plunder the temple. The local tradition declared that Apollo defended his sanctuary by miracles like those which had baffled the Persians two hundred years before;* but sober history must give the honour of the achievement to the Greeks. They assembled their forces,

* Vol. I. pp. 420, 421.

under the Athenian Callippus, and routed the invaders, disordered by plunder and excess. Brennus, the leader of the Gauls, was slain. The hordes that followed him retreated partly across the Hæmus to the banks of the Danube; part founded settlements in Thrace; while another body passed on to the Hellespont and Propontis. Of these, some crossed the Hellespont in search of plunder, while others were invited over from Byzantium by Nicomedes I., king of Bithynia. These two hordes, reinforced by fresh swarms, overran the whole of Asia Minor within the Taurus, exacting tribute of its princes, while some bodies of them crossed the Taurus, and served in the armies of Syria and Egypt. Their ascendancy was checked by the growing power of the kings of Pergamus; and at length, just half a century after their first entrance, Attalus I. inflicted on them a decisive defeat, and compelled them to settle within the limits of the district which was henceforth called Galatia* (B.C. 230). Intermingling with the Hellenist population around them, they adopted Greek manners, but they preserved their own language, with their political organization. They formed three tribes, bearing the thoroughly Gallic names of Tolistobogi, Trocmi, and Tectosages, each consisting of four clans, which the Greeks called Tetrachies.

The anarchy of Macedonia was ended, shortly after the expulsion of the Gauls, by the victory of Antigonus Gonatus over the other competitors for the throne (about B.C. 278). We know but little of his exact position up to this time. He had been appointed, as we have seen, by his father, Demetrius Poliorcetes, to the government of Greece, where he had held his ground amidst the contests for the throne of Macedonia, on the one hand, and the risings of the Greek cities, supported by the king of Egypt, on the other. His usual residence seems to have been at Demetrias, in Magnesia, and his chief strength lay in his close alliance with the Ætolians, whose power now reached eastward as far as Phocis. The extent of his hold upon Peloponnesus is very doubtful; but, as will be seen presently, that hold was greatly loosened, at the epoch of B.C. 280, by a new movement in assertion of Panhellenic liberty. About the time when Ptolemy Ceraunus was contending for his newly usurped crown, with Antiochus on the one side, and Antigonus Gonatus on the other, a confederacy of the Greek states appears to have been formed against the latter, under the leadership of Sparta, and with the aid of Egyp-

* It was also called Gallo-Græciæ and Græco-Galatia, from the mixture of Gauls and Greeks in its population.

tian money and ships. As a pretext for combining their forces, an Amphictyonic war was declared against the Ætolians, the allies of Antigonus, on the old ground, the cultivation of the devoted plain of Cirrha. The mover in the enterprise was Areus, king of Sparta, who, with the money supplied to him from Egypt, kept up a mercenary force, and imitated the pomp of the Asiatic courts. It has been seen how disastrously former Amphictyonic wars had ended, nor was the present an exception. The allied army was utterly defeated and dispersed by the Ætolians, but the war was still maintained in a desultory manner by Areus. One gain from it appears to have been the expulsion of the Macedonian garrisons from the ports of Athens.

It was soon after the defeat of the allies, that Antigonus Gonatas obtained the Macedonian throne, and became the founder of a dynasty, and the restorer of the monarchy. After the brief interruption of two or three years, when he was expelled, as already related, by Pyrrhus, he kept the crown till his death, in B.C. 239. The dynasty he founded lasted for seventy years after his death, numbering three generations and four kings. Macedonia became the umpire in the conflict between the contending Greek forces of Sparta and the Achæan and Ætolian leagues. Demetrius II., the son of Antigonus Gonatus (B.C. 239—229), carried on war with his dangerous neighbours, the Ætolians. His cousin and successor Antigonus Doson (B.C. 229—220), supported the Achæan League, and gained the decisive battle of Sellasia over Cleomenes, king of Sparta (B.C. 221). The long reign of Philip V., the son of Demetrius II. (B.C. 220—178), witnessed the culminating power of this later Macedonian kingdom, and its humiliation in the conflict with Rome, to which it finally succumbed under his son Perseus, in B.C. 168. The last successor of Philip and Alexander, and the lineal descendant of the great Antigonus, was dragged in chains through the streets of Rome, to grace the triumph of Æmilius Paulus, and then thrown into a dungeon, but he ended his days in an honourable captivity at Alba.

We shall have to return hereafter to the history of these later Macedonian kings, as well as to that of the Achæan League, and its two great heroes,

> "Aratus, who awhile relumed the soul
> Of fondly lingering liberty in Greece;
> And him, her darling as her latest hope,
> The gallant Philopœmen, who to arms
> Turned the luxurious pomp he could not cure;
> Or toiling in his farm a simple swain,
> Or, bold and skilful, thundering in the field."

Meanwhile it is well to take a prospective glance at the causes and the issue of this last effort for freedom. During the war in which Pyrrhus lost his life, Antigonus Gonatas was at the head of an army in Peloponnesus, where he obtained complete ascendancy after the fall of Pyrrhus. Some of the cities were held by his garrisons, and others by tyrants in his interest. Sparta, which he had aided against Pyrrhus, was soon at war with him again, in alliance with Athens and the king of Egypt. The details of this war are very obscure. The Spartan king Areus was killed in battle; and Athens, after being nearly ruined by a long blockade, was forced to surrender to Antigonus, about B.C. 262. The Macedonian garrisons were replaced in Piræus and Munychia, but the city was declared free, and Antigonus, in his frequent visits to Athens, paid marked honour to her eminent philosophers, especially to Zeno. Sparta, now closely dependent on Egypt, seemed to be the only Hellenic power capable of withstanding the Macedonian king, except the great confederacy of the Ætolians, who were his close allies.

But an ancient state, which had remained hitherto almost isolated in the midst of Greece, was gradually rising up into new life, to afford the country a last hope of liberty, and to give the world a brilliant example of the working of a federation. The Achæan race, who, in the time celebrated by Homer, had been dominant in Peloponnesus, had remained in political insignificance since the great Dorian migration drove them up to the strip of land along the northern coast of the peninsula. Their twelve great cities* had been anciently united in a Panachæan confederation, which was chiefly, like the old Panionian confederacy in the same region, for religious objects. This league had been dissolved by the policy of Philip and Alexander, who could not, however, destroy the bond between the cities. During the troubles that followed the death of Lysimachus (B.C. 280), four of these cities, Dyme, Patræ, Tritæa, and Pharæ, formed a league to resist the Macedonian domination, which was afterwards joined by all the Achæan towns, except Olenus and Helice. At first, however, they were reduced by Antigonus, with the other cities of Peloponnesus, and were occupied, like the rest, by his garrisons, or by the tyrants he set up. The oppression of these rulers furnished a fresh motive for the renewal of the league after Antigonus had withdrawn; and the king, residing at Pella, seems to have overlooked so insignificant a state. Thus left to itself,

* Afterwards reduced to ten by the destruction of two of them by an earthquake.

its growth was gradual, and it had time to mature its constitution before being exposed to serious conflicts. At first the league was presided over by a secretary (*Grammateus*), and two generals (*Strategi*), assisted by a council of ten *Demiurgi*. In the election of these officers, every citizen of the Achæan towns, above the age of thirty, had a vote, and the ultimate decision of all questions of public policy rested with the general assembly of the citizens, who met twice a year in a grove near Ægium. About B.C. 256, a more concentrated power was given to the government of the League by the election of a single Strategus. It now only wanted an able and enterprising leader to become a truly great power; and such a leader came forward in the person of the young Aratus, a Sicyonian exile residing at Argos, whose father Clinias had been killed by Abantidas, the tyrant of Sicyon. When he had reached his twentieth year, Aratus, at the head of a band of exiles, made himself master of Sicyon, by a daring adventure in the night, expelled the reigning tyrant, and forthwith united the city to the Achæan League (B.C. 251). The acquisition of a city, so important by its power and position, was only less valuable to the League than the gain of such a leader. The very defects in the character of this remarkable man supplied special qualifications for the work he had now to do. Incapable of directing the movements of a pitched battle, and even wanting personal courage in the field, he was a daring and skilful leader of surprises and ambuscades, and a most successful negotiator. But his intellectual culture was very imperfect, and his practical knowledge of politics in early life had been confined to the experience of tyrannical oppression, and the bitterness and cunning which it engenders. Hence, when the growing power of the League might perhaps have afforded an opportunity to a Demosthenes for realizing the old dreams of Panhellenic patriotism, Aratus was unequal to the occasion: when hard pressed by Sparta and the Ætolians, he called in Antigonus Doson, and so once more made a Macedonian the umpire of the liberties of Greece. But the time had probably gone by, when even a Demosthenes could have raised the country from its depressed state, aggravated as it was by the famine and pestilence that resulted from half a century of desultory warfare. Aratus was rightly judged by his countrymen for what he had done, rather than for his faults and failures, when they paid divine honours to his memory. He died in B.C. 213, poisoned by the order of his former friend, Philip V. of Macedon. Aratus wrote *Memoirs* of his own times,

down to B.C. 220, the year in which the *History* of Polybius begins.*

It was in B.C. 245 that Aratus was first elected as Stategus of the League, which had meanwhile been steadily consolidating itself. About this time the Achæans formed an alliance with the Bœotians, the state which seemed best able to check the growth of the rival Ætolian confederacy; but the Ætolians fell upon the Bœotians, and crushed them before the Achæans came to their aid; and the old Bœotian confederacy, with its slight remnant of power, was absorbed in the Ætolian League. The loss was compensated by Aratus's daring surprise of Corinth and its citadel, which Antigonus had carelessy entrusted to a Stoic philosopher and a garrison of Syrian mercenaries. The former proved incompetent, the latter treacherous; and the loss of the Acrocorinthus deprived Antigonus of the key to Peloponnesus. Aratus followed up this enterprise by the capture of Megara; and the Achæan League was joined successively by the smaller states of the Argolid peninsula, by all the chief Arcadian cities, including Megalopolis (B.C. 234); and finally by Argos (B.C. 228). These cities had up to this time been governed by tyrants, several of whom laid down their power voluntarily. On the other hand, Elis and some of the western cities of Arcadia joined the Ætolian League; and thus Peloponnesus was divided between the two confederacies, with the exception of the southern part, where Messene remained at first neutral, but ultimately joined the Achæan League; and Sparta pursued the peculiar policy which remains to be described. In Northern Greece, the only states not embraced in the Ætolian League were Acarnania and Athens. The Acarnanians formed a confederacy of their own, which was destined to play an important part in the war with Rome; but at present they were still subject to Macedonia. Athens, as we have seen, had been declared free by Antigonus (B.C. 256), who had, however, pulled down the long walls and left his garrisons in Piræus and Munychia, which the Athenians and Aratus persuaded the Macedonian governor to withdraw (about B.C. 229). Thus Athens became an ally of the

* The Memoirs of Aratus are lost. This is a suitable occasion to mention the great uncertainty of this period of history, which, as Niebuhr remarks, has to be unravelled from a hundred different sources. Our leading authority is the "Philippic Histories" of Justin, a work probably of the fourth or fifth century of our era, itself an epitome of the "Philippic Histories" of Trogus Pompeius, a writer of the Augustan age. The latter most valuable work, which embraced a history of the Macedonian monarchy, with such digressions into the stories of the old Asiatic empires as to give it the character of a universal history, is entirely lost in its original form.

Achæans, though not an actual member of the League; but she had almost lost all political weight in Greece; and the thoughts of her citizens were chiefly occupied with her philosophical schools. That this rapid progress should have been made by the Achæans without the interference of Macedonia, can only be explained by the indolence into which Antigonus Gonatas sank during the latter part of his long reign, and the occupation found for his successor Demetrius by the Ætolians. On the other hand, Aratus was continually aided by funds from the king of Egypt, Ptolemy III., Euergetes.

In this state of affairs, the balance of Greek liberty was in the hands of Sparta; but Sparta was in no condition to rise to the occasion. Her rulers were the more loath to abandon the hope of recovering her supremacy, as they pursued it no longer in the old spirit of Dorian hardihood, but as the rivals of the newly founded monarchies. The gold of Egypt had introduced a corrupting luxury, amidst which the old Dorian hatred of the Achæans and the Arcadians grew more intense. A brief hope of better things was held out by the accession of the Proclid king, Agis IV., whose patriotism aimed at once at a revival of the institutions of Lycurgus, and an alliance with the Achæan League. Like Cleomenes, who renewed his attempts at reform, Agis was a young man full of generous enthusiasm, and Plutarch has most fitly compared them with the Gracchi. Ascending the throne at the age of twenty (B.C. 244), Agis found the number of Spartan citizens reduced to seven hundred, of whom not more than one hundred possessed property. Members of the royal and noble families went abroad to serve as mercenaries, and returned laden with the wealth, and corrupted by the vices of the East. The influence of such men, headed by the other king, Leonidas II., formed an insurmountable obstacle to the plans of Agis for restoring Sparta to her ancient glories; and the partial success of his measures, which we cannot stay to describe, only provoked a more violent opposition, to which he fell a victim, with his near relatives (B.C. 240). But he found a follower, at first more fortunate, in the son of the very rival who had foiled him, the Eurysthenid king, Cleomenes III., who married the widow of Agis, and succeeded his father Leonidas in B.C. 236. Cleomenes, however, in his zeal to revive the martial spirit of Sparta, viewed the Achæan confederacy, not, like Agis, as a pattern and an ally, but as a rival. He made war upon the Achæans for the possession of Orchomenus, Tegea, and Mantinea, with such success as to obtain the power to

carry out his reforms at home. He put to death the Ephors who were at the head of the opposite party, and carried out the reforms of Agis, and others of his own. Taking the field again as the head of a renovated and united state, he gained new successes against Aratus, who now called in the aid of Antigonus Doson (B.C. 223). The war had now lasted five years. For two years more Cleomenes held out against the united forces of the Macedonians and Achæans, till he was defeated, and his army utterly destroyed, at Sellasia, in Laconia (B.C. 221). Cleomenes found refuge in Egypt with Ptolemy Energetes; but he was imprisoned by his successor, Ptolemy IV., Philopater. Escaping from prison, he made one last attempt to rouse his countrymen against their new master; and, when he found them submissive to the yoke, he died by his own hand. Greece was, however, saved from the domination of Antigonus Doson by his recall home to meet an invasion of the Illyrians, followed shortly by his death in the same year as that of Cleomenes (B.C. 220).

Meanwhile the Ætolian League had been steadily gaining ground during the war between Cleomenes and the Achæans. On the death of Antigonus and the accession of Philip V., who was only seventeen years old, the Ætolians made an attack upon Messenia, and inflicted a complete defeat on Aratus and the whole force of Achæa. Aratus once more sought aid from Macedonia; Philip entered into a close alliance with the Achæans, and Aratus became his most trusted friend and counsellor. The "Social War" between the Ætolian and Achæan Leagues, the latter being aided by Philip, lasted about three years (B.C. 220—217). Its chief result was a great accession of power and reputation to Philip by his repeated victories over the Ætolians, followed by a marked deterioration in his own character. The news of Hannibal's first victories in Italy tempted him to seek new laurels on the same field. With this view, he made peace with the Ætolians, and presently afterwards concluded an alliance with the Carthaginians (B.C. 216). His first unsuccessful attempts against the Romans in Illyria were accompanied by arbitrary proceedings in Greece; and it was for his remonstrances against these acts that Aratus was removed by poison (B.C. 213). The Romans now appear upon the scene as the allies of the Ætolians (B.C. 211), while Aratus found a worthy, and in some points a nobler successor, in PHILOPŒMEN, by whose victories over Sparta the power of the Achæan League was extended throughout Peloponnesus. How the advantages thus gained were lost, and how Greece was finally constituted a Roman province under the name of Achaia

(b.c. 146), will be related among the other conquests of the republic.

This summary of the history of Greece during the period of the Macedonian supremacy would be very incomplete without some notice of that important section of the Hellenic race, which was settled in Italy and Sicily. The affairs of the Italian Greeks gave occasion to those enterprises of the Epirot kings, which brought them into collision with the Romans; and the history of Sicily is embellished by the romantic adventures of Agathocles. The cities of Magna Græcia, severed from the objects of interest which absorbed the attention of the mother country, found it difficult to hold their own against the aggressions of their Italian neighbours, the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Messapians; and the expeditions which the two Dionysii undertook in Italy weakened these cities instead of assisting them. Tarentum was especially hard pressed by the Messapians; and it was in an expedition to its aid that the Spartan king Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, lost his life, about the time of the battle of Chæronea (b.c. 338). The Epirot king Alexander, the brother of Olympias, next undertook an expedition to the aid of the Tarentines, in which, after some successes, he was assassinated (b.c. 331). Fifty years passed before the same enterprise was renewed by Pyrrhus, in the manner which is to be more fully related in a future chapter.

Meanwhile, the like distresses of Croton, causing it to seek aid from Syracuse, gave occasion for the first appearance of the celebrated Agathocles, an adventurer rarely equalled in the history of the world for unbounded daring, fertility in resource, and utter want of principle. His name breaks the silence of nearly twenty years, in which the affairs of Syracuse are shrouded after the death of Timoleon, in b.c. 336. We only know that in this interval the popular constitution had been overthrown and an oligarchy of 600 set up, under Sosistratus and other leaders, about the time when an expedition was undertaken to aid the Crotoniates against the Bruttians (probably about b.c. 320). In this expedition, the popular voice assigned the highest place of merit to Agathocles, who had recently risen from the obscure station of a potter. He was the son of Carcinus, a Rhegian exile, who had settled at Therma, in the Carthaginian part of Sicily. His birth is surrounded by that halo of legend which is so often reflected on to the cradle of great men from their subsequent exploits; such as that his father, having dreamed that he would be a cause of evil to Sicily, would have exposed the infant, but he was saved by

his mother, and secreted till his seventh year, when his father had long repented of his supposed murder. At eighteen years of age, he was settled at Syracuse, following his father's humble occupation of a potter. He became equally conspicuous for his profligate habits, and for his tall and handsome form, his vast strength, his courage in military service, and his fluency of speech. A wealthy citizen named Damas took notice of him, supplied him with money, and gave him the opportunity of distinguishing himself in a subordinate command against the Agrigentines; and, when Damas died, Agathocles succeeded to his wealth and influence by marriage with his widow. In the expedition to Croton, Agathocles served as an officer under his brother Antander, who was one of the generals; and when the oligarchical leaders withheld from him the prize of valour, he charged them openly with aspiring to set up a tyranny. Not succeeding in effecting a revolution, he left Syracuse, and levied a band of mercenaries in Italy, whom he employed sometimes in attacking the Greek cities, sometimes in aiding them against their enemies. After making two unsuccessful assaults on Syracuse, he took the neighbouring city of Leontini, and was established there when a revolution in Syracuse led to his recall. In the war which ensued with the oligarchical exiles, who were assisted by the people of Gela and by the Carthaginians, Agathocles was the mainstay of the city; but the suspicion of his designs was so strong that he was driven out of the city, and a plot for his assassination was only frustrated by his departing in the disguise of a beggar. He appears to have found refuge with the Carthaginians, by whose aid the oligarchical government was restored soon afterwards at Syracuse. Agathocles, burning with hatred towards the citizens who had expelled him, was received back into the city through the mediation of Hamilcar. He took an oath to support the government, and to respect the rights of all classes of the citizens, and to keep peace with Carthage; and he was forthwith appointed as general. Scarcely was this done, when Agathocles, in collusion with Hamilcar, collected a large force of mercenaries, and let them loose to slay and plunder the senate and their wealthy supporters. For two days, Syracuse presented the appearance of a city taken by storm; and the massacre of 4000 citizens was followed by the banishment of 6000 more. Agathocles then presented himself to an assembly of the people—consisting doubtless of his own soldiers and the rabble who had joined them in their late savage deeds—congratulated them on the recovery of their liberty by the extirpation of the

aristocrats; and by offering to lay down his command he obtained his appointment as "Autocrat," or sole ruler with unlimited powers. Thus did Syracuse succumb to a usurpation far worse than that of the Dionysii (B.C. 317).

But Agathocles answered, not to the type of the self-indulgent tyrant, but to that of the military despot—a type less contemptible, but more odious than the other, and doubly dangerous, not only from the power and aggressive policy of such princes, but from the readiness of men to reward their success with admiration—nay more, to render to them respect, if they appear to make any good use of the power seized by perjury and bloodshed. Once firmly seated on his usurped throne, Agathocles proclaimed that he would govern for the good of the people; and his generous courtesy proved that his atrocities had been committed, not from the impulse of a cruel nature—they had not even that wretched excuse—but in the pursuit of a deliberate policy. That policy was to found an imperial power in Sicily, alike over the Greek cities and the parts now subject to Carthage; and, had Sicily possessed a leader with the spirit of Hellenic patriotism, the liberty lost in Greece might have flourished on her soil.

After various and rapid successes, Agathocles attempted the reduction of the two cities where the Syracusan exiles were chiefly harboured, Messana and Agrigentum. He was repulsed from the former, while the latter prepared for a vigorous defence, and invited Acrotatus, the son of Areus, from Sparta as a leader. But the young prince brought nothing with him but the airs of Asiatic royalty which he had learned from his father; and his murder of Sosistratus provoked an insurrection, in which he only saved his life by flight. The Agrigentines were glad to conclude a peace by the mediation of the Carthaginians, and Agathocles was recognised as the leader of the Greek cities, which were declared free, except Himera, Selinus, and Heraclea: these remained subject to Carthage. With his accustomed perfidy, Agathocles set to work to subdue the cities which had thus become his allies. Having compelled Messana to accept his terms, and to drive out the exiles, he laid siege to Agrigentum.

The Carthaginians, alarmed at the growth of his power, sent a fleet to the defence of the city, an act which involved them in open war with Agathocles. He ravaged their territory, and perpetrated another atrocious massacre of the citizens of Gela, whom he supposed to be ready to revolt; but the Carthaginians were strongly reinforced from home, and Hamilcar defeated Agathocles

in the great battle of Himera (B.C. 310), the same place at which Gelo had defeated and slain another Hamilcar, a hundred and seventy years before.* The Greek cities in general welcomed the Carthaginians as deliverers, and Agathocles was besieged in Syracuse. He now set the daring example, afterwards followed by Scipio, of carrying the war into Africa, first providing for the safety of his rule at home by another massacre of 1600 wealthy citizens, whose goods supplied him with funds for the expedition. His voyage, which was signalized by a solar eclipse, lasted six days and nights; and he just succeeded in distancing the Carthaginian squadron which had allowed him to escape from Syracuse, as he reached the coast of Africa.

Landing at the "Stone Quarries," some days' march east of Carthage,† Agathocles burnt his ships as a solemn offering to Demeter and Persephone, and advanced through the rich territory of Carthage, which had never yet been trodden by an enemy. The unwalled cities offered no resistance to his progress, and the exuberant products of the corn-fields, the vineyards, the olive-yards, and the orchards kept his army in luxurious abundance. At length he reached Tunes (*Tunis*), at the bottom of the Carthaginian Gulf; and here, having stormed the city, he fortified his camp at the distance of little more than ten miles from Carthage. The intelligence of his advance had preceded the news of his landing, which had been sent from the fleet; but the first consternation at Carthage was changed into the assurance of victory, when they heard that Agathocles had left Sicily as a fugitive, and had cut off his own escape. The vastly superior army which went out to meet him carried 20,000 handcuffs, a sort of provision which has ever proved ominous to those who have made it, from the time of Xerxes to that of the Invincible Armada. The command was entrusted to Hanno and Bomilcar, two leaders of the opposite factions which divided the Carthaginian state. Their rivalry, which was expected to act as a salutary mutual check, proved fatal. Bomilcar, who commanded the left wing, held back, while Hanno, on the right, made a vigorous attack. At the moment when the Greeks began to give ground, Hanno was killed, and his fall gave Bomilcar an excuse for ordering a retreat, which ended in the defeat of the entire army. While the Carthaginians endeavoured to propitiate the gods by sacrificing two

* See Vol. I. p. 433.

† The data are insufficient to identify the places. The spot where Agathocles landed seems to have been on the western side of the tongue of land terminating in Cape Bon.

hundred children of their best families with the horrid rites of Moloch (whom the Greeks and Romans identified with their Croons and Saturn), Agathocles advanced from his fortified post at Tunes to the conquest of the cities on the eastern shore of the Carthaginian territory, the modern Regency of Tunis. The jealous policy of Carthage had secured her dependencies by no bond of mutual attachment; and their rapid submission, to the number of 200, proved the instability of her empire.

The enterprise of Agathocles had, however, failed to draw back the Carthaginians from Syracuse. Hamilcar pressed the siege, and showed the prow-ornaments of the ships of Agathocles as signs of his destruction. The city was almost in despair, when the truth was learned by the arrival of a messenger from Agathocles, and Hamilcar raised the siege, sending off a part of his forces to Africa. Some months later he returned to Syracuse at the head of 100,000 men, while his fleet blockaded the harbour. He attempted to hasten the operations by the very same manœuvre, in which Demosthenes had failed a century before, a night surprise of the heights of Epipolæ, which were now included in the line of fortifications. The assault utterly miscarried, and Hamilcar was taken prisoner; thus fulfilling, in a cross sense, the prediction of a soothsayer, that he should sup that night in Syracuse. That supper was his last. He was put to death with the most cruel tortures, and his head was sent over to Africa. But his fall, instead of restoring the supremacy of Agathocles in Sicily, gave the Greeks new hopes of freedom under the leadership of Agrigentum; and Syracuse remained blockaded by the Carthaginian fleet (B.C. 309).

The news of Hamilcar's death found Agathocles posted at Tunes, while the Carthaginians were encamped between him and their city; and he hastened to display the head of Hamilcar before their eyes. But in this moment of triumph, the murder of an officer by his son Archagathus, in a drunken brawl, caused a mutiny in his camp. The piteous appeals of Agathocles not only brought back his soldiers to obedience, but evoked a new outburst of devotion, amidst which he led them on to a successful attack on the Punic camp; and this was followed up by another victory over a Carthaginian force in the interior of the country (B.C. 308).

Still his force was insufficient for the reduction of Carthage herself; and he invited aid from Ophellas, the governor of Cyrene, who had delivered that city from the incursion of an adventurer named Thimbron, after Alexander's death, and had reduced it

beneath the government of Ptolemy I. Enticed by the promise of the sovereignty of Carthage when it should be subdued, Ophellas collected a body of 10,000 colonists from all parts of Greece, and, with a like number of infantry, 600 cavalry, and 100 war-chariots, he performed the difficult march of two months along the sandy shores of the Syrtes, to join Agathocles. His arrival seems at once to have inspired Agathocles with the hope of securing the aid of his forces, and getting rid of their commander and his claims. In an assembly of his own soldiers, he accused Ophellas of a plot against his life. The victim was despatched upon the spot, and his soldiers were cajoled or intimidated into submission. While this tragedy was acting, Carthage was in a state of civil war, through an attempt of Bomilcar to complete his treasonable designs. The plot was defeated, and Bomilcar was put to death with tortures; but the opportunity was lost of attacking Agathocles during the confusion which followed the murder of Ophellas (B.C. 307).

With his forces thus increased, Agathocles subdued the old Phœnician settlements along the shore westward of Carthage, Utica, Hippo, and Hippagreta, the last within a few miles of Carthage, which was thus environed on both sides. It seemed that he might safely return to Sicily, where his affairs made no progress, though he had recently assumed the title of its king. He crossed over with 2000 men, leaving his son Archagathus to command in Africa, and landed at Selinus. His presence and activity at once turned the tide of events. Though Dinocrates, the leader of the Syracusan exiles, kept the field against him, the Agrigentines were twice defeated, and several cities were taken; when Agathocles was recalled to Africa by disastrous news. His son had been twice defeated by the Carthaginians, and was now blockaded in the camp at Tunes; the army was mutinous through want of supplies and pay, and the Libyan allies, as well as the cities called Libyphœnician, from the mixed races that peopled them, had fallen off at the first appearance of bad fortune. Agathocles saw no chance but the desperate one of a battle, though his forces were far inferior to the enemy, who refused to leave their intrenchments. The failure of his attack on the camp was followed by scenes as strange as have ever occupied the night after a battle. The Carthaginians were engaged in sacrificing the comeliest of their prisoners as a thank-offering to their gods, when the fire kindled for this hideous purpose spread a conflagration through the whole camp, and the army dispersed in terror.

But Agathocles was in no condition to profit by the accident. Despairing of holding his position in Africa, and unable to carry off his army for want of vessels, he was stepping on board a ship to make a secret escape, when he was arrested by the order of his son Archagathus, and put in chains. Even then his fortune did not fail him. On an alarm that the enemy were coming to attack the camp, Agathocles was hastily brought out by his guards to give his advice. The sight of their leader in his fetters recalled the devotion of his soldiers, who loudly demanded his release. Agathocles used his liberty to steal away in a skiff, which bore him safe through a November storm to Sicily. His two sons were sacrificed to the fury of the deserted army, who purchased their personal safety by the surrender of all their conquests (B.C. 305).

It is one of the most marvellous features in the romantic story of Agathocles, that, after a catastrophe like this, he survived to renew his cruelties and victories in Sicily, and died in possession of his sovereignty. A peace with Carthage, and a victory over Dinocrates, who has been suspected of treachery, were followed by the restoration of Agathocles to the despotism of Syracuse, in conjunction with Dinocrates (B.C. 301). He recovered much of his empire in Sicily; carried on successful wars in the Lipari Isles, Italy, and Corcyra, where he gained a great naval victory over Cassander; formed alliances with Demetrius Poliorcetes, and with Pyrrhus, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage; and at the age of 72, he was planning a new expedition against Carthage. His proclamation of his favourite son, Agathocles, as his successor, was the signal for the rebellion of his grandson, Archagathus, who treacherously poisoned his uncle, and, according to one form of the story, his grandfather also. At all events, Agathocles fell sick, and had only time to send off his wife and young children to Alexandria, when he died (B.C. 289). We might be surprised to hear that his deathbed was surrounded by a circle of mourning friends, were we not told that, in common with others of the greatest scourges of mankind, he possessed the art of fascinating his associates and victims by a genial frankness of manner. His career, rightly studied, forms one of the most instructive episodes in the history of despotism. His extinction of his country's liberties is a warning of what may always be done by an unscrupulous adventurer, wielding the engine of a mercenary soldiery, against a people that has lost the power of maintaining its liberties. His wonderful fortune—to use the unmeaning language by which short-sighted men conceal from themselves the true causes of events—is an

example of the extent to which the supreme moral government of the world grants success for a while to energetic wickedness, for the accomplishment of ends not seen as yet. The wonderful success of his African expedition, and its disastrous result, proved that the conquest of the great Semitic republic of Carthage was reserved for another power than the Greeks, and that the force of the Hellenic race had reached its limit towards the West. The death of Agathocles closes the history of the Grecian states in Sicily. While Syracuse and the other cities fell under the rule of successive despots, and were torn by intestine factions, they were only saved from Carthage by foreign aid. Campaigns against the Carthaginians in Sicily formed an episode of two years and a half in the Italian war of Pyrrhus (B.C. 278 to B.C. 276).

On his departure, the government of Syracuse fell into the hands of Hiero II., who claimed descent from Gelo, the founder of the ancient dynasty (B.C. 275). His war with the Mamertines of Messana (B.C. 270) was the cause of calling in the Romans, who, in the long and fierce conflict of the first Punic War (B.C. 264 to B.C. 241) wrested the northern and western parts of the island from Carthage, while they left Hiero to govern the south-east and Syracuse, with a wisdom and mildness which surpassed the magnificence of his great namesake, till his death at the age of 92 (B.C. 216). The rash boy, Hieronymus, who succeeded him at the age of fifteen, abandoned his grandfather's long fidelity to Rome; paying the penalty in his own speedy assassination (B.C. 215), and involving Syracuse in the celebrated siege, which ended in its capture by Marcellus, and the reduction of Sicily to a Roman province (B.C. 212). The details of these events belong to the history of Rome.

There still remain certain outlying members of the Hellenic race whose subsequent destiny it would be interesting to trace; but, with one exception, none of them have any important bearing on the general history of the world. That exception is the Phocæan colony of Massalia (*Marceilles*), with its dependencies on the coasts of Gaul and Spain.* Maintaining its ground against the jealousy and hostility of the Carthaginians and the Tyrrhenians, this great commercial city diffused the civilization which the Romans found already distinguishing the "Province" from the rest of Gaul. The Massaliots preserved their municipal independence and their Hellenic institutions by an alliance with Rome; and the city became a great seat of Greek learning.

* See Vol. I. p. 365.

The loss of liberty produces a more rapid effect on literature than on art; unless we should rather say that the decline of original vigour in the former is a symptom of the decay of that manly energy by which freedom itself is maintained. Art, on the other hand, can long survive the benumbing influence of despotism, and may even seem to gain new energy by its patronage. It was under such patronage that painting was perfected by Apelles, and the art of statuary in bronze by Lysippus, both the favourite artists of Alexander.

As for literature, it seems scarcely in the nature of things, that the supreme excellence of the three great Attic tragedians should have been continued through a second generation, even had the same stimulus continued, of the Athenians flocking to keep the festivals of Dionysus in all the conscious pride of liberty. They had, indeed, elegant imitators in such poets as Agathon, the friend of Euripides, Iophon, the son of Sophocles, and the younger Sophocles, his grandson; and tragedies continued to be written long after the true dramatic spirit had evaporated.

Still more needful was "freedom's caller air" to such comedies as those of Aristophanes, which were always regarded by a party at Athens as a dangerous licence. Repeated attempts were made to check the freedom of the Old Comedy, which received fatal blows from the aristocratic revolution of B.C. 411, and the elevation of the Thirty Tyrants. Some of the later plays of Aristophanes himself belong to the Middle Comedy—so called because it is regarded as a transition from the Old Comedy to the New—a form in which such satire as was still indulged in was levelled less at individuals than at classes, manners, opinions, and fashions in literature and philosophy; while the satiric spirit itself gradually merged into mere burlesque, the favourite subjects of which were taken from mythology. The part of the chorus was, at the same time, greatly restricted, and at last dispensed with altogether. The slight interest which now belongs to the Middle Comedy, and the paucity of its fragments, form a strange contrast to the fertility of its writers. Athenæus tells us that he had read 800 plays of the Middle Comedy; and of its two chief poets, Antiphanes (B.C. 404—330) is said to have written as many dramas as there are days in the year, and Alexis (B.C. 394—288) no less than two hundred and forty-five.

The great age of the latter poet brings him far within the period of the New Comedy, which arose at Athens about the beginning of the Macedonian supremacy. The personal and

political satire of the Old Comedy had not only become dangerous, but its spirit had died out with the loss of political freedom. The interest once inspired by politics was thrown back into the sphere of domestic life; and the vicissitudes of fortune, caused by protracted wars, created many a romance within the circle of a family. The comic poet, no longer assuming to be the censor of the state and her great men, but making the amusement of the audience his one object, chose his subjects from the manners and intrigues of ordinary society and domestic life. The founder of this style was Philomen, a native of Soli in Cilicia, who was born about B.C. 360, and lived nearly a hundred years. He began to exhibit at Athens about B.C. 330, and was the author of ninety-seven plays. Still more celebrated, though less successful in the dramatic contests—for he won only eight prizes with more than one hundred plays—is MENANDER of Athens, whose polished wit seems to have had too much of gentle elegance for the taste of his contemporaries. The extant fragments are altogether inadequate to give us an idea of the plots and spirit of Menander's comedies; but they are full of those clever and pointed maxims,* suited for quotation, which abound in all the Greek dramatic poetry. In these *Gnomic* passages we see the influence of Epicurus and Theophrastus, with both of whom Menander lived in close intimacy. He was himself a thorough Epicurean, not only in the principles of the school, but in the habits into which it soon degenerated. The New Comedy was imitated by Plautus and Terence among the Romans, and their plays have transmitted its form, with much of its spirit, to the stage of modern Europe. Terence especially aimed at reproducing the elegant wit of Menander, with a degree of success attested by his lasting popularity, and yet far inferior to his original.†

In prose literature, the chief works of the age are those of the Attic orators and philosophers. We have already seen how, out of the early schools of philosophy, there arose a class of teachers who, without abandoning the higher fields of speculation, made it their business to train the youth of Athens in those practical arts of rhetoric and dialectics which were required for the public assembly and the courts of law. The Sophists may therefore be

* Called by the Greeks γνῶμαι, *sentiments.*

† The epithet applied by Cæsar to Terence—*O dimidiate Menander*—unquestionably implies this inferiority, though its primary reference is no doubt to Terence's practice of combining two plays of Menander's into one.

regarded as, in a sense, the parents both of philosophy and rhetoric; but the demand for the latter, as an art, threatened to draw off attention from the former, when Socrates arose to teach philosophy in a new spirit. The fruit of the rhetorical teaching of the Sophists, but still more of the free institutions of Athens, was seen in the long line of orators, from Pericles, the pupil of Anaxagoras, to Demosthenes and his contemporaries. TEN of these ATTIC ORATORS were selected as the worthiest by the Alexandrian critics, who have handed down to us some of their orations. They are Antiphon and Andocides, whom we have met with in the latter part of the Peloponnesian War; Lysias, the greatest master of the pure Attic style; Isæus and Isocrates, who were especially distinguished as professors of rhetoric; Demosthenes and Æschines, and their contemporaries, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Dinarchus. The discussion of their literary merits and their extant works must be left to the special histories of literature.

Still less does the vast field of the history of philosophy fall within our province. It must suffice to indicate the celebrated schools which arose out of the teaching of Socrates, the great master who first separated philosophy from the rhetorical and dialectic lectures of the Sophists. The four great schools were the *Academic*, founded by Plato; the *Peripatetic*, by Aristotle; the *Stoic*, by Zeno; the *Epicurean*, by Epicurus. While the teaching of all four embraced questions both of ethics and philosophy—the latter term comprising every branch of human knowledge—the two former sects were chiefly distinguished by their intellectual, the two latter by their moral teaching. And, in both cases, the leading points of difference may be traced more or less in all later systems: every school of philosophy leans either to the idealism of Plato or the analytic method of Aristotle: every system of ethics partakes largely of the Stoic self-sacrifice or the Epicurean quest of the highest pleasure as the chiefest good. Among the minor sects, which sprang from the school of Socrates, the two most celebrated were those which may be regarded as the extreme developments of the principles of Epicureanism and Stoicism, though anterior to them in their foundation—the *Cyrenaic* school of Aristippus, who placed the source of happiness in the gratification of the senses; and the *Cynic* school of Antisthenes, who taught his disciples to despise not only the indulgences but the decencies of life. We have already had to speak of the most famous member of this school, Diogenes of Sinopé.

ANCIENT

ITALY

BOOK V.

ITALY AND THE RISE OF THE ROMAN STATE.

FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS TO THE SUBJUGATION OF ITALY BY ROME, IN B.C. 264.

CONTENTS OF BOOK V.

CHAP.

XIX.—ITALY AND ITS PRIMITIVE POPULATIONS.

XX.—ROME UNDER THE KINGS.

XXI.—THE PATRICIAN REPUBLIC.

XXII.—WARS WITH THE LATINS AND SAMNITES.

XXIII.—WAR WITH PYRRHUS, AND CONQUEST OF ITALY.

CHAPTER XIX.

ITALY AND ITS PRIMITIVE POPULATIONS.

"ITALIA, too, ITALIA! looking on thee,
Full flashes on the soul the light of ages,
Since the fierce Carthaginian almost won thee,
To the last halo of the chiefs and sages
Who glorify thy consecrated pages:
Thou wert the throne and grave of empires; still
The fount at which the panting mind assuages
Her thirst of knowledge, quaffing there her fill,
Flows from the eternal source of ROME's imperial hill."—BYRON.

ROME AND HER EMPIRE—ITS RELATION TO ITALY—DESCRIPTION OF THE PENINSULA—THE ALPS AND APENNINES—COMPARISON WITH GREECE—NATURAL UNITY OF ITALY—ITS PRIMITIVE INHABITANTS—ITS THREE CHIEF STOCKS—THE IAPYGIAN RACE—THE ITALIAN RACE—ITS TWO DIVISIONS, LATIN AND SABELLIAN—THE ETRUSCANS—THEIR COUNTRY—THEIR ORIGIN—TYRRHENIANS AND RASENNA—THE ETRUSCAN LANGUAGE—THEIR EARLY POWER BY LAND AND SEA—RELATIONS TO GREECE AND CARTHAGE—THEIR DECLINE AND CONQUEST BY THE ROMANS—THE ETRUSCAN CONFEDERACY—THEIR RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS—ETRUSCAN ART AND SCIENCE—ARCHITECTURE—SEPULCHRES—STATUARY AND METAL-WORK—PAINTINGS—DOMESTIC LIFE—SCIENCE, BORROWED BY THE ROMANS.

THE power which was destined at length to raise an universal empire on the ruins of the eastern monarchies, of the free states of Greece, and of the commercial oligarchy of Carthage, combined in itself the strongest points of the systems that it superseded. A material force, if not so vast, yet truly greater than that wielded by any oriental despot, was regulated by political principles, of which a regard for law was the most conspicuous, and all was consolidated by the mighty bond of an aristocratic government based on a patriarchal foundation. If the Hellenic republics were fitted to give the freest scope to personal and political liberty, the polity of Rome was an instrument specially adapted to achieve imperial power abroad by subordinating individual freedom to the concentrated action of the state. This mighty power was purchased at the price of an internal struggle, which, when it had once broken out, became perpetual, between the privileges of the ruling class, often abused to the most selfish ends, and the claims of the lower orders to personal freedom and political power. Just when the conquest of the countries which form the seat of ancient civilization—the countries lying round the basin of the Mediterranean —was completed, this internal conflict was brought to its crisis by

the utter corruption of the state through the plunder of the world. Under a single ruler the government of the empire was consolidated, from the borders of Caledonia and the banks of the Rhine and Danube to the Libyan Desert and the cataracts of the Nile: and the barbarian tribes, that had long been pressing down from regions as yet beyond the pale of civilization, were kept at bay, till the work of diffusing Christianity throughout the Roman world was completed. Then the empire and classic paganism fell together; and the deluge of nations that overflowed them settled down into the new order of the modern world.

To comprehend rightly the origin of this power, we must not be content to take our stand upon the Seven Hills of Rome, and to look round upon Italy, as if it were a foreign country, to be gradually brought under the sway of the new city. It is necessary at first to regard Rome from the Italian point of view rather than Italy from the Roman. Nay more, in speaking of Italy, even as "a geographical expression," we must greatly modify our present conception of its meaning. Fitted as the peninsula, with its large adjacent island, is to form one great state, from the Alps to the Adriatic, the Ionian, and the African seas, and ardent as must be the hopes of every friend of human progress to see it thus united, the consummation is a vision of the future, not a tradition of the early past. As a strictly ethnic term, the country of the Itali, or Siceli, or Siculi (for the words are varieties of one)* were confined to Sicily and the southern half of the peninsula; and even in the wider meaning, in which it embraced several other tribes, it could not be extended, in any proper sense, north of the Apennines.†

As in the case of Greece, the physical formation of the peninsula had a marked influence on the political relations of its inhabitants. It resembles Greece in projecting far out into the waters of the Mediterranean, upheld by central highlands; but the highlands of Italy do not ramify, like those of Greece, into a network of ridges, cutting up the whole country into valleys comparatively isolated, nor do their extremities run out into the sea so as to form the

* The interchange of the hard mutes, *c* and *t*, and the loss of the initial *s*—both among the commonest changes in language—account for the difference. *Siceli* and *Siculi* are Greek and Latin varieties. The old Italian tradition, which derives the name of the peninsula from a King Vitalus, or Vitulus, serves to show that the word began with a consonant.

† The name acquired this wider meaning after the conquest of the Italian states by the Romans, about B.C. 264. It was not till the time of Augustus that it was made to include the whole region up to the Alps.

deeply indented coast-line and chains of islands, which made the Greeks of necessity a race of adventurous mariners. The mountains of the Italian peninsula form one great continuous chain; their slopes and valleys spread out into more extensive and connected spaces: the coast-line, though long, is very regular, undulating in wide bays rather than deep gulfs. These differences will be more clearly seen from a description of the whole peninsula, with the vast plain which stretches across its head, and which, though not properly a part of ancient Italy, has always been closely connected with its history.

Viewed in this wider sense, the land of Italy is the western division of that beautiful region of Southern Europe, which is enclosed in so marked a way by the gigantic chain of the Alps and its prolongations eastward to the Black Sea. These mountains, the grand passes of which are ascended by a long and gradual slope from the north side, sink down abruptly on the south, as if to form a rampart about the fair lands at their feet. This sudden descent upon the southern side forms one of the chief charms of that first passage over the Alpine chain, which marks an epoch in the traveller's life, when

> "He instantly receives into his soul
> A sense, a feeling, that he loses not—
> A something that informs him 'tis an hour
> Whence he may date henceforward and forever."

The chain, so venerable for its towering height and the diadem of perpetual snow, from which it receives its name,* results from the most recent of the great upheavings by which our continent has been formed. The primitive rocks have burst through all the superincumbent strata, to give the crowning beauty to the face of the country, in such ranges as those of Scandinavia, the western mountains of our own islands, of Brittany, and the Spanish peninsula, the Atlas in Africa, and the Pyrenees, Alps, Apennines and Balkan on the opposite shores of the Mediterranean basin. The primitive chain of the High Alps has been thrown up in that remarkable curve which encloses the great plain of Northern Italy. On both its flanks lie those great secondary strata, of which the most conspicuous is the "Jura limestone," so called

* *Alp* is generally supposed to be the root so common in Celtic (as in *Albion*, *Albany*, &c.), and which also appears in the Latin *albus* and *alba*, signifying *white*. Singularly enough, however, the name *Alp* is applied in Switzerland, not to the high mountains (which are called *horns*, *peaks*, *needles*, &c., or by the figurative names of *Giant*, *Monk*, *Virgin*, &c.), but to the upland pastures of comparatively moderate elevation, such as the *Wengern Alp*.

from the great chain which faces the Alps across the plain of northwestern Switzerland, and forms a member of the system. Along the northern side of the plain of Lombardy, the chain extends through Switzerland and the Tyrol, as far as the "Great Bellman" (*Gross Glöckner*) near the source of the Drave, whence one branch pursues its course to Vienna, and connects itself beyond the Danube with the Carpathians, while another branch, turning to the southeast close round the head of the Adriatic, is prolonged along the Illyrian coast, and then down the whole peninsula of Greece, after it has thrown off the great chain which reaches the Danube under the name of Hæmus, or the *Balkan*. Returning to the western extremity of the chain at Mont Blanc, we trace it southward to the sources of the Var, where it bends to the east round the Gulf of Genoa, and is then continued in the chain of the Apennines.

Neither in direction nor in geological character is there any marked transition from the Maritime Alps to the Apennines. Some geographers place the division at the natural depression in the chain, above Savonia; others farther down the western shore of the Gulf of Genoa, at the bold headland of the *Capo delle Melle*. At first the Apennines pursue their course eastward, but slightly verging to the south, almost parallel to the Po, as if to meet the shore of the Adriatic. The secondary strata, which form a part of the system, bordered by a narrow belt of tertiary formation, do in fact reach the opposite shore, in the neighbourhood of Ariminum (*Rimini*, 44° 10′ N. lat.), marking the physical boundary between the true peninsula of Italy and the alluvial basin of the Po, which is thus enclosed within the mighty sweep of the Alps and Apennines, except on the east, where it lies open to the Adriatic, on the waters of which it is constantly encroaching.* It was in agreement with this physical division, that the political boundary between Italy and Cisalpine Gaul was placed at the petty, but ever memorable river RUBICON. From about the same latitude, the Apennine chain itself turns off to the southeast, and forms the backbone of the peninsula. About the same point, the primitive rocks cease to rise above the surface, only reappearing near the centre of the peninsula, in the ancient Sabine territory, and again in the "toe" of the "boot," to which Italy bears so

* Our map exhibits the change made in the coast-line by the alluvial deposits of the Po, the Adige, the Piave, and the lesser streams which flow down from the Carnic Alps. As compared with the ancient state of things, Venice is, literally, "a city in the sea."

curious a resemblance, and on the opposite point of Sicily, from Messina down to Etna. The "heel" is formed by a lower range, in which tertiary deposits predominate. The prevalence of the secondary formations, and chiefly of the later limestones, gives to the chain a character altogether different from the pointed peaks of the primitive Alps and Pyrenees, or the battlemented escarpments of the ancient limestone of the Jura. The highest summit, Monte Corno (the ancient Cunarus), east of Aquila, reaches little above 9500 feet, and, though another mountain in the Sabine territory boasted the name of Nivosus (*snowy*), the limit of perpetual snow, in the mild climate of Italy, does not embrace the highest summits of the Apennines. There are few parts in which vegetation does not reach quite, or almost, to the tops of the mountains, whose smoothly rounded forms, and easy passes, form no difficult obstacle to human intercourse or even habitation, while their remoter recesses, especially where the ancient limestone and granite break out, as in the Abruzzi and Calabria, have always secured fastnesses for the wilder tribes of ancient times—such as those in the Sabine and Samnite territory—and for the brigands of later days. The great tertiary plains, which slope down on both sides of the chain, and in its great southern fork, watered by innumerable streams, and by some considerable rivers—as the Arno, Tiber, and several others—clothed with exuberant fertility, except where the rivers have been permitted to form pestilential marshes, and varied by undulating hills—seem provided by nature for the abode of great peoples, with their "tower'd cities" and "the busy hum of men," till some one, stronger than the rest in arms or influence, should unite all into a powerful state. The most remarkable of these plains are those of Etruria, Latium, and Northern Campania in the west, Apulia in the east (stretching down from the "spur" of Mount Garganus), and that of Lucania in the south, opening on to the great Gulf of Tarentum. Both physically and politically, the island of Sicily forms as natural an appendage of Italy, as the "Island of Pelops" does of Greece, the Isthmus of the latter being replaced in the former by the narrow strait or "rent," which gave a name to the town of Rhegium.* Its central mountains, which are a prolongation of the Apennines, are bordered, especially on the south and east, by a tertiary belt of unsurpassed fertility, which has already engaged our attention as the seat of great Hellenic cities. The great plains and grassy hill-sides of the whole peninsula, give it capabilities,

* Ῥήγιον signifies a *rent*.

vastly superior to those of Greece, for agriculture and pastorage; and Sicily was especially the home of shepherds and their pastoral poetry.

But Italy was as conspicuously inferior to Greece in facilities for maritime intercourse and adventure. Though possessed of so vast a coast-line, she is singularly wanting both in harbours, and in those off-lying islands, which formed invaluable stepping-stones to the timid navigation of early ages. But this very defect may be regarded as a natural argument for her political unity, that so the few good harbours may be enjoyed by all the peoples of the peninsula. A similar argument is furnished by the very fact which is sometimes used on the other side—the great length of the land as compared with its width. The distance from Mont Blanc to Cape Spartivento exceeds 700 miles; and while the width of the northern alluvial plain is about 350 miles, that of the peninsula itself does not average above 100. The ease and completeness of the interruption made in the intercourse necessary to the welfare of such a country by the existence of independent states, reaching across it like barriers, even if their governments were tolerable in themselves—would be an intolerable evil. The absurd platitude, that Italy is condemned thus to suffer by some mysterious necessity, is sufficiently refuted by her unity under the Roman domination. The causes which have subjected her to this evil, in every other age, are among the most interesting enquiries in the History of the World.

As the above outline of the physical geography of Italy is intended solely to throw light upon the history of its populations, it is not necessary to describe in detail one of the most striking of its natural characteristics, the great volcanic belt which extends along a large part of its western shore, culminating in Vesuvius, and reaching by way of the Lipari Isles to Sicily and Etna—the region assigned by ancient fable to the punishment of the giant Typhœus;

> "Tum sonitu Prochyta alta tremit, durumque cubile
> Inarime, Jovis imperiis imposta Typhœo." *

Nor is it worth while to dilate on matters so well known as the delicious climate and the exuberant fertility of the peninsula.

A writer, who has recently made an invaluable contribution to the history of Rome, has acutely observed a point of connection between the configuration and the destinies of the peninsulas of

* Virgil, Æn. ix. 715, 716. The passage is imitated from Homer (Il. ii. 783) with a strange confusion of the localities.

Greece and Italy:—"While the Grecian peninsula turns towards the east, the Italian turns towards the west. As the coasts of Epirus and Acarnania had but a subordinate importance in the case of Hellas, so had the Apulian and Messapian coasts in that of Italy; and, while the regions on which the historical development of Greece has been mainly dependent—Attica and Macedonia—look to the east, Etruria, Latium, and Campania look to the west. In this way, the two peninsulas, such close neighbours and almost sisters, stand, as it were, averted from each other. Although the naked eye can discern from Otranto to the Acroceraunian mountains, the Italians and Hellenes came into earlier and closer contact on every other pathway rather than on the nearest across the Adriatic sea. In their case, too, as has happened so often, the historical vocation of the nations was prefigured in the relations of the ground which they occupied; the two great stocks, on which the civilization of the ancient world grew, threw their shadow, as well as their seed, the one towards the east, the other towards the west." *

The very interesting but difficult question, concerning the primitive inhabitants of Italy, was first discussed in a scientific spirit by Niebuhr. The population of Italy has always been one of the most mixed in the whole world. Neither the names of the tribes scattered over the peninsula, nor the ancient traditions respecting them, afford us any certain information. Our only trustworthy guide is the science of comparative grammar; but the aid it furnishes is limited by our very slight knowledge of the languages of ancient Italy. No trace is found in the peninsula of that primitive population (probably Turanian) which was spread over the north of Europe at a period when civilization was in such a backward state, that iron implements were unknown, and which has therefore been called the Age of Stone. Such relics as remain of the earliest Italian tribes attest their knowledge of the arts of agriculture and metal-working. It is clearly ascertained that all the populations, of which we have any distinct trace, were of the Indo-European family; and they may be divided into three principal stocks;—the Iapygian, the Etruscan, and the Italian,† the

* Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by the Rev. W. P. Dickson, vol. i. p. 6. It is proper to acknowledge, thus early, our great obligations to Dr. Mommsen's admirable work.

† In this classification, which has been introduced by Mommsen, it should be observed that the term *Italian* is used in a different sense from that already described; namely, with an historical signification, to describe the races that chiefly peopled the Italy of the Romans.

last being subdivided into the Latin and Umbrian, and the second of these subdivisions including several tribes of Central Italy, as the Umbri, Marsi, Volsci, and Samnites.

Peninsulas, such as Greece, Italy, and Spain, backed up on the one side by mountains, and offering on all other sides an extensive line of coast, have been of course peopled either from the land or from the sea. There are certain natural conditions which help to show in which direction the stream of immigration is most likely to have flowed; and a guide is also furnished by the successive waves of population which have passed over the same land in the period of recorded history. In the cases of Greece and Spain, the islands of the Archipelago and the narrow straits of Gibraltar afford facilities for access from Asia and Africa respectively, which do not exist in the case of Italy, unless it be across the mouth of the Adriatic. But decisive arguments are presented against the last hypothesis by the width of the straits between the coasts of Epirus and Apulia, by the dangers of the passage—proverbial among the ancients down to a late period—by the absence of any evidence that the earliest inhabitants of either coast were a seafaring people, and by the fact that the historical settlements in Magna Græcia were made in almost every direction rather than in this. On the other hand, the glorious climate of Italy, and the rich fertility of the great Subalpine plain, have in all ages attracted the tribes of the less favoured north through the passes of the Alps.

If then we assume the probability of successive immigrations by the same route in the prehistoric times, we shall expect to find the earliest inhabitants pressed down to the south of the peninsula. It is here, in fact, that we find traces of the Iapygian race, in the peninsula called by the Greeks Messapia, and in modern times Calabria, the "toe" of Italy, as well as in the "heel," or Apulia.* Their numerous inscriptions, in a dialect more nearly akin to the Greek than to the other languages of the Italian peninsula, and often exhibiting the very names of the Greek deities, suggest the probability that they belonged to that great Pelasgic family which peopled both peninsulas in the earliest ages, and which, if not the actual parent of the Hellenic race, was very near to it in kindred. This race was characterized by an unwarlike simplicity, which gave ground before its own hardier and more warlike scions, as, in its

* It was to this "heel" that the Greeks applied the name of Iapygia, of which, according to their custom, they gave a genealogical derivation, from Iapyx, who was believed to have led a Cretan colony into Italy; for in this way did they account for the presence in that region of a race kindred to their own.

own mythology, Saturn was expelled by Jove.* In Greece, it remained comparatively undisturbed in Epirus, and in other parts it was driven back into the mountain fastnesses; while, on the less intricate surface of Italy, it seems to have been forced back in mass towards the south. The close connection of this Iapygian race with the earliest Greeks may help to account for the ease with which the Hellenic settlements were made in Magna Græcia. The relations of the Iapygians with the Siculi is a question not yet determined.

The two branches of the great ITALIAN race, which occupied the central part of the peninsula, have left us much more distinct traces of their nationality in the peculiar forms of their languages, which exhibit a clearly marked difference from the Greeks and Iapygians, on the one hand, and from the Etruscans on the other; while the points of resemblance are sufficient to establish an affinity with the Greek nearer than with any other of the Indo-Germanic languages. The fact, so important to be clearly apprehended, in the study of language as well as history, that Greek and Latin are but dialects of one common tongue, was vaguely recognized in the guessing attempts to derive certain words in the one language from the other, before comparative grammar became a science. It is not, however, the province of the historian to enter into the details of the argument by which the affinity of the two languages has been accurately established.

The Greeks themselves recognized the unity of the Italian races, to the exclusion of the Iapygian and Etruscan, by applying to them collectively the name of *Opici*, which is only another form of *Osci*, just as the Latins included all the branches of the Hellenic race under the common name of Græci.† The parallel has been carried so far as to suggest a comparison between the division of the Hellenes into the Ionian and Dorian races with that of the Italians into two great branches, the eastern and the western, and of these the western is represented, in historic times, by the Latin nation; the eastern by the Umbrians, Sabines, Marsi, Volsci or Ausones, and other tribes, which extended from the northeastern coast down into Southern Latium and Campania. The last-named district seems to have been of old the

* This comparison is more than a mere figure; for the plain of Apulia was the fabled refuge of Saturn, where he reigned in the golden age of pastoral simplicity; and hence Italy received its poetical name of "Saturnia tellus."

† The *Ausones* or *Aurunci* of Campania and Southern Latium, bear a Greek name etymologically identical with the native *Volsci* and probably with *Osci*.

chief seat of the Oscans; and here their language was preserved, both as a popular dialect, and in the farces known at Rome as the Fabulæ Atellanæ.* These eastern Italians are again subdivided into two chief branches, a northern and a southern, the former embracing the peoples of Umbria, the latter those included under the name of Oscans in its widest sense, and, after they had ceased to be a people, represented chiefly by the Samnites. Hence the two branches of the Italian race are distinguished by the names of *Latin* and *Umbro-Samnite* or *Sabellian*.† The former branch gave origin to the Roman state, which now becomes the central point of our history; but, before describing its rise, a few words must be added concerning the other chief people of the Italian peninsula.

At their junction with the Maritime Alps, the Apennines enclose the beautiful *Riviera*, or coast terrace, round the head of the Gulf of Genoa, the Liguria of the ancients; ‡ and then from the line of the river Macra (*Magra*, at 9° E. long., mouth about 44° N. lat.), their bold sweep surrounds the magnificent country, which has always borne one of the names of the race we have now to speak of. Physically, indeed, the region is bounded by that branch of the chain which runs southward towards Cape Circelli (the ancient promontory of Circe), along the eastern margin of the valley of the Tiber; but, from the foundation of Rome, this river divided Etruria from Latium. The Apennines shelter this country on the north and east, and their lateral chains diversify its surface with wooded heights and sweeping valleys, watered by

* These plays derived their name from the city of Atella in Campania.

† More will be said of this race when we come to speak of the Samnite wars.

‡ The Ligurians, or, in Greek, Ligyes, were a very ancient people of uncertain race. Some suppose them to have been Celts, others Iberians, and others a branch of the Siculi or earliest Italians. They were known to the Greeks from very early times, doubtless through the Phocæan mariners, who traded to the gulfs of Genoa and Lyons, and founded Marseilles. Hesiod and Æschylus mention them as visited and fought against by Hercules; and the latter poet incidentally shows his acquaintance with the advance of the delta of the Rhone, a proof that he is not dealing with mere vague names. At that early age, the Ligurians appear to have spread round the whole coast from the Pyrenees to the mouth of the Arno, and to have extended inland far beyond the Alps. In later times they were driven back by the Gauls to the Maritime Alps and the Apennines, and the coast below, round the head of the Gulf of Genoa. Here they became famous as warlike mountaineers, of small stature, but hardy and active, and admirably qualified for light troops. In this capacity they served the Carthaginians, and, after the close of the Second Punic War, they long resisted the efforts of the Romans to subdue them. It was only by the removal of many of them to Samnium, and by the plantation of Roman colonies, that their country was thoroughly pacified.

the Arno, the confluents of the Tiber, and the intervening rivers. Of such valleys we may find types, celebrated by the poets, in the Sabine retreat of Horace,

> "Or in Val d'Arno, where the Etrurian shades
> High overarch'd, embower."

This fair region was once, in all probability, divided between the Ligurians and the old Siculian or Iapygian inhabitants of Italy; but in the historic times, it was the home of the people who called themselves RAS, *Rasena*, or *Rasenna*, but were named by the Greeks *Tyrseni*, or *Tyrrheni*, by the Latins *Tusci*, or *Etrusci*, and their land *Etruria.** Their origin and early growth forms one of the most interesting and difficult problems of antiquity. A supposed oriental element, of which, however, even some ancient writers denied the existence, in their customs and institutions, gave rise, as we have before seen,† to the fable that the ancient Lydian king, Tyrsenus, had led a colony from Etruria; and the theory that they came by sea from the east has found advocates in modern times. But it is far more probable that their origin is to be sought beyond the Alps. It seems certain that, as early as the foundation of Rome, the Etruscans were a very powerful people, extending from the Alps over the plain of Lombardy and the western part of Italy, as far to the south as Vesuvius. At the northern limit of this wide region, the central chain of the Alps (in the *Grisons* and *Tyrol*) was occupied by the Rhætians, a name very similar to Rasenna; and ancient traditions represent the Rhætians as a branch of the Etruscans, driven back into the Alps, when the mass of the nation were expelled from the plain of Northern Italy by the Gauls. It seems very probable that the tradition, as often happens, has only inverted the true order of the movement, and that the Rhætians were (and, to some extent, still are) the representatives of the old Rasenna, in or near their ancient seats. We have the testimony of Livy, whose native city, Patavium (*Padua*), was not far from the Rhætic Alps, that the Rhætian language closely resembled the Etruscan; and singular likenesses have been traced between the existing local names in Rhætia and those of ancient Etruria.

* The Greek and Latin names are essentially the same, the apparent differences being due to the prosthetic vowel, and to the softening of the sibilant and its attendant mute. The original form seems to be that preserved in an old Umbrian inscription, *Turscus* (Lepsius, *Inscr. Umb.* tab. i. b.). In the name *Rasenna*, the root is *Ras*, the *enna* being a gentile termination; which is seen also in such names as Pors-enna, Mæc-enas, Vivenna, &c. The Greek name *Turs-eni* seems to have the same termination.

† Vol. I. p. 252.

But the Rasenna alone did not form the Etruscan nation. It appears that a branch of the great Pelasgic race, who were the earliest known inhabitants of the whole region to the south of the Alps and the Balkan—a branch which had made greater progress than the rest in civilization and power—crossed the Alps and Apennines, and drove out the Umbrians from the region along the western coast, as the latter had previously driven out the Iapygians; and that these Tyrrhenian Pelasgians were in turn subdued by the powerful Rasenna, who descended from the Alps. The Rasenna did not expel the Tyrrhenians, but formed a dominant aristocracy, like the Normans in England. From the amalgamation of the conquerors with the conquered, seems to have sprung the great nation of the Etruscans, whose high civilization and maritime power is one of the earliest known facts of European history.

Unfortunately the problem of their origin derives little aid from the powerful instrument of comparative philology, not for want of considerable remains of their language, but because the efforts to decipher their sepulchral inscriptions have been attended with scarcely any success. The great obstacle seems to be the want of close affinity to any known language. "The Etruscans," says Dionysius, "are like no other nation in language and manners." There seem, however, to be isolated elements in the Etruscan language closely akin to the Greek, and others like the Umbrian; thus representing the Pelasgian Tyrrhenians and the Umbrians, whom they are said to have displaced; while the bulk of the language, quite distinct from both these, and from the whole Græco-Latin family, is supposed to represent the dialect of the conquering Rasenna. If the opinion recently advanced should be confirmed by further researches—that this Rasennic element is akin to the Scandinavian dialects—we should be brought to the deeply interesting result, that an infusion of Gothic blood gave its wonted stimulus to the greatness of the Etruscans, and that the Lombard plain was peopled to a great extent in the most ancient as in modern times, by the fair-haired Teutons.*

For let their origin have been what it may, their ancient power and civilization are unquestionable facts. In the earliest ages of European history, they overspead the whole plain of Northern

* The phrase is introduced, not as an ornamental epithet, but from actual observation of the extent to which light hair, especially among the children, still bears witness to the Gothic element in the population of Lombardy.

Italy,* where remnants of the Etruscan population were left, after the nation had been expelled by the Gauls, as for example at Mantua; and other important cities were of Etruscan origin. Among these was the port of Adria,† which, by giving its name to the Adriatic, has borne witness, down to the present day, of the maritime power of the Etruscans in the eastern sea; while on the opposite side of the peninsula, they gave their own name to the Tyrrhenian or Tuscan Sea. Their naval enterprise is constantly referred to in Greek poetry and history. The colonies in Magna Græcia and Sicily were harassed by Tyrrhenian pirates; and in B.C. 538, they joined the Carthaginians, with sixty ships, in the great sea fight with the Phocæans off Alalia in Corsica.‡ They were leagued with the Carthaginians by treaties of commerce and navigation, with the view of preserving their empire in the Western Mediterranean against the maritime enterprises of the Greeks. Meanwhile, they had extended their power by land southwards as far as Campania, where, as well as in Central Etruria, they founded a confederacy of twelve cities, among which were Capua (which they called Vulturnum), and probably Pompeii, Herculaneum, and other cities on the coast.§ Here they came into conflict with the Greek cities, about B.C. 500, the epoch of their greatest ascendancy; but they did not succeed in reducing them. They made a great attack on Cumæ in B.C. 525; and again in B.C. 474, when Hiero of Syracuse, called in to the aid of the Cumæans, totally defeated the combined fleets of the Carthaginians and Etruscans. This was a great blow to the maritime power of the latter people, and before long we find the Syracusan navy ravaging the coasts of Etruria, and seizing the island of Ætalia (*Elba*), in B.C. 453. The Tyrrhenians sent a force to the aid of the Athenians in Sicily, in B.C. 414; and, on the other hand, Dionysius I. led an expedition against Cære, in Etruria (B.C. 387). Some time before this, the Samites had conquered the Etruscan settlements in Campania; and the Gauls had overrun the plain of

* They seem to have been the sole masters of the country north of the Po. South of that river, they appear to have been mingled with the Umbrians.

† Some make Adria a still older Umbrian town. The place lost much of its importance through that change in the coast-line which has been noticed; but it still exists, with the same name, on the left bank of the *Tartaro*, north of the Po.

‡ See Vol. I. p. 276.

§ It should be observed that they seem never to have displaced the Latin race from the left bank of the Tiber. Indeed it was only at a late period that the Etruscans expelled the Umbrians from the region on the right bank of that river; the Ciminian forest (south of Viterbo) having long formed the boundary of the races.

Northern Italy;* so that the Etruscans were almost confined to the limits of Etruria Proper. Their expulsion from Melpum, the last of their possessions beyond the Apennines, coinciding exactly with the taking of Veii by the Romans, marks the epoch of the decline of the Etruscan state (B.C. 396). But it took more than another century to complete their conquest by the Romans; and as late as B.C. 307 we find their navy taking part in the war of Agathocles with Carthage. A fatal blow was given to their power in Etruria itself by the victory of Q. Fabius Maximus over the united confederacy, at the Vadimonian Lake (B.C. 310). A few years afterwards, their last great stand against Rome, in league with the Umbrians, Samnites, and the Gallic Senones, failed in the two great battles of Sentinum, in Umbria (B.C. 295) and the Vadimonian Lake (B.C. 283), and the final triumph over the Etruscans as a nation was celebrated by Q. Marcius Philippus in the same year in which Pyrrhus arrived in Italy (B.C. 281). The few later wars were isolated efforts of single cities; the last being the revolt of the Faliscans in B.C. 241. But it seems clear that the Etruscans were the last people of Italy who submitted to the Romans.

The political constitution, the religious rites, and the high civilization of this great people are among the most interesting enquiries of ancient history, and are of peculiar importance for the elements which they contributed to the formation of the Roman state. We find among them those definite numbers, which play so important a part in the institutions of early nations.† The Etruscans worshipped twelve great gods, and formed a confederacy of twelve great cities, in each division of their empire. Their twelve cities in Central Utruria are well known, though we possess no perfect list of them: we are expressly told that they founded twelve also in Campania; and we can have no doubt, from analogy, that a similar dodecapolis existed in Northern Etruria, between the Alps and Apennines. Each city of the confederacy had its own independent government, by a close aristrcracy, whom the

* The taking of Rome by the Gauls (B.C. 390) furnishes a proof of their previous conquest of the valley of the Po.

† The conflict and combination of the numbers 3 and 5, and, as arising out of them, of the duodecimal and decimal systems of notation, may be distinctly traced in Italy from a very early age. We may perhaps safely say that the primitive Siculians were content to count by their 5 fingers and 2 hands, and that the Etruscans were the principal introducers of the more scientific combination of the numbers 3 and 4. The peoples of Central Italy used a combination of 3 and 10, as in the 30 Latin states, the 30 curiæ of Rome, and so forth.

Romans call *Principes* (chief *men*), and who alone had any voice in the councils of the nation. If the mass of the free citizens had any municipal power, it was extremely limited. The rural population, consisting probably of the conquered Pelasgian and Umbrian races, were in a state of serfdom, like the Spartan helots, and, like them, served in war under their masters. The ruling family, or caste, in each city, was that of the *Lucumones*,* who formed a sort of patriarchal priesthood, with a chieftain or king, elected from their number, sometimes for life, but allowed only a very limited power by his peers. The whole confederacy--we are now speaking of Central Etruria, as known in the historic times—met annually in the national sanctuary of Voltumna, just as the Latins met in the grove of Ferentina; and extraordinary meetings were held at the same place. The primary object of the assembly seems to have been religious, and in particular for the election of a chief pontiff for the whole nation. But we find no trace of a supreme magistrate, even in time of war; and, though it cannot be doubted that the assembly would consult for the common political interests, so little was there of concert, that most of the wars with Rome were carried on by separate states. In this want of unity we may trace the mutual jealousy of aristocratic governments, and in it must be sought the cause of the decline of a state once dominant in Italy. Another source of their weakness was the employment of mercenary soldiers, an instrument of vast power in the hands of an able despot, but a most insecure support for a free state. Their naval power would, from the very nature of the case, be subject to a more concentrated authority, though we are not told what it was. The analogy of history, however, teaches us that a fleet, whether raised by a central government, or formed by the contingents of different cities, when it goes forth to meet the perils of the sea and to face the enemy under an able admiral, soon forms a community severed in a great degree from the factions of home, and preserving, together with the professional spirit of the sailor, a strong sense of common patriotism, in a spirit opposed to revolution. Nor is it at all surprising that the marine was the last branch in which the Etruscan power succumbed.

The religious institutions of the Etruscans formed a chief element in those of Rome. Their polytheism retained traces of a purer theism; for, above the Twelve Great Gods, they recognized a higher class of deities, the "Shrouded Gods," who did not

* This title, which in Etruscan appears to have been *Lauchmé*, is frequently mistaken by the Romans for a proper name.

reveal themselves to mankind, and to whose will even the great gods were subject. These latter, six male and six female, formed the council of their chief, TINA, or TINIA, whom the Romans identified with Jupiter, as they saw in the chief female deity, *Cupra*, their Juno. The goddess next in rank, *Menrva* or *Menerva*, was of course the Roman Minerva. In the numerous minor gods or *Genii*,* the *Penates* or household deities, and the *Lares*, or spirits of deified men, we trace some of the most characterestic features of the Roman mythology. It was chiefly, too, from the Etruscans that the Romans learnt the arts of augury and divination. The ceremonials of worship were detailed, with minute precision, in the twelve sacred books ascribed to a mysterious being, named TAGES, the son of a Genius Jovialis, who appeared in the form of a boy, but endowed with the wisdom of an old man, and died as soon as he had dictated the contents of the sacred books. It is scarcely necessary to point out the resemblance to the fable of Zoroaster, by which the Persians likewise gave dignity to their sacred books. Such was the "Etrusca Disciplina," which the noblest Roman youths studied under the Lucomones.

It remains to mention the great progress which the Etruscans had made in art at a very early period. The ruins of their great cities, with the traditions respecting their temples and fortifications, attest their proficiency in architecture. One of the orders used by the Romans bore the name of "Tuscan," but it is generally regarded as a later modification of the Greek Doric.† The remains of their city walls are in the massive style called by the mythical name of Cyclopean. They consist of irregular blocks, rudely squared, and laid in horizontal courses without cement, a form which seems to differ from the polygonal construction of the Latin and other cities, not as a stage in the progress of the art, but simply in consequence of the natural cleavage of the different materials. The most marked characteristic of Etruscan architecture is the use of the arch, especially in its application to the construction of works of drainage, not only for cities, but as the means of carrying off the waters of lakes and redeeming marshes for

* The exact idea attached to this name, which literally signifies a *birth-spirit*, is that of an inferior deity, who had the power of producing life, and who attended the being he had ushered into the world, through its whole mortal course, as a sort of spiritual essence, governing his destiny for good or ill, like the *Dæmons* of the Greeks. The good genii were *Genii Joviales*, the offspring of Jove.

† Though grand in its simplicity, this order is said by Vitruvius to have had a low and heavy effect. It may be seen in Inigo Jones's portico of St. Paul's, Covent Garden.

cultivation. Of this we have a celebrated example in the great sewer of Rome, the *Cloaca Maxima*, an undoubted work of the Etruscan period of the monarchy. Their fame for laying out the streets of their cities affords another proof that their art was based upon utility. From the tradition that the Romans borrowed from the Etruscans their dramatic entertainments, their races and athletic sports, and even their exhibitions of gladiators, it has been inferred that the latter people possessed theatres and amphitheatres, but none of these buildings have been discovered, except such as probably belong to the Roman period. The influence of their domestic architecture on that of Rome is proved by the statement that the *atrium* of the Roman house was borrowed from the Etruscans. The general arrangement of their dwellings seems to have been imitated in their tombs.

These tombs furnish nearly all our monumental knowledge of the Etruscan people, and our hope of acquiring more. Unlike the raised sepulchres of the Romans, they are invariably sunk beneath the ground, or excavated in the solid rock, though often with an architectural superstructure or vestibule. The form is either round or square; the ceiling is flat, and frequently sculptured in imitation of the beams of a house; and the walls are decorated with paintings, representing scenes of common life. In one case, a labyrinth has been found, such as Livy describes at the base of the tomb of Porsenna. The sarcophagi and urns, found in these tombs, furnish the chief examples of Etruscan sculptures, in the narrower sense of the word. They belong chiefly to a late period, and their style and subjects bear evident marks of Greek influence. But in the plastic forms of statuary the Etruscans early attained great excellence. Their bronze statues (*Tuscanica signa*) and smaller figures (*Tyrrhena Sigilla*) were celebrated throughout the ancient world, and many examples of them are still preserved. The most conspicuous are the famous She-wolf of the Capitol, and the Chimæra and Orator in the gallery of Florence. These works were, for the most part, in the same stiff archaïc style which we see in the earliest examples of Grecian art. The Etruscans were also great manufacturers of candelabra, mirrors, and other works in bronze, and of gold cups, necklaces, and metal ornaments in general. The processes and useful applications of metallurgy were known to them from a very early age. They worked the iron mines of Elba, and the interior of Etruria furnished them with that abundance of copper, which accounts for the early use of a massive bronze coinage in the states of

Central Italy. They were equally famous for their terra-cotta vases and statues, and their black and red pottery; but the painted vessels, which have become famous under the name of "Etruscan Vases," are now proved to be works of Greek art, whatever may have been the place of their manufacture. They have been found not only in Etruria, but throughout Magna Græcia, and in Greece itself; their subjects are from the Greek mythology, the figures being often distinguished by their Greek names; and in many cases they are inscribed with the names of their Greek artists. But, indeed, the whole character of Etruscan art, from a very early period, attests the influence of the Greeks, and bears out the criticism that it was rather receptive than creative.*

The wall-paintings in the Etruscan tombs are of very unequal merit, and generally in the stiff archaïc style. They are chiefly valuable for the light they throw on the domestic life of the people, and their festive scenes confirm the statements of the Roman writers respecting the fondness of the Etruscans for the pleasures of the table. The natural resources of their country, their wide dominion and extensive commerce, aided by the early use of coined money, would naturally tend to their growth in wealth and luxury; but the records of their high civilization and gross sensuality seem both to have been exaggerated. Their own traditions described the art of writing as introduced by the Greeks, of whose alphabet the Etruscan seems to be a modification. There is no proof of their having possessed a literature other than their sacred books; and their science was chiefly connected with religious uses. Its most important applications were to the marking out the boundaries of land, which were placed under the safeguard of the proper deities;—observing and mapping out the heavens for the purposes of augury;—determining the divisions of months and years, and those longer secular periods to which they attached a mysterous importance, as governing the destinies of their nation; —and arranging a scale of numerals, and a system of weights and measures;—in all which points they were followed by the Romans.

It should be added that the Etruscans were distinguished from the other Italian races, as well as from the Greeks, by their personal appearance. They were short and stout, with large heads, and had a tendency to corpulence, aggravated by their luxurious habits; at least, such was the opinion of the Romans, embodied in the proverbial epithet, "obesus Etruscus." One feature in the

* Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst*, § 178

history of this people deserves especial notice, namely, that, after all that is told of their extensive maritime power, they have left no traces of their influence beyond the limits of their own country. "Their historical development," as Mommsen observes, "began and ended in Italy." They were already a powerful state, when the foundation of Rome formed a new starting-point for the history of the peninsula and of the world.

CHAPTER XX.

ROME UNDER THE KINGS.

"The Niobe of nations! there she stands,
Childless and crownless, in her voiceless woe;
An empty urn within her wither'd hands,
Whose holy dust was scatter'd long ago;
The Scipio's tomb contains no ashes now;
The very sepulchres lie tenantless
Of their heroic dwellers: dost thou flow,
Old Tiber, through a marble wilderness?
Rise with thy yellow waves, and mantle her distress!

"The Goth, the Christian, Time, War, Flood, and Fire
Have dealt upon the seven-hill'd city's pride;
She saw her glories, star by star, expire,
And up the steep barbarian monarchs ride
Where the car climbed the Capitol; far and wide
Temple and tower went down, nor left a site:—
Chaos of ruins! who shall trace the void,
O'er the dim fragments cast a lunar light,
And say,—'Here was,' or 'is,'—where all is doubly night?"—BYRON.

THE CAMPAGNA AND SURROUNDING HILLS—THE TIBER: ITS COURSE AND CHARACTER—THE SITE OF ROME—ITS PRIMEVAL ASPECT—DESCRIPTION OF ITS SEVEN HILLS—MYTHICAL CHARACTER OF THE EARLY ROMAN HISTORY—EVANDER—ÆNEAS—ASCANIUS AND THE ALBAN KINGS—LEGEND OF ROMULUS AND REMUS—ROMANS AND SABINES—INSTITUTIONS AND CONQUESTS ASCRIBED TO ROMULUS—HIS DEATH AND APOTHEOSIS—ROMAN CHRONOLOGY—ERA OF THE FOUNDATION OF ROME—INTERREGNUM—LEGEND OF NUMA POMPILIUS—HIS RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS—THE ROMAN CALENDAR—THE SUBSEQUENT KINGS OF ROME—DISCUSSION OF THE LEGENDS—LATIN ORIGIN OF ROME—EARLY SETTLEMENTS ON THE SEVEN HILLS—THE CITY OF THE RAMNES ON THE PALATINE—TWO PRINCIPAL THEORIES OF ITS ORIGIN—FIRST, AS A ROBBER COLONY OF ALBA, EXTENDED BY WAR, CONQUERED AND REMODELLED BY THE SABINES—CHARACTER AND INSTITUTIONS OF THIS PEOPLE—THE SETTLEMENT ON THE QUIRINAL, AND UNION WITH THE RAMNIANS—THE SECOND THEORY OF A NATURAL GROWTH FROM LATIN SETTLEMENTS ON THE SEVEN HILLS—ROME VIEWED AS THE EMPORIUM OF LATIUM—EXTENT OF THE PRIMITIVE CITY—THE ORIGINAL SEPTIMONTIUM—AMALGAMATION WITH THE CITY ON THE QUIRINAL—TULLUS HOSTILIUS—LEGEND OF THE HORATII AND CURIATII, AND OF THE CONQUEST OF ALBA—ETRUSCAN AND SABINE WARS—ANCUS MARCIUS—HIS CONQUESTS IN LATIUM AND ALONG THE TIBER—HIS WORKS AT ROME—ORIGIN OF THE PLEBS—THE ETRUSCAN DYNASTY—TARQUINIUS PRISCUS—HIS INSTITUTIONS, WARS, AND PUBLIC WORKS—SERVIUS TULLIUS—HIS NEW CONSTITUTION—THE WALLS OF ROME—ALLIANCE WITH THE LATINS—LEGEND OF HIS DEATH—TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS—HIS FOREIGN ALLIANCES AND WARS—THE SIBYL—TAKING OF GABII—L. JUNIUS BRUTUS—THE LEGEND OF LUCRETIA—EXPULSION OF THE TARQUINS—REVIEW OF REGAL ROME.

To TRACE the greatness of Rome from her first beginnings, we must go back to a time when the Tiber flowed, not through a "marble wilderness," strewn with the wrecks of imperial magnificence, but through the open waste of the wide Campagna. This

plain, a scene so memorable in history, extends along the central portion of the western shore of Italy for the length of about ninety miles, between the spur of the Apennines, which terminates at Cape Linaro,* and the Circean Promontory. It has an average breadth of twenty-seven miles between the long stretch of flat coast which presents so striking a contrast to the noble gulfs of Gaeta, Naples, and Salerno further down, and the lower chain of the Apennines, which encircle it on the north and east. A spectator, standing on Mount Janiculus, overlooking the site of Rome, sees this chain across the undulating surface of the Campagna at the distance of about ten or fifteen miles, and behind it the central ridge of the Apennines, capped with snow for half the year. The chief objects of the panorama are as memorable for their historical and poetical associations, as they are conspicuous for their beauty. To the northwest, the plain of the Aro (*Arrone*) is bounded by the Etruscan hills. On the north, about twenty miles distant, stands out Soracte, whose snow-clad summit invited Horace to enjoy the pleasures of winter. Eastward, across the Tiber, lies the beautiful range of the Sabine Apennines; and conspicuous above the rest the peak of Lucretilis (*M. Gennaro*), which sheltered the poet's summer retreat. Nearer in the foreground, where the Anio bursts out of the hills, is Tibur (*Tivoli*), whose beauties he extols above all the most famous sites of Greece. Then follow the hills of Latium, with their sterner associations;—the rocky summit of Præneste (*Palestrina*) standing out in front of the chain, celebrated in medieval as well as ancient history;—and the isolated volcanic mass of the Alban Mount (*Monte Cavo* or *Albano*), the sanctuary of the Latin race, down the side of which the "Long White City" (*Alba Longa*) extended to the lake of the same name. Its highest summit, crowned of old with the temple of Jupiter Latiaris, was visible even to mariners at sea. From this point there is an uninterrupted view to the southeast over the plain, till it sinks into the sea, which is only distinguished from the land by the brighter light reflected from its waters. Far off amidst this level may be dimly seen the isolated hill of the promontory of Circe, whose white cliffs reflect the rising beams of the sun, her fabled father. Of the aspect of the Campagna near Rome, no better idea can be given than by the description of Dr. Arnold:—"The lowland country of the Campagna is broken by long green swelling ridges, the ground rising and falling, as in the heath

* This headland, the site of the Roman fort of Castrum Novum, lies a little above 42° N. lat.

country of Surrey and Berkshire. The streams are dull and sluggish, but the hill sides above them constantly break away into little rocky cliffs, where on every ledge the wild fig now strikes out its branches, and tufts of broom are clustering, but which in old times formed the natural strength of the citadels of the numerous cities of Latium. Except in these narrow dells, the present aspect of the country is all bare and desolate, with no trees, nor any human habitation. But anciently, in the times of the early kings of Rome, it was full of independent cities, and in its population, and the careful cultivation of its little garden-like farms, must have resembled the most flourishing parts of Lombardy or the Netherlands." * The southern extremity of the Campagna forms a dead level, opening on to the Gulf of Gaeta, between the Circean promontory and Tarracina, and watered by the Nymphæus, Ufens, and Amasenus, with other rivers. The "Pomtinus Ager" as it was called, from Pontia (a town which disappeared very early), was once celebrated for its fertility, and contained twenty-three flourishing towns. But, before the middle of the second century B.C., the neglect to regulate the water-courses had converted it into a pestilential marsh, which was only partially drained by Cethegus (B.C. 160) and Julius Cæsar. The canal, which continued the Via Appia through the Pomptine Marshes to the temple of Feronia, at the foot of the hill of Anxur (*Terracina*), furnished Horace with his well-known picture of the lazy and extortionate boatmen, and the traveller, kept awake by gnats and frogs, singing of his mistress till he falls asleep. The drainage works were resumed about the end of the eighteenth century, but the marshes are still a hotbed of malaria in the summer. Their extent is about twenty-four miles long by eight or ten wide.

The northern part of the Campagna is watered by the Tiber and its confluents, of which the Anio is the chief. The sacred river of the Romans, "Father Tiber," more anciently called Rumon and Albula, has a course somewhat shorter than the Thames† of about 200 miles from its source near Tifernum, in the Apennines, to its

* *History of Rome*, vol. i. p. 35.

† A fancy, similar to that which compares Edinburgh with Athens, has likened the Tiber to the Tay. The resemblance is said to have been first traced by the Romans themselves, who saw a second Campius Martius in the North Inch of Perth; but Sir Walter Scott resents such a disparagement of the northern river:

> "'Behold the Tiber!' the vain Roman cried,
> Viewing the ample Tay from Baiglie's side;
> But where's the Scot that would the vaunt repay,
> And hail the puny Tiber for the Tay?"

mouth at Ostia. For the first 110 miles, it flows as a mountain stream, between Etruria and Umbria, to its confluence with the Nar, which divided the latter country from the Sabine territory, a division continued by the Tiber itself for about 70 miles, to its confluence with the Anio, three miles above Rome. It is in this part of its course, between M. Soracte and the Sabine Apennines, that the Tiber flows out of the mountains into the plain of the Campagna. The Anio separated Latium from the Sabine territory, which thus occupied the angle between the two rivers, looking towards Rome. From this point to its mouth, a distance of about 21 miles, the Tiber was the boundary between Etruria and Latium. It falls into the sea by two mouths, forming an island which was sacred to Venus, and is still called the *Isola Sacra.* At its southern mouth stood the ancient port of Ostia, which was so early blocked up by the deposits of the river, that Augustus made a new port on the northern mouth, the Portus Augusti, now *Fiumicino.* From Ostia the Tiber was navigable for the largest ships up to Rome, whence the navigation for boats was continued as far as the confluence of the Nar. At Rome the river is about 300 feet wide, and from 12 to 18 deep; its fall for the 18 miles down to its mouth is 33 feet.

The character of the Tiber, as a rapid mountain stream, flowing through no lake to regulate its volume and receive its alluvial deposits, is summed up in one line of Virgil,

> "Vorticibus rapidis et multa flavus arena;"

and its turbid water still justifies the frequent epithet of the "yellow Tiber." Its rapid eddies, frequent floods, and large alluvial deposits, have produced great effects on its course through the Campagna and on the site of Rome itself. All the engineering skill of the masters of the world was unable to protect their city from the inundations of its sacred stream, one of which (probably that of B.C. 27) is so graphically described by Horace:

> "Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
> Litore Etrusco violenter undis,
> Ire dejectum monumenta regis
> Templaque Vestæ."

It was not indeed till the Etruscan kings executed the great drain, the "Cloaca Maxima," that the valleys between the hills of Rome were made dry land; and it seems that at no distant time the hills nearer to the river were islands. On the other hand, the single island (*Insula Tiberina*) in the stream opposite to the

Capitol, is supposed to have been formed by the deposits of the river within the historic period.

If a traveller had performed that voyage up the Tiber, which Ovid ascribes to the Arcadian Evander and his mother Carmenta about 60 years before the Trojan War, and on stopping at what was long afterwards the site of Rome, had heard the prophetic voice of the nymph declaring,

> "Fallor an hi fient ingentia moenia colles,
> Juraque ab hâc terrâ cætera terra petet:
> Montibus his olim totus promittitur orbis:"—

it is hard to decide whether the fitness of the spot for such a destiny would have been so evident as to silence the doubt—

> "Quis tantum fati credat habere locum."

From the bend of the river below "the island of the Tiber" (if that island had then an existence) he would have seen on his left the long ridge of Mount Janiculus, which afterwards formed the outpost of the city on the Etruscan side, rising to the height of 260 feet. The plain below the mountain, round which the river swept, and where the "Gardens of Cæsar" afterwards lay, was probably a lake or a marsh; and such was certainly the case with the level on the other bank, afterwards the Velabrum and the Cattle Market (Forum Boarium), and with the valleys that branched out from it, between the Palatine hill in the centre, the Capitoline on the north, and the Aventine on the south. These three hills, or mountains, as the Romans always called them, formed the front group of the famous seven hills. They are divided by a continuous valley, on the N.E. and S.E. from the rest, which sweep round them like a theatre—the Quirinal, the Viminal, the Esquiline, the Cælian, and another hill further to the south, which faces the Cælian on the northeast, and the Aventine on the northwest. This last had no distinctive name, but was reckoned as a part of the Aventine, and included in the circuit of the most ancient walls. At the northern extremity of the whole site is a ninth hill, the Mons Pincius, or Collis Hortorum, separated by a valley from the Quirinal, and looking down to the southwest upon the Campus Martius, the level plain enclosed by the sweep which the Tiber makes towards the northern foot of Mount Janiculus. The northern part of this plain is continued on the right bank of the river in the "Ager Vaticanus," which is bounded on the west by the Mons Vaticanus, a ridge resembling the Janiculus, but smaller and lower. In ancient times this hill

CAMPVS VATICANVS
PRATA QVINCTIA?
MAVSOLEVM OF HADRIAN
Avenues to S. Peter's & the Vatican
MAVSOLEVM OF AVGVSTVS
VIA FLAMINIA
COLLIS HORTVLOR
GARDENS OF LVCVLLVS
Piaz
Barbe
C. QVIRINAL
CAMPVS
MARTIVS
PANTHEON
THEATRE OF POMPEY
CIRCVS FLAMINIVS
TIBER
FORVM OF TRAJAN
M. CAPITOLINVS
THEATRE OF MARCELLVS
ARGILETVM
TEMPLE OF ANTONINE & FAVSTINE
TEMPLE OF REMVS
FORVM
VIA SACRA
TARPEIAN ROCK
ARCH OF TITVS
VELIA
VELABRVM
FORVM BOARIVM
M. PALATINVS
IANICVLVM
OVTLET OF THE CLOACA MAXIMA
HORTI CAESARIS
CIRCVS MAXIMVS
M. AVENTINVS
Sta. Balbina
Sta. Saba
Monte Testaccio
15 16 14 13 12 11 10 9? 8 7? 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38

Gates in the Walls of Servius
1 Porta Collina
2 P. Viminalis
3 P. Esquilina
4 P. Querquetulana ?
5 P. Cælimontana
6 P. Capena
7 P. Raudusculana ?
8 P. Nævia
9 P. Minucia
10 P. Trigemina
11 P. Flumentana
12 P. Carmentalis
13 P. Ratumena ?
14 P. Fontinalis ?
Gates in the Walls of Aurelian
15 Porta Flaminia
16 P. Pinciana
17 P. Salaria
18 P. Nomentana
19 P. Clausa
20 P. Tiburtina (S. Lorenzo)
21 P. Praenestina (Maggiore)
22 P. Asinaria
23 P. Metrovia ?
24 P. Latina
25 P. Appia (S. Sebastiano)
26 P. Ardeatina ?
27 P. Ostiensis
28 P. Portuensis
29 P. Aurelia (S. Pancrazio)
30 P. Septimiana
31 P. Aurelia of Procopius
Bridges
32 Pons Ælius (Ponte S. Angelo)
33 P. Vaticanus ?
34 P. Janiculensis ?
35 P. Fabricius
36 P. Cestius
37 P. Palatinus (Æmilius ?)
38 P. Supposed remains of the Sublician Bridge
CASTRA PRAETORIA
AGGER OF SERVIVS
GARDENS OF SALLVST
THERMAE OF DIOCLETIAN
C. VIMINALIS
CISPIVS
M. ESQVILINVS
CAMPVS ESQVILINVS
TROPHIES OF MARIVS
GARDENS OF MAECENAS
Sta Maria Maggiore
S. Pietro in Vincoli
OPPIVS
THERMAE OF TITVS
HOVSE OF NERO
COLOSSEVM
TABERNOLA?
TEMPLE OF CLAVDIVS
S. Giovanni e Paolo
S. Gregorio
M. CAELIVS
Sta Stefano
S. Giovanni in Laterano
Sta Croce
AMPHITHEATRVM CASTRENSE
VALLEY OF EGERIA
VIA APPIA
THERMAE OF CARACALLA
TOMB OF THE SCIPIOS
ARCH OF DRVSVS
ANCIENT ROME
shewing the
WALLS OF SERVIUS
& those of
AURELIAN

re-echoed the shouts with which the people assembled in the Campus Martius greeted a favourite,

> "ut paterni
> Flummis ripæ, simul et jocosa
> Redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
> Montis imago;"—

and now the glorious basilica of St. Peter, and the palace of the Popes, called the Vatican, stand in the plain at its foot. The long ridges of the Vatican and the Janiculus rise to a much greater height than the hills on the opposite bank. "The hills of Rome" —says Arnold—"are such as we rarely see in England, low in height, but with steep and rocky sides. In early times the natural wood remained in patches amidst the buildings, as at this day it grows here and there on the green sides of the Monte Testaccio." Their elevation was far more conspicuous in ancient times than now,* when the valleys between them have been raised generally fifteen or twenty feet, and in some places considerably more. Their precipices have been scarped down, and their natural outlines obliterated, more or less, by time and building; and it is only here and there that the steep sides remain unaltered, as in the cliff at the southwest angle of the Capitol, called, with doubtful correctness, the Tarpeïan rock.

This general outline of the site of Rome requires to be filled up somewhat more in detail, but only so far as to prepare for a better understanding of the history; for it is quite beyond our province to touch upon those questions of topography, which have been disputed with an animosity as fierce as if the Romans and Sabines were once more fighting for their respective hills. The central one of the whole group of hills is the PALATINE, which was also the seat of the original Latin city of Rome. It rises above the Capitoline and Aventine by about fifteen feet, but is lower than the four eastern hills. Its shape is a tolerably regular lozenge, looking northwest

* The following table of heights, as determined by Sir George Schukburg, is taken from Mr. Dyer's elaborate and invaluable article, "Rome," in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography:*

HEIGHT ABOVE THE MEDITERRANEAN.

JANICULUS, near the *Villa Spada*	260 feet
PINCIAN, garden of the *Villa Medici*	165 "
ESQUILINE, floor of *S. Maria Maggiore*	154 "
VIMINAL and QUIRINAL, at their junction	141 "
PALATINE, floor of the imperial palace	133 "
CÆLIAN, near the Claudian Aqueduct	125 "
CAPITOLONE, W. end of the Tarpeïan rock	118 "
AVENTINE, near the *Priory of Malta*	117 "

towards the Capitol, across the valley of the Vicus Tuscus; west, over the low ground already noticed, to the Tiber and Mount Janiculus; southwest to the Aventine; southeast to the Cælian; and northeast to the group formed by the Esquiline, the Viminal, and the Quirinal. In the valley which skirted this side, beginning from the eastern face of the Capitoline, lay the Forum and the Sacra Via, along which the triumphal processions of the conquerors of the world ascended to the Capitol. This part of the valley is slightly divided from its eastern prolongation, which runs between the Esquiline and the Cælian, by a small hill, projecting like a bastion from the northeastern face of the Palatine, called Velia, over which the Via Sacra passed. Of the hills around the Palatine on the east and north, the Cælian stands alone; the other three—or more properly four—are but the branches of one mass, which slopes down on the north and east to the Anio and one of its tributary brooks; while on the west, the Quirinal and the southern branch of the Esquiline curve inwards like the horns of a harbour, enclosing within their sweep the Viminal and the southern branch of the Esquiline. The two arms of the Esquiline were originally reckoned as separate hills, the southern or principal being named Oppius, and the smaller offshoot Cispius. The Capitoline, the smallest but most famous of the whole group, originally called the Saturnian hill,* stands out like a detached prolongation of the Quirinal towards the river, from which it is distant about 300 paces. It was originally almost close to the Quirinal, till Trajan scarped off a portion of the latter, to enlarge the valley for his Forum. The Capitoline has a saddle-like depression, dividing its top into two summits; of which the northern was probably the Capitol, and the southern the Arx, or citadel of Rome. Lastly, the Aventine stands out, to the southwest of the group formed by the other six—in an isolation, which, as we shall see, is not without political significance —with the Tiber sweeping round its western base. Its shape is similar to the Palatine; but it is somewhat larger. Such was the surface of the ground on which Rome was built. The extent of the city, first, when its different parts were united under the kings, and finally, as it existed under the emperors, is shown on our map by the two lines of walls, which bear the names of Servius Tullius and of Aurelian. But the original

* The *Capitolum* itself, from which the hill was named, was the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the chief Roman sanctuary, to which the triumphing generals carried up the spoils of their victories.

city was confined within limits much narrower even than the former.

When the Romans, who were not by nature a literary people, began to study their own early history, they found an endless store of poetical legends, accumulated by national and family pride, with a paucity of genuine records almost unparalleled in the annals of any other people. Untrained in the principles of criticism, and caring but little for the naked truth, in comparison with the illustration of the long story of Rome's greatness, they not only accepted the legends without suspicion, but even adhered to them with a wilful neglect of the better authorities within their reach. The records kept by the Pontiffs were destroyed in the burning of the city by the Gauls; and it was far easier to supply their place from popular traditions, and from the lays of ancient bards in praise of the great patrician houses, than to decipher antique inscriptions, and unravel the truths hidden beneath national customs and institutions. Thus it happened that when, in the Augustan age, the poet Virgil and the historian Livy undertook to illustrate the origin of the people, the latter, equally with the former, composed an epic of the city's greatness, of no authority as a history.*

It is quite unnecessary to relate at length the oft-repeated stories, which trace the origin of the Roman people from the East, and which were developed into no less than twenty-five different accounts of the foundation of the city. The connection of the old Latin race with the Pelasgian stock was recognized by the traditions which ascribed the origin of Rome to the latter, as well as by the very ancient legend, that Evander, flying from Arcadia, sixty years before the Trojan War, was directed by his mother, the prophetic nymph Carmenta,† to build a city at the foot of the Palatine hill, which was called Pallantium from his grandson Pallas, or from the Arcadian town of the same name. This venerable tradition was eclipsed in general favour by the more popular legend of the settlement of a Trojan colony in Italy under Æneas.

* It is beyond our province to discuss the great question of the credibility of the early Roman history, which was first raised more than a century ago by L. de Beaufort in his work, *Sur l'incertitude des Cinq Prêmiers Siècles de l'Histoire Romaine*, Utrecht, 1738, and has been decisively settled by Niebuhr. Besides the well-known recent histories of Rome, the reader may consult the work of Sir G. C. Lewis on the subject, and for a popular sketch of the poetical sources of the legendary history, the "Introduction" to Lord Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome.*

† In this name (originally Casmenta) we trace that of the Camenae (Casmenae), the Latin Muses.

One form of the story made Æneas himself the founder of Rome, either alone, or in conjunction with the Aborigines of Latium. This is the favourite account with the Greek writers, some of whom even represent Æneas as coming into Italy in company with Ulysses, while others ascribe the foundation of Rome to a son of Ulysses and Circe. The other form of the Trojan story, so well known from its adoption by Virgil and Livy, is said to have been first embodied in a historical work by Q. Fabius Pictor, the earliest Roman annalist in prose, about B.C. 200. Æneas arrives in Italy, after many adventures in his flight from Troy, marries the daughter of Latinus, the king of the Aborigines, builds the city which he names after her Lavinium, and unites the Aborigines with his Trojan followers into the Latin people. Thirty years later, his son Ascanius removes his capital to Alba Longa. After eleven generations of kings, who reign over the Latins at Alba for three hundred years,* Amulius usurps the throne to the exclusion of his elder brother Numitor, whose only daughter Silvia he dooms to perpetual virginity as a Vestal. But Silvia is visited by Mars, and bears the twins Romulus and Remus, whose cradle, exposed by the order of Amulius on the flooded Tiber, is floated to the foot of the Palatine, and overturned by the roots of a wild fig tree, which became, under the name of Ficus Ruminalus, as profound an object of reverence as the sacred olive of Athena.

The twins are suckled by a she-wolf,† fed by a woodpecker, and at length found by the king's herdman Faustulus, who brings them up as his own children. The brothers, with a band of other youths, feed their flocks on the Palatine, while the herdmen of Numitor occupy the Aventine. A quarrel between the two bands leads to the recognition of Romulus and Remus, the slaughter of Amulius, and the restoration of Numitor to the throne of Alba, while the twins return to found a new city at their former haunts. Romulus wishes to build on the Palatine, Remus on the Aventine; the quarrel ends in the death of Remus by his brother's hand, and ROME, the city of Romulus, rises on the summit of the Palatine. To people his new city, Romulus opens an asylum for outlaws and runaway slaves. He provides them with wives by the stratagem so well known as the "Rape of the Sabine women." In the war

* The prevalence of the numbers 3 and 10 among the Latins is seen in these legends:—Æneas reigns 3 years; Ascanius, at Lavinium, 30 years; his dynasty at Alba 300 years.

† This part of the legend is commemorated by the celebrated bronze wolf of the Capitol already mentioned as a work of Etruscan art, and said to have been dedicated in B.C. 296.

THE KNOWN WORLD AT THE FOUNDATION OF ROME.

Hispania
Gades
Pillars of Hercules
Carthago
Utica
Sicily
Italia
Roma
Græcia
Crete
Troya
Lydia
Phrygia
Asia
Cilicia
Cyprus
Sidon
Tyrus
Phœnice
Syria
Tadmor
Jerusalem
Israel
Judah
Tanis
Memphis
Ægyptus
Thebæ
(No Ammon)
Arabia
Erythræan S.
Babylon
Mesopotamia
Ninevch
Assyria
Armenia
Mt. Ararat
Colchis
Mt. Caucasus
Media
Eredh

which ensues, Titus Tatius, the king of the Sabines of Cures, obtains possession of the Saturnian hill, afterwards called the Capitol. After many battles in the swampy valley where the Forum afterwards stood, the combatants are separated by the devotion of the Sabine women, the daughters of the one people and the wives of the other. The nations are united under the joint government of their two kings, each having its separate city, the Romans on the Palatine, the Sabines on the Quirinal, while the "Comitia," or assemblies of the united people, are held in the valley already mentioned. They are distinguished as two tribes,* by the names of Ramnenses and Titienses; and the numbers already adopted by Romulus in the organization of the state are doubled. Each tribe contains ten curiæ of a hundred citizens; with a hundred horsemen, ten to each curia. The retention by the Sabines of the Capitol, which formed with the Quirinal their city of Quirium, the adoption by the united people of the Sabine name of Quirites, (*Spearmen*),† and the Sabine appellation of Quirinus, by which Romulus was deified, are tacit confessions that the Sabine prevailed over the Latin nationality in the union; and though the legend makes Romulus sole king, after Tatius had been slain by the people of Laurentium, he is succeeded by the Sabine Numa, who gives laws and religious institutions to the united people. Meanwhile, another element is introduced into the new state. In the midst of the contest between the Romans and the Sabines, we find an Etruscan Lucumo, named Cæles Vibenna, in possession of the Cælian hill, and aiding Romulus in the war with Tatius. His followers are admitted as a third tribe, called Luceres; and thus the number of the *curiæ* becomes 30, and of the citizens, 3000. These form the *Legio*, or military *levy* of the whole state, with the 300 cavalry, who are at first called *Celeres* (that is, *swift*), and afterwards *Equites* (horseman), whose three *Centuries* always bore the names of Ramnenses, Titienses, and Luceres.

In their civil capacity, these 3300 citizens formed the Roman

* *Tribus* = a third part. Hence, the division of a whole into "two tribes" is an apparent contradiction in terms. But, besides that the word is used with reference to the ultimate number of three tribes, this generic use of the "third" for a division, among a people who counted by threes, resembles our use of the word "quarter."

† This name became the appellation of the Romans in their civil capacity; but the memory of their double origin is preserved in the formula "Populus Romanus Quirites." In such formulæ it was the custom to omit the conjunction, as in "Patres Conscripti" for "Patres *et* Conscripti," and in the names of the consuls when used for the date of each year.

PEOPLE,* who alone enjoyed political rights. The government was a limited monarchy, the king being bound to lay every matter of importance before the people in their *Comitia Curiata*, or Assembly of the Curiæ, where the question was decided by the majority of the Curiæ. Even the *imperium*,† or power of life and death, which has always been held essential to command in war, had to be conferred on the king by a vote of the Curiæ. This power, with that of corporal punishment, was symbolized by the axes, bound up in bundles of rods (*fasces*), which were borne before the king by twelve officers called *Lictors* (binders), a mark of state which is said to have been borrowed from Etruria. The king had his council called the *Senate*, or body of Elders, which consisted at first of 100 members, 10 from each of the original Curiæ. This number was doubled by the junction with the Sabines; but the Luceres did not at first send any member to the Senate, which remained therefore at 200, till Tarquinius Priscus, the first Etruscan king of Rome, raised its numbers to 300 by the admission of the Luceres. The Senators bore the title of *Patres* (Fathers); and there can be little doubt that they were the heads of the *Gentes* (Houses or Clans), ten of which originally composed each curia. Every gens was distinguished by a name, which was borne by each of its members (*gentiles*) as his principal surname ;‡ and all were bound together by

* *Populus Romanus.* It is of the utmost importance to bear in mind the meaning of this phrase, especially as we are accustomed to use the word *people* in the opposite sense—for the non-privileged class.

† Amidst the confusion of terms introduced by the pride of rulers and its reflection in their subjects, it is well to bear in mind that *imperial* power signifies properly the absolute power of life and death.

‡ The gentile names are of the adjective form, ending in *-ius.* They were usually derived from some divine, or heroic, or other ancestor—real or supposed—as the Marcii from Mars; Julii from Iülus, the son of Æneas; the Appii Claudii from the Sabine leader, Attus Clausus. A Roman had ordinarily three names: (1) the *Prænomen*, (forename) or personal name, as Quintus, Marcus, Titus, &c.; (2) the *Nomen*, or name proper, which was the gentile name, as Tullius, Cornelius, &c.; (3) the *Cognomen*, or surname, which was the name of his familia, as Cicero, Scipio, &c. A man might be addressed either by his *nomen* or *cognomen;* but the formal mode of address was by the personal and gentile name. Thus, when Cicero was asked to give his opinion in the Senate, the Consul would address him with the words, "*Dic, Marce Tulli.*" A second cognomen, called the *Agnomen* (or added name), or even more than one, could be obtained as the record of some achievement. Lastly, there was the *Nomen Adoptium;* when a member of one gens was adopted into another he usually took the three names of his adoptive father, with the name of his own gens added in the form of an adjective in *-anus.* We have examples of all these forms in the name of the younger Scipio. He was the son of L. Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia; being adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, he took this name with the adoptive addition; his exploits in Africa and in Spain added two *agnomina;* and

certain religious rites (*sacra gentilitia*) celebrated in the chapel of the gens (*sacellum*); but there was no necessary connection of kindred among the members. The Gentes were divided into *Familiæ*, which properly denoted *persons* in the legal sense, those, namely, who had the power of a *pater-familias* over their children, children's children, and slaves. In all this we see a patriarchal constitution with the Patres at its head. The Patres of the Luceres were distinguished by a title which implies an inferiority of privilege in their tribe, as the *Patres Minores Gentium.* It may be well here to explain, by anticipation, the full title by which the Senators were ultimately distinguished. To fill up the vacancies caused by the tyranny of Tarquinius Superbus, the earliest consuls under the Republic enrolled in the Senate certain noble plebeians of equestrian rank; but these were distinguished from the Patres of the three tribes by the name of *Conscripti* (*enrolled*), and thenceforth the full title of the Senators became *Patres Conscripti.*

The *Patres* were the heads of houses of the *Patricii*, or Patricians.* Under this name were included all those who were numbered in the tribes, curiæ, and gentes, in one word all the full citizens of the state.† They possessed, of course, all the rights and were bound to discharge the duties of a citizen. Their rights were public and private,‡ the former including the right of voting in the tribes,§ and (afterwards, under the Republic) eligibility to the offices of the state; ‖ and the latter the freedom of trading and contracting marriages with each other.¶ To them alone belonged a share in the religious rites of the state.** At a later age, when, as we shall see, other persons were admitted to the citizenship with less complete privileges, the full citizens were distinguished by a special title.†† These alone, as we have said, formed at first the Roman people; but, besides them, there existed, from the very first, an inferior class, of great importance in the constitutional history of Rome, the Clients (*clientes*), to whom the Patricians stood in the relation of Patrons (*patroni*).‡‡

so he became *P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus Africanus Numantinus.* Titles of office were placed after the name.

* The frequent confusion of *Patres* and *Patricii* must be carefully avoided. The words had probably at first the same meaning, namely *fathers of families.*

† The term *civitas* denoted properly, in the concrete sense, the body of citizens: it was also used, in the abstract sense, for the condition of a citizen.

‡ *Jus publicum* and *jus privatum.* § *Jus suffragii.* ‖ *Honores.* ¶ *Commercium* and *connubium.* ** *Jus sacrorum.* †† *Optimo jure cives.*

‡‡ The etymological connection of *patricius* and *patronus*—both derived from *pater*—seems to show that the client was regarded as belonging to the family of his patron, and

The client looked to his patron for counsel and support, especially in law-suits, and rendered in return certain aid, defined by custom, in the form of pecuniary and personal service, like the retainers of the feudal barons in the middle ages. This resemblance strikes us when we read of the Sabines under Tatius being followed by their clients, and of the Sabine chieftain, Attus Clausus, coming to Rome with a numerous *clientela;* and such cases seem to prove that the institution was an ancient one among the Italian nations. It has been conjectured also that a part, at least, of the body of clients was formed by the Italians who were conquered in the first wars which doubtless followed the foundation of the city, and which the legend represents Romulus as carrying on without intermission during the forty years of his reign. That many of the neighbouring people, who joined the new state from policy or fear, would be enrolled as clients, seems highly probable; but to regard the people of conquered cities in that light appears to trench upon the distinction between the Clients and the Plebs, a question which has presently to be noticed. The client bore the gentile name of his patron, and enjoyed a modified citizenship.

Such is the political constitution ascribed to Romulus by the legend of the foundation of the city. He is further represented as just and gentle in the exercise of his judicial functions. The practice attributed to him of punishing crimes by a fine of cattle rather than with death, is a well-known patriarchal usage. The stories of his exploits in war are as purely mythical as his own personal existence. Of these the most celebrated is the defeat of the people of Cænina, whose king Acron was slain by the hand of Romulus, and his arms dedicated on the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, under the name of *spolia opima.* Only two other cases are recorded in the history of Rome of such a dedication by a general of the arms stripped from a hostile commander, killed by his own hand. The second *spolia opima* were won by A. Cornelius Cossus from Lar Tolumnius, the king of Veii; the third by M. Claudius Marcellus from the Gallic king Viridomarus.

The mythical founder of the Roman state was duly honoured with an apotheosis. Having been snatched away by his father Mars, amidst a fearful storm and supernatural darkness, when the people were assembled in the Campius Martius, he appeared the same night, in more than mortal stature and beauty, to a senator

as subject, in some degree at least, to his *patria potestas.* The word *cliens* is perhaps derived from the old verb *cluere*, signifying to *hear* and *obey.*

named Proculus Julius, who was returning from Alba to Rome. "Go," said he, "and tell my people that they weep not for me any more; but bid them to be brave and warlike, and so shall they make my city the greatest in the earth." So the people built a temple to Romulus, as a god, and worshipped him by the name of Quirinus. His parting message gives point to the whole spirit of his legend, which marks Rome, from its first beginning, as a martial and conquering state, in which, as her very language testifies, Valour was the supreme Virtue—the highest quality of Man (*Virtus*);—a spirit prophetic of the destiny she had to fulfil.

The ascription by the legend of thirty-seven years to the reign of Romulus calls for a remark on the system of Roman chronology and the great epoch of the foundation of the city. That epoch is as destitute of all historical authority, as the lengths of the reigns of the seven kings are of any probability. The trustworthy chronology of Rome, as preserved in the Fasti by the names of the annual magistrates, began at the taking of the city by the Gauls in B.C. 390. But there appear to have been safe grounds for reckoning back 120 years to the *Regifugium*, or expulsion of the kings, which was the Era of the republican chronology (B.C. 510).* From that point all was conjecture; for popular tradition never supplies chronological data. It only remained for the Pontiffs, who had the annals entirely in their hands, to invent some plausible system; and this they appear to have found in the duplication of the time since the Regifugium, thus assigning 240 years to the whole period of the kings. This reckoning brings us to the very date assigned by Cato for the building of the city, B.C. 751; and the eras adopted by other authorities all fall within a very few years of this. That used by most of the ancient writers, and generally followed in modern works, is the ERA OF VARRO, according to whom the city of Romulus on the Palatine was founded on the day of the Palilia—the Feast of Pales, the deity of shepherds—on the 21st of April, B.C. 753.†

* The festival of the *Regifugium* was kept on the 24th of February, just at the close of the Roman year. See the account of the calendar given below.

† The other principal eras are those of Polybius, B.C. 750, and of Fabius Pictor, B.C. 747. In practical chronology the Varronian era is reckoned from the 1st of January, B.C. 753. In comparison with the Greek chronology, it was the year, *in the middle of which* Ol. 6. 4 began. The following are easy formulæ for the conversion of the Roman years and our own into one another:—A.U.C. + B.C. = 754; and A.U.C.—A.D. = 753; or 753 + A.D. = A.U.C. The letters stand for the *current* year of the epoch they

On the death of Romulus—according to the legendary story—no one was deemed worthy to supply his place. Instead of electing a new king, the Senate formed themselves into bodies of TEN (*Decuriæ*), each of which governed with royal power for five days, the chief member (*Decurion*) being called an *Interrex* (or Between-King). This *Interregnum*, as it was called, had lasted for a year, when the discontent of the people made it necessary to choose another king. The rival claims of the Romans and Sabines (for the Luceres are not said to have had a voice in the election) were settled by the former choosing a king out of the number of the latter. The curiæ of the Ramnes elected NUMA POMPILIUS, a Sabine, famous for his personal sanctity and his knowledge of the worship of the gods. Some said that he had derived his wisdom from the Greek philosopher, Pythagoras; but all agreed that he learnt the will of the gods from the nymph or Camena, Egeria, who met him at a fountain in the recesses of her sacred grove, and became his wife. She taught him to entrap the deities Picus and Faunus in the wood of Mount Aventine, that he might learn how to draw forth signs of the favour of Jupiter. In the midst of an assembly of the people, the god appeared in the form of lightning, and sent down from heaven the *Ancilé*, or sacred shield of Mars. This shield, with eleven others, made so exactly like it that no man could distinguish the real one among the twelve, Numa committed to the custody of the twelve *Salii*, or dancing priests of Mars, whose special office it was to officiate at the public thanksgivings (*supplicationes*) for great victories.

Besides this symbol of divine *protection*, there was another of *life*, to be preserved with equal care. As a Latin colony—for this character of the city now appears clearly in the legend—Rome possessed the sacred fire of Vesta (the goddess of the hearth), brought from her temple at Alba. Vesta was worshipped, with the household gods (*Penates*), at every Roman hearth; and, as the common sanctuary of the whole Roman family, Numa built her a circular temple on the north slope of the Palatine towards the Forum, and appointed four priestesses (*Vestales*), vowed to perpetual virginity, under the pain of being buried alive, to keep the fire ever burning on her altar. That the Vestal Virgins were an old Latin institution is implied in the legend of Silvia. The same is probably true of the *Salii* and the other colleges of priests

denote. Thus Rome was taken by the Gauls in the 364th year of the city: this is B.C. 390, for 364 + 390 = 754. Again, Rome was taken by Alaric in A.D. 410: this was A.U.C. 1163.

ascribed to Numa. As a sign of the state of peace which he preserved through his reign of forty-three years, Numa built in the midst of the Forum the porch or covered passage of Janus, the god of day, who governed the beginnings of all things, and their issues—the opener and shutter—attributes which were symbolized by his two faces, looking outwards and inwards over gateways. The folding doors at either end of this passage were shut in time of peace, and open during war. They were never closed, from the end of Numa's reign to the pacification of the empire by Augustus, except for a short space after the first Punic War.

The whole religious institutions and civil legislation of Rome are ascribed to Numa, as the political and military constitution is to Romulus. He established the College of Pontiffs, to direct the ceremonies of religious worship, and to regulate the calendar, on which the festivals depended, as well as the system of weights and measures.* The pontiffs were four in number, two being taken from each of the old tribes of the Ramnes and Titienses; and at their head was a Pontifex Maximus. Another college was that of the six Augurs, Auspices, or Haruspices (*Bird-Seers*), who preserved the art of interpreting the will of the gods by the flight of birds, and afterwards by the other signs called *omens*. These "colleges of sacred lore" were close corporations, all vacancies being filled up by the members themselves; and a place in them was an object of ambition with the greatest men of Rome. Julius Cæsar was Pontifex Maximus. They were doubtless, like the Vestal Virgins, an old Latin institution. A third college was that of the Heralds (*fetiales*), who were the guardians of the public faith, and with whom it rested to perform the solemn rites that belonged to the declaration of war and the conclusion of peace, some of the

* The explanation of the title *Pontifices* as *bridge builders*, because they built the *pons sublicius* (or bridge on piles) in order to perform the sacrifices on both sides of the river, is a mere guess, and inconsistent with the tradition which ascribes the bridge to Ancus Marcius. A better reason for the name is found in the ancient sacrifice of the *Argei*, which they offered annually on the Ides of May on the sublician bridge. The word has also been derived from *pompa*, a religious procession; the ordering of such ceremonies belonging to the *pompifices* (*pontifices*). Mommsen adheres to the common etymology, and regards the pontifices as "the Roman engineers, who understood the mystery of measures and numbers; whence there devolved upon them also the duties of managing the calendar of the state, of proclaiming to the people the time of new and full moon, and the days of festivals, and of seeing that every religious and every judicial act took place on the right day. . . . Thus they acquired (though not probably in its full extent till after the abolition of the monarchy) the general oversight of Roman worship and of whatever was connected with it. They themselves described the sum of their knowledge as 'the science of things human and divine.'"

formulæ of which are preserved by Livy. Their number appears to have been twenty, ten from each of the two ancient tribes. To Numa also is ascribed the appointments of the priests (*flamines*, that is, *fire-kindlers*) of particular deities, and especially of Mars Gradivus and his son Quirinus, as well as the *Flamen Dialis*, priest of Jupiter. These three formed the sacred triad of high priests; and there were many more, to conduct the rites of the gentes, the curiæ, and the whole state.

Numa, finally, was the reputed author of those institutions by which the most important affairs of common life were placed under the sanctions of religion. He fixed the boundaries of fields and estates by landmarks, sacred to the god Terminus, in whose honour he instituted the feast of the Terminalia, which closed the sacred rites of the year.* He divided the territory of Rome outside the city into districts, called *pagi*, an act commemorated by the festival of the *Paganalia*. Hence arose that distinction between the *urbani* (townspeople) and the *pagani* (country folk), names which have so curiously acquired a social and religious meaning from the higher polish of the inhabitants of cities, and from the fact that the countrymen were the last to abandon heathenism for Christianity. The regulation of the calendar, connected with the name of Numa, is too intimately connected with our own mode of reckoning time to be passed over. The Italians, like all early nations, numbered periods of days by the phases of the moon; but they had of course a notion of the annual cycle of the seasons, though astronomical observation was required to determine the true length of the year by the sun's course among the stars. Some ancient writers, indeed, assert that the Romans had from the beginning a tropical year (*annus vertens*) of 365 days, divided into 12 months; but the weight of authority is all in favour of a year based on the Latin predilection for the decimal scale—a year of ten months, which were lunar, with slight modifications. This is called the *Year of Romulus*. It certainly began with March (the month sacred to Mars); all the names after the first four indicate the numerical succession of the ten months; † and there is sufficient evidence that December was the last. Instead, however, of preserving the average lunar cycle of 29½

* It was on February 23d, which was the last day of the ordinary year, for, when an intercalary month was introduced, the last five days of February were incorporated with it.

† Before the Julian reformation, *July* was *Quinctilis* (the *fifth* month), and August *Sextilis* (the *sixth*): the other four still bear their numbers.

days, four of the months appear, from the earliest times, to have had 31 days, and the other six 30. The former—March, May, Quinctilis, and October—were called *full* (*pleni*), the latter *hollow* (*cavi*) menses; and the full months remained such through all subsequent changes of the calendar. Thus the year consisted of 304 days; and by what system of intercalation it was filled up to the tropical year we are not informed. The change ascribed to Numa consisted in the introduction of the duodecimal division of the year into months more nearly lunar, by the addition of January and February at the end. If these months had had 31 and 30 days, their addition to the year of Romulus would have made up 365 days, the nearest approximation to the tropical year which seems to have been known in the West.* But this was not the object aimed at. The importance attached to lunar months in religious festivals required a lunar year. Now the true length of a year of twelve lunations is 354 days, 8h. 48′ 36″; and the ancients reckoned it at 354 days. This sum would have been made up exactly by six months of 30 days alternated with six months of 29 days; but the reasons for a variation from this plan are not far to seek. With the duodecimal system (probably from the Etruscans) there had come in a superstitious regard for the good and bad luck of odd and even numbers. Therefore, as it seems, Numa † made the year consist of 355 days; and, retaining the full months at 31, reduced the hollow months to 29, assigning the same number to January, and 28 to February: but even here the odd number was preserved by dividing February into two parts of 23 and 5 days, between which the intercalary month, called Mercedonius, of 22 or 23 days, was inserted at every other year.‡ Each month was divided at a day called the Ides (*Idus* or *division*), which fell on the 15th day of the four full months, and on the 13th of the rest; the ninth day before the Ides (reckoning both extremes) was called the Nones (*Nonæ*, or *ninth*), and fell on the 7th of the full months, and the 5th of the rest. The 1st of every month was called the *Kalends* (*Kalendæ*, or proclamation-days), because the Pontifices proclaimed the commencement of the month, just as the

* We have already seen that the Egyptians, and probably the Chaldæans, knew the year of 365¼ days.

† We follow the language of the tradition for the sake of convenience.

‡ The order of the months, as thus divided, was the following:—Martius, 31 days; Aprilis 29; Maius, 31; Junius, 29; Quinctilis, 31; Sextilis, 29; September, 29; October, 31; November, 29; December, 29; Januarius, 29; Februarius, 28: Total, 355 days; but one of these days, namely the 24th of February, was regarded as intercalary, and was inserted wherever the Pontifices chose.

Mahommedan muezzin announces the first appearance of the new moon from his watch on the minaret. From the name Kalends was derived that of the Kalendar (*Kalendarium*), a tabular view of the whole year, distinguishing the common days and holidays.* The oldest Roman calendars contain a division, somewhat analogous to that of weeks, in the periods of eight days, distinguished by marking the successive days from the beginning of the year by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H. According to the Roman mode of reckoning both extremes, these were called periods of nine days or Nundines (*nundinæ*). The various details, and especially the mode of intercalation, were regulated by the Pontiffs, who used their power for political and other purposes, in a way so arbitrary and irregular as to bring about that utter confusion of seasons, festivals, and everything, which was rectified by the great reform of Julius Cæsar in B.C. 46, which, with the slight correction of Pope Gregory, regulates our present calendar.

Such are the principal legends concerning the foundation of the Roman state, and concerning its primitive constitution, while yet it was confined to a narrow territory, hemmed in by the powerful confederacies of the Latins, the Etruscans, and the Sabines. The story goes on, in the same mythical vein, to tell how the third king, a warrior only second to Romulus, broke the strength of the Latins and destroyed Alba, and how his successor, the grandson of Numa, consolidated the laws of Rome, while he carried on the subjugation of the Latin nation, and laid the foundation of the new plebeian order by the settlement he gave to the conquered people on the Aventine. After this, the state assumed a new character from the accession of an Etruscan dynasty of three kings, of whom the first speedily invests it with the splendour of a rich and powerful monarchy; the second amalgamates the heterogeneous elements into a constitution which secures to every class a fair share of privilege; the third, ruling with insolence, and endeavouring to build up his arbitrary power on the destruction of the aristocracy, is driven from the throne, the monarchy falls with him, and the era of the Republic begins. But, before pursuing the legendary history through these second and third stages, it is needful to inquire what are the truths concerning the primitive state of Rome, which are partly concealed and partly dimly indi-

* From *fas*, sacred law, *dies fasti* and *nefasti* signified, not holy and unholy days, but just the opposite, namely, days on which it was lawful and unlawful to do ordinary business. The Scotch have a similar use of "*lawful* days," in contradistinction to the Sabbath.

cated, by the mythical stories of Romulus and Numa. In a question on which the greatest scholars of our own times have brought vast learning and ingenuity to bear, and respecting which there is still so wide a margin of controversy, it must suffice to indicate those leading points on which there is a general agreement, or those different views which are too important to be omitted.

The very position of Rome is a type of the mingled elements which enter into its earliest history. Standing on the Latin bank of the Tiber, looking across that river into Etruria, and up the river to the point where, at the confluence of the Anio, the Sabine territory juts forward between the other two; offering, moreover, in its several hills, sites for different settlements, it seems destined for the union of the three races that peopled Central Italy. Nay more, the ready access to it up the river appears to invite settlers from beyond the sea, and to make it a refuge for adventurers wandering over the Mediterranean in search of a home. For this last reason we should hesitate to reject altogether such legends as those of Æneas and Evander; of which the one may indicate a prehistoric settlement of the Thracian branch of the Pelasgic race, the other a Greek element, of which eminent scholars have found marked traces in the primitive institutions of the Roman state.* It is especially on the Saturnian (Capitoline) hill that marks of a Greek colony are supposed to have existed. But there are at best doubtful speculations, compared with the evidence that Rome was at first a Latin village on the Palatine, while other settlements existed on the other hills; and that, by a process very different from that described in the popular legends of the nation—except as the truth forces itself to the surface, as it were, against the will of the romancers—other elements, Sabine, Latin, and Etruscan, were superadded, bringing with them laws and institutions, and forms of civilization, unknown to the first Latin settlers; while the perpetual conflict of opposing forces made Rome from the first a military power by the necessity of self-defence.

Among the first proofs of the Latin origin of Rome is the fact that its language was called Latin from the earliest age that it is known to have had a name at all. But the presence of Sabellian and Oscan elements in Latin gives equally clear evidence of the admixture of that stock in the earliest Roman people; while the want of an Etruscan element in the language seems to show that the Etruscan influence, which appears in the institutions of Rome,

* The reader may consult the arguments of Mr. Newman, in his *Regal Rome.*

was superadded at a later age. When we turn to the name of the city for further light, we are met by a variety of conjectures, deriving it from several different languages. The Latins themselves had a tradition that *Rome* was a foreign word, and that the city had another and a sacred name, which it was not lawful to utter. The river, by which Rome stood, was variously called by the names of Rumon, Albula, Thybris, and Tyberis, of which the second seems clearly Latin, and the first is connected with the name of Rome, and its people the Ramnes.* In calling Rome the city of the Ramnes on Mount Palatine, we have summed up in a word all that the name can tell us. Some suppose the name itself, and also those of the Titienses and Luceres, to be Etruscan; others, Oscan. Few doubt that these three names represent villages, or communities of some sort, which had grown up on the hills afterwards included in the site of Rome. All are agreed that the Ramnes were of the Latin stock, and the Titienses of the Sabine; but there is a very great division of opinion as to whether the Luceres were Etruscans or Latins. At all events, they held a far less important place than the other two in the first consolidation of the Roman state. Besides these three, tradition speaks of various other settlements on the Seven Hills, and in particular of a Greek town, called Antipolis,† on Mons Janiculus; but the *name*, at all events, cannot have been used till an important city had grown up on the left bank. The condition in which these settlements are supposed to have existed cannot be better described than in the words of Mommsen:—"Long, in all probability, ere an urban settlement arose on the Tiber, these Ramnians, Tities, and Luceres, at first separate, afterwards united, had their strongholds on the Roman hills, and tilled their fields from the surrounding villages. The 'wolf-festival' (*Lupercalia*) which the *gens* of the Quinctii celebrated on the Palatine hill, was probably a tradition from these primitive ages—a festival of countrymen and shepherds, which preserved, more than any other, the homely pastimes of patriarchal simplicity, and, singularly enough, maintained itself longer than other heathen festivals in Christian Rome."

As to the origin of the Palatine city of the Ramnes, the question lies between two chief theories. Both are agreed that the Latin nation already existed, long before the foundation of Rome as a pastoral and agricultural people, having their strongholds

* It is almost superfluous to observe that the names of *Romulus* and *Remus* are derived from that of the city, as its imaginary *heroes eponymi*.

† That is, *the opposite city*.

in numerous cities, which were united—as some think—in different leagues, or—as others suppose—in one confederacy, with Alba for its head. The one theory then follows the popular legend so far as to suppose that an Alban colony, whether driven out by force, or led by the love of adventure, settled on the Palatine, and became the nucleus to which political and other outlaws flocked from all the neighbouring cities; and the community thus formed, consisting almost entirely of males, took to the practice, common in a wild state of society, of women-stealing. "Alban Rome," says Mr. Newman, who advocates this theory—"was clearly a robber-city; yet we do not know it to have been stained with blood-thirsty treachery, like the Mamertines of Messene. She is rather to be compared to the petty states of early Greece, when they practised piracy without scruple, and gloried in it." * Such a state could only maintain its existence by unceasing wars with its neighbours, and the necessity of its position would demand constant accessions of a warlike population. Its power was early extended, so as to add to the original city on the Palatine another stronghold on the Capitoline, and a suburb on the Esquiline. The wars of Romulus with the neighbouring towns, as Cæcina, Antemnæ, and crustennerium,—falsified as they manifestly are in their details by national vanity—represent a long conflict which was attended with successes that enabled the Romans to transfer the inhabitants of conquered cities in mass to Rome, and laid the foundations for the class of Clients. All this must have taken far more time than the space assigned to the single reign of Romulus, under whose name it was the pride of later times to embody in a definite form all the military and political institutions which grew up with time and experience. For the real form of government, we must look to the other Latin cities, which we find bringing out their forces to war under an elective military chieftain. "We must perhaps rest," says Mr. Newman, "in the general probability, that the successive heads or kings of Alban Rome (however many are concealed under the name of Romulus)—as captains of a people to whom warlike interests were all in all,—exercised a severely despotic discipline with high approbation, as long as they were successful in war and just in the partition of spoil: and that, though no written law defined the rights of the king, and no precedents could have grown up to give strength to a senate, yet brave and turbulent men, with arms in their hands, knew how to prevent their leader's authority from degenerating into

* *Regal Rome*, p. 37.

tyranny." Such was the condition to which the military colony of the Ramnians had grown, when it received at once a military check, and, as a consequence, new elements of civilization, from the Sabines of the neighbouring city of Cures. This hardy people, a branch of the Umbro-Samnite stock, lived in the highlands of the Appenines, between the Tiber and the Anio; where their descendants preserved, down to the imperial age of Rome, their rustic simplicity of manners. Like the Lacedæmonians, with whom Greek writers therefore imagined them to have an affinity, they dwelt in unwalled villages, relying for safety on their arms. Their government was a patriarchal confederacy of clans or houses (*gentes*), which had their own religious ceremonies and regulated the conduct of their members, each of whom bore the name of his own clan. There was no slavery, in the proper sense of the word; but a class of serfs existed, under the name of Clients, bound to their lord or patron by a sense of duty and attachment, which inculcated obedience and service on their part, and on his, protection and care of their welfare. The institution resembles that which has survived to our times, however weakened, among the Gælic inhabitants of Scotland; and, in fact, the language of the Sabellian tribes seems to prove their affinity to the Celtic stock. The great dignity of a noble consisted in the maintenance of a large clientage; and his state seems to have been supported, in a great degree, by the rent of the lands cultivated by his clients. The effect of such a relation was of course to draw a clearly marked distinction between the patriarchal nobles and the lower class; which was maintained by an exclusive law of intermarriage among the nobles. Their patriarchal power was carried so far as to give the father the right of life and death, not only over his children, but his wife. The Sabines had that high regard for religion, often degenerating into superstition, which characterizes nations in a patriarchal state. "Their morality was sharply defined, eminently positive and overruling to the whole outward conduct."

This simple and hardy race increased with a rapidity which required an extension of its possessions, and thus they were spread southwards over the Italian peninsula. There is a tradition that those of the youth who were born at a particular season, called the Sacred Spring, were sent out in search of new abodes, as soon as they reached the military age. Whether it was such a band that settled in the fork between the Anio and the Tiber, under the name of *Quirites* (*spearmen*), as the servants of *Quirinus* (the

god of the spear), and with a capital *Cures* (*Quires*), can only be conjectured. But this much seems certain, that the Sabines of Cures were established on the Quirinal hill at an epoch rather later than the foundation of Alban Rome on the Palatine. War ensued between the two communities; the Sabines drove the Romans from their outlying citadel on the Saturnian hill; after a long-protracted conflict, the former prevailed by their superior numbers and discipline; and it was as the result of a real conquest that the united nation received the political and religious institutions, which the mythical account ascribes to Romulus and Numa. The Latin rites, which had been sanctified by custom, retained their place, and the conquered race were sufficiently numerous to make Latin the language of the united people, as in the parallel case of the conquest of the English by the Normans. The patriarchal aristocracy accepted the government of an elective monarch, whether as a new institution, or one developed during the residence of the Sabines at Cures, with the peculiar custom of the *Interregnum;* and it may be assumed that a long line of elective kings is represented by the three names of Numa, Tullus Hostilius, and Ancus Marcius.

The other theory treats the poetical tradition as altogether unworthy of respect, and seeks the origin of Rome in a process of more natural growth, from the time when rural communities of the Latins and Sabines (the stock most closely related to the Latins), both agricultural as well as pastoral people, cultivated the lands around the hills which they occupied as their strongholds in case of danger. "From these settlements," says Dr. Mommsen, "the later Rome arose. The foundation of a city, in the strict sense, such as the legend assumes, is of course to be reckoned altogether out of the question: Rome was not built in a day." The same historian, while not denying that there was a mixture of different nationalities, rejects with scorn "the irrational opinion, that the Roman nation was a mongrel people." He regards not only the Ramnians, but the Luceres, as a purely Latin stock, and makes far less than most other writers of the distinction between the Romans and the Sabines. "It would appear," he says, "that, at a period very remote, when the Latin and Sabellian stocks were beyond question far less sharply contrasted in language, manners, and customs, than were the Roman and the Samnite of a later age, a Sabellian community entered into a Latin canton union; and, as in the older and more credible traditions without exception the Tities take precedence of the Ramnians, it is probable that

the intruding Tities compelled the older Ramnians to accept their association in the same state (*synoikismos*). . . . . With the exception, perhaps, of isolated national institutions transplanted in connection with ritual, the existence of Sabellian elements can nowhere be pointed out at Rome; and the Latin language, in particular, furnishes absolutely no support to such a hypothesis. It would, in fact, be more than surprising, if the Latin nation should have had its nationality in any sensible degree affected by the insertion of a single community from a national stock most closely related to it; besides which, it must not be forgotten that, at the time when the Tities settled besides the Ramnians, Latin nationality rested on Latium as its basis, and not on Rome. The new tripartite Roman commonwealth was, notwithstanding some elements which, it is possible, were originally Sabellian, just what the community of the Ramnians had previously been, a portion of the Latin nation." Without pursuing the discussion further, we have said enough to indicate the main features in the different theories that are now held by scholars respecting the origin of Rome, and to show how much they resolve themselves into a question of the greater or lesser degree of influence which the Sabellian element exerted upon the Latin foundation of the state. The inquiry remains, whether we can trace the growth of the city from its first small beginnings on the Palatine.

And here the historian is met by the problem, how a great city could have grown up on such a site as that of Rome, and by what conditions it obtained its decisive preponderance in Latium. For both in salubrity and fertility the site is inferior to most of the old Latin towns. It is deficient in fresh water, nor do the vine and fig trees, for which Italy is so famous, flourish in its immediate neighbourhood. It is exposed to inundations from the Tiber, the slight fall of which to the sea does not readily carry off the waters that pour down from the Apennines; and the malaria, which now infests the lower parts of the city, if less prevalent during the flourishing period of Rome, must have been far worse when the valleys between the hills were swamps. The common legend implies that it was the pressure of political necessity which caused a town to be built on a spot so uninviting: the most recent historian finds an explanation in the hypothesis, that Rome was the emporium of the Latins, as Cære was of the Etruscans. In support of this view, Dr. Mommsen cites the tradition that, when the territory of the city extended little more than five miles in any other direction from its walls, it held the

suburb of Janiculum on the right bank, and the whole course of the Tiber down to Ostia. Romulus is said to have taken the district of the "seven hamlets" on the right bank and the salt-works at the mouth of the river from the Veientes, and Ancus to have founded the port of Ostia and fortified Janiculum as a *tête-de-pont.* The very name of the Mount of Janus proves at how early a period this suburb was attached to Rome; and, among the traces of her possessions on the right bank of the Tiber, there lay, four miles below Rome, the grove of the creative goddess (*Dea Dia*), the primitive seat of the Arval festival and brotherhood; and there too were the lands of the Romilii, whose name goes far to vindicate their claim as the oldest of the Roman gentes. All this is confirmed by the importance attached, from the first age of the city, to the bridges across the Tiber. In one word, the site of Rome is as admirably adapted for an emporium as it is defective for mere habitation. Its hills furnish the only defensible position between the mouth of the river and the confluence of the Anio with the Tiber; and its position, three miles below that confluence, commands the courses of both rivers. This view is confirmed by the early relations of Rome with the Etruscan emporium of Cære, by the port-dues levied from time immemorial at Ostia, by the comparatively early appearance in Rome of coined money, and of commercial treaties with transmarine states. Hence too we may account for the early fortification of the city, for the rapid growth of its population by the influx of foreign as well as Latin settlers, and for that vigorous development of urban life, still, however, resting on an agricultural basis, which distinguishes Rome from the rustic towns of Latium. It is not, of course, maintained that Rome was one of the great commercial cities of the world, like Carthage or even Corinth. Its mercantile importance was limited by the strictly agricultural character of the country to which it served as the emporium; and it is only in relation to Latium that it had this character. To the question, how the Latins came to found a commercial city on their frontier river, Dr. Mommsen answers,—"Whether it was a resolve of the Latin confederacy, or the clear-sighted genius of some unknown founder, or the natural development of traffic, that called the city of Rome into being, it is vain even to surmise."

As to the extent of primitive Rome, tradition affords us more certain evidence. The original city occupied the Palatine hill alone, from the shape of which it derived its name of "Square Rome" (*Roma Quadrata*). Its limits are traced by Tacitus, in a

well-known passage, the discussion of which must be left to the topographers.* From the very first, the city was encompassed by the sacred belt of the *Pomœrium*,† which could only be extended by those whose victories had enlarged the Roman territory, with the divine approval, signified by augury. But, at a period which is still within the traditional age of Romulus, suburbs were added to the city, each enclosed by its own ring-fence, and all connected with the circumvallation of the Palatine. Thus there was formed, almost from the earliest age, a "City of Seven Hills," within and distinct from the more famous seven hills of historic Rome; and its existence was commemorated by the ancient feast of the *Septimontium*. These seven hills were, the *Palatine* itself; the *Cermalus* (or Germalus), ‡ on the declivity of the Palatine towards the valley between it and the Capitoline; the *Velia*, or spur of the Palatine towards the Esquiline; the *Suburra*, an outlying fort on the low ground between the Esquiline and the Quirinal; and the three summits of the Esquiline, § named *Fagutal*, *Oppius*, and *Cispius*. The memory of this state of things is preserved in the later division of the city into regions, three of which are the Palatine, the Suburran, and the Esquiline, the last being considered as inferior in consequence to the other two. There seems also to have been a suburb on the Cælian; but it was not included in the *Septimontium*. The Capitol and the Aventine were probably also occupied as detached forts, if the expression may be used of the simple enclosures of that early age. There is every reason to believe—especially if the theory of Mommsen be adopted—that the Mons Janiculus was occupied as a *tête-de-pont* to the primitive "bridge of piles" (*pons sublicius*) across the Tiber; but not within the circuit of the fortifications. "The regulation," says Dr. Mommsen, "which was adhered to as a ritual down to the latest times, that the bridge should be composed simply of wood, without iron, manifestly shows that in its original practical use it was meant to be a flying bridge, which must be capable of being easily at any time broken off or burnt. We recognize in this circumstance how insecure, for a long time, and liable to interruption

* Tacit. *Annal.* xii. 24: see the article *Roma* already quoted.

† That is, *post* or *pone muros*, a space on each side of the boundary, whether the city was fortified or not, which must not be built upon, or profaned by any common use.

‡ In the old Roman alphabet the letter C had (like the Greek Γ) the same force as G.

§ The name of the Esquiline, almost certainly derived from *ex-quiliæ*, that is, *out-buildings*, marks it as the principal suburb of the city on the Palatine.

was the command of the passage of the river on the part of the Roman community."

Such was the original city of Rome, usually called the city of Romulus, in its more extended compass. Of the theories respecting other cities on the other hills, belonging to the different Italian races, and contributing various elements to the Rome of history, there is but one that will stand the test of criticism. The Quirinal, which lay entirely beyond the bounds assigned to the circuit of old Rome, is marked by uniform tradition as the seat of an independent community. The worship of Mars, the founder of the city, was observed doubly on the Palatine and the Quirinal; and the latter hill had its "old head fortress" (*Capitolium Vetus*) with temples corresponding to those in the Capitol itself. Nay more, there is a curious distinction in the very names of the hills on which the two cities stood. While the other eminences within the circuit of the later city are called *Mounts* (*montes*), the Quirinal and its connected spur, the Viminal, bore the name of *Hills* (*colles*), and the Quirinal was often designated simply as the Hill. On this nomenclature Dr. Mommsen bases a distinction of the two peoples into *Romans of the Mount* (*montani*) and *of the Hill* (*collini*) in place of the ordinary division into the Romans and Sabine Quirites. Still he admits that a diversity of race may have lain at the foundation of this distinction between the two neighbouring cities, and that the etymological connection of Quirites, Quirinus, and Quirinalis, with Cures may probably be correct, while he strongly opposes the view which traces the most distinctive institutions of Rome to a Sabine origin. Such is the present state of the question, which we are content to indicate to those who are qualified and willing to pursue it. Meanwhile, with whatever diversities of opinion as to the different races represented by these communities, all are agreed that the two cities of the Palatine and the Quirinal were the chief constituent elements in the great city of the Seven Hills, which was at length enclosed by the walls that bear the name of Servius Tullius. To trace the steps by which the power of Rome was consolidated, abroad as well as at home, before that epoch, we must return to the picturesque traditions of the popular mythical history.

The death of Numa, says the legend, was followed by another interregnum, which was terminated by the election of Tullus Hostilius by the citizens assembled in their curiæ.* The ponti-

* It is to be observed that the office of the Interrex and the elective monarchy are now seen fully established.

fical chroniclers attempted to preserve the symmetry of their tripartite system, by making the third king of Rome the representative of the Luceres, as the first had been of the Ramnes, and the second of the Tities. In this legend, however, the Luceres are clearly Latin, not Etruscan. Tullus represents the Latins who did not trace their origin from Alba; his grandfather * having come from Medullia to aid Romulus against the Sabines. But, on the other hand, he is connected with the Sabines also by the position of Medullia—a Latin colony in the Sabine territory, between the Tiber and the Anio;—such are the wavering indications of these traditions. His connection with the Luceres is marked by his residence on the Cælian Mount, which he assigned as an abode to the poor who had no homes on the other hills, and to the strangers who flocked to Rome or were transported thither from the conquered cities. In the legends of his reign, we may trace two distinct elements, preserved respectively by Livy and Dionysius, of whom the former follows chiefly the poetical fables, the latter the scarcely less fabulous records of the pontiffs.

There are some poetical inventions, which, however destitute of any basis in fact, claim the notice of the historian, because their hold on the minds of men is itself an historic truth. Such is the Trojan War; and such is the magnificent legend of the conquest of Alba by Tullus Hostilius. That the power of Rome was enlarged by the destruction of her greatest rival in Latium, in the interval before the final settlement of her constitution, is clear from her subsequent history, and from the disappearance of Alba. The poetic chroniclers, and especially those who sang the exploits of the Horatian Gens, placed this event in the reign of Hostilius, and decorated it with the beautiful legend of the Horatii and Curiatii, and the tragic fate of Mettius Fufetius.

The growing power of Rome led to predatory collisions on the border between her territory and that of Alba, of which both states mutually complained, and both refused redress. The Alban dictator, Caius Cluilius, led his army to a spot within five miles of Rome, long after marked by the entrenchment called "the Cluilian Dyke" (*fossi Cluilia*). Mettius Fufetius, having been elected his successor, was obliged to march back against king Tullus, who had meanwhile invaded the territory of Alba. The two armies were drawn up in battle array, when it was agreed that the quarrel should be settled by three champions chosen from each side. It happened that in either army there were three twin

* *Hostus Hostilius*, the *eponymus* of the *Gens Hostilia*.

brothers,* equally matched in age, birth, and courage. The Romans were named the Horatii, the Albans the Curiatii.† These were chosen as the champions; and it was agreed that the victory should decide which people should serve the other. The combat was fought in sight of both armies, with an obstinate courage worthy of the stake. At length two of the Horatii were slain, and all the Curiatii were wounded The third Roman, though alone, was unhurt. He feigned to fly, and his enemies pursued, as well as their failing strength would permit. But, as soon as they were separated and faint with loss of blood, the Horatius turned upon his first pursuer, and easily despatched him; after him the second; and then the third.

So the Albans became subject to king Tullus; and the Romans returned home in triumph, Horatius marching in front with the spoils of the Alban brothers. At the Capenian Gate, he was met by his sister, who had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii. When she saw her brother bearing the blood-stained garment which her own hands had woven for her lover, she could not restrain her grief. Incensed at the tears which brought an evil omen upon his victory, Horatius drew his sword and stabbed his sister to the heart, exclaiming, "So perish the Roman maiden, who shall weep for her country's enemy."

For this horrid deed Horatius was ordered by the senate and people to be put on his trial for his life. An old law had said: "The Two Men shall give judgment on the murderer. If he appeal from their judgment, let the appeal be tried. If their judgment be confirmed, cover his head: hang him with a rope on an accursed tree: ‡ scourge him either within or without the boundary of the city." The two judges condemned Horatius to this terrible doom: he appealed to the people, supported by his father, who declared that, had he not himself approved the deed, he would have punished it by his paternal power of life and death. The people decided in his favour; but, to expatiate the blood-shed, Horatius was led by his father, with his head covered,

* The Latin excels the English language in the possession of a single word (*tergemini*) to express a relationship, of which, as Sir Walter Scott says in another case, we have occasion to speak and think so often.

† Another form of the story reverses the names. This is doubtless the Latin legend, as each people would of course claim the victor. The number of the champions is an example of the *ternary* system of the Latins.

‡ *Arbor infelix* was a tree which bore no fruit: it was forbidden to hang a criminal on a fruitful tree (*arbor felix*). The sacred pomœrium must not be desecrated by the execution or the preliminary scourging.

beneath the gibbet, which was preserved in after ages, and called the "Sister's Gibbet," and expiatory sacrifices were continually performed by the clan of the Horatii. This story embodies, amidst its picturesque details, the ancient law for the trial of murder by the "Quæstores Parricidii," and the important constitutional right, which belonged to a Roman citizen, of an appeal (*provocatio*) to the whole people in capital cases; one form of the great principle, that a man should be tried by his peers.*

The Albans chafed under the newly imposed yoke; and their dictator, Mettius Fufetius, thought he saw a chance of shaking it off in a war in which Tullus presently became engaged. The city of Fidenæ, about five miles north-east of Rome, in the Sabine territory, but said to have been colonized from the Etruscan Veii, has been mentioned among the reputed conquests of Romulus. Those conquests may be understood as representing the earliest extension of the Roman power over the Latin cities between the Tiber and the Anio. Of these cities, Fidenæ stood in a peculiar position, from its connection with Veii. As the *tête de pont* of the Etruscans on the left bank of the Tiber, it was supported by all the force of the Veientines; and in after ages its site was devoted by formulæ of execration, as one of the bitterest enemies of Rome. The Fidenates—says the legend—still leaned towards the Veientines, and their inclination to revolt was confirmed by the promise of Mettius Fufetius, to desert to them in the midst of the battle. Tullus crossed the Anio to attack Fidenæ, and the Veientines marched across the Tiber to its support. The Etruscans were posted on the right, resting upon the river; the Fidenates on the left, towards the hills: Tullus and the Romans were opposed to the former; Mettius, ranged with his Albans opposite to the latter, had the opportunity, but not the courage, to carry his treason into effect. He drew off to the hills on the flank of the two armies, and watched the turn of the battle from the higher ground. Seeing the Romans alarmed at this desertion, Tullus vowed temples to Paleness and Fright.† The Fidenates, who had seen in the first movement of Mettius the fulfilment of his promise, began to doubt when he stopped half way, and wavered in their attack. Upon this the Romans took new courage: their impetuous attack drove back the Fidenates, while the double

* The appeal was taken away by the laws of the Decemvirs, but restored by the *Lex Valeria et Horatia*, in B.C. 449. Under the kings, it could only be made by the royal permission; and the same rule held of an appeal from the Dictator.

† *Pallor* and *Pavor*, an example of the deification of passions by the Romans.

traitor Mettius fell upon their flank, and put them to utter rout. The victorious Romans turned upon the Veientines, and drove them back upon the Tiber, slaying many, while many more were drowned. For that day, Tullus dissembled his knowledge of the treachery of Mettius; but on the following day he called a council of the whole army. The Albans came unarmed, as was their custom when summoned to hear an address from a general. They were surrounded by the armed Romans: Tullus charged Mettius with treason; and ordered him to be tied between two chariots, which were then driven opposite ways; and so his body was torn asunder, as his mind had been divided in the battle. Alba was doomed to destruction, and her people were removed to Rome, where their abode was fixed upon the Cælian Mount, and Tullus himself took up his residence in their midst.

Such is the poetic legend of the fall of the chief city of the Latins, giving, as usual, not only all the success, but all the right, to the Romans. It is fruitless to enquire whether the treachery may not have been on the side of Tullus and the treason of Mettius a mere pretext; for in truth, the only historic fact in the legend is the destruction of Alba by the Romans.* The temples on the Alban Mount were spared, when all the other buildings were levelled with the ground; and the ancient Latin worship was performed there by the Romans as solemnly as at Rome. Down to the latest age of the republic, the consuls celebrated the "Latin Holiday," (*Feriæ Latinæ*) with annual sacrifices to Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount; and generals, to whom the Senate had refused a triumph in Rome itself, offered their thanksgivings at the same more ancient sanctuary. Rome founded on the destruction of Alba the claim to succeed to her

* Niebuhr regards it as more than doubtful whether Alba was destroyed by the Romans at all; for, instead of its territory becoming the property of Rome, we find the Latins holding their meetings at the Alban Mount, as long as they remained a nation. He rather thinks that it fell before a general revolt of the older states of Latium (the *Prisci Latini*), among whom it had risen up as a domineering intruder—a revolt in which Rome may have taken a part. The facts, that the deported Latins of Alba appear at Rome in the full possession of the rights of citizens, that the king takes up his residence among them, and that Alban families obtained places of the highest honour and trust in the Roman commonwealth—as the Tullii, the Servilii, the Quinctii, and others—are alleged as indicating an internal dissension at Alba, and the voluntary secession of a party in the state to Rome. But such a secession is not unlikely to have been followed by war; and Mommsen argues that "the circumstance of Rome claiming to be in a religious and political point of view the heir-at-law of Alba, may be regarded as decisive of the matter; for such a claim could not be based on the migration of individual clans to Rome, but only on the conquest of the town."

presidency over the thirty cities of the Latin confederacy. That the claim was speedily admitted, seems to be implied in the statement that Tullus made a league with the other Latins after the destruction of Alba. But the relations of Rome to the cities of Latium in general will be better considered at a later point of our narrative. Meanwhile it is to be observed that Livy expressly states that the new citizens from Alba were enrolled among the Patres,—that is the patrician order, for the Senate itself was not augmented by its third hundred till the reign of the elder Tarquin. He adds that ten troops (*turmæ*), that is, 100 men, were added to the knights from among the Albans. These statements clearly point to the completion of the patrician order by the enrolment of the third tribe—the Luceres; and in agreement with this view, the Luceres are always connected with the Cælian Mount.

The war with the Sabines, who had illtreated Roman traders at the temple of Feronia, at the foot of Mount Soracte, is made by the tradition the origin of the great festivals of the Saturnalia and Opalia, at the close of the Roman year, in fulfilment of vows made by Tullus to Saturn and Ops. He is said to have continued the contest with the Etruscans about Fidenæ by carrying the war into the territory of Veii; but no lasting successes were gained over either city till much later. The only great work ascribed to him at Rome is the Senate House, called the *Curia Hostilia*, built on the side of the Comitium facing towards the Palatine; the same spot, though not the same building, in which the Senate met to the last days of the Republic. Amidst his warlike deeds, Tullus had been neglectful of the worship of the gods. Prodigies on the Alban Mount revealed the wrath of the deserted Latin deities: a plague broke out among the people, and attacked the king himself. Terrified into superstition, and unable to obtain responses from the gods, he attempted to evoke Jupiter Elicius with the rites prescribed by Numa; but he only succeeded in drawing down lightning which destroyed him, with his whole house, after he had reigned for two and thirty years.

This fearful judgment recalled the minds of the people to the ordinances of Numa, and they elected for their fourth king his daughter's son, the Sabine Ancus Marcius. He began his reign by causing the laws of Numa to be inscribed on a white board, and hung up in the forum for all to read. For the better enforcement of the laws, he excavated a prison in the side of the Capitoline hill overhanging the forum. Beneath this prison, Servius Tullius is said to have dug the horrible dungeon called the *Tullianum*

(which still exists) twelve feet underground, into which state criminals, as for example the conspirators with Catiline, were let down and strangled. To Ancus are inscribed the interesting ceremonies of the declaration of war and the making of treaties by the College of Heralds (*Fetiales*), and their spokesmen, the "Father-in-chief of the Roman people;"* but these rites were doubtless a part of the earliest Roman religion.

Ancus none the less pursued the warlike enterprises of his predecessor, and especially the further conquest of the Latins, whom the peaceful beginning of his reign had encouraged to new aggressions. In a long and obstinate war he took many of the Latin towns, and removed to Rome several thousands of their inhabitants, whom he settled on the Aventine Mount and in the valley between it and the Palatine, surrounding this new quarter by a ditch called the "Dyke of the Quirites." On the other side, he extended the Roman territory beyond the Tiber and down its course as far as the sea. He took from the Etruscans of Veii the Mæsian wood and the salt works at the mouth of the Tiber; built the port of Ostia, and fortified the suburb of Janiculum, which he united to Rome by the "Bridge of Piles" (*Pons Sublicius*). In these traditions we trace the full establishment of Rome as a maritime emporium under her elective kings.

The most interesting point in the story of Ancus Marcius, as bearing upon the development of the Roman state, is his treatment of the conquered Latins, as contrasted with that of Tullus towards the Albans. As to the removal of thousands of Latins in mass to Rome, a word must be said presently; but, whether more or fewer, they are said to have dwelt on the Aventine as freemen, but without any share in the government of the state. They were citizens (*cives*), but not of the highest class (*optimo jure*). Their condition was the origin of that middle state between the citizen and the foreigner, which was described as the "Latin Right" (*Jus Latii*). In so far as this statement represents an historic fact, it seems reasonable to infer that the full citizenship granted to the Alban Latins of the Cælian was the reward of a submission more or less voluntary; while the class represented by the other Latins, of the Aventine, were in the fullest sense a conquered people. A further explanation has been sought in the national affinities of the two branches of the Latin nation. All the traditions represent Alba as founded by a conquering race amidst the older inhabitants of Latium (the *Prisci Latini*). Now

* Pater Patratus Populi Romani.

if, as Niebuhr supposes, the latter were more nearly akin to the Pelasgians, and the former to the Oscans,—an affinity shared by the Ramnians of Rome,—it is easy to understand how the one class should be received into the state, of which the fundamental idea was a patriarchal brotherhood, and how the other should be admitted only to that less intimate association, by which it was always the policy of Rome to strengthen her body of citizens. But, after all, it is of the less importance to interpret the legend, as history vouches for the fact that, in all aristocratic governments there grows up, almost insensibly, an order of commons, as we may call them,—citizens who are personally independent, but who form, at first, no part of the governing body.

That such an order existed at Rome from an early period is not only an undoubted fact, but a fact of the utmost consequence in the political history of the state; for that history is made up, in a great degree, of the long conflict between this class and the patricians. Their importance in the state is indicated by their very name, the PLEBEIANS (*plebes*), that is, the *complement* or *filling up* of the community,—the *Many*.* We must carefully avoid calling them the *People;* for this word, as we have seen, signified the ruling class, exclusion from which was the characteristic of the *Plebs*.† Where is the origin of this body to be sought? Not in the class of *Clients*,—though indeed this opinion has still advocates who deserve respect,—for the Clients seem clearly distinguished from the Plebeians by their privilege of enrolment among the patrician gentes, on the one hand, and on the other by their more limited enjoyment of personal independence. Besides, unless the light of tradition is to be utterly excluded, we must believe that the Clients had existed in the state long before the first rise of the Plebeians. The story of the settlement of the Latins at Rome by Ancus Marcius supplies another answer, which undoubtedly contains some elements of truth. That the Plebeians belonged to the Latin, and possibly other Italian races, is proved by their language, religion, and every other mark of national affinity. That they were a conquered

* The root *pleb* (in old Latin *plep*) is the same as the *ple* or *plev*, in *plenus* and *compleo*, and in the Greek πλῆθος and πολύς

† It was not till the last age of the republic that this distinction came to be broken down, and the word *plebs* used vaguely for the lower orders, in opposition to the *nobiles*. Our own language inherits the confusion doubly, in the use of the words *people*, *common people*, and so forth, and in the contemptuous sense of *plebeian*. It is not, however, impossible that the words may be ultimately of the same root *po-pul-us* (a reduplication of the root *pol*) signifying the *full body* of citizens. But this is only a conjecture.

people, explains their position in the state, as free but politically unenfranchised. That, though conquered, they were not reduced to slavery is so consistent with Roman policy, as hardly to need the explanation of respect for kindred blood. In the earliest times at least, the social state of Rome did not rest, like that of the Greek republics, on the basis of slavery. Unlike the Greeks, the Romans acknowledged the natural right of man to freedom. There were indeed slaves; but they were not numerous; and they seem to have been engaged entirely in domestic service. Among a purely agricultural people, the employment of slave labor to enrich the master by manufactures was unknown; and the small farms cultivated by the clients, left no room for agrarian servitude, until the vast tracts of public land, which the nobles secured for themselves, required a fresh supply of labourers. Then it was that slavery became a considerable institution, bringing with it the demoralization and ultimate ruin which it ever entails. It was the necessity of Rome, from the very first, to strengthen the state by the accession of new citizens: and it was equally her character to respect the institutions of the conquered peoples. Especially would this respect be shown to those who worshipped the same gods, and observed the same patriarchal customs that they themselves held in reverence. Their condition has been compared to that of the Lacedæmonian *Periœci*, as distinguished from the enslaved Helots. The Plebeians had their own Gentes and Familiæ, with their own sacred rites, which, however, they only exercised under the superintendence of the patrician pontiffs. But, so far from answering to the modern sense of the word plebeian, they had a nobility of their own, which traced back its origin beyond many of the patrician houses, and which attained the highest distinction in the history of the state; but they had no place in the three ancient tribes or curiæ or patrician gentes nor any share in their religious rites. Hence it was that the Aventine was never enclosed, like the Cælian, within the *pomœrium*,* because that boundary was consecrated by the patrician sacrifices. In one word, they formed no part of the Populus Romanus. When Tarquinius Priscus attempted to raise them to an equality with the Patricians, by enrolling the noblest plebeian gentes in three new tribes, the plan was opposed by the augur Attus Navius,† and all that the king could effect was

* The sacred *pomœrium* of a Latin city must not be confounded with its actual walls. The former might (nay, unless solemnly removed, *must*) be retained from religious reverence, while the latter were laid out from motives of convenience. The wall of Servius Tullius embraced the Aventine.

† See p. 190.

to attach them to the old tribes in a subordinate relation, by the names of the "*Second* Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres." Their gentes also were distinguished from those of the three ancient tribes as the "Lesser Gentes" (*Gentis Minores*), the same epithet that was before applied to the Luceres in relation to the older tribes. On the other hand, they were not, like the clients, attached as dependents to patrician houses, or to individual patrons. They were the subjects of the whole Populus; and, if in any sense they could be said to have a patron, it was the king. They formed his "following" in war, as the clients were the followers of the patricians; and their close relation to him may perhaps be recognized in the favour shown them by Tarquinius Priscus, and the position given to them in the state by Servius Tullius. It seems, indeed, not improbable that, had the wise policy of that king been persisted in, the joint power of the king and the plebeians might have so counterbalanced the ascendancy of the patricians, as to have anticipated by centuries the great political invention of modern times, and to have secured for Rome the blessing of a limited monarchy, saving her from the long and ruinous conflict between the patrician and plebeian parties through which her aristocratic republic passed into a despotism.

The position of the plebeians—in respect of their rights and duties in the state—was that of a modified or partial citizenship. They had no share in the "public right" of the "franchise and honours;" and of the "private right," they enjoyed freedom of commerce, but not of intermarriage with the patrician houses.* Such a restriction was of course broken through in practice, as it is even in nations where the strictest rules of caste prevail; but the patrician who married a plebeian woman degraded his offspring to the condition of plebeians; and this appears to have been the origin of those plebeian families which bore the names of patrician gentes.† In judicial matters their condition was one of peculiar hardship; as they had no legal rights to assert against the patricians, so neither had they, like clients, the protection of a patron. Though thus excluded from the best privileges of the state, they were bound to shed their blood in its defence; and, in recompense of their military service, they were secured in the possession of the lands they cultivated. We are told, indeed, that when the conquered Latins were removed by Ancus Marcius to the Aventine, their lands became the property of the Roman state. Now, it is quite

* See p. 161.

† Thus the plebeian *Marcelli* were of the Claudian gens.

incredible that the "many thousand" inhabitants of the Latin cities could all find abodes on the Aventine, and in the valley below; and we have ample evidence that the mass of the plebeians were landholders in Latium.

The explanation of this fact involves a matter of supreme importance towards understanding the whole history of Rome—the possession and occupation of land by the citizens. The territory of the city, in its earliest age, was a small district, which a man might walk round in a day, bounded on the west and north by the Tiber and the Anio, and reaching on the east and south not more than five or six miles from the city. The Dyke of Cluilius was always considered as dividing this original "Ager Romanus" from the rest of Latium. The district was connected with the city by a close religious bond; for auspices could be taken within its boundaries. It was regarded as the property of the state, that is, of the Populus Romanus or patrician houses, for whom it was cultivated by their clients; but in what manner it was divided among them, we are not informed. The king had a portion of it for his demesne. As the territory of the state grew by successful wars, the lands of the conquered people were regarded as a prize of victory, and became the "Land of the People" (*Ager Publicus*).* It was divided among the patricians for *occupation* (*possessio*); but the real *ownership* (*dominium*) remained with the whole state; and the "possessors" were bound to pay a rent of one-tenth of the produce of arable land, and one-fifth of that of fruit trees, to the general revenue. The plebeians were of course excluded from this arrangement, as forming no part of the "People;" though it seems that they were permitted to feed their cattle on the public pasture land. But though politically disqualified from holding property, they were not shut out from all share in the soil which had been won partly by their blood. At every addition to the Ager Publicus, a portion was assigned to the Plebeians, not on terms like the "possession" of the patricians, but as the individual property of the allottees. How the patricians withheld this right, and how they evaded their own payments to the state, and in what conflicts their grasping policy involved the commonwealth, we shall ere long see.

* It is of vital importance to bear in mind, that *publicus* is here used in its strict sense, as the adjective of *populus*, and that the *populus* to whom it refers is the Populus Romanus, or patrician houses. There are several points in connection with the *Ager Publicus* into which we abstain from entering. Full information will be found in Mr. Long's articles *Ager*, *Agrariæ Leges*, &c., in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.*

From these arrangements for the tenure of public land in the historical age of Rome, we might infer that the original plebeians had a share in the conquered lands of Latium. The true state of the case seems to have been still more favourable. Whether in consideration of their kindred blood, or as a part of the terms of their submission, or from the impolicy of introducing a new body, who are said to have been as numerous as the previous citizens, in a state of disaffection—it would seem that the greater portion of their land was restored to them in absolute ownership, subject only to a certain tribute. Those who removed to Rome were probably a minority, who preferred to take up their residence in the city. In the assignment of the Aventine as their residence, and in the favour shown them by the kings, there seems no reason to doubt that we have genuine facts of history. This connection with the city raised the plebeians above the disadvantage of a rural condition, and secured a centre of union to their whole body. The independence founded upon the solid basis of landed property distinguished them completely from the clients, and gave them the means of resisting the encroachments of the patricians, whose jealous policy soon began to aim at reducing them to the condition of serfs. The whole subject is thus summed up by Professor Malden, in his admirable discussion of the earliest Roman history:—"While the Patricians held possessions by sufferance in the Public Domain, the private property in land (with the exception of the small district which comprised the regions of the three patrician tribes) belonged almost exclusively to the Plebeians. To them alone had any portion of the conquered territories been sold or assigned by public authority. On the other hand, property in land distinguished the Plebeians from the Clients. The Clients received precarious grants from the possessions of their Patrons in the Public Domain; but it is not probable that, in the earlier ages, they were capable of acquiring property in land in their own persons. But the more important form of the distinction was this, that the Clients exercised all trades and mechanical arts, which were strictly forbidden to the free and independent citizen. Agriculture was the only lawful employment of the plebeian citizen; and therefore the Plebeian who did not hold property in land, though he might not be compelled to attach himself to a Patron, in all his political rights was reduced to a level with the Clients." * The more clearly we can understand the original

* *History of Rome*, in the *Library of Useful Knowledge*, Lond. 1833. This work

condition of the Plebeians, the better shall we perceive the relation of the history of Rome to the social history of the world. This point is of the more importance as it has been for ages the subject of constant misrepresentation ; and the watchwords, under which the Roman patricians and plebeians fought their great constitutional battles, have been misapplied to the wildest theories of modern times. Of all the perverted uses of history, none is stranger than the passion with which the party conflicts of other ages are confounded with our own.

The death of Ancus Marcius was followed by the accession of a new dynasty, whose founder—according to the popular legend—came from Etruria, but derived his origin from Greece. And if, as is the prevailing opinion of scholars, we have come to a point at which tradition contains a greater portion of historic truth than before, there is no good reason for rejecting the latter part of this statement, which would furnish another example of Etruscan influence in Etruria. The story goes, that Demaratus, a Corinthian merchant,* settled at Tarquinii, on the Etruscan coast. His son married a noble Etruscan lady named Tanaquil ; and in virtue of this marriage he ranked as a Lucumo, if we may believe the Romans, who know him by no other name. But his foreign descent hindered his advancement with the jealous Etruscans, and his high-spirited wife could not brook that her husband should hold a place below her kindred. Rome lay open to the ambition of foreigners ; and thither Tanaquil and her husband bent their course, with their two sons and a numerous retinue. They had reached the suburb of Janiculum, when an eagle, which had been hovering over the chariot, making a sudden stoop bore away the stranger's cap, carried it aloft to the sky, and then returning placed it on his head. Tanaquil's skill in augury saw the omen of her husband's future elevation. On his arrival at Rome, he was received as a citizen, by the name of Lucius Tarquinius, from his birthplace ; his followers were also admitted to the citizenship ; and he became the founder of the *Gens Tarquinia*, the first Tuscan gens that is known to have existed at Rome. As the head of his race, as well as the first of the two kings of his name, he is distinguished by the title of

though unfortunately a fragment, contains the most masterly account of the views of the best scholars on the early Roman history at the date of its publication.

* The cause assigned for his leaving Corinth is the oppression of a tyrant, who, if we could trust the common chronology, would be Cypselus, the predecessor of Periander.

TARUQINIUS PRISCUS. He rose quickly in favour with Ancus Marcius, to whom he rendered great services in the Latin wars, by his military talent and his numerous following; while by his wealth, and by the superior knowledge derived from his Greek and Etruscan training, he gained equal favour with the people.

Ancus named him as the guardian of his two sons; but, on the king's death, after a reign of thirty-four years, Tarquin is said to have offered himself as a candidate for the vacant throne, to which he was elected by the suffrages of all the people. The Roman monarchy, as we have seen, was elective; and though a member of the royal house might naturally have some preference,* this consideration was not likely to prevail over the advantage of having a king of proved ability and in the full vigour of his age, rather than an untried youth. The difficulty involved in the election of an Etruscan rests partly on the figment of a tacit understanding that the king should be chosen alternately from the Ramnians and the Tities, an arrangement which implies the perpetual exclusion of the Luceres. It has been suggested † that Tarquin was elected with the very purpose of raising the Luceres to an equality with the other tribes, a measure which he carried out by adding 100 members to the senate, which now had its full number of 300. He also doubled the number of the knights, by creating three new centuries, as some say from the Luceres, but, according to the more probable statement, from the noblest families of the plebeians.‡ That this was an attempt to raise the plebeians to a share in the privileges of the Roman people, which the patricians frustrated by the weapon of religion,—which they always well knew how to wield,—is implied in the picturesque legend of Attus Navius. This augur forbad the king to carry out his intention of creating three new centuries of horsemen, which were to have been called after his own name, and placed on an equal footing with the Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres. Tarquin, in mockery of the augur's art, said:—"Tell me now by thy auguries whether the thing I have now in my mind may be done or not." "It may," replied Attius Navius, after he had consulted the gods by augury. "Well, then," rejoined the king, "it was in my mind that thou shouldst cut this whetstone in two with this razor." The augur took the razor and severed the whetstone; Tarquin

* As, for example, in the election of Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa.

† See Newman's *Regal Rome*, chap. viii.

‡ That such a preponderance should have been given to one of the three ancient tribes is quite incredible.

desisted from his scheme, and learnt to respect the omens.* The whetstone and razor were buried under a sacred covering in the Comitium, and a veiled statue of Attus Navius was afterwards set up over the spot. The three centuries were, however, added to the knights, but with the names of the "*Second* Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres." Such is the story of Livy, who was probably misled by the exclusive application, in later times, of the names of the three old tribes to the centuries of the Equites. What seems to be the true meaning of the legend has been already explained, in speaking of the plebeians.†

It was, then, rather the moral strength gained by the recognition of the place which the plebeians had won for themselves in the state, than the doubling of his cavalry, that enabled Tarquin to gain great successes against the Latins and the Sabines. He took and destroyed the wealthy city of Apiolæ, and recovered a large number of other Latin towns, which seem to have been lost after the death of Ancus.‡ Following up these successes, Tarquin was the first Roman king who entered the Apennines, to war upon the fierce nation of the Æqui, in the upper valley of the Anio. The Sabines seized the opportunity to cross the Anio, and ravaged the lands of Rome up to the very rampart of the city. Driven back with difficulty, they renewed the attack in the following year, making a bridge of boats over the Anio, a little above its confluence with the Tiber. In the decisive battle that ensued, Tarquin gained the victory by his cavalry, while he destroyed the Sabine bridge by means of blazing rafts floated down the Anio, the fords of which above the enemy's camp he had also occupied. Few of the Sabines escaped to the mountains: the fate of the other fugitives was announced at Rome by their arms borne down the Tiber. The spoils collected on the field of battle were gathered into a heap and burnt as an offering to Vulcan, the prisoners and the recovered spoil being sent to Rome. Carrying the war into

* It is hardly worth while to point out the obvious inconsistency of Tarquin's alleged contempt for the augur's art with the augury which attended his own entrance into Rome. The further absurdity of an Etruscan despising augury will be variously viewed according to the opinion that it was, or not, a specially Etruscan art.

† See p. 185. We have a direct testimony, preserved by the grammarian Festus, that Tarquin wished to change the *tribes* established by Romulus, and that, as the result, "the body of Roman citizens (*civitas Romana*) was distributed into *six* parts, namely, the first and second Titienses, Ramnes, and Luceres."

‡ These successes of the Latins would seem to imply that the constitutional struggle, connected with the election of Tarquin and with his new institutions, had been of importance enough to absorb the attention of the Romans.

the Sabine territory, Tarquin took Collatia, an old Latin town near the Anio,* and gave it as an appanage to his nephew, who had been named Egerius † ("the Needy"), but was now known as Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, a name famous in the story of the last Tarquin.

It was in the Sabine campaign that Tarquin vowed to build the great triune temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva on the Saturnian hill, for which he only lived to prepare the ground. As the workmen were digging the foundations, they disinterred a human head. The augurs saw in the discovery an omen that the spot was destined to become the Head of the whole world (*caput orbis terræ*), and the new temple was called the CAPITOL (*Capitolium*). The name was afterwards extended to the whole collection of sacred buildings on the Capitoline Hill.

Tarquin adorned the city with other great works of utility and magnificence, the chief of which remains to our own day in the *Cloaca Maxima*, or Great Sewer, constructed to drain the marshy hollows between the Tiber and the Palatine, and between this hill and the Capitoline and Aventine. In the changes brought about by the ages, our own has once more learnt that even drains are not an unfit object of enthusiastic admiration; and after twenty-five centuries of desolating war, the discovery that the public health is worth the care of governments has at last produced works that surpass the "low-level drainage" of Rome. Meanwhile, the fabric which excited the astonishment of the Augustan age for its massive structure, which had bid defiance to time, earthquakes, and inundations for 600 years, has endured four times that period, with scarcely a stone displaced. The mouth of the Cloaca Maxima is still seen opening into the Tiber a little below the southern end of the *Insula Tiberina*, in a quay-wall which must have been constructed at the same time. Its structure shows, as we have already said, a knowledge of the arch.‡ It is a tunnel, vaulted in with three concentric rings of large stones, the innermost having an interior diameter of nearly 14 feet. The hewn stones are about 5½ feet long, and above 3 feet high; they are keyed together without cement. The material

* The exact position of Collatia is unknown: some place it on the right bank of the Anio, others on the left.

† The legend derives this name from *egeo*, because he had been left to Tarquin's care without an inheritance.

‡ This affords a complete disproof of the exclusive derivation of Etruscan art from Greece.

furnishes a proof of the great antiquity of the work: it is the "tufa litoide" of Brocchi, a volcanic stone found in various spots near Rome, but which was superseded in the buildings of the republican age by the finer peperino of Gabii and the Alban hills. The Cloaca Maxima itself only extended as far as the valley of the Forum. It was afterwards continued as far as the Suburra, and a system of sewers ramified through all Rome. Agrippa, in his celebrated ædileship, set the example to more recent adventurers by navigating the sewers in a boat; the fact is worth mentioning as a proof that the sewers of Rome must have been well ventilated.

The effect of this great work was to make the valleys on the north and southwest of the Palatine for the first time firm dry land. In the former, the Forum was now enclosed by rows of shops along its northern and southern sides, and Tarquin built in it a temple of Saturn; in the latter the Great Circus (*Circus Maximus*) was built, for the exhibition of the games which Tarquin is said to have introduced from Etruria. The contests in chariot racing and boxing were carried on by hired Etruscans, the Romans looking on as spectators. The seats were divided into thirty sections, for the thirty curiæ, and the senators and knights had their assigned places. Such was the contrast between the proud patrician reserve of the Latin race, and the free public life even of the most aristocratic Greeks. This was the beginning of the Great Roman Games (*Ludi Magni Romani*, or *Circenses*), which were celebrated annually in September, in honour of the three deities to whom the Capitol was built. The booty of Apiolæ is said to have supplied the means for the construction of the Circus Maximus; and the other works of Tarquin display such a command of wealth, that they have been ascribed, without any adequate reason, to forced labour. We may trace in them with greater certainty the fruits of Etruscan science; and, though many of the works ascribed to Tarquinius Priscus ought doubtless to be divided among the kings of his dynasty, there is no question but that he is rightly described as "the founder of the subsequent architectural splendour of Rome."

The city now appears as the seat of a powerful monarchy, and the worthy capitol of the surrounding country. A change so marked from its condition under Ancus Marcius seemed to Niebuhr to require the hypothesis, that the accession of the Etruscan dynasty was in reality a foreign conquest. We know very well, as will soon be seen from a decisive example, that, had

such a conquest been effected, it would have been falsified in the Roman annals. But, in truth, the chasm which it is sought thus to bridge over, appears to be the mere creation of those annalists. By the arbitrary system which assigns only four kings to the period of nearly a century and a half, preceding the Etruscan dynasty, no adequate space was allowed for approaching to such a condition as that which we find under Tarquinius Priscus. It was therefore necessary to make the progress of the state seem less than it really was, at the death of Ancus Marcius; while its splendour under Tarquin is probably exaggerated by bringing into one reign nearly all the fruits of that development of commerce and wealth which was the natural result of a closer connection with Etruria. In short, this seems to be one of the cases in which the genius of Niebuhr, so acute in exposing the mythical inventions of the ancients, hurried him to the construction of positive results, entirely destitute of the solid basis of historic testimony.

It is not then necessary to imagine an Etruscan conquest of Rome, in order to explain the simple fact, that the reign of Tarquin is an epoch of great development in the power and wealth of Rome. And this advance was also marked by a greater exhibition of regal pomp. For all that we read, the outward state of the earlier kings may have been no greater than that of the elective chief of a republic, and in war the insignia of the fasces were the simple exhibition of the authority essential to the very existence of a rude military community. The introduction of these emblems, with the lictors who bore them, is indeed ascribed by Dionysius to Tarquin, but he tells us that others traced their use to the beginning of the monarchy.* But all agree that Tarquin introduced from Etruria, and assumed by permission of the Senate, "a golden crown, an ivory chair, a sceptre topped with an eagle, a crimson robe studded with gold, and a variegated crimson cloak, such as the kings of the Lydians and the Persians wore, only not square like theirs, but semicircular: such garments the Romans call *togas*." † The toga

* "In fact," as Mr. Newman observes, "it seems necessary to believe this, unless we regard Tarquin as in the strictest sense conqueror of Rome; for, of all insignia, this must have been the most revolting, if suddenly introduced. Only on the supposition of its representing supreme *military* sway, could it be endured by free men. A barbarous emblem, natural and in some sense necessary in a camp of promiscuous outlaws, was continued and incorporated with the splendid garb of peace, when order and art had become victorious in society."—*Regal Rome*, p. 127.

† Dionys. iii. 61. In this passage an Etruscan origin is positively ascribed only to the *toga prætexta*, but the introduction of the garment itself from Etruria seems to

with the purple border (*toga prætexta*) was also worn by children with a golden ball about their neck (*bulla*). This dress is said to have been granted as a distinction to the son of Tarquin, who, at the age of fourteen, killed an enemy with his own hand in the Sabine war. One story makes these insignia of royalty a mark of submission from the twelve states of Etruria, whom Tarquin had conquered in battle; but such a war is altogether doubtful.

These signs of outward splendour, and of substantial power, seem to prove a tendency to the aggrandizement of the king, in reliance probably on the support of the plebeians. It has been conjectured that the alarmed jealousy of the patricians was the true cause of Tarquin's violent death. The common legend attributes his murder to the sons of Ancus Marcius, who had acquiesced for thirty-six years in his possession of the throne. They employed two assassins, who appeared before the tribunal of the king, that he might decide a pretended quarrel; and while his attention was occupied by one the other clove his head with an axe (B.C. 578).

The politic and courageous Tanaquil snatched from the Marcii the fruits of her husband's murder, and secured the crown for the greatest of the Roman kings. SERVIUS TULLIUS is said to have been the son of one of the late king's clients, and of a noble Latin woman named Ocrisia, who had been brought as a captive from Corniculum, and was attached to the service of the queen. The name of Servius * points to his low origin; but the portents that attended his birth in the palace were interpreted by Tanaquil as omens of his greatness; and his quick intelligence attracted the notice of the king, who brought him up as if he were his own son. He was doubtless ennobled by Tarquin, probably among the lesser gentes; and, having given proof of the highest ability, he was appointed Warden of the City (*præfectus urbi*). The traditions vary as to whether it was before or after the murder of Tarquin that Servius married his daughter. One form of the story is, that Servius shared all the political plans of Tarquin, who had already

be implied, and it is the only dress that appears on the Etruscan monuments. On the other hand, that sacred form of wearing the toga, which was used by persons sacrificing, and by the consul or herald in declaring war—the *cinctus Gabinus*—is connected with the Latin city of Gabii. The *toga* with purple bars (*toga trabeata*) also is ascribed to the early kings of Rome: at all events, the dress became the peculiar national costume of the Romans, who are hence called the *Gens Togata*. (For all particulars respecting it, see the article *Toga*, in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 2d edition).

* From *servus*, a slave. Compare the well-known line,

"Ante potestatem Tulli, atque *ignobile* regnum."

designated him as his successor, and that the sons of Ancus and the old patricians thereupon resolved on the king's death; but this seems a mere invention to account for their having waited so long. The two sons of Tarquin, Lucius and Aruns, were of tender age; and Tanaquil determined to secure the crown for Servius.

The bleeding corpse of Tarquin had no sooner been carried to his chamber, than Tanaquil ordered the palace gates to be shut, and gave out that the king was only wounded: in a few days he would be healed: and meanwhile he had committed the government to Servius Tullius. Urged by Tanaquil, Servius came forth in the royal robe, preceded by the lictors, and received the applauses of the people. His first act was to condemn the murderers of the late king. The Marcii had fled; and, as to the other supposed conspirators, it is enough to remember the coward hesitation which besets a plot that is only partially successful. The position of Tullius was thus made sure, before he claimed the crown; but, to exclude the possibility of an adverse nomination by the Senate, he dispensed with the formalities of the Interrex, and offered himself at once to the Curiæ for election; or, as some say, for the mere confirmation of his actual power, by the conferring of the imperium. The exact nature of the proceedings is a matter of conjecture; but if we are dealing in any sense with an historical fact, we cannot be far wrong in assuming that the Latin party, roused by the danger which they regarded as their own, would support Servius Tullius, and that the large portion of the old tribes who were disgusted at the crime, or at its failure, would be willing to connive at some irregularity in the procedure by which order was restored to the commonwealth. Livy and Cicero speak of an "opportune war" with the Etruscans, in which the new king's success confirmed his power at home; but it would seem that the disaffection of the patricians forced him to found his power on a new basis, of which the plebeians formed an integral part.

But, whatever the causes which led to the revolution, and whatever degree of credibility belongs to the personal history of Servius Tullius, the great fact in this period of Roman history is the remodelling of the constitution, which is associated with his name. Whether devised by a king and carried out by his authority, or whether it was a timely concession made by the ruling body to the irresistible power of the plebeian order, it is one of the most remarkable measures ever devised for the reconciliation of conflicting interests in a commonwealth. No attempt was made to abolish the old patrician constitution; but a new one was

planted by its side, like the vigorous parasite which gradually stifles in its embrace the old tree whose form may still be traced beneath it. The Senate, the Tribes, the Curiæ, the Gentes, the centuries of Equites, the Pontiffs, Augurs, and other colleges, were all left untouched; but a new body politic was framed, with new divisions, new powers, and new names, in which patricians and plebeians were included, their distinction being merged in a new classification.

There were two distinct features in the constitution of Servius Tullius; the one, a fresh social and territorial division of the state; the other, the creation of a new popular assembly, to form the basis of the government. The first was a change somewhat analogous to the subdivision of the French territory into departments, in lieu of the ancient provinces. The whole Roman territory and population was divided into thirty tribes;* of which four were within the city and twenty-six in the country districts. The city tribes were named according to the regions they occupied, *Suburrana*, *Palatine*, *Esquilina*, and *Collina:* † the country tribes, though strictly local, bore the names of persons and heroes. Each tribe had a stronghold upon a hill (*pagus*) as a refuge for the peasantry and cattle in war, placed under the protection of a local deity; and the common festival of these divinities was the *Paganalia*. At the head of every tribe was a magistrate, called *Tribunus*, the name already borne by the heads of the old tribes. The functions of the tribes, like their organization, were at first entirely local. The direct tax for war expenses was levied according to the tribes, whence its name (*tributum*); and each tribe contributed its contingent to the army. It seems probable that the tribes managed their own internal affairs, such as the maintenance of roads, wells, and so forth; and the meetings held for these purposes would naturally discuss questions of wider interest. It has been a matter of great debate, whether the tribes were composed solely of plebeians, or of all the

* Apart from any political reason for keeping the old name in this new sense, it should be remembered that the word is really a *general* term, capable of being applied to *any* specific division. See p. 159, note. The conquest of Rome by Porsenna cut off one-third of her territory, that is, ten of the country tribes. The subsequent accessions of territory in Italy raised the number to thirty-five.

† This quadruple division of the city is traceable to the amalgamation of the city on the Quirinal (as a fourth region) with the three regions of the old city, the Suburran, the Palatine, and the Suburban (Esquiline). The *Suburran* contained the street of that name, with the Carinæ and the Cælian Mount; the *Palatine* and *Esquiline*, the mounts so named, the former including the Velia; the *Colline*, the "hills" of the Quirinal and Viminal.

inhabitants of each district, including the patricians. The latter would seem to be the natural inference from their local organization; but we have high authorities for the former view. It is certain that the patricians had votes in the tribes after the epoch of the decemviral legislation; but this did not prevent their becoming more and more the great organ of the power of the plebeians; till at length the "resolutions of the plebs" (*plebiscita*) passed in the general meetings of the tribes (*Comitia Tributa*), which were held in the Forum on the market days, were declared to be binding on the whole state (B.C. 449). Nor was this all: for the assembly of the tribes gradually absorbed into itself the other popular assembly (*Comitia Centuriata*), of which we have now to speak, the latter having previously superseded the legislative power of the old assembly of the Curiæ (*Comitia Curiata*). But this great development of their power, which was evidently contemplated by their original founder, belongs to a later period of Roman history.*

The immediate admission of the plebeians into the governing body of the state was, however, effected by a different organization, military in its form, and based on the foundation of real property. Its principle was this: that all free citizens possessed of property, whether patricians or plebeians, should be called on to defend their stake in the commonwealth; and that the place assigned to them in the army, and their political weight in the state, should alike be governed by the amount of their wealth. For this purpose, all the citizens were first separated into two great divisions, the first containing all who had the means of independent subsistence, the "wealthy" (*locupletes*), or "settled on the soil" (*assidui*); while all the rest were regarded merely as persons contributing to the population of the state (*proletarii*), and "reckoned by the head" (*capite censi*). The latter, though free citizens, had no recognized position either in peace or war. The former were the *Exercitus*, or body of armed citizens, and their meetings were held in the *Campus Martius*, outside the walls; for arms were not suffered to be borne within the city. In the early age, at which Rome had still enemies at her gates, a standard was hoisted on the summit of the Janiculan Mount while the people were thus assembled, and was lowered on the approach of danger. At this signal, all business was broken off; and the

* The *Comitia Tributa* also elected the inferior magistrates, and they had a limited judicial power, not extending beyond the infliction of fines. A full account of their constitution and history will be found in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*.

people, armed as they were, turned to repel the enemy, The custom was preserved, long after Rome was separated from her nearest enemies by distant seas and mountains; and in the last age of the Republic, it was used in party contests to serve the same purpose as a modern "count-out."

This "Army" was divided into five "levies" or "classes;" * and the classes into "centuries," a term which soon ceased to bear its literal meaning of 100 men. Some authorities make these classes to consist wholly of the infantry (*pedites*), placing the cavalry (*equites*) as a separate class above the first; others include them in the first class. At all events, they took precedence of all the rest; and each knight received a horse, or the money to purchase one, from the state, as well as the annual cost of keeping it, which was defrayed by the orphans and unmarried women. "In a military state," says Niebuhr, "it could not be esteemed unjust, that the women and children should contribute largely to those who fought in behalf of them and of the commonwealth." There were eighteen centuries of knights; of which six were those of the ancient tribes, doubled, as we have seen, by Tarquinius Priscus, and twelve were added from the plebeians. The five classes of the infantry included all the rest of the privileged citizens, capable of bearing arms. Those of each class were divided into the *Seniores*, the men between forty-five and sixty years of age; and the *Juniores*, from seventeen to forty-five. The latter were within the ordinary age of military service: but the Seniors were liable to be called out on emergencies; those above sixty were superannuated, and their exemption from military service involved the loss of their right to vote in the Assembly. Due weight was given to age by equalizing the number of centuries, though the number of the Juniors of course exceeded the number of the Seniors. Especially must the large number of centuries in the first class, combined with the small number of persons who came up to the required standard of wealth, have secured the Seniors of this class a preponderating voice in proportion to their numbers. The qualification for each class is stated, according to the later writers, who have preserved all the information we possess, by a pecuniary standard; but this is, without doubt, merely an estimation of the value of the land by which they were originally assessed. We may safely assume that the qualification of the first class,—who manifestly rank so far above the rest, both in the number of their centuries and the

* *Classes*, from the old verb *calare*, to *call out.*

completeness of their equipment,—was the possession of a certain measure of land, which was regarded as a complete estate or form.* The census of the second class was three-fourths of this quantity; of the third class, one half; of the fourth class, one quarter; and of the fifth class, one eighth. This estimate applied only to real property, and it would seem, at first, to land alone; no account being taken of slaves, cattle, furniture, precious metals, and other valuables. The distribution of the centuries among the classes, with their property qualifications, and the arms they bore, will be seen from the annexed table.† The position of every citizen

* Dr. Mommsen applies to this unit the Teutonic name of *hide* (German *hufe*), that is, as much as can be properly tilled with one plough (the *plough-gate* of the Scotch). Its absolute magnitude is very uncertain; but it seems to have been not less than 20 *jugera*, or about 12½ acres.

† The subjoined table, from Liddell's *History of Rome*, will make it easy to perceive these arrangements at a glance, as they are given by Livy.

Classes.	Census, or Rateable Property in Land.	Centuries.		Arms.	
				Defensive.	Offensive.
First Class	Equites	6 Patrician + 12 Plebeian = 18	100	Helmet, shield, greaves, cuirass.	Sword and spear.
	All having 100,000 ases and upwards	40 Seniores + 40 Juniores = 80			
	Fabri	 2			
Second Class	75,000 ases and upwards	10 Seniores + 10 Juniores =	20	Helmet, shield, greaves.	Sword and spear.
Third Class	50,000 ases and upwards	10 Seniores + 10 Juniores =	20	Helmet, shield.	Sword and spear.
Fourth Class	25,000 ases and upwards	10 Seniores + 10 Juniores =	20	Helmet (?)	Spear and javelin.
Fifth Class	11,000 ases and upwards (more probably 12,500, as Dionysius says)	15 Seniores + 15 Juniores = 30	34	None.	Slings, &c.
	Trumpeters . . .	 3			
	Capite Censi, or Proletarii . .	 1			

The whole number of centuries, therefore, was 194; and in the first class alone there are more than half.

The centuries of cornicines, tubicines, &c., were called, *accensi*, because they were *added to the list of censi.*

The single century of proletarii were called capite censi, because they were counted by the head, and not rated by their property. Later, however, the proletarii and capite censi were distinguished, the former being those who possessed appreciable property of less amount than 11,000 ases.

Dionysius places the 2 centuries of *fabri* in the second class; and the 2 (not 3) of musicians in the fourth. His total is 193 centuries, which is probably the more

in the classes and centuries was determined by a register (*census*) of all the landed property they possessed, to secure the accuracy of which it was enacted that all transfers of land not made in public before witnesses should be null and void. The register, and the levy-roll founded upon it, were made up every fourth year, at first by the king, afterwards by the consuls, and finally by the two great officers of state called *censors*, who added to the office of registrars a supervision of the morals of the citizens, enforced by the power of degrading the unworthy, and also the administration of the finances of the state. The census formed the basis of the tax (*tributum*) levied for the military expenses of the state, as well as for the system of voting in the Assembly. Each century had one vote; and such was the preponderance assigned to wealth, and to the nobility of the old tribes, that the first class, inclusive of the knights, had an absolute majority of all the votes—namely, 100 out of 193. It was from this system of voting by centuries, that the assembly derived its name of Comitia Centuriata. But before describing its political action, it should be viewed in its primary character, as the armed levy of the state.

The name *Legion*, which originally signified the whole of this levy, was still retained for each of its chief constituent parts. It originally consisted, as we have seen, of 3000 infantry and 300 cavalry; at least this was the normal standard, to which the actual numbers were as nearly as possible assimilated.* The theory which traces in the four city tribes of the new constitution the absorption of the "Hill City" as a fourth element in the state, gives a natural explanation of the raising of the infantry to 4000, a number which becomes a little larger when adapted to the organization of the centuries. If we assume that the *Century* had originally its literal signification of 100 men, we shall find that the fourth part, or twenty-five men from every century, would compose a legion of 4250 men.† Four such legions, increased by the 1800 cavalry,

correct, as an even number, besides being unlucky, might have prevented an absolute majority of votes.

* This statement is, of course, based on the traditional view of the early history; how far it represents an actual fact we have no means of determining.

† The following are the items:

First Class........80	centuries	furnished to each legion	2000	men.
Second Class......20	"	"	500	"
Third Class......20	"	"	500	"
Fourth Class......20	"	"	500	"
Fifth Class......30	"	"	750	"
	Total effective infantry of the legion .		4250	"

and by the remaining centuries of engineers (*fabri*), and musicians, with supernumeraries intended to fill up the ranks, make the whole force close upon 20,000 men. Two legions usually did garrison duty at home, and two went out on active service.

The legion closely resembled the Greek phalanx, both in its formation and its equipments. The 3000 men furnished by the first three classes, armed with the long spear and straight two-edged sword, and covered with shield and helmet, were drawn up six deep, with a front of 500. The first four ranks were composed of the 2000 soldiers of the first class, who wore body-armour besides; the two hinder ranks of the second and third classes; and the light-armed men (*velites*) of the fourth and fifth classes either formed two additional ranks in the rear, or skirmished on the flanks. Here also was the place of the cavalry, of whom only 300 were attached to each legion in the field, leaving 600 of the 1800 as a reserve. Such was the constitution of the legion under the later kings, and for about the first 150 years of the Republic. About the time of the great Latin War (B.C. 340) the phalanx was abandoned for that more open order of fighting, which has become inseparably connected with the victorious career of the Roman legions.*

It was to this army, assembled in its military array in the Campus Martius, that the constitution ascribed to Servius Tullius committed all the highest elective, legislative, and judicial functions of the state; but as we do not find the *Comitia Centuriata* in full action till the time of the republic, the description of its functions necessarily refers to that period. It is useless to speculate whether or no the election of the king was reserved for the Comitia Curiata; since the traditional history gives us only one king after Servius Tullius;—a despot, who usurped the crown, deprived the Assembly of the Centuries of all political power, and paid no respect to that of the Curiæ. But, under the Republic, the centuries elected all the higher magistrates—consuls, prætors, military tribunes with consular power, censors, and decemvirs, Their legislative power † was at first confined to the passing

Dr. Mommsen makes the total 4200, or 42 centuries exactly, taking only 7 centuries from the 5th class, instead of 7½. At the period of the Latin war, in B.C. 340, the data supplied by Livy give 4725 men for the legion, though his own total is 5000, besides 300 cavalry.

* See the full account of their later order in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*.

† It should be remembered that the word *lex* (law) means specially an enactment of the Comitia Centuriata, in contradistinction to the *Senatus-consultum*, or resolution of the senate, or the *Plebiscitum*, or vote of the *Comitia Tributa*. A law proposed for enact-

or rejecting the resolutions sent down from the Senate (*senatus-consulta*), and proposed to them by the presiding magistrate.* The earliest law which is recorded as having passed the Comitia Centuriata, was the *Lex Valeria de Provocatione*, in the third year of the Republic (B.C. 508). It was proposed by the consul, P. Valerius Poplicola, who had been suspected of affecting royal power, to give every citizen an appeal against magistrates, in Rome and for a mile beyond. The decision upon making war, on the resolution of the Senate, belonged to the Comitia Centuriata; but, in the earliest age of the Republic at least, the Senate alone had the power of making peace. Lastly, the Comitia Centuriata formed the supreme court of appeal in all questions affecting the life of a Roman citizen. The condemnation of Spurius Cassius (B.C. 485) is sometimes cited as the first exercise of this right: but others hold that the patricians assumed the power of putting Cassius to death by their own votes in the Comitia Curiata.

The great power of the Comitia Centuriata was originally limited, on the one hand, by the initiative belonging to the Senate, and on the other, by the necessity of submitting their acts for the sanction of the Curiæ. But both these restrictions were afterwards thrown off, or relaxed. In relation to the choice of magistrates, the formal proposal by the presiding magistrate was not abolished, but the people compelled him to propose any candidate who came forward, without the nomination of the Senate. This step was taken in about thirty years from the beginning of the Republic. For legislation, the previous *senatus-consultum* was still necessary; and, after this had been made public for seventeen days, the *rogatio* was moved in the Comitia either by the consul or the senator who had proposed it. In later times, this previous resolution of the Senate conveyed, by a curiously indirect process, the confirmation of the Curiæ. This confirmation had gradually become a mere form, when the Publilian law enacted that the patricians should give their previous assent to all the laws that might be proposed in the Comitia Centuriata (B.C. 339). When even the empty formality of the meeting of the Curiæ was abolished, the Senate succeeded them as representing the patrician

ment was called a *rogatio*, because the people were *asked* their pleasure respecting its passing. The terms *rogatio* and *lex* correspond to our *bill* and *act* (in parliament); and, like them, they are occasionally confounded.

* The acts of the Comitia Centuriata were distinguished by the gentile name of their movers, with the subject added, as *Lex Pompeia de Imperio Cæsari prorogando.*

body, and thus the initiative of the former body stood for and included the previous consent of the latter. We shall hereafter see how the powers of the Comitia Centuriata, which represented the whole body of the citizens, were absorbed by the more plebeian assembly of the Comitia Tributa.

Such is the constitution traditionally ascribed to Servius Tullius, as the fruit partly of his spontaneous sense of justice to the plebeians, and partly of the necessity which threw him on their support, against the jealousy of the old tribes. By whom, at what time, and from what causes, the change was really made, are questions which we have no certain evidence to decide. The preponderating influence assigned to wealth and rank forbids our regarding it as a democratic revolution. The form of the levy, based as it is on the four city tribes, implies that the Servian wall had been already built. The larger qualifications of the higher classes, and the fact (at least if a *century* meant originally 100 men) that there were so many as 8000 citizens possessed of the property of the highest class, implies a great extension of the Roman territory, so as to embrace probably both the lands of Alba, and those in the fork between the Tiber and the Anio. This intricate but most interesting question may be dismissed with the statement of the views of Mommsen:—"Upon the whole it is plain that this Servian constitution did not originate in a conflict between the orders; on the contrary, it bears the stamp of a reforming legislator, like the constitutions of Lycurgus, Solon, and Zaleucus; and it has evidently been produced under Greek influence. Particular analogies may be deceptive, such as the coincidence, already noticed by the ancients, that in Corinth also widows and orphans were charged with the provision of the horses for the cavalry; but the adoption of the armour and arrangements of the Greek hoplite system was certainly no accidental coincidence. Now if we consider the fact, that it was in the second century of the city that the Greek states in Lower Italy advanced from the pure clan-constitution to a modified one, which placed the preponderance in the hands of the land-holders, we shall recognize in that movement the impulse which called forth in Rome the Servian reform, a change of constitution resting in the main on the same fundamental idea, and only directed into a somewhat different course by the strictly monarchical form of the Roman state." * The reconciliation of the monarchical form of government

* "The analogy also between the so-called Servian constitution and the treatment of the Attic *metœci* (resident foreigners) deserves to be particularly noticed. Athens,

with institutions which only took effect under the republic was evidently felt as a difficulty by the Roman writers, who try to antedate the republican form of executive government by ascribing to Servius an intention of abdicating the throne in order to make way for two magistrates, to be elected by the Comitia Centuriata.

Besides this constitution, the legend ascribes to Servius Tullius many other benefits to Rome, and in particular to the plebeians. He is said to have discharged from his private resources the debts by which they were weighed down; and to have deprived the creditor of the power of reducing his debtor to slavery;—a tradition which was perhaps invented by the plebeians when patrician tyranny led them to look back with fond regret to the age of the "commons' king." He is also said to have divided among the plebeians the lands gained in his Etruscan wars; and to have appointed judges for their private causes, reserving only the public causes for his own decision. To Servius is ascribed the completion of the stone wall, with which Tarquin had begun to surround the whole circuit of the seven hills, and which remained the defence of the city down to the age of the emperor Aurelian. He advanced the sacred limit of the Pomœrium, so as to include the city on the Quirinal and the Viminal; and raised an immense earthen rampart along the crest from which these two hills and the Esquiline slope away towards the Campagna on the north-east.* The Esquiline, which had formerly been only a suburb, was chosen for his own residence; and he encouraged the people to build upon it; while he fixed the abode of the patricians in the valley between the Esquiline and the Cælian, which was called the Patrician Street (*Patricius Vicus*).

Finally, to Servius is ascribed the great achievement, partly by policy and partly by force of arms, of forming an alliance with the states of Latium, and making Rome the recognized head of

like Rome, opened her gates at a comparatively early period to *metœci*, and afterwards summoned them also to share the burthens of the state. We cannot suppose that any direct connection existed in this instance between Athens and Rome; but the coincidence serves all the more distinctly to shew how the same causes—urban centralization and urban development—everywhere and of necessity produced similar effects."—(Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. i. pp. 102, 3.) The historian might have added the coincidence, that the legislation of Solon took place less than twenty years before the reputed date of Servius Tullius.

* The *Agger Servii Tullii*. See the Plan of Ancient Rome: it will be observed that there is a break in the wall of Servius along the west side of the Capitoline Mount, where the precipitous rock was supposed to form a sufficient defence.

the Latin confederacy. As president of the League, he built a temple of Diana on the Aventine, for a sanctuary common to the Romans and the Latins. The legend says that the Sabines not only claimed a common share in the sacrifices offered here, but aimed to secure the supremacy over Rome which the soothsayers had promised to the nation which should first sacrifice in this temple. A Sabine brought a cow of surpassing beauty to offer on the Aventine; but the Roman priest reproved him for having neglected the proper ablutions. The Sabine departed to wash himself in the Tiber, leaving the cow at the altar; and while he was absent the cunning Roman completed the sacrifice.

Viewing the early history of Rome in its legendary aspect, Servius Tullius stands forth as the hero of the plebeian order; and the glories of his reign are crowned by a sort of martyrdom, in which he paid the price of his favours to the people with his blood. The patricians, whose exclusive possession of power he had destroyed by his new constitution, and who had a pretext for calling him an usurper, since he had not been regularly elected by the Curiæ, found an instrument of their revenge in the royal family itself. It has been said that Tarquinius Priscus left behind him two sons of tender age: Servius Tullius had two daughters; and to unite the interests of both families, he gave them in marriage to the sons of Tarquin. Now in each pair of brothers and sisters there was a strange contrast of character. Lucius, the eldest son of Tarquinius Priscus, was violent and overbearing; and so was the younger daughter of Servius Tullius; while the younger brother, Aruns, resembled the elder sister in gentle goodness. In the hope of overpowering evil with good, Tullius mated the elder brother to the elder sister, and likewise the two younger. But nature was too strong for policy. Lucius murdered his wife, and the younger Tullia her husband; and the double crime was consummated by an incestuous marriage. The unnatural Tullia inflamed her husband's ambition to recover his father's throne. The newer patricians, of the tribe of the Luceres, are said to have been the most discontented with the rule of Tullius, and it was in this tribe that the Tarquinian Gens had been enrolled. Whether the details related be legendary or not, we find their spirit true to history, when we are informed that these later nobles were the most eager champions of their order, and that their young men formed clubs, to countenance each other in lawless violence. Tarquin joined these clubs, and relied on their support. He waited for the harvest-time, when the plebeians, who were attached to

Servius, were abroad in the fields; and entering the Forum with an armed band of the lawless youths, he seated himself on the king's throne in front of the senate-house, and ordered the Senate to be summoned in the name of King Tarquinius. On hearing the news, Tullius hastened to the Forum, and asked Lucius how he dared to occupy the king's seat while he was still alive. Lucius replied that it was his father's throne, and that he had more right to it than Tullius. Then, seizing the old man by the middle, he hurled him down the steps of the senate-house, and went in to preside over the Senate. Tullius had risen from the ground, and was making his way homeward to the Esquiline, when he was overtaken and despatched by assassins sent after him by Tarquin. Meanwhile Tullia had mounted her chariot and driven to the Forum, where, sending for her husband out of the senate-house, she saluted him as king. He bade her return home out of the tumult. Her road was through the valley where her father's body lay weltering in his blood. The charioteer stopped and pointed to the corpse; but she ordered him to drive on, and the wheels, dashing through the pool of gore, besprinkled the chariot and the garments of the parricide with a baptism of blood. The street was ever after called "The Wicked Street" (*vicus sceleratus*). Tarquin consummated the crime by refusing burial to the body of Servius. It was said that afterwards, when Tullia entered the temple of Fortune, where her father's statue was erected, the image covered its eyes; and a veil thrown over its head perpetuated the memory of the supernatural expression of abhorrence. Others said that Tarquin had the statue veiled, to hide the loved features from the memory of the people.

The usurper and parricide exercised his power in the same spirit in which he had seized it, and which earned for him the name of Tarquinius Superbus. Claiming the throne as an inheritance from his father, he showed from the first his design of setting up an hereditary despotism by dispensing even with the form of an election. The patricians, who had aided his usupation, soon learned that they were not to share his power. While he abrogated the popular laws of Servius Tullius, and retained the Comitia Centuriata as the means of levying the army, he paid no respect to the assembly of the Curiæ. With the Senate he pursued the policy by which an aristocratic monarchy is converted into a despotism. False accusations brought down sentences of death and banishment, with fines and confiscations. The thinned ranks of the Senate were left unfilled; and their forfeited property, added to the

royal demesnes and treasures, purchased for him new adherents and the protection of a trusty body-guard.

And here we cannot fail to notice the fact, that some of the chief states of Greece were at this very time passing through the same phase of their political progress. The tyranny of Polycrates at Samos, for example, was established just two years later than the usurpation of Tarquinius Superbus (B.C. 532). The coincidence is still more striking in the case of Athens, where Hippias and Hipparchus succeeded to the power of Pisistratus seven years after Tarquin's accession (B.C. 527), and Hippias was expelled in the very same year in which Tarquin was driven from Rome (B.C. 510). Like the Grecian despots, Tarquin sought at once to gratify his own splendid tastes, and to dazzle and delight his subjects, by adorning the city with magnificent works, a device which scarcely ever fails to captivate a people till stern necessity compels them to count its cost. At Rome, however, the lower orders were made to feel the burthen at once, by being forced to work on Tarquin's public buildings without hire.

Tarquin's foreign policy tended at once to strengthen his government by alliances with the neighbouring states, and to augment the territory and power of Rome. He made treaties and wars without consulting the senate or the people. His hereditary connection with Tarquinii formed the basis of a close league with the southern cities of Etruria. He drew closer the ties which Servius Tullius had formed with the Latins, by giving his daughter in marriage to the most powerful of their chiefs, Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum. By war or by intrigues he established the supremacy of Rome over all Latium. One man alone dared to oppose him, Turnus Herdonius of Aricia; and a false accusation preferred by Tarquin obtained his judicial murder by the Latin chiefs themselves. As head of the Latin League of forty-seven cities, Tarquin built a new Temple to Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount, and, at the general meeting, he offered the common victim, the flesh of which was divided among the States.

The city of Gabii alone refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Tarquin. Its capture forms the subject of one of those legends in which the republican poets delighted to depict in strong colours the tyrannies that justified their revolt, and so to perpetuate their hatred of the banished dynasty. The most hateful hero of these legends is SEXTUS, the king's youngest son. He presented himself before Gabii in the guise of a fugitive from his father's tyranny, and was received by the Gabines as their leader. Some

petty victories, which his father permitted him to win, secured his influence in the town; and he sent to Rome for further instructions. The messenger found Tarquin in his garden. Without saying a word, the king sauntered along, knocking off the heads of the tallest poppies. Tired of waiting his leisure, the messenger returned to Sextus, who at once saw the meaning of the parable, and put it into practice by cutting off the chief men of Gabii by false accusations.* The city was then delivered up to Tarquin. As to the really historical circumstances of its surrender we only know that the treaty made on the occasion was preserved in after ages in the temple in the god of oaths, Deus Fidius or Sancus. It was written on the hide of the bull sacrificed at its ratification, which was strained upon a wooden shield.

At the head of the united Latin forces, Tarquin made war upon the Volsci, and took the rich city of Suessa Pomœtia. This victory was followed by a decisive defeat of the Sabines, who had invaded the Roman territory. He afterwards made a peace with the Æqui, an Oscan people on the upper Anio. Tarquin returned to Rome, enriched with the spoils of Suessa Pomœtia, which he devoted to the completion of the Capitol,† under the superintendence of Etruscan builders, and by the forced labour of the people. By the same means he completed the Circus Maximus and the great sewers; and when the workmen began to murmur at their burthens, he drafted off some of them to the two colonies which he founded on the borders of the Volsci and Æqui, at Signia in the interior and on the Circeian promontory. These therefore may be regarded as the bounds to which Tarquin had extended the territory of Rome. Prominent as is the legendary character of these stories, they give a sufficient general indication of the state of Rome in the last years of the monarchy:—the city adorned with splendid buildings, and enriched with the spoils of successful war; the supremacy of Rome established over Latium, and her power acknowledged by the bordering tribes of the Apennines:—at the cost of the humiliation of her nobles and the grinding oppression of her people by a lawless despotism. The dynastic alliance with Etruria, and especially the close relations it involved with the maritime city of Cære, must have added to the commercial importance of Rome; a proof of which is seen in the treaty with Carthage. Made as it was in the very first year of the republic, that treaty indicates the maritime consequence which

* Herodotus tells a similar story of the means by which Babylon was betrayed to Darius Hystaspis.

† See above, p. 192.

Rome had reached under the monarchy. But the prosperity of regal Rome was only a prelude to the fall of royalty.

The building of the Capitol was attended with omens of the future fate of the city and the reigning dynasty. The discovery of that human head, which gave the spot its name, has been already mentioned. As the building advanced, it became necessary to clear the ground of several ancient shrines and altars, which tradition ascribed to Titus Tatius and the Sabines. The gods to whom these had been raised were consulted by auguries, whether they would give place to the three great deities—Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. All the rest signified assent; but the refusal of Terminus and Youth to retire from the hallowed spot gave Rome the assurance that her boundaries were destined never to go back, her youth to be for ever renewed. A more mysterious sign was given of the future that was written for her in the book of fate. A strange woman came to Tarquin, and offered him nine volumes for a certain price. The books contained the poetical predictions of one of those prophetic women, who were called by the Greeks *Sibyls*,—some said of the Cumæan Sibyl, who had been the guide of Æneas into the world below; while some believed the bearer to be the Sibyl herself.* Tarquin refused to buy the books. The Sibyl departed, and burnt three; and returned, offering him the remaining six at the same price. The king again refused: the Sibyl burnt three volumes more; and again made the same demand for the reduced remnant. Astonished at her persistence, the king consulted the augurs, and learnt from them what a treasure he had despised. The three books were bought, and the woman vanished. The books were buried in a stone chest under the Capitol, and entrusted to the care of two men of the highest rank, by whom they were only consulted in great emergencies, and at the order of the Senate. Their contents were kept a profound secret; and the guardian who betrayed his trust was punished like a parricide, being sown up in a sack, and thrown into the sea. The information gained from them does not seem to have been, like the Greek oracles, so much the prediction of coming events, as concerning the rites by which the gods were to be propitiated, when their wrath had been revealed by prodigies. That such

* The common, and not improbable derivation of the name is from Σιὸς (Doric for Διὸς) βόλλα (βουλή), *the counsel of Jove.* Concerning the Sibyls enumerated by the ancients, see the article in Smith's *Dictionary of Mythology and Biography.* In connection with the Greek element in the legend, it should be remembered that Cumæ was the oldest Greek city of Italy. Some ancient writers tell the tale of the elder Tarquin.

books really existed, is a certain fact; but when and by whom they were collected is utterly unknown. They were destroyed in the burning of the Capitol (B.C. 82), and the pains taken to replace them by envoys sent to Greece, Asia Minor, and the Greek cities of Italy, would seem to show that the original books were in Greek, as indeed might be inferred from the name of the Sibyl. We have thus another instance of the Hellenic element in the civilization of Rome. There is no ground for the fond fancy, handed down from Christian antiquity, and supposed by some to be confirmed by the tone of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, that the Sibylline books contained prophecies of the future destinies of the world, emanating from a true inspiration,

"Teste David cum Sybillâ."

Another portent was closely connected with the fate of the royal house. A snake crawled out from the altar in the court of the palace, extinguished the fire, and devoured the sacrifice. Besides consulting the Etruscan soothsayers, Tarquin sent his two elder sons, Titus and Aruns, to enquire of the oracle at Delphi. They were accompanied by their cousin, a harmless idiot, as they supposed. Tarquin's sister had been married to a noble and wealthy Roman, Marcus Junius, after whose death the king had murdered the elder of his two sons and seized on his inheritance. To avoid sharing his brother's fate, Lucius, the younger son, had feigned himself an idiot, and thus obtained the surname, destined to be doubly memorable in the Roman annals, of BRUTUS, that is, stupid. The young men reached Delphi, where the temple stood in the renovated splendour with which it had been rebuilt by the Alcmæonidæ, and the sons of Tarquin offered costly gifts worthy to be placed beside those of the Lydian kings. Brutus dedicated his staff of cornel wood. His cousins laughed at his simplicity, not knowing that the hollow of the staff was filled with gold; but the Pythia and her ministers had a keener discernment of the precious metal. The princes were told that Tarquin would cease to reign when a dog should speak with human voice; and the brute beside them soon spoke trumpet-tongued to the people over the body of Lucretia. Curiosity led them to enquire which of them would succeed their father; and the priestess replied, whichever should first kiss his mother. They agreed to keep the oracle secret from their younger brother Sextus, and to cast lots for its fulfilment; but Brutus perceived its hidden meaning, and as soon as they landed in Italy, he fell as if by accident and kissed his mother earth. If such legends were at

all within the province of historical criticism, it would be quite consistent with all that we know of the Delphic oracle to suppose that Brutus, meditating his great work of liberation, purchased with his staff full of gold a divine sanction, to be quoted at the proper time.

The opportunity was ere long furnished by the outrageous insolence of the king's youngest son, the hero of Gabii, "false Sextus, who wrought the deed of shame." Tarquin was warring against Ardea, a city of the Rutuli, on the coast of Latium. The army was encamped idly before the blockaded town. The sons of Tarquin with their kinsmen, Brutus and Tarquinius Collatinus—the son of that Egerius, to whom the first Tarquin had given the lordship of Collatia—were supping together in the tent of Sextus, when the conversation turned upon the merits of their wives. Each extolled his own, and Collatinus especially was loud in praise of his Lucretia, a lady as discreet and virtuous as she was beautiful. To make good his boast, he proposed that they should take horse, and see for themselves how the ladies were occupied. They rode first to Rome, and found the wives of the king's sons giving a splendid banquet to other noble women. Leaving the city, they reached Collatia late at night, and there was Lucretia, in the midst of her maidens, carding wool and spinning by the light of a lamp. All confessed that Collatinus had been right; but his triumph was bought dear, and the issue involved the fate of Rome. The charms of Lucretia had smitten Sextus Tarquinius with lawless love. He returned in a few days to Collatia and was received by Lucretia as her husband's kinsman. Insensible alike to shame and truth, to the ties of kindred and hospitality, Sextus entered her chamber in the dead of the night, and told her that if she would not yield to him, he would slay her and one of her slaves, and tell her husband that he had taken them in adultery. His purpose was accomplished by threats and force, and he returned to the camp under cover of the night.

In the morning Lucretia sent messengers in haste to summon Collatinus from the camp, and her father, Spurius Lucretius, from Rome, where Tarquin had left him as Warden of the City. Collatinus came, attended by L. Junius Brutus; Lucretius, by Publius Valerius, the same who was afterwards surnamed Poplicola, from his ardour in the cause of the people. In the presence of these witnesses, Lucretia, whom they found sitting upon her bed bathed in tears, denounced her ravisher, and required from all present an oath that they would avenge the wrong. Then declaring that, though inno-

cent herself, she could not survive her shame, she seized a knife that she had hidden beneath her pillow, and plunged it in her heart. While her husband and her father could only utter cries of horror, Brutus, throwing off his assumed stupidity, drew the knife from the wound, and holding it aloft, swore by the blood of Lucretia that he would pursue to the uttermost, with fire and sword, both Tarquin and his accursed house, and that no man should ever after be king in Rome to repeat such crimes. Then he passed the knife to Collatinus, and then to Lucretius and Valerius, and bound them by the same oath. The corpse of Lucretia was carried forth into the market place, and Brutus, holding up the bloody knife before the people, who flocked together at the strange sight, exclaimed, "Behold the deeds of the wicked house of Tarquin." The youth of Collatia flew to arms, and while one body guarded the gates, lest news of the rising should reach Tarquin's camp, the rest followed Brutus and his companions to Rome. The sight of the armed band, with their distinguished leaders, spread an alarm through the city, and the cause of their coming was soon known. In virtue of his office as Tribune of the Celeres,* Brutus summoned the people to the Forum, and harangued them, not only on the wrongs of Lucretia, and the misery of her husband and her father, but on all the misdeeds and tyranny of Tarquin's reign. The Curiæ, for it was in that form that the people were convened, passed a solemn vote depriving Tarquin of the crown, which he had seized at first without their consent, and banishing him and all his family for ever. Tullia fled from her palace amidst the tumult, pursued by the curses of the people. The city was left in the charge of its prefect, Spurius Lucretius, while Brutus went at the head of the youth to gain over the army before Ardea.

Meanwhile the news of the insurrection at Rome had reached the camp, and Tarquin had started for the city at the head of a chosen band. Brutus turned aside from the main road, and reached the army without encountering the king. His harangue was responded to in the same spirit as in the city. The sons of Tarquin were driven out; a truce was made with the Ardeans; and the army marched to Rome, where the gates had already been

* The *Tribunus Celerum*, or captain of the knights, was the officer who called together the Curiæ, in the absence of the king. The entrusting such an office to a reputed idiot is but one of the many inconsistencies of the legend. Some suppose that *Brutus* originally signified no more than "grave" or "stern," like the later name *Severus*, and that the story of his assumed idiocy arose from the later sense of the word. Such inventions based on etymology are by no means infrequent.

shut against the deposed king. Tarquin fled to Cære in Etruria, where the tomb of the family is still to be seen. There he was joined by his sons Titus and Aruns. Sextus fled to Gabii, where he was murdered in requital of his former treachery.*

Thus was Tarquinius Superbus driven out from Rome, with all his family, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, just at the close of the Roman year (B.C. 510—9).† The expulsion of the last king was commemorated by the festival called *Regifugium* or *Fugalia*, which was celebrated on the 24th of February in every year.

We have felt bound to relate those poetical legends which are inseparably associated with this most picturesque period of Roman history. The labours of the historians of Rome have relieved us from the necessity of exposing the absurdities of dry fact which lurk beneath scenes so true to nature. It is superfluous to demonstrate once more the impossibility of a chronology which assigns 245 years to seven elective kings, three of whom perished by a violent death, and the last was prematurely expelled. Nor is it possible, as some have thought, to draw any line, however general, between the periods of fact and fable, whether between Numa and Tullus, or between Ancus and the elder Tarquin. If the reigns of the earlier kings are the least trustworthy, from the absence of historic records and the manifestly unhistoric complexion of their annals, and if the history of the Tarquins seems more trustworthy —as belonging to an age of advanced civilization and commerce, an age when written documents certainly existed, and which has handed down its monuments of art and its elaborate political constitution—yet it is at the close of this very age that the history assumes a more poetical complexion than ever, and it preserves that complexion during the establishment of the republic. The poetic fervour, in which the sense of new-born freedom or the regret for its subsequent loss found vent, though not of itself inconsistent with a substratum of true facts, effectually prevents our discerning those facts through the haze of imagination that is cast around them. There is as great a variety in the legendary stories which different writers tell of this period as in the age of Romulus and Numa; and the chronology, in becoming the more

* This is the account of Livy, who generally preserves the more poetical form of the several legends. Dionysius represents Sextus as killed at the battle of the lake Regillus, and this view is followed in Macaulay's celebrated lay.

† According to our present calendar, the expulsion of the Tarquins was on Feb. 24, B.C. 509; but, for the sake of the round number and of the agreement with the Roman year, we take the liberty of reckoning on the year 510 to its *Roman end*, which agrees also with our own "old style."

definite, only becomes the more impossible. This was indeed perceived by Dionysius of Halicarnassus; but, instead of admitting the conclusion, he makes arbitrary amendments in the data.*

We cannot make out a true and consistent history by eliminating the improbabilities of these legends, or by selecting from the interpretations of the ancients that which may seem to us the most reasonable. But, by a careful comparison of language, antiquities, institutions, traditions, and other real elements of fact, illustrated by light reflected on them by the legends, we can arrive at certain broad conclusions. The chief of these have been indicated as we have proceeded. They may be summed up in the steady growth of the city, till it became the head of Latium, on the one hand, and derived wealth and commercial importance from its connection with Etruria on the other. A constitution, based on a patriarchal aristocracy, with an elective monarchy at its head, was modified by the introduction of new elements, chiefly from the conquered Latin states, till the necessity arose for a new military organization and a new distribution of political power among all classes of the citizens.

But, as we have already seen in the states of Greece, the first confusion incident to the admission of the commons to a share of power, gave an opportunity for the establishment of despotism; and the excesses of this despotism led to its speedy overthrow. But here was the great difference between the fall of the Greek tyrants and the Roman kings. The former were mere usurpers; the latter were the natural leaders of the people, who had indeed abused their power for a time, but whose loss left an injurious void in the constitution. The immediate effect of their expulsion on the common people cannot be better described than in the words of Mr. Newman:—"The great cause of the prosperity of the city, was that the kings had headed the movement partly for enfranchising and elevating the lower classes. . . . Upon the destruction of royalty, the lower population discovered that they had lost their patron, and were exposed to hundreds of tyrants. All the early history of the Roman republic is a long struggle of the commonalty to regain for itself a powerful protector: and, after a time, the success of the plebeians was complete. But Rome continued to conquer; hence, outside of the plebeians fresh and fresh masses of subjects lay, who had no organs of protection, until the Roman

* See the complete summary of these chronological absurdities—which are manifest especially in the ages of the leading persons of the story—in Professor Malden's *History of Rome*, pp. 56, 57.

constitution was violently subverted, and emperors arose. From these, at length, the population of the provinces gradually obtained the gift of Roman citizenship, which ought to have been long before granted by free Rome, in order to preserve her own freedom. It was conquest that ruined the later republic; and conquest, apparently, also that ruined royal Rome. When the victories of Ancus and Tarquin enlarged the state so rapidly, *not* to have enfranchised the new subjects would have weakened it from within; yet *by* enfranchising them, Tarquin and Servius produced a discontent in the old citizens, which exploded into violence, and wrecked the constitution under Tarquin the Proud. If Brutus and Collatinus, instead of abolishing the royalty, had restored it with all the formalities of interregal election, but with such limitations as experience suggested, we now see that it would have been far better for the plebeians of Rome. The wicked deed of Sextus Tarquinius did not need royal power; it might have been perpetrated by any man who wore a sword. But it was attributed to the inherent haughtiness of royal blood, and the question of raising some one else to the throne was never even moved at all. In consequence, the plebeians were suddenly left without legal representatives. No man of their body was capable of holding office, because he was essentially inadmissible to patrician religion. It was soon manifested that, while excluded from executive government, possession of legislative power was a mockery: unfortunate war forced them to incur debt, and the penalties of debt were rigorously enforced. Art and skill migrated from Rome when her arms could no longer defend the industrious, and rudeness so great came over the city of the Tarquins, that sheep and oxen became the current coin of a community which, but a little before, had made a treaty of commerce with Carthage. Under an exclusive patrician caste, Rome sank more rapidly than she had risen; until tyrannical powers, vested in tumultuous tribunes, became an alleviation of the intolerable evils caused by the loss of the elective king. For the destruction of the monarchy did not come in the ripeness of time, when monarchy had finished its work, and the lower people had gained the power of self-defence. It was the explosion of rage against an institution because of personal iniquity; and it became the prelude to a century and a half of suffering to the plebeians."*

* Newman's *Regal Rome*, pp. 169—171.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE PATRICIAN REPUBLIC—FROM THE EXPULSION OF THE TARQUINS TO THE INVASION OF THE GAULS. B.C. 509 TO B.C. 390.

> "Then the great Consuls venerable rise:
> The public Father, who the private quelled,
> As on the dread tribunal, sternly sad:
> He, whom his thankless country could not lose,
> Camillus, only vengeful to her foes;
> Fabricius, scorner of all-conquering gold;
> And Cincinnatus, awful from the plough."—THOMSON.

BEGINNING OF THE REPUBLIC—INSTITUTION OF THE CONSULATE—BRUTUS AND COLLATINUS CONSULS—RETIREMENT OF COLLATINUS—CONSPIRACY FOR THE TARQUINS—BRUTUS AND HIS SONS—DEATH OF BRUTUS—VALERIUS POPLICOLA—RIGHT OF APPEAL—TREATY WITH CARTHAGE—DEDICATION OF THE CAPITOL—LEGEND OF LARS PORSENNA—BATTLE OF THE LAKE REGILLUS—SABINE WAR—IMMIGRATION OF THE CLAUDII—END OF THE MYTHICAL PERIOD OF ROMAN HISTORY—REAL STATE OF ROME—CONQUEST BY PORSENNA—REPULSE OF THE ETRUSCANS—INDEPENDENCE OF LATIUM—INSTITUTION OF THE DICTATORSHIP—THE SENATE—RISE OF A NEW NOBILITY—THE CONSTITUTION ARISTOCRATIC—POSITION OF THE PLEBEIANS—DISTRESS OF THE SMALL LANDHOLDERS—CONSULSHIP OF CLAUDIUS AND SERVILIUS—M. VALERIUS DICTATOR—SECESSION TO THE SACRED MOUNT—TRIBUNES OF THE PLEBS AND PLEBEIAN ÆDILES—COLONY SENT TO VELITRÆ—CONTINUED DISSENSIONS—LEGEND OF CORIOLANUS—SPURIUS CASSIUS—TREATIES WITH THE LATINS AND HERNICANS—WARS WITH THE VOLSCIANS AND ÆQUIANS—AGRARIAN LAW OF SPURIUS CASSIUS—HIS DEATH—WARS WITH THE ETRUSCANS—LEGEND OF THE FABII AT THE CREMERA—IMPEACHMENT OF CONSULS—MURDER OF THE TRIBUNE GENUCIUS—PUBLILIAN LAW—IMPEACHMENT OF APPIUS CLAUDIUS—ROGATION OF TERENTILIUS—LONG CONFLICT OF THE ORDERS—ÆQUIAN AND VOLSCIAN WAR—STORY OF CINCINNATUS—THE DECEMVIRS—LAWS OF THE TWELVE TABLES—STORY OF VIRGINIA—SECOND SECESSION OF THE PLEBS—FALL OF THE DECMIVIRS—VALERIAN AND HORATIAN LAWS—MILITARY TRIBUNES IN PLACE OF CONSULS—INSTITUTION OF THE CENSORSHIP—FAMINE AT ROME—DEATH OF MÆLIUS—WAR WITH THE ETRUSCANS, ÆQUIANS, AND VOLSCIANS—VICTORY AT MOUNT ALGIDUS—RISE OF THE SAMNITES—FALL OF FIDENÆ—LAST WAR WITH VEII—DRAINING OF THE ALBAN LAKE—LEGEND OF CAMILLUS AND THE FALL OF VEII—AGRARIAN LAW—BANISHMENT OF CAMILLUS—THE GAULS IN ETRURIA—DECLINE OF THE ETRUSCANS.

ROME was delivered from the tyrant and his house. The Patricians lifted their heads once more: the lower orders rejoiced in the cessation of their forced burthens. The common sense of freedom disposed both orders to co-operate in the restoration of order; and a common basis was furnished in the revival of the *Comitia Centuriata.* The forms of the constitution were scrupulously observed. Though the royal family had been expelled, and the name of king abolished, the first step taken was to fill up the place thus left vacant at the head of the state by the intervention of an *Interrex*, as of old: Spurius Lucretius was appointed to this function, either in virtue of his office as warden of the city,

or by the vote of the decimated Senate. He convened the people in the assembly of the Centuries, for the election of new chief magistrates. The change now made was of a very simple character. By putting two elective magistrates in the place of one, and leaving each in full possession of the powers of the former kings, independently of the other, a constant mutual check was provided against tyrannical usurpation. Their dignity was still marked by the chair of state* and the other insignia of royalty, except the diadem. Even the fasces and axes were retained, as the emblem of military power; but they were borne by the twelve lictors only before one of the two magistrates, each for a month in turn. There was, however, no corresponding alternation in the exercise of their power, and no division of their functions, except such as convenience might suggest: as when one remained to administer justice in the city while the other was engaged abroad in war. It does not seem even to have been an essential condition of the office, that it should be held only for a year; and, though this restriction was established by custom from the very first, the consulship did not expire of itself at the lapse of that period. It was only vacated by the magistrate's formally laying down his office; nor does it appear that an attempt to prolong its tenure, however unconstitutional, would have been positively illegal. The repeated elections of the same man in the first years of the republic (as in the case of P. Valerius Poplicola, who held office for four of the seven years before his death, three of them in succession) show a tendency to a longer tenure; but the accident of the deaths of two chief magistrates and the abdication of one, in the very first year of the republic, may have helped to establish the precedent of an annual election. In conformity with the military character of the Roman state, these two chief magistrates were at first named *Prætors* † (that is, *generals*): from their judicial functions they were called *Judices;* and from their equal authority they received that famous name of Consuls (that is, *colleagues*),‡ which did not prevail over the title of Prætor till

* The *sella curulis*, a term not derived (as is often said) from *currus*, a *chariot*, but probably of the same root as *curia*. It was inlaid with ivory and, in later times, overlaid with gold. Its form, often shown on coins, was a square stool, with curved cross legs. It pertained to all the higher magistracies, which were hence called *curule*. The royal chariot and purple robe were disused: the consuls walked on foot (except in a triumph) like other citizens, and wore a robe with only a purple hem (the *toga prætexta*).

† Literally *leaders*, those who *go before*, from *præ* and *eo*. The judicial officers, who afterwards bore the name of *prætors*, were first appointed in B.C. 366.

‡ The true etymology of this word is from *con* (together), and the root which

the restoration of the office, after its interruption by the decemvirs, in the 305th year of the city (B.C. 449). The celebrity, however, of this latter title has caused it to be used from the beginning of the history of the republic.

The consular office, then, as Mommsen observes, "manifestly sprang out of the endeavour to retain the regal power in legally undiminished fulness." But, after all that has been said of the elective character of the Roman royalty, we cannot but trace a sort of reverence for the patriarchal sanctity of the office, the "divinity doth hedge a king," which was not fully transferred to the consuls, as it has never been to Protector, Stadtholder, President, or even to imperial adventurers. This was especially manifested in relation to the religious functions of the king, and his power of nominating the priests. For the sacrifices that he had been accustomed to offer, as the patriarchal head of the state, special provision was now made; and the conservative spirit of the Roman religion was shown in retaining for this religious officer the otherwise proscribed name of King.* But, lest he should be tempted to aim at extending the meaning of the title, he paid the price of the great honours belonging to his office by incapacity for all civil functions. Even in his religious duties, he was subject to the supreme authority of the chief pontiff. The "Sacrificial King" was at once the first in rank and the least in power of all the Roman magistrates. In every other use, the title of King was ever abhorred by the Roman people with an almost fanatic hatred; and the first act of the new consuls, after they had purified the city, was to bind all the people by the oath, already sworn by Brutus over the body of Lucretia, that they would suffer no man ever again to be King in Rome.

It was natural that the first consular election should fall upon Brutus, the hero of the revolution, and L. Tarquinius Collatinus, whose great wrong had been its immediate occasion. The choice of the latter was likely to conciliate the moderate partisans of the exiled family. But the public indignation proved too strong to endure the very name of a Tarquin, and Brutus himself made a

appears in *sed*-eo (*sit*), *sel*-la and *sol*-ium (a *seat*), con-*sil*-ium (*counsel*), ex-*sul* (an exile, whose *abode* is out of the state), præ-*sul* (a president).

* *Rex Sacrorum, king of the sacrifices.* Just so, at Athens, the second archon, who presided over the public worship of the state, was called the King Archon (ἄρχων βασιλεύς). Other royal prerogatives were abolished, as the enacting of forced labour to till the domain, the delegation of the military power to the *Præfectus Urbi* and the *Tribunus Celerum*, and of the judicial to the *Quæstores Parricidii*. The latter now became permanent magistrates.

motion, on the authority of a decree of the Senate, to deprive Collatinus of his office, and to extend the sentence of banishment to the whole Tarquinian gens. Collatinus yielded to the public feeling, and withdrew to Lavinium, where he lived to a good old age. The Comitia Centuriata elected Publius Valerius consul in his room.*

This apparently harsh measure was probably rendered necessary by symptoms of that reaction which is wont to follow revolutions. The banished house had still a powerful party among the Roman nobles; and they were plotting their restoration from the neighbouring Etruscan city of Cære. The story of these attempts is continued in the same poetical vein which we have traced through the whole history of the last Tarquin; but it is surely needless to relate in full those beautiful legends, with which every educated reader will have been familiar from his childhood;—how the claim of Tarquin for the restoration of his property enabled his envoys to engage several noble families in the conspiracy which involved the death of the two sons of Brutus, and the sacrifice of their father's natural feelings in that ever memorable example of the stern Roman sense of duty:—how, when Tarquin marched against Rome, at the head of the forces of Tarquinii and Veii, his son Aruns encountered Brutus in the face of both armies and they fell transfixed by each other's spears:—how, in the night that followed the indecisive battle, a supernatural voice, proclaiming that the Romans were victorious, smote the Etruscans with a panic fear, and the consul Valerius returned to Rome, to celebrate the first triumph of the republic, and the funeral obsequies of Brutus, whose statue in bronze, holding a naked sword, was placed in the Capitol, in the midst of the effigies of the kings:—how Valerius, falling into suspicion through his delay in the election of another colleague, and because of the splendid house he had built upon the Velia, came forward to clear himself before the people, lowered his fasces in acknowledgment of their sovereignty, pulled down his palace, and received in recompense a plot of ground at the bottom of the hill:—how he carried the laws proclaiming outlawry against the man who should aim at kingly power, and securing every citizen the right of appeal from the

* Thus, in the very first year of the republic, we have an example (and we shall meet with two more before the end of the same year) of what was afterwards called the "consul suffectus," or supplied consul. Such an one succeeded, in all respects, to the position of the consul whose vacant place he filled up, and went out of office at the expiration of his predecessor's term. This does not, of course, apply to the nominal consuls under the empire, of whom there were often two or three sets in one year, appointed merely as a mark of imperial favour.

sentence of a magistrate within the city and one mile round;*—and how these measures gained for him the surname of *Poplicola*, the People's Friend. After carrying these laws alone, Valerius convened the Comitia, for the election of a consul in place of Brutus. Their choice fell first upon Spurius Lucretius, and—on his death after only a few days—upon M. Horatius Pulvillus.

Such are the transactions which the legendary stories ascribe to the first year of the Republic (B.C. 509). Of its real history, we possess an invaluable remnant in the treaty with Carthage, which was engraved on brass, and escaped the destruction of the city by the Gauls. Its chief provisions are preserved by Polybius, who tells us that he translated it with difficulty, as its archaic style was barely intelligible to the Romans of his day.† The Carthaginians bound themselves to make no trading settlements on the coasts of Latium or Campagnia; and the Romans engaged not to sail south of the Hermean promontory (*C. Bon*). Rome is recognized as the head of Latium, and as possessing the Italian coast, as far as the Bay of Tarracina.

In the second year of the Republic (B.C. 508), when Valerius was again consul, with Titus Lucretius, the brother of Lucretia, a new census was taken, and the armed force was found to be 130,000.‡ In the next year (B.C. 507) Valerius was consul for the third time, and had M. Horatius Pulvillus again for his colleague. In this year, according to the annalists, the temple of the Capitol was finished, and it fell to the republican consuls to dedicate this great work of the two Tarquins. They cast lots for the honour; the lot fell upon Horatius; § and Valerius departed to carry on the war with Veii. But his friends were envious of his colleague, and they contrived a stratagem to postpone the ceremony. Horatius had laid his hand upon the gate-post, and was beginning the prayer of dedication, when a cry was

* This was in effect the abdication of the imperium within the prescribed limits, and in sign thereof the consular *fasces* were born without the axes: but beyond those limits the consul retained the full *imperium* of the kings, and the axes were bound up with the fasces.

† It is one among other similar proofs of Livy's negligence, that he takes no notice of this treaty. If the labour of deciphering it, from which Polybius had not shrunk, was too great for a Roman, he might have retranslated it from Polybius.

‡ The census of Servius Tullius is said to have given 84,700 citizens; but all these numbers are of very doubtful authority. See Arnold, *History of Rome*, vol. i., p. 131.

§ Here is an indication how completely the consulship was, like the royalty, vested in the individual and not in the two conjointly, or, as the Romans would say, in the "collegium." Thus the consuls are never called *duumviri*.

heard,—"Consul, thy son is slain." A single word of mourning would have broken off the rite by its evil omen. "Carry out the dead," said Horatius, still holding the post and finishing the prayer; and, when the ceremony was over, he found that his son was alive and well. The dedication was followed by a prodigy, decisive of the question which seemed now to hang in doubt, whether the Romans or the Etruscans should prevail. Tarquin had ordered a chariot of clay to be moulded by the artists of Veii, to surmount the temple. It swelled so much in the baking, that the furnace had to be pulled down in order to remove it; and the Etruscan soothsayers promised empire to the possessors of the chariot. The Veientines now refused to give it up, as being the property of Tarquin. A few days after, a charioteer, who had just won a prize in their races, was carried off by his horses at full speed, and dashed down lifeless at one of the gates of Rome. The Etruscans obeyed the will of the gods, thus plainly declared, and delivered up the chariot, which was placed on the summit of the Capitol.

For the present, however, Rome seemed destined to subjugation by the Tuscans. The war with Porsenna represents an historical event, though obscured by the utter confusion of the chronology, and by the poetic legends under which the Romans disguised their defeat. The early date of the war—in the second or third year of the republic—seems a device to keep up the fiction that it was waged for the sake of the Tarquins, though the success of Porsenna was not followed by their restoration. We must forego the pleasure of recounting the well-known legend, how

> "Lars Porsena of Clusium
> By the Nine Gods he swore,
> That the great house of Tarquin
> Should suffer wrong no more:" *

how he marched upon Rome, at the head of the united force of the twelve Etruscan cities, and seized the suburb of Janiculum:—

> "How well Horatius kept the bridge
> In the brave days of old:"—

and how the self-devotion of Mucius Scævola, and the gallantry

* The Roman poets are divided as to the quantity of the name, *Porsĕna*, *Porsēna*, or *Porsenna*. Virgil's learning, and the recent investigations into the Etruscan language, are in favour of the long penult. Legendary as is the story of Porsenna, there is no reason to doubt his having been king of Clusium (*Chiusi*), a city in the central hill-country of Etruria, on an eminence overlooking the river Clanis and the Lacus Clusinus.

of Clœlia and her fellow maidens, won from the fear and magnanimity of Porsenna an honourable peace. The attempt to conceal defeat by occupying attention with a few heroic actions, real or imaginary, proves the high spirit, as well as the ingenuity, of the Roman annalists.* There is generally some unguarded point in such fables, at which the truth peeps out; and the writers who represent the offering of the insignia of royalty to Tarquinius Priscus by the Etruscan states, as a token of subjection, tells us that the like present was sent by the Romans to Porsenna, in acknowledgment of his generosity.

But, before relating what we know of the real truth, we may glance at the final scene in the legend of the Tarquins. The last champion of their cause was the Latin prince, Octavius Mamilius, the dictator of Tusculum, who led out the confederacy to a new war with Rome, and perished in the great battle won by the dictator Aulus Postumius Albus, at the lake Regillus, with the aid of the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), who rode at the dictator's right hand on their white horses, and appeared the same evening at Rome to announce the victory. The gigantic print of a horse's hoof was shown in the rock on the margin of the lake, and the festival of the Twin Sons of Jove was kept on the anniversary of the battle, the Ides of Quinctilis (July 15, B.C. 498 or 496).† Titus Tarquinius, and, as some say, Sextus, died on this battle-field; and the aged king found shelter with Aristodemus, the tyrant of Cumæ, where he died wretched and childless (B.C. 496).‡ Between the war with Porsenna and the battle of the lake Regillus, the annalists place a war with the Sabines, in which P. Valerius, consul for the fourth time, gained a great victory and the surname of Maximus, and in which the Sabine Attus Clausus seceded to Rome with all his clients, and founded the great patrician house of the Appii Claudii (B.C. 504).

The Battle of the Lake Regillus may be regarded as the close of

* The device is not unknown in a more sober age of history. By filling up his narrative of the battle of Trafalgar with one or two gallant combats of ship against ship, M. Thiers comes to the conclusion that there remained with England a dearbought victory, with France the glory of a *dévouement* unparalleled in the history of nations.

† The ancient writers, who give these dates, confess the uncertainty of the chronology. For the poetical view of the battle, see Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*.

‡ According to the popular chronology, this was 120 years from the time when his father ascended the throne in mature age! Tarquinius Superbus must have been 113 years old at his death, two years after he had fought in person by lake Regillus, and 75 when, in his youthful vigour, he hurled Servius down the steps of the senate-house! These are by no means all the chronological absurdities of the story.

the distinctly mythical period of Roman history, though the vein of poetical fable often reappears during the ensuing century, down to the story of Camillus. We cannot pass from this legendary period without quoting the summary of the brilliant writer, who, himself a great historian, has contributed so much to the poetical illustration of the early Roman annals:—"The early history of Rome is indeed far more poetical than anything else in Latin literature. The loves of the Vestal and the God of War, the cradle laid among the reeds of Tiber, the fig-tree, the she-wolf, the shepherd's cabin, the recognition, the fratricide, the rape of the Sabines, the death of Tarpeia, the fall of Hostus Hostilius, the struggle of Mettus Curtius through the marsh, the women rushing with torn raiment and dishevelled hair between their fathers and their husbands, the nightly meetings of Numa and the Nymph by the well in the sacred grove, the fight of the three Romans and the three Albans, the purchase of the Sybilline books, the crime of Tullia, the simulated madness of Brutus, the ambiguous reply of the Delphic oracle to the Tarquins, the wrongs of Lucretia, the heroic actions of Horatius Cocles, of Scævola, and of Clœlia, the battle of Regillus won by the aid of Castor and Pollux, the defence of Cremera, the touching story of Coriolanus, the still more touching story of Virginia, the wild legend about the draining of the Alban lake, the combat between Valerius Corvus and the gigantic Gaul, are among the many instances which will at once suggest themselves to every reader." *

And now, what was the real condition of Rome in the fifteen years that elapsed from the expulsion of the Tarquins to the beginning of the long conflict between the patricians and plebeians? The great external fact of her history is her conquest by the Etruscans, and the loss of the whole territory on the right bank of the Tiber, which had been won by the enterprise of the kings, and quietly held during the long period of their Tuscan alliance. Even later writers knew the truth which Livy had chosen to conceal under the old poetic fables. Tacitus expressly says that the city was surrendered to Porsenna. Pliny quotes the treaty, by which the Romans were debarred from the use of iron, except for agriculture. The price which Rome paid for peace,—the loss of one-third of her territory,—is attested by the reduction of the country tribes from 26 to 16, making the whole number 20 instead of 30. The invasion, which the legend ascribes to Lars Porsenna's espousal of the cause of Tarquin, seems to have

* Macaulay, *Lays of Ancient Rome*, Preface, pp. 4, 5.

originated in one of these great movements of the Etruscans southwards, which, as we have already seen, brought them into conflict with the Greek cities of Italy about this time.* It appears to have been a great check sustained before Aricia that prevented their overrunning the whole of Latium. The story goes, that, after the campaign of Porsenna against Rome, his son Aruns attacked Aricia. The cities of the Latin confederacy joined to raise the siege; and, with the aid of Aristodemus, the tyrant of Cumæ, they defeated the Etruscans, and drove them back beyond the Tiber. Rome, in consequence, regained her independence; but it was long before she recovered the lost lands beyond the Tiber. This account would imply also the recovery of independence by the Latins; and accordingly we find Rome making a new league with the confederacy a few years later (B.C. 493). Upon the whole, it seems that, within a few years of the expulsion of the kings, Rome was thrown back almost, if not quite, within the limits of her original territory; but still with the advantage of that previous recognition of her headship of the Latin confederacy, which would furnish a starting point for its recovery on the first opportunity. Whether the legend of the battle of Regillus represents a partially successful effort to regain supremacy in Latium, before the Latin states had time to reorganize their confederacy, can only be a matter of conjecture. The loss of territory in Etruria, and of influence in Latium, was but slightly compensated by the voluntary accession of a Sabine clan, which raised the diminished number of the tribes to twenty-one. For the next century and a half, Rome was engaged in reconquering what she had lost by her revolution.

The most important constitutional matter alluded to in the legendary history of these years is the appointment of a *Dictator*. The first dictator is said to have been Titus Lartius, in the tenth year of the republic (B.C. 501); the second, Aulus Postumius, in the year of the battle of Regillus. The office was, in fact, a temporary restoration of the full power which formerly resided in the king, whenever the limitations of the consular power might endanger the public safety. Of such an emergency the senate were the judges, and the appointment was made by the consul, without even the form of popular election. The well-known title of this officer, *Dictator* (that is, commander), was borrowed from the Latins, but his proper Roman appellation was "Master of the People" (*Magister Populi*). His appointment at once superseded

* See chap. xix. p. 143.

the authority of the ordinary magistrates, who became entirely subject to his control. He had for a deputy the "Master of the Horse," who answered to the *Tribunus Celerum* under the Monarchy. His judicial power, like that of the king, was limited by no right of appeal to the people, except by his own permission. The obvious danger, that the office might be converted into an actual royalty, was guarded against by its strict limitation to six months; and such was the good faith of those appointed to this power, that they generally laid it down as soon as their work was done, without waiting for the expiration of that term. This revival of the full regal power, at any moment, proved more than once the salvation of the state; but it was also a ready instrument by which the senate could supersede the constitution at seasons of popular ferment, until a plebeian consul ventured to appoint a plebeian dictator, in B.C. 356. There was another mode in which the senate took upon themselves to revive the regal power, without the appointment of a dictator, by passing the decree "that the consuls should see to it, that no harm befell the Republic."

The constitution of the Senate itself remained unaltered in theory. Like the council of the Homeric kings, its chief function had been to advise the supreme magistrate, without taking any direct part in the administration. This function was continued in relation to the consuls, while the great power was gained of initiating the motions to be laid before the Comitia. On the other hand, a large popular element was introduced into the Senate by the admission of the heads of plebeian houses to supply the vacancies which Tarquin had left unfilled. It is said that no less than 164 (a clear majority of the 300 members) were added as "conscripts" to the roll of the ancient senators.* But it would be a mistake to infer that a regard for plebeian interests gained at once a preponderance in the senate. Bodies of men have, like individuals, a character which easily becomes traditional, and which is wont to absorb, in a marvellous degree, the individuality of what would seem the most heterogeneous elements. At Rome, as elsewhere, we have distinguished examples of "new men" talking the most loudly of "our order." The possession for life of a dignity, which was originally founded on a patrician basis, and which could only be threatened from below, formed the strongest common bond; and, besides, the plebeians now enrolled were no doubt chosen for their wealth.

* See above, p, 161. Before this time, plebeians had been admitted only individually, and that rarely.

The consuls—though not, as such, members of the senate, but only its official presidents *—had the power of appointing new members, which had originally belonged to the Gentes, but had also been exercised by the kings. This power was afterwards shared by the consular tribunes and the censors. The selection, however, was not arbitrary, and it became the custom to admit to the senate all who had passed the curule offices, unless there was some special reason for their exclusion. The lists were revised every fourth year, at first by the consuls, and afterwards by the censors, who had the power of "passing over"—by simply not entering them in the new lists—the names, not only of the ex-magistrates as new members, but of actual members of the senate.† Besides their elevation to the senatorial order in their own persons, the curule magistrates were regarded as the founders of a new order, not indeed invested with any power in the state, but possessing the vast influence of social rank. Their families became the Nobility (*nobiles*, the known), an order which succeeded to much of the exclusiveness of the old patricians, and regarded the commonalty ‡ in the same spirit in which these had looked down upon the plebeians. The chief outward distinction of the nobles was the privilege of setting up in their houses the images of their ancestors, which were displayed on festive days and carried forth in funeral processions: a right like that of coats-of-arms among ourselves, when armorial bearings had still a meaning.§ One who had no such signs of ancestry, on attaining to the honours of the state, was called a "new man," and had to maintain a constant conflict with the pride which boasted of being "the accident of an accident." It was at the period of the Second Punic War that the nobles attained their highest power, and were able to exclude all "new men" from the consulship, except a very few of the highest merit, like Marius and Cicero, both, by a remarkable coincidence, natives of the same Latin town, Arpinum. But, further still, the second order in the state, that of the Knights, composing the rich middle class, though not without frequent grounds of quarrel

* All the curule magistrates, as well as the Pontifex Maximus and the Flamen Dialis, belonged to the "Senatorial Order," and had seats in the senate *ex officio*, with the right of speaking, though not of voting. They possessed, however, the curious privilege of going over to join either party, when the division had taken place, whence they were called *Senatores Pedarii*, or *senators of the foot.*

† Those so degraded were called *præteriti senatores.*

‡ *Ignobiles*, the *unknown.*

§ The right was called the *jus imaginum.* The images were figures with masks of wax, painted to resemble the person represented.

with the nobles, threw its weight into their scale as against the common people; and the two orders, under the assumed name of *Optimates*,* formed a compact conservative aristocracy, in which the old distinction between patricians and plebeians was so completely lost, that the term *Plebs* itself came to be applied to the mass of the common people.

Such was the final development of that aristocratic character of the Roman constitution, which appeared at first in the preponderance of the patricians, and the rich citizens enrolled in the highest class, over the body of the plebeians, and in the conservative spirit with which old institutions were maintained, especially the religious ceremonies of the *gentiles*, and the exclusion of plebeians from intermarriage with patricians. The disqualification of the plebeians for the higher magistracies was a consequence of their being allowed no part in the religious rites which were essential to their inauguration; and such disabilities, resting on such a basis, could not but be felt as a standing wrong, to be redressed on the earliest opportunity. The exclusion had been less felt, when the chief magistrate was disposed to favour the plebeians as a counterpoise to the patrician order, and when he held for life a power which enabled him effectually to protect them: but the more restricted power of the consuls was exercised under the direct control of the patrician body, from which they were raised, and into which they returned after a tenure of office too brief to give them real political power. If, as often happens in every patrician body, a magistrate were disposed to make a popular use of his power, the means were at hand to check him, by the authority of his colleague, and by the interposition of the colleges of priests, and if all else failed, he might be superseded by a dictator. The annual change of officers, combined with the privilege of initiating all the measures to be laid before the Comitia, threw into the hands of the senate the control of all the business of the state which extended beyond a single year, and especially the management and distribution of the public lands. The same body obtained the control of the public purse, which had formerly been under the management of the king. The annual election by the Comitia Centuriata of the two *Quæstors*, to manage the finances (an institution ascribed to Valerius Poplicola), might seem to have placed the power of the purse in the hands of the popular assembly; but in fact the quæstors became mere paymasters under the direction

* That is, like "aristocracy," the *party of the best.* In the conflicts of the later republic, they are found constantly assuming the appellation of the Good (*boni*).

of the senate, without whose authority neither the consuls nor even the dictator could draw money from the treasury. In short, the government was more aristocratic than before the revolution; but the plebeians were constituted an organized opposition within the body of the citizens. The Servian constitution had done little more than subject them to a share of the public burthens; but the rights they now obtained, though narrowly restricted, contained the germ of their future power. "Hitherto the *metœci* * had been politically nothing, the old burgesses had been everything; now that the former were embraced in the community, the old burgesses were overcome; for, much as might be wanting to full civil equality, it is the first breach, not the occupation of the last post, that decides the fall of the fortress. With justice, therefore, the Roman community dated its political existence from the beginning of the consulship."

The struggle, which lasted for two centuries (B.C. 500—300) before the plebeians were admitted to an equality of civil rights, did not, however, begin on any abstract question of politics, but from the more imperious demands of material hardship. Poverty and hunger are great quickeners of the sense of political oppression. The new government made various economical regulations—according to the economical lights of those days—to promote the growth of wealth, and to relieve poverty. The port dues were lowered; corn was bought up by the state when its price was high, and the salt-works at the mouth of the Tiber were kept in the hands of government, that these necessaries might be supplied to the citizens at reasonable prices. Limits were set to the fines which the magistrates could impose. But capital was fostered more than poverty was relieved; and an impulse was given to the formation of a class of capitalists by the system of farming the revenue. The selfish interests of the nobles were adverse to the middle class of small landholders. In the management of the public lands, the allotments of the plebeians were withheld, and the dues of the patricians to the state were negligently exacted. By this default an unfair portion of the taxes was thrown upon the plebeians, while their means for bearing the burthen were narrowed. The losses suffered in the wars that followed the establishment of the republic fell, of course, chiefly on the smaller landholders, whose all lay in the farms of which they were stript by the invaders. The taxes and forced labour which these wars entailed, the necessity of rebuilding their houses and restocking their farms, compelled them

* This is the Greek term which Dr. Mommsen chooses to apply to the plebeians. The quotation is from his *History of Rome*, vol. i., p. 272.

to incur debts, which were exacted with all the severity of the Roman law. Not only the possessions, but the persons of the debtor and his family, became the property of his creditor, who, from self-interest rather than mercy, held him in a position "in which he knew nothing of property but its burthens," or, when he became too poor for any more to be wrung out of him as a tenant, sent him to grind in the horrible dungeons which the great houses used as prisons. In no point is the oppression of a wealthy aristocracy more conspicuous, than in the old Roman law of debt. The borrower was bound by contract to repay the loan by a stated day, and in the absence of such an agreement the patrician judge fixed the day of payment. In case of default, he was assigned as a bondsman to his creditor; and, if thirty days passed without payment, his master might throw him into prison, and feed him with bread and water. At the lapse of another month, he might sell the debtor for a slave, or, if he pleased, put him to death. If there were several creditors, they might divide his body among them; and the law provided with merciless ingenuity against the humane evasion immortalized by Shakspere, by enacting that "whether a man cut more or less than his due, he should incur no penalty." Unprofitable as such cruelty was, it is not unlikely to have been practised in the spirit of vindictiveness, or in the wanton sense of power. These sufferings were aggravated by the sight of the wealthier plebeians, who should have been the natural protectors of the poor of their own order, identified with the order of their oppressors by their admission into the Senate, and by the advantages bestowed on capital. Such is the picture which the annalists draw of the state of the plebeians in general, as early as the fifteenth year of the republic.

One resource remained to the plebeians for resisting this intolerable tyranny—their place in the military organization of the state. The contest broke out (according to the common chronology) in the fifteenth year of the republic (B.C. 495), when the consuls were Publius Servilius and the proud Sabine nobleman who had lately come to Rome, where he distinguished himself by the haughty contempt for the lower orders which marked the name of Appius Claudius through many a generation,—

"For never was there Claudius yet, but wished the Commons ill."

Inflamed, as the story goes, by the appeal of an aged veteran, who rushed into the Forum, loaded with chains, red with stripes, squalid and emaciated with imprisonment, the people burst forth into such a storm of indignation, that Claudius fled and hid him

self, and Servilius promised to plead their cause with the senate. Just at this crisis, the levy of the state had to be called out to meet an invasion of the Volscians; and it was feared that the plebeians would refuse to serve. The consul Servilius suspended the obnoxious law, and gave orders for the liberation of the imprisoned debtors. The plebeians followed the popular consul to victory; but the senate refused a triumph to Servilius, and his colleague Appius Claudius enforced the law again in all its rigour. The following year (B.C. 494), the enemy appeared again; and the plebeians refused to be cajoled with promises a second time. It was not till the senate appointed Manius Valerius dictator, that the malcontents yielded to the authority of his office and the popularity of his name. He again suspended the laws of debt during the war; and on his return as a victor, he laid before the senate a proposal for their amendment. But the patrician party, headed by Appius Claudius, again prevailed; and Valerius indignantly laid down his office. As soon as the news reached the army, which awaited the result outside the city walls, they abandoned their general, and, headed by the military tribunes, the legions marched away to the district between the Tiber and the Anio. There they took up their position on a hill, on which they threatened to build a new plebeian city, commanding the most fertile part of the Roman territory. The patricians, thus abandoned by the farmers who tilled their lands, were compelled to yield, in spite of the boast of Appius, that they and their clients could carry on their state without the base aid of the plebeians. Valerius was sent to make terms with the seceders, accompanied by another ex-dictator, Titus Lartius, and by an aged senator, Menenius Agrippa, who is said to have overcome the obstinacy of the people by the famous apologue of "the belly and the members." The terms insisted on by the people involved a vital change in the constitution. Besides temporary measures for the relief of their present distress, by the cancelling of old debts and the foundation of military colonies, they required the appointment of two permanent officers of their own body, to be elected annually, like the two consuls. These were the TRIBUNES OF THE PLEBS (*Tribuni Plebis*), a name taken either from the existing office of the tribunes of the thirty Servian tribes, or from the military organization of the people under the military tribunes at the time of the appointment. The office itself was purely civil, its design being to act as a counterpoise to the power of the consuls and the senate, by protecting the plebeians from the oppression of the

patrician magistrates, and in case of need punishing their oppressors. Their prerogatives may be summed up under the two heads of "intervention" and "jurisdiction." By the former, the tribune might cancel any command issued by a magistrate affecting a citizen, on a protest made in person by the appellant, who might thus obtain exemption from a military levy or from arrest for debt. To give every aggrieved person an opportunity of placing himself under the tribune's protection, it was enacted that the latter must not leave the city, and that his house should be open day and night. The "jurisdiction" of the tribunes extended over every citizen, even over the consul while in office, and embraced the power of imprisonment, fines, and death. From all their sentences there was an appeal to the people, not in the Comitia Centuriata, but in the Comitia Tributa, before whom the tribunes must appear to defend their sentences. This assembly, in which plebeian influence was made predominant, by the absence of the artificial gradations of suffrage by centuries, became the great sphere of action of the plebeian tribunes. By their jurisdiction, the new principle was introduced of making magistrates personally responsible for acts done in their official capacity, and that not according to any fixed law, but at the pleasure of a populace excited by the leaders of their party. The right of the tribunes to address the people in defence of their judicial sentences was naturally extended to a general licence of speaking in the assembly; and hence arose the right of initiating in the Comitia Tributa those resolutions of the plebs (*plebiscita*), which at a later period acquired the force of law.* Thus the tribunes obtained a share in the legislative power which had formerly been exercised by the consuls under the direction of the senate.

As it was foreseen that these powers, so adverse to the patrician order, would expose their possessors to constant danger, it was enacted that their persons should be inviolable (*sacrosancti*) within the city and that space around it which was exempted from the consular *imperium*. Beyond that limit, they were subject to the authority of the magistrate, like any other citizen; nor were their powers of any avail against his authority. Against a dictator, they were equally powerless within the limits of the city. It is still a matter of dispute whether they were elected by the Centuries or by the Curiæ: the latter is the more probable; and at all events, their election at first required the confirmation of the

* By the "Icilian Law" (B.C. 492?) the interruption of a tribune in addressing the *Comitia Tributa* was made punishable with death.

Curiæ. They did not receive the *imperium*, nor were they regarded as magistrates. Invested with none of the regal insignia, and seated on a plain stool, instead of the ivory curule chair, their office was contrasted with the consulate as much by the absence of external pomp as by the unlimited reality of power. Its first purpose, of protecting the commonalty from oppression under a particular law, was but partially accomplished, inasmuch as the evil lay in the law itself, not merely in its administration; nor did the power thus placed in the hands of the plebeians give the poor any adequate protection against the rich, many of whom were of their own order. The real effect of the institution was to give to the discord between rich and poor a legal recognition and organization. After the time of the decemviral legislation, the office originally instituted for the protection of individuals from oppression grew into a constitutional but irresponsible *veto* vested in the leaders of the opposition. The increase of the number of the tribunes from two to five, and afterwards to ten—combined with the change which transferred the right of intervention from the majority of the college to each individual—not only led to a more arbitrary and obstructive exercise of their power, but often enabled the nobles to use some tribune to neutralize the policy of his colleagues. It cannot, however, be denied that the office had its use in giving a legitimate character to the popular opposition, and in preventing those perpetual alternations of exile, and those murderous conflicts, which were the common incidents of party contests among the Greeks.

The law for the appointment of the Tribunes of the Plebs was carried by the dictator Valerius, who caused every citizen to take an oath to observe it. It was deposited in the temple of Vesta—which became the special sanctuary of the plebeians, as that of Saturn was of the patricians—under the charge of the two plebeian Ædiles.* These magistrates, who were elected annually, first by the Centuries or Curiæ, and afterwards by the Comitia Tributa, were associated with the tribunes as their attendants and assistants, and stood in much the same relation to them, as the quæstors to the consuls. Their functions were afterwards greatly enlarged. They were made the keepers of the resolutions of the senate as well as of the plebs (B.C. 446). To them was entrusted the superintendence of all buildings, both public and private, the supply of water, and the whole sanitary police of the city; the distributions of corn to the poorer citizens (*annonæ*); the care

* Their title was derived from the house (*ædes*) of the goddess.

of the public lands; the superintendence of the markets and of weights and measures; the ordering of and presidency over the public festivals; and, lastly, the duty of seeing that no new deities or rites were introduced. The office of the Curule Ædiles was not instituted till B.C. 365. While the plebeians obtained the permanent protection of their tribunes and ædiles, their present distress was in part relieved by the sending out of a military colony to Velitræ, a town conquered from the Volscians. Such were the very momentous results of the famous Secession to the *Sacred Mount*, for such was the name by which the commons celebrated the position they had taken up on the hill in the lands of Crustumerium.

The first year after this great political victory of the plebeians is marked in the Roman annals by two famous names, the one of a bitter enemy of the order, the other of a friend, who sealed his devotion by his blood. CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS, who had already distinguished himself, as a youth of seventeen, at the battle of the Lake Regillus, where he received from the dictator the "civic crown"—an oaken wreath—for saving the life of a fellow-citizen, and who gained his surname this year by his exploit in taking the Volscian city of Corioli, is the hero of a legend, in illustrating which our own greatest poet has vied with the old Roman bards. We may assume that those who have not read the story as told by Livy are familiar with the tragedy of Shakspeare; but, if there be any historic basis for it at all, we must not fail to notice the bitter and pertinacious hostility to the plebeians implied in the proposal of Coriolanus, to extort the surrender of the tribunate as the price of saving them from famine.

Of SPURIUS CASSIUS, Dr. Arnold has well said, that "by a strange compensation of fortune, the first Roman, whose greatness is really historical, is the man whose deeds no poet sang, and whose memory the early annalists, repeating the language of the party who destroyed him, have branded with the charge of treason and attempted tyranny. Amidst the silence and the calumnies of his enemies, he is known as the author of three works, to which Rome owed all her future greatness: he concluded the league with the Latins in his second consulship; in his third, he concluded the league with the Hernicans, and procured, although with the price of his own life, the enactment of the first agrarian law."* The treaty with the Latins, concluded in B.C. 493, was preserved at Rome on a brazen pillar down to the time of Cicero. Its terms of perfect equality prove how completely the Latins had regained their

* Arnold's *History of Rome*, vol. i. pp. 151, 152.

independence; and the names of the thirty cities indicate within what narrow limits the Roman territory had been thrown back.* The language of the treaty, as quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, affords an interesting example of the style of such instruments at that early age:—"There shall be peace between them so long as the heaven shall keep its place above the earth, and the earth its place below the heaven; they shall neither wage, nor cause to be waged, any war against each other, nor give to each other's enemies a passage through their land; they shall aid each other, when attacked, with all their might, and all spoils and plunder won by their joint arms shall be shared equally between them." After a clause for the settlement of private disputes between citizens of the two states, it was agreed that when their armies were in the field together, the command should be given in alternate years to the Roman and the Latin general.

These stipulations evidently point to a common danger from some enemy, whose attacks were the chief motive for the union of the two states. The legendary stories, confirmed so far by the subsequent history, enable us to find that enemy in the warlike peoples of the Volscians and the Æquians, two branches of the Umbro-Samnite race. The former, as we have already seen, occupied the south of Latium; the latter had their seats in the Apennines, on the upper Anio. Their attacks at this period on the Latins and the Romans may be probably ascribed to the pressure of the Etruscans, who were extending their power through Central Italy and down into Campagnia.† The long wars with these tribes, and with the Etruscans, form the sum of the foreign history of Rome down to the Gallic invasion; and the varying fortunes of those wars bear a close relation to the internal history of the city.

The league was strengthened, seven years later, in the third consulship of Spurius Cassius, by the accession of the Hernicans, a Sabine people who dwelt in that high valley of the Apennines which extends from the break in the chain at Præneste to the upper course of the Liris, and whose position, between the Æquians on the north and the Volscians on the south, was peculiarly dangerous (B.C. 486). No stronger proof could be given of the wisdom of the foreign policy of Spurius Cassius than the fact that his league with the Latins remained unbroken for a full century, till the Gallic invasion; and yet his accusers charged him with sacrificing the interests of Rome to those of the Latins. Party

* The occurrence of Corioli among these names is a significant commentary on the legend of Coriolanus, which makes it a Volscian town.

† See p. 143.

jealousy can always forge weapons of attack equally out of success or failure. That active hostilities were carried on, especially with the Volscians, during these seven years, is implied in the legend of Coriolanus, which (under its poetical veil) confesses the repulse of the enemy after great danger to Rome. This inference agrees with the ascription of the two triumphs to Spurius Cassius, and with the fact that a new division of public land had to be made.

The consul seized the opportunity to strike a blow at the great iniquity which lay at the root of the civil dissensions—the system of occupation of the public land by the patricians, and the withholding assignments of it from the plebeians. He proposed to the Comitia Centuriata the first of those famous, but grievously misunderstood measures, known as AGRARIAN LAWS. To the illustrious Niebuhr is due the merit of dispelling the popular misapprehension, that the principle of an agrarian law consisted in the resumption by the state of its supposed natural right, to all the land under its protection, and its redistribution to the citizens, rich and poor alike, on equal terms. No such confiscation of private property was dreamt of in these laws. They dealt solely with the *ager publicus*, the nature of which has already been explained; and their primary object was to secure for the plebeians those allotments of arable ground, and that fair share in the use of the pasture-land, which the cupidity of the patricians had withheld, and to exact from the occupiers of the remainder their stipulated rent. Spurius Cassius proposed that the public domain should be measured, a part of it leased for the benefit of the state, and another portion distributed among the needy citizens. The popularity of the consul and the fear of another secession prevailed over the violent opposition of the patricians, headed by his colleague, Proculus Virginius.* The measure was carried through the assembly of the Centuries, and confirmed by the Curiæ; but the patricians watched for an opportunity to destroy the man whom they regarded as a traitor to his order, and the plebeians themselves were dissatisfied because the Latins were to have their fair share in the distribution of the land, according to the recent treaty. Cassius was succeeded in the consulship by Servius Cornelius and Quintus Fabius; and another member of the Fabian house, which now begins to distinguish itself by its high patrician politics—Kæso Fabius, the consul's brother—was one of the two judges of capital crimes (*quæstores parricidii*). These officers

* Throughout the whole duration of the Patrician Republic, any consul who favoured the people generally had as a colleague one of their violent enemies.

could bring at once before the people any case in which an appeal would lie from their judgment; and thus Kæso arraigned Spurius Cassius before the Comitia Curiata on the charge of trying to make himself king. It might have been supposed that the decision lay legally with the Comitia Centuriata; but the Curiæ assumed the right of judging a fellow patrician; and Spurius Cassius was scourged and beheaded, and his house levelled with the ground. "There was some truth in the charge that he had usurped regal power, for he had endeavoured, like the kings, to protect the free commons against his own order. His law was buried along with him; but its spectre thenceforth incessantly haunted the eyes of the rich, and again and again it rose from the tomb against them, till the conflicts to which it led destroyed the commonwealth."* Meanwhile the triumph of the patricians is attested by the appearance of a Fabius as one of the consuls for seven successive years (B.C. 485—479). But the ascendancy of the Fabian house brought an unexpected aid to the popular cause.

These seven years were a period of incessant war with the Æquians and the Veientines, and of continual dissensions in the city. Successive tribunes attempted to protect citizens in the refusal to enlist; and it is even said that the soldiers of the haughty Kæso Fabius, who was hated almost as bitterly as Appius Claudius, suffered themselves to be defeated rather than follow him to victory. At length the valour of the Fabii in a battle against the Veientines, followed by their kind treatment of the wounded soldiers, conciliated the people (B.C. 480); and, in the following year, Kæso himself proposed the execution of the Agrarian Law of Spurius Cassius. Scorned by their fellow patricians as recreants, the Fabii resolved to quit Rome in a body, with their clients, as the Claudii had left Regillus a quarter of a century before. They established themselves on the little river Cremera, which runs into the Tiber from the Tuscan side, a few miles above Rome; but within two years the whole colony, to the number of 300, were surprised and put to the sword by the Veientines. One youth alone escaped, having been left behind at Rome, and became the ancestor of the Fabii who were so famous in after years (B.C. 474). In the next year, the Veientines stormed the Janiculum, and two years later a truce was made between Rome and Veii for forty years (B.C. 474).†

* Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol i. p. 289.

† With characteristic falsification, the annalists represent the Veientines, after all their successes, as suing for this peace.

These disasters supplied the tribunes with grounds for attacks upon the patrician magistrates; and the consuls of two successive years were impeached for permitting the massacre of the Fabii and the loss of the Janiculum. The precedent was next extended to political offences, and the consuls of B.C. 474 were impeached, on the expiration of their year of office, for their opposition to the demand of the tribunes for the execution of the Agrarian Law. Their accuser, the tribune Genucius, was found dead in his bed on the night before the trial. This violation of the sacred person of a tribune, the more odious because of the freedom of access to his house, was followed by other assassinations, which struck terror into the popular party, till the courage of a single man rallied the plebeians and raised the tribunes one great step in power.

This man was Publilius Volero, who, being chosen tribune, in consequence of his resistance to an arbitrary levy made by the consuls, proposed the celebrated "Publilian Law," that the tribunes of the plebs and the plebeian ædiles should be elected by the plebeians themselves in the Comitia Tributa (B.C. 472). Every device was employed to postpone the Comitia of the Tribes, to whom the proposal was at first made as a *plebiscitum*. The patricians appeared in the Forum with their clients, and provoked personal conflicts with the plebeians, and a fatal epidemic helped to drive over the business to the following year. Both parties prepared for a decisive contest. The patricians chose for their consul Appius Claudius, the son of their old leader; Volero was re-elected tribune, with a still more bold and resolute colleague, Caius Lætorius; and the scope of the proposed resolution was enlarged. The day of meeting came. Appius Claudius declared that he would resist the voting by force; Lætorius vowed that he would carry the law before night, or lay down his life in the Forum. Appius kept his place, surrounded by his lictors, when Lætorius called the tribes to vote, and bade all strangers to withdraw from the Forum. The tribune sent his officer to insist on the consul's departure; and a fray ensued between the lictors and the multitude, in which the sacred person of Lætorius was severely wounded. The commons stormed the Capitol; and for several days the citadel of Rome was held by them as by an enemy. At length the senate listened to the wiser advice of the more moderate consul, Titus Quinctius. They adopted the plebiscitum, and proposed it to the Comitia Curiata, whose sanction converted it into a law, which has been called the second great charter of Roman liberties, Some say that the number of the tribunes was now first raised to five. Be this

as it may, five plebeian tribunes were elected by the assembly of the tribes in the following year (B.C. 470). Their names are preserved; and the absence of that of Lætorius from the list has been thought to imply that he died, as he had said, from the wounds he received in the Forum. Nor was Appius Claudius suffered to escape punishment. His army refused to fight, when he led them against the Volscians; and the stern consul inflicted on them that terrible penalty of *decimation*,* which has since passed into a proverbial expression. For this act of severity, and for his lawless conduct in his consulship, he was impeached by two of the new tribunes, and only avoided a certain condemnation by suicide. Another account, however, says that he died of sickness (B.C. 470).

We know in fact that Rome suffered terribly about this time from the ravages of pestilence, which in one year carried off both the consuls, two of the four augurs, and the Curio Maximus (the head of the curiæ); and the only magistrates left were the plebeian ædiles, who carried on the government under the control of senatorial interreges (B.C. 463). All the accession of political power gained by the tribunes had been of little material help to the plebeians, who were again overwhelmed with distress and debt. Their most substantial relief was from the foundation of a colony at the important port of Antium, on the coast of Latium, which was taken from the Volscians (B.C. 468), and by the division of its lands among the colonists. At length the demands of the commons rose to a complete reform of the existing order of the commonwealth; and, in B.C. 462, the tribune, C. Terentillus, proposed a law for the restraining of the powers of the consuls, and for the appointment of ten commissioners,† chosen equally from both orders, to draw up a new code of laws. This proposal contained the first germ of the decemviral legislation, which was carried into effect as a compromise after a violent conflict for eight years (B.C. 462—454). The plebeians elected the same tribunes for five successive years. The younger patricians organized clubs for the perpetration of every kind of violence; and among these, Kæso Quinctius, the son of the celebrated Cincinnatus, brought upon himself an impeachment by the tribune, Aulus Vir-

* That is, the choice of every *tenth* man, by lot or otherwise, for execution. The moral effect of this punishment may be said to be increased tenfold by the fear of every man that the choice may fall on him.

† *Decemviri.* It was the custom of the Romans to name colleges or committees, whether permanent or special, by the number of their members. The celebrated political *triumvirates* were an ironical applicationof this nomenclature.

ginius (B.C. 461). Kæso fled into Etruria before the day of his trial. A conspiracy was formed for effecting his return; and in the following year a band of exiles and slaves, led by a Sabine, named Appius Herdonius, surprised the Capitol by night, and kept possession of it in arms, demanding the restoration of all political exiles. The consular power was, as usual, divided between an eager partisan of the patricians and a favourer of the people, an Appius Claudius and a Valerius Poplicola. The latter led the allied forces of the Latins and Hernicans to the assault of the Capitol. The consul was killed, but the post was carried, and the insurgents were put to the sword or afterwards executed. Kæso Quinctius, who is not expressly mentioned, seems to have fallen in the conflict. But the patricians proved their unyielding obstinacy by electing in the place of Valerius the father of the rebel Kæso, the stern L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, who was as conspicuous for his enmity to the commons as for the republican simplicity which has shed a lustre upon his name. The annalists ascribe to him a scheme for obtaining the revocation of all the popular measures by summoning the army, in virtue of their military oath, to meet him at the Lake Regillus, where the protection of the tribunes would have been of no force against the consular *imperium*. The worst scenes of civil conflict that disgraced the Greek republics were enacted at Rome, which seemed given over to internal war. There is even a tradition, though scarcely clear enough to be recorded as a fact, that nine eminent men of the popular party were burnt alive in the Circus Maximus; such being the punishment provided by an old law for the worst traitors. The state seems only to have been saved from anarchy by the moderating influence of the senate, and the pressure of foreign war.

For the Æquians and Volscians were again bearing hard upon Latium. The citadel of Tusculum, which had been surprised by the former, was indeed recovered, but Antium was retaken and held by the latter (B.C. 459). A brief truce with the Æquians was followed by the war which is illustrated by the celebrated legend of Cincinnatus. In the year B.C. 458, the consul L. Minucius had suffered himself to be surrounded by the enemy in a defile of Mount Algidus.* Five knights escaped from the army, and brought the news of its danger to Rome. The consul, C. Nautius, summoned the senate, and it was resolved that L. Quinctius Cincin-

* This range, which lay between Præneste and the Alban hill, was a sort of advanced post of the Æquians in their wars with Rome.

natus should be named dictator. Though sharing, as we have seen, the strongest prejudices of his order against the plebeians, Cincinnatus was one of a class of patricians which did not die out for many generations, who, amidst the growth of wealth and avarice, preserved the simple frugal life of the olden times, when each burgess had his modest share of the narrow territory of the city.

> "Hunc et incomptis Curium capillis
> Utilem bello tulit et Camillum
> Sæva paupertas et avitus apto
> Cum lare fundus."

He lived on his little farm of four *jugera* beyond the Tiber, which he cultivated with his own hands.* When summoned to assume the consulship two years before, he had said to his wife, "I fear, Racilia, our little field must remain this year unsown;" and now he was found by the deputies of the Senate digging in the field, with his toga laid aside on the ground. They bade him put on his dress to receive the message of the Senate in a fitting manner, and hailed him as Master of the People, to deliver the consul and his army from the ambush of the Æquians. Having appointed for his master of the horse L. Tarquitius Flaccus, a citizen poor and frugal as himself, who had not the census of a knight, Cincinnatus summoned all the people to the Forum, and ordered the shops to be shut and all business to be suspended, till the consul and his army should be rescued. He summoned every man of military age to meet him in the Campus Martius before sunset, each provided with rations for five days, and twelve stakes.† The old men prepared the food, while the soldiers cut the stakes where they pleased; and before midnight the dictator and his levy had reached Mount Algidus. Having reconnoitred the enemy's position, Cincinnatus ordered his soldiers to lay down their baggage, and to surround the hostile camp with a ditch and the palisade he had provided. They began their work with a shout that announced their presence to the consul and his army, who forthwith made an attack which occupied the Æquians all the night, and allowed them no leisure to turn against the new enemy. So they found themselves in the

* Four *jugera* is about 2½ acres. The farm was probably in the suburb of Janiculum, as Rome had not yet recovered her territory beyond the Tiber. The cognomen of Cincinnatus is said to have been derived from his crisp curling locks (*cincinni*).

† Three or four stakes for the palisade of the camp formed a regular part of the load which a Roman soldier carried on the march; but these were designed for a special purpose.

morning hemmed in between two Roman armies, and had no resource but to surrender at discretion. Cincinnatus made them all pass beneath the yoke, as the symbol of subjection;* and led the Æquian general Gracchus, and his chief officers, in triumph back to Rome, which he had left within twenty-four hours, followed by the consul's army, to whom he allowed no share of the spoil. The poetic beauty of the story is somewhat marred by its sequel. Cincinnatus did not lay down his office till he had avenged his son Kæso by the condemnation and banishment of the chief witness against him on a charge of perjury. But he made no further political use of his power; and he retired to his farm, after holding the dictatorship for only sixteen days.

The connection of this family legend of the Quinctii with the real history of the Æquian and Volscian wars is admirably described by Dr. Arnold:—"In such a warfare as that of the Romans with the Æquians and Volscians, there are always sufficient alternations of success to furnish the annalists on either side with matter of triumph; and by exaggerating every victory, and omitting or slightly noticing every defeat, they form a picture such as national vanity most delights in. But we neither can, nor need we desire, to correct and supply the omissions of the details of the Roman historians: it is enough to say that, at the close of the third century of Rome, the warfare which the Romans had to maintain against the Opican nations was generally defensive; that the Æquians and Volscians had advanced from the line of the Apennines, and established themselves on the Alban hills in the heart of Latium: that of the thirty Latin states, which had formed the league with Rome (in B.C. 493), thirteen were now either destroyed or were in the possession of the Opicans: that on the Alban hills themselves Tusculum alone remained independent; and that there was no other friendly city to obstruct the irruptions of the enemy into the territory of Rome. Accordingly, that territory was plundered year after year, and, whatever defeats the plunderers may at times have sustained, yet they were never deterred from renewing a contest which they found in the main profitable and glorious. So greatly had the power and dominion of Rome fallen since the overthrow of the monarchy."†

So little was the victory of Cincinnatus decisive, that in the

* The yoke, formed of two spears set upright and one across, was an imitation of the instrument which served draught cattle for a collar, and which may still be seen where oxen are used for ploughing.

† *History of Rome*, vol. i. pp. 208, 209.

very next year we find the Æquians joining with the Sabines to ravage the rich territory between the Tiber and the Anio. These wars, and the continuance of the pestilence at Rome, had the effect of still postponing the Terentilian law. Meanwhile, the popular party aimed at other objects. The number of the tribunes, already enlarged to five, was now doubled; a worse than doubtful benefit, as it increased the chance that one of so large a number might become the tool of the patricians (B.C. 457). A far greater gain was effected by the law of the tribune Icilius, assigning the Aventine as a residence for the Plebeians. The surface of the hill was parcelled out among them into building sites; and its steep sides made it capable of defence (B.C. 456). Lest this law should be obstructed in its passage, like the Terentilian, by the disorderly interruptions of the patricians and their clients, it was not proposed in the Comitia Tributa, but laid as a petition before the Senate by the tribune, who demanded to be heard in its behalf; and thus the tribunes gained indirectly what amounted to the privilege of initiating measures in the Senate. That body adopted the law as a compromise: it passed the assembly of the centuries; it was confirmed with solemn oaths in the presence of the Pontiffs, and was inscribed on a brass pillar in the temple of Diana on the Aventine. Still the Terentilian law was pressed on by the tribunes, who were re-elected for the fifth time, and as resolutely opposed by the patricians. At length, in the three-hundredth year of the city, an agreement was effected under the auspices of the consuls, who were both of the moderate party. A commission of three (*triumviri*) was sent to Greece, then in the height of her glory, in the interval between the Persian and the Peloponnesian Wars, to inquire into the Greek laws, especially those of Solon, and to report which of them seemed likely to be advantageous to the state (B.C. 454). It was during the year of their absence that the pestilence, under which Rome had long suffered more or less, broke out with the frightful violence already noticed, aggravated by a famine (B.C. 453). The city would seem to have lain at the mercy of her enemies, had they not suffered equally by the same plague, which may be regarded as a wave of that mysterious disease which desolated Athens twenty-three years later.* The exhaustion caused by it seems to have checked the attacks of the enemies of Rome for several years.

In the following year, the pestilence abated; the commissioners returned from Greece; both parties agreed to appoint a Committee

* See Vol. I., pp. 498—500.

of Ten* with full power, not only to draw up new laws, but to administer the whole government of the republic, both civil and military, till the new code should come into force. Meanwhile, all the ordinary magistracies were to be suspended, including not only the consulate, but the tribuneship.† The patricians insisted that all the Ten should be of their own body, and, after a severe struggle, the plebeians were compelled to yield the point.‡ They seem to have relied on the understanding, that the new legislation was to be a thoroughly healing measure, framed to establish, for ever, equal justice to both orders; and, strange as it appears in the light of the past and of the future, they reposed full confidence in Appius Claudius, who, as consul elect, was to be, with his colleague Titus Genucius, at the head of the college. For this Appius Claudius, the son and grandson of the Claudii who have already figured in the annals of the republic, had professed to espouse the cause of the people. Three members more were furnished (as Niebuhr supposes) § by the Warden of the City and the Quæstores Parricidii; and the other five were elected by the Comitia of the Centuries (B.C. 452).

With the new year, the consuls elect went through the form of abdicating their office, and the Decemvirs entered on their unbounded power, limited only by the obligation of laying it down at the expiration of the year. The administrative government was vested, just as during an Interregnum, in each member of the college for a day. But it was soon found that Appius Claudius, from the prestige of his great name, from his determined will, and from his great popularity, eclipsed his colleagues, and wielded a power little short of regal. Nor did he at first belie the confidence of the people. He seems to have possessed one of those ardent and self-willed natures which apply their force admirably to a worthy object, and then, in the pride of success, expecting to

* Their full title was *Decem Viri consulari potestate legibus scribundis.*

† Such is the statement of Livy and Dionysius; but Niebuhr doubts its truth respecting the tribunate, which, however, he admits to have been suspended under the second decemvirate.

‡ This statement describes the actual fact with reference to the first decemvirs, not the essential nature of the office. That the "decemvirate with consular power," like the subsequent "military tribunate with consular power," was legally open to both orders, is argued by Dr. Mommsen, both on other grounds and decisively from the names of five of the members of the *second* decemviral college, who unquestionably belonged to plebeian *gentes.*

§ He regards the first decemvirs as the *decem primi* of the Senate; but the second as a representative college resembling, and probably framed in direct imitation of, the Attic Archons, as a result of the commission sent to Greece.

command all around them, are shipwrecked upon their own selfish desires. While the Decemvirs were engaged in their great work of legislation, and moved with the desire of reconciling all parties, their government was moderate and just.

Meanwhile their special work made rapid progress. Their study of the Greek laws was aided by an Ionian sophist, Hermodorus of Ephesus, whose services were commemorated by the erection of his statue in the Comitium. By the end of the year, they had prepared and laid before the people a complete code of laws, which were engraved upon ten tables of brass, and affixed to the rostra in front of the senate-house. The very number of these tables, corresponding to the number of the Decemvirs—a number so familiar to the Latins—furnishes a decisive confirmation of what we might assume from all the circumstances, that the Ten Tables were designed for a complete code. The statement that the Decemviral office was prolonged for another year, in order that the code might be made more complete, is the more suspicious from the fact that, with the exception of Appius Claudius, the two lists of Decemvirs were composed of different persons. It is one of those bold conjectures, which were the fruit of Niebuhr's almost intuitive sagacity, that the decemvirate was meant to be a permanent committee of government, in place of the old magistracies. It seems unquestionably to have been the object of the new legislation to substitute the safeguard of written law for the irregular protection which had been afforded by the tribunitian power, at the cost almost of a chronic civil war. "Beyond doubt," says Dr. Mommsen, "when the plebeians desired a written code, the patricians replied that in that event the legal protection of tribunes would be superfluous." But it is scarcely probable that the plebeians would have surrendered the tribuneship, trusting to the letter of a law the administration of which was left to the patrician magistrates; and the equal division of the second decemvirate among the patrician and plebeian members looks like a permanent compromise between the orders, an idea which seems to be carried out in the whole constitution of the college. We learn from Dionysius that six of the Ten were military tribunes, three patrician and three plebeian; and these were commanders in war. Of the remaining four, Niebuhr regards two as invested with censorial power and with that of the Warden of the City, combined with the presidency of the Senate, while the other two had the authority of quæstors: there being one patrician and one plebeian in each of these two pairs. Niebuhr also states that "the second election was

quite different from the first, the noblest, like the lowest patricians, canvassing for the votes of the plebeians (canvassing here appears for the first time), so that the election was perfectly free."

Be this as it may, the Decemvirate was renewed for the year B.C. 450, and two more tables were added to the ten former, thus completing the celebrated Laws of the Twelve Tables, the foundation of the majestic system of Roman jurisprudence.* Appius Claudius was the only member re-elected of the former college. The common story ascribes this distinction to his favour with the people, which excited the jealousy of the patricians, the most eminent of whom, including Cincinnatus and another Quinctius, were themselves candidates for the office. The Senate appointed Appius to preside at the new elections, as an indirect mode of disqualification; but he scrupled not to receive votes for himself, and was again invested with an almost despotic power. The history of the second Decemvirate is one of the points most obscured by the character of the sources from which it comes. They are commonly said to have abused their power and ruled tyrannically, and all the complaints against the decemviral legislation refer to the two last tables. But when Cicero, for example, calls these laws unjust, he is speaking on behalf of the aristocratic party. Of the laws themselves we know too little to decide upon their real tendency; but they seem to have embodied in a written form the existing mass of customary law, with scarcely any material alterations. They were in fact a compromise between the two orders, based on the existing rights of both. Even the laws against insolvent debtors seem to have been left in force, though a maximum of legal interest was fixed (probably ten per cent.), and severer penalties were enacted for usury than for theft. The distinction between the orders was still perpetuated by the prohibition of intermarriage. The right of appeal to the Comitia Centuriata was guaranteed; but the exclusion of any appeal to the Comitia Tributa is one of the indications of a design to perpetuate the suspension of the tribunate itself. The great point gained was not in the contents of the Tables so much as in their very existence and publication, as a code the rules of which all magistrates must henceforth observe in their administration of the law, in the presence of a public who knew its contents as well as themselves. The question still remained—most critical at the time, and very difficult for the historian—what those magistrates were to be.

* It is curious to observe, in the numbers of the Tables, another example of the conflict between the decimal and duodecimal systems of notation.

Thus much is clear, that, when the year expired, and it only remained for the Decemvirs to promulgate the laws, and to conduct the election of their successors (whoever those successors might be) they refused to make the demission of their office, and were driven from power by an insurrection, provoked by the outrageous insolence of Appius Claudius. The old annalists represent the tyranny of the decemvirs as another instance of aristocratic misrule, and the popular professions of Appius as affectation from the first. But there is another view, which furnishes a better explanation of his whole conduct, while it is more consistent with the fact that half the college were plebeians. Invested with a new power, before which the old magistracies had given place, and surrounded by insignificant or obsequious colleagues, Appius may have aspired to royal power, leaning on the support of the plebeians; but, unable to control his passions, he outraged those who should have supported him against the opposition of the nobles, and so fell before a rebellion of both orders. In this case we could easily understand the sudden revival of the old officers, from whose antagonism an escape had been sought in the decemvirate; for, when this new device of government fell before the indignation of both parties, the plebs would once more claim the tribunate, as a check on the re-established consulship. That the poetic legend of the fall of the Decemvirs recognizes only the wrongs and the resistance of one party, is a simple consequence of its being one of the plebeian lays.

We know, in fact, that there was a party in the Senate headed by the old liberal houses of the Valerii and the Horatii—which demanded the abdication of the decemvirs. The question seems to have been postponed by a new outbreak of war; and the decemvirs were permitted to levy two armies against the Sabines and the Volscians. In the former army there was a centurion who had been a tribune of the plebs, L. Sicinius Dentatus. He had fought in more than a hundred battles, and had eight times slain an enemy in single combat. His valour was attested, above the many crowns he had won, by forty-five wounds, all of them in front. But his opposition to the patricians in his tribunate, and his supposed enmity to the decemvirs, brought upon him a treacherous death. It was given out that he had fallen in an ambush of the enemy. Such a man would sell his life dear; but the slain *Romans* who were found about his corpse betrayed the manner of his death. His pompous funeral had soothed, without satisfying, the agitation of the one army, when a new outrage drove both to open mutiny. It is needless to relate, for the hundredth time, the story of Virginia,

especially since it has been told by him who sang how the despairing father, left with his darling daughter before the merciless tribunal of Appius Claudius, when the lictors had hurled back the sympathizing crowd, snatched the knife from the flesher's block, and used the moment's pause for a last farewell:—

> "'Then clasp me round the neck once more, and give me one more kiss;
> And now, mine own dear little girl, there is no way but *this:*'—
> With that he lifted high the steel, and smote her in the side,
> And in her blood she sank to earth, and with one sob she died." *

While Virginius rushed forth from the Forum with his bloody knife to the army, from which he had hastened at the news of his daughter's danger, Icilius, her betrothed, carried the tidings to the other camp, already in a ferment at the fate of Dentatus. Both abandoned their generals, and marched to Rome. Thence having rallied round them the whole plebeian order, they went forth in military array to the Sacred Mount. This second secession was as decisive as the first, forty-five years before; † but not till the plebeian army had advanced to the Aventine, and a civil war was threatened in the heart of Rome. Then at length the Senate insisted on the abdication of the decemvirs, and sent L. Valerius and M. Horatius to make terms with the insurgents. It was agreed that the old constitution should be restored, but with a great extension of the privileges of the Comitia Tributa and of the plebeian magistrates. Ten tribunes were elected—the number which remained till the end of the republic—among whom were Virginius and Icilius. Appius Claudius and the knife of Virginius had done for the the tribunate what Sextus Tarquinius and the dagger of Lucretia effected for the consulship, which was now restored under its new name. Valerius and Horatius were the first who bore the title of CONSULS, instead of Prætors; and their first act was to move the ratification of the new agreement by the *Valerian and Horatian Laws.* The first of these enacted that the votes of the plebs, passed in the Comitia Tributa (*plebiscita*), should be binding on the whole people, provided they were confirmed by the Senate and the Assemblies of the Centuries and the Curiæ, a confirmation which became more and more a matter of form. This law was re-enacted by the Publilian law, in B.C. 339, and by the Hortensian law in B.C. 287. The second

* The exquisite pathos and vehement fire of the *Lay of Virginia* should not tempt the reader to overlook the admirable introductory remarks of Lord Macaulay, on the conflict with reference to which he feigns the ballad to have been composed.

† In B.C. 494. See p. 231.

revived the right of appeal to the Comitia Centuriata, established by Valerius Poplicola, and afterwards confirmed by M. Valerius, the consul of B.C. 300, and made the pledge to observe it a condition of the election of future magistrates, including even the dictator. The frequent re-enactments of these fundamental securities for the liberties of the plebeians have been well compared to the repeated confirmation of Magna Charta by the Plantagenets.

The third of these laws renewed most solemnly the personal inviolability of the tribunes and the plebeian ædiles, and of certain officers, of whom we now first hear, the *judices* and *decemviri*, ministers (it would seem) of the jurisdiction of the tribunes. All offenders against the second and third laws were to be regarded as outlaws, who might be killed with impunity. A vital addition was made to the influence of the tribunes by giving them a deliberate voice in the Senate, though without a vote. The dignity of the order would not indeed suffer them to take their seats with its members; so a bench was placed for them at the door; but this very distinction must have marked all the more clearly their formidable presence. With this footing in the Senate, added to their right of speech in the Comitia Centuriata, and their sway in the Comitia Tributa, they gradually acquired the privilege of arresting the action of every part of the state by their veto (*intercessio*), by which the acts of the dictator alone could not be cancelled. They retained the judicial power of driving their enemies out of the pale of the constitution by the infliction of fines, their sentences being confirmed by the Comitia Tributa, which was virtually the assembly of the plebeians. The laws of the decemvirs had indeed caused the patricians and their clients to be enrolled among the Servian tribes (if they were not so before), but without materially affecting the predominance of the plebeians in the assembly, where the mode of voting gave no advantage to rank or wealth.

The ill-will left by the recent contest was manifested in the way in which the state settled down to its ordinary working under the new laws. The march of the armies back to Rome to overthrow the decemvirs had left the war to be carried on by the Latin and Hernican allies; but now the popular consuls held a levy, and the people willingly followed them to the field. They returned victorious to the Campus Martius, where they waited, as the law required, to enter the city in triumph. But when the jealousy of the Senate withheld the necessary decree, the tribune Icilius convened the people in their tribes, and carried a vote for the triumph,

which the Senate dared not but confirm. The next step was to take vengeance upon the decemvirs. Appius Claudius was impeached by Virginius, and thrown into prison, where he put an end to his own life. His fate was shared by his friend and chief supporter, Spurius Oppius, one of the plebeian decemvirs.* The other eight were suffered to go into exile; and it became the custom to allow political offenders (except in extreme cases) this means of escaping the extreme capital penalty, before sentence was actually pronounced. An attempt to continue the same consuls and tribunes in office was checked, like the further prosecution of the decemvirs, by the moderation of the tribune M. Duillius and of the consuls, who declined the proposed honour. Thus ended this memorable year, in which the plebeian opposition was finally organized, with powers which went on growing, till scarcely any other check upon them remained to the nobles, but the device of securing tools among the tribunes themselves, or the use of open violence. The failure of the compromise attempted in the decemvirate had already sown the seeds of civil war and anarchy in the constitution.

From this moment the equalization of the orders became but a question of time, and the plebeians lent all their increased strength to its achievement. It appears that the plebeian nobility, whose interests had united them to the patricians during the social conflict between rich and poor, now saw that the full establishment of the tribunate gave them a means of obtaining political equality. So the united strength of the order was directed against the two distinctive patrician privileges, exclusive intermarriage, and exclusive tenure of the higher magistracies. Though powerless against such an union, the patricians only submitted after a third secession,—this time to M. Janiculus. The tribune Canuleius had proposed two votes in the Comitia Tributa for granting the *connubium* and a share in the consulship to the plebeians. The first became a law by the sanction of the Senate and the people; but on the second a compromise was effected. The patricians objected to admit the plebeians to the consulship, an office invested not only with the tradition of the regal dignity, but with the sanctity of the patrician religion. For any but patricians to take the auspices and offer sacrifices was held to be positive desecration.† As a device therefore for sharing the chief magistracy

* Another account is that Oppius was impeached by the tribune Numitorius, found guilty, and executed.

† Another reason has been sought in their unwillingness to give up the *jus imagi-*

between the orders, they reverted to the military organization of the state, in which every citizen liable to serve, whether patrician or plebeian, might rise to the rank of *Military Tribune*, or chief officer of the legion.* This, then, was the name adopted for the new chief magistrates, who, with the power of the consuls, received only, as Dr. Mommsen puts it, "the status of a simple staff-officer." They were called MILITARY TRIBUNES WITH CONSULAR POWER.† It is supposed that the intention was, that they should be six in number, like the military tribunes in each legion, and that they should be chosen equally from the patricians and the plebeians. But the actual number was sometimes *three*, sometimes *four*, and sometimes *six;* numbers which prevailed respectively in the early, the middle, and the latter part of the duration of the office, which lasted at intervals to the taking of the city by the Gauls (B.C. 360). We say, at intervals, for it was left to the decision of the people in each year, whether they would have consuls or military tribunes. In the very first year (B.C. 444), the election of three military tribunes was annulled by a defect in the auspices, and they were replaced by consuls; and it is not till eight years later (B.C. 438), that we again find three military tribunes in office. These irregularities are, in fact, the indication of a conflict, annually renewed, between the plebeians and the old nobility, who tried every expedient to defeat the compromise they had made. Such, too, was their influence in the Comitia, that it was not till B.C. 400 that any plebeians were actually elected as military tribunes. Not content with this policy of wearing out the opposite party, they devised a scheme for depriving the military tribunes of a most important part of the power of the consular office. The revision of the lists of citizens, which had hitherto been made by the consuls every fourth year, was now committed to two new magistrates, whose title became famous in after years, the CENSORS (*censores*, i.e. *valuers*).‡ They were

num, which belonged only to those who had held curule offices. A triumph was never granted to a military tribune.

* There were six military tribunes (*tribuni militum*) to each legion, appointed by the commander-in-chief, that is, at first the king, afterwards the consul or dictator. With reference to the fullest complement of the legion, each military tribune may be regarded roughly as the commander of 1000 men, the *centurions* (the next grade below them) being commanders of 100.

† *Tribuni Militum cum Consulari Potestate.*

‡ The censors were first elected in B.C. 443. Their chief functions have been mentioned incidentally at pp. 201 and 227. Niebuhr thinks that they were originally elected by the Curiæ.

chosen exclusively from the patricians by the Comitia Centuriata. They seem to have been appointed originally for a *lustrum* (five years), a sacred period in the Roman religion; but their tenure of office was soon limited to eighteen months, the election still taking place every five years. The censors ranked in dignity above all other magistrates, except the dictator, and the office formed the great stronghold of the aristocracy; though that supervision of the morals and reputation of the citizens, which has given to the word *censorship* its peculiar meaning, was only gradually acquired in the course of time. The attempts which seem also to have been made to bring the finances under the more direct control of the patricians, by transferring the appointment of the quæstores from the consul to the Comitia Centuriata, ended in a popular victory, which secured the election of those officers for the Comitia Tributa. They were still, however, chosen from the patricians, till B.C. 421, when the office was thrown open to the plebeians, and formed for them a new path to the senate.

The patricians did not scruple to conduct the conflict by acts of downright violence, which proved that they wanted only the power, not the will, to effect a counter-revolution. The most striking case is that of Spurius Mælius, a wealthy knight, who, in a great famine (B.C. 439), employed his own resources to supply the poor with corn at a price much lower than the state distribution.* He was accused by the patricians of aspiring to royalty; and the aged Cincinnatus, who was appointed dictator to quell the popular agitation, summoned Mælius before his tribunal. Knowing the fate in store for him, Mælius refused to obey, and C. Servilius Ahala, the master of the horse, killed him on the spot. The party of the Optimates, including Cicero, always speak of this as a great act of courageous justice. But the popular party at the time regarded the deed as a murder, and Ahala found it necessary to evade their indignation by voluntary exile (B.C. 439).

It is time to turn from these internal conflicts to the foreign relations of Rome, which are summed up in two series of wars; on the one hand with the Volscians and Æquians, on the other with the Etruscans. Of the latter we shall speak presently. The former enemies were kept at bay with the aid of the Latin and Hernican allies; but so systematic was the falsification of the annals; that the very years in which we read of triumphs may have been signalized by defeats. The most famous campaign was that of the year B.C. 431, when the combined power of the enemy was

* This was called *annona*, and was made by an officer named *Præfectus Annonæ*.

broken in the decisive victory of Mount Algidus. It was on this occasion that the dictator, Aulus Postumius, gave an example of the stern Roman discipline, by putting his own son to death for engaging the enemy against his orders, though he had gained the victory; an example followed in the more famous case of Titus Manlius Torquatus, nearly a hundred years later. We read of other great victories over the Æquians in B.C. 418 and B.C. 414, in the first of which years the town of Lavici, in the second that of Bola, were taken and colonized. On the latter occasion another of the Postumii fell a victim to a military insubordination as conspicuous as it was rare. An agrarian law was proposed, for the division of the lands of Lavici and Bola; and M. Postumius Regillensis, one of the military tribunes of the year, threatened to use his *imperium* to punish any of his soldiers who supported the proposal. But when he backed this threat by refusing them their share in the plunder of Bola, the army rose in mutiny and stoned him to death. The only advantage of this outrage was gained by the reactionary party, For all but two years out of the last thirteen (B.C. 426—414) the chief magistrates had been military tribunes; but consuls were appointed for the five succeeding years. A defeat by the Volscians, which the Roman annals confess, in B.C. 407, and their recapture of Anxur (Terracina) at the time when the Romans were engaged in the siege of Veii (B.C. 402), prove that they were still formidable enemies; but their power was already waning before that of the kindred SAMNITES, who fill so large a space in the history of the next century. They had taken the city of Vulturnum, in Campania, in B.C. 423, and were now hemming in the old Opican races on the side of the Apennines. Notice should here be taken also of the progress made by the native Italians at the expense of the Greek colonies, the oldest of which, Cumæ, having resisted several attacks from the Etruscans, was taken by the Campanians in B.C. 420. The Volsci reappear after the taking of Rome by the Gauls, and were not finally subdued till the conquest of Latium in the great Latin war (B.C. 338).

On the side of Etruria, we have already seen that the great enemy of Rome was the powerful city of VEII, the territory of which embraced most of the plain of Southern Etruria, from the right bank of the Tiber (as far as its mouth) to the great Ciminian Forest, which divided it from the hill country. The Roman annalists have not noticed the very interesting coincidences of the wars between the Romans and Etruscans with the blows that the

latter people sustained from the Greeks. As allies of the Carthaginians, the Etruscans bore an indirect part in the great attempt of Xerxes against the liberties of Greece; and their share in the defeat of the Carthaginians by Gelo at Himera was followed by the war with Rome, which ended in the disaster of the Fabii (B.C. 480—477). This war was concluded by a truce with Veii for four hundred months, that is, forty years of the ancient standard of ten lunar months, preserved as a sacred mode of computing a treaty. The Roman annalists make the statement, which seems inconsistent with the previous disasters of the war, that the Veientines gave up Fidenæ, the city which we have seen as their constant ally and *tête-de-pont* on the bank of the Tiber, about six miles above Rome; and they connect the renewal of the war, at the expiration of the truce, with a new revolt of Fidenæ (B.C. 438).* They tell us how the Veientine king, Lars Tolumnius, led the forces of several Etruscan states to the support of Fidenæ; how the dictator, Mamercus Æmilius, with L. Quinctius Cincinnatus for his master of the horse, conquered the Veientines and retook Fidenæ; and how the military tribune, Aulus Cornelius Cossus, slew Lars Tolumnius with his own hand, and dedicated the *spolia opima* in the Capitol (B.C. 437), an honour only obtained before him by Romulus, and after him by M. Valerius Corvus.† But the war was not ended; for only two years later, the dictator Q. Servilius Priscus obtained the surname of the Fidenatian (*Fidenas*) by the capture of the city, which was colonized afresh, but only to be the scene of a new revolt nine years later, when the murder of the Roman colonists was avenged by the total destruction of Fidenæ, in the third dictatorship of Mamercus Æmilius.‡ The Etruscan inhabitants were sold for slaves, and the Romans finally obtained the important territory on their own side of the Tiber, which had been contested since the time of Romulus and Hostilius (B.C. 426). A truce was again concluded with Veii for twenty years, or two hundred months (B.C. 425).

At the expiration of this truce, the Romans, who had just retrieved a defeat sustained from the Volscians in the preceding year, by the capture of Anxur (Terracina), declared war against the Veientines. This renewal of the war coincides with another

* The running out of these truces to their term contrasts strongly with what we have seen among the Greeks, and speaks well for the good faith of the Etruscans.

† Corvus won his *spolia opima* in B.C. 349.

‡ In his second dictatorship he had limited the tenure of office by the censors to eighteen months.

critical epoch in the relations between the Etruscans and the Greeks. To the injuries inflicted on the Sicilian cities by Tyrrhenian corsairs and by their league with the Carthaginians, had been added the mortal offence of the aid given to the Athenians in their expedition against Syracuse. When Dionysius obtained the tyranny (B.C. 406) he made it his settled policy to supplant the colonial empire of the Etruscans in the Adriatic, and before long he began attacks on the coast of Etruria itself. At the same time the Gauls were threatening the country from the North. When, therefore, the Veientines appealed to the confederacy for aid, a solemn meeting held at the temple of Voltumna resolved to leave them to their own resources; and a war began, which could only be ended in the destruction of Rome or Veii. The contest was not so unequal as it might appear, for the Latin allies of Rome seem to have been too much occupied with the Volscians and Æquians to have been willing to cross the Tiber. The history of this great conflict, the first in which Rome contended for supremacy with a city as powerful as herself, is obscured, as much as its picturesque interest is increased, by the romantic details engrafted on it by the Roman poets. War was declared against Veii in B.C. 406, the epoch at which the Roman soldiers first received regular pay by a degree of the Senate. The siege of Veii, which lasted the same time as that of Troy, was formed in B.C. 405; and the following year is memorable for the first solar eclipse recorded in the annals of the Roman Pontiffs.

VEII, one of the most ancient, and apparently the largest of the twelve confederated Etruscan cities, stood on the river Cremera, about twelve miles from Rome, in the midst of beautiful glens, which break the table-land of the Campagna. Dionysius states that it was equal in size to Athens; and its ruins prove its circumference to have been about seven miles. Its strong citadel was perched on a hill, the precipices of which sink down to the surrounding ravines on all sides, except where a narrow ridge united it to the city. Its magnificence, and the advantages of its site, are attested by the desire formed by the Romans to transfer their abode to it after the destruction of their own city by the Gauls, a design from which they were only turned aside by the persuasions of Camillus. Whether from the superiority of the Romans in the field, or from deliberate policy, the Veientines from the first shut themselves up in their city. The progress of the siege seems to have depended greatly on the alternations of success and failure in the Volscian war, and, among other calamities which protracted

it, may be reckoned the great pestilence of B. C. 399, which gave the first occasion for the form of supplication called *lectisternium* (the *covering of couches*). The investment of the city seems to have been formed like that of Platæa by the Lacedæmonians, by a double line of circumvallation, the inner to blockade the city, the outer to repel any attempts of the other Etruscan States to raise the siege. The only allies that thus came to the rescue were the people of Capena and Falerii; but their temporary success proved what might have been done by the whole force of the confederacy. The defeat of two military tribunes caused an alarm, both in the lines round Veii and at Rome, that the armies of all Etruria were approaching; the temples were filled with crowds of suppliant matrons; and the Senate decreed the appointment of a dictator, whose name at once recals the legendary character which the story of the siege assumes. The dictator was M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, and his master of the horse was P. Cornelius Maluginensis.*

How strangely the spirit of fable can find an entrance among hard material facts is proved by the celebrated legend of the draining of the Alban lake. In the seventh year of the siege, when the Romans were depressed by prolonged failure, a panic was caused by a sudden rising of the Alban lake about the end of the summer, till it overflowed its banks.† The stratagem of a Roman centurion secured the person of an old Etruscan soothsayer, who had derided the siege, telling the Veientines that their city would never be taken till the waters of the Alban lake found a passage to the sea. His prediction was confirmed by a response which the Romans obtained from Delphi; and, like a practical people as they were, they set to work to fulfil the prophecy by constructing a tunnel to discharge the superfluous waters of the lake into the Anio.‡ The tunnel exists to this day, bored for nearly three miles through the hard volcanic rock, and with the ruins of the regulator at its outlet, to convince of the truth of the legend those who hold that "seeing is believing."

The decree which the soothsayer had read from the book of fate was fulfilled; and, while the Veientines made vain offers of capi-

* According to the Fasti, it would seem that the dictator was not appointed till the last year of the siege (B.C. 396).

† The lake is the crater of an extinct volcano.

‡ Another such outlet (*emissarium*) for the waters of the Lacus Fucinus (*Lake of Calano* among the Æquian hills, was constructed under the Emperor Claudius; but the Alban emissary was of unknown antiquity, as is proved by the invention of a legend to account for its construction.

tulation, it occurred to Camillus that an army might be led into the city by the same means by which water could be drawn out of a lake. He constructed a mine beneath the rock of the citadel, and sent for the people of Rome to share the expected booty. The king of Veii was sacrificing to Juno, when the Romans, in the mine beneath, heard the soothsayer make the apparently safe promise, that the victory would be his, who should complete the sacrifice. At that moment Camillus gave the signal; the Roman soldiers sprang up through the pavement of the temple; the king and the people about him were slain; and the sacrifice was finished by the dictator. The statue of Juno was reverently carried from the citadel, and, in accordance with a sign given by herself, set up in the temple on the Aventine. Camillus, returning to Rome with an enormous booty, went up in triumph to the Capitol in a chariot drawn by four milk-white steeds (B.C. 396).

The fall of Veii was followed by the submission of her allies,* and of all the Etruscan cities south of the Ciminian forest, including the wealthy emporium of Cære. Nor did the arms of the conquerors stop at the Ciminian range. Their victory over the forces of Volsinii (*Bolsena*) was followed by a truce for twenty years with the Etruscan confederacy (B.C. 393). In the same year the lands of the Veientines were distributed among the whole people, at the rate of seven jugera to every householder. The consent of the patricians to this agrarian law is said to have been a compromise or reward for the rejection, by a majority in the Comitia Tributa, of a proposal made by the Tribune Sicinius, that the people should be divided between Rome and Veii;—a measure which would have reduced both cities to insignificant Latin towns, probably in jealous hostility with one another.

It only remained to complete the poetical legend by the fate of the hero whose success had roused the jealousy of gods and men. In his pride of victory, and patrician scorn of the people, Camillus required each man to give up the tenth of his share of the booty, as he had vowed a tithe to Apollo in the hour of victory. The vow was treated as a pretence to rob the plebeians of the spoil they had won with their blood, and a charge of peculation was raised against the commander so generous with the property of

* The chief of these was Falerii, the city of the Falisci, a people probably akin to the Volsci, though settled in Etruria. All know the legend of the treacherous schoolmaster of Falerii, whom Camillus had flogged back into the city by the noble boys whom he had delivered to the Romans.

others. The Tribune, L. Apuleius, impeached Camillus for having taken for himself the great bronze gates of the city; and, though his Clients and fellow *gentiles* would have paid for him any fine that might have been inflicted, they were unable to procure his acquittal. So he went into exile, and took up his abode at Ardea; praying, as he left the city, that his country might soon have cause to regret him (B.C. 391). His prayer was answered; for the GAULS had already poured over the Apennines and laid siege to Clusium, and the interference of Rome was about to bring her to the verge of destruction. But she was destined to rise again, with renewed life, from beneath the torrent which overwhelmed the civilization of her ancient rival; and the same blow which levelled her for a moment prepared for her an easy conquest in Etruria. The decline of that great nation continued steadily after the Gauls had retired from Rome, chiefly in consequence of the maritime successes of Dionysius of Syracuse. His capture of Pyrgi, the port of Cære, gave a fatal blow to the naval power of the Tuscans. His maritime empire, indeed, ceased with his death; but the Carthaginians were strong enough to exclude their old allies from the benefit of the change; and the co-operation of Tuscan ships of war with Agathocles marks the complete rupture of the league, to which both had owed so much of their naval power, and which Aristotle mentions as in full force down to the death of Alexander (B.C. 323).

CHAPTER XXII.

WARS WITH THE LATINS AND SAMNITES. FROM THE TAKING OF ROME BY THE GAULS TO THE END OF THE SAMNITE WARS. B.C. 390 TO B.C. 290.

"Majora jam hinc bella et viribus hostium longinquitate vel regionum vel temporum spatio quibus bellatum est dicentur."—LIVY.

THE REMOTER NATIONS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD—THE CELTIC RACE—THEIR MIGRATION FROM THE EAST IN HISTORIC TIMES—THEIR NATIONAL CHARACTER AND MILITARY HABITS—TRANSITORY EFFECTS OF THEIR ENTERPRISES—THEIR EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN ITALY—CISALPINE GAUL—COMMON STORY OF THE INVASION—SIEGE OF CLUSIUM—INTERFERENCE OF THE ROMANS—BATTLE OF THE ALLIA—PREPARATIONS AT ROME—SELF-DEVOTION OF THE FATHERS—CAPTURE AND SACK OF THE CITY—THE CAPITOL SAVED BY M. MANLIUS—RANSOM OF ROME—RETREAT OF THE GAULS—LEGEND OF CAMILLUS—SUBSEQUENT ENCOUNTERS WITH THE GAULS—RESULTS OF THE INVASION —DISTRESS AT ROME—WARS WITH THE ETRUSCANS—SETTLEMENT OF CISALPINE GAUL —DISRUPTION OF THE LATIN ALLIANCE—WARS WITH THE LATINS AND VOLSCIANS—INTERNAL DISSENSIONS—CONDEMNATION OF MANLIUS—THE LICINIAN ROGATIONS—PLEBEIANS ADMITTED TO THE CONSULSHIP—INSTITUTION OF THE PRÆTORSHIP AND CURULE ÆDILESHIP—UNION OF THE ORDERS—DEATH OF CAMILLUS—RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION, TO THE FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE POPULAR CONSTITUTION—RENEWED WARS WITH THE ITALIANS—NEW LEAGUE WITH THE LATINS AND HERNICANS—GREAT SAMNITE AND LATIN WARS—ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE SAMNITES—FIRST SAMNITE WAR—MUTINY AT CAPUA—GREAT LATIN WAR—BATTLE NEAR VESUVIUS, AND SELF-DEVOTION OF P. DECIUS—BATTLE OF TRIFANUM—DISSOLUTION OF THE LATIN CONFEDERACY—ROMAN COLONIES IN LATIUM—SECOND OR GREAT SAMNITE WAR—PAPIRIUS AND FABIUS —THE ROMANS DEFEATED AT THE CAUDINE FORKS—SUCCESSES OF THE ROMANS—DEFEAT OF THE ETRUSCANS AND SAMNITES—ROMAN CONQUESTS—COALITION OF ETRUSCANS AND ITALIANS AGAINST ROME—THIRD SAMNITE WAR—VICTORY OF SENTINUM—TRUCE WITH ETRUSCAN CITIES—DEFEAT OF THE YOUNGER AND VICTORY OF THE ELDER FABIUS—END OF THE SAMNITE WARS.

THE general course of Ancient History has been well described as the history of civilization among the nations lying around the Mediterranean. Though belonging to races strikingly distinct in their languages and ethnic affinities, their position round that great pathway of maritime intercourse, the advantages of their climate and the general conformation of their shores, and the presence amongst them of the highest sources of civilization, grouped together into one historic whole peoples that belonged to the three divisions of the ancient world. Accordingly, since the stream of primeval history was divided at the dispersion of the nations, we have been engaged with its five main divisions—the history of the chosen family, the early civilization of the Cushite race in Egypt and Chaldea, the great Semitic monarchies of Assyria and Babylon, the Aryan empire of the Medes and Persians, and the

growth of the kindred Hellenic and Italian peoples of the West. Glimpses more or less distinct have presented themselves of the outlaying nations, with which these came into contact from time to time; and we have met with cases in which great peoples have burst the boundaries that seemed to divide them from the nations already civilized. Now, however, we have reached a point, where one of the chiefest of those irruptions calls on us to look beyond the Alps, and inquire into the origin of that mighty race which, under the name of CELTS or GAULS, overspread Western Europe at the earliest ages of recorded history.*

The whole region, from some indefinite boundary in Central Europe (apparently from the western frontier of the Scyths) to the Pillars of Hercules, was known to Herodotus as the *Land of the Celts.*† The Celts were already intermixed with other races in parts of that vast region, as, for example, with the Iberians in Spain; but they unquestionably formed the great bulk of the population west of the Rhine and the Alps. They were a branch of the great Aryan or Indo-Germanic race; and, like all the European nations of that family, they undoubtedly migrated from the East, at a period of unknown antiquity. The occurrence among them of names etymologically identical with that of the great Cimmerian people, of whom we have had occasion before to speak, points to an ethnical affinity.‡ If this were established, the inference would seem probable, that the same great movement of the Scythians from the East, which displaced the Cimmerians from the shores of

* Cæsar distinguishes the two names in the well-known passage (*B. G.* I. 1), "ipsorum lingua *Celtæ*, nostra *Galli* appellantur." All English readers are familiar with the name of "the *Gael*," as that of one important branch of the race in our own islands; and it appears also in the appellation of *Gallia*. *Celtæ* (Κέλται) and *Galatæ* (Γαλάται) were modifications of the native name, first used by the Greeks, whose colony of Massalia made them acquainted with the people, and adopted by the Romans, who much more commonly, however, use the name of *Galli*. In modern usage, CELTS is the generic name for the whole of this great branch of the Aryan race. We make no attempt to adopt the form *Kelt*, which is indefensible in English, unless we were prepared to talk of the *Kentaurs* and the *Kyklops*, forms which even Mr. Grote's authority has failed to naturalize.

† Ἡ Κελτική. It is very remarkable that Herodotus had no distinct knowledge of the Germans as a separate race.

‡ See Vol. I. p. 255. Examples occur in the name of *Cymry* or *Cumri*, as that of the people who formerly inhabited Britain, and are now found in Wales and Cumberland; in the *Cimbrica Chersonesus* (Jutland), which, though inhabited by Teutons in historic times, may have been first peopled by Celts; and in the *Cimbri*, probably the original inhabitants of that peninsula, who invaded Italy with the Teutons towards the close of the second century B.C.; for the attempts to prove these *Cimbri* a Teutonic people are unsatisfactory.

the Euxine, was that which drove the Celts westward. Whether the Teutonic races, whom the Romans called by the name of *Germans*, shared this movement, or whether they followed it, and displaced the Celts from the country known as Germany, we have no means of deciding. In either case, the Celts passed beyond that great central region of mountains, forests, and morasses, across the Rhine, which thenceforth formed their eastern boundary.

The civil history of the world is only concerned with nations which have reached the state of social communities. It leaves to the antiquarian and the ethnologist the speculations about an "age of stone" and an "age of iron" and the still earlier time when human beings are supposed to have led a life like that of beavers in huts raised on piles above the surface of Swiss lakes; only taking care, however, to maintain the truth, derived from the authentic records of man's primitive condition, that, if parts of Europe were ever peopled in this manner, it was not the original condition of the inhabitants, but a state into which they had declined from their primitive civilization. The true history of the Celts begins at the period when their migrations brought them into contact with the nations of Italy and Greece. That collision was the result, so to speak, of a great reflex movement in a direction opposite to their original migration, whether they were impelled by want arising from the increase of population, or tempted by a happier soil and climate, or moved by the mere restlessness of a people who were but slightly attached to their native country. For the Celts were a pastoral people; and so little taste had they for agriculture, that Cicero says it was esteemed disgraceful for a free Celt to till the ground with his own hands. They were more addicted than either the Germans or Italians to congregating in towns and villages; but they had not the steady purpose, and the earnest public spirit, which created the city life of the Greeks. In no branch of the human family have better and worse qualities been more strangely mingled, or the former more strikingly neutralized by the latter. The pictures drawn of them by the most ancient writers describe their character to the present day. "Gaul for the most part," said Cato the Censor, "pursues two things most perseveringly—war, and talking cleverly." The great modern historian of the people, Thierry, depicts their character in the following words:—"The prominent qualities of the Celtic race were personal bravery, in which they excelled all nations; an open impetuous temperament, accessible to every impression; much intelligence, associated with extreme volatility; want of perseverance; aversion

to discipline and order; ostentation and perpetual discord—the result of boundless vanity."

Their part in the history of the ancient world is admirably described by Dr. Mommsen: "Such qualities—those of good soldiers and of bad citizens—explain the historical fact that the Celts have shaken all states and have founded none. Everywhere we find them ready to rove, or, in other words, to march; preferring moveable property to landed estate, and gold to everything else; following the profession of arms as a system of organized pillage, or even as a trade for hire, and with such success that even the Roman historian Sallust acknowledges that the Celts bore off the prize from the Romans in feats of arms. They were the true 'soldiers of fortune' of antiquity, as pictures and descriptions represent them, with big but not sinewy bodies, with shaggy hair and long mustachios—quite a contrast to the Greeks and Romans, who shaved the upper lip; in variegated embroidered dresses, which in combat were not unfrequently thrown off; with a broad gold ring round their neck, wearing no helmets, and without missile weapons of any sort, but furnished instead with an immense shield, a long ill-tempered sword, a dagger and a lance—all ornamented with gold, for they were not unskilful in working in metals. Everything was made subservient to ostentation, even wounds, which were often enlarged for the purpose of boasting a broader scar. Usually they fought on foot, but certain tribes on horseback, in which case every freeman was followed by two attendants, likewise mounted: war-chariots were early in use, as they were among the Libyans and the Hellenes in the earliest times. Many a trait reminds us of the chivalry of the middle ages, particularly the custom of single combat, which was foreign to the Greeks and Romans. Not only were they accustomed in war to challenge a single enemy to fight, after having previously insulted him by words and gestures; in peace also they fought with each other in splendid equipments, as for life or death. After such feats, carousals followed in due course. In this way they led, whether under their own or a foreign banner, a restless soldier-life; constantly occupied in fighting, and in their so-called feats of heroism, they were dispersed from Ireland and Spain to Asia Minor. But all their enterprises melted away like snow in spring, and they nowhere created a great state, or developed a distinctive culture of their own." Such were the people who now almost terminated the existence of Rome, and were afterwards with difficulty repulsed from Greece; who became masters of the

most fertile part of Italy, and of a fair province in the heart of Asia Minor; who, after their Italian province had been subdued,* inflicted disastrous blows on successive Roman generals, and were only at last subjugated by Cæsar himself in nine critical and sometimes most dangerous campaigns (B.C. 51).

It is now generally agreed that the Celts had a closer affinity to the Hellenic and Italian races, than any other members of the Indo-Germanic family. Recent investigations tend to show that this affinity was nearer with the Italians than with the Greeks, and it has even been maintained that the great stock, to which all three peoples belonged, branched off first into Greeks and Italo-Celts, and that the latter division was again subdivided into Italians and Celts. There are, at all events, clear indications of a Celtic element in the languages of the Umbro-Samnite stock, the oldest known inhabitants of the great plain between the Alps and the Apennines; and several ancient writers held the opinion that the Umbrians sprang from the old Gauls (*Galli Veteres*), as they called the Celtic people whom they suppose to have inhabited that region before the age of recorded history. At all events, the Celtic names of places furnish irrefragable proof of the presence of the race in the peninsula long before all historic times. We might therefore perhaps be justified in using, from the very beginning, the well-known name which it is convenient now to introduce as a geographical term, of "Gaul within the Alps" (*Gallia Cisalpina*),† for the whole of the great plain which, from an early period of Roman history, was in the complete possession of the Gauls, who had driven out the Etruscans.

The ordinary Roman historians, who know nothing of an earlier Celtic population of Cisalpine Gaul, place the great immigration about the time of Tarquinius Priscus. Livy tells us that the Bituriges (about *Bourges*) in the basin of the Loire, were the dominant people in Transalpine Gaul. Pressed by excessive population—or, as others say, by civil commotions—they resolved on a great emigration. Two immense bodies set out,

* Gallia Cisalpina was reduced to a Roman province after the First Punic War, in B.C. 222.

† The prefixes *Cis* (on this side) and *Trans* (beyond) in the words *Cisalpine* and *Transalpine* are used with reference to Rome. Our language adopts the opposite phraseology in speaking, for example, of "Ultramontane Catholicism." It may be well to mention that Cisalpine Gaul was divided by its great river into two parts, *Cispadane* and *Transpadane*, the former between the Po and the Apennines, the latter between the Po and the Alps.

under the nephews of the king Ambiatus, for the banks of the Danube and the Po. The one horde, headed by Sigovesus, entered the Hercynian forest, in the heart of Germany, where Gallic settlements are mentioned by Cæsar. The other, led by Bellovesus across the Graian Alps (the *Little St. Bernard*)* into the plain of Northern Italy, gained a victory over the Etruscans, and formed the canton of the *Insubres*, whose capital was Mediolanum (*Milan*). Soon afterwards another host formed the canton of the Cenomanni around Brixia (*Brescia*) and Verona.† Other streams followed, of Celtic invaders mingled with Ligurians, till the whole country north of the Po was overrun, and the Etruscans for the most part driven out. But still did Gaul pour forth her teeming hordes. The Boii—that wide-spread tribe, who were both distinguished in the history of Transalpine Gaul, and one of whose migrations gave the country of Bohemia its name—crossed, with the Lingones, over the Pennine Alps, by the *Great St. Bernard*, and, passing the Po on rafts, began to expel the Etruscans and Umbrians from the region between that river and the Apennines. Their capital was the old Etruscan Felsina, under the new name Bononia (*Bologna*). They were followed by the Senones from the banks of the *Seine*, who settled along the shore of the Adriatic between the rivers Utis (*Montone*) and Æsis (*Esino*), from Rimini to Ancona. A few of the old Etruscan cities, such as Mantua, held out against the invaders: others which bear Celtic names, as Mediolanum, were probably in existence before, as these wandering pastoral tribes are not likely at first to have built new cities. The epoch of the complete ascendancy of the invaders over the Etruscans is traditionally marked by the fall of the rich city of Melpum, in the Milanese, on the very day on which Camillus took Veii (B.C. 396). However little these traditions may be worth in detail, they represent the undoubted historic fact of a great movement of the Celtic race, which overpowered the Etruscans in the region between the Alps and the Apennines, and confined their confederacy within the limits of Etruria Proper, at the very time when the Romans were attacking them on the south, and the Samnites and other Italians stripping them of their possessions in Campania.

* The older opinion is that they crossed the Alps by the pass of *Mont Genevre*, the Taurinus Saltus.

† For the discussion of these alleged migrations, and their relation to the tribes of Transalpine Gaul, on the one hand, and the older Celtic settlements in Italy, on the other, see Mr. Long's article, *Gallia Cisalpina*, in Smith's *Dictionary of Geography.*

After the fall of Melpum, the Gauls pressed on over the Apennines into the heart of Etruria, and the tribe of the Senones laid siege to Clusium. In their extremity, the Etruscans sought aid from Rome, and an opportunity seemed to be offered, at once to repel the barbarian invaders and to reduce the Etruscans to the level of protected allies. But the Romans had already formed the idea, that it was for them to command and for other nations to submit; or rather, their annalists—whose account of the whole campaign is imbued with fable from beginning to end—choose to represent them as adopting this tone, and boast of the bad faith with which they sustained their arrogance. Three envoys were sent to bid the Gauls not to molest the allies of Rome. Arriving at Clusium, they joined the besieged in a sally, and one of them slew a Gaulish chief. The enemy—says Livy—soon perceived that three of the bravest and noblest of the Roman youth were fighting in the van of the Etruscans, with whom they could not be confounded. Deputies were sent to Rome to demand the surrender at least of him who had killed a Gaul, when there was no war between the nations. The Senate would have complied; but the father of the offender, a military tribune, appealed to the people and the demand was rejected. It is even said that the three envoys were elected as military tribunes for the ensuing year, the more plainly to show contempt of the barbarians.

Indignant at this adoption of the envoys' breach of faith by the Roman people, the Gauls, who numbered 70,000 fighting men, broke up the siege of Clusium, and marched straight for the devoted city. To the astonished people of the towns which they passed by without attacking, their forbearance was explained by the reiterated cry, "For Rome! for Rome!" So say the annalists; but in truth the invaders, whose one object was plunder, would not stay to besiege the walled cities of Etruria, when the rich plains of Latium invited their cupidity. They did not, in fact, march direct for Rome, but crossed the Tiber into the Sabine territory, and began to ravage the fertile country between that river and the Anio. The military tribunes, who had expected to see them on the right bank of the river, marched out in haste with the whole levy, amounting to 40,000 men, and met the enemy on the banks of the little river ALLIA, a confluent of the Tiber, within eleven miles of Rome.* Still possessed with the idea, that the

* According to Livy, the exact spot was eleven Roman miles from the city, on the high road (the Via Salaria). Notwithstanding this precise description, there is a difficulty in identifying the river, and the choice lies between what are now two

barbarians were a despicable foe, the Romans neglected their usual precautions of fortifying a camp and providing for a retreat. They prepared for their first encounter with the Celts with that confidence in superior discipline, which has possessed regular armies in many a later conflict with the same race. But there is no evidence of that extreme carelessness, by the imputation of which the family bards magnified the want of Camillus on that day. A defensive position was taken up behind the Allia, the broken water-course covering the front. The right, composed of the worse armed class of the poorer citizens, had the advantage of the higher ground; the main body filled the space between the hills and the Tiber; the left rested on the river. The Gallic chieftain led his bravest warriors against the Roman right, which gave way before the desperate valour and the sweeping broadsword of the Gael. The fugitives, making for the river, spread disorder into the ranks of the legions; the Gauls pressed on in their furious charge; and the rout became general. Some fled to Rome; others found shelter in a thick wood till night; while the mass of the fugitives, in their eagerness to seek safety beyond the Tiber, tried to swim the river and escape to Veii. A fearful slaughter was made upon the bank and in the stream; and the flower of the Roman youth perished there. The rest escaped to the right bank, and left open the road to Rome. The 18th of July, in the 364th year of the city (B.C. 390), was ever after distinguished in the Roman calendar by the blackest mark, as the Day of the Allia.*

The victors rested for a whole day on the field of battle, collecting the trophies of the slain, to be the memorials of each warrior's valour. On the third day the victors entered the open gates of Rome. This brief delay gave time to remove or bury many of the most sacred objects, and to prepare for the defence of the citadel. Many of the citizens had found shelter at Veii, where they would naturally revive the interrupted scheme of founding a new capital. Many more seized the opportunity to disperse, with their moveable

little brooks, running through deep ravines from the hills to the Tiber. One of these, the *Scolo del Casale*, crosses the road at a spot called the *Fonte di Papa*, about twelve miles from Rome. Its precipitous banks answer exactly to Livy's description of the Allia.

* The day was called that of the *Clades Alliensis*. According to the Roman reckoning it was A.D. XV. *Cal Sextil.*, which is frequently rendered, by an oversight, the 16th of July. There seems also to be an error in the year, in consequence of the disorder into which the Roman calendar fell. The Greek date is Ol. 98. 1, a year which began at the Midsummer of B.C. 388.

effects, to other neighbouring cities of Etruria and Latium. But it was resolved not to abandon the ancient seat of the three great deities upon the Capitol, the spot to which sure omens had foretold the empire of the world. Still, to provide against the worst, the Flamen of Quirinus and the Vestal Virgins were sent to Cære, with the sacred things over which they watched. The procession had crossed the Tiber, and was mounting the slope of the Mount Janiculus on foot, when they were overtaken by a plebeian named L. Albinus, who was conveying his wife and children in a wagon. He pronounced it to be a shame that he and his should ride, while the sacred virgins went on foot, and, making his family dismount, he placed them, with the holy fire, in the carriage, and escorted them safe to Cære.

Meanwhile, the Capitol was hastily provisioned, and none were admitted within its precincts but such as could take part in its defence. There were still left a number of aged citizens, ministers of religion and heads of the old patrician houses, who were unable to render military service, and unwilling to abandon the homes of their forefathers and their gods. They met together and recited, by the mouth of the chief pontiff, M. Fabius, the impressive formula, by which the lives of their enemies were devoted, with their own, to the gods beneath the earth and to the spirits of the dead. For such was the Roman faith, that the citizen who did not shrink from the solemn devotion of himself acquired a power over the fate of his country's enemies. Then they parted, and each sat down in the porch of his house—pontiffs, priests, senators, and former curule magistrates, all invested with the insignia of their rank, and seated in their curule chairs. The Gallic hordes poured into the undefended city. The chieftains occupied the houses of the patricians on the Palatine, while their followers were dispersed plundering and destroying in the streets. With profound astonishment they beheld the venerable men seated in calm dignity, and took them at first for gods. Presently a Gaul went up to the priest Papirius, and began reverently to stroke his long white beard. Indignant at this profanation of his sacred person, Papirius smote the Gaul upon the head with his ivory sceptre. With the quickness of his race to resent a blow, the barbarian cut down Papirius with his broadsword; the sight of his blood dissolved the spell; and the other fathers of the city shared his fate in a general massacre.

The Gauls now attempted to storm the Capitol by the slope*

* The *clivus Capitolinus*.

which then formed its only approach, the other sides being guarded by high precipices. Failing in this assault, they formed a blockade, and occupied themselves in ravaging the lands of Latium. Some accounts represent them as carrying their ravages far into the south of Italy. Meanwhile, the spirits of the Romans in Veii began to revive, and plans were proposed for the succour of the besieged. A youth named Pontius Cominius volunteered to open a communication with the Capitol. The outer face of the hill was left unenclosed, as we have seen, by the walls of Servius, and the envoy, having swum down the Tiber, climbed up this way by night, and returned in safety. But in the morning, the marks of his passage suggested to the Gauls a means of surprising the citadel. In the dead of the following night a party scaled the cliff. There was neither wall nor sentinel in their way; the very dogs seemed miraculously silent, as if resigning the honour of that night to other guardians. In the precinct of the three great deities were kept some geese, sacred to Juno; and these birds had been spared in the famine, from which the garrison had begun to suffer. They now cried out and flapped their wings. The noise roused M. Manlius, who dwelt close by. Rushing to the cliff, he dashed his shield in the face of the foremost Gaul, who fell back, overthrowing those behind him. A panic seized the assailants. Dropping their arms to cling to the rock, they fell an easy prey to the Romans, who had now caught the alarm. The Capitol was saved. Manlius was rewarded with a share of the daily ration of each of the defenders, and his name was enrolled among the worthies of the Roman state, though he was soon destined to fall a victim to patrician jealousy. Such legends fill up an acknowledged historic void with more than merely fictitious beauties: for they show the faith of the Romans in the unconquerable spirit of their ancestors, even in the hour of their deepest distress.

The blockade of the Capitol had lasted for seven months,* during which the city had been reduced to ashes and the surrounding country devastated, when famine drove the defenders to purchase the retreat of the barbarians by a heavy ransom. At this crisis, the Gauls received tidings that the Veneti, an Illyrian tribe, whose name still survives in Venice, had invaded their recently acquired possessions on the Po. They consented to accept a thousand pounds' weight of gold, which the besieged collected from the treasures of the Capitoline temples and from

* The old annalists found no difficulty in believing that the Romans had been able, in one day, to stock the citadel with seven months' provisions.

the private wealth that had been carried into the citadel for safety. But Brennus,—as the Romans called the Gallic chieftain, mistaking a title for a proper name*—insulted the conquered by a proof of their helplessness. When the military tribune, Sulpicius, complained that the Gaulish weights were unfair, the chieftain threw his heavy broadsword into the scale, with the exclamation, *Væ Victis*,—"So much the worst for the vanquished!" But the more lasting loss fell upon the conquerors. "The scornful throwing down of the Gallic sword, that it might be outweighed by Roman gold, indicated very truly how matters stood. The iron of the barbarians had conquered; but they sold their victory; and by selling lost it."† It is in the usual course of things that the backward movement of such a barbarian host, laden with plunder and disordered by their own excesses, should be harassed by the people they had wasted in their advance. Among such stories, one was that the Etruscans of Cære cut off the party which had advanced into Southern Italy, as they were marching to rejoin the main body; and the victory was swelled by tradition into one over the main body itself, involving the recovery of the ransom-gold of Rome. The Roman fabulists claimed the victory for Camillus, who was said to have defeated the Gauls while they were besieging a city in alliance with Rome, and so to have recovered the spoil. At last the legend was magnified into the absurd fiction that Camillus appeared at the head of the forces that had been reorganized at Veii, at the very moment when Brennus had uttered his insolent boast; drove out the Gauls in an ignominious defeat; and the next day gained a victory, of which not one of the Gauls was left to carry back the tidings. The sole residuum of truth appears to be the recall of Camillus from exile, and his reappointment as dictator to restore order in the recovered city. Various bands of the invaders remained in Central Italy, or returned from time to time: and the annals of Rome record several battles fought with them during the fourth century B.C. The veteran Camillus gained a great victory over them at Alba, in his fifth dictatorship (B.C. 367). Six years later the Gauls, having advanced as far as the bridge of the Anio, within five miles of Rome, were met by the dictator, Titus Quinctius Pennus; and, as the two armies were encamped opposite each other, Titus Manlius, the son of L. Manlius

* *Brennus* is *bran* (a *leader*). The leader of the Gauls in the subsequent assault on Delphi is called by the same name (B.C. 279). See p. 110.

† Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. i. p. 343.

Capitolinus, killed a gigantic Gaul in single combat, and handed down to his family the surname of Torquatus, from the gold chain or ring (*torques*) which he took from the neck of his foe (B.C. 361). The Gauls drew off to Campania, without venturing a battle; and on their return in the following year, the dictator, Q. Servilius Ahala, repulsed them outside the Colline gate (B.C. 360). They were again defeated by the dictator, C. Sulpicius Peticus, two years later (B.C. 358); and in B.C. 350, a party of Gauls, who were leagued with Greek pirates in plundering the coasts of Latium, were dislodged by the dictator, L. Furius Camillus (a son of the great Camillus), from their position on the Alban Mount. Camillus, as consul in the following year, defeated them again; and it was on this occasion that M. Valerius gained the surname of Corvus (the *Raven*) from his single combat with a gigantic Gaul. The Gaul probably bore that epithet, which was transferred to his victor; but the legend told how a raven perched on the helmet of the Roman and aided him in the fight by striking his beak and wings into the face of the foe. The victory of L. Camillus was heard of by Aristotle at Athens. "These predatory expeditions"—says Dr. Mommsen—"formidable and troublesome as they may have been, were rather incidental misfortunes than events of historical importance; and the main result of them was that the Romans were regarded, in their own country and beyond it, ever more and more as the bulwark of the civilized nations of Italy against the assaults of the dreaded barbarians—a view which tended, more than is usually thought, to help forward their subsequent claim to universal empire."

Great as was the catastrophe, the news of which was carried as far as Greece, and permanent as were its memorials,* the destruction of Rome by the Gauls was not one of those events which change the face of history. It was like a fearful inundation, from which men are glad, for the time, to escape with their lives; but, when it subsides, as suddenly as it rose, they rebuild their ruined houses, resume their former habits, and soon obliterate the traces, though not the remembrance, of the desolation. A renewal of the proposal to transfer the abode of the Roman people to Veii was defeated by the spirited remonstrances of Camillus, and the materials for the rebuilding of the city seem to have been obtained in part by stripping the houses of Veii of their roofs.

* For example, the conquest of the city was an epoch from which years were dated; and there was a law annulling all exemptions from military service in the case of a Gallic invasion.

The narrow and irregular streets of Rome, like those of London after the great fire, testified to the haste with which the city was rebuilt. The sites of the temples were retraced by the augurs amidst the ruins, and the ancient monuments were diligently sought for. Among those recovered were the Laws of the Twelve Tables, and some old laws of the regal period, the treaty with Carthage, and other treaties with foreign states;—so erroneous is the oft-repeated statement, that all the ancient documents perished in the conflagration of the city. It is characteristic of the spirit of the patricians, that, while the civil laws were again set up in public places, the religious law was not promulgated, but reserved for the sole knowledge of the pontiffs.

The period immediately following the retreat of the Gauls must have been one of frightful distress. The people, decimated by the slaughter of the more helpless and by the loss of many who were carried captive into Gaul, besides those who had fallen in battle, returned to a city of which little remained but the Capitol and its glorious recollections, and looked out from the hills crowned with the ruins of their temples and houses, over the devastated surface of the Campagna. The rich farms of the patrician possessor and the humble homesteads of the plebeian landholder were involved in a common ruin, and it was only the wealthy that could speedily renew their stock and buildings. The pressure of distress was aggravated by the injudicious haste with which a tribute was imposed to replace the sacred treasures of the Capitol. Money-lenders were attracted to Rome by the extension of the limit of usury allowed by the Twelve Tables. These men carried on business in the names of the patricians whose clients they became; and the intolerable burthen of debt once more weighed down the poorer classes. All that had been done in the last century to reconcile the patricians and plebeians seemed to be again undone, and the discord between the orders threatened to break out anew under the two leaders who had done most to save the state, Camillus and Manlius.

Meanwhile, the energy of Camillus reorganized the military force of Rome, to meet the dangers that beset her on every side. The Latins and Hernicans renounced the treaty made just a century before by Spurius Cassius; but, as some compensation, the power of the Æquians seems to have been finally broken by the Gauls. The Etruscans had taken advantage of the distress of Rome to make an assault on Veii, which proved unsuccessful; and to punish this attack was the first great military enterprise of the

restored state. In the course of two years all southern Etruria was subdued as far as the Ciminian Forest, and the conquered territory was formed into four new tribes (B.C. 387). Another view is that these tribes were formed out of the region previously won from the Veientines and their allies. At all events this part of Etruria was completely Romanized, and covered with Roman colonies, before the middle of the fourth century B.C. About the close of that period a great effort to revolt was made by the cities of Tarquinii, Cære, and Falerii, and 307 Roman prisoners, who were taken in the first battles, were slaughtered in the market-place of Tarquinii (B.C. 358). After an obstinate war, Cære was reduced to the state of a dependent ally, under the form of a truce for 100 years, and its people were admitted to a modified citizenship (B.C. 353). But the Romans were not yet prepared to effect the conquest of central and northern Etruria, and they were content to make a truce with Tarquinii for forty years (B.C. 351).

The Etruscans still, however, maintained a well consolidated power in the hilly region, comprising the greater part of Etruria Proper, between the Apennines and the Ciminian Forest. On their northern frontier, they were no longer assailed by the Gauls, whose irruptions across the Alps for some reason ceased, and who settled down quietly in the great valley of the Po. But even here they had not such exclusive occupation as to drive out the former masters of the country. Their desultory mode of establishing themselves left many of the most important cities in the hands of the Etruscans, whose retention of the port of Adria, for example, made their corsairs formidable in the Adriatic down to the end of the fourth century B.C.; and Mantua, protected by its marshes, remained an Etruscan city to the time of the empire. The Etruscans maintained themselves in what was perhaps the cradle of their nation, the Alpine region of Rhætia,* and the Umbrians still held the valleys on the northern slope of the Apennines; and the Celtic settlements seem to have occupied the level plain along the Po, their chief tribes being the Insubres and Cenomanni on the north of the river, the Boii on the south, and the Senones along the coast of the Adriatic. The north-eastern part of the valley was occupied by the Illyrian Veneti, and in the west the Ligurians not only held the Maritime Alps, but a large part of the Apennines, thus forming a barrier between the Celts and the Etruscans. It was probably to the influence of the Etruscans who remained amongst them that the Celts of

* See p. 141.

Cisalpine Gaul owed the higher degree of civilization, which distinguished them from their brethren beyond the Alps, and prepared them to live in contentment under the government of Rome. But even while they communicated this civilizing impulse, the Etruscans themselves were rapidly degenerating. The cities were overwhelmed by debasing luxury at the very time that their power was declining abroad. Civil dissensions arose between the people of the several states and the oligarchies which superseded the old patriarchal monarchies, till the nobles were obliged to call in the power of Rome, which put an end to their factions by their subjugation. The last struggles of the Etruscans for independence are connected with the more powerful efforts of the nations of the Italian stock.

On the side of Latium, Rome was threatened with the loss of all the greatness which had been growing ever since the treaties of Spurius Cassius with the Latins and the Hernicans. By the close alliance of a hundred years, the Sabines, Æquians, and Volscians had been curbed, and the territory of Rome extended at their expense. But these very successes induced the proud republic to assume a more and more decided authority over her allies; and some striking instances are recorded of her injustice and oppression. The decrease of the common danger removed the strongest motive for union, and, even before the capture of Rome by the Gauls, Latin volunteers fought in the ranks of the Volscians. After the retreat of the Gauls, the alliance was openly renounced; and the republic became involved in war with some of the chief Latin cities; but fortunately for her safety, they did not yet unite in a common scheme of revolt. During the ten years which succeeded the departure of the Gauls, victories were gained successively over Lanuvium, Præneste, and Tusculum; and the last city furnished the earliest case of the political incorporation of a whole state into the Roman commonwealth, retaining only its own municipal administration (B.C. 381). The details of these struggles, and of the severer contest with the revolted Hernicans, need not be further dwelt on at present. The conflict resulted in the restoration of the old league; but on terms which secured to Rome a greater supremacy than before (B.C. 358). From the obscure and no doubt exaggerated incidents of these wars, and of those with the Volscians, it is time to turn to the constitutional struggles which were renewed within the republic.

The distress of the lower classes, in consequence of the ravages of the Gauls, soon became intolerable. Their debts rapidly accu-

mulated, and the rate of interest was such, that in some cases the principal is said to have been paid several times over in usury within the first five years after the invasion. The old laws of debt, which had never been repealed, were enforced with the same merciless severity that had provoked the first secession to the Sacred Mount. The commons found a champion in M. Manlius, the saviour of the Capitol, whom the patrician annalists accuse of jealousy towards Camillus, the leader of their own order, in such a way as to admit that the one had been neglected, while every honour had been heaped upon the other. While Manlius was in this state of mind, he one day saw a centurion who had served under him dragged off in irons to his creditor's grinding-house. He paid the veteran's debt upon the spot, and vowed that while he had a pound of brass no debtor should be imprisoned. The sale of the estate allotted to him from the lands of Veii enabled him so to keep his word, that he is said to have advanced money, free of interest, to no less than four hundred debtors; and thus he earned the title of "Father of the Commons" (*Pater Plebis*). The patrician fathers could not brook so dangerous a rival. In the year B.C. 385, Aulus Cornelius Cossus was named dictator, as much against Manlius as against the Volscians and Etruscans; and he summoned Manlius to prove the charge, which he was said to have made against the patrician magistrates, of embezzling the tribute raised to replace the treasures of the Capitol. Manlius was thrown into prison, but released by a decree of the senate when the dictator's office had expired. The accounts of the seditious violence with which he used his liberty would go far to justify his enemies, if we could believe in their impartial truth. At length, like Spurius Cassius, he was arraigned before the centuries in the Campus Martius for aspiring to the kingdom. He appeared there, surrounded by the debtors he had released, and the witnesses to his deeds in war. He showed the spoils of the thirty enemies he had slain in battle, the forty rewards of valour he had received from generals on the field of battle, and the scars of wounds upon his breast. Then, turning to the Capitol, he invoked the help of the gods whose temples he had saved, and bade the people give judgment as in their sight. His acquittal was secure, had not the tribunes, who were in the interest of his accusers, interposed to dissolve the assembly. Brought to trial again before the Curiæ, who were purposely convened at a spot where the Capitol was hidden from their view, Manlius was condemned to the death of a traitor. By a refine-

ment of ingratitude, he was hurled from the Tarpeian rock, a cliff of the same hill down which he had hurled the Gaul, and his house, in which he had been the first to hear the alarm that warned him to save the Capitol, was razed to the ground. The part taken by the tribunes in his condemnation has been urged as a proof of his guilt; but, besides that the patricians may have already begun their policy of securing tools among the tribunes, it seems not at all improbable that these official protectors of the commons were jealous of Manlius's officious but most effective interposition; and he may have made enemies by that uncompromising sternness which was so conspicuous in others of his race, and so well expressed by the family name of *Imperiosus.* But his fate was only the failure of a premature movement for a reform which could only be postponed (B.C. 384). Meanwhile the power of the nobles was only the more confirmed, and the distress of the commons grew deeper. But the determination of the patricians to confine the dignities of the state to their own order once more threw the strength of the plebeian nobility and men of wealth into the opposite scale, and provoked a political reform in place of the mere redress of practical grievances. Such is the blind selfishness by which, in every age, oligarchies have served the cause of liberty, teaching those who only asked for justice that freedom must first be won.

The year B.C. 376 is memorable for the first tribunate of C. Licinius and his kinsman L. Sextius, who submitted the celebrated LICINIAN ROGATIONS to the assembly of the tribes. These were three in number, aiming at equality of political rights, the fair apportioning of the public lands, and the relief of the intolerable burthen of debt. The first proposed the abolition of the military tribunate, which, though created as a compromise between the orders, had proved the means of securing power to the patricians: the consulate was to be restored, with the condition that one of the consuls must always be a plebeian. The second enacted that no citizen should possess* more than 500 *jugera* of the public lands, or pasture on it more than 100 head of large and 500 of small cattle, under penalty of a heavy fine. The third provided that all interest already paid on loans should be deducted from the principal, and that the balance should be discharged by instalments spread over three years. The last proposal may seem to our ideas to be tainted with the quality of confiscation; but Niebuhr has shown that, while involving no

* See the explanation of *possessio* on p. 187.

real injustice to creditors, it was the only alternative to the loss of the public services of a large body of free citizens, who had or soon must have become bondsmen to their creditors.

The constitution to the tribunician college enabled the patricians to stop the progress of the measure by the "intercession" of some of their number. But Licinius and Sextius had also their veto on the election of the magistrates; and for five years, during which they were successively re-elected, they prevented the holding of the consular comitia (B.C. 375—371).* It was only on the necessity created by an attack of the Latins upon Tusculum—now, as we have seen, a subject ally of Rome—that the tribunes permitted the election of six consular military tribunes for the year B.C. 370, among whom was M. Fabius Ambustus, the father-in-law and supporter of Licinius, and two Valerii, whose adherence to the popular traditions of their house balanced the patrician zeal of such colleagues as a Cossus and a Cincinnatus. Three of the new tribunes of the plebs sided with Sextius and Licinius; and the other five, who were in the interest of the patricians, no longer dared to interpose a direct veto to the Rogations. They only insisted on delay, upon the plea that a large number of the citizens were absent before Velitræ, the siege of which place had been formed by the Roman army, after the Latins had been repulsed from Tusculum. But Licinius met this opposition with a new demand. His fourth rogation, to transfer the custody of the Sibylline books from the patrician Two (*Duumviri*) to a college of Ten, composed equally of patricians and plebeians, was a first step to the admission of the plebs to those religious privileges which formed the sacred citadel of patrician exclusiveness.

For two years more the popular tribunes were re-elected, and no opposition was made by them to the appointment of military tribunes. The powers of patrician resistance were coming to an end, and the continuance of the war with Velitræ furnished a pretext for bringing out the last weapon in their armoury, the appointment of Camillus as dictator for the fourth time. But the veteran's zeal outran his discretion. His call for the whole military levy

* Such is the statement of the *Fasti Capitolini* (the fragments of the old lists of magistrates, found in the Capitol), of Livy and Dionysius, and by implication, of Polybius. Diodorus reduces the interval to a year, evidently to avoid the difficulty of a five years' anarchy. But the constitution entrusted the executive government to the tribunes and ædiles while the curule magistracies were from any cause in abeyance.

to follow him to the field—whether only to gain time, or for the purpose, formerly ascribed to Cincinnatus, of holding the Comitia where his *imperium* would have been supreme—was utterly disregarded. The Senate compelled him to abdicate, and nominated a successor expressly to compose the existing troubles, whose name, P. *Manlius* Capitolinus, is equally significant with his choice of C. *Licinius* Calvus for his Master of the Horse. More than this, the rogation for the custody of the Sibylline books was carried this year (B.C. 368). Licinius and Sextius were elected tribunes for the tenth and last time. To ensure the success which was now within their grasp, they combined the three rogations in one vote; * and they were carried in the year B.C. 367, after a contest of ten years, but one neither disgraced by bloodshed nor envenomed by secession. The patricians obtained a compensation for the loss of half the consular power by the institution of a new curule magistracy, to be held by patricians only, dignified with the original name borne by the consuls (when they were called PRÆTORS),† with the lictors and fasces and other royal insignia, and invested with the regal prerogative of administering justice in the city. The Prætor had also the *imperium*, and might be placed in command of an army; in fact, the title of his office was strictly military, handed down from the time when the republic was essentially an army. At first one Prætor only was appointed, usually a consul of the preceding year. His position as a sort of third consul was marked by his being called "the colleague of the consuls;" ‡ but he was subject to their orders.

The passage of the Licinian Rogations into Laws seems to have been distinguished from former victories of the plebs by the spirit of concord in which they were accepted by both orders. The tribune L. Sextius was chosen as the first plebeian consul; and the new prætorship was conferred on Spurius, the son of the great Camillus, who is said himself to have crowned his heroic deeds by acting the part of a mediator. It seemed that a sure pledge was given of future union, when the veteran hero of the patricians, now dictator

* A similar case has lately occurred among ourselves, in the inclusion in one bill of all the financial measures forming the budget of the year, to prevent the rejection of a part of them by the House of Lords.

† See p. 218.

‡ *Conlega consulibus.* A second prætor was appointed in B.C. 246, to administer justice where foreigners were concerned. The two were then called *Prætor Urbanus* and *Prætor Peregrinus* respectively. As foreign provinces were acquired, the number of prætors was increased. For these and all other details see the ordinary works on Roman Antiquities.

for the fifth time, and fresh from his new victory over the Gauls at Alba, founded the temple of Concord on a lower platform of the Capitoline hill, overlooking the Forum, to commemorate the reconciliation of the orders.* A fourth day was added to the Great Roman Games, as if to give the plebeians an equal part in them with the three ancient tribes, and the Curule Ædiles were for the first time appointed to preside over them, the office being held by patricians and plebeians alternately.†

The general result of this great peaceful revolution is thus summed up by Dr. Mommsen:—"With the election of the first non-patrician consul, the gentile aristocracy ceased both in fact and law to be numbered among the political institutions of Rome. . . The religious consecration of the new concord of the community was the last official act of the old warrior and statesman, and a worthy termination of his long and glorious career.‡ He was not wholly mistaken. The more discerning portion of the *gentes* evidently from this time forward looked upon their exclusive political privileges as lost, and were content to share the government with the plebeian aristocracy. In the majority, however, the patrician spirit proved true to its incorrigible character. On the strength of the privilege which the champions of legitimacy have at all times arrogated, of obeying the laws only when these coincide with their party interests, the Roman nobles on various occasions ventured, in open violation of the stipulated arrangement, to nominate two patrician consuls. But when, by way of answer to an election of that sort for the year B.C. 343, the community in the year following formally resolved to allow both consular positions to be filled by non-patricians, they understood the implied threat, and still perhaps wished, but never again ventured, to touch the second consular place." § The remaining patrician offices could not long be withheld from the plebeians. The mastership of the horse had been conferred on a plebeian, C. Licinius Calvus, in B.C. 368; and twelve years later the first plebeian dictator, C. Marcius Rutilus, gained a great victory over the Etruscans (B.C. 356). The same man was the first plebeian

* This temple became a frequent place of meeting for the senate. It overhung the Comitium, or part of the Forum where the Curiæ used to meet.

† Respecting the tenure and functions of this office, see the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

‡ Camillus died in the great pestilence of B.C. 365.

§ Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. i. pp. 305, 306. The concession referred to was extorted by the pressure of the First Samnite War, which broke out in B.C. 343.

censor in B.C. 351; and the prætorship was thrown open in B.C. 337. Two years before this, the political revolution was completed by the Publilian Laws, so called from the dictator, Q. Publilius Philo, who proposed them. The first enacted that the resolutions of the Plebs should be binding on all the people:* the second required the Curiæ to give their previous sanction to all laws and elections of the centuries: the third excluded the patricians from one of the two censorships, as they had been already excluded from one of the two consulships. Thus, as the result of this long conflict, the patricians were distinguished from the plebeians, so far as office was concerned, rather by disabilities than privileges; having only an equal part in the curule offices, and being entirely excluded from the tribunate and plebeian ædileship. It naturally took longer for the plebeians to obtain a share in the religious colleges. Some of the priestly offices, which were of peculiar sanctity and of little political influence, remained in the hands of the patricians, especially those of the three great Flamens, the Rex Sacrorum, and the Salii. But the colleges of the pontiffs and the augurs, who had a controlling power over the whole machine of government, were thrown open to the plebeians by the Ogulnian Law in B.C. 300.

It was far less easy to accomplish the social amelioration, for which these constitutional changes had been chiefly desired. The strictness with which the Licinian law respecting the public land was for some time enforced, and the natural tendency to its evasion—not by the patricians only, but the wealthy plebeians—are alike attested by the fact, that Licinius himself was fined for exceeding the legal maximum of possession (B.C. 357). The usury laws of the Twelve Tables were not only renewed, but the legal rate of interest was reduced to five per cent. (B.C. 347), and the absurd attempt was even made to forbid usury altogether (B.C. 342). But no such legislation could create that which was the great want of Rome, as of all the commonwealths of antiquity, an independent middle class. Besides all other hindrances, the fatal institution of slavery prevented that expansion of free industry on which such a class is based. The rich grew richer: the poor grew poorer: distress and debt gave a new impulse to political agitation. The nobles made new attempts to regain the ground they had lost. The privileges of the plebeians were not finally secured without repeated conflicts from time to time; and the Publilian Law, giving legislative weight to the

* *Ut Plebiscita omnes Quirites tenerent.*

resolutions of the plebs, which, as we have seen, was itself but the re-enactment of one of the Valerian and Horatian Laws of B.C. 449, was again re-enacted by the dictator Q. Hortensius, in B.C. 286, after the last secession which the plebeians made to the Janiculum, under the impulse, like the first secession, of the pressure of their debts. This Hortensian Law, which was passed only a few years before the war with Pyrrhus, is always referred to as that which conferred the legislative power on the Comitia Tributa. The Lex Mænia, re-enacting the other Publilian Law,—that the patricians should give their previous assent to the acts of the Comitia Centuriata,—was probably passed in B.C. 287.

Thus the final settlement of the popular constitution may be regarded as about contemporary with the epoch of Rome's complete dominion over Italy. From that epoch foreign wars and conquests, varied by the one great struggle for the very existence of the republic, followed one another with a rapidity which fully occupied men's minds, while the conquered territory, had it been fairly apportioned, furnished ample means for providing against the chief causes of discontent. At length there came a pause in the career of conquest, when Rome had become mistress of Carthage, Macedonia, Greece, and the richest part of Asia Minor; and the people had leisure to enquire which of the orders had gained the lion's share. The troubles under the Gracchi broke out in the very year in which Attalus, King of Pergamus, bequeathed the province of Asia to the Romans (B.C. 133). But the intervening period of more than a century was almost entirely free from civil dissensions. Still, it must not be supposed that the division of feeling between the orders was healed. The old patrician houses clung to their pride of caste, the more since the offices once their exclusive right were "polluted by plebeian filth." The new aristocracy, having surmounted the barrier that had shut them out from political power were eager in the assertion of their superiority to the commonalty of their own order. It was no longer the plebeians, as such, but the common people, that were treated as an inferior caste. Thus were formed a new aristocracy and a new democracy. But still civic equality was secured; and while public virtue reposed on the foundation of simple agricultural habits, some of the worthiest leaders were found among the poor. "The fall of the high-born Fabius would not have been more lamented by the whole community, than the fall of the plebeian Decius was lamented alike by patricians and plebeians; and a poor husbandman from Sabina, Manius Curius, could conquer King Pyrrhus in the field of battle,

and chase him out of Italy, without ceasing to be a simple Sabine farmer, and to cultivate in person the grain which gave him bread." *

Returning to the epoch at which Camillus inaugurated the concord of the two orders, it remains to trace the steps by which Rome overcame the hostility of the surrounding peoples, and became the undisputed mistress of all Italy. Of other events, we need only notice the stories of famine and pestilence as a natural result of the ravages of the Gauls, and the romantic legend of the self-devotion of Curtius to close the yawning chasm which an earthquake had opened in the Forum, as an indication that the mythical vein is still to be traced in the Roman annals (B.C. 363). Enough has been already said of the conflicts which resulted in the subjugation of Southern Etruria and the renewal of the old league with the Latins and Hernicans (B.C. 358). The Volscians were still formidable neighbours; but they were now driven back from the lowlands of the Campagna, and the Pomptine region was made Roman territory, adding two to the number of the tribes. Ten years later the treaty with Carthage was renewed, and by it Rome was recognized as the mistress of the coast of Latium (B.C. 348). Two years afterwards, the second celebration of the great "Secular Games,"—a special festival, held at long intervals in some great national crisis,†—formed the prelude to the greatest conflict in which Rome had been yet engaged—the *Wars with the Samnites*, which lasted, with brief intervals, for more than fifty years (B.C. 343 to 290), involving as an episode the *Great Latin War* (B.C. 340 to 338), which ended in the complete subjugation of Latium to Rome. Livy has marked this epoch as that from which the historian has to write of wars greater than any before, both in the strength of the enemy, the remoteness of the scene, and the duration of the contest. The contests with the Volscians and Æquians had been defensive wars against tribes chiefly formidable for their near neighbourhood; and the victories gained in them scarcely enlarged the territory of the republic. But now large armies encountered each other on both sides, well matched in arms, discipline, courage, and heroic perseverance. Nor were the Samnites much inferior to the Romans in the political virtues which give a nation a distinguished place in history; their chief weakness

* Mommsen's *History of Rome*, vol. i. pp. 313, 314. For a further discussion of the social and political state of Rome in the fourth and third centuries B.C., the reader is referred to the third chapter of the second book of Dr. Mommsen's work.

† See the article *Ludi Sæculares* in the *Dictionary of Antiquities*.

was that their tribes were not united into one compact state. It was now to be decided, which of the two great races of Central Italy should gain the supremacy in the peninsula. The defeat of the Samnites left Rome without a rival among the Italian nations, and besides the addition of a most valuable territory, gave her the first step towards the conquest of the world. And though the field on which the Samnite Wars were waged seems narrow in comparison with the vast enterprises of later years, never was Rome engaged in a conflict more interesting for the heroic valour displayed both by her sons and by her enemies.

The Samnites were a branch of the Sabine nation, who had separated themselves from the parent race, and moved southward to the mountains between Campania, Lucania, and Apulia. Their own legends connected their migration with the Sabine custom of the Sacred Spring.* A vow made by the nation during a war with the Umbrians, dedicating to the gods the year's offspring, both of man and beast, had been violated in part by keeping back the children, when the cattle were either sacrificed or redeemed; and they were visited by a dearth. So all the youth of that year were devoted to the god Mamers (Mars): and, as soon as they reached the military age, they were sent forth to seek new abodes. A bull appeared to guide them on their way, and it first lay down to rest when they reached the land of the Opicans. The wanderers accepted the sign, offered the bull in sacrifice to Mamers, and drove out the Opicans, whose scattered villages gave them no refuge or stronghold.† The historical fact thus indicated is the subjugation of the southern Opican highlanders by their hardier kinsmen of the Sabine mountains. The date of the migration falls during the regal period of Rome.

In this mountain region, between the head waters of the Vulturnus on the one side and the streams that flow into the Adriatic on the other, the Samnites were pent up for a time by more powerful neighbours, who held the lowlands and the coast to the east, west, and south. The Greeks and Etruscans kept their ground in Campania, the Daunians in Apulia,‡ and the Lucanians in the great southern plain. But the decline both of the Etrus-

* See p. 172.

† The bull was the device of the Samnites, as the wolf was of the Romans. A coin struck by the Italians during the great Social War (B.C. 90—88) represents a bull goring a wolf.

‡ The Daunian town of Arpi, with its port of Salapia, had become a flourishing emporium, and was an important ally of the Romans in the Samnite Wars.

cans and the Greeks, during the latter part of the fourth century B.C., invited the Samnites to the beautiful bays of the Mediterranean. Capua, the capital of the mixed race called Campanians, amongst whom the Etruscans predominated, was taken by them in B.C. 424, and they wrested Cumæ from the Greeks four years later (B.C. 420). Their inroads upon the Greeks were greatly aided by the simultaneous progress of the Lucanians and Bruttians; and their power rapidly spread from sea to sea. But it was wanting in that firm hold on the conquered cities, which characterized the progress of the Romans in Latium and southern Etruria. Not only did the Greek cities remain Greek under the Samnite rule, but towns essentially Samnite became Hellenized, in constitution as well as in manners. Their language was developed by Greek influence into greater delicacy and clearness, though they preserved their own alphabet, instead of abandoning it for the Greek, like the Lucanians and the Bruttians. The fragments of beautifully painted pottery, and the ornaments of gold and amber, found in their tombs, attest at once their fondness for Greek art, and their departure from the simplicity of their ancestors. An influence still more injurious to the hardihood of the nation was bequeathed, as a fatal legacy, by their Etruscan predecessors in Campania. Capua, which seemed worthy to vie with Rome for the supremacy of Italy, fell into that deep debasement of mingled sensuality and cruelty, which marks the last stage in the decline of an oligarchy. It was here that the shows of gladiators were so eagerly gloated over, as to form part of the amusements of banquets; and the martial spirit of the Campanian youth only survived to make them notorious as soldiers of fortune in Italy and especially in Sicily. Thus there came about a wide division between the Campanians and the Samnites of the highlands, who had preserved the hardy manners of the old stock, and who now formed the effective Samnite confederacy. The latter even treated their more civilized kinsmen as enemies, like the Greeks and the Etruscans; and it was the application of the Samnites of Campania for help from Rome that led to the *First Samnite War* (B.C. 343).

The story of this war in the Roman annals is a tissue of exaggerations and improbabilities. The Sidicini of Teanum, a city in the north-west of Campania, being attacked by the Samnites, applied for aid to Capua: and the two cities united in seeking the protection of Rome from the forces that threatened to overwhelm them both. The successes of the Romans against the

Volscians had already brought them into contact with the Samnites on the Liris, and the two states had proved their respect for each other's strength by a treaty (b.c. 354). The Romans, therefore, at first rejected the petition of the Campanians; but the offer of the rich city of Capua—which was already besieged by an overpowering Samnite army—proved a temptation too great for their good faith, and both consuls were sent into Campania. At the foot of Mount Gaurus, Valerius Corvus obtained a victory which was hailed as an omen of future triumphs over all the enemies of Rome; and his colleague, Cornelius Cossus, was equally successful, after his army had been rescued from annihilation in a narrow pass by the courage of the military tribune, Publius Decius. The fabulous character of this victory may be inferred from the failure of the consuls to penetrate into Samnium; and as little credit is due to the third and decisive victory at the "Caudine Forks" near Suessula, where 40,000 Samnite shields were picked up on the field of battle. Campania was however wrested from the Samnites, and part of the Roman army remained in winter quarters, to guard the most important towns.

This prolongation of foreign service through the winter brought to a climax the discontents which were rife both in the army and in the city, because of the continued pressure of debt upon the commons. The political crisis that followed is related in two different accounts, the one making it a mutiny of the army, the other a secession of the plebeians at home. The common story attempts to reconcile both in the following manner. Surrounded by the delights of that exquisite climate, and with all the wealth of the Campanian cities before their eyes, the Roman soldiers might well be tempted to revive the project formerly entertained at Veii, and to made Capua the chief city of a new plebeian state. An attempt was made to anticipate the revolt by sending large detachments home. The first body had reached the pass of Lautulæ, near Tarracina, when they broke out into open mutiny, and the flame spread through all the garrisons of Campania. The legions mustered at Capua, and advanced in a body towards Rome. On their march they released the debtors whom they found working as bondsmen in the fields. With their numbers thus swollen to 20,000 men, they fortified a camp on the Alban hills, and began to plunder the country. The commons in the city now marched forth to a post about four miles from the walls; and each party of insurgents forced a patrician to become their leader.

With their old mixture of firmness and moderation, the senate created a dictator, but the office was conferred on the greatest favourite of the commons, M. Valerius Corvus, who, though not yet thirty years of age, had already been three times consul, and was now in all the glory of his late campaign against the Samnites.* The dictator went out against the mutineers, with the clients of the patricians and such other citizens as remained faithful to the government; but the time was not yet come when Romans could meet one another in civil war. No sooner did the two armies stand front to front, than they rushed into each other's arms. An act of amnesty to the revolters was passed; and a pledge was given to the soldiers that those once enlisted should not be struck off the roll without their own consent, and that a man who had held the office of military tribune should not be required to serve as a centurion. The military tribunes were for the most part plebeians; and this would be a sort of security for their dignity. The political crisis was ended by the Genucian Laws, as they were called from their proposer, the tribune Caius Genucius. As the frequent re-elections to the consulate had tended to limit the actual powers of government to a few great families,† it was enacted that no one should be re-elected to the same magistracy till after an interval of ten years. *Both* consulships were thrown open to the plebeians. Lastly, all usury was forbidden, an act which was naturally inoperative. By another law, the existing obligations of insolvent debtors were cancelled, and all citizens who had become bondsmen (*nexi*) to their creditors were released,—a measure justified by the absolute necessities of the commons (B.C. 342). Amidst the confused accounts of the foreign relations of Rome during these political convulsions, all that can be certainly made out is, that the growing disaffection among the Latins was a chief cause of the willingness of the Romans to come to terms with the Samnites. A peace was made, by which Teanum was given to the Samnites, and Capua to the Romans; and the two nations formed a close alliance (B.C. 341).

The following year saw a strange inversion of the recent position of the different nations. In the GREAT LATIN WAR the Romans and Samnites were ranged against the Latins and the

* Altogether M. Valerius was six times consul: in B.C. 348, 346, 343, 335, 300, and 299; and twice dictator, in B.C. 342 and 301. He was twenty-three years old at the time of his first consulship.

† This applies to the plebeians as well as the patricians. The plebeian consul for this very year, Q. Marcius Rutilus, held the office for the fourth time.

Campanians. The annals are still confused and inconsistent; and a refusal of the claim of the Latins to a share in the consulship—that is, by implication, to the full privileges of citizenship,*—is alleged as the immediate cause of a revolt which seems to have been, in fact, a great confederacy of Latins, Volscians, and Campanians, to resist the domination alike of Rome and of the Samnites. Even the Latin cities most closely connected with Rome—like Tusculum, which had received the franchise—joined in the revolt, and the noble houses of Rome and Latium, long connected by personal ties and marriages, were ranged against each other, as if in a civil war. But the Roman colonies in Latium remained faithful, and the aristocratic party in Campania took part with the Romans, doubtless to preserve their political ascendancy. Nor did the Hernicans desert their old alliance. It was a great decisive conflict for supremacy in Latium and Campania; and the Roman senate and people, their consuls and their armies, proved worthy of the crisis. The consuls of the year were T. Manlius Torquatus, who had won the golden collar from the Gallic giant, and P. Decius Mus, who had saved an army in the First Samnite War. The war began in Campania, by an attempt of the confederates to dislodge the Samnites from Teanum and the other territory they had won. The Romans made a circuit through the territories of the Marsians and Pelignians † to join the Samnites, and the hostile armies came in sight of each other before Capua. It was here that Titus Manlius, the consul's son, was beheaded by his father's order, for engaging an enemy in single combat, in disobedience to the strict injunction of the consuls against all skirmishing. The consul's cruelty was execrated, but the discipline of the army was saved. The scene of the first great battle is laid at the foot of Mount Vesuvius. The night before the engagement, it was revealed to both consuls in a dream, that the gods had doomed to destruction the general on the one side, and the army on the other. They agreed that whichever of them first saw his division wavering should devote himself to death in the form prescribed by the chief pontiff. It fell to the lot of the plebeian consul to perform the act of self-devotion. The Romans and Latins were drawn up over against each other, equal in discipline

* *Civitas optimo jure.*

† It is thus that the annalists attempt to explain a strategic movement which would seem to have been impossible when all Latium was in arms. Modern critics doubt whether the campaign was anything more than a successful effort of the Roman garrisons in Campania to extricate themselves from their isolation.

and tactics, and—in spite of Livy's arrogant assertion of the contrary—not differing in courage; the Samnites and Hernicans were opposed to the kindred nations of the Campanians and Volscians. The Roman right, commanded by Manlius, firmly held its ground; but the left no sooner began to waver, than Decius called for the chief pontiff Valerius, and, having repeated after him the formula by which he offered his own life to Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, the Lares, and all the gods of his fatherland and of the dead, if they would strike terror and dismay into the enemy and cause them to share his fate, with his toga wrapt about his head in sacrificial folds,* he mounted his horse, and rushed into the thickest of the Latin army, among whom the well-known rite would spread a religious terror. But the fall of Decius did not at once decide the conflict; and the Romans had begun again to waver, when Torquatus secured the victory by a masterly use of his reserves; and the Latins, who had exhausted theirs, were cut down almost without resistance. Nearly three-fourths of their army were slain or taken prisoners. The annalists are silent about the share of the Samnites in the victory.† The conquerors were too exhausted to pursue the enemy, who rallied at Minturnæ on the Latin side of the Liris, and advanced again to Mount Massicus. After both armies had received reinforcements, a second and decisive victory was gained at Trifanum by the consul Manlius, who then overran and plundered Latium. Most of the Latin cities were subdued and deprived of their lands (B.C. 340). In the following year, they tried the fortune of war once more, and were defeated by the consul and dictator Publilius, the same who proposed the celebrated laws in favour of the plebeians (B.C. 339). The cities that still held out, both of the Latins and the Volscians, were reduced in a third campaign. The Latin confederacy was dissolved, and the new settlement of Latium was conducted on the principle of isolating the several cities, which were no longer allowed freedom of marriage or of commerce with one another. The full Roman franchise was restored to Tusculum and granted to Lanuvium; their lands were incorporated with the territory of the republic, and two new tribes were formed. Other Latin cities

* The *cinctus Gabinus*, the form in which the toga was worn by a sacrificing priest.

† Dr. Arnold makes the apposite remark, that of this part of the battle "there was no Samnite historian to tell, and no Roman annalist would tell truly. Nor need we wonder at this; for if we had only certain English accounts of the battle of Waterloo, who would know that the Prussians had any effectual share in that day's victory?"

received a restricted franchise as Roman *municipia*. Tibur and Præneste, which had become the most powerful cities of the League, and had taken a leading part in the war, were compelled to cede portions of their territory to Rome, but were allowed a nominal independence. The walls of Velitræ were demolished, and its principal citizens deported to Etruria. Colonies were settled in Antium and others of the chief Volscian towns. The Campanian cities were reduced to dependence upon Rome. The most important conquest yet made by the republic was commemorated by the erection of the statue of Caius Mænius, consul and dictator for the last year of the war, in the Forum, and by the decoration of the platform, from which orators addressed the people when assembled there, with the beaks taken from the surrendered galleys of the Antiates. Hence it was that the platform received the memorable name of ROSTRA.*

The vast importance of this war consists in its fusion of the Latin nationality into one powerful state under the city which had made good its claim to the supremacy. That this should have been effected by a temporary coalition between the Romans and the Samnites is a striking indication of the means by which the course of the world's history is governed. The Samnite alliance could never have furnished a secure basis for the union of Italy. Dr. Arnold has well said that between that people and the Romans "the struggle could end in nothing short of absolute dominion on one side, and subjection on the other. The Samnites were complete foreigners, remote in point of distance, with a different language and different institutions; they and the Romans were not likely to form one people, and neither were willing to be the other's mere subjects. But between Rome and Latium nature had given all the elements of union; and the peculiar circumstances of the Latins precluded that mischievous national pride which has sometimes kept two nations apart, when nature, or rather God speaking in nature, designed them to be one. Had Latium been a single state, like Rome, neither party would willingly have seen its distinct nationality merged in that of the other; but the people of Tusculum or Lanuvium felt no

* The *rostra* formed a sort of long gallery, with parapets, raised on arches between the *comitium*, or upper part of the Forum, which was the meeting-place of the curiæ, and the *forum* proper, where the tribes met, so that an orator could turn to either division; but its front, to which the *rostra* were affixed, was towards the comitium. Its length allowed an orator to walk backwards and forwards while speaking. The origin of the word shows the absurdity of the modern corruption *rostrum*.

patriotic affection for the names of Tiber or Præneste; they were as ready to become Romans as Tiburtians; and the one or the other they must be, for a mass of little states, all independent of each other, could not be kept together; the first reverses, appealing to the sense of separate interest in each, inevitably shattered it to pieces. Those states that received the full Roman franchise became Romans, yet did not cease to be Latins; the language and the manners of their new country were their own. They were satisfied with their lot, and the hope of arriving in time at the same privileges was a prospect more tempting even to the other states than anything which they were likely to gain by renewed hostilities." * But the full establishment of these relations was of course a work of time. The first natural dissatisfaction found vent in the revolt of Privernum, the story of which is expanded by the annalists into an interesting romance. The Roman citizens settled on its forfeited lands and on the Falernian territory in Campania were formed into two new tribes (B.C. 318); and the strong colonies of Cales (B.C. 334) and Fregellæ (B.C. 328) were planted in the Campanian plain, and at the passage of the Liris. "Rome pursued her purpose with undeviating steadfastness, and displayed her energetic and far-reaching policy, more even than on the battle-field, in the securing of the territory which she gained by enveloping it in a political and military net whose meshes could not be broken." †

The conquest of Latium and northern Campania, coinciding with the renewed concord of the orders under the Publilian Laws, and followed by peace with the Gauls (B.C. 335), formed a new starting-point for the extension of the Roman power. At the same epoch events were taking place in a distant part of the world, which throw another stream of light on the Supreme Ruler's direction of the course of human history. The year of the dissolution of the Latin confederacy was also that of the battle of Chæronea (B.C. 338). The question seemed to be fairly raised, whether the supremacy of the Italo-Hellenic race was reserved for the conquerors of Latium or the subjugator of Greece. A very few years later, Philip's kinsman, Alexander of Epirus, crossed over into Italy to aid the Greeks of Tarentum against the Lucanians and Samnites, and the Romans made an alliance with him. His expedition, after some successes, ended in his defeat

* Arnold, *History of Rome*, vol. ii. pp. 165, 166.

† Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. i. p. 369.

and death in the battle of Pandosia (B.C. 326). Meanwhile, his great namesake was in the full tide of that wonderful career, which promised to unite all the resources of the East for the subjugation of the Western world. Among the nations which confessed the probable result, by the homage they hastened to pay to the conqueror at Babylon, were not only the maritime Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, but also the Lucanians and Bruttians, whose embassy the Samnites may not improbably have joined. The actual relations of these peoples to the Romans furnished a ready pretext for intervention in Italy; and the power which was all but crushed by the Samnites had no prospect of resisting the might of Alexander. It seems strange that the Roman annalists make no allusion to the imminence of the danger which was averted by Alexander's death. Their attention was probably absorbed by the great contest of the SECOND SAMNITE WAR, which broke out three years before that epoch (B.C. 326), and only ended in B.C. 304, three years before the decision of the quarrels of the *Diadochi* at the battle of Ipsus. Well was it for Rome that the generals of Alexander were thus occupied during her greatest struggle in Italy.

The subjugation of Latium left the Romans and Samnites face to face, committed to an inevitable contest for the supremacy of Italy. The progress of Rome in Campania could not but rouse the jealousy of the Samnites; and direct causes of complaint were found in the colonization of Sora and Fregellæ (B.C. 328). But it seemed from the beginning, as throughout the whole career of Rome, that her enemies were fated to lose the favourable moment for attack. It was owing partly to the war with Alexander of Epirus and the Greek cities, and partly to the uncertain policy of their confederacy, that the Samnites stood by while the Romans conquered Campania.

The great conflict, which was sure to have been fought out sooner or later, began from a collision of Rome with a Greek community. The cities of Magna Græcia had now been all but politically extinguished by the attacks of the Etruscans, Samnites, and Lucanians, and the blows inflicted on them by a Greek, Dionysius of Syracuse. Almost the last that retained their independence were the twin cities of Palæpolis and Neapolis (*the Old and New City*), of which the latter has perpetuated its name to the present day in Naples (*Napoli*). They were founded by the Cumæans on the site of an older city which was named after the nymph Parthenope, an appellation fondly preserved by

the Roman poets; * and the distinction between the Old and New City is believed to have dated from the time when the colony gave a refuge to the people of the mother city on the capture of Cumæ by the Samnites. Palæpolis † became involved in a quarrel with the Roman settlers in the recently allotted territory of Capua (B.C. 327). The Roman annalists tell how, on a herald being sent to demand satisfaction, the Greeks, like a people valiant only with the tongue, returned an insulting answer. They relied on the support of the Samnites, who, as the Romans soon learnt, were sending troops (or, as they themselves admitted, volunteers) to their aid, and tampering with the subject cities. So, while the two consuls marched against Palæpolis, heralds were sent to demand satisfaction of the Samnites. They were met by recriminations and a challenge to fight out their quarrels on the plains of Campania. The Roman herald replied that the Senate and people would send their armies where they pleased, and the consul L. Cornelius Lentulus, at once crossed the frontier of Samnium.

Meanwhile, his distinguished plebeian colleague, Q. Publilius Philo, lay encamped between Palæpolis and Neapolis so as to cut off their communication, when his year of office came to an end. To enable him to finish the campaign, the Senate prolonged his command under the title, afterwards so famous, of PROCONSUL (i.e. *pro consule*, in place of the consul). He took Palæpolis, in which there was a Samnite garrison, and received the voluntary submission of Neapolis (B.C. 326). The Sabellian cities of southern Campania, though at first disposed to side with the Samnites, were ultimately gained over to Rome through their aristocracies; and a vital breach was made in the Italian cause by the defection of the Lucanians to the Roman alliance. This people, as soon as the death of Alexander of Epirus had removed the pressing necessity for their alliance with the Samnites, chose rather to

* As, for example, in the celebrated lines:—

"Illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti."

† "Dionysius, in all his account of these affairs, makes mention only of Neapolis; the name of Palæpolis does not once occur in his narrative. In the Roman story, Palæpolis holds the more prominent place; for no other reason, apparently, than because Palæpolis was conquered by force, and enabled Publilius to obtain the honour of a triumph, while Neapolis entered into a friendly treaty with Rome. But Palæpolis must really have been a very insignificant place; for it followed almost as an infallible rule, that whenever a new town (*Neapolis*) was founded in a more advantageous situation, the old town (*Palæpolis*) went to decay."—Arnold's *History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 186 (note).

devote all their resources to an attack upon Tarentum, than to play a secondary part in the war with Rome. The Apulians took the same course; and, instead of the opportunity being seized for a great confederacy of the Italians against Rome, the Samnites were left to bear the brunt of the war almost without allies. The Lucanians, however, afterwards changed sides.

The GREAT SAMNITE WAR began in B.C. 326 with the advance of the two consuls from Capua up the valley of the Vulturnus. They took some towns in Samnium, but gained no decisive success. Next year, the adhesion of the Vestinians to the Samnite cause at once endangered the communications with Apulia, and threatened a league of the Sabellian tribes to the north of Samnium. They were completely reduced by the consul Decimus Junius Brutus; but the illness of his colleague, L. Furius Camillus, made it necessary to appoint a dictator for the conduct of the war in the Samnite country. With his usual fondness for picturesque detail, Livy turns aside from the progress of the campaign to relate the quarrel between the commander and his deputy. The dictator, L. Papirius Cursor, being recalled to Rome by a defect in the auspices, which could only be taken afresh in the Roman territory, left his master of the horse, Q. Fabius Maximus, with a strict charge to remain on the defensive. But Fabius hazarded an engagement, and gained a decisive victory. Hastening back to the camp at this news, Papirius ordered his disobedient lieutenant to be seized and put to death. The soldiers, flushed with the recent victory, interposed tumultuously to protect Fabius, who escaped during the night to Rome, whither Papirius followed, and gave orders to the lictors to arrest him. M. Fabius, the father of the offender, invoked the intercession of the tribunes to allow him an appeal to the people. It is impossible to believe that the constitution sanctioned either the tribunicial interference, or that of the Comitia Centuriata, against the dictator's sentence. The tribunes hesitated to set so fatal a precedent, and the people found an escape from the difficulty by praying the dictator to forgive Fabius. His authority being thus saved, the dictator yielded; and Livy observes that discipline was no less firmly established by the peril of Q. Fabius than by the death of T. Manlius. The truth is, that the act of old Torquatus would not bear repetition.

Papirius regained the affections of the soldiers bypersonal attentions to their welfare, and led them on to successes which were continued in the year following, when his dictatorship was prolonged instead of the election of consuls (B.C. 324). The following year

was marked by an armed rising of the Tusculans and Privernatians who had already been admitted to all the private rights of citizenship, to obtain the full political franchise.* In the absence of both consuls with their armies in Apulia and Samnium, it was found necessary to yield; and the Tusculan leader, L. Fulvius Curvus, who had almost surprised the city, was elected consul for the succeeding year. This concession to the Latins seems to have brought new strength to the arms of Rome; and the Samnites were reduced to sue for peace. They sent back all their prisoners, with the body of Brutulus Papius, the leader of the war party, who had put himself to death rather than be given up alive. But all this was nothing so long as they refused to be the subject allies of Rome (B.C. 322).

The Samnites renewed the war with the desperation of a brave people driven to extremities, and chose for their commander C. Pontius, of Telesilla, whose generalship earned the title of the Samnite Hannibal, while he was far superior to the Carthaginian in generosity and culture. The Samnite nobles were brought within the influence of Greek learning, particularly at Tarentum, and the father of C. Pontius is said to have held philosophical conversations, not only with Archytas, but with Plato himself. He was probably, as Arnold observes, more advanced in cultivation of mind than any Roman general of that age; and we shall soon see how far he surpassed the whole Roman people in generosity and good faith. He had to defend Samnium against the united Roman armies, as the insurrection in Apulia had been subdued. But, just as the campaign was about to open, he spread a report that the whole force of the Samnites had marched into Apulia, to besiege Luceria. The consuls, Titus Veturius and Spurius Postumius, who were already in Campania, resolved to march to the scene of action across the whole Samnite territory, a plan rash enough had the news been true, and doubtless adopted for the sake of expedition. They entered the first rampart of the Apennines by the pass of the "Caudine Forks" (so named from the village of Caudium), now called the valley of Arpaia, on the road from Naples to Benevento. The pass is of a form very common at the entrance to chains of mountains. A watery meadow, enclosed on all sides by steep wooded hills, is entered from below and from above by deep defiles. The surrounding woods afforded an ambush to the whole Samnite army, which the Romans believed to be on the other side of the Apennines. Without resistance or suspicion, they passed up the

* The *suffragium* and *honores.*

lower defile into the grassy mead; but on reaching the upper pass, they found it blocked by felled trees, and guarded by a strong force. Meanwhile the entrance to the valley was occupied in the same manner; the Samnites closed on every side about the beleaguered foe, and inflicted on them a disastrous defeat. The fall of night saved the Romans from destruction, and the Samnites retired to the hills, guarding every track and repulsing every sally of the enemy. Famine soon drove the Romans to surrender; they placed their lives and liberty at the mercy of the victors, only praying that their bodies might be saved from insult. In his eagerness to seize the opportunity for an honourable peace, Pontius overlooked the advantage of detaining them as prisoners of war and finishing the negociations at Rome. He trusted that terms made with the consuls would bind the senate and people; and the consuls raised no doubt of the ratification of their acts. Not one of the sacred heralds was present with the Roman army, as the Samnites were to have been conquered and not treated with; but the moderate terms imposed by the victors were sworn to not only by the consuls and the surviving military tribunes, but by two of the tribunes of the plebs, who might well be regarded as the special representatives of the people. Those terms were the razing of the fortresses of Cales and Fregellæ, and the restoration of the equal alliance between the two nations. Six hundred knights were kept as hostages. All the other soldiers, even the consuls, were stripped of their arms and armour; and, clothed only with the sort of kilt called *campestre*, they marched out of the valley beneath the "yoke," an indignity which was the common fate of captive armies. So far from showing any unusual insolence to the vanquished, Pontius generously provided the army with all necessary supplies, and with carriages for the wounded, till they crossed the Liris. The Campanians remained faithful to the Romans in their misfortune, supplying all their wants, and placing their own lictors and fasces at the disposal of the consuls. In deep dejection the troops marched on to Rome, where they dispersed to their homes in the country, or stole into the city by night. The consuls were received with the signs of a public mourning; all public and private festivals were suspended, and the only business transacted was the election of new consuls, under the presidency of an interrex, after the nomination of a dictator had been twice set aside by the augurs. The election fell upon men who had already rendered the greatest services to the state, Q. Publilius Philo and L. Papirius Cursor.

On the meeting of the senate to decide upon the recent treaty,

the late consul, Sp. Postumius, was the first to propose that its ratification should be refused, and that himself and his colleague, with the military tribunes who had sworn to it, should be given up to the Samnites, to abide the consequences of having exceeded their powers. The senators at once accepted the sacrifice, though most of them had doubtless relatives among the six hundred hostages whose fate must now be considered as sealed. Stripped as when they had passed under the yoke, and with their hands bound behind them, the victims were delivered up to the Samnites by a herald; and, as soon as the surrender was made, Postumius smote the herald with his knee, exclaiming, "I now belong to the Samnites,* and I have done violence to the sacred person of a Roman herald and ambassador. Ye will rightfully wage war with us, Romans, to avenge this outrage." The superstitious device, by which the grossest breach of faith was placed under the sanction of religion, was scorned by Pontius. Having refused to accept the surrender, and ironically demanded that the Roman army should be placed where it was at the capitulation, he gave back the prisoners to the herald. By keeping the six hundred hostages uninjured, Pontius threw still more completely upon the Romans the whole responsibility of their breach of faith. Striking as is the contrast between his magnanimity and their treachery, it is clear that he had committed a grave political error in expecting such a treaty to be ratified. Moderate as were its terms, the circumstances under which it was made were too humiliating to leave a doubt that it would be evaded on any pretext that could be found; and the consuls had in fact usurped a power which belonged only to the civil authorities. There can be little doubt that they did this with the set purpose of the treaty's being repudiated, and that the senate and people adopted their treacherous artifice. The treaty was one of that sort which, if ratified, must have been torn to pieces on the first prospect of a successful renewal of the war; but this does not excuse the hypocritical perfidy of the whole transaction. The rejection of the treaty was at once a political necessity, and a proof that political necessity was henceforth the only rule of Roman honour. The war was renewed with all the exasperation arising from the humiliation and conscious wrong of the one party, and the indignant disappointment of the other (B.C. 320).

Before the Romans were in a condition to take the field, Pontius

* That is, as a surrendered person (*deditus*), who had lost all rights of citizenship at Rome.

had executed what he had before pretended, the capture of Luceria. But the scale was soon turned by Papirius Cursor, who retook Luceria, with the six hundred hostages and all the Roman arms and standards, and passed 7000 Samnite captives half-naked under the yoke. This complete reversal of the disaster of the Caudine Forks is doubtless an exaggeration of the annalists, with whom Papirius is a veritable hero of romance. "His remarkable swiftness of foot, his gigantic strength, his enormous capacities for food, and the iron strictness of his discipline, accompanied as it was by occasional touches of rough humour, all contributed to make his memory popular, somewhat in the same way as Richard Cœur de Lion has been admired amongst us; and his countrymen boasted that he would have been a worthy champion to have fought against Alexander the Great, if Alexander had ever invaded Italy." * In spite of all exaggeration, however, the Romans had an almost uninterrupted current of success for the first three years of the renewed war, chiefly in recovering the places around Samnium, which had been lost by the Caudine disaster, till a truce was made with the Samnites for two years (B.C. 318).

The renewal of the war was attended with Samnite success and defections among the allies, which imperilled the Roman cause in Campania and on the upper course of the Liris. But the lost ground was recovered by the military energy of Rome and her policy in binding some of the cities by favourable treaties, as in the case of Nola, and terrifying others by severe examples, as when two hundred of the chief citizens of Fregellæ were beheaded in the Forum (B.C. 313). By the fifteenth year of the war the Roman domination was completely established in Apulia on the one sea and Campania on the other; and chains of forts linked Rome with the Adriatic, severing Upper from Lower Italy. Campania was connected with the capital by the first of those magnificent roads, which still form the most enduring monument of Rome's greatness through the whole extent of her vast empire. The name of the censor Appius Claudius Cæcus (the Blind) is immortalized by the *Via Appia*, which he constructed from Rome to Capua, carrying it through the Pomptine marshes on an embankment (B.C. 312). The road was afterwards prolonged to Brundisium, and became the great highway for travellers from Rome to Greece. It was now evident that Rome was embracing all Italy within her grasp, and the immense advantages of

* Arnold, *History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 226.

her central position and her consolidated government were producing their natural fruits. The nations of the north and centre awoke to the danger just as they were effectually severed from the Samnites. The Etruscans, whose forty years' truce with Rome (B.C. 351) had now expired, made a vigorous diversion by attacking the frontier fortress of Sutrium, beneath the walls of which the Romans sustained heavy losses under the consul Q. Æmilius, while his colleague, C. Junius, was successful in Samnium (B.C. 311).

The Etruscan campaign of the following year brought immortal honour to the consul Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, the same whose life had nearly been forfeited fifteen years before for his disobedience to the dictator Papirius. Finding the lines of the besiegers round Sutrium too strong to storm, Fabius made an advance through the Ciminian forest into the heart of the enemy's country. This movement was the more daring as it left Rome uncovered on the side towards the Umbrians, whose fidelity was but doubtfully secured by the consul's emissaries; and Fabius is said only to have prevented the disapproval of the senate by his rapid advance. But his boldness was justified by his success, the accounts of which, however, vary between a mere predatory incursion and the decisive defeat of the united armies of Etruria, in a battle the scene of which is placed by some as far up the country as Perusia. Thus much is clear, that Fabius gained a great victory over the Etruscans at the Vadimonian lake, near where the eastern extremity of the Ciminian forest abuts upon the Tiber. This battle put an end, for the time, to all danger on the side of Etruria, and several of the most powerful cities made truces with Rome for 300 and 400 months (B.C. 310—309).

The division of the Roman forces, however, enabled the Samnites to inflict a great defeat on the other consul, C. Marcius Rutilus. When the news reached Rome, the senate turned again to Papirius Cursor, and the consul Fabius, to whom a deputation was sent in Etruria, magnanimously nominated to the dictatorship the man who, in that office, had condemned him to death. No consuls were elected. Papirius gained a decisive victory over the Samnites, and exhibited, in his splendid triumph on the 15th of October, B.C. 309, the insignia which attested the destruction of their two sacred bands, who were bound by a vow to conquer or to die. The one, which held the right wing in battle, wore white tunics and carried silvered arms and shields; the other bore gilded shields and parti-coloured dresses, which, with the lofty

plumes of both bands, suggest a resemblance to the equipments of the Scottish highlanders, in keeping with the Celtic element that has been traced in the people of the Umbro-Samnite stock. The last alarm at seeing the power of the Samnites completely broken roused the kindred people of the north and centre to efforts which would have been effectual at the proper time. But Q. Fabius Maximus, who was again elected consul, led the army destined for Samnium to the north, and, having dispersed the Umbrians, routed the Marsians and Pelignians (B.C. 308). The same year witnessed the fall of Nuceria, the last city of Campania that adhered to the Samnites. With his command continued as proconsul, Fabius compelled the surrender of a Samnite army at Allifæ, and, while dismissing the Samnite prisoners, he gave an example of terror to those disposed to aid them by selling all the other captives as slaves, except a number of Hernicans, who, as traitors to their alliance with Rome, were placed at the disposal of the senate (B.C. 307). Their fate may be inferred from the revolt of Anagnia, the chief city of the Hernicans, a diversion which, even thus late, brought a gleam of success for the Samnites. But the rapid advance of the Romans under the consul Q. Marcius Tremulus drove the Hernicans not only to accept a truce, but to furnish the army with supplies. Marcius formed a junction with his colleague; the united armies gained a decisive victory; and Samnium was ravaged for nearly five months (B.C. 306).

Though virtually conquered, the Samnites revenged themselves during the winter by predatory inroads upon Campania. But, with the return of summer, both consuls penetrated from opposite sides into the heart of Samnium, and formed a junction before its chief city, Bovianum. The general, Statius Gellius, was defeated and taken prisoner in a last effort to relieve the place, the fall of which ended the resistance of the Samnites. The battle cost the life of the consul Tiberius Minucius; but his successor, Marcus Fulvius, joined his colleague L. Postumius in recovering the towns lately lost upon the Liris, the chief of which were Sora and Arpinum (B.C. 305). It was not, however, till the consuls of the following year had advanced again into their country that the Samnites sued for peace; an example which was followed by the Marsians, Pelignians, and other Sabellian tribes that had been concerned in the war. The terms granted were in accordance with the steady but unvindictive policy of Roman aggrandizement. Livy, who seems incapable of conceiving that

an equal league could ever have existed between the Romans and other peoples, says that the old alliance was restored to the Samnites;* but Dionysius more correctly represents the Samnites as submitting to become the dependent allies of Rome. The other Sabellian tribes were admitted to an equal alliance, some of them ceding portions of their territory. The chief acquisitions were from the forfeited domain of the Hernican cities, and from the incorporation of the territory of the Æquians, who were finally subdued, after a brief but fierce struggle, in B.C. 302. Their lands formed two new tribes, the *Aniensis* and *Terentina* (B.C. 299). But the real gain of Rome was far greater than that of any territory. The whole power of the Samnites and their Sabellian allies had been arrayed against her in vain. The Etruscans had mingled in the conflict, only to prove that Rome need no longer fear their rivalry. The Lucanians, who might have turned the scale by a hearty co-operation with the Samnites, had divided the force of that people by needing garrisons to overawe them; and the removal of those garrisons gave the Romans an ascendancy in Lucania which helped them to secure an advantageous peace with Tarentum.† Thus the republic assumed her place as the leading power of Italy.

The defeated nations would not, however, submit to Rome's supremacy without one last struggle, for which they called in the aid of the common enemy, the Gauls. A desultory warfare had continued in Etruria and Umbria after the peace with the Samnites; and the fortress of Nequinum, on the Nar, was only taken after an obstinate resistance. A colony, planted on its site, under the name of Narnia, formed the key of the position where the Nar was crossed by the great military road (*Via Flaminia*) which was constructed through Umbria, severing the Samnites from the Etruscans (B.C. 299). Just at this time, new hordes of Gauls crossed the Alps, and, passing through Etruria, unopposed and probably aided by the people, fell upon the Roman territory. They speedily recrossed the Apennines with their plunder, and almost destroyed each other in a quarrel about its division; but meanwhile the Samnites had seized the opportunity to invade Lucania, an act which the Romans resented by a declaration of war. Thus began the *Third Samnite War*, which lasted nine years (B.C. 298—290).

* "*Fœdus antiquum Samnitibus redditum.*"

† We shall have occasion to review the relations of Tarentum with Rome in the next chapter.

In the first and second campaigns, one Roman army marched through Samnium, gained a victory at Bovianum, and pacified Lucania; while another army defeated the Etruscans at Volaterræ. Separate negociations had already been commenced between Etruria and Rome, when the Samnite general, Gellius Egnatius, induced the Etruscans to hold out by offering to come to their aid in their own country. While leaving one army to continue the war in Samnium, and raising another for an invasion of Campania, he led the main body of his forces through the Marsian and Umbrian territories, and formed a junction with his allies in Etruria (b.c. 296). Thus the Romans saw their plans for severing northern and southern Italy frustrated; and they were threatened by a new invasion of the Gauls, whom the Etruscans had taken into their pay. To join the invaders before they crossed the Apennines, the forces of the coalition were directed towards Umbria, and thither the Romans marched to meet them with 60,000 men, partly recalled from Campania, and partly raised by great efforts at Rome. Two armies of reserve were formed, the one under the walls of the city, the other at Falerii, to occupy the Etruscans with a diversion, which succeeded in drawing away the bulk of their forces from the decisive battle. The consuls were the veteran Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, and P. Decius Mus, who, already rivalling his colleague in military reputation, repeated the self-devotion of his father, and so decided the great victory of Sentinum over the confederates. The Roman left, which had been disordered by the war-chariots of the Gauls, rallied at seeing the self-sacrifice of the consul; the Campanian cavalry completed the defeat of the Gauls; and the Samnites on the other wing, already weakened by the defection of the Etruscans, gave way after a resistance so determined that 9000 Romans were left upon the field. Umbria at once submitted: the Gauls dispersed: the Samnites retreated in good order; but they were unable to prevent the Romans from recovering Campania (b.c. 295). The chief Etruscan cities made a truce with Rome for 400 months (b.c. 294). The Samnites, resisting with the courage of despair, gained some successes in Campania; but they were again defeated with great loss by the consul, L. Papirius Cursor (b.c. 293).* Their general, Gellius Egnatius, had fallen in the battle of Sentinum; and the veteran Caius Pontius (or, as some suppose, his son) cast a last ray of glory over the Samnite arms by the total defeat of the consul, Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges, who made a rash advance from Cam-

* It is recorded that the first sun-dial was set up at Rome in this year.

pania into Samnium. Public indignation at Rome suggested the unprecedented course of deposing Fabius from the consulship; * but his aged father Rullianus interposed his authority by offering to serve as lieutenant under his son, whose life he saved, as well as his reputation, in the decisive battle that ensued. Pontius was taken prisoner with 4000 Samnites, and 20,000 more were slain (B.C. 292).

Quintus Fabius was continued in his command, as proconsul, for another year, during which the Samnites prolonged a hopeless resistance; and the first Roman colony was founded in their territory, at Venusia, on the borders of Apulia (B.C. 291). Before the close of the summer, the proconsul returned to Rome, and sullied his splendid triumph by the cruel revenge he took for his former defeat by the great Samnite. The act cannot be better told, or more justly judged, than in the words of Dr. Arnold:—

"While he was borne along in his chariot, according to custom, his old father rode on horseback behind him as one of his lieutenants, delighting himself with the honours of his son. But at the moment when the consul and his father, having arrived at the end of the Sacred Way, turned to the left to ascend the hill of the Capitol, C. Pontius, the Samnite general, who with the other prisoners of rank had thus far followed the procession, was led aside to the right hand to the prison beneath the Capitoline hill, and there was thrust down into the underground dungeon of the prison, and beheaded. One year had passed since his last battle; nearly thirty since he had spared the lives and liberty of two Roman armies, and, unprovoked by the treachery of his enemies, had afterwards set at liberty the generals who were given up into his power as a pretended expiation of their country's perfidy. Such a murder, committed or sanctioned by such a man as Q. Fabius, is peculiarly a national crime, and proves but too clearly that in their dealings with foreigners the Romans had neither magnanimity, nor humanity, nor justice."†

The war, now virtually at an end, was formally concluded in the following year, when both the consuls invaded Samnium. The Samnites sued for peace, and were again made the dependent allies of Rome. They were subjected to no harsh or humiliating terms, nor was their last renewal of the war punished by any loss of territory. Too politic to exasperate a brave nation, which ought

* The only example of such a deposition in the whole course of Roman history is the case of Cinna, in the Marian civil wars (B.C. 87).

† Arnold's *History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 365.

henceforward to be an element of their strength, the Romans pursued the wiser course of securing the coasts of both seas, by fortresses, such as those of Minturnæ and Sinuessa in Campania and Hatria on the Adriatic, while the strongholds of the Apennines were penetrated by their great military roads.* The western shore of Italy, from the Ciminian forest to Capua, was now added to the territory of Rome, and the eastern and southern plains were commanded by the outposts of Luceria and Venusia. The latter, especially, placed on the confines of Samnium, Apulia, and Lucania, and on the high road to Tarentum, served to command the south. About this time, too, the Sabines were finally conquered, and their lands included in the Roman territory. It is not enough to say that Rome was now the first of the Italian states; she already held the supremacy of the peninsula.

* It was no doubt at this time that the Via Appia was continued to Venusia.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE WAR WITH PYRRHUS, AND THE CONQUEST OF ITALY. B.C. 290 TO B.C. 266.

"He left a name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a tale."—JOHNSON.

STATE OF ITALY AFTER THE SAMNITE WARS—THE ETRUSCANS AND GAULS IN THE NORTH—THE LUCANIANS AND BRUTTIANS IN THE SOUTH—LUCANIA AND THE GREEK CITIES—THE ROMANS PROTECT THURII—NEW ITALIAN COALITION—WAR IN ETRURIA—IRRUPTION OF THE GAULS—A ROMAN ARMY DESTROYED BEFORE ARRETIUM—DEFEAT AND EXTINCTION OF THE SENONES—DEFEAT OF THE ETRUSCANS AT THE VADIMONIAN LAKE—SUCCESSES OF FABRICIUS IN LUCINIA—TARENTUM—ITS INFLUENCE IN ITALY—CALLS IN AID FROM GREECE—ARCHIDAMUS—ALEXANDER OF EPIRUS—CLEONYMUS—ALLIANCE WITH ROME—THE TARENTINES ATTACK A ROMAN FLEET AND SEIZE THURII—OUTRAGE ON THE ROMAN AMBASSADOR POSTUMIUS—PYRRHUS INVITED TO ITALY—HE BECOMES MASTER OF TARENTUM—MARCH OF THE ROMANS TO MEET HIM—THEIR DEFEAT AT HERACLEA—MISSION OF CINEAS TO ROME—APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS IN THE SENATE—IMPRESSION MADE ON CINEAS—ADVANCE OF PYRRHUS TO PRÆNESTE—THE ETRUSCANS MAKE A SEPARATE PEACE—PYRRHUS RETREATS TO TARENTUM—EMBASSY OF FABRICIUS—CAMPAIGN IN APULIA—BATTLE OF ASCULUM—STATE OF THE SICILIAN GREEKS—LEAGUE OF ROME AND CARTHAGE—SIEGE OF SYRACUSE—PYRRHUS PASSES INTO SICILY—HIS FIRST SUCCESSES AND REPULSE AT LILYBÆUM—HIS RETURN TO ITALY—HIS DEFEAT AT BENEVENTUM AND FINAL DEPARTURE—CAPTURE OF TARENTUM, RHEGIUM, AND BRUNDISIUM—SUBMISSION OF PICENUM, LUCANIA, AND THE BRUTTII—CONQUEST OF ITALY COMPLETED—NAVAL AFFAIRS—POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STATE OF ITALY AND ROME.

THE last act in Rome's long contest for the supremacy of Italy is also the first in the great drama of her conflict with the world. "Towards the end of the fifth century of the city, those nations which had been raised to supremacy in their respective lands began to come into contact in council and on the battle field; and, as at Olympia the preliminary victors girt themselves for a second and more serious struggle, so on the larger arena of the nations, Carthage, Macedonia, and Rome now prepared for the final and decisive contest."* The conquest of the Samnites had left two great Italian nations still unsubdued, the Etruscans in the north and the Lucanians in the south. In each quarter, too, there were other races which had obtained a footing on the Italian soil. At one extremity of the peninsula, the Gauls were ever ready to pour down, not only in predatory incursions on their own account, but at the instigation of the Etruscans; and, at the other, the Greek

* Mommsen's *History of Rome*, vol. i. p. 393.

cities, which might have fallen like ripe fruit into the lap of Rome, were too inviting a prey to others not to precipitate a conflict for their possession. It was from this source that Rome became involved in fresh wars, first against a new Italian coalition, and then with her powerful antagonist, Pyrrhus, King of Epirus.

The whole of the southern extremity of Italy,—below those branches of the Apennines which diverge from the knot formed near Venusia, to the promontory of Minerva (*C. Campanella*) on the west coast, and the Iapygian promontory (*C. di Leuca*) at the "heel" of the peninsula—the whole of this region, except the possessions of the Greek cities along the coast, was now in the possession of two kindred peoples of the Samnite origin, the Lucanians and Bruttians. Their settlement in these regions was the consequence of the great and continued movement of the Sabellian races to the south, and the Bruttians are said to have separated from the Lucanians by an act of rebellion, which obtained for them their distinctive name.* The country of the Bruttians extended from the Straits of Messina to the little river Laüs (*Lao*), being formed throughout by the last chain of the Apennines; and the people were a wild race of mountain shepherds, whose character and habits have been handed down to the Calabrians. The limits of Lucania along the west coast coast were from the Laüs to the Silarus, which divided it from Campania. On this side it was a highland country, like Bruttium, but east of the Apennines it embraced the great plain which lies at the head of the gulf of Tarentum. It was thus an agricultural as well as a pastoral region, and it was rich in the vine,† the olive, and other fruit-trees. The vicinity of the Greek cities, while tending greatly to civilize the Lucanians, held out to them a prize, to grasp which became the leading object of their policy.

The aid which the Lucanians rendered to Rome in the Samnite wars appears to have been purchased by leaving those cities at their disposal. But when, on the restoration of peace, they began to take possession of the prize, and laid siege to Thurii, the Greeks applied for aid to Rome, just at the Campanians of Teanum and Cupua had asked for help against the Samnites. As in that case, so in this, the temptation proved irresistible. The Romans set

* *Bruttii* or *Brettii* is explained by the Roman antiquarians to mean *rebels* in the Lucanian language.

† The luxuriance of the vine in this whole southern region is supposed to have given origin to its Greek name *Œnotria*, that is, the *land of wine*.

little value on the friendship of a people whom the possession of Venusia would enable them to subdue, and commanded them to respect the Thurians as the allies of Rome. The spirit of Italian independence was once more roused. All that remained of a national party among the Samnites were induced to join with the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Etruscans in a new confederacy; and even in Tarentum the anti-Roman party was strong enough to prepare to break off the Roman alliance. While these preparations were going on, the Romans had the wisdom to compose those internal dissensions which broke out anew after the Samnite Wars. It has already been related how the last secession of the plebs achieved the triumph of their order, which was embodied in the Hortensian and Mænian laws;* and thus the republic presented a united front to the last attack of the combined nations of Italy.

The war began in Etruria seven years after the conclusion of peace with the Samnites (B.C. 283). Arretium, the only Etruscan city which had refused to take part with the other states, was besieged by the whole force of the confederacy, and by hordes of the Gallic Senones, whom they had taken into their pay. The new consuls had not yet had time to bring their levies into the field,† but L. Cæcilius Metellus, the consul of the last year and now prætor, was still in Etruria with his army. He hastened to the relief of Arretium, and suffered there a most calamitous defeat, he himself being slain, with seven military tribunes, and 13,000 men, and the rest of his army were made prisoners. The army was, in fact, cut off by the Senones, who were serving with the Etruscans, though they were then at peace with Rome; and the heralds sent to complain of this breach of faith were murdered at the instigation of the chieftain Britomaris, whose father had fallen in the battle. But a signal vengeance was taken by the consul, P. Cornelius Dolabella, who was already on his march into northern Etruria. On hearing of the disaster at Arretium, he turned aside into the territory of the Senones, easily defeated the few warriors who were left in the country, and began to devastate the land and massacre all who were able to bear arms. The Gauls who were with the Etruscan army, failing to persuade their allies to march upon Rome, returned to defend their country. They were met by Dolabella and defeated with immense slaughter, the survivors falling by their own hands. The result of the campaign

* In B.C. 289. See p. 280.

† At this period the consuls came into office about the middle of April.

was nothing less than the utter extinction of the nation of the Senones. Their women and children were sold as slaves. Those of the people who escaped destruction were driven from the land, and probably went to swell the hordes that soon afterwards poured down upon Greece and Asia Minor.* Their territory was soon occupied by Roman settlements.

The first colony was immediately founded at Sena (*Senigaglia*); and the Adriatic waters, of which the Tyrrhenians had previously been masters, witnessed the presence of a Roman fleet to protect the newly acquired coasts, and to prepare against the great attack which already threatened them from Epirus. Meanwhile the people of Cisalpine Gaul resolved to avenge their brethren's fate; and the great nation of the Boii joined the army of the Etruscans, with the design of marching on to another sack of Rome. But the consul Gnæus Domitius Calvinus met their united forces at the passage of the Tiber, and gained a decisive victory at the Vadimonian lake, which lies near the right bank, a little below the confluence of the Nar. This defeat, in which the flower of the Etruscan nation perished, and from which they never recovered, concluded the campaigns of the eventful year B.C. 283. In the following year, the broken forces of the Gauls and Etruscans were again defeated by the consul, Q. Æmilius Papus, and the Boians concluded a separate peace with Rome (B.C. 282).

The desultory warfare, which the Etruscans maintained for two years more, did not hinder the Romans from devoting their almost undivided attention to the south. Their small auxiliary force had been content hitherto to maintain itself at Thurii against the Lucanians and Bruttians; but now the consul, C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS, who has left one of the brightest names in the Roman annals, marched to the relief of the city. The Lucanians were defeated in a great battle, and their general, C. Statilius, was taken prisoner. The victory was followed by the voluntary submission of most of the Greek cities, except those of Dorian origin, which adhered to Tarentum; and, besides, Thurii, Locri, Croton, and Rhegium received Roman garrisons. Their occupation of the last of these cities appears to have anticipated the designs of the Carthaginians: and from the station they had at last reached at the extremity of the peninsula, they seemed to challenge those two great foreign powers, the Hellenic and the Punic, whose conflicts with Rome occupy the following century of her annals. Once more the good fortune of Rome was conspicuous in having

* See chap. xviii. p. 110.

to deal with her enemies apart; for the conquest of Italy was finished two years before the Punic wars began; and the ambitious designs of Pyrrhus were not resumed by Philip of Macedonia till the Romans were relieved from the worst pressure of the Second Punic War.

Tarentum now remained the sole obstacle to Rome's entire mastery of Italy. Situated on a splendid harbour west of the river Galæsus, at the bottom of the Gulf of Tarentum, and adjacent to the fertile plain of Lucania, this ancient city had enjoyed a pre-eminence among the states of Magna Grecia almost from the time of its colonization by the Lacedæmonian Phalanthus. It grew rich by commerce, and possessed land and sea forces sufficient to defend it alike against the Etruscans and the more fatal enemy of the Greek cities in Italy, Dionysius of Syracuse. The philosopher Archytas, a native of the city, gave it a code of laws (about B.C. 400), and it became famous as the resort of learned Greeks. Meanwhile, however, it had entirely abandoned the old Dorian simplicity; and the transference of the government from the many to the few was followed by a strange mixture of restless energy in the pursuit of wealth with licentious frivolity in its use. The Tarentines have been called "the Athenians of Italy," but while they caricatured the levity of the Athenians to a childish degree, they vied with the Etruscans in degraded luxury. Plato, who visited Tarentum about B.C. 389, saw the whole city drunk at the time of the Dionysia. The reader of Athenæus will remember at least one striking case of their prostitution of art to licentiousness; and literature was equally degraded by the invention of the burlesque or "merry tragedy," at the very time when the Samnites were making their great stand against the advancing power of Rome. The demagogues who directed their government proved totally incompetent to make use of a crisis which might have delivered the city from its difficult position among the contending parties. Their thoughts were chiefly occupied with the danger nearest at hand, from the growing pressure of the Lucanians, and their appeals for aid first brought over armies from the continent of Greece to Italy. Archidamus, the son of Agis, fell fighting in their cause (B.C. 338). In the interval between the first and second Samnite wars, the people of Tarentum invited Alexander of Epirus, the uncle of Alexander the Great, to assist them against a joint attack by the Lucanians and the Samnites (B.C. 332). This prince remained in Italy for nearly seven years, but the details of his campaigns are unfortunately lost. The Tarentines soon quarrelled

with him, probably because they perceived his design of making himself king of Italy. He then continued the war on his own account, and made a league with the Romans. After a career marked by considerable successes, the treachery of some Lucanian emigrants, who wished to make their peace with their countrymen, brought on him a defeat, in which he lost his life, near Pandosia, on the river Acheron (B.C. 326). In this same year, the breaking out of the Great Samnite War gave the Tarentines an opportunity to form a league which might have repulsed the Romans from Southern Italy. But while they left the Samnites to maintain a single-handed struggle for Italian independence, the Tarentine demagogues claimed to assume the position of umpires; and when the disaster at the Caudine Forks seemed to present a safe opportunity for insulting the Romans, they summoned both belligerents to lay down their arms (B.C. 320). The Romans replied by an immediate declaration of war, which seems at once to have quelled the rash confidence of the Tarentines; for, instead of using their fleet to co-operate with the Samnites in Campania, they sent it to support the aristocratic party in the cities of Sicily against Agathocles. Their armies were occupied in hostilities with the Lucanians, whose policy was equally fatal to the Samnite cause. At length, warned by the approaching end of the war that they might soon have to deal with the Romans as well as the Lucanians, they again looked for help to Greece. The adventurer who came this time to their aid was Cleonymus, the son of Cleomenes II., king of Sparta, who brought with him 5000 mercenaries and raised as many more in Italy. He compelled the Lucanians to make peace with Tarentum; and, had he possessed the spirit of a Pyrrhus, he was strong enough to have headed a great confederacy of the Italian and the Greek cities against Rome. But his ambition was of a far more vulgar type; and, after wasting time at Metapontum, and talking of aiding the Sicilian cities against Agathocles, he suddenly departed for Corcyra, and made that island his head-quarters for piratical incursions upon Italy and Greece. Thus the close of the Second Samnite War found the Tarentines defenceless against the Romans, who granted them favourable terms of peace (B.C. 304).

That peace had remained formally unbroken to the present time; and the Tarentines, yearly more and more enervated by luxury, had looked on while the Samnites and Etruscans were crushed and the Senones extirpated. But their secret hostility to Rome was now intensified by fear; and an opportunity occurred for the inso-

lent display of their maritime power at her expense. There were old treaties which bound the Romans not to sail to the east of the Lucanian promontory (*C. Nau*), the western headland of the Gulf of Tarentum. The Romans were not likely to observe a restriction which would have severed them both from their garrison at Thurii and from their new possessions on the Adriatic. Whether in good faith, or from the characteristic assumption to "decree what should be right," a fleet of ten ships of war, sent to protect Thurii, and probably also to watch the Tarentines, appeared suddenly off Tarentum (B.C. 282). It was the Dionysiac festival, and the whole people were gathered in the theatre in a condition like that in which they had been seen by Plato, when from the raised seats, which looked out to the sea, they beheld the Roman ships making evidently for the harbour. Incited by a demagogue, who urged them to take instant satisfaction for the violated treaty, they rushed down and manned their ships, and sailed out to meet the Romans, who, surprised and outnumbered, sought safety in flight. Only half their fleet escaped; four ships were sunk with all their crews; a fifth was taken; the soldiers on board were put to death, and the rowers were sold for slaves. Such an outrage upon an ally so powerful could only spring from that recklessness with which weak passion commits itself to a course which it is conscious of not having the strength to carry through. As for the treaty, it was both obsolete and inapplicable to the present state of things; and the Tartentines clearly put themselves in the wrong by attacking without first warning off the Roman fleet. Flushed with their easy victory they marched to Thurii and took the city by surprise. The Roman garrison was suffered to retire uninjured; but their partisans were driven into exile; the existing government was overthrown; the city was plundered; and the Thurians were bitterly reproached for bringing the Romans into the Gulf of Tarentum among the Hellenic cities, by the very state which had forced them to that course by abandoning them to the Lucanians (B.C. 282).

The Romans took their wonted precautions to place themselves in the right. They sent L. Postumius to Tarentum at the head of an embassy, to demand satisfaction. On their first landing the envoys were beset by a rabble, jeering at their purple-bordered togas. It happened that the citizens were again assembled in the theatre at the season of a festival, and the ambassadors were conducted thither for their audience. The whole assembly seemed possessed with a spirit of wanton levity. When Postumius began

to address them in Greek, they laughed aloud at his accent and his mistakes. He was still proceeding, with unmoved gravity, to state the senate's moderate demands—the release of the captives, the restoration of Thurii, and the surrender of the authors of the outrage—when a drunken profligate came up to him and bespattered his white toga with the most disgusting filth, amidst the laughter, applause, and obscene songs of the whole assembly. "Laugh while ye may," exclaimed Postumius, holding up his sullied robe; "ye shall weep long enough hereafter, and the stain on this toga shall be washed out in your blood." Even after this insult, it was with some reluctance that the senate declared war. The consul, L. Æmilius Barbula, who was already in Samnium, advanced into the Tarentine territory; but he did not begin to ravage it till the former offers of peace had been again refused; and then he sent back several noble prisoners unhurt. The Romans hoped for the restoration of peace through the aristocratical party; and for a moment the government fell into its hands; but the democracy had already taken measures, at once to protect the city and to secure their own ascendancy by foreign aid.

The petulance of the Tarentine democracy was, in fact, not so irrational as it appears; and the Romans had a special reason for their moderation. We must glance back to that point in the Greek annals at which we saw the noble-minded Epirot, Pyrrhus, meditating to place his name on a level with that of Alexander, by founding an empire in the West.* Since the enterprise of his ancestor Alexander, half a century before, Tarentum had been, as it were, an open gate into Italy; and now the prospect was held out of measuring his strength, not with the barbarian Lucanians, but with worthy rivals for imperial dominion. The Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians might be relied on for a last united effort under such a leader. The Tartentines had already sent an embassy to Pyrrhus, who had the wisdom to demand powers which would make him independent of their vacillating councils; and they had to make the simple choice between submitting to the Romans or receiving the Epirot for a master. The two parties were very nearly balanced; but the more patriotic course of taking a Greek for their leader was enforced by apprehensions of Roman vengeance. The clemency of the Roman consul had, however, produced such an effect, that Agis, the leader of the aristocratic party, had been chosen general, when all was changed by the return of the envoys from Epirus, bringing a treaty ratified by Pyrrhus.

* See chap. xviii. p. 107.

It gave him the supreme command of the Tarentines and their Italian allies, with the right of keeping a garrison in the city till the independence of Italy should be secured. The envoys were accompanied by Cineas, the favourite minister of Pyrrhus. His general, Milo, soon followed, with 3000 men, and, by taking possession of the citadel, put an end at once to the government of Agis, and to all prospect of peace with Rome. The consul Æmilius retired into winter quarters in Apulia (B.C. 281).

It was still the depth of winter when Pyrrhus himself landed on the Messapian coast with a force which had suffered greatly from a stormy voyage, and marched overland to Tarentum, whither his scattered ships gradually followed. The army he brought with him numbered 20,000 soldiers of the phalanx, 2000 archers, 500 slingers, 3000 cavalry, and 20 elephants, an animal now for the first time seen in Italy.* It was for the most part raised from various nations subject to his rule on the western coast of Greece,—Molossians, Thesprotians, Chaonians, and Ambraciots; but it also included, besides his own household troops, some Macedonian infantry and Thessalian cavalry, furnished by Ptolemy Ceraunus. The small body—as large however, as that which Alexander had led into Asia—was but the nucleus of his intended force. The Tarentine envoys had promised him 350,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry of the confederates. Finding that this force still remained to be raised, Pyrrhus at once set about enlisting mercenaries at the expense of the Tarentines, and, what was far more distasteful, he compelled the citizens to serve in person. His measures transformed the city of frivolous idlers into a severely ordered garrison; the assembly and the clubs were suspended; the theatres and promenades were closed; and when the citizens attempted to fly from this irksome discipline, his guards prevented their passing the gates without the king's permission. On the first symptoms of disaffection, the demagogues and leading men were put to death or deported as hostages to Epirus. Whatever might be the case with Italy, Tarentum at least had found a master, who knew how little its free alliance was worth; and Pyrrhus was too good a soldier to begin the campaign without securing the city which formed his military base.

* Hence its proper Latin name, "the Lucanian ox" (*bos Lucas*), from the country in which the Romans first saw it. We still unconsciously call the elephant an ox, for the name is but the Greek form of the Samitic *aleph* or *eleph*, an *ox*. It is needless to multiply examples of the popular application of familiar names to newly-discovered animals.

The Romans strained every nerve to march against Pyrrhus before he could gather the forces which as yet the confederacy did not possess. In fact, all Italy, except Tarentum itself and the adjacent parts of Lucania, lay at their command, if they could but anticipate the advance of Pyrrhus. The Samnites and the bulk of the Lucanians were kept in check by the colony of Venusia; and the Bruttians would have been overawed by the garrisons of the Greek cities, but for the defection of the Campanian garrison in Rhegium, who rose and seized the city for themselves, with results of which we have afterwards to speak. Fromt his example it may be inferred that the Campanians were for the most part employed in garrison duty, and that they were generally disaffected. The crisis was indeed one to try the temper of all the Italians, and especially of the recently subdued Sabellian nations, when they heard that the greatest captain of Greece had crossed the sea to head an effort for their liberation; and there can be little doubt that a rapid march of Pyrrhus up the central highlands would have been attended by a universal rising. How dubious was the fidelity of some even of the Latins, and how stern the resolution of the Romans to crush disaffection, is proved by the fate of some of the leading citizens of Præneste, who were suddenly carried off to Rome, cast into prison, and afterwards put to death. Even the *proletarii* were called out and armed, probably to form the army of reserve which covered Rome. An army was sent under the consul Coruncanius against the Etruscans, who were already scarcely able to keep the field; while the main forces of the republic were despached under the other consul P. Valerius Lævinus, through Samnium into the Tarentine territory. This army consisted of four legions, with the auxiliary troops of the allies. Its total force, amounting in all to 50,000 men, is so much greater than an ordinary consular army,* that we must suppose Lævinus to have formed a junction with the troops which had wintered in Apulia under Æmilius. At the lowest calculation, the Roman army must have considerably outnumbered the enemy.

The attempt of Pyrrhus to gain time by offering to mediate between the Romans and the Italians was met by an indignant refusal; and he marched out of Tarentum to meet the enemy. Lævinus had directed his march to the western shore of the Gulf of Tarentum, and was encamped on the right bank of the Siris (*Sinno*) when Pyrrhus hastened forward to protect the important

* The greatest ordinary force of a consular army was 20,000 foot and 2400 horse.

city of Heraclea at the mouth of the Aciris (*Agri*). The plain between the two rivers was favourable for the king's cavalry and elephants, and here he drew up his forces, with his left resting on Heraclea and his right towards Pandosia. The BATTLE OF HERACLEA is memorable in military history as the first in which the two great systems of the phalanx and the legion were brought into collision.* The attack was begun by the Romans. They passed the Siris under cover of their horse, who crossed first on the two wings, threatening to surround the enemy. Pyrrhus himself led a furious charge of cavalry, but the Romans sustained the shock, in which the king was thrown, his horse being killed by a brave Frentanian, and his horsemen fled at seeing him fall. The incident taught Pyrrhus caution; and he exchanged his arms and purple cloak with an officer of his guard, named Megacles, while he brought the phalanx into action. Seven times did the legion and the phalanx drive one another back: seven times did either force reconquer its lost ground. The conflict still hung in doubt, when Megacles, whose borrowed splendour had made him a universal mark, was struck down dead. His fall was almost as fatal as if he had been really the king. Lævinus seized the opportunity to bring up his last reserve, a chosen body of cavalry, which he threw on the flank of the phalanx, while it wavered for a moment. But the column rallied at the sight of Pyrrhus, riding with bare head along its front; and the king, in his turn, brought up his reserve, those formidable beasts, whose unwieldy strength

* The Roman legion, as we have seen, was at first arrayed as a phalanx; but, at the time of the great Latin war, it had been remodelled into that more open order, for a full account of which the reader is referred to the works on Roman antiquities. It was drawn up in three lines at moderate intervals, called the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii;* but the last line was triple, so that there were really five lines in all. The *hastati*, in the front line, were the youths who were making their first experience of war; the *principes*, those in the full vigour of manhood; and these two formed the van, under the common name of *Antepilani*, "those before the *pilani*" (javelin-men), another name for the *Triarii* or *third rank*. The latter were the main body, consisting of veterans, of whom those best tried formed the front line of *veterani* or *triarii* proper; behind them were the *rorarii*, of younger and less famous soldiers; and last of all the *accensi*, or supernumeraries. The central line, of *triarii* proper, may be regarded as the nucleus of the whole force, with two lines in front, that could fall back between its open columns if driven in, and two other lines in the rear, to advance to its support. Each line was formed of fifteen maniples or companies (*manipuli*), consisting of 60 privates, 2 centurions or captains, and an ensign (*vexillarius*). The maniples were drawn up with a space between them on each side, and were formed in open order, each man having a free space to wield his weapons. This open order, in which so much scope was given to the powers of the individual soldier, the system of separate lines, supporting each other at intervals, and the greater breadth of front, formed the great distinctions between the legion and the phalanx.

the Romans had not yet learned to despise, and whose strange forms their horses could not be brought to face. The cavalry which was to have decided the victory fled, carrying confusion among the legions: the elephants pursued, trampling down all before them; and the charge of Pyrrhus with his Thessalian horse made the rout complete. It is said that the Roman army would have been cut to pieces, had not a certain Caius Minucius wounded one of the elephants, which turned back upon the pursuers, causing a confusion which gave the fugitives a momentary respite, and showed how these terrible beasts might be made dangerous to their own employers. As it was, the Romans escaped over the Siris, but without staying to defend their camp. Their loss in killed and wounded was reckoned at 15,000 men, of whom 7,000 were left dead upon the field, and 2,000 were taken prisoners. The battle cost Pyrrhus 4,000 slain, including so many of his best men and officers as to have called forth from him the celebrated saying, that such another victory would be his ruin. Lævinus drew off his routed army into Apulia, and found a rallying place at Venusia, which remained faithful to Rome, while environed by the enemy. The rest of Apulia, with Lucania, Samnium, the Bruttii, the Greek cities, in a word, the whole south of Italy, were the prize of the victory; but the Latins were steadfast, and Pyrrhus learnt with what sort of men he had to deal by the refusal of his offer to the prisoners to take service in his army.

Well weighing the price that his victory had cost, and trusting to its immediate effect upon the Romans, he offered terms of peace. His aim was to establish a Greek power in Southern Italy, embracing the Italian states as dependent allies; an arrangement which might be sufficient at least till he should have subjugated Sicily. He demanded the freedom of all the Hellenic cities, including those of Campania, and the restitution of all territory and places (Luceria and Venusia among the rest) that had been taken from the Samnite nations. The bearer of these proposals was the minister Cineas, a philosopher and orator who had heard Demosthenes in his youth, and who was said to have won more cities by his tongue than Pyrrhus had taken by his sword. He was instructed to lavish professions of respect and admiration on the republic; but he was furnished with other means of persuasion, to be used in private. His blandishments were not without effect. A party in the senate were inclined to impose upon themselves with the fallacy that a present concession might draw Pyrrhus on

to his ruin. But the old statesmen, who had guided the republic through the Samnite and Latin wars, and had seen her take the first step to sovereign dominion, knew full well that the question was of her relinquishing all she had gained and subsiding into the chief city of Latium, a mere province of a Greek kingdom. The blind and aged Appius Claudius, who in his censorship had laid down the road by which the Roman armies had so often marched to their victories in the south, appeared in the senate, after a long retirement, to infuse into a new generation the spirit by which their fathers had conquered. The story of how he was carried through the crowded forum in a litter, and led by his sons and sons-in-law to his place, and heard with breathless silence by the senate, irresistibly recalls that great scene of our own history, the last appearance of Chatham,—a comparison which Dr. Arnold has drawn with a very pardonable exaggeration :—" We recollect how the greatest of English statesmen, bowed down by years and infirmity like Appius, but roused like him by the dread of approaching dishonour to the English name, was led by his son and son-in-law into the House of Lords, and all the peers with one impulse arose to receive him. We know the expiring words of that mighty voice, when he protested against the dismemberment of this ancient monarchy, and prayed that if England must fall, she might fall with honour. The real speech of Lord Chatham against yielding to the coalition of France and America will give a far more lively image of what was said by the blind Appius in the Roman senate than any fictitious oration which I could either copy from other writers or endeavour myself to invent; and those who would wish to know how Appius spoke should read the dying words of the great orator of England." * Not content with rejecting the king's overtures, the senate declared the principle that Rome could never negotiate with a foreign enemy on Italian ground; and Cineas returned to tell his master that " to fight with the Roman people was like fighting with the hydra, so inexhaustible were their numbers and their spirit. The city was like a temple, the senate was an assembly of kings." Such expressions might well have been used by a spectator of the actual state of Rome; but they were probably placed in the mouth of

* Arnold, *History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 497. It is a remarkable coincidence that the painter of the modern scene should have given life to a son who, at an age as great as that of Appius, and in spite of infirmities like Chatham's, was wont to entrance the House of Lords, with pleadings as eloquent as those of either, for the true dignity of England in the cause of European liberty.

Cineas by the Greek rhetorical historians. At all events they had no effect in checking the course of Pyrrhus.

The Romans prepared to meet him in a spirit worthy of their proud answer to his overtures. Two new legions were raised to reinforce Lævinus, who followed the march of Pyrrhus into Campania, and saved Capua and Neapolis. Having laid waste that rich province, the king ascended the valley of the Liris into Latium, as far as Fregellæ, which he took by surprise, thus securing the passage of the river. His march was now directed straight upon Rome along the great Latin road. The Hernicans of Anagnia, who were still the unwilling subjects of Rome, and the Prænestines, smarting under their recent cruel chastisement, opened their gates at his approach, but the Latin cities in general showed no inclination to revolt from Rome. He had advanced six miles beyond Præneste, to the spot where the road emerges from the mountains into the Campagna, across which he could see the city at the distance of only eighteen miles, when he found that his onward march had reached its limit.

Exhausted by their fruitless efforts since their defeat at the Vadimonian Lake, and probably unwilling to have the war carried into their country, the Etruscans made a separate peace with Rome at this very crisis, and the army of the consul Coruncanius was set at liberty to operate against Pyrrhus, while the dictator, Cn. Domitius Calvinus, covered Rome with his army of reserve. With such a force in his front, and that of Lævinus hanging on his rear, Pyrrhus had no choice but to retreat. He carried off his immense booty into Campania unmolested by Lævinus,* and thence retired into winter quarters at Tarentum (B.C. 280). The fruits of his victory at Heraclea had been in a great measure lost by the defection of the Etruscans and the firm attitude of the Latins, and the Italian confederates complained of the burthens of a war in which the insolence of the foreign soldiery was ever reminding them of their secondary part.

It was during this winter that the Romans sent that embassy to Pyrrhus, which the annalists have adorned with their celebrated stories of the unflinching courage and incorruptible integrity of Fabricius. The object of the mission, to ransom or exchange the Roman prisoners, was refused by Pyrrhus unless the terms of peace already offered by Cineas were accepted; but he allowed them to

* The Roman annalists tell one of their usual romances, about the army of Lævinus frightening off the Greeks with their shouts, when Pyrrhus was preparing for an attack.

go to Rome to celebrate the Saturnalia, on their word of honour to return, a pledge to which the senate added force by proclaiming the penalty of death for any one who loitered a day behind the appointed time.

At the beginning of the summer of B.C. 279, Pyrrhus opened the campaign in Apulia, and the Roman consuls marched to the relief of Asculum, to which he had laid siege. The two armies were equally matched, both in their numbers and composition. Each contained about 70,000 infantry and 8000 cavalry; the select troops being 16,000 Greeks and Epirots on the one side, and 20,000 Romans on the other; but to counterbalance this slight disparity, Pyrrhus had his elephants, now reduced to nineteen. His allies were the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Samnites, with the civic force of Tarentum, distinguished by their white shields: those of the Romans were the Latins, Campanians, Volscians, Umbrians Sabines, and the kindred Sabellian tribes. The armies were drawn up in such a manner as to prove that on neither side were the allies fully trusted. Pyrrhus arranged his wings so as to meet the open order of the Romans, who, on their part, had invented a peculiar sort of war-chariot to use against the elephants. The real battle of Asculum was preceded, the day before, by an indecisive engagement, in which Pyrrhus, attacking on broken ground, suffered some disadvantage; but on the following day he drew the Romans into the plain, where his phalanx had room to form and his elephants free scope for action. The Romans exhausted their desperate valour upon the even front of the phalanx without being able to penetrate within the line of spears; till, wearied and disordered, they were routed by a charge of the elephants. They escaped to their camp behind the river, with the loss of 6000 men. How entirely the victory was due to the phalanx is proved by the loss of 3505 of the king's other troops. We are fortunate in possessing the trustworthy account of the battle of Asculum, copied by Plutarch from Hieronymus of Cardia, an historian who flourished from the time of Alexander to that of Pyrrhus, and made use of the king's own commentaries. The Roman annalists claimed the victory; and, in a political sense, they were not far wrong. Pyrrhus had not succeeded in completely crushing a Roman army and giving the allies of Rome an opportunity to revolt; and the Italian confederacy was held together and to him by ties loose from the first, and long since weakened by mutual disgust. His own Greek troops, on whom alone he placed reliance, melted away with every battle, and the irruption of the Gauls into Greece precluded the

hope of reinforcements. He abandoned the campaign, leaving the Romans in possession of Apulia, and retired into winter quarters at Tarentum (b.c. 279).

Here he was invited to a scene of action more congenial to a Greek, and promising a better vantage ground for some future attack on Italy. Agathocles had been dead ten years, and the Sicilian Greeks had been left, without any common leader, to the demagogues and despots of their several cities. Meanwhile the Carthaginians had made rapid progress in the island : Agrigentum had fallen, and Syracuse was now threatened. The Syracusans applied to Pyrrhus, who had a sort of claim, as the son-in-law of Agathocles, to be their natural leader, and they offered him the sovereignty of their city. They were seconded by envoys from the other states, who promised to make him master of the whole island. At the same juncture, the Romans and Carthaginians, who had hitherto been connected only by commercial treaties, concluded an offensive and defensive league against Pyrrhus and the Greeks. By this treaty, the Romans secured the aid of the Carthaginian fleet to operate upon the coast of Italy, and especially to blockade Pyrrhus in Tarentum, and the Carthaginians hoped to detain the king in Italy while they obtained the complete mastery of Sicily. It might well appear that, by at once meeting them on the latter field, Pyrrhus would best promote his ultimate success in Italy.

Early in b.c. 278, the Carthaginian fleet of 120 sail, under Mago, sailed from Ostia to the straits. They were received at Messana by the Mamertines, of whom we shall soon hear more; but Rhegium was successfully defended by the revolters, who could hope for no mercy from the Romans. Syracuse was next blockaded, while a powerful army formed the siege by land. Meanwhile the Romans opened the campaign in Italy under the new consuls, of whom Fabricius was one. This simple yeoman seemed to have been raised up to overcome Pyrrhus by a magnanimity like his own before Curius conquered him in arms. He sent warning to the king that one of his servants had offered to poison him if he were well paid. Pyrrhus responded to the generous act by dismissing all his Roman prisoners without ransom, and seized the opportunity to re-open negotiations. Cineas was once more sent to Rome ; but the senate remained firm to the Carthaginian alliance, and adhered to its former terms. It was now needful above all things to save Syracuse. Disregarding alike the remonstrances of the Italians, and the piteous appeal of the Tarentines, that, if he must desert them, he would at least restore to them their city, Pyrrhus left Milo with a garrison at

Tarentum, and his son Alexander at Locri, and set sail with his main force for Sicily. If the Carthaginians had left the squadron at Messana, it was too weak to oppose his passage, and he disembarked at Tauromenium (*Taormina*), near the northern foot of Etna.

The two years which Pyrrhus had spent in Italy, so brilliant in victories and so fruitless in their results, foreshadowed the bright promise and the bitter disappointment of his two years' campaign in Sicily. He was at once successful in relieving Syracuse, and all the Greek cities recognized his leadership. Their union turned the tide against the Carthaginians, who were almost entirely driven from the field, and lost their fortress of Eryx in the west. It was only the strength of their fleet that enabled them to hold the two great ports of Messana and Lilybæum at the opposite extremities of the island. The Romans, engaged in recovering the south of Italy, showed no disposition to come to their help; and the Carthaginians offered Pyrrhus a separate peace, with supplies of men and money, if he would leave them in undisturbed possession of Lilybæum. They hoped, of course, that he would return to Italy, leaving the Greek cities once more at their mercy. Pyrrhus rejected the proposal, and set to work to supply his greatest want, by building a fleet, which might enable him not only to take Lilybæum, and to keep open his communications between Epirus, Italy, and Sicily, but even to carry the war into Africa with that adequate force for the want of which Agathocles had failed. By the middle of B.C. 278, the fleet was ready in the harbour of Syracuse. But in the mean time disaffection had broken out among the Greeks. Trained at the court of Ptolemy, Pyrrhus had imbibed oriental ideas of government thoroughly distasteful to the citizens of free republics; nor did he scruple to put down opposition by severity. His failure to take Lilybæum had injured his prestige with the Greeks, and, when they saw his new fleet sail for Tarentum instead of Lilybæum, they believed that he had finally abandoned them. They refused all his demands for reinforcements and supplies, and, in one word, the kingdom of Sicily was lost.

It appears, indeed, that Pyrrhus was led by his generous nature into a political mistake. Had he completed the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Sicily, and then established his government there with something of the sternness of a Dionysius or an Agathocles, he might have returned as the undisputed sovereign of the island, to finish his work in Italy. The successes of the

Romans had indeed been great: and even Locri had been lost, the citizens having massacred the Epirot garrison. But the Lucanians and Samnites were not yet entirely subdued; and Tarentum, held by the garrison under Milo, kept open the entrance into Italy. Pyrrhus could have afforded to wait; but he seems to have felt himself bound to respond to the cry of the Italians before they were quite crushed; and his attempt to relieve them cut him off from his surest resources. "The enterprise of Pyrrhus was wrecked; and the plan of his life was ruined irretrievably: he is henceforth an adventurer, who feels that he has been great and is so no longer, and who now wages war, not as a means to an end, but in order to drown thought amidst the reckless excitement of the game, and to find, if possible, in the tumult of battle, a soldier's death."* The state of his mind was revealed by an incident to be related presently. He began operations for the recovery of the Greek cities, while the consuls were engaged in Samnium and Lucania. Locri was taken by surprise, and the inhabitants punished for the slaughter of the garrison; but the Campanians in Rhegium repelled his attack, with the help of the Mamertines of Messana. Eager as the Italians had been to seek his aid, they seemed to give him but a cold welcome, and offered none of the supplies he needed. On his return from Rhegium, he was persuaded by some of his followers to plunder the temple of Proserpine at Locri of a treasure which had been buried out of mortal sight for untold generations. But the ships which were conveying it to Tarentum were wrecked, and the treasure was cast back on the Locrian shore. In vain did Pyrrhus restore it to the temple, and seek to propitiate the goddess with the lives of his advisers. His constant sense of being haunted by her displeasure proved that his impulsive nature had succumbed to despondency. Alexander was not free from superstition, but he knew how to propitiate the gods by assuming that they were always on his side. Pyrrhus was not cold-blooded enough for a great conqueror, and the saying is literally true of him, which is the deepest irony when applied to Cæsar:—

"Ambition should be made of sterner stuff."

Even the Romans who were little deficient in this material, were seized with religious terror at the renewal of the war, attended as it was by unheard of prodigies. The thunderbolt of Jove decapitated his own clay statue on the summit of the Capitol, and the

* Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 421.

head was only found after a diligent search in the river's bed at the very spot indicated by the augurs. The new levy was not raised till the consul Manius Curius Dentatus had made a severe example of the first defaulter. At length Curius took the field in Samnium, and his colleague Lentulus in Lucania (B.C. 275).

The army of Pyrrhus at Tarentum was by this time reduced to 20,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, of whom his veteran Epirots formed but a small proportion. Of the forces of the Samnites and Lucanians we have no account, except that both nations were almost exhausted by the successes of the Romans during the last two years. A Roman army had wintered in Samnium; and the first object of Pyrrhus was to relieve the Samnites before they were completely crushed. Despatching a body of Samnite auxiliaries to make head against Lentulus in Lucania, he hastened with his main body into Samnium, where Curius lay near Beneventum, waiting for the junction of his colleague, and for favourable omens. A night attack on the consul's camp was disconcerted by some of Pyrrhus's troops losing their way in the darkness; and the rough ground on which the attack was made was in favour of the Romans. Encouraged by the repulse of the night assault, Curius led down his army into the plain. The Romans, victorious on one wing were on the other driven back before the charge of the elephants, when the guards of the camp poured in such a shower of arrows, that the galled beasts turned round and ran full upon the phalanx. The Romans, rushing in through the openings in the array of spears, plied their short swords almost unresisted within the enemy's guard. The flower of the Epirot army was destroyed: the camp of Pyrrhus fell into the victors' hands: and, in addition to 1300 prisoners, they took four elephants, the first that were ever seen at Rome. The wonder always excited by the animals when seen for the first time must have been mingled with deep suggestions of oriental conquest, when the Romans saw the strange beasts waving their trunks before the triumphal car of their rustic consul. The immense booty of the royal camp was afterwards used for the construction of the aqueduct which conveyed the water of the Anio to Rome (*Anio Vetus*).

Clinging to his enterprise to the last, Pyrrhus applied to his allies in the East for the indispensable reinforcements, but without success. His enemy, Antigonas Gonatus, reigned in Macedonia and threatened Epirus itself, and the kings of Syria and Egypt were busy with their own affairs. The expedition was at an end; and Pyrrhus returned to his own country to reap his brilliant and

profitless victories for the last time (B.C. 275). Landing in Epirus with only 8000 foot and 500 horse, he was soon strong enough to recover the crown of Macedonia from Antigonus, but only to perish the next year by a woman's hand in the streets of Argos (B.C. 272).* But even at his final departure, he was so loth to relinquish all hold upon Italy, that he left a garrison under Milo in Tarentum, and, while he lived, this shadow of his presence prolonged the resistance of the south.

Milo discharged his duty like a man of sense and spirit. The resistance of Italy was virtually ended, and the peace party recovered the political government of Tarentum. Those who chose were suffered to leave the city and to build a separate fort, which they surrendered to the Romans without opposition from Milo; but he refused to give up the city itself. It was not till a Carthaginian fleet appeared in the bay, and the Tarentines were about to yield the city to them, that Milo, released from his allegiance by the death of Pyrrhus, admitted the Romans into the citadel (B.C. 272). It is not easy to exaggerate the influence of this step on the destinies of the world; for the possession of a port like Tarentum might probably have reversed the issue of the Punic Wars. As it was, the Carthaginians protested that they had come in all friendship, to aid the Romans in accordance with the treaty. Tarentum was suffered to retain its self-government on surrendering all its means of defence; and the Lucanians and Bruttians made their submission.

Some isolated enterprises still remained, to complete the subjugation of Italy. The first was the reduction and punishment of the revolted Campanian garrison of Rhegium, who had now held out for ten years against the Romans, the Carthaginians, and Pyrrhus. The city was taken after a long and desperate resistance, and the survivors of the original mutineers were scourged and beheaded in the market place at Rome (B.C. 270). In this war we first find Hiero of Syracuse giving the Romans that support which he so faithfully maintained throughout his long life. Hiero undertook on his own account the reduction of those kindred pirates, the Mamertines of Messana, with results of which we have to speak in the next chapter. The final effort of the Samnites, in the shape of a desultory guerrilla warfare, was crushed by the united armies of both consuls in the following year (B.C. 269). But at the very time when the last sparks of Italian independence were trampled out in its ancient focus, a new war was begun by a

* See Chap. XVIII. pp. 107, 108.

people of whom we have barely heard before. These were the Picentines, on the Adriatic coast, between Umbria and the Sabine country. They had been the faithful allies of Rome ever since the outbreak of the Third Samnite War; and their present revolt arose probably from the design of removing many of them to colonize the old Samnite coast on ths Gulf of Salernum. They were speedily subdued, and the new colonies of Ariminum and Beneventum added security to the Adriatic coast and the Samnite mountains (B.C. 268). Last of all, the Roman arms were carried beyond Tarentum into the Iapygian promontory, which forms the "heel" of Italy, and was peopled by the Messapians and Salentines. The latter, who were settled about the extreme headland (*C. di Leuca*), claimed to be a Greek colony, founded by the Cretan Idomenus after the Trojan War. By their subjugation, the Romans secured the port of Brundisium, a place of the greatest importance to hold in case Alexander, the son of Pyrrhus, should revive his father's projects, and afterwards the chief point of departure from Italy to Greece (B.C. 267). It was connected with Rome by the extension of the Appian road from Capua, through Beneventum, Venusia, and Tarentum.

The whole of Italy was intersected by military roads, and military colonies (several of which have been already mentioned) were established at the most commanding points, to keep the country in subjection, and to guard against irruptions of the Gauls on the north and north-east, where Ariminum was the key of the frontier. Those of the new colonies, as well as many of the older settlements, which were planted on the sea-shore, were charged with the special duty of guarding the coasts, their colonists being exempted from military service by land. For Rome, though a maritime city from the first, had not yet obtained naval supremacy in her own waters. The fleets of the Carthaginians, Etruscans, Massaliots and Syracusans, had long held the dominions of the seas, from which Rome might easily have been excluded but for her wise policy of commercial treaties with Carthage. The time was not remote when the piratical galleys of Antium had commanded the Latin coast, and we have seen Tarentum setting limits to Roman navigation. Some progress had been made during the last fifty years. The reduction of Antium and the surrender of its fleet was a first step to the formation of a navy, the importance of which was justly commemorated by the *Rostra* in the Forum (B.C. 338).*

* See p. 288.

The conquered cities of Magna Græcia (beginning with Neapolis, B.C. 326), contributed certain numbers of ships to the Roman navy, which was organized in B.C. 311 by the appointment of two admirals (*duoviri navales*). Meanwhile the decline of the Etruscans had compelled them to yield to Carthage the maritime supremacy they had once divided with her, and the continued success of the Carthaginians in Sicily had brought down Syracuse from the proud position which Dionysius had secured for her on the sea. The Massaliots scarcely appeared on the coast of Italy, being content to preserve the mastery of their own waters, and to protect their commerce against Carthaginian and other interlopers. Thus the supremacy of Carthage was no longer disputed, and her relations to Rome are clearly defined by the commercial treaty of B.C. 306. The older treaty (B.C. 348), of which this was a renewal, had bound the Romans not to sail beyond *C. Bon*, on the Carthaginian coast, but now, besides the superfluously jealous exclusion from the Atlantic, on the shores of which Carthage had begun to found settlements, they were prohibited from trading with Sardinia or the cities of the African coast, so that Carthage itself and Sicily alone remained open to their commerce. Such an increase of jealousy contained the seeds of new dissension, which must have been fostered by the selfish policy of Carthage in carrying out the military convention against Pyrrhus. That alliance was the last friendly connection, in presence of a common danger, of the two republics, whose interests were clearly shown to be irreconcileable by the very pretence of concerted action. The contrasted attitudes of the Carthaginian fleet off the harbour of Tarentum and the army of Papirius outside its walls, each watching for the coveted prize, was an omen of the approaching rivalry for the dominion, first of Sicily and then of the world; and the preference given to the Romans over their dangerous allies furnished them with a new centre of maritime power and a new motive for using it to the utmost. By the conquest of Bruttii in the same year, they obtained in the immense forest tract of Sila, which contained a vast variety of timber and produced the best pitch then known, the materials for building a fleet. The maritime organization of the whole coast was provided for by the appointment of the four Quæstores of the fleet (*Quæstores Classici*), whose stations were at Ostia, the port of Rome, to command the Etruscan and Latin coasts; at Cales, for Campania and Magna Græcia; at Ariminum, for the Adriatic coast; but the station of the fourth is not named. Together with these preparations at

home, the republic sought for alliances among the Greek maritime states which had long been at enmity with Carthage. The close friendship which had long bound her to Massalia may perhaps be taken as another sign of the Hellenic element in the Roman state. The Greek merchants of that city, who had made a collection to aid in the restoration of Rome after its destruction by the Gauls, received special commercial privileges, and a place at the games next to that of the senators.* A treaty was made in B.C. 306 with Rhodes, which had now established its independence in the midst of the eastern monarchies, and another with the Corinthian colony of Apollonia on the Illyrian coast.

Thus, on the eve of the completion of her five-hundredth year, Rome had extended her dominion over all Italy, and was preparing to contend for the empire of the world. The confederated Latins, the wealthy cities of Etruria, the hardy races of the Sabellian stock, were each as unfit to take her place at the head of a united Italy, as they had proved unable to arrest her advance. Whatever sympathy may be felt with nations struggling for their independence, whatever disgust at the heartless selfishness and bad faith which marked so many steps of the republic's progress, it is clear that Rome's aggrandizement was an essential part of that great plan, which is gradually developed at every step in the history of the world, and which is no more dependent on man's virtues than it is frustrated by his faults. The good will ever tend to work out good, the evil to retard it, and the choice between them is of infinite consequence to our own moral responsibility; but the Supreme Ruler is ever teaching us how puny are our best efforts to give an impulse to His work, how powerless our worst opposition to resist it. The historian has no need to palliate the wrongs which Divine Providence overrules to its own designs; and he must ever feel how partial and short-sighted are his most careful judgments of the character and motives of the actors. When he has done his best to exalt self-sacrificing virtue, when he has poured out his indignation alike against the despot and the meanness which is dazzled by despotism, when he has stripped the veil from the selfish wrongs which are so often excused by the pretext of patriotism, he still shrinks from assuming the authority of a judge, and leaves every man to stand or fall to his own Master. It is his more grateful task to trace, by the light of faith in God's government of the world, the unfolding of the great scheme in which use is made of the cruel despotism, the haughty and selfish

* It was called *Græcostasis*, that is, the Greek platform.

aristocracy, the headstrong and turbulent republic, as well as of the best ordered forms of free but stable government; to see how each agent has been fitted for his work, and how each part of the work has been assigned to the agent best able to do it. Rome was the power most fitted to unite Italy in one great state, preparatory to the union of the civilized world in one vast empire. The Romans alone, of all the Italian nations, added to the highest courage and the most unflinching perseverance the profoundest respect for law and discipline. Rome alone possessed the secret of welding the fragments successfully brought together by conquest into a political whole, in which municipal freedom was reconciled with the unity and supremacy of the central power; while her internal struggles had resulted in a constitution which, though containing, like all others, the seeds of dissolution, had enough of vitality and permanence to enable her citizens to present a united front to the world. The external and internal conflicts of five centuries, like the fierceness of the blast-furnace, and the perpetual blows of the hammer, had given her the strength of that metal, which is her prophetic symbol, and prepared her to do in the political world that universal work which it does in the material. "The fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things: and as iron that breaketh in pieces all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise." *

The successive steps by which Rome advanced to this position have been traced at each stage of the narrative. It only remains to take a summary view of her present constitution, in its relation to the empire she had established in Italy. Of the extent and nature of that empire, an excellent general idea is given by Dr. Arnold: "Thus the whole extent of Italy, from the Macra and the Rubicon to Rhegium and Brundisium, was become more or less subject to Rome. But it was not merely that the several Italian nations were to follow in war where Rome might choose to lead them; nor yet that they paid a certain tribute to the sovereign state, such as Athens received from her subject allies. The Roman dominion in Italy had wrested large tracts of land from the conquered nations in every part of the peninsula; forests, mines, and harbours had become the property of the Roman people, from which a large revenue was derived, so that all classes of Roman citizens were enriched by their victories; the rich acquired a great extent of land to hold in occupation; the poor

* Daniel ii. 40.

obtained grants of land in freehold by an agrarian law; while the great increase of revenue required a greater number of persons to collect it, and thus, from the quæstors to the lowest collectors or clerks employed under them, all the officers of government became suddenly multiplied."* These state possessions and administrative functions secured to the central government a supreme authority which was felt in its ramifications throughout the whole peninsula; and, while the several peoples retained their own language and national existence, their own laws and internal administration, they were constantly becoming more and more Romanized. The republic was a more compact state than its rival Carthage, or than the great eastern monarchies had ever been.

It is not, however, easy to define the precise limits between the political supremacy of Rome and the rights that were left to the Italian states. The sovereign prerogatives of making war in which all the subject nations must lend their aid, of concluding treaties by which they were all bound, and of coining money which circulated through the whole peninsula, belonged of course to the sovereign city.† "It is probable," as Mommsen points out, "that formally the general rights of the leading community extended no further: but to these rights there was necessarily attached a prerogative of sovereignty that practically went far beyond them." One of the most powerful means of extending that sovereignty was the incorporation of the subject states more or less closely with Rome, while they were debarred from exercising among themselves those rights which were granted them in relation to the sovereign state. We have seen, from time to time, how the Romans conferred on their conquered subjects or their voluntary allies various degrees of their own political and social privileges. The result was that the states of Italy came under three distinct classes:—the *Roman Citizens*, the *Latin Name*, and the *Allies*.‡ The first class, as the name implies, contained all that had been

* Arnold, *History of Rome*, vol. ii. pp. 532, 533.

† It was in B. C. 269 that the Romans first added to their old cumbrous and copper money a silver coinage, conformed to that of the Greek states. The *denarius* (nominally equal to ten ases or pounds of copper) was intended to be equal to the Greek *drachma*, and was worth nearly 9*d.* This was the chief current coin throughout Italy. The Romans kept their own accounts in *sesterces* (*sestertii*). The sesterce was a small silver coin, of the nominal value of two and a half ases, and really equal to one-fourth of the denarius, or 2¼*d.* It represented the original value of the *as*, when it was really a pound of copper, *as libralis.* See further, on the whole subject, the author's articles on Roman weights and money in the *Dictionary of Antiquities.*

‡ Cives Romani, Nomen Latinum, Socii.

admitted to the full Roman franchise, by the extension of which Rome had been enlarged from an urban community to a wide-spread territory. From the Ciminian forest in Etruria to beyond the Liris in Campania, large tracts of land had been included in the domain of the republic, and added to the number of the Roman tribes, which were thus made up to thirty-three. Veii (with its chief allies), the Sabines, the Latins, the Volscians, Æquians, and other Sabellian tribes, and a great part of the Campanians, had been thus incorporated, with a few exceptions even in Latium, such as Tibur and Præneste, from which the full citizenship was withheld. On others it was only conferred in its social, to the exclusion of political, rights.* To the cities included in this public domain, the boundaries of which cannot be accurately defined, must be added some of the Roman colonies throughout Italy; but the greater number of the colonies fell under the next head. With reference to the formation of this class of Roman citizens, it should be borne in mind that the admission of the people of a foreign state into the dominant civic body was originally regarded as a gain to the latter rather than to the former, who lost the rights of citizenship in their own states, in order that Rome might be relieved from the rivalry of independent neghbours. It was not till she had become the mistress of a great empire that the enjoyment of her citizenship could be prized as the highest privilege; and a native of Tusculum, for example, must long have regarded the change with a regret like that of an Irish patriot for the parliament on College Green. From this point of view we can understand the eagerness of Rome to confer her citizenship on the people of other states, nay even to impose it as the penalty of defeat in war. But when she became a sovereign state, she began to restrict what was now truly a privilege, and to place those who would in earlier days have been full citizens in one of the two classes that are still to be described.

The *Latin Name* must not be confounded with the Latin cities, nearly all of which, as we have just seen, possessed the full Roman franchise. It originated from the time when Rome, having recently become the head of the states of Latium, joined the Latins in sending out colonies, besides those founded by herself alone. These "Latin colonies"—as they were called in contradistinction to those purely Roman—enjoyed only such civic rights as were at first granted to the conquered cities of Latium; the most important being the freedom of trading and inheriting pro-

* This was called the *civitas sine suffragio.*

perty within the Roman state, and the privilege of any of their citizens to be enrolled in one of the Roman tribes on migrating to Rome. By the increasing jealousy with which, as we have just seen, the Romans afterwards guarded their citizenship, this privilege of becoming citizens by migration was confined to those who had held magistracies in a Latin state. Long before the present period, these colonies had ceased to have any connection with the Latins, and the name was perpetuated to describe a certain position of restricted civic privilege, which was granted to colonies sent out by Rome herself, and which the colonists were content to accept in consideration of the lands allotted to them. Most of the Roman colonies, in fact, belonged to this class.

These colonies, whether "Roman" or "Latin," formed a vital part of the system by which the Roman empire was extended. They were in Italy, what Cicero calls the later colonies in distant lands, "bulwarks of the empire" (*propugnacula imperii*); and in return they leant for support upon the force of the mother city. They were at first founded in conquered districts, to keep the people in subjection; and the colonists received a share—usually a third—of the conquered territory, from the cultivation of which, whether by themselves or the dispossessed proprietors as their tenants, they derived the name ever since used to describe such settlers.* No Roman colony could be composed of mere adventurers, going out at their own pleasure; but each was sent forth by the vote either of the senate, or the centuries, or the plebs.† Leaders, usually three in number,‡ were appointed to conduct the colonists, who were entirely volunteers. The law defined each man's allotment of land. They marched to the appointed place in martial array and under military discipline.§ There a city was marked out by the plough, and the boundaries of its territory were carefully drawn; and a number of functionaries, who accompanied the colony, proceeded to the work of land-measuring, building, organizing, preparing records, and providing for the administration of the law. The government of the colony was modelled on that of the parent state. There was a popular assembly, which chose the magistrates, and might even make laws, provided they did not clash with those of Rome. There

* *Colonus* from *colere*, to *till*.

† By a *senatus consultum*, a *lex*, or a *plebiscitum*.

‡ *Triumviri ad colonos deducendos*. There were also *decemviri*, *quinqueviri*, and *vigintiviri*, that is, ten, five, or twenty leaders.

§ "*Sub vexillo*," that is, *under the standard*.

was a senate, the name of which recalled the old constitution of Rome.* There were chief magistrates, corresponding to the Roman consuls, and in a few instances called by the same name, but commonly designated by their number, which was usually two, but not unfrequently four (*duumviri* or *quattuorviri*). Their office was annual, and as all great questions of policy were decided at Rome, their functions were chiefly judicial. In some of the Italian cities they were replaced by a *prefect* sent out annually from the capital.

All the communities, which had neither the "Roman citizenship" nor the "Latin name," were included under the name of *Allies* or *Allied States*,† beneath which their subject condition was carefully veiled. Their relations to Rome were as various as the treaties by which they were admitted to her alliance. The Hernicans, for example, nominally possessed their ancient equal league with Rome, though they would have asserted equal rights at their peril; while the states last subdued, such as Tarentum and the Samnites, had scarcely a semblance of liberty left. Their alliance with Rome involved the dissolution of their old national leagues, which it was the constant Roman policy to break up; and in some cases the members of the ancient confederacies were forbidden to intermarry with each other. While the Roman army was still held to consist of the levy of the Roman and Latin citizens, the allies were bound to furnish contingents, apparently on a scale prescribed by treaty; but in case of necessity their whole force would be at the disposal of Rome. Each state bore the expense of its own contingent, and the taxes raised for this purpose were enforced, if necessary, by Roman officers. The most costly munitions of war were provided by the Latin cities and the allies; and the contingent of allied cavalry was thrice that raised by the Romans and the Latins. The Greek maritime cities, in the same way, furnished contingents to the fleet. Thus the allies added to the strength of Rome, while sharing none of the privileges of her citizens, except the material benefits of her government and her powerful protection from foreign foes.

In the political government of the allied states, Rome pursued her great system of making her power the surer by moderation in its use, and preferring indirect influence to direct coercion. Like Sparta, she everywhere favoured the aristocratic party, and the result of this policy was seen in a striking case, when Capua

* It was called *curia* or *ordo decurionum:* its members were *curiales* or *decuriones.*

† *Socii*, *Fœderatæ Civitates*, or *Fœderati.*

refused to join the Samnites. In no Italian state were the people reduced to a condition like that of the Lacedæmonian helots. nor does tribute seem to have been exacted, except from the Celtic cantons, which were probably regarded as mere settlements of barbarians within the limits of the empire. Indeed, the first designation by which the Italians were recognised as a united people, "the men of the toga" (*togati*), was used to distinguish them from the Celts, "the men of the hose" (*braccati*);* ana the distinction corresponded to the great geographical division between Gaul and Italy in the proper sense.† Within the latter limits, the *toga* became more and more the mark of Roman influence; in other words, Italy became more and more Latinized. And the more successfully this process was carried on, the more impossible did it become to maintain the allied states in their inferior position. Such a condition was natural enough for newly conquered nations in a newly conquered land; but when the Italians saw the Roman empire overspreading the world, extended by their own toil and blood, they must have felt that the seat of that empire was no longer Rome, but Italy, and that all Italians ought to have an equal share of privilege. The assertion of these claims was postponed while the subject states were rushing on side by side with the Romans in the career of victory; but at length they had to be conceded, and the Lex Julia conferred the full Roman citizenship on the Allies as well as on the Latins, whose cities were included under the general name of *municipia* (B.C. 90).

Thus within ten years of the departure of Pyrrhus from Italy, the country had become united, at the expense of the liberties of its several states, and Rome had grown to a truly sovereign power. The changes which had meanwhile taken place in her own constitution, though giving a vast increase of power to the popular element, had not deprived her of that concentrated force which is wielded by aristocracy. The growth of great families among the plebeians reinforced the upper classes; and, though the exclusive aristocracy of birth had been broken down, the aristocracy of wealth possessed an overwhelming influence. A stable centre for that influence was provided in the senate, whose initiative in receiving ambassadors and in all questions of war and peace, gave it a pre-

* It is curious that the Celts of Italy should have been distinguished by an article of attire so "conspicuous by its absence" in those of our own island. In fact, some sort of pantaloons seem to have been worn by all the nations that surrounded the Greeks and Italians, from the Persians to the Gauls.

† See Chap. XIX. p. 134.

ponderating weight during the long career of military conflict on which Rome had embarked. The constitution of this august body was now finally settled, and a path was opened to its honours for every citizen who had the wealth to conduct a successful canvass, by making its membership a direct and necessary result of an election to the first of the higher magistracies. It was in B.C. 268 that the number of the quæstors was increased to eight; and about the same time the discretion of the censors in excluding a past magistrate from a seat in the senate—except for "infamy" —was abolished. On the expiration of their office, the quæstors entered the senate with the right of speaking, and vacancies were filled up from their number on the next censorial revision. The assembly, thus frequently recruited from a class whom the people had recently elected, became the representative of all orders in the state, and the august majesty with which it spoke to foreigners was the true voice of the Roman people. Compared with this power, that of the consuls, who held office only for a year, was really insignificant.*

On the minor political changes of this period it is unnecessary to dwell. The attempt of the censor Appius Claudius to increase the influence of the great families by allowing their freedmen (the emancipated slaves) to enrol themselves in any tribe they pleased (B.C. 312) was reversed by the censors Fabius and Decius, who confined them to the four city tribes (B.C. 304). The distinction between the country and city tribes was still marked by a difference of manners and occupations, which we could wish to have better means of tracing. The members of the country tribes were still rustics, though fully sensible of their stake in the greatness of the city and their share in her glory. They went up to Rome to take part in the elections and in voting upon important measures, to present themselves at the military levies, or to transact law and other private business. "With these exceptions, and when they were not serving in the legions, they lived on their small properties in the country; their business was agriculture, their recreations were country sports, and their social pleasures were found in the meetings of their neighbours at seasons of festival; at these times there would be dancing, music, and often some pantomimic acting, or some rude attempts at dramatic dialogue, one of the simplest and most universal amusements of the human mind. This was enough to satisfy all their intellectual

* We have not space to describe the details of the senate's constitution, a subject which is admirably treated in Dr. Mommsen's History.

cravings; of the beauty of painting, sculpture, or architecture, of the charms of eloquence and of the higest poetry, of the deep interest which can be excited by inquiry into the causes of all the wonders around us and within us, of some of the highest and most indispensable enjoyments of an Athenian's nature, the agricultural Romans of the fifth century had no notion whatsoever."* But the life of a nation is more than the most refined pleasures; and, while the polished and philosophical Athenians were yielding their liberty to tyrant after tyrant, and worshipping Demetrius Poliorcetes as a god, the Latin and Sabine farms were rearing such men as Fabricius and "Curius with his unkempt locks," to conquer kings in dignity as well as in arms.

The Romans of the city, enjoying that higher intellectual activity which is purchased at so great a cost of serene pleasure, and sometimes of profounder energy, had some scope for their powers in the conduct of political affairs, like the Athenians. But practical politics can never engross the mind of a thoughtful man, and it was well for after ages that the most masculine minds of Rome found a special field for those speculative energies which the Greeks devoted to literature and philosophy. There seems to have been something in the character of the people, and there was very much in the working of the constitution, to turn their thoughts to the study of law. It was part of the inheritance handed down by the patriarchal constitution, that the heads of families must be able to adjust and defend the rights of their clansmen and their clients by knowledge as well as power; and the hall of every Roman nobleman was a waiting room, thronged with friends and dependents who came to consult him on his first appearance in the morning. There were some families, in particular, that sought in legislation and civil administration the fame which most of their compeers won by arms. Such was the Claudian house, which could boast of the Decemvir and the Censor, of the Laws of the Twelve Tables and the Appian Road. Tiberius Coruncanius, the colleague of Lævinus in the first campaign against Pyrrhus, appears to have been the first of those "counsel learned in the law" (*jurisconsulti*) who devoted themselves to the task of directing all who came to seek their advice, and whose opinions constituted that great body of unwritten law, "the answers of skilled lawyers" (*responsa prudentium*). A remarkable step was taken towards the general publication of such learning by Gnæus Flavius, the secretary of the censor Appius Claudius, who pub-

* Arnold's *History of Rome*, vol. ii. pp. 448, 449.

lished a book describing the technical forms of pleading and the rules for fixing the sittings of the courts—matters which the patricians had hitherto kept as the secrets of their order. Though the son of a freedman, Flavius was enrolled by his patron in the senate, and elected Curule Ædile by the people. His work appears to have been the first that was written on Roman law.

Of general literature, except the Pontifical Annals and the genealogical registers of great families, there was an absolute dearth; for the Hellenic impulse, to which all Roman literature owed its origin, with one remarkable exception, only appears for the first time in the tragedies of Livius Andronicus, himself a Greek, after the First Punic War. The only approach to dramatic composition was in the *Fabulæ Atellanæ*, already mentioned as borrowed from the Oscans of Campania,—a rude, coarse dialogue on some ludicrous subject. There was another form of indigenous poetry, not yet dignified with the name of literature, but destined to receive a brilliant development. *Satire* has been well described as a hardy, prickly shrub of genuine Latin growth, and by far the best product of the soil. It originated with the strolling minstrels or ballad singers, who went from town to town and from house to house, dancing to the music of the flute and chanting the medleys (*saturæ*),* which they either improvised or had previously composed on any subject suggested by their own fancy or suited to their hearers, in a peculiar metre called the *Saturnian*, which survives in the fragments of Nævius, and in some epitaphs of the age we are now describing. These ballads formed a part of the entertainments provided for the Roman people, in conjunction with musicians, dancers, rope-walkers, jugglers, and Etruscan pantomimists, at the Great Games, besides the chariot races which were the proper business of that great national festival, the origin of which is referred to the age of the Tarquins. Those games, preserved with religious reverence, and converted from an occasional into an annual festival,

* The etymology of this word is still in dispute; but there seems no good reason for rejecting the obvious explanation derived from its use as a common noun. When Tennyson calls his "Princess" a *medley*, no one hesitates to seek (though not every one succeeds in finding) his meaning in the common sense of the latter word. So when we find *satura*, derived from *satur* (full), signifying a dish of various sorts of food, and when we are besides told by Dionysius that the poetical *satura* was made up of various kinds of poems, we can hardly doubt whence the satirists obtained the name of the dish they set before their hearers. There is no direct connection with the Greek Satyrs and Satyric Drama, though it is quite possible that the latter name came ultimately from the same root.

when the curule ædiles were appointed to superintend them (B.C. 367), furnished the nucleus of a national theatre, especially when a stage was erected in the Circus Maximus, and a sum provided by the state for the exhibitions just referred to (B.C. 364). But, though a century had elapsed since that time, there was still a prejudice against the performers, both rooted in public feeling and embodied in the law. The art of the poet and mimist seems to have been despised as generally practised by low foreigners, Oscan and Etruscan, feared as an instrument of the enchanter, and disapproved as a weapon aimed at public order and private character. The Twelve Tables forbad alike the incantations of the sorcerer, the dirges of hired mourners, and the personal attacks of the lampooner; and Cato tells us that "in former times the trade of a poet was not respected; if any one occupied himself therewith, or addicted himself to banquets, he was called an idler;" and the practice of such arts for pay was held as a special degradation. Performers were excluded by the censors from the army and the comitia. The magistrates sat in judgment on their performances; and the actor who presumed on the grudging patronage of the state might pay for his want of success with imprisonment and stripes. Such discouragements effectually postponed the rise of a national dramatic literature. None but persons of a low class would become performers; and these were for the most part Etruscans.

On the other hand, the chariot races were held in the greatest honour, and presided over by the highest magistrate present at Rome. At first two chariots ran at a time, their drivers being distinguished by colours, which were supposed to have reference to the seasons, the *white* for the winter snow, the *red* for the summer heat: two others were afterwards added, the *green* for spring, and the *blue* or *grey* for autumn. Each colour had of course its own eager partisans; but it was not till the time of the empire that they became symbols of political factions, and at last the emblems of those feuds which deluged the circus of Constantinople with blood. The games of the circus must not be dismissed without a mention of that fatal symptom of degeneracy, the first exhibition of gladiatorial shows in the first year of the Punic Wars (B.C. 264) as a part of the solemnities at the funeral of D. Junius Brutus. The practice is said to have been borrowed from the Etruscans, as a substitute for the human sacrifices offered from time immemorial at the funerals of great men, as for example at that of Patroclus in the *Iliad*, that the deceased might not depart un-

attended by the souls of enemies or followers. It is supposed that the victims on this occasion were the Etruscan prisoners from Volsinii, the conquest of which city in this year completed the subjugation of Etruria.

Such, in brief outline, was the condition of the republic at the close of what has well been called the spring-time of its existence. And it is most important to notice that Rome achieved the conquest of Italy just at the time when the kingdoms founded by the successors of Alexander in the East had reached their highest pitch. The place of Rome was now clearly acknowledged, as one of the great powers of the world, by the chief among those kingdoms. As the Italian expedition of Pyrrhus had derived its impulse from the conflicts that had been waged for half a century for the dominion of Greece and Asia, so his repulse naturally brought his conquerors within the sphere of Grecian politics. While the Epirot was exciting new alarm by his victories in Greece, an embassy arrived at Rome from Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, to propose an alliance with the republic (B.C. 273). The Romans, in return, sent an embassy of three of their most distinguished senators to Alexandria—then at the height of its political power and literary glory. The envoys would not have been Romans, if the sight of all this splendour, following upon their victory over Pyrrhus, had not roused in their minds the prophetic anticipation of an approaching struggle with the Hellenic race for the dominion of the world. But, before the decision of that question between the two branches of their common race, a long war had to be waged for life and death with the great Semitic power, which was the common enemy of both. Rome had to conquer Carthage in a struggle which brought herself to the brink of ruin, before she was prepared to subdue the kindred Greeks.

BOOK VI.

THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF CARTHAGE AND GREECE.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE PUNIC WARS TO THE ACQUISITION OF THE PROVINCE OF ASIA.
B.C. 265—130.

CONTENTS OF BOOK VI.

CHAP.
XXIV.—THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.
XXV.—INTERVAL IN THE STRUGGLE WITH CARTHAGE.
XXVI.—THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.
XXVII.—MACEDONIAN AND ASIATIC WARS.
XXVIII.—THE SUBJUGATION OF GREECE.
XXIX.—THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.
XXX.—CONQUESTS OF ROME IN THE WEST.—CONDITION OF THE REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR. B.C. 264 TO B.C. 241.

"Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere coloni
CARTHAGO, Italiam contra Tyberinaque longè
Ostia; dives opum, studiisque asperrima belli."—VIRGIL.

SICILY THE BATTLE-FIELD OF ROME AND CARTHAGE—ITS CONNECTION WITH ITALY, GREECE, AND CARTHAGE—SEIZURE OF MESSANA BY THE MAMERTINES—THEY ARE BESIEGED BY HIERO—AID VOTED TO THEM BY THE ROMANS—BEGINNING OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR—SUCCESSES OF THE ROMANS—THEY ARE JOINED BY HIERO—THEIR VICTORY AT AGRIGENTUM—HISTORY OF THE PHŒNICIANS—THEIR PROPER NAME CANAANITES—THEIR LANGUAGE SEMITIC—TRADITION OF THEIR MIGRATION FROM THE RED SEA TO THE MEDITERRANEAN—THE CITIES OF PHŒNICIA—HISTORY OF TYRE AND SIDON—THEIR COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION—COLONIES OF THE PHŒNICIANS—CARTHAGE—LEGENDS OF ITS FOUNDATION—ITS DOMINION IN AFRICA—ITS MARITIME AND COLONIAL EMPIRE IN SPAIN, SARDINIA, AND SICILY—RIVALRY WITH THE GREEKS AND ALLIANCE WITH THE TYRRHENIANS—THE CARTHAGINIAN CONSTITUTION AND RELIGION—RELATIONS WITH ROME TO THE TIME OF THE PUNIC WARS—HISTORY OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR RESUMED—ATTACKS ON THE COASTS OF ITALY—THE ROMAN FLEET—NAVAL VICTORY OF DUILIUS—CAMPAIGNS IN SARDINIA, CORSICA, AND SICILY—NAVAL VICTORY OF REGULUS—HIS SUCCESSES IN AFRICA—HIS DEFEAT AND IMPRISONMENT—THE WAR RESUMED IN SICILY—VICTORY OF PANORMUS AND SIEGE OF LILYBÆUM—REGULUS AT ROME—WRECK OF THE ROMAN FLEET—EXPLOITS OF HAMILCAR BARCA IN SICILY—ROMAN VICTORY OFF THE ÆGATIAN ISLANDS—CONCLUSION OF THE WAR—SICILY A ROMAN PROVINCE—REVOLT AND RECONQUEST OF THE FALISCI—POPULATION OF ROME.

WHEN Pyrrhus sailed from the shores of Sicily, he is reported to have exclaimed, "How fine a battle-field are we leaving to the Romans and Carthaginians!" That island has been described as geographically belonging to Italy, as truly as the Peloponnesus belongs to Greece; and that a political division at the straits of Messina is as unnatural as the partition of Italy itself, is proved by the fact that Sicily and the South of Italy have generally been held by the same or kindred nations. The Siceli, from whom the island received its name, were, as we have seen, the same people as the Itali of the peninsula. The Hellenic settlements studded the shores alike of Magna Græcia and of Sicily. By the events now about to be related, the natural union of the island with the peninsula was established by the Romans; and it was preserved under their Gothic successors. When the kingdom of the Lombards was founded in Italy in the sixth century, the Greek empire held Sicily in conjunction with the duchies of Naples and Rome under the exarchate of Ravenna. Rent from Italy by the Arabs in the ninth century, as it had nearly been by the Carthaginians, Sicily was reunited to the peninsula by the Norman adventurers of the eleventh century; and the union of the island

with Southern Italy was perpetuated (with some interruptions) in the kingdom of the two Sicilies; till in our day the hero who created the new Italian kingdom began his work in Sicily.

But the very configuration of the island seems to indicate the fate which has made it, in every age, the prey of adventurers from diverse quarters. Severed from Italy by the straits, it is exposed to be torn from its connection by a superior maritime power. If its northern coast faces the peninsula, its eastern shore looks towards Greece, and its southern towards Africa: and we have already seen how these aspects were significant of its destinies thus far. For centuries, the Greek republics and the power of Carthage had been contending for its possession. The decline of the former had brought the latter up to the very straits; and across them Rome and Carthage now eyed each other with a jealousy about to break out into an internecine war, in which the Greeks now represented only by the rule of Hiero at Syracuse, were unable to take more than a subordinate part. The conflict was brought on by a cause apparently insignificant.

While the war was raging between Pyrrhus and the Romans, it happened by a strange coincidence that the cities of Rhegium and Messana, on the opposite shores of the straits, fell into the hands of independent freebooters, alike the enemies of both. We have seen how the Campanian mercenaries, who garrisoned Rhegium for Rome, revolted on the first successes of Pyrrhus. Their massacre of the Greek inhabitants would make them as odious to Pyrrhus as their revolt was unpardonable by the Romans. They were encouraged to defy both, and to hold the city for themselves, by the example of their kinsmen on the other side of the straits. A body of Campanian mercenaries, who had served under Agathocles, having been marched to Messana, on their way back to Italy, rose upon the citizens, who had received them hospitably, massacred all the males, and took possession of their wives and property (about B.C. 284). By assuming the title of *Mamertini* (children of Mamers, or Mars) they likened themselves to the chosen bands which had been sent forth by their Sabellian ancestors in their "sacred spring." Both cities thus became nests of robbers, preying on the adjacent territories; and, while the garrison of Rhegium were strong enough to make war on Locri, the Mamertines of Messana carried terror as far as the gates of Syracuse. The first business of the Romans after the capture of Tarentum was, as we have seen, to punish the revolters of Rhegium (B.C. 271).

Meanwhile the Mamertines were maintained against Pyrrhus by the help of the Carthaginians. On his retreat they formed a third power in Sicily, occupying the north-eastern part, while Syracuse possessed only a small territory in the south-east, and the Carthaginians held the rest of the island. But a new impulse was given to Syracuse by the election of Hiero, the son of Hierocles, to succeed Pyrrhus as general of the Greeks (B.C. 275). Though at first raised to power by the soldiers against the will of the citizens, he soon won over the latter by his wise and moderate government. He got rid, by a treacherous stroke, of the mercenaries who had been the tools of former Syracusan tyrants, and, having remodelled the citizen army, he led them out to extirpate the nest of robbers at Messana. By a great victory, he gained the title of king of the Sicilian Greeks, and shut up the Mamertines in the city (B.C. 270).

After the siege had lasted for five years, the Mamertines, reduced to the last extremity, and hopeless of mercy from Hiero, saw that their only resource was surrender either to Carthage or to Rome. The majority decided that to give Rome a footing in Sicily would constitute a perfect claim upon her gratitude; and envoys were sent to the Senate, to offer the surrender of the city. It seemed at first impossible that the Romans could accept such a gift from the partners in guilt of those they had just so severely punished, and punished by the aid of that very ally against whom the Mamertines asked their protection. The suggestions of cautious policy, too, tended the same way as the dictates of good faith. To give the assistance asked, must not only precipitate a war with Carthage, but would lead the Romans beyond the boundaries of Italy. But on the other hand, it was certain that on their refusal the city would be given over to the Carthaginians, whose attempt to seize Tarentum seemed to justify the Romans in gaining a footing on the coast of Sicily. The Senate, as the representative of the moderate and cautious party, still hesitated, when the consuls referred the question to the comitia of the centuries. That assembly, subject to the impulses by which masses of men are moved, heard only the voice that called them to new conquests beyond the shores of Italy, and bade them not to suffer the Carthaginians to seize a post within sight of their shores. Aid was voted to the Mamertines; and a device was invented to bring that aid within the semblance of public law. They were treated with, not as revolted mercenaries, but as Italians established at a foreign post, and were received, just like the other Italians, into the con-

federacy of Rome, who proclaimed herself the protector of the Italians beyond the seas. A mandate was despatched to Hiero, requiring him to desist from attacking the allies of Rome; and an embassy was sent to Carthage, to prepare an indirect justification of the war, by demanding an explanation of the attempt to seize Tarentum seven years before. The Carthaginians did not scruple to purge themselves from the charge by an oath; and their answers to other causes of complaint, which were raked up to strengthen the Roman case, were studiously moderate; for it was not their policy to precipitate an open war (B.C. 265).

These hollow negotiations were still in progress, and the Roman preparations to cross the straits were all but complete, when news arrived that the Carthaginians had appeared before Messana in the character of mediators, and concluded a peace between Hiero and the Mamertines; and that then the anti-Roman party had surrendered the citadel and harbour to the Carthaginian forces under Hanno. Still the consul, Appius Claudius, would not abandon the enterprise. His advanced ships were warned back by the Carthaginians; and a few of them were taken, but these were sent back to avoid a cause of war. A second attempt was more successful. Claudius, the consul's legate, landed at Messana, and called a meeting of the citizens, at which Hanno, who was present in the character of a friend, was seized, and consented to evacuate the place. He was punished with death by the Carthaginians, who sent a great armament, under Hanno the son of Hannibal, to besiege Messana by sea and land; while Hiero, who had withdrawn at the bidding of the Romans, renounced their alliance for the time, and returned to the attack. The siege was speedily raised by the consul Appius Claudius, who eluded the Carthaginian fleet and transported his whole army from Rhegium under the cover of night. He kept the field throughout the summer, inflicting several blows on the enemy, and even advancing to the gates of Syracuse, and then led his army back in safety, leaving a strong garrison in Messana (B.C. 264). The following year was marked by a similar but still more successful campaign. Both consuls crossed the straits unopposed, and defeated the Carthaginians and Syracusans in a battle which had the most important political results. For Hiero, finding the issue now fairly raised, whether the Romans or the Carthaginians were to be masters of Sicily, wisely chose the friendship of the former, and remained their firm ally during the rest of his life and reign, which was protracted to nearly fifty years (B.C. 263). His example was

followed by all the Sicilian Greeks; and thus, besides the strength of their alliance, the Romans gained the all-important posts of Syracuse and Messana. With such a basis, they had little difficulty in driving back the Carthaginians, in a third campaign, to their fortresses on the coast. The only inland city at which a stand was made was Agrigentum, into which Hannibal, the son of Gisgo, threw himself with 50,000 men. The Romans blockaded the city for seven months, reducing the besieged to the utmost distress; but their own case became little better, when Hanno landed at the port of Heraclea, and cut off their supplies. Both parties resolved on a battle, as the only relief from their embarrassments. The Romans felt for the first time the superiority of the terrible Numidian horse, but their legions secured them a dear-bought victory, which left them too exhausted to prevent the escape of the Carthaginians from the city to their fleet (B.C. 262).

Thus the First Punic War had opened with three campaigns which had nearly given the Romans the coveted prize of Sicily. But they had only just entered on the long conflict of four-and-twenty years. While Hamilcar, the successor of Hanno, entrenched himself in the maritime fortresses, by his sallies from which alone hostilities were continued in the island, the Romans had to prepare, for the first time in their history, to sustain the burthen of a maritime war with the power that was mistress of the sea. This pause in the operations affords an opportunity for casting back a glance on the previous history of the Carthaginians, and of the Phœnician race from which they sprang, and of which they were now the chief representatives.*

The Phœnicians claim a conspicuous place in the history of the world, not so much from any influence they had on the great movements of political events, as from their unexampled activity in commerce and colonization. Hence it is that, in the past course of our narrative, they have only occasionally appeared as conducting the commerce which enriched the nations of Western Asia and supported the magnifience of Solomon,—as resisting, with truly Semitic obstinacy, the attacks of conquerors, such as Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander,—and as affording to the Persian empire the assistance of their powerful marine. It remains to take a

* The Romans preserved the memory of the Phœnician origin of the Carthaginians by the name of *Pœni* (with its derived adjective *Punicus*) which they applied to them indifferently with that of *Carthaginiensis*. The adjective *Punic* signifies *Phœnician* by etymology, but *Carthaginian* by usage.

brief connected view of their gradual growth in that commercial greatness, which had its centre in the ancient cities of Phœnice,—Sidon, Tyre, and their sisters,—and of that system of colonization which carried them over the western coasts of the Mediterranean, and beyond the pillars of Hercules to the shores and islands of the Atlantic.

Like so many other peoples, both of the ancient and modern world, the Phœnicians are commonly known by a name different from that by which they called themselves. *Phœnicé* is a Greek word, signifying "the land of the date-palm;" but various ancient writers have recorded the fact, that the native name of the country was *Chna*, that is, *Canaan*. On a coin of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Syrian Laodicea is entitled "a mother city in Canaan;" and St. Augustine tells us that the African peasants of his bisphoric of Hippo (a colony of the Phœnicians), when asked of what race they were, would reply in the Punic dialect "Canaanites." All this agrees with the statement in the tenth chapter of Genesis, which makes Sidon the first-born of Canaan, and places him at the head of various tribes that overspread what is commonly known as the land of Canaan, and the extent of whose settlements is defined as reaching from Sidon to the cities in the plain of the Dead Sea.* *Canaan* is, in fact, a geographical term, signifying "lowland," as opposed to *Aram*, "highland" (the Hebrew name of Syria), and it is applied both to the Mediterranean coast, and to the great plain which extends from the Dead Sea up the valley of the Jordan and through Cœle-Syria to the valley of the Orontes. How closely the different tribes of Canaanites or "lowlanders" were connected with one another is proved by the leagues of the Sidonians and Hamathites with the nations of Palestine in the time of Joshua.

But this use of a common geographical name by no means necessitates the conclusion, that all the tribes that bore it were of the same race; nor does the occurrence of Sidon among the descendants of Ham necessarily imply that the Phœnicians of the historic age were a Hamite race. We have already seen that, in the ethnical genealogies of Scripture, the recurrence of the same name in different pedigrees indicates the succession of different races in the same regions. Now the evidence is complete, that the dialects both of Phœnicia and Carthage belonged to the Semitic family of languages, and were closely akin to the Hebrew. The fact is distinctly testified by the fathers Augustine and Jerome,—who knew

* Genesis x. 15—19.

Hebrew well, and were able to compare it with Punic, which was then a living dialect,—that the languages differed little from each other. The proper names are easily explained by Hebrew etymologies; and the legends on Phœnician coins, and the fragments of the Carthaginian dialect preserved by ancient writers, are intelligible to the Hebrew scholar; nay, the very name of the citadel of Carthage, *Byrsa*, is the Hebrew *Bozrah*, that is, a fortress.* If then we are to believe, on the authority of the scriptural genealogy, that the primeval settlements of the Hamite race in Southern Canaan extended to the Phœnician coast, it would seem necessary to suppose that these were afterwards overrun by a Semitic immigration, which would necessarily adopt something of the character of the older population. The religion of Phœnicia, especially, seems to bear distinct traces of Hamitic superstitions.†

To the question, whence that tide of Semitic immigration flowed, the Phœnicians themselves gave a very interesting answer, which is preserved by Herodotus. Visiting the temple of Hercules (Melcarth) at Tyre, to learn if he could reconcile the conflicting accounts of the Greeks and Egyptians concerning that deity, he was informed that the Tyrians had settled on that coast and built their city 2300 years before his time (more than 2700 B.C.), and that they had come originally from the shores of the Red Sea.‡ The same tradition is preserved in various forms by other ancient writers; and some of the most diligent modern enquirers into primeval history have come to the conclusion, that the migration of the Phœnicians from the shores of the Red Sea was connected with the great movement of the Semitic tribes up the valley of the Euphrates, which brought the family of Abraham into the land of Canaan.§

Be this as it may, the Phœnicians are found, in the earliest ages of recorded history, occupying the narrow strip of coast between Lebanon and the Mediterranean, west of Cœle-Syria and Galilee, from about the 35th parallel of north latitude to Mount Carmel. Here they founded great maritime cities, originally independent of each other, of which the most ancient were Arvad (Aradus) in the north, and Sidon and Tyre on the south. To these were afterwards

* In fact, the Hebrew seems to have derived its existing form from the influence of the Canaanite dialects, and hence it is called in Scripture "the language of Canaan."—Isaiah xix. 18.

† From the mention of Sidon alone, of all the Phœnician cities, in Genesis x., we may perhaps infer that the Hamite element was most distinctly marked in that city; and that this was one cause of its rivalry with Tyre for supremacy.

‡ *Herod.*, ii. 44; comp. i. 1, vii. 89.

§ Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. Essay ii. On the Migrations of the Phœnicians.

added Berytus, Byblus, and Tripolis. The "rock-built" Tyre* disputed the honour of antiquity with Sidon, "the city of fishermen," which claimed to be its mother-city. When Palestine was conquered by the Israelites, the latter was important enough to be called "great Sidon," and was the northernmost city included within the bounds of the Holy Land. It was assigned, with the "strong city Tyre," to the tribe of Asher, who, instead of subduing their part of Phœnicia, became tributary to the Phœnicians.†

These notices show us the two chief cities of the Phœnicians at a high degree of power as early as the middle of the fifteenth century B.C. Besides these settlements on the coast, the kingdom of Hamath, on the Upper Orontes, seems to have been of Phœnician origin, and it took an active part in the wars against the Israelites under Joshua. In the time of the Judges, the Sidonians are mentioned among the oppressors of Israel. In the Homeric poems we often meet with Sidon, Sidonia, and the Sidonians, as flourishing in wealth and art, especially in the manufacture of beautiful woven fabrics, carrying on an extensive commerce, both in goods and in slaves, and characterized by cunning in their dealings. The absence of the very name of Tyre from Homer is hardly a decisive proof of its insignificance; for the Greeks may naturally have denoted the country and people by the name of the city with which they became first acquainted. The mythical stories of Greece, and the traditions of the Phœnician colonies in the west, point to the twelfth and eleventh centuries as the period when the Phœnicians had already become active colonizers. Utica, on the African coast, was said to have been founded 200 years before Carthage, and Gades or Gadeira (Cadiz) outside the straits of Gibraltar, a few years earlier. The worship of the Tyrian Hercules (Melcarth) at the latter place is supposed to furnish a proof that Tyre was its mother city, and the legend of Cadmus also points to Tyre as the leading city of the Phœnicians. The historian Justin has preserved an interesting tradition, that, a year before the Trojan war, the Sidonians were defeated by the king of Ascalon, and the greater part of the inhabitants of Sidon took refuge in Tyre, which became from that time the chief city of Phœnicia. Such a collision between the Phœnicians and the Philistines is not improbable during the time of Israel's servitude

* The Hebrew *Tsor* and the Greek Τύρος are dialectic varieties of the Phœnician name *Sur* or *Sor*, which the spot still retains. The word probably signifies a *rock*. Berytus and Byblus also claimed very high antiquity.

† Joshua xi. 8; xix. 28, 29.

to the latter people; and a common hostility to them would furnish one motive for the close alliance between David and the Phœnicians.

With the formation of that alliance, in the latter half of the eleventh century B.C., we again reach safe historic ground. Tyre is now without dispute the leading city of Phœnicia. She places at the disposal of David and Solomon all the resources of art as well as wealth for the building of the temple, the grandest edifice which the world had yet seen, and the monument, not only of the piety of Israel, but of the riches and civilization of Phœnicia. Hiram, king of Tyre, was master of Lebanon and its forests. His ships not only commanded the commerce of the Mediterranean, but he joined with Solomon in naval enterprises in the Indian Ocean from the port of Elath (Ælana) in the Red Sea. The treaty made by the two kings furnishes a very interesting example of the relations between a commercial and agricultural people. From Abibal, the father of Hiram, down to the foundation of Carthage, Josephus has preserved a chronological list of kings, furnished by the Tyrian histories of Dius and Menander. The burthens imposed upon the people by Hiram, to support his foreign enterprises and his magnificent works at Tyre, entailed a series of revolutions and assassinations of rulers, till Ithbaal or Ethbaal, a priest of Astarte, usurped the crown and founded a sacerdotal dynasty, embracing Sidon as well as Tyre. The origin of his power throws light upon the fanatical attempts of his daughter Jezebel to establish the worship of Baal in the kingdom of Israel. The native annals of his reign recorded the great drought which forms so conspicuous a part of the story of Ahab and Elijah. In the reign of his great grandson Pygmalion, the brother and oppressor of Dido, we have a point of contact between the native annals and the legends of the classic poets, to which we shall recur presently in relation to the foundation of Carthage. The whole story seems to indicate a conflict of the royal and hierarchical powers.

The superior interest attached to the colony seems to have diverted the attention of compilers from the annals of the mother city, and our next mention of Tyre and Sidon occurs in the complaints of the prophets Joel and Amos of their inroads on the coasts of Judah, whence they carried off wealth to dedicate in their temples, and young men and maidens to sell as slaves to the Grecians.* The slave-trade of the Phœnicians is also

* Joel iii. 4—8; Amos i. 6, 9. This introduction of Jewish slaves into Greece by

noticed in those wonderful descriptions of Tyre by the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, which form an almost ideal picture of commercial greatness. "Slaves and the souls of men" are enumerated among the chief articles of her merchandise; and those Scriptures which have been falsely said to sanction slavery, mark this abominable traffic as one of the sins that were preparing terrible judgment for the proud city that said, "I am of perfect beauty: I am a god: I sit in the seat of God in the midst of the seas."* These prophetic pictures, illustrated by the light of history, reveal one feature of the deepest interest in the progress of civilization. "The luxury that enfeebles" is one of the commonplaces of moral philosophy, which history is supposed invariably to confirm. This may be true of nations whose greatness is founded on agriculture or on successful war; but in a purely commercial state it is quite possible for wealth to produce luxury and insolence, and at the same time to call forth a display of almost superhuman strength. The energy which is kept active in the pursuit of gain is ready to be expended in defence of wealth; and self-interest has often proved a more potent stimulus than patriotism. No city ever withstood her enemies more pertinaciously than Tyre. The successive conquerors of Western Asia made the acquisition of the Phœnician ports a chief object of their policy. Sargon succeeded so far as to unite the other cities in a confederacy against Tyre, which is said even to have been joined by the ancient city on the mainland, which was distinguished by the name of "Old Tyre." For Tyre had by this time become a double city, the new town which was built on the island opposite to its ancient site having naturally become the stronghold. Its navy defeated the united fleets of its former subjects, and the city was besieged in vain for five years by Sargon (B.C. 721—717). The interval of 150 years, between this siege and that by Nebuchanezzar, seems to have been a period of steady prosperity, during a part of which at least Phœnicia was in close alliance with Egypt. It was by the aid of a Phœnician fleet that Neko is said to have achieved the circumnavigation of Africa (about B.C. 610).† The Phœnicians had soon to feel the whole weight of the new Babylonian power. Nebuchadnezzar overran Phœnicia and took Sidon by storm; but only became master of Old Tyre after a siege of thirteen years (B.C. 598—585).‡

the Phœnician merchants, as early as the beginning of the eighth century B.C., is a fact deserving of more attention than it has received.

* Isaiah xxiii.; Ezekiel xxvii., xxviii.

† See Vol. I. p. 133. ‡ See Vol. I. p. 233.

Though the insular city still preserved its independence under its own kings, its power had received a severe shock. Cyprus, its most ancient colony, was taken by Amasis, king of Egypt. But, at the accession of Cyrus, Tyre and Sidon still appear as commercial states, conveying the cedars of Lebanon to Joppa, to aid in the rebuilding of Jerusalem (B.C. 536).* The Phœnician cities made a voluntary submission to Cyrus or his son, if that should not rather be called an alliance, which permitted them with impunity to refuse Cambyses the services of their navy for his projected expedition against Carthage. That navy formed the chief maritime strength of the Persian empire. By its aid Cyrus was enabled to subdue the Ionian cities, and it served against the Greeks in the Persian wars with varying success, till the Phœnicians were signally defeated by the Athenians off Salamis in Cyprus (B.C. 449). In the wars between the Grecian states, the Phœnician fleet was employed in aiding, first the Spartans and afterwards the Athenians, according to the varying policy of Persia. By their aid Conon secured the ascendancy over Sparta which enabled him to build the Long Walls of Athens, and Phœnician sailors aided in the work. These services led to a friendship between Phœnicia and Athens. A decree of the Athenian senate made Strato, king of Sidon, a public guest, and immunities were granted to Sidonian merchants settling in the city, where Phœnician inscriptions have been found of a date about B.C. 380. During all this time the Phœnician cities were left under the government of their own kings, profiting themselves and enriching the empire by their commercial prosperity. In the war with Evagoras of Cyprus they suffered severely for their fidelity to Persia; and Tyre is even said to have been taken by the insurgent prince. At this period Sidon appears as the chief of the Phœnician cities. The Persian king had a palace there, though the city was governed by its own prince.

Under the cruel despotism of Artaxerxes Ochus, the oppression of the Persian satrap and military commanders at Sidon became so intolerable that a congress of the Phœnician cities at Tripolis decided on a general revolt (B.C. 352). The royal palace at Sidon was sacked, the Persians massacred, the fleet burned to render escape impossible, and an alliance formed with Nectanebo II., king of Egypt, who sent a garrison of 4000 Greeks to aid in the defence. We have already had occasion to relate the disastrous issue consequent on the treachery of Tennes, king of Sidon, and

* Ezra iii. 7.

of Memnon, the leader of the Greek mercenaries.* Even this blow did not destroy the prosperity of Sidon; but it effectually alienated her people from Persia, and they were the first to submit to Alexander when he entered Phœnicia after the battle of Issus. We have seen how the resistance of Tyre brought down upon her the penalty of utter destruction;† but the Carians, with whom Alexander repeopled the city, fell into the habits of the former population, and both Tyre and Sidon recovered much of its commercial greatness. After a long struggle between the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria, Phœnicia was finally secured to the latter by Antiochus the Great (b.c. 198). But the commercial rivalry of Egypt proved more serious even than political subjection; and the foundation of Berenice on the Red Sea diverted to Alexander much of the oriental commerce that had previously flowed through Tyre and Sidon. But still they did not succumb to their younger rival. Under the Romans, to whom Phœnicia was subjected with Syria, Tyre was still the first commercial city of the world. The Arab conquest secured for it new prosperity under the gentle government of the Caliphs, till it finally succumbed to the dominion of the Turks (a.d. 1516), and to the blow inflicted on the whole commerce of the Levant by the discovery of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope. Thus, if we should accept the supposed date of the migration of the Phœnicians from the shores of the Red Sea, we should have a period of 4000 years for the existence of the nation; and it may be safely affirmed that their prosperity reached back to a point as long before the Christian era as that to which it extended after it, making up in all a space of not less than 3000 years.

The causes which chiefly contributed to this long career of commercial greatness are to be sought partly in the geographical position of the people, and partly in their national character. As a mixed race—for in this light we have already seen reason to regard them—they united the enterprise and inventive genius of the Hamite race with the tenacity of purpose and love of gain which have always distinguished the Semitic. Pent in between a coast possessing several fine harbours and the lofty chain of Lebanon, whose terraces produce little but the cedar and the date-palm, they became of necessity a nation of mariners; and their lot was cast at that very spot of all the ancient world from which maritime activity could be most profitably pursued. At the junction of the three continents, accessible from the remote east by the

* See p. 41. † See pp. 58—60.

easy route which crosses the northern part of the Syrian Desert, and from the Red Sea and Egypt through Palestine and along the coast, looking out westward over the Mediterranean, and connected with the shores of Asia Minor and Greece by the stepping-stones, so to speak, of Cyprus, Crete, and the islands of the Ægæan, Phœnicia may well be called the commercial focus of the ancient world. To the south and east lay the highly civilized and productive regions where

"Egypt with Assyria strove In wealth and luxury,"

backed by all the wealth of India and Arabia; to the west, the extensive coast-line of Europe and Africa, here peopled with races whose native energy only needed the touch of commerce to adorn their freedom with the graces of civilization, and there offering virgin tracts of unsurpassed fertility to the enterprise of the colonist. And every new step in prosperity added the impulse of necessity to a people whose numbers must soon have outgrown their narrow territory.

Accordingly, from a very early age, we find the Phœnicians acting as carriers of the produce of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon. Homer tells us of their traffic in the metal trinkets and woven fabrics which were produced abundantly in those countries, as well as in slaves. We have seen how they joined Solomon in distant voyages of as much as three years' duration, which produced "gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks."* The plain interpretation of the much disputed text is that these objects were brought home by the navy that sailed periodically to Tarshish, that is, the south of Spain, and which would visit the African coast, whence the ivory, apes, and peacocks could be obtained. The eastern voyage to the shores of Africa and Arabia beyond the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, which produced the gold of Ophir, was performed by Phœnician mariners on board the ships of Solomon;† and it was probably by a similar combination that much of the traffic of the oriental monarchies in the Indian Ocean was carried on. In that vivid picture, which Ezekiel draws of the Tyrian trade in the age of Nebuchadnezzar, we read of frankincense and spices from the eastern coast of Africa, and of cotton fabrics and "bright iron," or steel, which came doubtless from India. Most of their Indian traffic passed probably through the great emporium of Babylon, which also furnished embroidered "Babylonish garments" and other manufactures. From Egypt they

* 2 Chron. ix. 21. † 1 Kings ix. 27; 2 Chron. viii. 18.

obtained its staple manufacture of linen, as well as their chief supplies of corn. Palestine too provided them with corn, wine, oil, honey, and balsams; Damascus with white wool and wine; and the pastures of the Arabian Desert with sheep and goats. From the highlands of Armenia they obtained horses and mules; and the natives of Georgia and Circassia were doomed then, as in later times, by the fatal gift of beauty, to feed their slave trade. It is to be observed that Ezekiel speaks of the nations as bringing their goods to the Phœnicians. The caravan trade was conducted by the nomad tribes of Syria and Arabia, such as those to whom Joseph was sold; but the Phœnicians had also factories and markets in various cities, as at Alexandria and Jerusalem.

Their own commercial energy, however, was chiefly engaged in distributing over the shores of the Mediterranean the wealth which they collected from the east, and thus they were the chief agents in the commercial civilization of the western world. As a matter of course, one of the many traditions respecting the origin of navigation ascribes its invention to the Phœnicians. With greater probability they are said to have been the first who steered their ships by observations of the stars, and they were thus able to venture into the open sea on distant voyages, while other mariners crept along the shores. They employed the *penteconter*, or swift low vessel of fifty oars, suited both for trade or piracy, the larger *trireme*, or galley of three banks of oars, and the round ship for stowage, which took its significant name from a milk-pail (*gaulos*). The first was their usual craft in the earliest times; and the voyages which they performed in such vessels excite an astonishment like that we feel when reading of the mere smacks in which our own early navigators ventured into the Polar Seas. It was no slight advantage to the Phœnicians that they had to deal with the calmer waters and clear skies of the Mediterranean; but they also ventured out into the Atlantic, skirting the African coast as far as Senegal and the Canaries (the Fortunate Islands of the ancients) and at a later age venturing to the southwestern shores of Britain, the *Cassiterides*, or tin-islands. The tin procured at first from Spain, and afterwards from Britain, supplied the demand of the nations on the Mediterranean shores for one ingredient of the bronze, of which their arms, their ornaments, and most other objects of metal-work were composed. The silver mines of Andalusia provided the Phœnicians with such quantities of the precious metal, that they are said to have used masses of it for anchors. Their active commerce with Greece

forms one of the earliest known facts in the history of that country; and whatever may be the truth concealed beneath the legends respecting Phœnician settlements on its shores, its alphabet bears witness, to the present day, that it derived the rudiments of letters from the Phœnicians.

Besides the products of other countries, the Phœnicians traded in some great manufactures of their own, especially the Sidonian embroideries, such as Homer mentions as carried to Troy by Paris, the glass for which Sidon was also famous, and the celebrated Tyrian purple. In the manufacture of their glass, the Sidonians used the fine sand of the beach beneath Mount Carmel; and an old tradition ascribes the invention of glass to an accident on this very spot. Some mariners, in kindling a fire upon the shore, propped up their cauldron with lumps of the *natron* (native carbonate of soda) which formed their cargo, from the fusion of which with the sand a stream of molten glass ran out! But in fact the monuments of the Egyptians prove their possession of the art as early as the fourth dynasty, a time not very different from that of the alleged migration of the Phœnicians from the Red Sea; and the abundance both of sand and natron confirms the probability of its invention in Egypt.* The Sidonians used the blowpipe, the graver, and the lathe; they cast glass mirrors; and they seem to have made imitations of precious stones in coloured glass. The still more famous Tyrian purple was obtained from the juice of marine molluscs of the genera *buccinum* and *murex*, of which the former was found on the rocks along the coast, and the latter had to be dredged in deep water. Each animal yields only a small drop of the precious fluid, from a canal which follows the spiral convolutions of the shell. When first extracted, by means of a sharp point, it is of cream colour, and has the smell of garlic. Exposure to the light changes it successively to green, blue, red, and deep purple; and a fabric steeped in it, and then washed with soap, assumes a permanent dye of bright crimson. The molluscs that produce the dye are almost peculiar to the coast of Phœnicia, and the Tyrians seem to have possessed some chemical secrets of the manufacture. Under the Romans they held the sole privilege of making the imperial purple, down to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks.

While the voyages by which this vast commerce was conducted would tempt the more adventurous to form permanent settlements

* See Vol. I., p. 86.

on the shores they visited, the prosperity derived from it would cause a growth of population far too great for such a region as Phœnicia, and so make colonization a necessity. It has been suggested that the conquest of Palestine by Joshua must have driven back whole nations of the Canaanites upon their kinsmen in Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria, causing an emigration like that of the Ionians when thrust out by the Dorians from Peloponnesus into Attica. In the story of Joshua's victories over the northern Canaanites, we read repeatedly of their defeated hosts being chased into these very regions; and the traditional date of the commencement of Phœnician colonization has a near approximation to that of the Jewish conquest. A similar impulse is supposed to have been given by the victories of David at the very period when the prosperity of Tyre, under the father of Hiram, gave it the means of successful colonization. That the dissensions and revolutions which followed the reign of Hiram tended to the same result, is strikingly proved by the story of the foundation of Carthage.

But, from whatever cause a colony might be sent forth, its foundation was conducted with the same regard to political and religious organization as among the Greeks; and, like theirs, the Phœnician colonies were models of the parent state. Thus, for example, the religion and polity of Carthage faithfully represent those of the mother city, Tyre. The fragments of native history furnish no distinct accounts of the progress of the Phœnicians in colonization; but we are not without traditions and landmarks, by which to trace their advance round the shores of the Mediterranean. Cyprus, lying within sight of the Phœnician coast, would naturally be first occupied. Their presence here is attested by numerous inscriptions, and their settlement of Citium preserved the name by which the island is designated in Scripture, *Chittim.* Its foundation was ascribed by a legend to a Sidonian king, Belus, whose name, and the Baal-worship from which it is derived, are indications of the ancient connection of the Phœnicians with the nations on the Euphrates. The corresponding female deity, Ashtoreth, or Astarte, who was worshipped especially at Sidon, had her celebrated fane at Paphos,

"And thence her lustful orgies she enlarged"

to the shores of Greece and Italy, under the name of Aphrodite Urania, or the Heavenly Venus. The legends of Io, of the rape of Europa, and of Dido, seem to have been connected with the diffusion of her worship.

The passage from Cyprus to Asia Minor is as easy as that from Phœnicia to Cyprus, and the presence of Phœnician settlers along the shores of Cilicia, Lycia, and Caria, in Rhodes and Crete and the islands of the Ægean, and on the peninsula of Greece, may be traced by legends of unknown antiquity, and in many cases by more substantial memorials. Their track may be followed by similar evidence into the Euxine, as far as the shores of Bithynia. At the gold mines of Thasos, Herodotus was shown the traces of immense works ascribed to the Phœnicians, who seemed, as he expresses it, to have turned a mountain upside down; and they are said to have worked the gold mines on the opposite shore of Thrace. From Eubœa they crossed over to make that settlement in Bœotia, the memory of which seems to be preserved in the legend of Cadmus. The rocky shores of Attica and the Peloponnesus presented few temptations to permanent settlements; but the Phœnicians frequented them as traders and as pirates; and the legend of Io, for example, indicates their presence at Argos in both characters. At the southern extremity of the peninsula, Cythera afforded a resting-place between Phœnicia and the West: and the worship of Aphrodite, for which this island was as celebrated as Cyprus, is traced by Herodotus to the Phœnicians.* On the west side of Greece, the Paphian inhabitants of Cepallenia claimed descent from the Phœnician Cadmus.

The next step of their westward progress carried the Phœnicians to Sicily, a migration which seems to be indicated by the fable of the flight of Dædalus from Crete; and by the worship of Venus at Eryx and Egesta. Thucydides expressly states that they took possession of the promontories and small islands on the coast for the purpose of trading, and that they were driven by the Greek colonists from all these positions except Panormus (*Palermo*) and some others at the western extremity of the island, which they were enabled to hold through their proximity to Carthage. For even the latest date assigned for the foundation of Carthage is before the earliest of the Hellenic settlements in Sicily. These accounts, which are in every way probable, point to the establishment of mere factories and not colonies, except at the western

* Another legend ascribes it to Æneas, whose fabled birth from Venus and connection with Dido may perhaps indicate the influence of a Phœnician element among the Trojans. The god Melicertes, who was worshipped with infant sacrifices at Tenedos, is unquestionably the Tyrian Melcarth. In the same way the settlement of Eryx and Egesta in Sicily is ascribed to the Trojans under Æneas.—*Thuc.* vi. 2.

extremity of the island. There are distinct traces of Phœnician settlements in Melita and Gaulus (*Malta* and *Gozo*) and Cossyra (*Pantellaria*), which lie like stepping-stones between Sicily and Africa, as well as in Sardinia and Ebusus (*Iviza*). By such stages the Phœnician mariners were conducted to the shores of Spain, if indeed they did not reach them at an earlier period by a more direct route; for Tarshish is mentioned in the earliest list of the nations in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis. In the most flourishing period of Phœnician commerce, the voyages to these distant regions employed a peculiar class of vessels, "the ships of Tarshish," which doubtless became like our "Eastindiamen" a generic name for the largest ships of their commercial marine.

Known to the Greeks only by Phœnician reports, this region, under the names of Tartessus, was connected by them with very vague ideas. Sometimes it seems to denote all Spain; sometimes a part or the whole of Andalusia; sometimes the region near the mouth of the Bætis (*Guadalquiver*), which was itself called by the same name, and in the Delta of which some writers place a city Tartessus.* In short, both the Tarshish of the Hebrews, and the Tartessus of the Greeks, may be taken to include all they knew of Spain, and perhaps of the western regions within and without the Straits.† At all events, there were Phœnician settlements along the coast of Andalusia, some of which—as Malaca (*Malaga*) and Carteia—can be distinguished from the latter Carthaginian colonies; and these were their great emporia for the silver, iron, tin, and lead, which they obtained from the mines of the interior. The working of those mines must have brought them into close contact with the natives beyond the coast, whose superior civilization was evident down to later ages. These settlements led them on to those straits, at which the fabled columns set up by Hercules (Calpe, *Gibraltar*, on the European shore, and Abila, *Apes' Hill*, on the African) marked the limits of geographical knowledge and enterprise to the early Greeks. But centuries before the time when the Greek poets were still repeating their fable of the earth-encircling river Ocean, which the mariner entered as soon as he left the Mediterranean, the Phœnicians had

* Professor Key has suggested an ingenious etymological connection between *Tartessus*, *Carteia* or *Carpe* or *Calpe* (*Gibraltar*), and the *Carpetani*, a people found in the centre of the peninsula, having probably been driven from the neighbourhood of their old capital (*Calpe*) by irruptions across the straits.

† Dr. Davis urges some ingenious arguments for the identification of Tarshish with Carthage.

not only sailed beyond the Straits, but had founded the great colony of Gades, which retains its ancient name to the present day.* Besides the tradition already mentioned as placing the foundation of *Cadiz* before that of Utica, and consequently about 1100 B.C., its antiquity is attested by its preservation of the oldest form of the worship of the Tyrian Hercules (Melcarth). His temple was without an image, the only symbol of the god being a perpetual fire. The fact, that the Phœnician colonies were rather commercial factories than centres of political power, is indicated by the dealings of the Phocæans with Arganthonius, king of Tartessus, in the reign of Cyrus the Great.†

Gades was a station from which mariners so enterprising as the Phœnicians would explore the adjacent coasts both to the north and south; and stories are related of their trading as far as the shores of the Baltic, and bringing home its amber. There can be little doubt that they worked the tin and lead mines of Cornwall and the Scilly Islands, and it was from them that Herodotus derived his knowledge of these "Tin Islands" (*Cassiterides*). Aristotle's information about the British Islands in general—which he names respectively *Alb-ion*, in Celtic the *White* Island, and *Ier-ne*, that is, *Eri-* or *Ire-land*—may have come by the overland route across Gaul to Massalia, or by way of Carthage. We have no distinct evidence that the Phœnicians had dealings with any but the western extremity of Great Britain, the only part that produced the commodities they valued. The traces of Phœnician influence in Ireland, for which some writers have strenuously contended, are at best very doubtful. Besides the British Isles, the Phœnician navigators from Tartessus traded to others in the Atlantic, called the *Œstrymnides*, which are probably the *Azores*, though the different groups of islands were doubtless often confounded. To the south of the Straits, the northwestern coast of Africa was occupied at several points by their settlements.

A passing notice must suffice for the very interesting question, whether the Phœnician mariners ventured out into the wide Atlantic, and whether among those who may have been wafted to the opposite shores by accident or bold adventure, any returned to tell of the existence of America. There are some curious

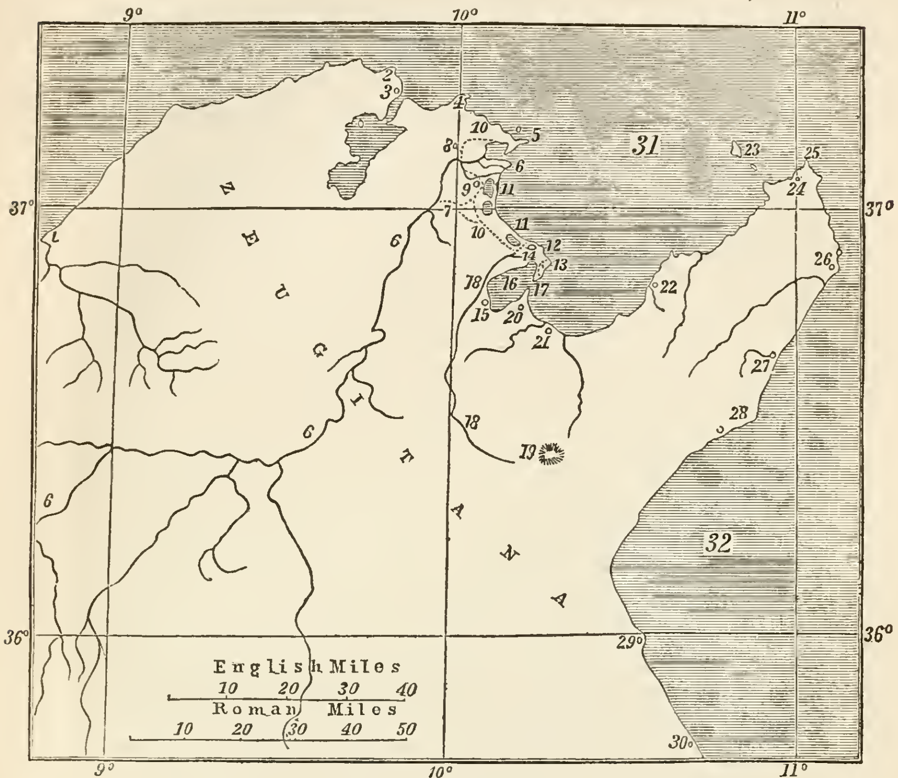
* The genuine form of the name, as found on coins of the old Phœnician period, is *Agadir* (אגדר), or, with the definite article, *Hagadir* (הגדר), signifying *a strong enclosure or edifice.* The omission of the initial breathing gave *Gadir* or *Gaddir*, the Phœnician form, according to the classical writers; whence came the Greek *Gadira* and the Latin *Gades.*

† See Vol. I., p. 276

statements bearing on this point; but their interpretation is a matter of mere conjecture. Avienus, a Latin poet of the fourth century of our era, in his work on the shores of the Mediterranean, compiled from Phœnician authorities, quotes from the Carthaginian Himilco, who had made a voyage of nearly four months westward, the assertion that the Atlantic could be crossed. From what follows, it seems that Himilco had sailed as far as what the ancients called the "Sargasso Sea," from the shoals of *sargassus* or floating sea-weed, which abound off the Azores; and it is not even suggested that he had reached the opposite shore. Other stories might be cited; but the most remarkable of all is the legend related by Plato about *Atlantis*, an island larger than Asia and Libya together, in the sea west of Gades and the Straits. A powerful dynasty of kings reigned over this and the smaller islands between it and the continent, and conquered Libya up to Egypt, and Europe as far as Tyrrhenia. They had gathered their forces for the subjugation of the remaining countries round the Mediterranean, when the Athenians, though deserted by all their allies, repulsed them in a decisive battle, and restored the freedom of all the countries within the Straits. The victory was followed by great earthquakes and floods, which swallowed up the combatants on both sides; and the island of Atlantis engulfed beneath the waters, left only shoals of mud which rendered that sea unnavigable. All this happened 9000 years before the time of Solon, to whom it was related by the Egyptian priests of Saïs, as an instance of the ignorance of the Athenians respecting their forefathers' exploits. It is superfluous to observe that such a legend, coming from such a source, can have no historical value. But may its existence be taken as any argument, when confirmed by other evidence, for the knowledge of lands beyond the Atlantic? The safest reply is a candid confession of our ignorance. Who shall venture to draw the line between truth and fiction in the travellers' tales of those remote ages? Even after making the most liberal allowance for their good faith, all that is credible in their statements may be accounted for on the supposition that, after long beating about in the storms of the Atlantic, they reached some of the nearer islands, or some unknown parts of the shores of Europe or Africa, which they mistook for lands beyond the Ocean. The utmost that can be affirmed is the possibility of the discovery.*

* A fuller discussion of the question will be found in the articles "Atlantis" and "Atlanticum Mare" in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

Returning through the Straits, we come to those famous settlements of the Phœnicians on the northern coast of Africa, which



MAP OF ZEUGITANA.

1. Tusca Fl. : *Wad Zain;* boundary towards Numidia.
2. Candidum Pr. *C. Blanco.*
3. Hippo Diarrhytus or Zaritus: *Bizerta.*
4. *Ras Sidi Bou Shusha*, or *C. Zibeeb:* Pr. Pulcrum.
5. Apollinis Pr.: *Ras Sidi Ali-al-Mekhi, or C. Farina.*
6. Bagradas Fl.; *Wady Mejerdah:* showing, at and near its mouth, its present course.
7. Ancient course of the river near its mouth (the dotted line).
8. Utica: *Bou-shater.*
9. Castra Cornelia: *Ghellah.*
10. Ancient coast-line (the dotted line).
11. Present coast-line.
12. *Ras Ghamart*, or *C. Camart.*
13. *Ras Sidi Bousaid*, or *C. Carthage.*
14. SITE OF CARTHAGE, and ruins of the Roman city: the oval line marks the site of *El Mersa.*
15. Tunes; *Tunis.*
16. Lagoon or Bay of *Tunis.*
17. The *Goletta.*
18. Aqueduct of Carthage.
19. *Jebel Zaghwan:* one source of the aqueduct.
20. Maxula: *Rhades.*
21. Aquæ Calidæ: *Hammam l'Enf.*
22. Carpis: *Gurbos.*
23. Ægimurus I.: *Zowamour*, or *Zembra.*
24. Aquilaria: *Alhowareah*, quarries.
25. Mercurii Pr.: *Ras Addar*, or *C. Bon.*
26. Clypea, or Aspis: *Aklibiah.*
27. Curubis: *Kurbah.*
28. Neapolis: *Nabal.*
29. Horræ Cælia: *Herklah.*
30. Hadrumetum: *Sousah.*
31. Sinus Carthaginiensis.
32. Sinus Neapolitanus.*

* Besides exhibiting the colonies now spoken of and the whole neighbourhood of Carthage, this map will serve to illustrate the Roman campaigns in Africa, and those of Agathocles, which have been related towards the end of Chapter XVIII.

we have reserved till the last on account of their connection with Carthage. They extended all along the shores of Barbary, from the Straits to the Greater Syrtis; but they were naturally the most numerous in that part which has formed successively the territory of Carthage, the Roman province of Africa, and the Regency of Tunis. Stretching out from the line of the coast towards Sicily, and with its eastern front looking in the direction of Phœnicia, this region invited colonization by its splendid harbours and unsurpassed fertility; and we can scarcely doubt that Tyre drew supplies of corn from its abundance; though not to the same extent as the Carthaginians and Romans, who afterwards had more complete possession of the country. The most favourable district for colonization was the great bay between *Cape Farina* and *Cape Bon* (the ancient promontories of Apollo and Mercury), the shores of which, abounding in natural harbours, are adjacent to the fertile plains watered by the Bagradas and some smaller rivers,—forming the ancient Zeugitana, or the northern division of *Africa*, in the original sense of the word, which corresponds nearly to the modern Regency of Tunis. Nearly all the cities on this coast were colonies of Tyre. The most ancient was Utica (or Itacé), near the mouth of the western arm of the Bagradas and close under the promontory of Apollo.* Next in importance was Tunes (*Tunis*), at the bottom of the lagoon at the mouth of which Carthage stood. It is needless to enumerate the other settlements, some of which are exhibited on the annexed map, while others lay to the west along the coast of Numidia, as far as the Straits, and to the east round the shores of the Lesser Syrtis; but we must not omit to name Hippo Zaritus (*Biserta*), celebrated in the annals of chivalry, and Hippo Regius (*Bonah*), less famous as the residence of the Numidian kings than as the bishopric of St. Augustine. On the coast between the two Syrtes, Leptis Magna (*Lebdah*) was an emporium for the caravan trade across the desert. The eastern limit of the Phœnician settlements is not accurately known. How the boundary was afterwards fixed between the Carthaginians and the Greeks of Cyrene at the bottom of the Great Syrtis, has been previously related.† Before proceeding to speak of Carthage, the last and greatest fruit of Phœnician colonization, it is important to inquire

* Its ruins are seen near the holy tomb of *Bou-shater*. It may be mentioned here once for all, that the existing *surface* ruins of all these African cities, including those of Carthage itself, are chiefly of the Roman period. The remains of the Phœnician cities have to be sought underground.

† See Vol. I., p. 366.

what lasting gain the nation derived from this vast system of commerce and colonization, and what was her influence upon human civilization?

This question cannot be better answered than in the words of Dr. Mommsen:—"The Phœnicians are entitled to be commemorated in history by the side of the Hellenic and Latin nations; but their case affords a fresh proof, and perhaps the strongest proof of all, that the development of national energies in antiquity was of a one-sided character. Those noble and enduring creations in the field of intellect, which owe their origin to the Aramæan race, did not emanate from the Phœnicians. While faith and knowledge, in a certain sense, were the especial property of the Aramæan nations, and reached the Indo-Germans only from the East, neither the Phœnician religion nor Phœnician science and art ever, so far as we can see, held an independent rank among those of the Aramæan family. The religious conceptions of the Phœnicians were rude and uncouth, and it seemed as if their worship was meant to foster lust and cruelty rather than to subdue them. No trace is discernible, at least in times of clear historical light, of any special influence exercised by their religion over other nations. As little do we find any Phœnician architecture or plastic art at all comparable even to those of Italy, to say nothing of the lands where art was native. The most ancient seat of scientific observation and of its application to practical purposes was Babylon, or at any rate the region of the Euphrates. * * * The Phœnicians no doubt availed themselves of the artistic and highly developed manufactures of Babylon for their industry, of the observation of the stars for their navigation, of the writing of sounds and the adjustment of measures for their commerce, and distributed many an important germ of civilization along with their wares; but it cannot be demonstrated that the alphabet, or any other ingenious product of the human mind, belonged peculiarly to them, and such religious and scientific ideas as they were the means of conveying to the Hellenes, were scattered by them more after the fashion of a bird dropping grains than of the husbandman sowing his seed. The power which the Hellenes and the Italians possessed, of civilizing and assimilating to themselves the nations susceptible of culture with whom they came into contact, was wholly wanting in the Phœnicians. In the field of Roman conquest, the Iberian and the Celtic languages have disappeared before the Romanic tongue; the Berbers of Africa speak at this present day the same language

as they spoke in the times of the Hannos and the Barcides. Above all, the Phœnicians, like the rest of the Aramæan nations as compared with the Indo-Germans, lacked the instinct of political life,—the noble idea of self-governed freedom. During the most flourishing times of Sidon and Tyre, the land of the Phœnicians was a perpetual apple of contention between the powers that ruled on the Euphrates and on the Nile, and was subject sometimes to the Assyrians, sometimes to the Egyptians. With half the power, Hellenic cities had achieved their independence; but the prudent Sidonians calculated that the closing of the caravan routes to the east, or of the ports of Egypt, would affect them more than the heaviest tribute; and so they punctually paid their taxes, as it might happen, to Nineveh or to Memphis, and even gave their ships, when they could not avoid it, to help to fight the battles of the kings. And as at home the Phœnicians patiently submitted to the oppression of their masters, so also abroad they were by no means inclined to change the peaceful career of commerce for a policy of conquest. Their colonies were factories. It was of more moment, in their view, to traffic in buying and selling with the natives, than to acquire extensive territories in distant lands, and to carry out the slow and difficult work of colonization. They avoided war, even with their rivals; they allowed themselves to be supplanted in Egypt, Greece, Italy, and the east of Sicily, almost without resistance, and in the great naval battles, which were fought in early times for the supremacy of the western Mediterranean at Alalia and at Cumæ, it was the Etruscans and not the Phœnicians that bore the brunt of the struggle with the Greeks.* If rivalry could not be avoided, they compromised the matter as best they could; no attempt was ever made by the Phœnicians to conquer Cære or Massilia. Still less, of course, were the Phœnicians disposed to enter on aggressive war. On the only occasion, in earlier times, when they took the field on the offensive, namely, in the great Sicilian expedition of the African Phœnicians, which terminated in their defeat at Himera by Gelo of Syracuse,† it was simply as dutiful subjects of the Great King, and in order to avoid taking part in the campaign against the Hellenes of the east, that they entered the lists against the Hellenes of the west; just as their Syrian kinsmen were, in fact, obliged in that same year to share the defeat of the Persians at Salamis. This was not the result of cowardice; navi-

* B.C. 538—474. See Vol. I., p. 276, and Vol. II., p. 143.

† B.C. 480. See Vol. I. p. 433

gation in unknown waters and with armed vessels requires brave hearts; and that such were to be found among the Phœnicians, they often showed. Still less was it the result of any lack of tenacity and idiosyncrasy of national feeling; on the contrary, the Aramæans defended their nationality with spiritual weapons and with their blood against all the allurements of Grecian civilization and all the coercive measures of eastern and western despots, and that with an obstinacy which no Indo-German people have ever equalled, and which to us, who belong to the west, seems to be sometimes more, sometimes less than human. It was the result of that want of political instinct which, amidst all their lively sense of the ties of race, and amidst all their faithful attachment to the city of their fathers, formed so marked a feature in the character of the Phœnicians. Liberty had no charms for them, and they aspired not after dominion; 'quietly they lived,' says the Book of Judges, 'after the manner of the Sidonians, careless and secure in the possession of riches.'" *

It was the destiny of CARTHAGE to form a conspicuous exception to this peaceful and submissive policy; and the reason of the difference may be expressed in a few words, which form the key to her whole history. As the head of the Phœnician colonies in the West, she was compelled to assume a warlike attitude, in order to prevent her commerce and theirs being driven from the seas. The compromise made with the despotisms of the East would not satisfy the Greek republics of Sicily and Massalia, or the rising power of Rome. Founded by a fresh colony, when Tyre had reached the height of her prosperity, the "NEW CITY"† occupied a position the most favourable for supremacy in the western half of the Mediterranean. Placed at that central point of the African

* Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. ii., pp. 4—6. The leading authorities for the history of the Phœnicians are Gesenius, *Monumenta Phœnicia;* Heeren's *Researches, &c.;* Mövers, *Die Phönizier;* Kenrick's *Phœnicia;* and Mr. Dyer's article *Phœnicia* in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.*

† Solinus tells us that the ancient name of Carthage was *Carthada;* "quod Phœnicum ore exprimit *Civitatem Novam.*" In Hebrew there is a poetical word *Kereth* or *Carth*, signifying a *City;* and the coins of Panormus, a chief possession of Carthage in Sicily, bear the legend of *Kereth-hadeshoth*, or *Carth-hadtha* (i. e., the *New City*), the *Carthada* of Solinus. By changing the first and second dentals respectively into gutturals, the Greeks obtained *Carchadon* (Καρχηδών) and the Romans *Carthago.* As in all similar cases, the "*New City*" points to an *Old* City on or near the same spot. This is commonly explained as referring to *Utica*, which means *Old City;* but Niebuhr thinks it unlikely that such a site as that of Carthage should have been left unoccupied for nearly 300 years, and he supposes the *Old City* to have been on the same spot, and to be represented by *Byrsa*, the citadel of Carthage.

coast, where the projecting shore approaches so near the western extremity of Sicily as to divide the great inland sea into two basins, and within a moderate distance of Sardinia, she looked almost due north to the mouth of the Tiber.*

The site of Carthage has long been known by tradition and by its existing ruins; but it is only lately that its exact topography has ceased to be one of the most vexed questions of ancient learning. Far within the deep bay terminated by the headlands of Mercury and Apollo (*C. Bon* and *C. Farina*), and on its western side, is a rocky promontory or peninsula, connected with the level plain of the Mejerdah by an isthmus, the breadth of which is chiefly due to the encroachments of the land. Along the whole space from C. Farina to the peninsula, the alluvial deposits of the Mejerdah, aided by the north-west winds, which incessantly throw floods of sand upon the shore, have converted what was once a bold sweeping bay into a succession of salt-marshes and dry land, which have filled up the roadstead once formed on the northern side of the peninsula, though its memorial still exists in the village of *El-Mersa* (the *harbour*), adorned with the country-houses of the Tunisians. On the southern side of the peninsula, what was once a splendid basin, forming the port of Tunis, has been converted by similar causes into a lagoon of only six or seven feet deep, connected with the sea by a narrow entrance called in Arabic *Halk-el-Wad* (the throat of the river), and in Italian *Goletta* (the Gullet). Along the northern margin of this basin runs a line of land, which once formed a narrow isthmus, gradually rising till the rocks culminate in *Ras Sidi Bousaid*, or *C. Carthage*, a headland nearly 400 feet high, forming the eastern point of the peninsula. Between this and the somewhat lower headland of *Ras Ghamart*, or *C. Camart*, the eastern face of the peninsula opposes its breastwork of rocks to the full force of the storms that break into the gulf. On the lower eminences sheltered by these heights, and along the shores between C. Carthage and the lagoon of Tunis, stood the famous city; and on this side the water sweeping round *C. Carthage* has so encroached upon the land as to cover large portions of the ruins of the ancient quays.

The fabled visit of Æneas to these shores, at the very time when Dido was building the new city, has afforded Virgil the opportunity for a description, as faithful as it is poetic, of the aspect which

* The distance from *C. Bon* to *Marsala*, the ancient Lilybæum, is less than 90 miles; from Carthage to Lilybæum is about 150; and the same to Caralis (*Cagliari*) in Sardinia from Carthage to the mouth of the Tiber is under 400 miles.

the spot may be supposed to have presented to a voyager landing on the northern side of the peninsula. It is passing strange that the most learned of poets should have been suspected of drawing a purely imaginary picture of a spot so well known to the Romans of his age; and stranger still that not only commentators, but such a traveller as Dr. Shaw, should have supposed the landing-place of Æneas to have been at *Alhowareah* (the ancient Aquilaria), close to *Cape Bon*, a distance of sixty miles from Carthage, and resembling none of the features of Virgil's description.*

That description of an imaginary approach to the peninsula of Carthage gives an admirable idea of its actual appearance about the time supposed. Driven out of his course from Sicily to Italy by a storm, which the jealousy of Juno prevails on Æolus to raise, Æneas at length makes the shore of Libya, with the remnant of his scattered ships, at a point described in the following terms:—

"Within a long recess there lies a bay:
An island shades it from the rolling sea,
And forms a port secure for ships to ride:
Broke by the jutting land, on either side,
In double streams the briny waters glide
Betwixt two rows of rocks: a sylvan scene
Appears above, and groves forever green:
A grot is formed beneath, with mossy seats,
To rest the Nereids, and exclude the heats.
Down through the crannies of the living walls,
The crystal streams descend in murm'ring falls.
No halsers need to bind the vessels here,
Nor bearded anchors; for no storms they fear.
Seven ships within this happy harbour meet,
The thin remainders of the scatter'd fleet.
The Trojans, worn with toils, and spent with woes,
Leap on the welcome land, and seek their wish'd repose." †

Commentators, with only books and maps to guide them, may be more easily excused than travellers to the spot, for seeking the

* The choice of *Alhowareah* involves, as Dr. Davis has pointed out, the inference, that Achates performed the journey of sixty miles on foot three times in the course of a single day—an example of "fidelity" to his chief's behests not to be matched by a Highland gillie.

† *Æneis*, I. Vv. 159—169. The passage is given in Dryden's classical translation, for the English reader; but to follow the description with minute accuracy, it is necessary to subjoin the original:—

"Est in secessu longo locus: insula portum
Efficit objectu laterum; quibus omnis ab alto
Frangitur, inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos.
Hinc atque hinc vastæ rupes, geminique minantur
In cœlum scopuli; quorum sub vertice latè
Æquora tuta silent: tum silvis scena coruscis
Desuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbrâ.

"island" of Virgil in the little rocky "Altars of Ægimurus" (the *Islands of Zowamour*), in the very mouth of the great Gulf, which lay remote from Carthage, and so far from making a safe harbour, shipwrecked some of the vessels during the storm. Nor have they perceived that Æneas was embayed within the gulf when he made the land. The natural explanation, which makes all else clear, is that the "island" was the peninsula of Carthage itself, and that "the port made by it" lay on the northern side of the isthmus, which then formed a deep bay, where is now the salt lake of *Sokra* and the suburb of *El-Mersa.** Here Æneas would be sheltered by *C. Camart* from the E.S.E. wind that had driven him to the shore; and here, even since the alteration of the coast, the description of the poet is borne out by the present aspect of the land. "On nearing the coast from a direction west of C. Camart, the land, or rather the isthmus, is very low, and covered with lakes, which are so swelled in extent by heavy gales, that *the peninsula of Carthage has every appearance of a sea-girt island. . . .* Again, on approaching the coast in the same direction, the lofty double-peaked mountain of Hammam l'Enf—to this day called by the Arabs 'the possessor of two horns'—seems to tower above the vast rocks which flank the little

---

Fronte sub adversâ scopulis pendentibus antrum;
Intus aquæ dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo;
Nympharum domus: hìc fessas non vincula naves
Ulla tenent; unco non alligat ancora morsu."

In the interpretation of this passage, and in the whole account of Carthage, a special acknowledgment is due of the information derived from the work of Dr. N. Davis, "*Carthage and her Remains*, being an account of the Excavations and Researches on the site of the Phœnician Metropolis in Africa, and other adjacent places, conducted under the auspices of Her Majesty's Government." London, 1861. 8vo.

Dr. Davis has since published a supplementary volume, entitled "The Ruined Cities within the Numidian and Carthaginian Territories." Lond. 1862, 8vo. The British Museum is enriched with many of the fruits of his discoveries. The praise due to Dr. Davis for his researches must not prevent the greatest caution in following his opinions and interpretations. His zeal has given him a constant predisposition to find Punic remains, where calmer critics consider him to have discovered none but Roman. Less doubtful traces of Punic Carthage have been reached by M. Beulé, whose discoveries are described in his *Fouilles de Carthage*, 1861. 4to. For the existing topographical details of the site the best authority is the Danish officer Falbe, *Recherches sur l'Emplacement de Carthage.* Paris 1833.

* This opinion was formed long before the publication of Dr. Davis, who may be said to have proved it to demonstration. We have still some hesitation in accepting his explanation of the "gemini scopula" as the double peaks of *Hammam l'Enf*, at the very bottom of the Gulf, far beyond the lagoon of Tunis; though the impressions of a traveller are most likely to be the faithful reproduction of those made on an

bay west of C. Camart, into which the Trojan vessels entered. . . . . Once in this little harbour, they were perfectly safe, particularly during the prevalence of the E.S.E. wind, the force of which is first broken by C. Carthage, then by C. Camart, and finally by the eastern rocky projection of the harbour itself."* The Nymph's Grotto may well have been an imaginary scene, which the poet required for a subsequent purpose; and the caves of these sea-beaten rocks may have been swept away by the violence of the northwest winds, or covered by the sea. "But notwithstanding this," adds the traveller, "I am able to point out the remains of a cave with 'living water' dripping from the solid rock, and that only a few hundred yards from where the vessels were at anchor."

While his followers kindle a fire, and dry and pound their corn, Æneas ascends a rock which commands a fine prospect over the sea, but not a word is said yet of any view of Carthage. This is doubtless *C. Camart*, from which the city would be hidden by the intervening height of *Jebel Khawi*, or the "Hill of the Catacombs." He looks in vain for his scattered ships; but to landward he sees a herd of deer, seven of which are soon shot down for his seven ships. Turning from the poet to the traveller, we read:—"For miles around the secluded spot of Camart there are, even now, 'groves black with frowning shade,' and here the dales and valleys were, no doubt, anciently teeming with herds of stags. These timid animals were not only driven from their native wilds by the accumulation of human dwellings, but by the incessant havoc caused among them by the numerous huntsmen of a populous city in such close proximity. Other wild beasts, such as the wolf and the hyena, living in caves and hollows in the rocks, have retained their original strongholds, and some are even now occasionally killed by the indifferent Arab sportsmen." The next morning Æneas again mounts the hill with Achates, and advancing through the wood he meets his divine mother, disguised as a Tyrian huntress, who points out Carthage, and relates the adventures of Dido:—

> "Punica regna vides, Tyrios, et Agenoris urbem;
> Sed fines Libyci, genus intractabile bello."

---

ancient voyager approaching from the same direction. The "twin rocks" of Virgil certainly seem to be those at the very base of which "the safe waters are hushed"—which would apply rather to *C. Camart*, with *C. Carthage* seen beyond it; and the "minantur in cœlum," said of headlands only 300 and 400 feet high, may pass as a poetical exaggeration. Dr. Barth (*Wanderungen, &c.*), who is a very high authority, conjectures that the whole isthmus is of late formation, and that these two headlands were once separate rocky islands. At all events, *C. Camart* may well have been an island, when the land of *El-Mersa* was under water.

* Davis, *Carthage*, chap. xv. "The African Landing-place of Virgil's Hero."

This must have been a general view from the summit of *Jebel Khawi*, at the distance of about four miles. Venus bids Æneas and his companion proceed straight forward:—

> "No more advice is needful; but pursue
> The path before you, and the town in view." *

Following this direction, they mount another eminence, from the slope of which they obtain a view of the whole scene of busy work:—

> "They climb the next ascent, and, looking down,
> Now at a nearer distance view the town.
> The prince with wonder sees the stately towers,
> Where late were huts, and shepherds' homely bowers,
> The gates and streets; and hears, from ev'ry part,
> The noise and busy concourse of the mart." †

"The height Virgil now alludes to," says Dr. Davis, "is that called *Sidi Bousaid*, or *Cape Carthage.* It is the most prominent eminence on the whole of the peninsula, being 393 feet above the level of the sea, and strictly 'overhangs the city.' It is only one mile from Byrsa, the citadel, whose towers were directly opposite to it. From its heights the Trojans could clearly distinguish the gates and the various edifices. The din and noise of the workmen were perfectly audible, particularly as it is more than probable that stones from the very hill on which they stood were then actually being quarried for building some of the public edifices of the rising city. There are plain indications which prove that the hill of Sidi Bousaid was anciently quarried, and this is corroborated by the affinity between the formation of this vast rock and some of the stones dug up at our excavations. Besides, the city actually extended towards this hill, and the wall was scarcely half a mile from it, as is amply apparent from the remains of the sea-gate, which is almost at its foot."

From the point thus defined, that part of Carthage which may be called the city proper, lay to the S.W., along the southeastern shore of the peninsula, with the principal public buildings upon the heights behind, which form the prolongation of Cape Carthage. The extent of this city,‡ as determined partly by the few remains of the walls, and partly by the great cisterns, which are known to

* "Perge modò, et, quà te ducit via, dirige gressum."—v. 401.

† "Corripuere viam interea quà semita monstrat.
Jamque ascendebant collem, qui plurimus urbi
Imminet, adversasque aspectat desuper arces.
Miratur molem Æneas, magalia quondam;
Miratur portas, strepitumque, et strata viarum."—Vv. 418—422.

‡ It is now established, by most convincing proofs, that Roman Carthage was built

have been outside of them, was only about two miles long by one broad, the original limits having doubtless been sacredly preserved;* but to the northwest lay the suburb of Megara or Megalia. covering almost the whole surface of the peninsula (the circuit of which is twenty-four miles), and defended by a triple line of walls drawn right across the isthmus, which is three miles wide.† These gigantic fortifications rose to the height of thirty cubits, with towers four stories high at intervals of 200 feet. Behind each line of wall were two stories of vaulted casemates, the lower containing stabling for 300 elephants, and the upper for 4000 horses, with ample space for their food. Between the walls were barracks for 20,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry, with magazines and stores. Thus there was a complete fortified camp upon the isthmus. A line of wall ran along the margin of the lake of Tunis, to the S.W. angle of the city proper, where a long narrow tongue of land, called the *Tænia* (that is, *fillet*) jutted out between the lagoon and the sea. By establishing themselves on this spit, the Romans, in the Third Punic War, were able to attack the S.W. angle of the wall where it was low and weak; and the possession of this point gave Scipio the opportunity of making his celebrated mole to block up the entrance to the harbours, which opened from a small bay outside the base of the Tænia.

These harbours which can still be traced with tolerable clearness close behind and parallel to the sea-shore, were two in

on the exact site of the Punic City, as indeed Pliny expressly says—"in vestigiis Magnæ Carthaginis." Falbe discovered that the straight Roman roads, which are totally different from the crooked lanes used by the Mohammedans, divide the space occupied by the suburb of Megara into exactly 30 rectangles, each containing 100 allotments (*heredia*) of two *jugera*, the precise quantity for the 3000 colonists with whom Augustus peopled his new city. This, then, was the land (*ager*) belonging to the Roman city, and lying outside its walls.

* In the story of Dido, a circuit of twenty-two stadia, or above two miles and a half, is assigned to the city, probably the measurement of the land side.

† This, the least width of the isthmus, agrees with the length of the blockading wall which Scipio drew across it; but Strabo makes the whole circuit of the fortifications thirty-six geographical miles, of which he assigns six to the wall towards the land, extending—as he expressly says—*from sea to sea.* The only explanation at all satisfactory that has been proposed to explain this excess of the land wall over the width of the isthmus seems to be that it was thrown back further within the peninsula, and also that allowance has to be made for deviations from the straight line. The second hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that Strabo's length for the whole circuit of the walls is just fifty per cent. above that of the peninsula; and perhaps he may take in the inner wall of the city proper. A careful examination of the contours of the ground, with the aid of the able constructor of our map, has suggested the probability that the triple wall ran along the edge of the declivity by which the higher land of the peninsula falls down to the plain. (See the map.)

number; the outer for merchant vessels, the inner for men-of-war. The former was a basin of an oblong shape, 1160 feet by 420, approached by a channel 850 feet long by about 70 wide, with a second narrow channel 175 feet long, leading to the inner or naval harbour. This was of an oval shape, with an island in the middle, raised to a considerable height, so as at once to mask the view of the inner part of the harbour from the sea, and to afford a commanding station for the port-admiral, whose house was built upon it. The island was called *Cothon*, a name which was transferred to the harbour itself. It occupied just half the diameter of the whole basin, which now measures 960 feet across. Both sides of the ring were lined with quays and docks, for 220 ships of war. There was originally no separate entrance to the inner harbour from the sea; but when Scipio drew his mole across the mouth of the merchant harbour, the Carthaginians cut a new channel direct from the naval harbour, whence they sailed out with their fleet. It was only their own want of decision that prevented the surprise from being most disastrous to the Romans.* Besides these harbours, there was a spacious quay on the sea-shore, beyond the city walls, where merchant ships could receive or discharge their cargoes under the shelter of C. Carthage. The existence of such a quay is proved by substructions similar to the clearer remains at Leptis Magna. Besides, the lagoon supplied a vast enclosed roadstead for vessels of small draught.†

Between the harbours and the foot of the headland of C. Carthage, and along the heights parallel to the coast-line, which connect that promontory with the isthmus, is the ground once occupied by the buildings both of Punic and Roman Carthage. The present aspect of its surface does but too faithfully testify to those peculiar circumstances in the history of the city which have rendered its topography, like its history, one of the most obscure, though most interesting, questions in the annals of the world. It is in vain that the enquirer regrets the want of a native history of Carthage. When she succumbed to the ruthless sentence *Delenda est Carthago*, which doomed all her edifices to obliteration, and pronounced a

* The fact that Scipio saw from Tunis the Punic fleet sailing out of the new opening is decisive against the opinion of Shaw, Estrup, and Ritter, that the harbour was on the opposite side of the peninsula,—a position, moreover, which the furious northwest winds would have made most dangerous.

† Avoiding all topographical controversies, we do not stay to expose the error of taking the lagoon itself for the harbour of Carthage; but, as an indication of its subsidiary value, we may mention that *Misua*, the port of Carthage under the Vandals, was on its shore.

curse upon him who should attempt to rebuild the city, she left her reputation in the hands of her relentless enemies. The ungenerous animosity of Livy and the confused details of Appian prove how little the Roman and Greek writers cared either for historical impartiality or descriptive fidelity. With an ingenuity far more effectual than that of scattering a victim's ashes to the winds, the Roman conquerors dispersed the precious memorials contained in the libraries of the city, among the Numidian princes, reserving for translation into Latin none but the thirty-two books of Mago on Agriculture, as the only work useful to the republic.* Of the records laid up at Tyre concerning this greatest of her colonies, but one fragment has been preserved for us by Josephus.† Even had the Roman authors, and the Greeks who wrote of Roman affairs, been disposed to do Carthage justice, they only knew her after she had passed her meridian splendour. For the early period of her history, we grievously miss the lively and faithful details of Herodotus, from whose plan Carthage was excluded; but he has incidentally preserved some precious fragments of her history. The Carthaginian constitution attracted the particular attention of Aristotle, whose brief notice of it in his "Politick" serves to show how irreparable is the loss of the fuller discussion in his great work on the ancient polities. Diodorus Siculus is our chief authority for the contests of the Carthaginians and the Greeks in his native island. The historians who have treated of the Punic Wars scarcely extend their notices of Carthaginian history beyond those limits; but we owe a few invaluable facts to Polybius. As the friend of the younger Scipio, and his companion at the taking of Carthage, he enjoyed all the means of information accessible to the Romans, without sharing their political animosity. He is as far above Livy in careful research as in impartial calmness. Appian seems chiefly to follow Polybius, adding details from other sources; but the carelessness of the compiler often makes his fuller particulars a new source of confusion, especially as to the topography of the city. We look in vain to the accurate geographer Strabo to correct these errors, as in his time the city had lain

* As governor of Africa under Cæsar, the historian Sallust had access to these literary treasures, and the disposition to make use of them. Of the important results we should have obtained from these Punic sources, we may judge by the fragment upon the peopling of North Africa from the East which Sallust tells us was translated to him from the Punic books of Hiempsal, king of Numidia (Jugurtha, 17).

† This is the important statement, that Carthage was founded 143 years and 8 months after the building of Solomon's temple, which Josephus expressly says that he derived from Phœnician documents preserved in his time at Tyre.

in ruins for a century and a half, and his notices are few and brief. The only author who has attempted a continuous history of Carthage is Justin, the epitomator of Trogus Pompeius, whose statements can only be accepted after careful criticism. When we turn to the ruins of the city, to see what information they can add, we find them in a state that at first seems hopeless.

The curse pronounced by the vote of the Roman Senate on the site of Carthage, after its destruction by Scipio (B.C. 146), was rigidly respected for exactly a century, with the exception of the abortive attempt of C. Gracchus to found a colony there under the name of Junonia (B.C. 122). Meanwhile such ruins as remained after the rigour with which the sentence of destruction was carried out, were ransacked and rifled by the people of the surrounding cities, and doubtless by some of the outcast inhabitants themselves. How thoroughly this process was carried on is proved by the fact that the recent excavations have brought to light scarcely any specimens of coined money, and none of those ornaments in the precious metals which are so abundant in the ruins of Assyria and Babylonia. Nothing could have been left but the solid substructions of the more important buildings and of the quays; and these were resorted to as a quarry, when Augustus at length carried out the plan, which Julius Cæsar had formed exactly a century after the destruction of the city (B.C. 46), of building a Roman Carthage on the site of the ancient city. This Roman city, destroyed in its turn by the Arabs (A.D. 647), covered deep below its ruins what remained of Punic Carthage, and furnished a similar quarry to the people of Tunis and the surrounding villages. "Whatever yet remained of Carthage," says Gibbon, "was delivered to the flames, and the colony of Dido and Cæsar lay desolate above two hundred years, till a part, perhaps a twentieth, of the whole circumference was repeopled by the first of the Fatimite caliphs. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the second capital of the West was represented by a mosque, a college without students, twenty-five or thirty shops, and the huts of five hundred peasants, who, in their abject poverty, displayed the arrogance of the Punic senators. Even that paltry village was swept away by the Spaniards whom Charles V. had stationed in the fortress of Goletta. The ruins of Carthage have perished; and the place might be unknown if some broken arches of an aqueduct did not guide the footsteps of the inquisitive traveller."

Since the great historian wrote these words, the site of Carthage has been adorned with a monument of the most interesting

event in its medieval history. Louis IX. of France, whose pure devotion fed those last flames of chivalry that burnt in his life, landed at Carthage in July 1270, to prosecute the latest of the crusading enterprises—that against Tunis. While he waited for his brother, the king of Sicily, his army was decimated by an epidemic, to which Louis himself fell a victim. The spot where he expired in his tent is now marked by a chapel, bearing an inscription which records its erection in 1841 by Louis Philippe, king of the French, in memory of his ancestor St. Louis. The hill surmounted by this monument, and now called the Hill of St. Louis, commands a wide prospect over the peninsula of Carthage, and the hills which are seen through the brilliant atmosphere across the blue waters of the bay; and the traveller tells us how he was admiring the various points of beauty with which nature has adorned the spot, when his Arab attendant exclaimed, "Verily, this world is transitory; the next alone is durable! Look how vast a city this Carthage must have been! What ingenuity and wealth its numerous inhabitants must have possessed! How great was its strength, and yet how paltry are the remains of its former grandeur and glory!" As the eye sweeps over the surface of the peninsula, it sees only the petty hamlets of Sokrah, Camart, Moolkah, and Sidi Daoud, and the villas and gardens of El Mersa, amidst which the lofty piers and broken arches of the great aqueduct carry the eye to the spot where once the city stood. The few fragments of ruin, which are still visible above ground, may be pronounced, as a general rule, to be remains of Roman Carthage; those of the Punic city are to be sought beneath the surface of the soil.

The spot which affords this commanding view appears to have been the same from which Scipio watched the progress of his troops at the close of the fearful struggle of six days and nights, during which they fought their way from the Cothon to the Byrsa.* The hill of St. Louis has been identified by most topographers with this Byrsa,† the citadel of Carthage, and without doubt the original city itself. A merely elementary knowledge of Oriental languages at once reduces to the class of myths invented from fancied etymologies the well-known story—how Dido outwitted the natives by purchasing as much land as could be covered with on ox-hide (*bursa*), which she then cut into thin strips, and so

* It is in fact the *only* eminence answering to Appian's description of the hill ascended by Scipio, *near the Forum*. C. Carthage is too distant.

† It has already been stated that this word is the Semitic *Bozrah*, *a fortress*.

enclosed space enough for a fortress. But the fable is not without its value as a confession of the principle of fraud which has in all ages governed the dealings of civilized with savage peoples. Strabo describes the Byrsa as a hill of moderate height in the middle of the city, surmounted by the temple of Æsculapius; and the central position of the Hill of St. Louis, with its height, only inferior to C. Carthage and C. Camart,* have led to the hasty assumption that it must have been the citadel in question. But we learn from other sources that the Byrsa had a circuit of more than two Roman miles, and when it surrendered to Scipio, 50,000 people marched out of it, besides 900 Roman deserters, who remained and resisted to the death. A great part of the Byrsa was occupied by the temple of Æsculapius and the chapels of other deities. And yet the Hill of St. Louis has a level surface of only 700 feet square; nor can room be found in the 1725 feet between the Cothon and the hill for the 120,000 soldiers of Scipio. Still more decisive is the statement of an ancient writer,† that the Byrsa had a side common with the wall of this city, *where it overhung the sea;* and we might indeed assume that such would be the position chosen by the first settlers. Guided by such conditions, Dr. Davis has marked out an irregular quadrangle at the north-eastern part of the city, nearest to Cape Carthage, as the precinct of the Byrsa and the temple of Æsculapius; and his excavations upon this site have discovered important remains of the temple itself, and of the staircase which led up to it. Among the ruins was found a Phœnician inscription, bearing the name of *Ashmon*, the native appellation of the deity. When it is added, that repeated diggings in the Hill of St Louis have laid bare no vestige of any Punic temple or other edifice, nor turned up a single Phœnician inscription, the question seems to be decided. Heaps of ruins may be traced down the side of the hill from the temple of Æsculapius to the sea-shore, where are still seen the remains of a sea-gate, which gave separate access to this quarter. Within the precincts of the citadel are the great rain-water cisterns, called by the Arabs the *Cisterns of the Devil*, only inferior in magnitude to the reservoirs supplied by the great aqueduct, with which they have a subterranean communication; but their Punic construction is still a disputed question. Further excavations within and around the precincts of the Byrsa have brought

* The respective heights are, C. Carthage, 395 feet; Jebel Khawi (above C. Camart), 315 feet; Hill of St. Louis, 188 feet.

† Ado Viennensis, quoted by Dr. Davis, p. 379.

to light Mosaic pavements, fragments of pottery and sculpture, and Phœnician inscriptions, in sufficient abundance to encourage the belief that more systematic efforts might reveal much of the plan of the ancient city.*

Besides the temple of Æsculapius, the sites of those of Astarte and Baal appear to have been identified. To each of these three deities a distinct quarter of the city seems to have been dedicated, and their names were given to the three streets which, as Appian informs us, led up from the Cothon to the Byrsa. Of these the most direct was the *Vicus Salutaris*, or street of Æsculapius, parallel to the sea-wall; the central, or street of Baal (*Vicus Saturni*, or *Senis*), passed through the market-place, which was adjacent to the Cothon, and skirted the eastern slope of the Hill of St. Louis; the street of Astarte (*Vicus Veneris*) made a circuit round the other side of that hill. The lines of these streets may still be traced with a tolerable approach to certainty.

These parts of the city occupy the group of hills forming the south-western prolongation of the headland of Cape Carthage. On their western slope are traces of a circus and amphitheatre; the latter memorable in Christian history as the scene of the martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas.† In the north-western angle of the city, at the village of Moalkah, are the immense reservoirs, which contained the water brought a distance of fifty-two miles by the great aqueduct from Jebel Zaghwan.‡ Their number seem to have been originally twenty. There are now fourteen, placed side by side, 400 feet long by 28 wide, the depth being concealed by the earth which fills them to the spring of their vaulted coverings. Another, higher and narrower, which runs transversely to all these, was perhaps only a gallery, to give access to the cisterns. Their mode of construction was that which the Roman writers call *formacian*,§ built up of successive layers of small stones mixed with mortar, and moulded in a wooden box

* Dr. Davis gives us clearly to understand that such investigations were altogether beyond his means and opportunities. "Had our object been simply to lay bare the ruins of Carthage this would undoubtedly have presented a very prolific field. *But such was not our aim.* We made no purchase of land, and simply dug with a view *to find objects worthy of removal.*" In some cases, parts of the edifices discovered were sacrificed to the purpose of enriching our Museum, where the antiquities obtained by Dr. Davis are very imperfectly exhibited.

† Dr. Davis seems carried too far by zeal for his subject in maintaining the Punic origin of this edifice; but his arguments for ascribing the great aqueduct and cisterns to the Carthaginians deserve consideration.

‡ See the map on p. 359.

§ From *forma*, the *form* or *mould* by which the work was supported.

open at top and bottom. The prevalence of this mode of building in Africa and in Spain, where it was used in the watch-towers ascribed to Hannibal, furnishes a strong argument for the Punic origin of the cisterns, and consequently of the aqueduct which supplies them. This aqueduct is one of those magnificent works of engineering which modern smatterers in science have ascribed forsooth to ignorance of the simple law that water finds its own level! The ancients applied closed earthen pipes to the conveyance of water over ground of unequal levels; but they had no means of constructing prodigious iron tubes like those which supply Glasgow with the pure water of Loch Katrine. They understood the advantage of an equable flow of water down a gently inclined channel, free from the friction and danger of bursting at joints and angles. Therefore they reared those structures, as picturesque as they are stupendous, which cross the Campagna of Rome, the plain of Nismes, and the peninsula of Carthage, and may be traced up to their distant sources, spanning valleys, and piercing mountains. The line of the Carthaginian aqueduct is still in sufficient preservation to be used for the supply of water to Tunis.* Where it is carried through the mountains, it is ventilated by air-shifts at about every twenty yards. Where it crosses the valleys and plain, it is supported on arches, the piers of which vary in height according to the varying surface of the ground, reaching in some places to an elevation of 125 feet. The arches vary from about 14 ft. to 20 ft. in span; the piers from 10 ft. 1 in. by 8 ft. 6 in. to 14 ft. 7 in. by 12 ft. 2 in.; the thicker being of moulded mud, and the others of masonry. Dr. Shaw describes the channel itself as "being high and broad enough for a person of ordinary size to walk in. It is vaulted above, and plastered in the inside with strong cement; which by the stream running through it is discoloured to the height of about three feet. This will sufficiently show the capacity of the channel; but, as there are several breaches in the aqueduct, sometimes for three or four miles together, I had no method to determine the velocity or angle of descent, so as to ascertain the quantity of water that might be daily conveyed to Carthage."†

* Dr. Davis speaks (in 1860) of this work as in progress under the direction of a French contractor, who was supplying the gaps in the aqueduct with iron pipes, and not scrupling to throw down some of the ancient piers to furnish materials for his work.

† Shaw's Travels, vol. i. p. 168. The whole subject of the ancient aqueducts is treated in the article *Aquæductus* in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities.*

Beyond the city walls, but still within those which defended the peninsula, the suburb of Megara was doubtless the site of the villas and gardens of the wealthy Carthaginians. There are no remains here of public or great edifices. Traces of houses have been found upon the sea-shore, supported on piers and arches, through which the sea could beat freely; and in one of these Dr. Davis fancies that he can recognize the marine villa of Hannibal, whence the great general made his escape by sea when Cn. Servilius arrived at Carthage to demand his surrender. Overhanging *Cape Camart* is the hilly range, already more than once mentioned, of *Jebel Khawi* (the *empty mountain*), so called from the catacombs by which its interior is perforated. Numerous square apertures in the surface of the ground give access to subterraneous chambers hewn out of the limestone and slightly vaulted. Their sides present the well-known appearance of the Roman *columbaria* (dove-cotes), but with the important difference, that they are adapted to contain coffins instead of urns, the holes being about 2 feet square and 6 feet deep. For the Carthaginians, like their Semitic brethren in Asia, buried their dead out of their sight; and we have a curious record of a treaty in which Darius Hystaspis required them to abandon this custom for the Persian practice of burning their bodies. When the traveller explored these catacombs, he was struck with the remarkable absence of human remains; the niches of the *columbaria* being open and empty. Dr. Davis thus describes one of the few exceptions that he discovered:—"I was informed that the men of *Jebel Khawi* had discovered a chamber without any niches. I proceeded to examine it, and found that the niches in this columbarium were stopped up by cement, on which the marks of the hand of him that did it were distinctly seen. On one we observed a representation of the seven-branched candlestick, and on another the letters A.P.; the remaining eight were quite plain. We broke through the thin layer of cement, and found the skeleton just as it was deposited. It was coffee-colour in appearance, and crumbled to dust as soon as touched. But no other object was visible; neither ornament, nor coin, nor lamp could be discovered. In the vicinity of this we again came upon empty chambers, and occasionally we found one or two of the receptacles occupied. Upon examination, we perceived traces which proved that they had all been once tenanted, and that the fragile cement had been intentionally broken through, and the skeleton removed. The portions of the cement which still adhered to the openings led us to

this conclusion." These appearances contradict the supposition that the spoliation was, at least in the first instance, the work of the wild beasts (chiefly hyenas) which have now their dens in the empty sepulchres. We cannot doubt that the tombs were originally made secure against their intrusion; and long before they gained an entrance, the remains would be reduced to the state of dry powder, offering no attraction to beasts of prey. It seems more probable that these sepulchres of the heathen were rifled by the Christians, who used some of them again as their own burial-places, but without the same care, except in a few cases, to fill up the openings of the niches. Meanwhile the roots of the wild fig-trees, which grow luxuriantly above, broke through the thin vaults: the hyenas found an entrance through these and other openings, and devoured the bodies last deposited, except in the niches which had been again secured. The seven-branched candlestick on one of these is certainly a Christian emblem;* and the absence of lamps and other objects, constantly found in Roman tombs, agrees with the conclusion drawn from the dimensions of the niches. Nor is the hypothesis admissible, that the catacombs were first excavated by the Christians. Extending beneath the whole surface of the group of hills and the romantic valleys of Jebel Camart, for a circuit of four miles, they correspond in magnitude to the population of Carthage, which, even just before its capture, amounted to 700,000 souls.†

Among the most interesting discoveries made during the recent excavations at Carthage are several mosaic pavements. An especially fine specimen was discovered among the ruins which are supposed to belong to the temple of Astarte, the chief goddess of the Phœnicians. This temple, restored by the Romans as that of Venus Urania or Cœlestis, is celebrated for its magnificence by several ancient writers. "After being consecrated as a Christian church by Bishop Aurelius (A.D. 425), it shared the final fall of Roman Carthage, and its ruins have been rent and torn into all sorts of forms and shapes by the present barbarous inhabitants, to whom its remains have proved a rich quarry." The splendid mosaic,

* See Revelation i. 12, 13, 20. We may connect this use of the emblem with the known fact that, when Genseric sacked Rome, he carried off to Carthage the spoils obtained by Titus from the Jewish temple, and probably the golden candlestick among them (A.D. 455). Gibbon, vol. iii., p. 291.

† "What also gives these catacombs an Oriental, and hence a Punic character, is the round holes excavated in the rock, and found in various parts on *Jebel Khawi*. They are intended to collect water to refresh the soul, which was believed to hover over the place of sepulture of its body."—Davis, p. 489, *note*.

parts of which were found under these ruins and removed to the British Museum, had, when complete, four colossal heads in the corners, and eight compartments, arranged in a circle, representing—to judge from those which remain—females in the act of sacrificing; with a central circle which is now lost.* Thus the subject was evidently religious; but the chief question is, whether this and similar works found at Carthage belong to the Punic or the Roman city. We are apt to beg the question by the habit of regarding mosaic pictures as peculiarly Roman. But we are informed by Pliny that the art was invented by the Greeks; and it was not introduced at Rome till the time of Sulla. During the long period of her maritime domination, Carthage had abundant opportunities to purchase with her wealth the services of the greatest artists, with whom she was brought in contact by her alliance with the Etruscans, her relations with the Greeks of Sicily, and her commerce in the Mediterranean. At the time when the Greeks had perfected every branch of art, Rome was but just struggling into existence, "whereas Carthage had attained to a state of affluence and great power. Greeks, and emigrants from other nations, were in her employ. National and foreign artists contributed towards the embellishment of the African metropolis; and to the works of art, with which her public edifices were adorned, Virgil bears ample testimony: whilst the spoils which Scipio sent to Rome, after the city had been pillaged by his rude soldiery, and after the conflagration, in which vast treasures of precious objects must have perished, prove with what assiduity the productions of art were collected, and to what extent artistic skill was patronized by the Carthaginians."† Nor must we forget the repeated testimonies of Greek and Roman writers, from Homer downwards, to the skill of the Phœnicians themselves in certain branches of design, and especially in woven fabrics. Of the cultivation of this art at Carthage we have an example in the gorgeous golden mantle, which Gelo dedicated to

* A detailed description is given in the work of Dr. Davis, who conjectures that the pavement was that of a chapel of Dido, which is known to have existed within the precincts of the temple of Astarte, and that the four heads were those of Proserpine and Ceres, Dido, and her sister Anna. We are distinctly informed that the worship of Demeter and Persephoné (Ceres and Proserpine) was introduced into Carthage from Sicily by a treaty made with Gelo of Syracuse.—*Carthage and her Remains*, chaps. x. and xi.

† Davis, p. 207. We learn from Appian that the works of art which adorned Scipio's triumph were in a great measure the plunder of other states; and Scipio restored some of them to their rightful owners.

Olympian Jove from the spoils of the battle of Himera. Now, mosaic work is just that branch of art which we might expect to be cultivated by those skilful in the other: it a sort of tapestry in stone. Dr. Davis states that a difference may be clearly established between the levels at which Roman and Punic pavements occur at Carthage, the former being met with at depths varying from two to five or six feet, the latter never at less than ten feet. Still more striking is the fact that the Romans, in digging for the foundations of their edifices, have cut right through older pavements, as in the case of the mosaic of the temple of Astarte. The costume of the figures in this pavement are said to present a marked contrast to those of the Roman period, and a distinction is alleged in the manufacture of the work. The layer of cement, in which the supposed Punic mosaics are imbedded, is thicker and less adhesive than the Roman, being composed only of lime, and a similar difference is seen in Punic and Roman walls. Lastly, in the example now chiefly referred to, besides strata of pavement and other remains of successive constructions above it, the mosaic was found covered by a thin layer of charcoal, proving that the building to which it belonged had perished by fire.* Among the certain remnants of Punic art, the most important are the bas-reliefs which are associated with Phœnician inscriptions on the numerous tablets that have been found, not only among the ruins of Carthage, but over the whole surface of Africa Proper. They are almost exclusively religious, and full of obscure symbolical allusions to the mythology, cosmogony, and astrology of the Phœnicians. They are in the stiff hieratic style of art, bearing a considerable resemblance to the bas-reliefs of Nineveh. But that the Carthaginians, or the foreign artists in their employ, could model forms of great beauty, when free from the trammels of religious prescription, is proved by the horse and the head of Astarte on the Punic coins found in Sicily.

Such a specimen as the great mosaic may aid us in estimating the prospect of reward to systematic researches among the ruins of the Punic capital. Of the private buildings, all that we could hope to discover would be the pavements and more solid walls of the lower stories. The upper stories, of which there were often as many as six, were constructed in that "formacian" work already described,

* We have thought it due to the great interest of the subject to give a full statement of Dr. Davis's arguments for the Punic origin of this and other mosaics; but the majority of the best authorities on art have pronounced them unquestionably Roman.

the ruins of which would cover the basement with a shapeless heap of mud, protecting the pavements from destruction; but the pillage to which the city was subjected at its fall forbids the hope of recovering those treasures of art and vestiges of domestic life which enrich the houses of Pompeii and the palaces of Nineveh. The life of Carthage cannot be reconstructed from her monuments.

Before returning to the stream of the people's history, we must give some account of that peculiar and repulsive form of religion, which had the greatest influence on their destiny. Like all ancient colonies, the Phœnician settlers in Africa carried with them the religion of their mother country, where we have already seen it corrupting the purer worship of the Israelites. Thence, however, its germs seem to be traceable still further back to the plains of Chaldæa, from whence the nation migrated to the Mediterranean. It was an elemental worship, in which an astronomical character predominated.* The supreme deity was *Baal-Hammon* (or Baal-Samon), the "Lord of Heaven," the impersonation both of the all-encompassing heaven—which contained and gave birth to all the other powers of nature—and of the active energy of the Sun, the source of light and life. Endowed with the various attributes which the Greeks and Romans distributed among their chief divinities, Baal was identified at once with Uranus, Cronus (Saturn), Jove, Apollo, and Mars. His supremacy is shown by the constant presence of his name on the votive tablets to other deities at Carthage. Hence he received that title, too well known to the Israelites, of

> "MOLOCH, horrid KING, besmeared with blood
> Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears;
> Though, for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
> Their children's cries unheard, that passed through fire
> To his grim idol." †

---

* An elaborate account of the Phœnician religion and cosmogony is given in the alleged fragments of the native historian, Sanchuniathon of Berytus, translated into Greek by Philo Byblius, who lived in the first century after Christ, and preserved in the *Præparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius. But scholars are now almost agreed that the work of Philo was a forgery. It does not, however, follow that it may not be, in some points, a faithful account of the Phœnician mythology; but we cannot use it as an authority.

† Milton's allusion is evidently to the description given by Rabbi Simeon of the rites of the Syrian Moloch as practised at Jerusalem. "All the houses of the idols were in the city of Jerusalem, except that of Moloch, which was out of the city, in a separate place. It was a statue with the head of an ox, and the hands stretched out as a man's who opens his hands to receive something from another. It was hollow

The origin of this rite—ascribed in the spurious fragment of Sanchuniathon to Saturn's immolation of his only son by a mortal woman, to appease the wrath of his father Uranus—is to be traced to that principle, which is found more or less in all nations, that the wrath of Heaven can only be appeased by the sacrifice of life, and that, the worse the calamity to be averted, the dearer must be the victim offered. In times of national danger, it was the dreadful privilege of kings and rulers to immolate their children for their country's salvation. Thus, in the history of Moab, where the worship of Moloch was paramount, we read of Balak's despairing enquiry of Balaam:—"Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" * And at a later crisis in the nation's history, Mesha, the king of Moab, being shut up in the fortress of Kir-haraseth by the united forces of Israel, Judah, and Edom, and having in vain tried a sally, mounted the wall with his eldest son, and there sacrificed him for a burnt-offering in full view of his own people within the town and of the besieging armies.† Such sacrifices were habitually practised at Carthage. Darius Hystaspis tried to forbid them; and their cessation was stipulated for by Gelo in the treaty which followed the battle of Himera.

In process of time, common persons, prisoners of war, and even slaves, were substituted for nobler victims; but an extreme danger, such as that of the invasion of Agathocles, was interpreted as a punishment for this laxity, and a great sacrifice was offered of 200 children of the highest rank. Of the rules for the conduct of these and the other sacred rites, which were suspended on tablets in the temples, a specimen has been discovered in an inscription which Dr. Davis characterizes as the gem of

within, and there were seven chapels raised before which the idol was erected. . . . He only who offered his own son went into the seventh chapel, and kissed the idol Moloch, as it is said, 'Let the men who sacrifice kill the calves.' The child was placed before the idol, and a fire made under it till it became red hot. Then the priest took the child, and put him into the glowing hands of Moloch. But, lest the parents should hear his cries, they beat drums to drown the noise. Therefore the place was called *Tophet* (from *Thoph*, pl. *Thuppim*, *drums*). It was also called *Hinnom*, because of the children's cries (from the Hebrew verb, *naham*, to *roar*), or because the priest said to the parents '*Yehenelah*,' i. e. 'It will be of advantage to you,'"—(*Comm. in Jerem.* vii.) Such were the scenes to be witnessed at Tyre, and all her colonies, as well as in

> "The pleasant valley of Hinnom, *Tophet* thence
> And black *Gehenna* called, the type of hell."

* Micah vi. 7.

† 2 Kings iii. 27.

Punic epigraphy.* The document was found near the ruins of the temple of Baal, the plan of which has been satisfactorily made out. It was situated on the northern slope of the Byrsa, at the extremity of the street of Moloch (*Vicus Saturni*), which led up to it from the Forum. Its form was circular, with an extreme diameter of 200 feet. Four concentric rings, each composed of twelve detached piers, supported doubtless a dome-shaped roof, and formed three galleries around a circular chamber twenty-nine feet in diameter.† The temple was undoubtedly the chief sanctuary of Carthage. That it was the depositary of archives and other important documents, we learn from the celebrated *Voyage of Hanno* round the northwest coast of Africa, the title of which expressly states that it was dedicated in the temple of Cronus. Magnificent accounts are given of the wealth deposited in this and the other Carthaginian temples. The Punic element in Roman Carthage was strong enough to revive the horrible rites of Baal; and in spite of imperial edicts, Tertullian tells us that infants were publicly sacrificed to Saturn till the proconsulship of Tiberius, who crucified the priests on the same trees under the shadow of which they had perpetrated their crimes. We learn from this allusion that the rites of Baal were practised at Carthage, as in Syria, in dense groves around his temple, the gloom of which increased the sense of mystic horror, and veiled them from the outer world. The same cruelties were still perpetrated under their shades, in spite of the example just recorded, till, at a time when Paganism was making a last convulsive effort to regain its power, the Council of Carthage petitioned the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, that the relics of idolatry, not only in the form of images, but in all places, groves, and trees whatsoever, might be utterly destroyed (A.D. 399).

The second in rank of the Phœnician deities was *Ashtoreth*, or "Astarte, queen of heaven,‡ with crescent horns," the impersonation of the Moon, as Baal was of the Sun. Like him, she was identified, in her different attributes, with various Greek and Roman divinities: with Juno, as the supreme goddess; with Mi-

* He gives a translation, with the frank acknowledgment that many points are of doubtful interpretation, in *Carthage and her Remains*, pp. 296, 297.

† A passing allusion may suffice for the reference which Dr. Davis traces in this plan to the astronomical character of the worship of Baal (whom the Greeks identified with Cronus, the god of time); the circular form indicating the *year* (the Roman *annus*, a *ring*), the four rings of piers the four seasons, the twelve piers in each the months, and their total number ($12 \times 4 = 48$) the weeks in the lunar year.

‡ This title is applied to the goddess by Jeremiah, vii. 18.

nerva, as the patroness of the arts; with Ceres, as the bounteous giver of the fruits of the earth; and, in the gross Oriental development of the like idea, with the Venus, misnamed heavenly, whose worship we have already seen marking the track of Phœnician colonization. From being regarded as the source of every earthly blessing—the character in which her name appears upon the Punic inscriptions—her service soon degenerated into those unutterable abominations which the Fathers, especially of the African Church, describe as coming under their own notice. The transport of her worship from Phœnicia to Carthage is supposed to be alluded to in the legend of Dido, who is even called by the name of Astroarché.

Another goddess, bearing some resemblance to Astarte, in her attributes, is frequently mentioned on the Punic votive tablets. Her name, *Tanath*,* seems to connect her with the Persian and Armenian goddess Tanaïs. Nor is it surprising that such a deity should be honoured at Carthage, if we accept the tradition, which was derived by Sallust from the Punic records, that the Phœnician colonists found an Asiatic population already settled in North Africa.† Her worship would be easily adopted by the new settlers, from her resemblance to their own Astarte, and as a politic concession to the natives. How popular it became is proved by the occurrence of her name on the majority of the votive tablets that have been discovered at Carthage.

The third name, frequently associated with these, is that of *Ashmon*, the Asclepius or Æsculapius of the Greeks and Romans. In the fragment of the pseudo-Sanchuniathon, he is made the son of Sydyc (the Just), the grandson of Cronus and Astarte, and the eighth brother of the seven Cabiri, to whom was committed the custody of the sacred books and mysteries. The attributes which he had in common with Æsculapius, as the Healer, appear to have formed but one aspect of his wider character as the protector and defence of men; and it was in that character that his temple formed the stronghold and citadel of Carthage. It may be doubted whether it was so from the beginning, and whether his worship was not first introduced, or at least brought into prominence, at the time of some great national calamity.

* The name seems to be preserved in that of *Tunis*, a city sacred to her, as *Sicca Venerea* was to the same goddess under her Roman appellation. The name of the goddess may perhaps also be traced in that of the river Tanaïs, and her worship in the rites of the Tauric Artemis in the Crimea. She had also been identified with the Artemis Anaïtis of the Lydians.

† This tradition will be presently noticed more particularly.

The votive tablets discovered at Carthage prove that the aid of Ashmon was invoked in seasons of personal and family danger, and it is interesting to find among his devotees some of the greatest names in Carthaginian history—though we cannot identify the individuals who dedicated the tablets—*Hanno*, the son of Akbar, and a son of *Hannibal*. His temple, the site of which has already claimed our notice, was rebuilt when Carthage was repeopled by Augustus, and became one of the chief ornaments of the Roman city.

To these divinities must be added *Melcareth* or *Melcarth*, the tutelary deity of Carthage, as of the mother city.* Like Ashmon, he has on the votive inscriptions a rank secondary to that of Baal and Astarte; and the exploits ascribed to him by the Phœnician traditions are those of an adventurous demigod and benefactor to mankind, like Hercules, with whom he was identified by the Greeks. Melcarth was the inventor of the Tyrian purple, by seeing the stain on the mouth of a dog that had fed on the shellfish which yield the colour. He too was the great navigator, who first tempted the dangers of the Atlantic, and brought home tin from the Cassiterides. His chief seat was at Tyre, and his worship was the connecting link between that great metropolis and all her colonies. We read of victorious Carthaginian generals sending the tithe of their booty to the temple of Hercules at Tyre; and we have evidence of the piety with which the relation was acknowledged, in the aid sent by Carthage to Tyre during the siege by Nebuchadnezzar, and in her reception of the fugitives from the mother city on the eve of its capture by Alexander. In that renowned temple Herodotus saw two pillars, the one of the purest gold, the other of a stone resembling emerald, which emitted an extraordinary brilliancy in the night.† Second only to this in fame and splendour, was his temple at Gades, where the demigod was said to have been buried. In the latter temple there was certainly no statue, nor is there distinct mention of one at Tyre. At Carthage we read of the priest of Melcarth,

* This character is indicated by his name, according to the commonly-accepted etymology of Bochart, *Melech-Cartha*, i. e. *King of the City*. Dr. Davis prefers *Melech-Ereth*, i. e. *King of Earth* or *the Land*, marking his power as complementary to that of Baal and Astarte, the king and queen of *heaven*, and also designating him as lord of the Phœnician fatherland. The same writer regards the Phœnician religion as based on the conception of a tripartite deity, represented by the sun, moon, and stars (the emblem of the triangle, △, occurs on Punic bas-reliefs), with Melcarth uniting them all. Some of the classical writers confound this deity with Moloch.

† Herod. ii. 44.

clothed in all the pomp of an embroidered purple robe, garlands, and a crown of gold, ministering with bare feet and shaven head, and preserving the sacred fire which had been transported from the mother city. But we have no mention of a temple of the god; for the whole city appears to have been regarded as his temple. It seems, indeed, to have been long before the Phœnicians admitted visible forms of any of their deities. The name of this divinity is preserved in that of Hamilcar.* None of the other Punic deities are important enough to demand a separate notice. Hero-worship seems to have been practised at Carthage, for a tablet has been found with the inscription "Baal-Hanno."

The votive and other tablets so often referred to present an important collection of materials for the study of the Phœnician language. Besides those discovered in the strictly Punic ruins, many have been preserved by the use of the materials of the ancient city in the Roman edifices. No less than a hundred were disinterred by Dr. Davis, who also purchased for our government a large collection of Punic, Numidian, and Libyan inscriptions found in the interior. Other Phœnician inscriptions are scattered through the museums of Europe. Several of these are bi-lingual, in Punic and Latin, at once confirming the statements of the African fathers, that the Carthaginian was still a living language under the Roman empire, and holding out the prospect of the complete deciphering of the inscriptions. The successful efforts already made show what results may be obtained from sources apparently trivial. The Roman comedian Plautus, who flourished at the time of the Second Punic War, wrote a play entitled *Pœnulus*. A *Carthaginian*, Hanno, is made to speak in an unintelligible dialect, which was assumed to be a mere gibberish, like that put by Aristophanes into the mouth of the Persian ambassador at Athens. The great Scaliger, guided by the testimony of Augustin and Jerome to the resemblance of Punic and Hebrew, conjectured that this unknown tongue was nothing else than Punic, a view confirmed by later Hebrew scholars. That their interpretations of the passage are but partly satisfactory is not wonderful, when we consider the chances against the purity of Plautus's Punic. With the help of bi-lingual inscriptions, and the proper names on the Phœnician coins, the alphabet has not only been deciphered, but proved to be identical with the Hebrew alphabet

* The name is that of Melcarth, with the definite article prefixed, which Gesenius interprets as *the* [*gift*] *of Melcarth.*

in its most ancient form. "We are now," says Dr. Davis, "in a position, with the assistance of a moderate knowledge of Hebrew and the other cognate languages, to translate, and that with a great degree of certainty, any Phœnician inscription. The real difficulties still encountered consist in the similarity of letters, and in the various forms of the same letter, as well as in the non-separation of words, which was a universal practice in composition among the Carthaginians and among the Phœnicians in Asia." *

Such are the materials we now possess for a knowledge of the city and people that almost succeeded in crushing Rome. It remains to review the course of their history down to the commencement of the great conflict in which, as Livy says, the victors were the nearer to destruction. The slender remnants of the native Phœnician records, preserved by Josephus and Justin, are insufficient to dispel the mythical obscurity in which the genius of Virgil has shrouded the origin of Carthage. Indeed the story so familiar to the readers of the Æneid is, in its main points, but an amplification of the Phœnician traditions.† The outlines of the well-known story need only be glanced at. In the course of the long confusion which followed the brilliant reign of Hiram at Tyre, a sacerdotal dynasty of kings was founded by Ethbaal, the father of Jezebel.‡ His grandson, who is variously called Belus or Agenor or Mutgo, left a son and daughter, Pygmalion and Dido, or Elissa.§ Dido was married to her uncle Acerbas or Sichæus, a priest of Melcarth, whom Pygmalion murdered for the sake of his enormous wealth. But the king's crime was in vain, for Dido escaped with the treasures, and was accompanied in her flight by several malcontents belonging to noble Tyrian families. After touching at Cyprus, where eighty maidens were carried off, to provide her followers with wives, her fleet sailed to the gulf so often referred to on the coast of Africa, where the citadel called Byrsa was built on the ground purchased from the outwitted natives. The new colony was rapidly increased by the addition of settlers from Utica and

* A collection of ninety Punic inscriptions has been published by the Trustees of the British Museum, under the editorship of Mr. Vaux. The inscriptions have been first transcribed into the Hebrew character, and then translated into Latin.

† It seems not unreasonable to suppose that Virgil would have some means of becoming acquainted with those Punic books, of which we have already seen that Sallust made use.

‡ See p. 347.

§ This is no doubt her genuine Phœnician name, being one of the numerous proper names derived from *El* (*God*). It is used three or four times by Virgil, and is adopted by Pope in the line—

"Eliza, stretch'd upon the funeral pyre."

the other Phœnician cities around. More land was purchased from the natives at the price of an annual tribute, and the city of Carthage was built; omens of its future greatness being derived from the heads, first of a bull, and then of a horse, which were turned up in digging for the foundations.* At length the Libyan king, Hiarbas, threatened the rising state with war, and summoned ten Carthaginian deputies to hear his condition of peace, the hand of Dido in marriage. Fearing to incense the queen, the deputies at first told her that Hiarbas wanted some one to instruct his people in the rudiments of civilization; but where—they asked—would a Carthaginian be found to trust himself among the barbarians? Dido reproved them for the doubt, declaring that all, from the highest to the lowest, ought to be ready to sacrifice even life itself for such an object. When she had thus committed herself, the deputies told the terms they really bore, and the queen, though lamenting her fate, and calling upon the name of her lost husband, accepted the sacrifice she had herself imposed. She asked for three months to prepare herself. At the end of that time she proclaimed a great sacrifice, to propitiate Acerbas towards her new nuptials. After slaying hecatombs of victims at the foot of an immense pyre, she ascended it herself, and declaring to the people that she was going to her husband, as they had desired, she plunged a sword into her breast. Her vacant throne was left unfilled, and she was ever after worshipped at Carthage as a goddess. Such is the legend of Josephus, Justin, and the other annalists. Virgil has altered the catastrophe to suit his poem. It is in vain to inquire whether Dido is anything more than a mythical personage, representing one of the many aspects of Astarte.†

There is, however, a singular agreement in the traditions to the effect that the colony which founded Carthage was sent out from Tyre about the time which answers to that of Dido in the native annals, namely the ninth century B.C. The common date is B.C. 878; that of Josephus, computed from the building of Solomon's temple, B.C. 862.‡ But there are other traditions, which give the

* We have already seen that the image of Baal had the head of a bull, and that the horse was the symbol borne on the coins of Carthage.

† Another and an etymological legend ascribed the foundation of Carthage to Tyrian colonists led by Azorus and Carchedon, the *hero eponymus* of the city. Dido is also represented as the daughter of Carchedon, and both her name and that of the city are given in the form *Carthagena.*

‡ Other dates are B.C. 852, 845, 825, 818, 814, 793. One statement, which places the foundation of Rome and Carthage about the same time, seems to have been invented for the sake of the coincidence.

city a much higher antiquity; and even the popular legend recognises the different dates of the Byrsa and the city of Carthage. It seems incredible that such a site should have remained unoccupied for centuries after the first Phœnician settlements on the coast, especially by the neighbouring city of Utica. The best scholars believe that the merchants of Utica and the mother city united to establish a fort or *factory* (the Bozrah or Byrsa) which, strengthened by immigration from the neighbouring cities, and probably reinforced by a new colony from Tyre, grew into the city called GREAT CARTHAGE.*

The tax or tribute to the natives, mentioned in the legend as the price of the site of Carthage continued to be paid down to a late period of her history,—a proof of regard for justice which may be set against Livy's alliterative denunciation of "perfidia plus quam Punica." These natives, the *Maxyes* were a branch of the great Berber race, which was spread—then as now—over the whole of North Africa between the chain of the Atlas and the sea. They were of Asiatic origin, and belonged—like the Phœnicians—to the Semitic family.† They supplanted, and drove back into the interior the African races of the Libyans and Gætulians. Sallust has preserved a curious tradition, which was translated to him from the Punic books of King Hiempsal, of the immigration of these new settlers from Asia. They formed, he says, a portion of the army, composed of various races, which Hercules led abroad to seek adventures. When the hero died in Spain, his followers were scattered, and bodies of them, consisting of Medes, Persians, and Armenians, were transported by their ships to the northern shores of Africa. Here the Medes and Armenians, mingling with the Libyans near the shores of the Western Ocean, founded the nation of the Mauri or Mauretanians; the Persians, mixing with the more warlike Gætulians of the centre, became the ancestors of the roving Numidians, and established the most powerful of the native kingdoms, Numidia, the scene of that famous war which the historian related.

* The title of *Magna Carthago* not only described the importance of the city, but distinguished it from its colony of *Carthago Nova* in Spain.

† Their dialects are included under the general name of the *Amazig*. (See Latham, *Elements of Comparative Philology*, p. 540.) The tradition preserved by Sallust, tracing the origin of these peoples to an immigration of *Medes* and *Persians*, with Armenians, would seem to make them of Aryan descent. But the tradition can only be recorded as pointing to the *Asiatic* origin of these tribes, not the particular race to which they belonged, any more than we can accept Sullust's etymological identification of the *Mauri* (Moors) with the *Medi* (Medes), or his specific connection of the Persians with the Numidians.—(Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 17, 18.)

The true cause of the distinction between the Mauretanians and the Numidians seems to have been geographical. The former settled in the north-western angle of Africa, where a wide region is left between the chain of the Atlas and the shores of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, watered by considerable rivers, around which lie fertile plains, This district, clearly defined on the east by the river Malva (*Mulwia*), still preserves, in the names of *Morocco* and the *Moors*, the appellation of the old inhabitants, who became a settled agricultural people within its limits, while their brethren, in the country, now called Algeria, pent within a narrower and less fertile country, on the terraces which descend from the Atlas to the sea, continued their old mode of life as wandering herdsmen, and hence were called *Numidæ*, that is, Nomads.* The two great tribes of this race, between the Malva and the Tusca (*Wady Zain*), which formed the western boundary of the Carthaginian territory, were the Massæsylii and the Massylii. Kindred tribes extended eastward to the coasts of the Syrtes, under various names, and it was with branches of the same race that the Greek settlers in Cyrenaica came into contact. Thus the various divisions of the great Berber stock were spread over the north-western and northern coast, from the south-western extremity of the Atlas to the confines of Egypt. Behind them, in the interior, lay the aboriginal African races, whose proximity to the Mediterranean shores corresponds roughly with the approach of the Great Desert (*Sahara*), along the margin of which they led a hard and precarious life.

Hence the Libyan population preponderated along the eastern division of the coast, except in Cyrenaica, while the fertile terraces of the Atlas invited many of the Numidians to the pursuit of agriculture; and this was still more the case with the Libyans† who inhabited the rich plains of Zeugitana and Byzacium, between the Carthaginian Gulf and the Lesser Syrtis. But before the foundation of Carthage, there had grown up in these plains a still more settled and civilized people, the Libyphœnicians,‡ sprung

* In using the common maps of ancient Africa, the reader must remember that the provinces of *Mauretania Cæsariensis and Sitifensis* formed originally a part of Numidia; and that the original Mauretania is represented by *Mauretania Tingitana* only.

† So the people are called, but they were doubtless of the Berber race.

‡ Such seems to be the original and proper meaning of this name; but it came to be used in another sense for "the Phœnicians in Libya;" and in this sense it was applied to the cities along the African coast, including both the old Phœnician settlements and the Punic colonies of Carthage herself.

from the intermixture of the Libyans either with wanderers from the older Phœnician colonies, or, as some suppose, with a still older Canaanitish population, akin to the Phœnicians. These Libyphœnicians seem to have been the chief occupiers of the lands along the course of the river Bagradas. It was with them that the new Punic settlers first came in contact. Their intercourse was rendered easy by the partial community of blood and language; and the purely commercial Phœnicians were content to pay a rent for the undisturbed possession of their peninsula, and to derive subsistence from the industry of the native cultivators, while, in pursuit of foreign wealth, they found themselves involved by their peculiar position in wider foreign enterprises. It was not till they were strengthened by their successes abroad, that they became conquerors at home. The rent for the soil of Carthage continued to be paid for four hundred years, down to about B.C. 450. But meanwhile, inroads were made upon the native territories by the system of sending out poor citizens as emigrants. At length the whole territory of Zeugitana and Byzacium was absorbed into the demesne of the republic, the lands being tilled partly by the slaves of the rich proprietors, and partly by the original possessors—Libyans and Libyphœnicians—who were reduced to a condition like that of the Fellahs in Egypt. Now, instead of receiving tribute from the Carthaginians, they paid a tax of the fourth part of the produce of the soil, and they recruited the Punic armies by a system of compulsory levies. The nomads, who roamed on the confines of the cultivated lands, were restrained by chains of forts, and continually driven back further into the interior, till many of their tribes submitted, and furnished the magnificent Numidian cavalry to the Carthaginian armies. These conquered Libyans and the Nomads are respectfully "the subject towns and tribes" of which we read in the Punic treaties. The immense resources which Carthage derived from her Libyan subjects may be judged of from the fact, that, within the narrowest limits of her territory (between the Tusca and the Triton), in the last period of her decline, she still possessed three hundred tributary cities. The contrast has been often drawn between the position of Carthage, as the absolute despot of her subject cities, which were bound to her by no tie of kindred or common interest, and that of Rome, gradually extending the rights of citizenship to her Latin and Italian allies, who yielded at last a willing obedience, founded on the common ties of blood and language.

Like her dominion over the natives, the supremacy of Carthage over the older Phœnician colonies appears to have been the fruit of her success as the champion of the Phœnician race in the western seas; nay, in this character she even took precedence of the mother city. The first treaty with Rome (B.C. 509) speaks in general terms of Carthage and her allies, implying—it would seem—that her relation to the other Phœnician colonies in Africa was that of a first among equals. The second (B.C. 348) is made by "the Carthaginians, Tyrians, Uticenses, and their allies," a designation from which we may safely infer that Utica now stood alone as the equal ally of Carthage among the African colonies of Tyre.* We have no historical account of this process of subjection, whether Carthage forced it upon the other cities, or whether they submitted to it as the best means of common defence; but the result was their reduction to the condition of tributaries, sharing however with Carthage the privilege of equal laws and the right of intermarriage. They were exempt from the arbitrary exactions and levies to which the Libyan cities were subjected, their contributions both of men and money being fixed, though at a very large amount. The Lesser Leptis, for example, paid a tribute of a talent every day. This seems to have been the chief hardship that these Phœnician cities suffered; for we derive no real information from the vague declamations of the Roman writers respecting the oppression exercised by Carthage towards her allies. The very principle of self-interest, which governed the policy of a commercial aristocracy, was opposed to that wanton injustice which is perpetrated in the mere pride of power; and it says much for the character of her rule, that the Phœnician cities remained faithful to her in the worst crisis of the Second Punic War, and only deserted her in the Third, when no other course was left, except to share her ruin. Utica alone was urged by rivalry to side with the Romans at an early period, and she was rewarded by succeeding to Carthage as the capital of Africa.

The Phœnician cities thus subjected to Carthage included the settlements along the whole coast of Africa, not only to the Straits, but beyond them on the Atlantic shores. We possess a most interesting record of Punic maritime enterprise on the Atlantic

* Utica maintained this position to the last, perhaps from the reverence due by Carthage to a city which was in part her metropolis. Polybius contrasts the position of the Uticans with that of the subject Libyans, at the same time telling us that the latter enjoyed their own laws.

coast of Africa in the "Periplus" of Hanno, who sailed from Carthage with 30,000 colonists, and planted settlements as far south at least as *C. Blanco*, the extremity of the Lesser Atlas.* In the other direction, south-east of Carthage, the western shore of the Lesser Syrtis was studded so thickly with Carthaginian trading settlements, as to obtain the name of *Emporia* (the Factories): and along the sandy shores between the Syrtes the rule of Carthage extended over several lesser towns besides the three Phœnician colonies of Leptis Magna, Œa, and Abrotonum, which gave the region the name it still bears of the Tripolis (*Tripoly*).

This was the only part of the continent upon which Carthage came into contact with another civilized community, the Greeks of Cyrenaïca. The Punic and Hellenic races, severed by the sandy desert, waged a long war for a frontier little more than nominal, which the self-devotion ascribed to the brothers Philæni, in the legend more than once referred to, succeeded in fixing in its natural position at the bottom of the Great Syrtis.

Very different was that other conflict with the Hellenic race, which had its first great crisis in the battle of Himera. The position of Carthage in the western Mediterranean, surrounded by the energetic maritime powers of the Tyrrhenians, the Phocæans of Massilia, and the Greeks of Sicily, left her no alternative between aggrandizement and extinction; and the necessity of self-defence placed her at the head of the African Phœnicians in a league against her rivals, which soon became aggressive. The proximity of Sicily and Sardinia invited settlements which might command the great highways of maritime intercourse; and we have doubtful accounts of enterprises in both those islands in the early part of the sixth century, B.C. But it was the second half of that century, about 200 years after the foundation of Rome, that formed the great epoch of Carthaginian advancement. A family sprang up whose members bear the most illustrious names that henceforth adorn the annals of the city. Its founder was MAGO, to whom Justin ascribes the settlement of military discipline at home, and the commencement of the Carthaginian empire abroad. He must have been about contemporary with Cyrus and Cambyses. It was during this period that the Carthaginians, in alliance with the Tyrrhenians, secured the naval pre-

* The account of Hanno's voyage was dedicated, as we have seen, in the temple of Baal, and we have the Greek translation. Unfortunately there is no certain evidence to identify the voyager with any one in particular of the many Carthaginians who bore the name of Hanno.

ponderance in the western Mediterranean, and fought the great battle already mentioned with the Phocæans off Alalia (*Aleria*) in Corsica. Mago was succeeded by his two sons, Hasdrubal and Hamilcar. In a war waged with the object of getting rid of the tribute to the natives, the Africans were still strong enough to defeat the Carthaginians. Hasdrubal fell in battle in Sardinia, after a career in which he had been the military chief of Carthage eleven times, and had triumphed four times over her enemies. His brother Hamilcar seems to have completed the conquest of Sardinia, which is named as a possession of Carthage in the first treaty with Rome (B.C. 509), and was esteemed as the choicest of her foreign possessions. Colonies founded at Caralis (*Cagliari*)* and Sulci, and garrisoned by mercenaries, restrained the natives, some of whom retired into the interior, while others—like the Libyans in Africa—cultivated the lands from which Carthage derived large supplies of corn. The island was also a great emporium for the trade of Carthage with the west. Corsica was subdued much later, its sterile soil and rocky shores offering but slight attractions. In B.C. 450 it was still in the possession of the Tyrrhenians; but by the time of the Punic Wars it had become a province of Carthage. So likewise had all the islands of the western Mediterranean, including that group which, occupied at first by commercial factories, supplied the Carthaginian armies with the famous slingers, whose skill gave to the islands the name of *Baleares*.† The fisheries of these islands were an important source of wealth to Carthage, and they formed a military outpost in the war which she was continually waging with the Massaliots. In Spain, the progress of the Carthaginians had its base in the hold which the Phœnician colonies had already gained, and was carried on partly by traffic with those colonies, and partly by the foundation of new settlements. Both classes of cities seem to have accepted the supremacy of Carthage, and we find her sending help to the Gaditanians against the natives. The working of the silver mines of Andalusia must have required a certain acquisition of territory in the interior; but it was not till after the loss of Sicily and Sardinia by the First Punic War, that any general con-

* A remarable Punic inscription has been found at Cagliari.

† From the Greek *βάλλω*, *to hurl*. The name of *Port Mahon* (Mago), in Minorca, still preserves the memory of the Carthaginian occupation; and this name of a Carthaginian magnate has become the title of a British nobleman, whose ancestor made the great conquest of Minorca, which diplomacy surrendered. To make the coincidence more curious, the name of Mago is as conspicuous in the literature of Carthage as Lord Mahon's in that of England.

quest was attempted. It was then that Hamilcar Barca conceived the project of founding in Spain a new empire, which might last even should Carthage fall, and his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, built the city of New Carthage (*Cartagena*).

Sicily remains to be noticed—one of the earliest scenes of Carthaginian enterprise, and her great battle-field with the Greeks and Romans. We have seen that, while Carthage was still in her infancy, the Greek colonies drove the older Phœnician settlers to the western extremity of the island, where they held the cities of Motya, Panormus, and Soloeis. The Phœnicians kept possession also of Malta, and the smaller islands between Sicily and Africa. Thus placed in communication with Carthage, they looked to her for protection against the Greeks. Such was the state of things when Hamilcar, the son of Mago, acting probably on an understanding with Xerxes, led into Sicily that immense host, the various nations of which prove the extent to which the Carthaginian power had now grown.* His defeat and death at Himera, on the same day as the battle of Salamis, put an end for the present to further Punic conquests in Sicily; but the two sons of Mago left descendants well fitted to carry on his policy; Himilco, Hanno, and Gisco, the sons of Hamilcar; and Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Sappho, the sons of Hasdrubal. The scene of their exploits was probably in Africa; and the war in Sicily was not renewed till the time of the Athenian expedition, when the Egestans looked for aid to Carthage, as well as Athens. Hannibal, the son of Gisco, and grandson of Hamilcar, sent over to Sicily with a great army, stormed Selinus and Himera, and offered 3000 prisoners from the latter city as a sacrifice on the spot where his grandfather had fallen (B.C. 409). Another great expedition, three years later, under Himilco, the son of Hanno, was decimated by a pestilence; and, in further efforts, the Carthaginians found their match in Dionysius of Syracuse. A war of nearly ten years had the effect of reducing nearly all the other states of Sicily to insignificance, and leaving the fate of the island to be decided by the rival powers of Syracuse and Carthage. The tide of war rolled to and fro from west to east, and from east to west, engulphing the great cities of Selinus, Himera, Gela, and Agrigentum. Thrice in the course of the fourth century, the Hellenic power was confined within the walls of Syracuse; but as often were the Punic forces repulsed by Dionysius, Timoleon, and Aga-

* See Vol. I., p. 433.

thocles.* Meanwhile the decline of the Etruscans left the Carthaginians masters of the sea; and when Pyrrhus made a last effort to provide Syracuse with a fleet, he confessed his failure by sailing away with that fleet to Italy, and left the Greeks apparently for the fourth time at the mercy of their inveterate foes (B.C. 278).† To tell how they were rescued by the power of Rome, only to find that they had become subject to new, though worthier and more congenial masters, brings us back to the current of our story.

It is needless to recite the abundant testimonies to the wealth and military resources which Carthage derived from her wide dominion when she was drawn into her great conflict with Rome; but it still remains for us to compare the political condition of these two great republics. The constitution of Carthage is peculiarly interesting as the best example of the development of a Semitic state, without those peculiar influences which make the Hebrew polity an exceptional case, and also as the earliest pattern of a republic, whose moving spirit was commercial wealth. In its constitution, as in its religion, the colony was originally a copy of the mother city. We have seen that the Phœnician cities were governed by kings down to and beyond the time of the Macedonian conquest; but the annals of Tyre furnish instances in which the regal government was supplanted by a peculiar magistracy, the Judges, of whom we shall have presently more to say. The like change was permanently effected at Carthage in the earliest period of her recorded history. After the legend of Dido, no more kings are met with in her annals, though some of her greatest men were suspected of affecting royalty. About half a century before the First Punic War, the Carthaginian polity attracted the especial notice of Aristotle, who describes it as having changed from a monarchy to an aristocracy, or to a democracy inclining towards oligarchy. Before this change, the Punic, like all the other patriarchal monarchies, possessed a Council of Elders, which exercised a great check upon the king,‡ to whose principal functions they succeeded. At Carthage, as at Sparta and Rome, the royal office, instead of being entirely abolished, was replaced by a pair of chief magistrates, whose name of *Suffetes*, that is *Judges* (the Hebrew *Shofetim*), indicates their main functions. They presided over the Council of Elders, which, including them, con-

* B. C. 394, 338, 309. See Vol I., pp, 560, 562; and Vol II., p. 122.

† See p. 319.

‡ In the legend of Dido, these elders, representing the wish of the people, forced the queen to consent to the marriage with Hiarbas.

sisted of thirty members,* all of whom were elected annually by the whole body of citizens from their chief houses. But the ancient military functions of the king were entrusted to a single general, whose power the Roman writers express by calling him *dictator;* so that, as Isocrates says, the Carthaginians had an oligarchical government at home, but a monarchical government in the field. The general was appointed by the Council of Elders, and instead of being elected annually, like the Suffetes, he seems to have held office as long as his services were useful to the state, or acceptable to the party which had the ascendant for the time being. His movements were, however, watched—it probably depended on his own character how far they were controlled—by a deputation from the Elders, who filled the subordinate commands; and his great powers were held under an enormous personal responsibility. Torture and crucifixion were common penalties of failure; and the defeated general often anticipated his certain fate on the field of his lost battle, like Hamilcar at Himera.

The court to which the generals were thus subjected formed one of the most curious features of the Carthaginian commonwealth. It was a council of One Hundred (more exactly 104), which is sometimes called the Senate, and sometimes the Order of Judges. Aristotle likens this body to the Spartan Ephors; and in fact it grew up, as an addition to the established constitution, to represent the aristocratical party, in opposition to the monarchical element in the old constitution and to the dangerous power of the house of Mago. Its constitution and functions are obscure; but thus much seems clear, that it was virtually self-elected, and that its members practically held office for an indefinite period. It secured the concentration of administrative functions by means of the Pentarchies, or committees of five, and its power came to override all the other authorities of the state. The Council of Elders had only the initiative in the measures on which the Senate decided. The body of citizens, though nominally the ultimate source of power, were reduced to an inaction more complete even than at Sparta; and, gained over by corruption and by the banquets given in their clubs, they became the mere tools of the factions of the great nobles. For never was a commonwealth divided by a bitterer party spirit than Carthage; and the cruel punishment inflicted on her

* Mövers has attempted to show that the Punic citizens, like the Roman, were distributed into 3 tribes, 30 curiæ, and 300 gentes, and that the 30 elders were the heads of the curiæ. (*Die Phönizier*, vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 483—499.) We read sometimes of a smaller Council of Ten, perhaps a committee of the Thirty.

unsuccessful generals, which are often cited as proofs of popular injustice, were the measure of the triumph of either faction over its hated rivals. The bitterest party spirit, however, seldom tempts an oligarchy, except in rare individual cases, to sacrifice the substantial gains common to the order. Each party in turn enriched its more needy members by making them governors and collectors of taxes in the subject cities. Both were so firmly united against all democratic encroachments, and all attempts of personal ambition, that, as Aristotle observes, Carthage had never succumbed to a despotic usurpation, or a successful revolution. Only two such attempts are recorded to have been made before the Punic Wars. The most formidable of these was that of Hanno, which Aristotle compares with the treason of Pausanius at Sparta. As Justin tells the tale, Hanno, having formed a scheme for usurping the regal power, prepared a public feast on the occasion of his daughter's wedding, and invited the senators to a separate banquet in his own house, intending to mix poison with their wine. But the scheme was betrayed by his servants; the senators declined the invitation, but, unwilling to make a public attack on so powerful a citizen, they simply passed a sumptuary law against public marriage festivals. Hanno, well knowing that only the opportunity was wanted for his ruin, bribed 20,000 slaves, and arranged a massacre of the senators. Once more betrayed, he was driven to open war. Establishing himself in a fort, he invited the Africans to revolt. He was taken prisoner, and condemned to death, with all his family. The sentence was executed with the characteristic cruelty of Punic punishments. With his eyes put out, and his hands and legs broken—as though, says the historian, to exact the penalty of his crime from each member that had aided its perpetration—his body, torn with scourges, was fixed upon the cross. The other example, in the treason and punishment of Bomilcar, during the invasion of Agathocles, has already been related.* It was not till the sufferings of the state during the Punic Wars had lowered the prestige of the ruling aristocracy, that the democratic opposition acquired any considerable power; and in the perilous condition resulting from the Second Punic War, the great Hannibal saw that the only hope of safety lay in a more popular government. By carrying a law, that no member of the Senate of One Hundred might hold office for two years in succession, he broke down the exclusive character of that stronghold of the oligarchy. But it was too late, if indeed the character of the people had ever

* See p. 123.

made it possible, to introduce the Hellenic principle of self-government. The people proved slaves to the system of corruption, by which they had so long been humoured; and in the last days of the republic they had degenerated into a lawless mob, in which boys were conspicuous as ringleaders. The essential character of the Carthaginian constitution, for the long period of its undisturbed duration, is well summed up by Dr. Mommsen as a "government of capitalists, such as would naturally arise in a civic community which had no opulent middle class, but consisted on the one hand of a city rabble, without property, and living from hand to mouth, and on the other of great merchants, planters, and noble governors."

The power of capital, and the means by which it was fostered, are more conspicuous at Carthage than in any other ancient nation. Her commercial magnates cultivated the soil with the same attention as the simpler Roman nobles, except that the former depended chiefly on slave-labour, which the latter scarcely began to use till after the Punic Wars. In the science of agriculture, indeed, they were the teachers of the Romans, who received from them important farming implements, besides that work of Mago on agriculture, which is the oldest known treatise on the art.* It was a maxim of Carthaginian husbandry, that no man should possess more land than he could properly manage. To the wealth created by tillage was added that derived from the horses, oxen, sheep, and goats, which were tended for the nobles of Carthage by her nomad subjects; while the tribes on the confines of the Great Desert were employed to bring in by the great caravan routes the ivory, gems, and slaves of those inner regions of Africa, of which our own generation has only been slowly recovering the knowledge.†

These resources, added to the gains of her foreign commerce, produced an immense amount of private wealth and public revenue. Carthage was the great mart of the ancient world for precious stones. The treasures laid up in the temples were enormous. Gold was freely used in bucklers and works of art, which were

* In the treatise of Varro, *de Re Rusticâ*, a threshing-sledge, such as that used from time immemorial in the East, is called *Pœnicum plostellum*, that is, the Punic cart.

† Our limits do not permit to discuss the deeply-interesting question of the ancient knowledge of Central Africa. It is enough to say here that the geographical system of Ptolemy, who wrote in the second century of our era, lays down with considerable accuracy regions which are only now being filled up on our maps, including the basins and sources of the Niger and the Nile, and the intervening regions; and there is no doubt that much of the information thus exhibited was derived from Punic sources.

carried about even in the Punic camps.* Of the common use of silver plate in the houses of the nobles, we have an evidence in the sarcasm said to have been uttered by certain Carthaginian ambassadors, that no men lived on better terms with one another than the Romans, for at all the entertainments given them they had supped off the same silver. † Polybius calls Carthage, in the last days of her decline, the wealthiest city of the world, and in her highest prosperity her revenues were said to approach those of the Persian Kings. "But it was not merely the sum total of its revenues that evinced the superiority of the financial administration of Carthage. The economical principles of a later and more advanced epoch are found by us in Carthage alone of all the more considerable states of antiquity. Mention is made of loans from foreign states, and in the monetary system we find, along with gold and silver bars (and also gold and silver coins primarily intended for the Sicilian commerce) a token-money having no intrinsic value—a sort of currency not used elsewhere in antiquity. In fact, if government had resolved itself into a mere matter of business, never would any state have solved the problem more brilliantly than Carthage." ‡

Had these financial resources been combined with a sound military organization, Carthage might have seemed invulnerable. Her command of the sea, indeed, preserved her long in safety, for the Phœnicians refused Cambyses the aid of their fleet against their old colonists. It was when they had to meet the Greeks and Romans in Sicily and Africa, that the inherent weakness of their army—already partly shown in the rebellion of the Libyans—became fully manifest. Their fatal error was their unwillingness to render that personal service, by which alone a commercial state can defend its wealth. Not that they were destitute of high martial qualities. In such emergencies as the invasions of Agathocles and Scipio, they could raise an army of 40,000 heavy infantry, with 1000 cavalry and 2000 war-chariots, from Carthage itself; and their ordinary civic force was enough to prove what they could have done had not their wealth tempted them to dependence upon mercenaries. The indisposition to personal service grew up gradually against the wishes

* Such a shield, taken in Spain, was suspended over the door of the Capitol at Rome.—(Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 4.)

† Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 50. Pliny states that Africanus exhibited in his triumph over Carthage, more than 4000 pounds weight of silver, and that after the exhaustion of the Third Punic War.

‡ Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 20.

of the government. In the earlier age, when the conquest of Sicily was an object of patriotic ardour, the citizens needed rather to be discouraged in the too free exposure of their lives. The nucleus of the infantry was the sacred band of 2500 citizens, chosen, for their wealth and courage, to form the body-guard of the general, and distinguished by their costly equipments. The cavalry attracted the wealthy citizens both at Carthage and among the Libyphœnician allies. But even these select corps ceased to be maintained in the Second Punic War. In the army of Spain, consisting of 15,000 men, there was not a single Carthaginian foot-soldier, and only one body of 450 horse consisted in part of Libyphœnicians. The officers of course were Carthaginians; and besides these posts, honorary rewards were offered as an inducement to personal service; a citizen being allowed to wear as many rings as he had served campaigns.* But the bulk of the army was recruited from the native Africans, and from the other peoples of the Carthaginian empire. Heeren has observed that, as the Persian army united nearly all the nations of the East, so the Punic had representatives from all the West; and had Xerxes penetrated as far as Sicily, the junction of the two forces "would have presented the remarkable exhibition of a muster of nearly all the varieties of the human species at that time known." † The bulk of the infantry and of the heavy cavalry consisted of the subject Libyan farmers, who were armed with long lances. The chief light-armed troops were the Iberians of Spain, with their cut-and-thrust swords and white linen breast plates, and the naked Gauls from the Gulf of Lyons, armed with their huge broad-swords. But the most celebrated troops were the slingers from the Balearic Islands, and the light cavalry, called by the Romans Numidian, but really supplied by all the nomad tribes from the Pillars of Hercules to the confines of Cyrenaica. Mounted without a saddle on small active horses, so well trained as not even to need the rush-halter which formed their only bridle; equipped with a lion-skin for dress and bed, and with a piece of elephant-hide for a shield; rapid alike in the charge, the flight, the rally; they were a sort of Carthaginian cossacks, with whom the Greeks and Romans had no troops light enough to contend. Besides these forces, peculiarly their own, the wars in Sicily brought into the Carthaginian armies mercenaries both of the Greek and Italian races, especially Campanians, to whom Hanni-

* Hence the rings of the Roman knights slain at Cannæ, which Hannibal sent to Carthage, would be an emphatic proof of the greatness of the victory.

† See the enumeration of the forces of Hamilcar at Himera.—(Vol. I. p. 433.)

bal added the active mountaineers of Liguria. The army was provided with a large number of war chariots, the use of which was so characteristic of the kindred of the Phœnicians in northern Canaan;* but by the time of the wars with Rome, the chariots were superseded to a great degree by elephants. The Carthaginians are said to have owed to their campaigns against Pyrrhus the idea of training these beasts for war; and they kept up the supply by their inland trade, and by contributions of elephants as tribute from their subjects. The provision made within the fortifications for the stabling of the elephants and horses, and for a standing camp, has been described above. The garrison of the city, amounting to 20,000 foot and 4000 horse, was composed entirely of mercenaries, for the citizens would not submit to the tedium of garrison service. The total ordinary force which the city could depend on raising in case of war is estimated at 100,000 men; but an army composed like that of Carthage might be increased to any amount, so long as her empire remained unbroken and her mercenaries faithful.

Meanwhile, as Polybius observes, the confusion of nations and languages in the motley host formed an obstacle to conspiracies and mutiny, but rendered discipline peculiarly difficult, and increased the danger when its bonds were broken. The constant ascendancy which Hannibal maintained over his troops is justly cited, even by Livy, as a conspicuous proof of his military genius. In the citizen armies of a free state, whatever the class from which they may be recruited, the sense of serving one's country is at once a bond of discipline and a source of strength. But armies like that of Carthage could have no enthusiasm for the cause in which they fought, and the natural attachment of a soldier for his general was turned to distrust and hatred by the cruelty and bad faith with which they were habitually sacrificed. A striking example is furnished by Hamilcar's desertion of his soldiers in Sicily (B.C. 396). The power of levying recruits rapidly and almost to any number induced in the Carthaginians that recklessness in the expenditure of their soldiers' lives, which our own age had supposed to be the characteristic military vice of Napoleon, till later experience has shown how successfully the despot Many can imitate the despot One. On the other hand, the time required to levy these forces left Carthage peculiarly helpless in case of a sudden invasion; and her fate was sealed when this weakness was discovered by her enemies. Nor was her danger less if her mercenaries, driven to mutiny through defeat or provocation, succeeded in obtaining

* This fact is familiar to us from the Books of Joshua and Judges.

an independent footing on her territory, or if disaffection spread among her Libyan allies. She was more than once brought to the brink of ruin by mutinies such as that provoked by the conduct of Hamilcar, and that which, as we shall presently see, followed the First Punic War. The earlier military history of Carthage is characterized by reliance on the mere numbers which enabled her to effect conquests, such as that of Sicily, without any conspicuous generalship. It was not till the time of her adversity that other qualities appeared in the family of Barca, to give Carthage one of the proudest places in the military annals of the world.

Another source of danger to her African empire was the unfortified condition of the subject cities, a state in which Carthage insisted on their remaining, as her military system did not permit of their occupation by trustworthy garrisons.* With her own peninsula almost impregnably fortified, she relied on her naval power for her outer line of defence. The wide extent of her maritime enterprises in seas which were already occupied by the Tyrrhenians, the Phocæans and their Massaliot colonists, and the Greeks of Sicily, must have required from a very early time the protection of a war marine; and we have already seen the provision made in the plan of the city for docks and arsenals. Carthage first appears as a great naval power, as the ally of the Tyrrhenians and the enemy of the Greeks in the battle of Alalia; and from that period to the outbreak of the Punic Wars, her maritime supremacy had been steadily increasing. In her Sicilian campaigns we find her sending out navies of 150 and 200 ships; but at the climax of her maritime power, the great sea-fight with Regulus was fought by a fleet of 350 ships, carrying 150,000 men (B.C. 256). The triremes, which she originally used in common with the Greeks, were afterwards superseded by larger ships, which were generally quinqueremes, but the "great ammirals" had sometimes as many as seven banks of oars.† The same

* The result of this exposed condition of the African cities has been already seen in the rapid progress of Agathocles.

† The particular vessel referred to, the flag-ship in the battle with Duilius, had been taken from Pyrrhus. Among the Greeks, quadriremes and quinqueremes are said to have been first used by Dionysius of Syracuse, which agrees with the story of their Carthaginian origin, though others claimed the invention. The Greek kings of the period after Alexander had a passion for immense ships, of 12, 20, 30, and even 40 banks of oars—floating palaces rather than vessels. One of the most celebrated of these was that built by Archimedes for Hiero, who presented it to the King of Egypt.

class of vessels was adopted during the First Punic War by the Romans, who built their first quinqueremes on the model of a Carthaginian ship that had been wrecked on the coast of Bruttium. The regular crew of a quinquereme was 420, of whom 120 were fighting men and 300 rowers, the latter being public slaves. Kept constantly on board, and perpetually exercised, they were rapid in performing the manœuvres directed by their bold and skilful commanders. But there was nothing in the naval prestige of the Carthaginians which could not be emulated by rivals so fertile in courage and resources as the Romans; and when the latter were once provided with a fleet, the former felt the fatal want of a land army. "That Rome could only be seriously attacked in Italy, and Carthage only in Libya, no one could fail to see: as little could any one fail to perceive that Carthage could not in the long run escape from such an attack. Fleets were not yet, in those times of the infancy of navigation, a permanent heirloom of nations, but could be fitted out wherever there were trees, iron, and water. It was clear, and had been several times tested in Africa itself, that even powerful maritime states were not able to prevent a weaker enemy from landing. When Agathocles had shown the way thither, a Roman general could follow the same course; and while in Italy the entrance of an invading army simply began the war, the same event in Libya put an end to it by changing it into a siege, in which unless some special accident should intervene, even the most obstinate and heroic courage must finally succumb."*

Such was the state which now stood committed to an internecine conflict with the other great republic of the west. Such a position seems to have been quite opposed to the traditional policy of Carthage, which had rather been to strengthen herself against the Greeks by alliances with Rome, just as formerly with the Tyrrhenians. Enough has been already said of the treaties of B.C. 509, B.C. 348, and B.C. 306, by which, at the slight cost of acknowledging the unquestioned superiority of Carthage in the African seas, Rome obtained protection for her commerce against the Greek pirates, and the opportunity of subduing the Etruscans and Italians before she was committed to a still more formidable contest. Let Italy be Roman, provided that Sicily be Punic; such was the spirit of the Carthaginian policy manifested by the

* Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 26, 27. The same chapter contains an admirable comparison of the constitution, resources, empire, and policy of Rome and Carthage.

congratulations sent to Rome, together with costly offerings, on the conclusion of the First Samnite War (B.C. 342). We have seen how the rivalry, innate in the relative position of the two republics, and left to its natural action by the extinction of the Etruscan and Syracusan powers, was clearly manifested in the affair of Tarentum, and how the aid voted by the Romans to the Mamertines of Rhegium proved the spark that kindled the conflagration of the Punic Wars.

The First Punic War began in B.C. 264 and lasted till B.C. 241, a period of four-and-twenty years. In three campaigns the Romans made themselves masters of all Sicily, except the maritime fortresses at the western extremity, Eryx* and Panormus. Hamilcar annoyed them by frequent sallies. Meanwhile the Carthaginian navy ravaged the coasts of Italy, exacting contributions from the allies of Rome, and paralysing her commerce (B.C. 261). It became manifest that Sicily could only be held, nay Italy itself protected, by the creation of a fleet powerful enough to cope with the mistress of the seas. The statement is absurd, that the Romans now built a fleet for the first time; but their actual navy was utterly worthless against that of Carthage, both in numbers and class of ships. We know something of the gravity of the problem for even the first of naval powers to reconstruct its navy; but Rome had at the same time to raise hers from insignificance. The alternative of calling in the aid of the Syracusans and Massaliots was wisely rejected, and it was resolved at once to build a fleet of 120 ships of war.† A Carthaginian quinquereme, which had been wrecked on the Bruttian shore, was taken for a model; the recently acquired forest of Silo furnished ample supplies of pitch and timber; and sailors were levied from the commercial marine of the Italian and Grecian cities.‡ To these incredible exertions sixty days sufficed for the building of the 120 ships: the rowers were meanwhile practised on scaffolds erected in imitation of the benches; and by the spring of B.C. 260, the fleet was ready to put to sea. The energy which prepared it is almost less surprising than the boldness of leading such a fleet of green wood and raw sailors against such foes as the Carthaginians.

* In the sixth year of the war (B.C. 259) Hamilcar transferred the inhabitants of Eryx to Drepanum, as more easily defensible by sea.

† Of these 100 were quinqueremes and the rest triremes; but another account makes them all quinqueremes.

‡ The Roman name for sailors (*socii navales*) preserves the memory of their being at first raised chiefly from the allies.

The practical ingenuity of the Romans was evinced by a contrivance for neutralizing the better seamanship of the enemy, and preserving on the sea the superiority of their land force. They returned to the ancient tactics of converting the decks into a battle-field for the soldiers, by the help of a long boarding bridge, hinged up against the mast in the fore-part of the ship. If the first shock of an enemy could only be avoided, the bridge was let fall over the prow or either bow, and fixed to the hostile deck by a long spike which projected from its end: its width permitted the boarders to pass two abreast, and its sides were defended by bulwarks. The consul Cn. Scipio first led out a squadron of seventeen ships for a *coup-de-main* upon Lipara, only to be taken prisoner with his whole force; but the remainder of the fleet, while sailing along the coast of Italy, surprised and captured a Carthaginian squadron more than equal to that which Scipio had lost, and, with fortune thus retrieved, entered the harbour of Messana. Here the command was taken by the consul C. Duilius, who boldly sailed out to meet the Carthaginian fleet, which was advancing under Hannibal from Panormus. In the battle of MYLÆ (*Milazzo*), the Carthaginians, coming up in disorder against a foe whose bad sailing excited their contempt, found their ships grappled one by one and carried by the boarders. They saved only half their fleet by a disgraceful flight; but their loss of fourteen ships sunk and thirty-one taken—among the latter the seven-banked flag-ship of the admiral—was but a slight measure of the victory of Duilius. He was received at Rome with the honours due to the man who had given a promise of the issue of the conflict by breaking the prestige of Punic supremacy on the seas; and a column was erected in the Forum, ornamented with the beaks of the captured ships.* In a single day, which reaped the fruit of the efforts of a single year, Rome stood forth before the world in her new character as a naval power of the first rank (B.C. 260).

Instead of prematurely imitating the enterprise of Agathocles, the Romans now directed all their energies to securing the maritime power by the conquest of Sardinia. But their desultory attacks on its coasts from the naval station which they established at Aleria in Corsica made less impression than the energy of Hamilcar in Italy. While his sallies kept the Romans occupied in the field, his emissaries gained over the smaller towns, and the presence of both consuls could scarcely secure the ground

* An ancient copy of the inscription on this *Columna Rostrata*, preserved in the Capitoline Museum, forms one of the precious monuments of the old Latin language.

already won. After another great sea-fight off Tyndaris, not far from Mylæ, in which both sides claimed the victory, the Romans obtained the Lipari Islands and Malta (B.C. 257).* But the following year brought on a crisis in the war, and witnessed the appearance of its great hero on the Roman side (for, as we shall soon see, the Carthaginians had theirs too), M. Atilius Regulus. Already distinguished in his former consulship by his conquest of the Salentines (B.C. 267), Regulus was a yeoman noble of the same class and habits as Cincinnatus, Curius, and Fabricius. In the midst of his victorious career in Africa, he is said to have petitioned the Senate for his recall, because the farm which he was wont to till with his own hands was going to ruin in his absence, and his family was reduced to actual want. The time was now come when the Romans thought they might strike the decisive blow in Italy. In the ninth year of the war (B.C. 256) a fleet of 330 ships, manned by 100,000 sailors, embarked an army of 40,000 men, under Regulus and his colleague L. Manlius Vulso, at the mouth of the river Himera (*Satso*), on the south coast of Sicily. The Carthaginian admiral, who was watching the coast with a fleet of 350 ships, as if to secure his prey, suffered the embarkation to be accomplished, and then drew up in line of battle, with his left resting on the coast at Ecnomus. The action which ensued is celebrated in naval history as the first example of the manœuvre of "breaking the line." † The Roman fleet bore down upon the enemy arranged in the shape of a wedge, with the consuls' two ships at the apex, the horse-transports in tow between the extremities of the two oblique lines, and a fourth reserve squadron bringing up the rear. The Carthaginian admirals showed their well-known skill in meeting this novel form of attack. The centre gave way before the advanced squadron, commanded by the consuls; the right wing made a circuit out in the open sea, and took the Roman reserve in the rear; while the left wing attacked the vessels that were towing the horse-trans-

* The Roman commander was the consul C. Atilius Regulus Serranus, not to be confounded with the great M. Atilius Regulus, who was consul in the following year with L. Manlius Vulso. Serranus was also consul with the same L. Manlius Vulso in B.C. 250, and was foiled in an attack on Lilybæum.

† It is not meant that the tactics of Regulus were precisely the same as those devised by Mr. Clerk of Eldin and executed by Rodney and Nelson, the main object of which was to double with the attacking fleet upon a portion of the enemy's line cut off from the rest. But the resemblance consisted in Regulus's piercing the extended Punic line by bringing an overwhelming force to bear on a single point. His main purpose appears to have been to force the line in such a manner as to carry his transports safely through.

ports, and forced them, thus encumbered, towards the shore. But this manœuvre left the Carthaginian centre too weak to resist the best ships of the Romans, and the consuls, victorious in this quarter, returned to the relief of their two rear divisions. The Carthaginian weather squadron availed itself of the open sea to retire before this superior force; but while their left were following up the advantage they had at first gained, they found themselves surrounded by the united Roman fleet, and overwhelmed by means of the dreaded boarding-bridges. Twenty-four ships were sunk on each side; but the Carthaginians had sixty-four taken. They retreated to the Gulf of Carthage, to defend their shores against the anticipated descent.

Their object was frustrated by the Roman consuls, who made for the eastern coast of the *Daklah*,* and landed at the fine harbour of Aspis, or Clupea, that is, the Shield (now *Aklibiah*). An entrenched camp having been formed to protect the ships, the army of invasion ravaged the country to such purpose as soon to send 20,000 captives as slaves to Rome, besides an immense booty. So secure seemed the footing gained in Africa, that the consul Manlius was recalled with a large portion of the army, leaving Regulus with 40 ships, 15,000 infantry, and 500 cavalry. The enemy did their best to justify this confidence; their large army retired from the plains suited to their cavalry and elephants, and they were easily defeated in the wooded defiles, with the loss of 15,000 killed, and 5000 men and 18 elephants taken. This victory made Regulus master of the open country. The towns submitted, as they had before submitted to Agathocles, and he was soon established at Tunis, only ten miles from Carthage. The Carthaginians were shut up in the city, while the nomads threw off their allegiance and laid waste the country. The proud Phœnician republic was now reduced to sue for peace; but the prouder Roman consul would grant no milder terms than the cession of Sicily and Sardinia, the surrender of the Punic fleet, and the reduction of Carthage to the position of an inferior ally, bound, like the Greek maritime cities of Italy, to furnish ships for the Roman navy. Such proposals inspired the courage of despair, and their arrogance was soon avenged.

While Regulus lay inactive in his winter quarters, the Carthaginians prepared for one of those mighty efforts, of which they were capable in extremity. The return of Hamilcar from Sicily,

* The peninsula terminated by *C. Bon*, which divides the Gulf of Carthage from the Mediterranean.

with the troops hardened in his long irregular warfare, furnished a nucleus for a new army; and fresh bands of nomad horse were raised by the power of gold. By a curious resemblance to the fortunes of Syracuse, when assailed by the Athenians, the Carthaginians found a leader in the person of the Lacedæmonian Xanthippus, a captain of Greek mercenaries. He formed the plan of overwhelming the Romans before they could receive succours from Italy; and Regulus, who had neglected even to secure his communication with Clupea, marched down from his entrenched camp on the hill of Rhades to accept battle in the plain of Tunis. On such ground the 4000 cavalry and 100 elephants of the Carthaginians, handled by the skill of Xanthippus, secured them a complete victory. Barely 2000 Romans, probably of the cavalry and light-armed troops, escaped to Clupea, while the legions, formed into square, were selling their lives dearly on the battle-field. Only 500 were taken alive, with Regulus himself (B.C. 255). Though dismayed by the catastrophe to such a degree as to abandon all further designs on Africa, the first care of the Romans was as usual to rescue the survivors. A fleet of 350 sail was at once despatched for Clupea, and its voyage was signalized by a battle off the Hermæan promontory (*C. Bon*), in which the Carthaginians lost 114 ships. But even this victory did not encourage the Romans to maintain the post they held on the African shore; and after relieving the little force which was on the point of surrendering, they evacuated Clupea and returned home. The haste with which they put to sea, in spite of warnings from the naval captains, led to the crowning disaster of the campaign, and three-fourths of the fleet were cast away by a fearful storm, which strewed the coast for miles about Camarina with wrecks and corpses. Thus ended the tenth year and the second act of the First Punic War (B.C. 255).

The Carthaginians now resumed the offensive, while at Rome the conduct of the war was thrown into the hands of the party which had opposed the African expedition. Thus the field of battle was again transferred to Italy. Hasdrubal, the son of Hanno, landed at Lilybæum with a large army, and no less than 140 elephants, a species of force which had now inspired the Romans with terror. While their army lay inactive before Lilybæum, exertions like those which had built their former fleet produced 220 ships in the space of three months, and these, added to the 80 that had survived the wreck, captured Panormus, which became as important a stronghold for the Romans as it had been

for the Carthaginians. Its fall was followed by that of all the ports on the north coast of Sicily, except Thermæ (b.c. 254). But this fleet soon shared the fate of its predecessor by a storm which overtook it, on its return from plundering the African coast, off the Lucanian promontory, which still bears the name of the ill-fated pilot of Æneas; * 150 ships were wrecked; and the senate, as if yielding to the will of the gods, desisted from these great efforts, and resolved only to keep up a fleet of 60 sail for the defence of the coasts of Italy, and for maintaining communications with Sicily (b.c. 253).

Roman superstition might easily have believed that fortune was propitiated by the sacrifice. The fall of Thermæ (b.c. 252) was followed by a victory under the walls of Panormus, which once more freed the Romans from their terror of the elephants. The consul C. Cæcilius Metellus stationed his light-armed troops in the moat to gall the beasts with missiles as they were brought up to the attack. Some tumbled into the moat; others charged back upon their own troops: men and elephants rushed *pêle-mêle* to the shore; and before the fugitives could be embarked, 20,000 men were slain and 120 elephants were captured. Thirteen Carthaginian generals and 104 elephants adorned the triumph which Metellus celebrated, as proconsul, for the greatest victory yet gained in Sicily; and the Romans took courage to build a fleet of 200 ships to prosecute the siege of Drepanum and Lilybæum. The Carthaginians, once more shut up within these fortresses, sent an embassy to Rome to ask for an exchange of prisoners, and, if possible, to procure peace (b.c. 250).

This is the occasion which the annalists have adorned with the well-known story of the heroic constancy of Regulus. He was permitted to accompany the ambassadors to Rome, on his word to return if their mission should prove fruitless. What he had seen of Carthaginian severity in his captivity of five years, might justify the hope that he would do his best to plead the cause of the ambassadors, but they who thought so knew not the power of stern Roman patriotism. When his reluctance, first to enter the city because he was a Carthaginian slave, and then to speak in the senate of which he had ceased to be a member, was at length overcome, he denounced not only the proposed peace, but even the exchange of prisoners. Seeing the senate hesitate to send him back to a cruel death, he told them that the care for his life was useless, for the Carthaginians had already given him a slow poison to make

* Palinurum Promontorium, *C. Palinuro.*

the matter sure. Finally, he refused to listen to the argument that he was not bound by a promise exacted to his own destruction; and he returned with the envoys, who bore back the utter rejection of their proposals by the senate. The cruel tortures by which the Carthaginians wreaked their disappointment upon Regulus are variously related, and it is needless to repeat the familiar tales of his being placed in a barrel lined with iron spikes, or of his exposure to the burning sun with his eyelids cut off. Doubt is thrown even upon the reality of his mission to Rome by the various dates assigned to it; and recent historians have supposed the story of his fate to have been invented as an excuse for the horrible cruelties which the family of Regulus inflicted on the captive Carthaginian generals, Hamilcar and Bostar, on a vague report or surmise of his fate. That severity of judgment, which is a natural reaction from the extreme laudation of Roman virtue, seems to have governed the selection among the parts of a story which it would be safer to treat as altogether uncertain; but, at all events, a people must have had a lofty ideal of good faith to invent the heroism ascribed to Regulus.

The war was resumed by a great attack upon Lilybæum, the post which now alone linked Sicily to Africa. Both consuls proceeded to form the first regular siege that Rome had undertaken, and it lasted to the end of the war. Their fleet forced an entrance into the harbour, but failed to keep out a relieving squadron of the Carthaginians; while, on the land side, the skill and courage of Himilco repulsed all assaults, and the siege became a blockade. Its second year was signalized by a great disaster to the Roman fleet under the consul P. Claudius Pulcher, who planned a surprise of the Carthaginian fleet at Drepanum, and gave battle in defiance of the augurs. When told that the sacred chickens would not eat—"Let them drink," said he—and had them thrown into the sea. The signal skill of the Carthaginian admiral aided the offended deities to punish Claudius by a defeat, in which 93 ships were lost, with the best of the Roman legions. The battle of Drepanum is remarkable as the only great naval victory gained over the Romans by an enemy who till this war had held the empire of the sea. Its result was to relieve the siege of Lilybæum, in the port of which the 30 Roman vessels that had escaped were now blockaded by the Carthaginian vice-admiral Carthalo. Nor was this all. The other consul, L. Junius, who had been sent with 120 ships of war to escort a convoy of 800 transports to Lilybæum, committed the error of sending forward a large part of his

transports along the south coast without support. Carthalo skilfully interposed between the two divisions of the fleet, and forced them to take shelter in the unsafe roadsteads of Gela and Camarina, where they were dashed to pieces by a great storm. The consul Claudius, recalled to Rome, and bidden to name a dictator, showed the untamed insolence of his race by nominating his freedman's son, M. Claudius Glicia; but the senate annulled the appointment, and chose M. Atilius Calatinus, the first dictator who ever waged war out of Italy (B.C. 249).

The pause which now ensued in the great conflict of the West, permits us to cast a glance towards the distant regions of the East, in order to mark an event fraught with results in the history of the world. In B.C. 250 the Parthian chief Arsaces poured down with his hordes of horsemen from the south-eastern shores of the Caspian into the oriental provinces of the Hellenic kingdom of Syria, and founded the Parthian empire on the banks of the Tigris. We reserve its history till it comes into contact with the Romans.

The war in Sicily now languished for the space of six years (B.C. 248—243). Its seventeenth year found the Romans in the same position that they had held in the third, but exhausted by the loss of four great fleets, three of them with armies on board, besides the army that had perished in Africa. The census of the year 247 B.C. showed a roll of 251,222 citizens, being a decrease of 40,000, or about 15 per cent., in five years. The Carthaginians, if less exhausted, seemed weary of the war, and made no efforts to finish it by calling out their reserves from their own dockyards and the teeming myriads of Africa. As soon as they saw the Roman fleet destroyed, they suffered their own to fall into decay, and both parties were content with a petty warfare.

But this very interval of stagnation produced the two great men who were destined to throw a lustre upon the last period of Carthage as brilliant as that of the lightning from which they took their name.* In the year in which the census just quoted was taken at Rome, HAMILCAR BARCA was appointed the general of Carthage in Sicily, and in the same year his son HANNIBAL was born (B.C. 247). Though armed with no force adequate to take advantage of the crisis, he had the genius to make a new use of the resources at his disposal. "He knew well that his mercenaries were as indif-

* *Barca*, the surname of Hamilcar and his descendants, the Barcine family, signifies *lightning*. The same appellation had long before been borne by *Barak*, the judge of Israel.

ferent to Carthage as to Rome, and that he had to expect from his government not Phœnician or Libyan conscripts, but at the utmost permission to save his country with his troops in his own way, provided it cost nothing. But he knew himself also, and he knew men. His mercenaries cared nothing for Carthage; but a true general is able to substitute his own person for his country in the affections of his soldiers; and such an one was this young commander."* He established himself in a fortified position on Mount Hercta (*M. Pellegrino*), overlooking Panormus, permitting his soldiers to bring their wives and children within the fortress. Thence he perpetually annoyed the Roman garrison of that city and the forces blockading Lilybæum; while his cruisers, by ravaging the rich coasts of Italy as far as Cumæ, kept the enemy in alarm at home, and procured him supplies independently of Carthage. Having for three years repulsed all the assaults of the enemy upon the hill of Hercta, he transferred his garrison to the stronger position of Mount Eryx, which he wrested from the Romans, who had held it as a constant menace over the Punic port of Drepanum (B.C. 244). Here he maintained himself, in spite of a defeat he suffered from the consul Fundanius (B.C. 243); but while he was thus preserving Sicily, all was lost by the apathy of the government and the energy of a party among the Romans.

The Senate, indeed, seemed to be paralysed by the want of progress in Sicily, and the insults inflicted on the coasts of Italy. Their continued inaction would soon have permitted Hamilcar to organize his forces for great offensive blows; but irregular patriotism supplied the failures of the state. The united efforts of wealthy citizens fitted out privateers, which retaliated insults on the coast of Africa, and even burnt the ancient city of Hippo. These successes encouraged fresh efforts; and history offers no parallel to the presentation to a government, by means of a private subscription, of a fleet of 200 ships of war, manned by 60,000 sailors (B.C. 242). The effort took Carthage completely by surprise. While the consul Lutatius Catulus swept Hamilcar's cruisers from the sea and blockaded Drepanum and Lilybæum more closely than ever, the Punic government only succeeded by the ensuing spring in sending to sea a fleet inadequately manned and encumbered with supplies for the threatened cities. Their hope of effecting a landing, and then putting their ships into a fit state for action, was doomed to disappointment. Amidst the group of

* Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 53.

islands called the Ægates,* they encountered the Roman fleet under the prætor P. Valerius, Catulus being disabled by a wound. The ability of the prætor and the enthusiasm of his sailors might easily have prevailed over an enemy far better equipped; but the Punic fleet was totally unprepared for the encounter; 50 ships were sunk, and 70 were carried by the victors into the port of Lilybæum: and the only resource of the Carthaginians for repairing the disaster was the crucifixion of the admiral whose defeat they had ensured.

With far greater wisdom they gave Hamilcar the sad reward of his seven years' heroic efforts in full powers to treat for peace. That great man knew how to save the honour of his country, while submitting to inevitable necessity. Sicily, practically lost by the event of the last sea-fight, was finally surrendered; but Hamilcar resolutely resisted the demand of Catulus, that he should capitulate at discretion by laying down his arms, and generously refused to surrender the Roman deserters to certain death; so he was suffered to ransom his followers at a moderate rate. The Roman prisoners were given up without ransom; and Carthage engaged to pay a war contribution, which was raised by subsequent negotiation to 3200 talents, one-third at once, and the remainder in ten yearly instalments. The penalty of defeat—a penalty assuredly not excessive—being thus confessed, the two republics formed an alliance on equal terms of mutual respect for their independence, territories and sovereign rights, each engaging to form no separate league with the other's allies, nor to meddle with those allies by recruiting or by war. We shall soon see how shamefully these last stipulations—so vital for states constituted like these sovereign republics—were violated by the Romans.

Meanwhile there were not wanting indications of the spirit which had prompted Regulus to demand the complete submission of Carthage, and which foresaw that the contest could only be ended by her political extinction. But the time was not yet come to renew the war with such an object against such a general as Hamilcar. The popular assembly, which at first refused to ratify the treaty, was persuaded to be content for the present with the great gain of Sicily; and a commission was sent to the island with power to settle all details. That the amendment which added the cession of all the islands between Sicily and Italy was a perfidious preparation for the attack soon made upon

* The battle sometimes takes its name from the chief island of the group, Ægusa, the modern *Favignana*.

Sardinia seems a too ingenious refinement; but the final position of Rome is accurately expressed by Dr. Mommsen:—"Her acquiescence in a gain far less than had at first been demanded, and indeed offered, as well as the energetic opposition which the peace encountered in Rome, very clearly indicate the indecisive and superficial character of the victory and of the peace." * And, if the Romans were dissatisfied at their victory, the indignation of Hamilcar at the defeat of Carthage—for he himself came out of the war unconquered—gave a pledge of the speedy renewal of the contest.

While the war thus left behind, as what would be called in current language its moral effects, the proof that Carthage might, and the conviction that she must be conquered, it gave as its present gain the fair island of Sicily, which now entered into its natural union with Italy, while its fertile plains, its mineral and agricultural wealth, its splendid harbours, and its ancient cities, were added to the resources of the Roman empire. This first acquisition beyond the limits of Italy was constituted, with the exception of the eastern part, which formed the kingdom of Hiero, into the first of the Roman provinces (B.C. 241).† It seems a strange contrast to this great success to read of the revolt of Falerii, the Etruscan city which had so long before been taken by Camillus. The war lasted but six days; and the frequent rebellions of the Faliscans were ended by the destruction of their city. The census of the same year gave the result of 251,000 citizens for military service, a number practically the same as it had been five years before. The conclusion of the First Punic War coincides within one year with the epoch in the literary culture of the Romans marked by the first exhibition of tragedy by Livius Andronicus.

* The same historian has an admirable discussion of the conduct of the war by the Romans, showing how great were the deficiencies with which they entered upon it, how much they had to learn in its course, and how their success was due to the fact, that their enormous errors were counterbalanced by the still greater errors of their opponents.

† The acquisition of this province, and soon afterwards of Sardinia, demanded a new system of administration. They seem at first to have been governed, like the several divisions of Italy, by quæstors, as subordinate magistrates, dependent on the consuls. But in a short time they were found to require chief magistrates of their own—those vice-consuls who were called *prætors*. One of these was sent out annually from Rome to each of the new provinces: and for this purpose the number of prætors was increased from two to four (B.C. 227). The provincial prætor united in himself all the chief military, judicial, and civil functions, except control over the finances, which were managed, as at Rome, by one or more quæstors, directly responsible to the senate. But the quæstor in no way trenched upon the authority of the prætor, in whose household he was regarded as holding the position of a son.

CHAPTER XXV.

INTERVAL IN THE STRUGGLE WITH CARTHAGE.
B.C. 240 TO B.C. 219.

"As when two black clouds,
With heaven's artillery fraught, come rattling on
Over the Caspian, then stand front to front,
Hovering a space, till winds the signal blow
To join their dark encounter in mid air,
So frowned the mighty combatants."—Milton.

WAR OF CARTHAGE WITH HER MERCENARIES—THE ROMANS SEIZE SARDINIA—DEVOTION OF HANNIBAL TO AVENGE HIS COUNTRY—AFFAIRS OF ROME IN ITALY—WARS WITH THE BOII AND LIGURIANS—THE TEMPLE OF JANUS SHUT—AGRARIAN LAW OF FLAMINIUS—ILLYRIAN WARS—IMPRESSION MADE IN MACEDONIA AND GREECE—CELTIC WARS—THE GAULS PASS THE ALPS—BATTLE OF TELAMON—CONQUEST OF THE BOII AND INSUBRES—ROMAN ITALY EXTENDED TO THE ALPS—COLONIES AND ROADS—AFFAIRS OF CARTHAGE—THE HOUSE OF BARCA AND THE PARTY OF HANNO—HAMILCAR IN SPAIN—KINGDOM OF THE BARCIDES—HASDRUBAL'S TREATY WITH ROME—HANNIBAL—HIS RUPTURE WITH ROME—CAPTURE OF SAGUNTUM—FRUITLESS EMBASSIES—ROME DECLARES WAR AGAINST CARTHAGE—PREPARATIONS OF HANNIBAL.

The twenty-four years of the First Punic War were succeeded by an interval almost of the same length before the Second. While those grounds of quarrel were accumulating, which led to the decisive contest, and while the great leader who was destined to shake the Roman empire to its foundation, before yielding to it the victory, was preparing for his brilliant but luckless career, Italy was extended to its natural boundaries by the conquest of the great Gallic province between the Apennines and the Alps. This conquest, however, was preceded by events which formed a sequel to the First Punic War, and secured advantages for Rome far exceeding those stipulated by the treaty. Since the Roman fleet had commanded the sea, Hamilcar had been unable to continue the payment of his mercenaries from his own resources; and on the conclusion of the peace he asked for remittances from Carthage to settle the arrears. The answer was that he might send the troops to Africa, to be there paid off and disbanded. It was in vain that, foreseeing the consequences of "Punic faith," he sent over the troops in small detachments: the bureaucracy of Carthage waited till they were all collected in one army, and drove that army into mutiny by chaffering about the amount of their pay. The whole body of Libyan mercenaries joined in the

revolt, which spread from city to city, till Carthage stood alone amidst an insurgent population, her lands laid waste on every side, her chief citizens outraged and murdered, and the city itself besieged by the Libyans. Her own army, commanded by a blundering general, only marched out of the walls to be defeated. It seemed as if she had but survived the invasion of Agathocles and Regulus, to be overwhelmed by the surrounding barbarism which she had controlled for six hundred years, like a city buried by the drifting sands of the Sahara. In this emergency the government turned to Hamilcar, who succeeded after three years in putting an end to a contest, the character of which is denoted by its name of the "Inexpiable War" (B.C. 238).

Rome seized the opportunity to perpetrate an act of perfidy scarcely paralleled in all history. In all that directly concerned the war, indeed, she took care to make an elaborate show of good faith, forbidding all dealings of Italian mariners with the insurgents,* and even relaxing the treaty so as to permit Carthage to raise recruits in Italy. Utica, hard pressed by Hamilcar, applied in vain to Rome for aid; but that the refusal was dictated by policy rather than good faith, was soon proved by the very different reception of an overture from the mercenaries in Sardinia. The conduct pursued towards the Mamertines of Messana was repeated in this still more flagrant case; and the long-coveted island was eagerly accepted (B.C. 238). The Carthaginians, then in the very crisis of the Libyan war, were helpless against the wrong; but the revolt was no sooner crushed than they sent an embassy to Rome to claim back the province. The recriminatory pleas of wrongs inflicted on Italian traders were not enough to form a decent veil for the naked assertion of might against right, which was enforced by a declaration of war. Carthage, unable to take up the challenge, found herself obliged to sue for peace, as if she had done the wrong, and finally to purchase it by the payment of 1200 talents for the expenses of Rome's warlike preparations. Corsica, on which the Etruscans had probably no longer a hold, went with Sardinia as its natural dependency, and both were erected into the second of the Roman provinces, and placed, like Sicily, under the government of a prætor (B.C. 237).† For a

* When Hamilcar, however, imprisoned some sea captains whom he caught trafficking with the rebels, the senate obtained their release from the Carthaginian government.

† The natural characteristics and previous history of these islands are scarcely important enough to demand a place in our narrative. All necessary information will be found in the standard classical dictionaries. The population of both islands

long time, however, their possession of the islands was restricted to a military occupation of their coasts, which secured the supremacy of Rome in the Tyrrhene seas. The fertile plains of Sardinia were left uncultivated by its rude inhabitants—a mixed race, addicted to thieving and lying—who made perpetual war upon the Romans from the highlands of the interior; and the rocky island of Corsica was peopled only by mountain robbers, who remained untamed down to the period of the empire.

The enquirer anxious to trace the hand of God in the course of human history must generally be content to look at the great issues of events in the firm assurance that those issues include that just retribution for each separate action, which the Supreme Judge keeps in his own hand. But there are times when the veil is lifted, revealing the action of that great law which provides, in the natural sequence of events, a punishment for every crime. The seizure of Sardinia was the means of raising to a climax the indignation of Hamilcar, and of pledging his greater son to exact its penalty. Viewed in the light of the event, there is not a more impressive scene in history, than that which Livy records indeed as a rumour, but which is too true to nature to be doubted. Hamilcar, who viewed his recent victory over the Libyans and his influence as commander-in-chief as but the first steps in a course of policy which should restore his country by the destruction of her rival, already saw in the young Hannibal an heir worthy of his great designs. The boy, now nine years old, was brought by his father to the altars of those dread deities, to whom other sons had so often passed through the fire, to be devoted to a work which claimed the agonizing endurance of a long life; and at those altars he swore his well-kept oath of undying hatred to the Romans. Thus pledged, he accompanied his father to Spain, where the genius of Hamilcar saw the means of organizing a new power, which might strengthen Carthage to renew the struggle, or enable him to renew it should the government of Carthage hold back. It is at this period that the history

was very mixed, the basis being apparently the Tyrrhene Pelasgian in Corsica, and Iberian in Sardinia. Corsica was celebrated for its wax and honey, but a bitter taste was apt to be given to the latter from the yew trees that abounded in the island. Sardinia was famous for its silver-mines and its wool, and in later times it became one of the chief granaries of Rome. The peculiar plant which was said to excite those who ate of it to the convulsive laughter which has become proverbial under the name of "sardonic," is certainly not now to be found in the island. Mention has already been made of the colonization of Corsica by the Greeks, who called it *Cyrnos*, and of the Phœnician settlements in Sardinia.

of Carthage acquires an entirely new character from the ascendancy of the house of Barca, and their conflict with the old aristocracy; but our attention is first claimed briefly by the events taking place in Italy.

The possessions of Rome beyond the Apennines were as yet confined to the district between the rivers Æsis and Rubico, from which they had extirpated the Senonian Gauls. The Boii and other Celtic tribes held the centre of the great northern plain, between the Ligurians on the west and the various Illyrian tribes in the east and round the head of the Adriatic. The relations of Rome with all these peoples were still unsettled; and it was fortunate for them that hostilities were only resumed on a large scale in the last year of the war with Carthage (B.C. 241). The Boii invited fresh hordes of their Gallic countrymen across the Alps; and the Romans were glad to gain time by inviting their envoys to state their demands at Rome. Meanwhile the two bodies of Celts quarrelled among themselves; and the invaders returned after a great battle, which left the Boii an easy conquest to the Romans, who were content with a cession of territory (B.C. 236). A contest with the Ligurians, which had begun in B.C. 241, was also ended in this year; and, after the suppression of revolts in Corsica and Sardinia, the temple of Janus was closed, for the second time in the history of Rome (B.C. 235).

Fresh hostilities soon broke out with the indomitable mountaineers of Liguria, and with the Corsicans and Sardinians, who were said to be instigated by the emissaries of Carthage; but no incident demands mention—except the Agrarian law of the tribune C. Flaminius (B.C. 232)—till the outbreak of the war with the Illyrian pirates on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. Content with the repulse of Pyrrhus, the Romans had not yet been tempted across that sea, to mingle in the conflicts of the Macedonians and the Achæan and the Ætolian leagues, even though the Acarnanians had sought their aid upon the plea that they alone of all the Greeks had taken no part in the expedition against Troy (B.C. 239). But the case was altered, when the Illyrians, who were encouraged by Macedonia to prey upon Greek commerce, began to turn their Liburnian * galleys against the vessels which Roman citizens fitted out from Brundisium. An embassy was sent to Scodra, the capital of Illyricum; and, when the King Agron replied that his subjects considered piracy a lawful trade, he was told

* This was the name given to a peculiar class of swift vessels with two banks of oars, large fleets of which were maintained by the Illyrians expressly for piracy.

that Rome would make it her business to teach the Illyrians better law. The threat was avenged by the murder of the envoys on their way home, and satisfaction was refused for the outrage. A strong fleet and army were forthwith sent to Apollonia; the pirate vessels were swept from the seas, and their fortresses on the coast were demolished. Teuta, the widow of King Agron, was forced to relinquish her hold upon Corcyra, Epidamnus, and Apollonia; and these states, already so famous in Greek history, accepted the sovereignty of Rome by a tie somewhat similar to our own recent protectorate of the Ionian islands.* With the best naval stations in the upper Adriatic, Rome had gained a footing in Greece, and a vantage-ground for future action against Macedonia; while the Greeks accepted their liberation from the pirates with mingled shame and admiration. In the persons of the first envoys whom they had ever sent to Greece, the Romans were admitted to the Eleusinian mysteries and the Isthmian games (B.C. 229—8). A few years later, Demetrius of Pharos—who as general of Queen Teuta had aided the Romans by the surrender of Corcyra, and had received a great part of her dominions as the reward of his treason—ventured to revive piracy for his own benefit. But the death of Antigonus Gonatas deprived him of the protection of Macedonia (B.C. 221); and the Romans, though at war in Gaul, and expecting the attack of Hannibal, sent an army against him under the consul L. Æmulius Paulus, who took his island of Pharos, and expelled him from his dominions (B.C. 219). Philip, the new king of Macedonia, was too young to resent this attack upon his ally; nor did he assume a position of hostility towards Rome, till the worst pressure of the Second Punic War was passed.

Meanwhile the Celtic war in Italy was renewed by a great confederacy of all the Cisalpine Gauls, with the exception of the Veneti and Cenomani. Reinforcements were again invited from beyond the Alps; † and, before the Romans had time to meet the danger, a host of 50,000 foot-soldiers, and 20,000 on horseback or in chariots, passed the Apennines into Etruria. The two consular

* The form of government adopted seems to have been that of a military prefect, who was regarded as the lieutenant of the consuls, like the *præfectus pro legato* of the Balearic Islands.

† These were chiefly from the upper valley of the Rhone (the *Valais*). It is very interesting to meet for the first time on this occasion with the name *Germani* in the Capitoline Fasti. But there is no sufficient ground for believtng that these *Germans* were a Teutonic people; for the *name* is certainly of Celtic origin, and may have been applied in this instance to a Celtic tribe.

armies, hastily summoned from Ariminum and Sardinia, arrived only just in time to gain a decisive battle at Telamon, which might have had a different issue, had not the Gauls sacrificed a first advantage in their eagerness for plunder. They left 40,000 men dead upon the field, and 10,000 were taken prisoners with their king. The consul C. Antilius Regulus fell in the battle (B.C. 225). The fruit of this victory was the submission of the Boii, and the conquest of the half of Cisalpine Gaul south of the Po (*Gallia Cispadana*, B.C. 224).

In the following year, the consul C. Flaminius crossed the Po, to carry on the war against the Insubrians. The enterprise was hazardous; and after Flaminius had been once allowed to retreat from a false position, he found himself compelled to give battle to the whole force of the Gauls, cut off from his base, and with only the uncertain friendship of the Cenomani to secure his retreat in case of a disaster. But the legions cut their way through the enemy, and repaired by their valour the error of the consul (B.C. 223). Another critical battle, in which the victory apparently gained by the Celts was again wrested from them by the obstinate valour of the Romans, decided the issue of the war; and the resistance of the Insubrians was terminated by the fall of their capital Mediolanum (*Milan*) and their last stronghold of Comum (*Como*). These cities were taken by the consul Cn. Cornelius Scipio; while his colleague, M. Claudius Marcellus, gained the greater honour of the *spolia opima*—the third and last—by slaying the Gallic King Virdumarus with his own hand (B.C. 222).

A victory over the Illyrians of the Istrian peninsula, in the following year, linked these new acquisitions with the conquests of the Romans in Illyria. And now, for the first time in history, the whole peninsula and its adjacent islands were united, from the barrier of the Alps to the sea which divides Sicily from Africa (B.C. 221). The people of Cisalpine Gaul had become either the subjects or dependent allies of the Romans, except some few tribes which were allowed to remain undisturbed for the present in the valleys of the Alps and other parts beyond the Po. To the south of the river, the Celtic tribes began from this time to undergo a process of slow but sure extinction, only surviving as serfs of the colonists to whom their lands were assigned. The country was commanded by fortresses and colonies, and penetrated by the great Flaminian Road, the first that had been constructed across the Apennines. Passing from Rome to Ariminum, it linked

together the opposite shores of Italy; and was continued from Ariminum through the new fortresses of Mutina (*Modena*) and of Placentia (*Piacenza*), which commanded the passage of the Po, to Mediolanum (*Milan*), whence branches were ultimately carried to the chief towns of Gallia Cisalpina. The censor Flaminius, from whom the road received its name, adorned Rome itself with the Flaminian circus (B.C. 220). The census of this year made the civil population 270,213, an increase of about 20,000 in twenty years. Rome seemed to have entered fully upon the great work of Italian consolidation, when she was roused by the worst alarm of war she had yet heard. In the very year of her conquest of Cisalpine Gaul, Hannibal took the command of the Carthaginian army in Spain (B.C. 221).

The peace concluded twenty years before had left Carthage in a position as precarious as it was humiliating. It was not merely that she had lost the rich revenues of Sicily and the monopoly of her ancient lines of commerce: she had seen Rome take up a position of readiness to make a descent at any moment upon Africa; while the reluctance with which the treaty had been ratified, and the subsequent seizure of Sardinia, proved that the will would not be wanting for the final attack. Nor was there much consolation to be found in the state of the government at home. The old money-worshipping aristocracy, who in the crisis of the war had withheld the means of victory, and the careless waiters upon the course of events, knew no better policy than to harp upon the necessity of peace. These had the ascendant in the Council of Elders, the Hundred, and the boards of government. But the urgent danger called into prominence another party, of which we have as yet scarcely heard, though it had doubtless been growing into prominence. The popular instinct, which so often seizes the truth which rulers keep at bay, saw their only hope in war and their only saviour in Hamilcar. The chief leader of the party in the senate was Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar. The aristocratic and peace party was led by Hanno, who by some unknown achievements had been called the Great, but whose sluggish incompetence had reduced the affairs of the republic to a state too low to be retrieved even by Hamilcar's efforts. He guided the councils of his party from the beginning of the First Punic War to the end of the Second, never relaxing his bitter enmity to the house of Barca. When the senate were compelled in their extremity to call for the services of Hamilcar against the Libyans, they joined Hanno with him in the command; and

though the indignant soldiers sent the unpopular leader home, Hamilcar consented to receive him back as a colleague.

The Libyan war brought out by a new and severe test the corrupt incompetency of the aristocracy, who even dared to impeach Hamilcar for having provoked the revolt by promising his troops their pay; and the seizure of Sardinia showed what might be expected from the Romans. A change of government was inevitable, but the popular party had to avoid giving any pretext for Roman intervention. As the Roman writers are hostile to the Barcine party, we have no fair account of the reform that was effected; but their very abuse of "the revolutionary clubs of the most wicked men," proves that the people had become a real power in the state. All we know for certain is that, without any great formal change in the constitution, Hanno was deposed from his command, and Hamilcar appointed commander-in-chief for an unlimited period. He could only be recalled by a vote of the popular assembly, and meanwhile his position was independent of the governing boards. Accordingly we find his successors making treaties by their own authority, and receiving embassies like the senate.* His successor was to be appointed by the army, subject to the confirmation of the popular assembly. His position was apparently distinguished from that of the military dictators to whom the people have so often committed their liberties by the absence of political power; and we can only account for the acquiescence of the nobles in such an appointment by their supposing that African warfare could furnish him no great scope for mischief.

What then were his real powers to save or destroy the state? To the latter question there is an answer unparalleled in history. The privileges of the nobles were treated by the Barcine party with unexampled respect, and the people had no liberties to lose. Unwilling to commit the treason of usurping a tyranny, he had no basis of an honest popular feeling on which to build. Besides creating the resources with which to save his country in war, he had to waste a part of them in satisfying a populace hitherto governed only by corruption. Nor was he better able to rely on the materials for an army. The citizens who had followed him to the field in the Libyan war, had fought on that, as in former emergencies, only for self-preservation; and all that he could expect from that class was a supply of able and devoted officers of the popular party. And after all, a moment's reverse, a change

* The position of the Barcine family towards Carthage is compared by Mommsen to that of the princes of the House of Orange towards the States-General in Holland.

of feeling in the fickle multitude, or their corruption by the gold of the rich nobles, might place him at the mercy of his opponents. He well knew that the government was as incapable of preparing for the inevitable war with deliberate care and patriotic self-sacrifice, as of resolving to begin it at the right moment or conducting it when begun, but that they were quite capable of giving up the advisers of war on the first demand from Rome, as Hanno afterwards proposed to give up Hannibal.

If Carthage was to be saved, it must be by resources from without, and yet not by foreign aid. The inspiration of genius guided Hannibal to the solution of the problem. Like the great adventurer of modern times, who planned the conquest of the East in order to return and take Europe in the rear,* but with a less selfish object, Hamilcar sought for money, recruits, and a field of action, in the yet undeveloped resources of the great peninsula of Spain. His political enemies, and the Roman writers who repeat their calumnies, saw no further than the scheme of erecting a kingdom for his family; but the fidelity of that family to Carthage is a sufficient answer to the charge. Whether his plan was that which was executed by Hannibal, of marching into Italy from Spain, in the hope of bringing back the conquest of Rome as his claim to his country's gratitude, or whether the power acquired in Spain was to be first used for a reform in the government of Carthage, he himself perhaps hardly knew. Though his age was little above thirty, he is said to have felt a presentiment that he was not fated to see his schemes accomplished, and he took with him his "lion's brood," Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago, to train up under his own eye and in his own camp, as soldiers worthy to complete the work.†

His secret was well kept from the jealous government. Soon after finishing the Libyan war, he marched westward with his fleet under Hasdrubal, attending him along the coast, and with a strong force of elephants as if against the Moors. His real aim was first discovered to the senate by the news that he was in Spain, fighting against the natives, while a part of his forces, left in Africa under Hasdrubal, crushed a fresh rebellion of the nomads,

* See Napoleon's account of the views with which he sailed for Egypt, in Villemain's *Souvenirs Contemporains.*

† Livy represents Hannibal as first sent for by Hasdrubal after his father's death; but Hamilcar would scarcely leave his family in Carthage in what would amount to the position of hostages, and we know that Hannibal commanded the army under Hasdrubal's administration. The incredibly malignant insinuation ascribed to Hanno on this occasion suggests that here, as elsewhere, the historian was drawing on his imagination for his facts.—(Liv. xxi. 3.)

so that he could not be charged with leaving Africa undefended. Admiration of his enterprise, and hope for their own cause from its result, would be sufficient motives with the people to secure him from recall, and many an adventurous spirit would hasten to join him. Of the details of his operations we have no account; but their result was the conquest of a large portion of the peninsula, and the subjection, by war or negotiation, of many of the native tribes, whom he trained to form an army. The traces left in the next generation of his government in Spain forced from even such a bitter enemy as Cato the tribute of admiration—that no king was worthy to be named by the side of Hamilcar Barca. His further plans appear to have been just ripe for execution when he fell, in the flower of his age, in battle against the Vettones (B.C. 229).

Hasdrubal, who succeeded to his father-in-law's command during the minority of Hannibal, postponed the war with Rome as the inheritance of its sworn champion, and devoted his great political genius to the consolidation of what might now be truly called the Barcine kingdom in Spain. He drew the bonds with the native tribes closer by conciliation and hospitality to their chieftains; and founded the city of New Carthage in the most convenient position and on the most splendid harbour of the coast, looking both to Italy and Africa. His moderation seems to have assured the Romans against any danger from the side of Spain, if indeed they could have believed that Carthage would venture on an aggressive war, and that not by sea, but from so distant a base, divided from Italy by the Pyrenees and Alps and the wild tribes between them. They affected to be satisfied with the explanation that the conquest of Spain had been undertaken to procure means for paying the contributions due under the treaty. Meanwhile they constituted themselves, on the shores of the Iberian as of the Adriatic sea, the protectors of the Greek communities, the chief of which were Emporiæ (*Ampurias*) at the foot of the Pyrenees, and Zacynthus or Saguntum (*Murviedro*) south of the Ebro. With this hold upon the peninsula in case of future operations, they chose for the present to make a treaty with Hasdrubal, by which the river Iberus (*Ebro*) was made the limit of the two empires, and the independence of Saguntum was secured (B.C. 226).

Hasdrubal was assassinated by a native after an administration of eight years; and the acclamations of the camp, which hailed HANNIBAL his successor, were ratified by the unanimous voice of the Carthaginian people, drowning the remonstrances of Hanno (B.C. 221). At the age of twenty-six, he was already trained to a per-

sonal courage and endurance, which surpassed that of the hardiest veteran, and practised in that knowledge of war which made him the greatest general of antiquity. But his character will appear better from his career than from the brilliant picture which Livy draws of his virtues, only to draw over it the black shadow of his crimes.* He was one of those devoted men, whose lives take their complexion from the one object of their destiny; and that object was at least the salvation of his country; for the student of this period of history must never forget that Carthage had reached that crisis at which aggrandizement was the only means of self-defence; and her sole protection against the impending invasion of Africa was to anticipate it by herself invading Rome. To have perceived and acted on this truth was the great merit of the Barcines.

It is no exaggeration of Livy's rhetoric that Hannibal assumed the command in Spain with the feeling that Italy was his province. The still unfinished Celtic war seemed to combine with the Macedonian quarrel about Demetrius of Pharos to present an opportunity for attacking Rome, whose usual good fortune relieved her of these embarrassments just before the war began. The two campaigns in which he completed the subjection of the tribes south of the Ebro are represented by Livy as a stealthy approach towards Saguntum in search of a pretext for attack, but the treaty of Hasdrubal was not likely to weigh on a conscience bound by the oath imposed by Hamilcar. A real ground of hesitation was found in the ascendency of the peace party at Carthage, whither the Roman envoys, rudely repulsed by Hannibal, carried their complaints, instead of being provoked to war. It was equally in vain that Hannibal goaded on the Saguntines to give him a pretext for hostilities; and he found one at last in their pretended aggressions on a tribe allied with Carthage.

The siege of Saguntum was commenced in the spring of B.C. 219, and while the Romans were wasting their time in the war with Demetrius of Pharos, the city defended itself for eight months with a desperation only paralleled by other Spanish sieges down to that of Zaragoza. Its cruel fate was the usual, though horrible consequence of such a resistance; for never do the worst passions of human nature ride so triumphant over every whisper of mercy as in a city stormed after a long siege, and the horrors of Badajoz make us slow to judge the Carthaginians for those of

* Hannibal's relentless hatred of the Romans no more implies personal malignity of character than the injunction of Nelson to his midshipmen to hate a Frenchman like the devil.

Saguntum. The fall of the Iberian city involved that of the stronghold of aristocracy at Carthage. The popular enthusiasm, kindled by the first news of war, was roused to a flame by the distribution of the booty. During the siege, the Romans had sent an embassy to Hannibal, who referred them to Carthage. There they addressed the Senate as being no party to the attack on Saguntum, and demanded that Hannibal should be given up. Hanno, who alone ventured to advise compliance, was heard with the silence of personal respect; but he was only answered by the complaint that the speech of the Roman ambassador had been less hostile, and the Romans were admonished to prefer the old alliance of Carthage to their recent league with Saguntum. The news of the city's fall reached Rome just as the envoys returned. Wonder at Punic audacity, regret at the waste of the forces of the republic in petty wars, and shame at having permitted the catastrophe, all contributed to a panic fear. Their fancy saw Hannibal already past the Ebro, leading after him all the nations of Iberia, and stirring up the tribes of Gaul. A war with all the world was to be waged in Italy and before the walls of Rome. But the alarm soon took the turn of decisive action; the course to be pursued was indicated by the allotment of provinces to the newly elected consuls—Spain to P. Cornelius Scipio, and Africa with Sicily to Tiberius Sempronius: and war against Carthage was voted by the comitia.

In the spring of B.C. 218, a last embassy was sent to Carthage, to ask simply whether the act of Hannibal was that of the state, and if so, to make the solemn declaration of war. The only answer was a bold defence of the justice of the act. Upon this, Fabius, the chief of the ambassadors, gathering up the bosom of his toga as if he held something in its folds, said: "Here we carry for you peace and war: take which you please." With equal resolution, though in a suppressed voice, the senators replied: "Give which you like;" and when Fabius, shaking out the fold, exclaimed, "I give you WAR," they accepted it with one voice, and pledged themselves to carry it on in the same spirit. From Carthage the ambassadors passed over into Spain, to try if the tribes could be detached from the Carthaginian cause. After some success beyond the Ebro, they met with a decisive repulse from the Volscians; the reply of whose aged chieftain, even if it be invented by the rhetoric of Livy, gives a true expression of the feelings natural to the native peoples. He asked them how they dared offer the alliance of a state which had betrayed Saguntum

more foully than Carthage had destroyed it, and bade them seek allies where its fate had not been heard of. The watchword was adopted by the other tribes, and the ambassadors retired into Gaul, where they were equally unsuccessful in preparing an opposition to the passage of Hannibal. It was only at Massilia that they rested from the alarms inspired by the armed councils of the Celts.

Hannibal had meanwhile returned from the smoking ruins of Saguntum to New Carthage, where he spent the winter in preparing at once for the invasion of Italy, and for the defence of Spain and Africa, for he was the general-in-chief of Carthage at home as well as abroad. He had an army of 120,000 foot, 16,000 horse, and 58 elephants, and a fleet of 32 quinqueremes manned and 18 not manned, besides the reserves of ships and elephants at Carthage. But the quality of his troops differed widely from that of the common Punic armies. Discarding all mercenaries, he trusted to the Libyans and Iberians, who, trained under his own eyes, found a substitute for the impulse of patriotism in attachment to their general. As a sign of his confidence and a preparation for the long campaigns that lay before them in a distant land, he gave them leave of absence for the winter; and he secured the devotion of the Libyans by a promise of the Carthaginian franchise as the reward of victory. He allotted 20,000 men to the defence of Africa, the passage of the Straits especially being secured by a strong force. In Spain he left 12,000 infantry and 2500 cavalry, with the bulk of the navy, under his brother Hasdrubal; and he placed in the fortress of Saguntum the hostages whom he took from the natives for the fidelity of their troops. All that he required of the home government was to send out 20 quinqueremes and 1000 soldiers to ravage the coasts of Italy, and, if possible, to station 25 ships at Lilybæum. His own course was, to execute the plan inherited from his father—a direct invasion of Italy. A moderate force thrown on any point of the Italian coast would have had no hope of success amidst allies now more firmly bound to Rome than when they had stood faithful to her against Pyrrhus. But Rome might be approached through the recently subjugated and still faithless tribes of Gaul, who, it has been observed, were to Hannibal what Poland was to Napoleon, in his very similar Russian campaign. Treaties were concluded with the Insubrians and Boii; and, if Hannibal could force his way through the untamed savages between the Pyrenees and the Alps, he reckoned on finding, as he descended into Italy, both guides and reinforcements.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR. B.C. 218 TO B.C. 201.

"In parte operis mei licet mihi præfari bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quæ unquam gesta sint, me scripturum; quod, Hannibale duce, Carthaginiensis cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus ullæ inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum unquam virium atque roboris fuit: et haud ignotas belli artes inter se, sed expertas primo Punico conserebant bello: et adeo varia belli fortuna ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculo fuerint qui vicerunt."

CHARACTER OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR—ITS THREE PERIODS AND THREE SCENES, ITALY, SPAIN, AND AFRICA *FIRST PERIOD:* MARCH OF HANNIBAL THROUGH SPAIN AND GAUL—MOVEMENTS OF THE CONSUL SCIPIO—HANNIBAL'S PASSAGE OF THE ALPS—BATTLES OF THE TICINUS AND THE TREBIA—HANNIBAL IN ETRURIA—BATTLE OF THE TRASIMENE LAKE—FABIUS MAXIMUS MADE DICTATOR, "QUI CUNCTANDO RESTITUIT REM"—HANNIBAL IN APULIA—CNEIUS SCIPIO IN SPAIN—THIRD CAMPAIGN: BATTLE OF CANNÆ—ROMAN FORTITUDE—REVOLT OF CAPUA—CARTHAGINIAN WINTER-QUARTERS—*SECOND PERIOD:* HANNIBAL'S FIRST DEFEAT, AT NOLA—HIS REPULSE FROM AND CAPTURE OF TARENTUM—ROMAN SUCCESSES IN SARDINIA AND SPAIN—SICILIAN WAR—DEATH OF HIERO—REVOLUTION AND REVOLT OF SYRACUSE—ITS SIEGE AND CAPTURE—DEATH OF ARCHIMEDES—DEATH OF THE TWO SCIPIOS IN SPAIN—HANNIBAL'S MARCH TO ROME—HIS RETREAT—RECOVERY OF CAPUA AND TARENTUM—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF MARCELLUS—HASDRUBAL MARCHES TO AID HANNIBAL—HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH AT THE METAURUS—*THIRD PERIOD:* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO—HIS CONQUEST OF SPAIN—HIS JOURNEY TO AFRICA—HIS ELECTION TO THE CONSULSHIP—INVASION OF AFRICA—DEFEAT OF THE CARTHAGINIANS—LEAGUE WITH MASINISSA—HANNIBAL'S RECALL FROM ITALY—BATTLE OF ZAMA—CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

Though more than twenty centuries have passed since the second war between Rome and Carthage, and the world has witnessed, and still witnesses, conflicts compared with which its mere magnitude and the very principles at issue were insignificant, it is still in many respects "the most memorable of all wars ever waged." It displayed to the world two of its greatest generals, one perhaps the greatest of all, except him who never made a mistake in war and never lost a gun. It bequeathed to the students of the art of war every form of example and of warning, and left to free states in every age the far nobler lessons of effort, self-sacrifice, long-endurance, and confidence amidst desperate fortunes. Above all, it decided the future destiny of the world, whether the nations should become the slaves of a commercial oligarchy and of oriental superstitions, or be united under the laws of a free state, which even as a conqueror respected their liberties, in readiness to receive the truth that should make them free indeed.

Nor is the Roman historian less discriminating in the prominence he assigns to the Carthaginian leader: for it was not so much a war between two republics as between the genius of Hannibal and the resources of the Roman people. As we watch the great captain's course, Carthage remains altogether in the background, grudgingly contributing a few supplies, but more discouragements through the intrigues of Hanno and his party, and utterly failing in the extreme crisis, when Hannibal was compelled to fall back upon her resources. The nearest parallel in history is the position of General Buonaparte, at about the same age, during his first campaign in Italy; but a brilliant issue relieved the latter in a few months from the anxieties which Hannibal endured for fifteen years. Accordingly it is his steps that the historian follows, and his alternations of success and reverse mark out the three periods into which the eighteen years of the war are naturally divided. Three campaigns conducted him in triumph from New Carthage to the field of Cannæ (B.C. 218—216). Then came the first check: the tide seemed to turn in favour of the Romans: but Hannibal held his ground in Italy with various fortune for ten years, till the successes of Scipio, and the fatal battle of the Metaurus, cut him off from his true military base in Spain (B.C. 215—206). At length he was called back to meet the danger, to avert which he had begun the war,—the invasion of Africa by a general who knew how to avoid the errors of Agathocles and Regulus. The election of Scipio to the consulship marks the beginning of the last period of the war, which was concluded five years later by his triumph for the victory of Zama (B.C. 205—201). And the war has three scenes, as well as three periods—Italy, Spain, and Africa—besides the episode of the Syracusan war consequent upon the death of Hiero. It is especially important to keep an eye fixed upon the events in Spain. for it was their early occupation of that base of Hannibal's operations, that alone enabled the Scipios to sow the seeds of victory which they reaped on the field of Zama.

In the spring of B.C. 218, Hannibal set out from New Carthage with an army of 90,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, Africans and Iberians, in the proportion of about two to one, and with 37 elephants. The passage of the Ebro placed him beyond the limits of the Barcine kingdom, among the wild tribes of Catalonia, ever renowned for their fierce independence, and inclined, if to either party, to the Romans. The four months and fourth part of his army, exhausted in subduing them, were not deemed a cost

too great for making Spain secure; and he left, besides, 11,000 men under Hanno to guard the newly-conquered province. The intricate passes of the Pyrenees gave many of the Spaniards the opportunity of desertion; but so far from regretting this weeding of his forces, Hannibal is said to have sent back a large part of his army, as a contradiction to the presentiment that few were destined to return. He entered Gaul with a picked force of 50,000 horse and 9000 foot, and marched without serious opposition to the Rhone, reaching it opposite to Avignon about the end of July.

It was here for the first time that he met with even the show of resistance from the Romans. Their councils had been wavering and their forces wasted in petty enterprises, as if Carthage had been thoroughly subdued, and the time for action everywhere left at their disposal. While making a new enemy in Macedonia, they had neglected to crush the Celts and make themselves masters of the Alps, or to resist the growth of the Barcine power in Spain—at least, if not before, by sending a force adequate to save Saguntum, and failing that by seizing the country between the Pyrenees and Ebro—or to anticipate the crisis by employing their fleet of 220 sail to strike a decisive blow in Africa. Even when the allotment of the provinces to the new consuls had indicated the proper course of action, it was not followed up with any vigour. The repeated rumours that Hannibal had passed the Ebro filled the Romans with a vague alarm, and reduced their policy almost to the defensive. The consul Sempronius remained in Sicily, while his colleague Scipio waited to quell some disturbances in Cisalpine Gaul. It was about the end of June when Scipio landed at Massilia on his voyage to Spain, and learned that Hannibal was in full march towards the Rhone. He postponed all else to the object of disputing the passage of the river, and made arrangements for that purpose with the friendly Gallic tribes, who were under the influence of the Massaliots. The consul himself was still at Massilia, deliberating on the best way of guarding the passage, when Hannibal, reaching the river, found the left bank occupied only by the Gauls, whom he outflanked by sending a detachment across on rafts two days' march higher up, and easily forced the passage. Scipio, first enlightened by a cavalry reconnoissance, hastened up the river only to find that Hannibal was three days' march beyond the river. He now resolved to sail back to Pisa and aid his colleague to meet the invader in Cisalpine Gaul; but after all his blunders he took a step which contributed mainly to

save the state, by sending the bulk of his army into his allotted province of Spain under his brother Cneius, thus providing occupation for Hasdrubal, and checking the flow of Hannibal's supplies and reinforcements.

Two passes then led across the Alps from the banks of the lower Rhone, for the coast-road through the *Riviera*—to say nothing of resistance from the Massaliots—would have placed Hannibal far from his expected allies in Cisalpine Gaul. The one by the Cottian Alps (*Mt. Genèvre*), though lower and more direct, led through the more difficult country into the territory of the savage Taurini (round *Turin*), who were the enemies of the Insubrians. Besides these reasons for the rejection of that route, the easier though higher pass of the Graian Alps (*Little Mt. St. Bernard*) was the ordinary and well-known route from Gaul to Italy, and it is now almost universally agreed that this route was Hannibal's. But the passage of light-armed hordes of Celts, though they doubtless suffered terribly in their migrations across the Alps, was a very different task from the transit of a great army, with baggage, cavalry, and elephants, at a season when the autumn snows were falling, and resisted by the mountaineers, against whom they had to fight their way to the very summit of the pass.* The descent, though free from enemies, was still more dangerous, and in one spot on the banks of the Doria, where the avalanches glide along an almost vertical slope, it required the labour of three days to make the road practicable for the elephants. It was about the middle of September when the shattered army rested in the plain of Ivrea, amongst the friendly people of the Salassians. Since the passage of the Pyrenees the army had lost more than half its force,

* It seems equally unnecessary to trouble the reader with the arguments upon a question which may now be considered settled, or, in these days of Alpine travel, to dwell on the details of the passage. Livy's rhetorical embellishments probably bear much the same proportion to the truth as David's picture of Napoleon on his impossibly-poised charger to the grey-coated traveller toiling up the rocky steps on his mule. After all that has been done to smooth the passage, a personal knowledge of the ground gives an idea of the achievement such as no words could convey to one who has never crossed the Alps: but the traveller must not forget the contrast, so beautifully drawn by Rogers, between "the path of pleasure" which modern engineering has "flung like a silver zone" round mountains and along ravines, and the pathless chasms through which

> "The Carthaginian, on his way to Rome
> Entered their fastnesses. Trampling the snows
> The war-horse reared, and the towered elephant
> Upturned his trunk into the murky sky,
> Then tumbled headlong, swallowed up and lost,
> He and his rider."

and numbered only 20,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry. Military critics have censured an enterprise achieved at such an enormous sacrifice; but a first experiment is always costly, and the boldness which carried Hannibal through the unknown dangers of mountains, rivers, and barbarian tribes must have had an ample reward when he felt that he had kept his early oath and realized his father's projects by his very presence on the soil of Italy. "The unerring tact of historical tradition has always dwelt on the last link in the great chain of preparatory steps, the passage of the Alps, with a greater admiration than on the battles of the Trasimene lake and on the plain of Cannæ."

In reverting to the obvious parallel of Napoleon's passage of the Alps, we ought not to overlook the resemblance to Wellington's invasion of the peninsula in the smallness of the army led by each against the forces of an empire. Out of the 700,000 fighting men who formed the levy of Italy, no army was prepared to fall upon the exhausted troops. The last barrier of the Alps had been yielded, like those of the Ebro, the Pyrenees, and the Rhone. Hannibal had time to rest his forces, to capture the hostile city of Turin, and to gain over by threats or promises all the Celtic and Ligurian tribes of Piedmont, before he was called upon to measure his strength with Scipio. The consul, with a force of less than 20,000 men,* so far from being able to guard the Alpine passes, had been fully occupied in keeping down risings among the Gauls; and now, in the midst of insurgent tribes, he had to check the advance of the Carthaginian. It was while marching up the left bank of the Po that his advanced guard encountered that of Hannibal in a plain beyond the Ticinus (*Ticino*). A skirmish, in which both generals took part, proved the superiority of the Numidian horse; and Scipio, severely wounded, owed his life to the courage of his son Publius, a youth of seventeen, who afterwards saved the state itself.

The great military talents by which Scipio atoned for his previous errors now extricated his army from destruction. While Hannibal was preparing for a pitched battle, with the advantages of a plain for his cavalry and elephants, and a broad river in the enemy's rear, Scipio retreated across both the Ticino and the Po, and took up a station under the walls of Placentia. Thence, refusing the battle offered by Hannibal, he fell back upon a strong position on the hills on the right bank of the Trebia (*Trebbia*), a

* This was an army stationed in Cisalpine Gaul under two prætors, of which Scipio had taken the command.

confluent of the Po, dry in summer, but forming a rapid torrent in the winter, which had now set in. Here he was joined by his colleague Sempronius, who had returned by sea from Lilybæum to Ariminum, whence he had marched to Placentia. Cisalpine Gaul was now in open insurrection, but the united consular armies, numbering 40,000 men, were so posted as to compel Hannibal to try an attack on their front with his inferior force, or to trust himself in winter quarters to the doubtful fidelity of the Gauls. They had only to hold the position so well taken by Scipio.

It was the misfortune of Rome's double magistracy that, when both consuls were present in the field, the incompetency or jealousy of the less able often ruined the common cause. Owing to Scipio's wound, the command had devolved upon Sempronius, whose year of office was just expiring. Eager for distinction, he could not withstand the provocations by which Hannibal tried to bring on a battle. His cavalry was sent out to protect the friendly villages round Placentia from the ravages of the Punic horse, and a first success encouraged bolder skirmishes. In one of these, on a rainy winter day, the Roman horse and light infantry were enticed by the flying Numidians across the swollen Trebia, when suddenly they came upon the entire Punic army drawn up in battle array. The whole Roman force hurried across the river to support their vanguard, with no time to make preparations or take food. The skirmishers in their front and the cavalry on their wings were soon overwhelmed by the Punic elephants and horse; but the infantry, which had already gained some advantage, still stood firm, though outflanked on both sides. The battle was decided by the charge of the Carthaginian Sacred Band,* 2000 strong, under Hannibal's brother Mago, upon the flank and rear of the Romans. The main body of 10,000 infantry, however, succeeded in cutting its way through the confused masses of the enemy to the fortress of Placentia, where they were joined by other bands which had escaped to the camp unpursued. The obstinate courage that saved so large a portion of the army was some mitigation of a disaster which gave Hannibal all Northern Italy. His own army suffered severely from diseases contracted by exposure to the weather, and he lost all his elephants but one. Retiring into winter quarters, he enlisted large bodies of the insurgent Gauls, who now declared everywhere in his favour; and his operations in the early spring gave him large reinforcements from the hardy mountaineers of

* See p. 401.

Liguria. The remains of the Roman army passed the winter shut up in the fortresses of Placentia and Cremona.

The Romans were not yet seriously alarmed. The new consuls took the field with armies of the usual complement of four legions, to command the western and eastern roads from the north, and, after securing the passes of the Apennines, to effect a junction in Gaul. Flaminius advanced to Arretium (*Arezzo*), and Servilius to Ariminum (*Rimini*). Meanwhile Hannibal had made one of those rapid changes of base which form so striking a feature of his mode of warfare. Knowing that Rome was only really vulnerable at the heart and on the condition of shaking the fidelity of the Italians, he resolved to advance into Etruria (B.C. 217). At the beginning of spring he crossed the Apennines by the line of the Macra, and descended to the lower Arno, while Flaminius was watching the upper course of the latter stream. The early spring rains and melted snows had so flooded the marshes about Pisa, that for four days' march the soldiers had not a dry spot on which to rest, except the piles of baggage and the bodies of the beasts of burthen that fell dead. Men and horses were decimated by various diseases, and Hannibal himself lost an eye by ophthalmia. But he achieved his purpose, and, marching up the Arno, rested at Fæsulæ (*Fiesole*).

The consul Flaminius was a party leader, whose appointment to the conduct of the war was a political demonstration of popular favour. What was worse, he fancied himself a soldier as well as a demagogue, though his successes against the Insubrians in his former consulship (B.C. 223) had been gained by his soldiers as much over the errors of their general as over the enemy. In his eagerness to anticipate any interference from the Senate, he had hastened from Rome before the commencement of his year of office.* But he had made no good use of the time, and was still waiting at Arretium for the roads to become practicable, when the Carthaginian army arrived at Fæsulæ. He had better have waited still, to give his colleague time to join him from Ariminum: but he was possessed by the one idea of proving that the popular choice had fallen on the right leader. Any inducement that might still be wanting was supplied, when Hannibal marched past him on the road to Perusia, his Gauls laying waste the rich valley of the Chiana. Flaminius broke up from Arretium and followed the Carthaginian army beyond Cortona, where the road passed through

* At this time the consuls entered on their office upon the Ides, the 15th day, of March. It was in B.C. 153 that their term of office first began on the first of January.

a defile of the Apennines round the north-western angle of the Trasimene lake (*Lago di Perugia*). The hills, sweeping round in a large segment of a circle, enclose a plain, the only outlet towards Perusia being through a narrow marshy pass, and thence over the crest of a woody hill, now surmounted by the village of Tuoro. This was the spot which Hannibal chose to waylay his rash opponent. His best infantry, drawn up on the last-named hill, barred the outlet from the pass: his light-armed troops lined the crests of the arc of mountains, and the cavalry were placed in ambush near the entrance to the plain. While the early morning mist from the lake covered the dangers which the consul was too careless to suspect or examine, the Roman column marched into the pass, which was instantly closed behind by the Punic cavalry. Flaminius was drawing up his army to attack the only troops he saw—those on Mt. Tuoro—when he was assaulted on every side. It was rather a massacre than a battle. Those in the rear were driven into the lake by the Numidian horse and the Gallic broadswords; the centre was cut to pieces in the pass, and the consul himself slain; while the vanguard of 6000 men proved the might of the Roman legions by cutting their way through to an Etruscan village on a hill. Here they were surrounded by the victorious army, and surrendered to Maharbal the next day. The Romans left 15,000 men slain upon the field, and as many were taken prisoners. The loss of Hannibal was only 1500, mostly of the light-armed Gauls. The rivulet which that day ran blood into the lake still preserves the terrible name of *Sanguinetto*. To crown the disaster, and to show how it might have been averted by a few days' patience, the advanced guard of 4000 cavalry, whom Servilius had sent forward to assure his colleague of his own approach, were captured or cut to pieces.

Rome found herself once more, as in ancient days, with Etruria in the possession of an enemy, and her own line of defence upon the Tiber. The bridges were broken down, and the defence of the city was entrusted to QUINTUS FABIUS MAXIMUS as dictator. An army of reserve was formed, and the fleet recalled, for the defence of the city, while two new legions were raised for service in the field. But Hannibal was too good a soldier to risk a premature attack on Rome, till he had gained over some of her allies. With this view he dismissed the Italian prisoners without ransom, as he had dismissed those taken at the Trebia, detaining only the Roman citizens. Nor would he waste time against the strong position in which the consul Servilius rested upon the northern

fortresses. He crossed the Umbrian Apennines—failing in an attempt by the way to surprise the fortress of Spoletium (*Spoleto*) —and having laid waste the Roman farms which were scattered over Picenum, he rested on the Adriatic coast to refresh and reorganize his army. The abundance of captured Roman arms enabled him to adopt the important measure of equipping his Libyan infantry in the Roman fashion, and the inaction of the enemy allowed him a full month to exercise his soldiers in the use of their new arms. No proof of military genius could be greater than the successful adoption of a new system of tactics in the middle of a campaign. But the main object of his march across Italy had failed. None of all the Sabellian communities, which had withstood Rome for so many years, wavered in their allegiance, and he marched as far as Luceria without receiving the submission of a single city. Their fidelity was nothing short of a pledge of ultimate victory for Rome; and she had now a general who knew at least how to wait for it without risking the common safety.

While deriving abundant supplies from the rich plains of Apulia, Hannibal found that his march was watched and his flank threatened from the heights above by the dictator, Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus. Having united the new levy of two legions with the army of Servilius, Fabius had entered on that strategic policy which gained for him the surname of the *Lingerer* (Cunctator),

> "Whose wise delay restored the Roman state."

A firm adherent of the old policy and old habits of the Roman nobles, cautious both by age and temperament, and a warm opponent of the late consul Flaminius, he had resolved to be drawn by no temptation into the possibility of losing a pitched battle. The presence of an unbroken army, always dogging his steps and harassing his march, must keep back the Carthaginian from any decisive enterprise; and, however surely this excess of caution enabled Hannibal to calculate his adversary's movements, he dared not treat him with contempt. Opposed to such a general, Hannibal could only make the most of his opportunities for injuring the Romans, and tempting the faith of their allies. He recrossed the Apennines, through Samnium, into Campania, where, besides the plunder of the rich plains, he hoped to find friends in Capua. It seemed as if the caution of Fabius was to reap its reward in the opportunity of striking a blow at once safe and decisive. Still watching the Carthaginians from the heights, unmoved at their ravages of the richest possessions of the Roman allies, he closed

the passages of the Apennines against their retreat. The hope of an insurrection in Capua having failed, Hannibal was retiring from the ravaged country, when he found Fabius impregnably posted at Casilinum (the modern *Capua*). On the left bank of the Vulturnus, the city itself was strongly garrisoned; the dictator's main body was posted on the heights above the right bank; and 4000 men blocked the road, beside the river at their feet. Hannibal extricated his army by one of those ludicrous stratagems which success redeems from appearing puerile.* Tying lighted faggots to the horns of a number of oxen, he caused his light-armed troops to drive them over the lower heights. The troops posted on the road, thinking that the Carthaginian army was slipping off between them and Fabius, made a hasty movement to the right. The light-armed Ligurians and Gauls knew how to keep them occupied while Hannibal passed in full march along the open road; and the following morning he drew off his skirmishers, who had inflicted greater loss than they had suffered. He then made a wide circuit through the Apennines, and returned to Apulia laden with booty, but without gaining any adherents from the mountain tribes. Here he formed an intrenched camp at Gerunium, not far from Luceria, and prepared to winter. His soldiers were scattered in detachments, ravaging the country, and bringing in stores, when M. Minucius Felix, who, as master of the horse, commanded in the dictator's absence, deemed the opportunity favourable for bolder tactics. Forming a camp near that of the enemy, he intercepted their supplies, and engaged in some successful skirmishes even with Hannibal himself. The popular party in Rome, uniting with the proprietors who had suffered by Hannibal's ravages, now broke out into complaints against the inaction of Fabius; and Minucius was associated with him in the dictatorship. If Fabius had really carried caution to excess—as seems to have been the fact—Minucius soon proved how much easier it was to fall into the opposite error; and the succour of his aged colleague alone saved him from destruction in a battle he had imprudently risked. It is quite true that Rome owed her salvation rather to the firmness with which her confederacy was now consolidated, than to the delays of Fabius; but every lost battle provoked the danger of a revolution.

Even the failure of Minucius did not remove the impatience of

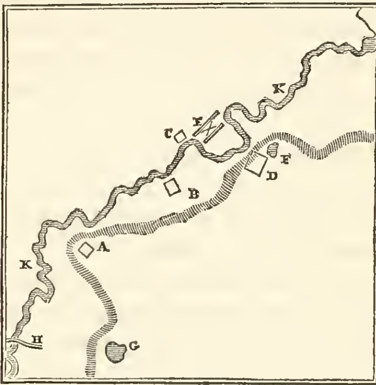
* One is reminded of the ingenious trick of the great Lord Dundonald, who escaped from an enemy of overwhelming force by setting a light afloat, while he bore up on another tack.

the Fabian tactics felt now by the Senate as well as the people. The former decided to raise an army such as the republic had never possessed before; the latter resolved to place a man of their own at its head. Eight legions were levied, each exceeding the usual strength by one-fifth, with a proportionate increase in the auxiliaries, besides another legion, which was sent to operate in Cisalpine Gaul, in the hope of withdrawing the Celts from Hannibal to defend their homes. The Senate would have nominated a dictator; but the unpopularity of Fabius had extended to his office; and all the efforts of the aristocratic party could only carry one of their candidates for the consulship, L. Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Demetrius of Pharos, whose military experience, it was vainly hoped, would be a check upon the incapacity of his popular colleague, the coarse and insolent demagogue C. Terentius Varro, the same who had moved the association of Minucius with Fabius in the dictatorship. The disappointment of that hope in the ensuing campaign is one of the most memorable events in the history of the world.

Hannibal opened his third campaign late in the spring of B.C. 216 by marching from Gerunium in search of supplies, across the river Aufidus (*Ofanto*), into the plain of Canusium (*Canosa*). Below this city, at a little distance from the right bank of the river, the Romans had established great magazines in the citadel of CANNÆ, hitherto, as Florus calls it, "an obscure Apulian town;" and the late consuls, who had wintered with the army since Fabius had laid down his office, were unable to save this important post. Hannibal established himself in a camp on the right bank of the Aufidus, resting upon Cannæ, while the new consuls, who had marched into Apulia, with the purpose of satisfying the universal feeling at Rome, and finishing the war by a decisive battle, encamped about five miles above him. Their army amounted to 80,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry, half of the former and two-thirds of the latter being Romans. Hannibal's infantry were only 40,000, but he had 10,000 cavalry, whose quality vastly increased their superiority to the Roman horse. For this force nothing could be more favourable than the level plain of Apulia; and a battle alone could extricate Hannibal from the danger of having his supplies cut off by an enemy nearly twice his strength, and possessed of Luceria and other fortresses. The same consideration allowed the consuls to choose their own time and opportunity; and Æmilius took all his measures to check the foraging along both banks of the river, and force Hannibal to come out and attack him

on his own ground. Urged by Varro to approach nearer to the enemy, he constructed two camps, the larger on the right bank, above the Punic position, the smaller nearly opposite it on the left bank, about a mile both from it and the larger Roman camp. By an ancient but pernicious custom, when the consuls were together in the field, they commanded on alternate days; and when the turn came to Varro, he resolved to attack at any hazard.

The difficulties which have been felt respecting the scene of the battle, involving even an uncertainty on which bank of the river it was fought, seem to have been cleared up by the researches of Swinburne upon the spot.* The sites of Canusium and Cannæ are close to the right bank, on the spurs of a range of hills which leave a level space of only about half a mile in breadth; but on



A. First Camp of the Romans.
B. The Larger Camp.
C. The Smaller Camp.
D. Camp of Hannibal.
E. Scene of the Battle.
F. Citadel of Cannæ.
G. Canusium.
H. Bridge of Canusium.
K K. The Aufidus.

Plan of Cannæ.

the left bank, a flat peninsula is enclosed by a great bend of the river. This plain seems to have been selected by Varro as a fit spot to receive the attack of Hannibal, or else to cross the river and storm the Punic camp, which lay directly opposite. At the dawn of a summer's day,† the consuls marched out of the greater camp, leaving there 10,000 men to fall upon the rear of the Carthaginians, and secure the victory already deemed certain. They crossed the river, and formed a junction with the division in the lesser camp. The united army was then drawn up on the level peninsula with its right resting on the river, and its left reaching

* Swinburne's *Travels*, vol. i. pp. 167—172.

† Nominally, the 2d of August; but, as the Roman calendar was already in confusion, from causes which have been explained, the true date appears to have been in June.

out into the plain beyond. A better position could hardly have been chosen to suit Hannibal's inferiority in infantry, and to give his cavalry free scope for action; and the error was made worse by crowding together the legions, which were commanded by the proconsul Servilius, in files unusually deep. The cavalry held their accustomed position on the two wings; the right being assigned to Æmilius, with the Roman horse; while Varro, with the stronger cavalry of the allies, took his post upon the left, apparently with the hope of encountering Hannibal in person. The Carthaginian, who had likewise crossed the river, placed his heavy horse under Hasdrubal on the left, with the design of crushing the weaker cavalry of the enemy, and his Numidians on the right. Between them were ranged the infantry, in a convex crescent; the Libyans—who had now for the first time to try the Roman tactics they had learnt—being drawn back on the wings, and the Celtic and Iberian troops pushed forward to bear the brunt of the fight. The battle began almost simultaneously along the whole line. On the Roman left, the allied cavalry beat off the repeated charges of the Numidians; in the centre, the legions routed the Iberians and Gauls; but the Roman cavalry on the right, against whom the chief attack of Hannibal was directed, gave way before the Carthaginian heavy horse, and were cut down, or driven back across the river, or scattered over the plain. With a scanty remnant, himself already wounded, Æmilius flew to the support of the infantry, who were following up their advantage in the centre. But as the dense column penetrated the enemy's line, the Libyan infantry, who had as yet been scarcely engaged, wheeled round, and attacked them on both flanks with their own weapons. Meanwhile Hasdrubal, passing with his victorious squadrons behind the mass of the combatants on foot, broke the horse of Varro, already hard pressed by the Numidian cavalry. Then leaving the latter to pursue the fugitives, he charged upon the rear of the crowded Roman infantry. Flight was impossible and resistance vain. No quarter was given; and the history of war scarcely affords an example of so complete a massacre. Seventy thousand men were left dead upon the field, including two-thirds of the chief officers, eighty Romans of senatorial rank, the proconsul Servilius, and, above all, the consul Æmilius Paulus, who had already sacrificed more than life itself to the duty of obeying his headstrong colleague. A few resolute men vindicated the might of the Roman legions, as at the Trebia and the Trasimene lake, by cutting their way through the field,

and recrossing the river to Canusium. The 10,000 who had been left in the larger camp to reap the expected victory, were carried away captives like the gleanings of the slaughter. Hannibal's loss of 6000 men fell, as, usual, chiefly upon the Gauls.

The consul Varro, escaping to Venusia by the speed of his horse, with only about seventy horsemen, survived to prove how constancy can retrieve disgrace and atone for error.* He repaired to the post of duty at Canusium, where the relics of the army had been rallied by the military tribunes, Appius Claudius Pulcher and P. Cornelius Scipio, and the latter had for the second time given promise of his high destiny to save the state, by preventing the young nobles in the camp from leaving Italy in despair. By great exertions, two legions were gathered at Canusium. As usual with the survivors of a disgraceful rout, they were condemned to serve in disgrace and without pay. The prætor, M. Claudius Marcellus, the slayer of the Gallic king Virdumarus, postponed his brilliant career in Sicily to take command of this army and to inflict the first great blow on Hannibal, and Varro was recalled to Rome. His reception there forms one of the most striking examples of the heroic endurance and dignified forbearances of the old Roman character. Its true meaning has been well set forth by Mommsen:—"The headlong fall of the Roman power was owing, not to the fault of Fabius or Varro, but to the distrust between the governors and the governed—to the variance between the Senate and the citizens. If the deliverance and revival of the state were still possible, the work had to begin with the re-establishment of unity and of confidence at home. To have perceived this, and, what is of more importance, to have done it, and done it with an abstinence from all recriminations, however justly provoked, constitutes the glorious and imperishable honour of the Roman Senate. When Varro—alone of all the generals who had commanded in the battle—returned to Rome, and the Roman senators met him at the gate, and thanked him that he had not despaired of the salvation of his country, this was no empty phraseology concealing under sounding words their real vexation, nor was it bitter mockery over a poor wretch; it was the conclusion of peace between the government and the

* It is passing strange to find even Christian writers sneering at defeated generals for consenting to survive their disgrace. Apart from all moral and religious arguments, there is profound wisdom in the saying of the greatest and perhaps the least pitied victim of these cruel taunts, that the man who lays despairing hands upon himself wilfully renounces the chances of the future.

governed." The continued employment of Varro in posts of trust during the remainder of the war was a proof of the sincerity of the salutation.

Meanwhile the Senate and people needed all the fortitude that the Romans ever boasted. The disaster of Cannæ proved the signal for that revolt of the allies which Hannibal had so long expected; and nearly all the peoples of Lower Italy rose against Rome. Capua, the greatest city of Southern Italy, opened her gates to Hannibal; but the aristocratic party, true to its old connection with Rome, forced him to measures more befitting a conqueror than a liberator. One of the leading citizens was carried off prisoner to Carthage for his advocacy of the Roman alliance. The Greek cities of the coast, the ancient enemies of Carthage, and now held by Roman garrisons, showed no disposition to revolt; but Croton and Locri were compelled to surrender to the united attacks of the Carthaginians and Bruttians. The fortresses in Apulia, Campania, and Samnium still gave the Romans a hold upon the revolted districts, and the Latinized communities of Central Italy proved how closely they were bound to Rome. This state of things vindicates the political wisdom of what has often been deemed Hannibal's military error in not advancing to Rome immediately after the battle of Cannæ. Besides, he had other combinations to perfect before he was prepared to strike the decisive blow. He had to keep his eye upon the East, the South, the West,—Macedonia, Africa, Sicily, and Spain. The news of the battle of Cannæ decided the youthful Philip V. of Macedon to listen to the proposals of Demetrius of Pharos, and promise the Cathaginians that aid in Italy, which, if rendered a little sooner, must have crushed Rome between her enemies advancing from the East and West. In Sicily, the death of Hiero changed a steadfast ally into a fresh enemy of Rome, and endangered the position of the Roman fleet at Lilybæum. At Carthage, the news of the victory gave a complete triumph to the Barcine party. Some aid had indeed been rendered by naval operations on the coasts of Italy, and by the presence of a squadron at the Ægates, watching the Romans at Lilybæum and guarding against a descent on Africa; but the influence of the peace party had kept back the reinforcements and money of which Hannibal was now in urgent need. The Senate no longer hesitated to replenish his military chest, and to send him new forces, including 4000 Numidian horse and 40 elephants.

Such aid was the more necessary as the operations of the

Romans in Spain had endangered Hannibal's chief base. Cneius Scipio, sent as we have seen by his brother Publius to Spain with the bulk of the consular army, had defeated Hanno both by land and sea, and made himself master of most of the country from the Pyrenees to the Ebro (B.C. 218). Publius himself had followed with an army of 8000 men, his *imperium* being prolonged at the expiration of his consulship (B.C. 217). The brothers had carried the war beyond the Ebro, and inflicted a severe defeat on Hasdrubal, when he attempted to cross the river and carry reinforcements to Hannibal, about the time of the battle of Cannæ. The Celtiberians the most powerful tribe in Central Spain, had declared in favour of the Romans; and, while the Scipios held the sea and the Pyrenees, their allies of Massilia commanded the way round the Gallic coast.

These events in Spain were of vital consequence to the ultimate issue of the war; but as yet their influence was remote, and Rome seemed likely to be crushed in the meantime. The disaster of Cannæ did not stand alone. The effort to make a diversion in Gaul had completely failed, and the legion sent into that country had perished in an ambush, with its general Postumius, the consul-elect. From the valley of the Po to the plains of Sicily, the empire of Rome seemed escaping from her grasp. It was then that the wondrous tenacity of an ancient aristocracy proved its power to become the nucleus of hope and effort; and the people, who had so lately shouted for Flaminius and Varro, looked up again to the aged senators, like Fabius. The families which had lost relatives in the fight—and scarcely one in Rome had not—submitted to the limitation of their mourning to thirty days, that the rites of the gods of joy might not be interrupted at the vintage-season. Every nerve was strained to raise another army. To exclude all appearance of negotiation, the Senate not only declined the offer of Hannibal to admit his prisoners to ransom, but his envoy was not admitted within the city. All the men of military age were called out; the serfs of their creditors, and even the prisoners for crime, were armed; and 8000 slaves were purchased by the state, and enrolled as soldiers. The whole city resounded with the manufacture of new arms; and to supply the present want, the spoils were taken down from the temples. The Latin cities were summoned to bring out their whole force; but the Senate, as the guardian of Rome's honour as well as safety, refused to compromise its dignity by supplying the places of its lost members from the Latin nobles; and the frightful gaps made

at Cannæ were filled up by Roman citizens. Such was the attitude in which Rome awaited the advance of Hannibal; while the two legions rallied from the wreck of Cannæ kept the field under a general who knew how to venture beyond the cautious delays of Fabius, without the rashness of a Flaminius or Varro,—Marcus Claudius Marcellus.

It was this revival of Roman energy, far more than the enervating influence of Capua on the Carthaginians, that made the winter of B.C. 216—5 the turning point of the Second Punic War. No contrast is more striking than that between the position of Carthage and of Rome towards a victorious invader; and if the Carthaginians, though at once shut up within their walls, had been able to repulse Agathocles and Regulus, Hannibal had the example of Pyrrhus before him to prove the folly of a sudden advance upon Rome through a hostile country. His very success in breaking up the Italian confederacy in the south, while the centre remained faithful to Rome, gave him interests to defend, a frontier to protect, and fortresses to take or mask, while the obstinate resistance, not only of the Greek cities, but of isolated towns, like Petelia among the Bruttii, taught him how far he was from being master even of his own half of Italy. His new allies were no longer those Sabellians who had shaken the power of Rome to its foundations. Unused to war, except as they furnished contingents to the Roman armies; kept down by the Roman fortresses, but prosperous under the Roman government; they had lost both national animosity and military ardour. The Punic general had still to depend mainly on his own army of about 40,000 men, a force far too small to hold his new acquisitions and to begin a vigorous attack on Roman Italy.

His military genius at once seized on the first step to be taken, the securing a stategic capital for his half of the peninsula, in a city only second to Rome itself, and, if possible, the obtaining of a port in Campania, to communicate with Carthage. So he hastened from the field of Cannæ to Capua, without even waiting to storm the camp at Canusium, and was received at that city with open gates, though not without conditions which proved that the Capuans had no intention of investing him with a military tyranny such as Pyrrhus had exercised over Tarentum, for he was not to call the citizens to arms without their consent. More than this, his designs upon the Campanian ports were frustrated by the energy of the commander who now handled the small Roman army. Marcellus at once proved his qualities as a captain by

breaking up from the camp at Canusium, and following Hannibal to Teanum Sidicinum, in Northern Campania, where he was joined by reinforcements hastily sent from Rome, while the dictator, M. Junius Pera, followed with the newly raised levies. Marcellus was thus separated from Hannibal by the Vulturnus; but it was not his object to remain on the defensive. Advancing to Casilinum, and learning that Capua had already fallen, he threw a garrison into Neapolis, which, with the other great port of Cumæ and the hill fortress of Nuceria, had remained faithful to the Romans; and then, keeping along the heights to avoid the superior forces of the enemy, he hastened to Nola, where the two parties were still debating on resistance or surrender. He not only secured the fortress, but repulsed an attack made by Hannibal in person, an omen of a greater success which was soon to follow. After this the Punic army went into winter quarters at Capua, the most luxurious city of Italy, after three years of incessant exposure in the field. Such a scene of repose after such exertions could not but be most injurious to discipline; but its effects have been enormously exaggerated by the rhetorical historians who wished to give at once an easy and striking account of Hannibal's subsequent reverses. The ensuing campaign proves that his army had lost little of its efficiency.

Nor was the capacity of Hannibal overclouded by the novelty of his position, any more than he was dazzled by success. His genius, like Napoleon's in the campaign of 1814, shone with its greatest brilliancy in the defensive war to which the Romans had at last found the means of reducing him; but his temper began to show symptoms of yielding to the pressure of anxiety. He opened the new season by reducing some of the Campanian towns which had hitherto resisted him, and treated their senates with a severity not likely to aid his cause. Meanwhile, three Roman armies took the field, under the two consuls—Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who had been master of the horse in the preceding year, and the veteran Q. Fabius Maximus—and under M. Claudius Marcellus as proconsul, with the design of enclosing Hannibal. Fabius watched the right bank of the Vulturnus; Marcellus occupied his old ground on the hills about Nola; and Gracchus, establishing himself on the coast, protected Cumæ from an attack of the Campanians, and repulsed a renewed attempt upon the town by Hannibal himself. A fourth army was posted at Luceria, under the prætor M. Valerius, at once to watch for any attempt from Macedonia upon the eastern coast, and to co-operate

with Marcellus in chastising the revolted Samnites and Lucanians, whose complaints began to make Hannibal uneasy. To restore his communications with Apulia, he made a vehement attack on Marcellus, under the walls of Nola. The victory of the proconsul, following on his previous repulse of Hannibal from the same place, inflicted the first great blow on the prestige of Carthaginian invincibility. Hannibal was obliged to pass on into Apulia, whither he was closely followed by Marcellus.

All hopes of resuming his career of victory now depended upon reinforcements from Carthage and Spain, from Macedonia and Syracuse; and the interest of the war is for a time transferred to those countries. Had the impulse given by the news of Cannæ continued to work at Carthage, her resources would have sufficed for all the wants of Hannibal; but after the safe transport of 4000 Africans to Locri had proved that the way was open for the admission of any number of troops into Italy, the peace party regained its ascendancy in the Punic Senate, and Hannibal was mocked with the reply to his prayers for help, that his victories rendered it superfluous. Of Macedonia, which will claim attention at a later period, it is enough now to say that Philip's courage failed him, and he did only just enough to draw upon himself an offensive war. With equal vigour the Romans turned upon the Carthaginians in Spain and their new allies at Syracuse, effectually intercepting aid from those quarters, as will presently be related. Thus Hannibal was again left to his own resources. His head-quarters were at Arpi in Apulia, where he was confronted by Gracchus, now proconsul, while Marcellus and Fabius Maximus, who had been again elected to the consulship, still held Campania, and were preparing to recover Capua. Hastening to Campania, Hannibal arrived in time to protect the capital, but he was unable to save Casilinum. Tiberius Gracchus had successful encounters with the second Carthaginian army of Hanno, which held the country of the Bruttii; and in one of these near Beneventum he gave an earnest of his family's championship of liberty, by conferring freedom and the Roman franchise on the slaves who had mainly contributed to win the battle.

Meanwhile both parties were anxiously watching the movements in Sicily and Macedonia. All the ports of Bruttii were in Hannibal's possession, with the important exception of Rhegium. Established firmly in that fortress and in Messana, the Romans preserved the link between Italy and Sicily, and they had reinforced Tarentum and Brundisium in view of the expected attempt

from Macedonia. For the like reason, it became of vital consequence to Hannibal to obtain one of these ports. Foiled in an attack upon Tarentum (B.C. 214), he remained in its neighbourhood the whole of the following year, carrying on an irregular defensive warfare, and more and more losing his hold upon the Italians (B.C. 213). The resistance of Tarentum was at length overcome, not by the force of the Punic arms, but by the foolish passion of the authorities at Rome. The intrigues of Hannibal's agents were successful with the hostages who had been taken for the fidelity of the Greek cities, and those of Tarentum and Thurii attempted to escape. They were recaptured and put to death. The exasperated Tarentines formed a plot, which the negligence of the Roman governor gave them the opportunity to carry out. Hannibal was admitted into Tarentum; the citadel alone was saved, and the necessity of reinforcing its garrison entailed the loss of Metapontum, while Thurii and Heraclea followed the example of Tarentum (B.C. 212). Fortunately for the Romans, their decisive victory in Sicily enabled them to take new measures to prevent the Macedonian king from using the door thus opened into Italy; and the calamity which at the same time befell them in Spain was too remote to be at all of equal consequence. It is time to cast a look at the great events which had meanwhile occurred on those secondary theatres of the war.

SPAIN, as we have seen, had been entered by a Roman army shortly after Hannibal had left it, and it is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of Scipio's decision, not to withdraw for the defence of Italy the army destined to attack Hannibal's real base. We have seen how he followed his brother Cneius into Spain, and how the country within the Ebro was overrun, and the passes of the Pyrenees secured; how successes were gained beyond that river, and Hasdrubal himself defeated in the attempt to lead to Italy the succours so much needed by his brother. It is important to understand the relations of the natives to the combatants, and this first, of the many occasions on which Spain has been the theatre of the conflicts of mighty nations for empire, presents an opportunity for fixing the place of the peninsula in the history of the world. The character of the Spaniards has exhibited in every age a remarkable assemblage of qualities corresponding to the mixture of its population. The position of the peninsula has laid it open to the influx of various races, who entered partly across the chain of the Pyrenees, by which it is almost severed from Europe; partly across the narrow straits, which rather link than separate it

from Africa; and partly by way of the Mediterranean and the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and the Balearic group. No distant traces, however, are left of any peopling of the peninsula by way of the sea, as distinct from that by the Straits, and the Iberian population of the islands seem to have spread from, rather than to, the mainland. With regard to the other routes, ethnographers have frequently been misled by the common tendency to regard water as making a more decided severance than mountains between nations, especially when they belong to what it has pleased the formal geographers to call different quarters of the world.* From this point of view, it has been usual to assume that the Iberians—the most characteristic element of the Spanish population, and those from whom the country derived its Greek name of *Iberia* †—were also the aborigines, and that the Celts—who are found mingled with them—were later immigrants from beyond the Alps. But, as Niebuhr perceived, with his usual sagacity, the opposite was in all probability the actual process. In all ages of recorded history, Spain has proved practically more accessible by the straits than by the Pyrenees. It is a most significant fact that the Vandals, who at first poured down upon the Roman Empire from the North, nevertheless entered Spain from the South, and the course both of that and the Moorish invasion guides us to the movements that preceded the historic age. As from the period when the compact civilization of the province—almost more Roman than Italy itself—was no longer able to resist the barbarian deluge, so probably before the first beginnings of civilization opposite waves encountered one another as they swept from north to south over the surface of the peninsula. The parallel seems to hold good even with respect to the general dividing line between the two floods of population. The *Sierra*

* Another example of the working of this fallacy is seen in the common notion that Egypt belongs to Africa rather than Asia. In the outset of our work we insisted on the merely formal and therefore misleading nature of the division of the great tripartite continent of the eastern hemisphere. In the light of physical geography, it is much more natural to see in the basin of the Mediterranean one principal division, lying between the Alps and their eastern prolongations on the north, and the Atlas and Desert on the south.

† The Greeks also called it (like Italy) by the name of *Hesperia* (the land of the Evening Star), a specific application of their generic poetical name for the west of Europe. The Roman *Hispania*, the native *España*, and our *Spain*—properly *Span*, or *Sapan*—is supposed by some to be of Punic, by others of Iberian derivation. W. von Humboldt connects it with the Basque *ezpaña*, a *border* or *edge*, as the *margin* of Europe towards the ocean. His work entitled *Prüfung der Untersuchungen über die Urbewohner Hispaniens*, Berlin, 1821, is an invaluable authority.

Morena, which so long separated the Moors of Andalusia from the Goths of the rest of the peninsula, appears also to have been the great boundary between the Iberians and the Celts. But in the one case, as in the other, the stronger intrusive races of the south pressed beyond the boundary, and formed the great nation of the Celtiberians, between the Sierra Morena and the Ebro, while the pure Celts—as has been their fate in other lands—were pressed back into the mountains and corners of the peninsula—the hills of Cantabria on the north, the highlands about the upper courses of the Tagus, the Douro, and the Minho, and the peninsula of the Algarves in the south of Portugal, which retained the name of Celticé.

It is, of course, not safe to lay too much stress on the mere names applied to countries, and that after the completion of the changes of which the cause is to be sought; but Herodotus's use of the name *Celticé*, not only for the whole west of Europe, but specifically for Spain, is a strong argument for the view, that the original Celtic population of Gaul extended also beyond the Pyrenees. Whether the Celts there displaced an older aboriginal race is a question as to which we have no evidence; but various indications tend to prove that they were in their turn displaced by the Iberians, and did not force in themselves among them. The positions they occupied in historic times were those of a conquered, not a conquering race; while the Iberians, so far from retiring before the Celts, were able to intrude upon the latter in their own Gallic country, where they formed the chief element in the population of Aquitania and Languedoc.

It must not be forgotten that under the generic name of Iberians the ancient writers include many tribes differing very conspicuously from each other. The Triduli and Turdetani of Andalusia probably received a large portion of Phœnician blood: the Celtiberians of the centre attest by their very name the admixture of a Celtic element, though the Iberian predominated: it was in the great valley of the Ebro and between that river and the Pyrenees that the pure Iberians had their principal seat in historic times;*

* The *Iberi* are the people about the *Iberus*, just as the *Indi* (or *Sindi*) are the people about the (*Indus* or *Sind*): but the question remains, whether the people took their name from the river, or conversely. If we admit the former as the sounder view, and accept the theory of the original Celtic population of Spain, we may derive the name from the Celtic *aber*, *water;* and so add the Iberians to the long list of peoples whose appellation is to be sought in another language than their own. The resemblance of name to the Iberians of the Caucasus can only be considered accidental. The Celtic origin of the very name of the Iberians would, if established,

and hence they spread to the northern side of the Pyrenees. Strabo expressly states that the earlier Greek writers applied the name of Iberia to the whole of the great isthmus between the gulfs of Biscay and Lyons, as far east as the Rhone; and the northern limit may be fixed at the Garonne. The descendants of the ancient Iberians are still found in the *Basque* population of these regions, preserving to this day the language and character of their forefathers. The Iberian character, indeed, appears in the general type of the modern Spaniard; but the Spanish language is a mere branch of the Latin, with subordinate elements derived from the Celtic, Iberian, Gothic, and Arabic.

The Basque or Biscayan language has been investigated with great zeal by modern philologers, one of whom pronounces it equal in the way of philological importance and interest, to any two other languages of the world.* This interest arises in great measure from the mystery that surrounds the affinities of the language, and that mystery involves the origin of the Iberian race. The isolated position of the Basque among languages is just what we might have expected from the relation of the Spanish peninsula to the mass of Europe, severed from which by a great mountain chain it juts out at the extreme west into the speechless ocean; while even within this isolated domain the ancient dialect has been submerged for two thousand years beneath the language of the Roman conquerors, and so too for fifteen hundred years in the adjoining provinces of Gaul. Corsica and Sardinia had indeed an Iberian population; but their original languages are almost entirely lost. Nor has comparative philology discovered any other family near enough to the Basque to afford a safe basis of comparison; and the language itself never attracted any considerable attention, till a knowledge of it was required by linguistic and ethnical investigations. The Biscayans themselves, like the patriotic Celtic amateurs, have studied their own language, as Dr. Latham remarks, "with more zeal than criticism." The same writer sums up the comparison of the Basque with the languages of Europe in the observation that, excluding a few words obviously of later introduction, as "spirit" "angel," and so forth, "with the Latin there is no Bask word in common: nor

go far to counterbalance the evidence for the prior antiquity of the Iberians from the prevailing names of tribes (Latham, p. 680); besides that such evidence seems as irrelevant as it would be to infer, on similar grounds, the priority of the Saxons to the Celts in England.

* Latham, *Elements of Comparative Philology*, chap. lxxxi. p. 675.

yet with the Greek: nor yet with the German: nor yet with the Keltic: nor yet with the Skipitar:* there is nothing, in short, like anything in Southern, Central, or Western Europe." Only with the Finish and the Sclavonic dialects do we find some few words in common; † a basis far too narrow to support the theory built upon them, that the Iberians were the remains of an original Ugrian population, which was spread over Western Europe—like the Turanian which we have traced in southern Asia—before the immigrations of the Celts, the Germans, the Sarmatians, and the Pelasgians from Asia. That such a race did once people the extreme west, as well as the other parts of the world beyond the range of primeval civilization, is highly probable from analogy; but we must look elsewhere for the origin of the Iberians. On the side of Africa more plausible resemblances have been traced to the Berber dialects, and still more to the Coptic. ‡ Though these resemblances are still but scanty, they are the most that comparative philology can furnish; and, so far as they go, they agree with the tradition of an Asiatic population of Northern Africa; for experience shows that such a population would extend itself into Spain. At the most, the resemblance is insufficient to guide to a decision as to whether the Basque belongs to the Semitic or the Aryan family; while its grammar seems to be rather of that agglutinative form which is characteristic of the Turanian languages. Perhaps the hypothesis most nearly accounting for the facts is that of the immigration by way of North Africa and the Straits of an oriental race whose language had not yet passed beyond the agglutinative stage. A more accurate knowledge of the languages and races of the earth may reveal resemblances yet unknown.§

* That is, the Albanian of Northern Greece, which is derived from the ancient Illyrian.

† These are so few that it may be interesting to cite them. The words signifying *God, thunder, night, and rain,* are in the Basque, *jainco, turmoi, gau, and uri or euri,* and in various Finnish or Ugrian dialects, *jen, diermes, gi* or *jy,* and *jor.* Again the words signifying *lake, river,* and *ice,* are in the Basque, *aintzira, errio* (?), and *lei,* and in the Sclavonic, *ezero, re'ka,* and *led.* Such are the scanty materials from which an hypothesis of a nation's origin has been constructed!

‡ A close likeness in such primitive words as numerals is always held to be a strong proof of the affinity of languages. There is a striking example of such a resemblance between the Basque *bat, sei,* and *zazpi,* and the Coptic *ouot, soou,* and *shashp,* the respective words signifying *one, six,* and *seven.*

§ The following passage presents a curious proof of the great uncertainty of this problem, and indicates the wide fields which still lie open to philological and ethnical speculations:—"With the present tendency of certain opinions among the naturalists, opinions which recent speculations upon recent facts have led to favour the

It is much easier to describe the character of the ancient Iberians; for this has been perpetuated more widely than their language in the whole Spanish nation. The resemblance has been admirably traced by Dr. Arnold:—" The grave dress, the temperance and sobriety, the unyielding spirit, the extreme indolence, the perseverance in guerrilla warfare, and the remarkable absence of the highest military qualities, ascribed by the Greek and Roman writers to the ancient Iberians, are all more or less characteristic of the Spaniards of modern times. The courtesy and gallantry of the Spaniard to women has also come down to him from his Iberian ancestors: in the eyes of the Greeks, it was an argument of an imperfect civilization, that among the Iberians the bridegroom gave, instead of receiving a dowry; that daughters sometimes inherited, to the exclusion of sons, and, thus becoming the heads of the family, gave portions to their brothers, that they might be provided with suitable wives. In another point, the great difference between the people of the south of Europe and those of the Teutonic stock was remarked also in Iberia: the Iberians were ignorant, but not simple-hearted; on the contrary, they were cunning and mischievous, with habits of robbery almost indomitable—fond of brigandage, though incapable of the great combinations of war."* The incapacity here referred to arose, not so much from a want of military genius, or even from that mixture of self-sufficiency and instability of which our own times have had full experience, as from the disunion of the several tribes—and not merely their disunion, but the mutual exasperation which has made them the helpless victims of foreign foes, or the still more helpless dependents of foreign friends, whom they have afterwards requited with ingratitude and hatred. It is only when driven to bay behind the walls of cities that they have shown the matchless endurance which have made the sieges of Saguntum and Numantia, Gerona and Zaragoza equally memorable in ancient and modern history. In Condé's "History of the Arabs," a general, in his despatch to the Caliph, says of the Spaniards, " On horseback they are eagles; in the defence of their towns, lions; but in the field they are women."

claims of the genus *homo* to a high antiquity, it is scarcely superfluous to say a little upon a question even more transcendental than the Fin hypothesis. They suggest the possibility of certain outlying members of our kind having belonged to certain continents now under water. One of these, or a part of one, was in the parts beyond Spain. If so, the Bask area may be the remains of a vast Atlantic system, of which Madeira and the Azores are fragments, belonging to the miocene period."—Latham, *Elements of Comparative Philology*, p. 688.

* Arnold, *History of Rome*, vol. iii. pp. 396, 397.

Such a people counted for but little in the contest between the Carthaginians and the Romans; except to hamper the movements of both by attempts to gain their almost valueless adhesion. The result was an irregular war, the incidents of which are extremely difficult to trace. The natives were upon the whole disposed to regard the Romans as deliverers; and the genius of the two Scipios, supported by the full army who became veterans under their command, secured a decisive superiority. The city of Tarraco (*Tarragona*), with its new harbours and fortifications, formed a base between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, and went far to counterbalance the Punic possession of New Carthage (b.c. 216). In the fourth year of the war the Scipios advanced into Andalusia, and gained two brilliant victories at Illiturgi and Intibili (b.c. 215). The capture of Saguntum in the next campaign revenged the great disaster with which the war had begun, and gave the Romans a second fortress, between the Ebro and New Carthage (b.c. 214). Nor were the operations of the Scipios confined to Spain. Reversing the process by which Hannibal had attacked Italy, they prepared to attack Africa by way of Spain; and their first step was to secure an ally among the native princes. It is on this occasion that we first meet with the names of Syphax and Masinissa, who bore so conspicuous a part in the last period of the war. The great nation of the Numidians, extending from the river Malva on the west to the Ampsaga on the east, was divided into the two tribes of the Massæsylii and the Massylii, the former occupying the western and larger division, which corresponded to the modern provinces of Oran and Algiers; the latter the eastern division, or the province of Constantineh. Syphax was the king of the Massæsylians; the king of the Massylians was Gala, father of the more renowned Masinissa. The natural rivalry between princes ruling over two hordes of the same untamed barbarians, and each covetous of the other's dominions, made it easy for the Carthaginians and Romans to enlist them in their quarrels. Syphax was gained over to the side of the Romans, and what he might have done, had they been able to support him with an army, was shown by the successes he achieved for a time with his own troops officered by Romans. The Libyan farmers showed their usual readiness to desert Carthage at the first alarm of an invasion; and Hasdrubal himself was recalled from Spain to put down their disaffection, while Gala was incited to make war upon his rival. His son Masinissa now began, at the age of twenty-five, the long career which only terminated with his ninetieth

year. Marching against Syphax with an overwhelming force, he defeated him and compelled him to sue for peace, while Hasdrubal inflicted on the Libyans the wonted revenge of Carthage against her revolted subjects.

His departure had left the Scipios to become the undisputed masters of the peninsula, and to mature their schemes for carrying the war into Africa. But all was changed when Hasdrubal returned from Africa flushed with victory, followed by large reinforcements under his brother Mago * and Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo. To meet their overpowering numbers, the Scipios fell back upon the natives, and took 20,000 Celtiberians into their pay. The faithlessness of these allies, combined with the fatal error of dividing their forces, proved the ruin of the Romans. Hasdrubal Barca, who was opposed to Cneius Scipio, bribed the Celtiberians to leave the Roman camp, and Scipio was forced to retreat. A far worse disaster befel the larger body of the Roman forces under Publius Scipio. Attacked by the united armies of the other Hasdrubal and Mago, he was in danger of being completely surrounded by the arrival of a body of Spanish auxiliaries. His bold resolution to break out of the net by crushing this advancing force was frustrated by the pursuit of the Numidian horse under Masinissa. While the Romans, thus cut off from their camp, and already engaged with the Iberians in front, turned to meet the charges of the light horse, time was given for the Punic infantry to come up: the Romans were overpowered by numbers, and their resistance ceased with the fall of their general, who might solace his last moments with the thought that his son had already given promise of being his avenger. Cneius Scipio, who had meanwhile retreated in good order before Hasdrubal, now found himself assailed by the three Punic armies, while the terrible Numidian cavalry cut off his communications and supplies. He took up a position on a hill, to sell his own and his soldiers' lives as dearly as possible. The only survivors of the slaughter were a small body who cut their way through the enemy under C. Marcius. They were joined beyond the Ebro by a division of the army of P. Scipio, which, left in charge of the camp, had been brought off in safety by the legate Titus Fonteius. The army thus rallied, supported by the garrisons in Hither Spain,† called C. Marcius to the command; and his experience and energy made good the

* Mago had carried the news of the battle of Cannæ to Carthage.

† This was the name always given to the division of Spain nearest to the continent, between the Pyrenees and the Ebro.

line of the Ebro. But all was lost beyond that river, and few of the garrisons had time to retreat. So long, however, as the Ebro and Pyrenees were held by the Romans, the main object of the Spanish war was secured by preventing reinforcements from passing over into Italy; and the new generals whom the Carthaginian Senate had associated with Hasdrubal did their best to aid the Roman cause by their mutual dissensions. Time was thus given till the arrival of the conqueror destined to retrieve the disaster in Spain, which was meanwhile balanced by the brilliant success of Marcellus in Sicily (B.C. 212).

Nowhere had the Romans seemed more secure at the beginning of the war. It would have been madness in the Sicilians to aid their ancient enemies, who would have become far worse masters than the Romans; and Syracuse, which alone retained its independence, was governed by Hiero, the long-tried friend of Rome. But the youthful successor of an aged sovereign is naturally tempted by mere novelty, and incited by counsellors who have long been kept in the back-ground, to try a new line of policy; and there of course survived an Anti-Roman party among the restless Syracusans. The death of Hiero took place just at the crisis when the battle of Cannæ had weakened the prestige of Rome. His son Gelo was already dead, and his grandson Hieronymus, a boy of fifteen, entered into relations with Carthage. For this cause, as well as for the tyrannical spirit which he manifested thus early, he was assassinated after a reign of only thirteen months (B.C. 215). The republic was nominally restored; but in reality the city was the prey of contending factions, among whom the captains of the foreign mercenaries held the balance. The emissaries of Hannibal, Hippocrates and Epicydes, made the most of the confusion; but the citizens had already taken alarm at the force which had been prepared to act under Marcellus against Hieronymus; and Hippocrates and Epicydes, driven from Syracuse, found refuge at Leontini. Meanwhile Marcellus, after his successes against Hannibal in Italy, had been elected to the consulship, in order to resume his interrupted expedition to Sicily (B.C. 214). His first act was to storm Leontini, and to put to death 2000 Roman deserters. Hippocrates and Epicydes, who had escaped to Herbessus, were admitted into Syracuse by their partisans. By a dexterous use of the example of Leontini, they deterred the citizens from attempting a reconciliation with Rome. The magistrates, who were in favour of peace, were put to death, and the gates were closed against Marcellus.

The consul now invested the city both by sea and land. His chief attacks were made from the sea against the quarter of Achradina; but he was opposed by a master-spirit, whose name shines among the brightest in the history of human intellect, the mathematician and natural philosopher ARCHIMEDES,—the Newton of the ancient world, as Pythagoras was its Copernicus. It is long since our attention has been claimed, amidst the contests of republics and the rise and fall of empires, by the purer triumphs gained in the field of science,—where freedom ever reigns supreme, or is only questioned, to cover those who would fetter it with speedy confusion and shame. Born about the year 287 B.C., Archimedes had reached the age of seventy-five, when he was numbered among the "Martyrs of Science." An early residence in Egypt had made him acquainted with the science which flourished at Alexandria under the patronage of the Ptolemies and the teaching of the successors of Euclid, who died about four years after the birth of Archimedes. He was not only the greatest mathematician of the ancient world, but in pure geometry he was the greatest inventor of any age. His discoveries in the measurement of curved lines—that is, their approximate reduction to straight lines of equal length—and in relation to the surfaces and volumes of the sphere, cylinder, and cone, are astonishing triumphs of the genius that could make them without the aid of the modern analysis—an instrument which, in fact, borrows its first principles from the geometrical reasoning of Archimedes. One of the most striking proofs of his genius was given by a demonstration, that it is possible to assign a number greater than that of the grains of sand which would fill the sphere of the fixed stars. This work,* which he addressed to Gelo, the son of Hiero, in reply to the ignorant assertion of some persons, that the sands on the sea-shore at Syracuse were infinite in number, involves the principles both of the method of logarithms and of the infinitesimal calculus. Nor was Archimedes less supreme in the province of applied mathematics. "His theory of the lever was the foundation of statics till the discovery of the composition and resolution of forces in the time of Newton, and no essential addition was made to the principles of the equilibrium of fluids and floating

* Its title is 'Ο Ψαμμίτης, or *Arenarius*. Another curious example of such problems is the easy demonstration that, among a certain large number of human beings—say the population of London,—there are at least two who have precisely the same number of hairs upon their heads.

bodies established by him till the publication of Stevin's researches on the pressure of fluids in A.D. 1608."* His discovery of the method of determining specific gravities by immersion in a fluid, though probably known to almost every reader, is a fact in the history of the world too important to be passed over with a mere allusion. An artist, to whom Hiero had entrusted a certain weight of gold to make a crown, was suspected of having substituted for a portion of the gold an equal weight of silver. As the latter metal is lighter than the former, the exchange would of course increase the total bulk; but how was this to be ascertained in the case of such an object as a crown, without destroying all its elaborate workmanship, and perhaps only casting shame on the suspicion? Revolving the problem incessantly in his mind, Archimedes happened to plunge into a bath which, being too full, overflowed. The solution flashed upon him, and he ran home through the streets, naked as he was, shouting out the ever-memorable "Heureka! Heureka!—I have found it out! I have found it out!"† The simple fact, that a body plunged in water displaces a portion of the fluid equal to its own bulk, for the first time suggested to the prepared mind of the philosopher the inference, that the bulk of the immersed body might be determined by measuring the displaced fluid, and then that by weighing both, in the case of any body to be experimented upon, a general standard might be fixed for all specific gravities. It was doubtless by subsequent investigation that Archimedes arrived at the more elegant method, which is demonstrated in his treatise on Hydrostatics, of determining the weight of the displaced water indirectly by the loss of weight which its upward pressure causes to the immersed body.

It was by such applications of science to practical affairs that Archimedes excited, in his own and succeeding ages, an admiration which naturally led to some exaggeration of the facts themselves. Thus the story, that he set fire to the Roman ships by means of the solar rays reflected to a focus from a concave system of mirrors, has always been eagerly discussed; and Buffon took the trouble to prove its possibility by igniting wood at a distance of 150 feet by means of a concave system of 148 plane mirrors. The argument of Gibbon, that such a surprising feat could hardly have been invented, had it not really been performed, is more plausible than sound; for, when the experiment had once been witnessed on

* Prof. Donkin, s. v. *Archimedes*, in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, an article to which the reader is referred for further information.

† *Εὕρηκα, εὕρηκα.*

a small scale, it was easy to imagine its performance on a large one. From the purely historical point of view, the question is settled by the silence of Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch, who dwell with admiration on the mechanical devices by which Archimedes destroyed or counteracted all the engines of Marcellus, and compelled him to convert the siege into a blockade, after eight months of fruitless assaults. In the history of naval architecture, Archimedes was destined to a posthumous fame far surpassing that which he achieved by the immense ship he constructed for Hiero. That vessel is said to have been launched by the pressure of the screw; and the ingenious application of the same mechanical power to the raising of water, known as the "Screw of Archimedes," had been in use above 2000 years, before the simple idea of its converse application—by using a floating screw to *drive away* instead of *draw*, the particles of water, the reaction of which would drive forward the vessel to which the screw was fixed—revolutionized the modern naval and commercial marines. Meanwhile, in the defence of Syracuse against the Romans, the genius of Archimedes anticipated the time when sieges would depend more on engineering science than on brute force.

The time thus gained enabled the Carthaginians to send a powerful army to the aid of Syracuse. Landing at Heraclea Minoa, Himilco made himself master of Agrigentum (B.C. 213). The severity of the Romans in punishing the revolt of Enna drove most of the smaller cities into the arms of Carthage. The position of Marcellus was becoming critical, when the escalade of a part of the walls, which had been left unguarded during a festival, made him master of the suberb of Epipolæ, with the quarters of Neapolis and Tyché. The Romans had thus secured a strong position within the walls, when the united armies of Himilco and Hippocrates advanced to the relief of the city. They encamped in the valley of the Anapus; and its pestilential marshes, which had more than once saved the city from a besieging army, now proved fatal to one that came to its succour. The pestilence carried off nearly all the Africans, with their general Himilco. Hippocrates, too, fell a victim, and the surviving Sicilians dispersed to their several cities. Bomilcar, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, retreated rather than risk a battle with the Romans, who now completed the investment of the city by sea. Epicydes, in despair, made his escape to Agrigentum; and the citizens were already opening negotiations for a surrender, when the mercenaries once more murdered the magistrates. One of their captains

admitted Marcellus into the island of Ortygia, the key both to the port and city; and thereupon the citizens surrendered the remaining quarter of Achradina, relying, doubtless, on obtaining the mercy due to those who had acted under compulsion. But Marcellus preferred to indulge his soldiers after their long blockade, and to make an example to the rest of Sicily. The city was given up to pillage and massacre; and Marcellus at once embittered the humiliation of the defeat, and offended the old Roman party at home, by carrying away many of the choicest works of art. Nor could any satisfaction be obtained from the Roman Senate. Syracuse and her subject towns were reduced to the state of tributaries, and her citizens were forbidden to reside in the island of Ortygia. Archimedes was among the victims of the sack of Achradina, slain by a Roman soldier, whose questions he was too intent upon a mathematical problem to answer. Marcellus regretted his death, and honoured his remains with a stately funeral. His tomb, outside the gate of Achradina, was marked by a sphere inscribed in a cylinder, as the memorial of his most ingenious discovery; and by this token it was discovered by Cicero, overgrown with briars, when the Syracusans assured him that the monument of their most illustrious fellow-citizen no longer existed.*

Even after the loss of Syracuse, Hannibal made an effort to save Sicily by sending Mutines, an energetic leader of Numidian horse, to the support of the Carthaginian army at Agrigentum. An active guerilla warfare encouraged the smaller towns in their revolt from the Romans, and Marcellus, advancing from Syracuse to complete the conquest of the island, received a check on the river Himera. But all was undone by the jealousy of Hanno, who represented the dominant party at Carthage, towards the officer of Hannibal. By giving battle to Marcellus, in the absence of the Numidian cavalry, the Carthaginians incurred a complete defeat; and when Mutines protracted the guerilla war with signal success, Hanno deposed him from his command. Upon this Mutines opened the gates of Agrigentum to the Romans, and Hanno barely effected his escape by sea. The Punic garrison was put to the sword, the citizens were sold into slavery, and the Romans remained masters of all Sicily (B.C. 210).

Italy had meanwhile been the scene of events of the deepest interest. During the two years' indecisive war, in which Hannibal was bent on obtaining Tarentum, and the Romans on recovering

* Cicero himself relates the discovery, which took place when he was quæstor in Sicily, B.C. 75 (*Tuscul. Disput.* v. 23).

Capua, the latter acquired the fortress of Arpi in Apulia, and the submission of several towns of the Bruttians proved the weakness of Hannibal's hold on his Italian allies (B.C. 213). The capture of Tarentum enabled him to turn his attention towards Capua, now closely beset by the consuls Q. Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius Pulcher (B.C. 212). An eventful campaign ensued, in which the brave Tiberius Gracchus lost his life, and the brilliant successes of Hannibal were neutralized by the tenacity of the Romans. After breaking up the siege of Capua, he had spent the winter at Tarentum, the citadel of which still held out, when he was informed that Capua, invested more closely than ever by three Roman armies, was on the point of succumbing to famine (B.C. 211). Returning by forced marches into Campania, he fortified a camp at his old quarters on Mt. Tifata, overlooking the entrenchments which the Romans held stubbornly against all the assaults of the Campanian and Punic horse from within and from without.

Foiled in his attempts to bring on a decisive battle before Capua, Hannibal judged that the time had come to try an advance on Rome. With that consummate skill which governed his most audacious movements, he led his troops between the armies and fortresses of the enemy to Tibur, and thence crossing the bridge over the Anio he encamped within five miles of the city. While he laid waste the country to the very gates, and his long-dreaded presence inspired the people with the wildest alarm, the Senate set the example of confidence by offering for sale the ground on which his camp was pitched, and a purchaser was found to give its full price. In truth there was no real danger. The city was sufficiently defended by two legions, under the veteran Fabius, against the small army of Hannibal, who, in fact, did not expect to take Rome, but to draw off the proconsular armies from Capua. Even in this he was disappointed, for the consul Fulvius alone followed him, leaving his colleague to maintain the blockade. Nor would either Fabius within the city, or Fulvius without, give him the chance of a pitched battle. He had no alternative but to retreat in the hope of saving Capua; but the retiring lion turned to crush the most adventurous of his assailants, the consul P. Sulpicius Galba, who had marched out from Rome in pursuit. Meanwhile Capua had been surrendered by those of the nobles who were left, after several had anticipated their fate by their own hands; and the city, punished with a vengeance proportioned to the harm done by its defection, was henceforth disabled from attempting a rivalry with Rome (B.C. 211).

The reduction of Capua, not by surprise or treachery, but by a two years' siege, in spite of the utmost efforts of Hannibal, was an omen of the fate of his cause among the Italians. Its effect was at once seen in their attempts to make their peace with Rome, and in the renewed confidence of the Roman government, who not only sent reinforcements to Spain, but imprudently ventured to reduce their total forces. Just when they had in Marcellus, now consul for the fourth time, a general who might have guided them on the turning tide to victory, they left him to face Hannibal with an inadequate force. His conquest of Salapia was counterbalanced by the decisive defeat of the proconsul Cn. Fulvius at Herdonia in Apulia ; and, in a bloody battle of two days between Hannibal and Marcellus, each claimed the victory (B.C. 210). In the following year, while the consul Q. Fulvius Flaccus recovered several places in Lucania and Bruttium, his colleague, Q. Fabius Maximus, signalized at once his fifth consulship and the close of his long career by the recapture of Tarentum, which was surrendered by the Bruttians in its garrison. The Italian Greeks were appalled by a more fearful example than that made of their brethren at Syracuse. After an indiscriminate massacre and pillage, there remained 30,000 Tarentines to be sold as slaves, and 3000 talents to be carried into the public treasury (B.C. 209). This close of the military career of the octogenarian Fabius was soon followed by the death of his more ardent rival. Elected to his fifth consulship at the age of sixty, Marcellus seemed destined to fulfil his long-cherished ambition of finishing the war. But he was surprised, with his colleague T. Quinctius Crispinus, near Venusia, by a body of Numidian horse. Marcellus was killed, and Crispinus escaped from the field only to die of his wounds. Hannibal rendered worthy honours to the remains of the ablest of his opponents (B.C. 208).

The great conflict between Rome and Carthage had now lasted full ten years ; and both parties seemed ready to sink from exhaustion, unless some new events should occur to bring on a crisis. Rome, indeed, having weathered the first shock of the tempest, had by her undaunted perseverance gained more and more upon her enemy ; but her finances were disorganized, her last reserve of money used up, her soldiers deep in arrears of pay ; and she was almost entirely dependent on the long credit given by contractors, who cheated the state in return, and on the voluntary loans advanced by the rich, who were themselves threatened with ruin by the devastation of the country and the withdrawal of labourers and slaves from agriculture to the army. The Sabellian commu-

nities of the south, having done little harm by their defection, were now again falling off from Hannibal; but conspiracies were discovered in Etruria, and some even of the Latin states refused any longer to share the burthen of the war. Hannibal, on the other hand, was pent up in a corner of Italy, abandoned by his allies, deprived of succours by the party divisions at home, disappointed of help from Sicily and Macedonia, and doomed apparently to a like disappointment from the side of Spain through the successes of young Publius Scipio.

It was in this position of affairs that all parties were startled by the news that Hasdrubal had passed the Pyrenees, and was in full march to join his brother in Italy. His reverses in Spain had hastened his taking the very step which had been expected as the fruit of his complete establishment in that country; and we shall presently see how Scipio, in the midst of his career of victory, had failed to stop Hasdrubal's march. The winter was employed by the Romans in exertions to meet the double danger. Twenty-three legions were enrolled; exemptions from military service were annulled; and volunteers were called for. These preparations were however still incomplete, when Hasdrubal crossed the Alps at a much earlier season than Hannibal, and comparatively without difficulty, owing to the assistance purchased from the Gallic tribes. He had already been reinforced by 8000 Ligurian mercenaries, and now the Cisalpine Gauls obeyed his call to arms. The whole movement had been concerted with Hannibal, and its success depended on the junction of the two brothers, a junction which it was vital for the Romans to prevent. The consuls for the new year were C. Claudius Nero* and M. Livius Salinator. Nero, who had already been opposed, as prætor, to Hasdrubal in Spain (B.C. 212), now marched southward against Hannibal, who was advancing from the neighbourhood of Rhegium towards Apulia. A

* On the first occurrence of these names, so famous under the Republic and so infamous under the Empire, it may be well to remind the reader that, of the six Cæsars (who alone could properly be so called), all but Julius and Augustus were both *Claudii* and *Nerones*, that is, of the Claudian gens and the Nero family. The fact is disguised by their being called by parts of their full names. *Tiberius* and *Caius* are common *prænomina* of the family, and the emperor who bore the latter is disguised under the nickname of *Caligula*, which is equivalent to *Little Boots*, just as if John were commonly known in English history as Lackland. *Claudius* bore the gentile, and *Nero* the family name. This is not the place to enter into their intricate relationships to one another and to the Claudii Nerones of the republic. The reader will remember that the Claudii were of Sabine extraction, and in that language *Nero* is said to have signified *brave*. The Neros were all descended from Tiberius Claudius Nero, one of the four sons of the famous censor Appius Claudius Cæcus.

bloody conflict at Grumentum, in which Nero claimed the victory, failed to stop the progress of Hannibal, who finally halted at Canusium to await news from his brother.

The expected despatch from Hasdrubal was intercepted by Nero, who used the information with equal skill and daring. Finding that Hasdrubal appointed the rendezvous at Narnia, in Umbria, and relying on Hannibal's waiting in Apulia for the news which had thus failed him, Nero started with a picked force of 7000 men to join his colleague in the north, still leaving an army strong enough to cope with Hannibal. The consuls effected their junction at Sena Gallica (*Sinigaglia*) on the Adriatic coast, and met Hasdrubal on the banks of the Metaurus (*Metauro*). A fierce battle, in which victory long hung in suspense, was decided by a skilful movement of Nero from the right wing to the left, where Livius was hard pressed by the Spanish infantry, and Hasdrubal fell in the battle. In him and his army, Hannibal lost the only helper on whom he could confidently rely, and the only hope of a diversion or of effective succour. He was still waiting for news in his Apulian camp, when the insulting victor, returning after barely a fortnight's absence from his double march of 500 miles, flung his brother's head within the outposts. The indignation which Hannibal might have felt at such a return for the honours he had paid to the remains of Æmilius, Gracchus, and Marcellus, was swallowed up in deeper feelings: the brother was overpowered by the patriot, as he sadly said:—"I recognize the doom of Carthage." His subsequent movements were in harmony with this gloomy confession. Abandoning Apulia and Lucania, he retired into the Bruttian peninsula, where he was driven back step by step by the disaffection of the people and the loss of the Greek cities. The possession of Rhegium, which his repeated efforts during the last two years had failed to capture, gave the Romans the command of the peninsula and the straits; and the victor of Cannæ retained nothing but a few ports from which he might re-embark for Africa. Almost any other general would have adopted this last alternative, pleading that the time had come to fly to the defence of Carthage. But Hannibal knew that a retreat to Africa was but the prelude to a blockade of Carthage; and even with the enemy in Africa, his last hope would probably still have been based on the invasion of Italy. Much less would he abandon Italy when the invasion of Africa was still remote, and while there was any hope that reverses might alarm the Carthaginian Senate into yet giving him that

support, which they in fact sent too sparingly and too late. Their apathy was, however, matched by the inactivity in which the Romans rejoiced over their victory and indulged their exhaustion.

The army was once more reduced, and a state of peace was anticipated by employing in the repayment of loans and the regulation of the disordered relations of the allies the resources and the time that ought to have been devoted to crushing Hannibal. "It forms," says Dr. Mommsen, "a brilliant proof of the strategic talent of Hannibal, as well as of the incapacity of the Roman generals now opposed to him, that after this he was still able for four years to keep the field, and that all the superiority of his opponents could not compel him either to shut himself up in fortresses or to embark."

It is time to return to Spain, the scene where the issue of the war was decided by the genius of young Publius Scipio, known in history as the elder Africanus. After the fall of the elder Publius Scipio and of his brother Cneius, the relics of their forces, rallied under C. Marcius, kept the line of the Ebro, and gave the Senate time to send thither a legion of 12,000 men, under the proprætor C. Claudius Nero, whose career in Spain gave a bright promise of his exploits in Italy. By a bold advance into Andalusia, he reduced Hasdrubal to a position in which he only avoided surrender by a gross breach of faith. But Nero had none of the political genius required to improve his military success; and he failed to obtain such a hold upon the country as might prevent the threatened expedition of Hasdrubal into Italy. In this emergency the Senate resolved to send a powerful army into Spain under a proconsul, the choice of whom was left to the popular election. But at first none was found to claim the dangerous honour. At length, when all the veteran commanders of consular and prætorian rank held back, Publius Cornelius Scipio presented himself as a candidate. At the age of twenty-four* he was not yet eligible for the lowest of the curule offices, but he already filled the highest place in the favour of his fellow citizens. His exploit at the Trebia, while serving his first apprenticeship to war, had invested him with the halo of filial piety as well as heroism. Two years later, at the age of eighteen, he had filled the office of military tribune, and had saved the relics of the army of Cannæ as much by his conduct as his courage. The quality which then prevailed over the

* This is according to the account which places his birth in B.C. 234; but others make him 27 in B.C. 210.

selfish fears of the Roman nobles, and kept them to their duty, was that which forms the key to his whole brilliant life. That quality cannot be better described than in the words of Dr. Mommsen: "Publius Scipio was one who *was himself enthusiastic* and who inspired enthusiasm. He was not one of the few, who by their energy and iron will constrain the world to adopt and move in new paths for ages, or who grasp the reins of destiny for years, till its wheels roll over them. Publius Scipio gained battles and conquered countries under the instructions of the Senate; with the aid of his military laurels he took also a prominent position in Rome as a statesman; but a wide interval separates such a man from an Alexander or a Cæsar. As an officer he rendered at least no greater service to his country than Marcus Marcellus; and as a politician, although not perhaps himself fully conscious of the unpatriotic and personal character of his policy, he injured his country at least as much as he benefited her by his military skill. Yet a special charm lingers around the form of that graceful hero; it is surrounded, as with a dazzling halo, by the atmosphere of serene and confident inspiration, in which Scipio, with mingled credulity and adroitness, always moved. With quite enough of enthusiasm to warm men's hearts, and enough of calculation to follow in every case the dictates of intelligence, while not leaving out of account the vulgar; not naïve enough to share the belief of the multitude in his divine inspirations, nor straightforward enough to set it aside, and yet, in secret, thoroughly persuaded that he was a man especially favoured of the gods—in a word, a genuine prophetic nature; raised above the people, and not less aloof from them; a man steadfast to his word and kingly in his bearing, who thought that he would humble himself by adopting the ordinary title of a king, but could never understand how the constitution of the republic should in his case be binding; so confident in his own greatness, that he knew nothing of envy or of hatred, courteously acknowledged other men's merits, and compassionately forgave other men's faults; an excellent officer, and a refined diplomatist, without presenting the offensive special stamp of either calling; uniting Hellenic culture with the fullest national feeling of a Roman; an accomplished speaker, and of graceful manners—Publius Scipio won the hearts of soldiers and of women, of his countrymen, and of the Spaniards, of his rivals in the Senate, and of his greater Carthaginian antagonist. Soon his name was on every one's lips, and his was the star which seemed destined to

bring victory and peace to his country."* He had already been elected curule ædile in B.C. 212, though below the legal age; and, as he now presented himself to the people, in the freshness of his manly beauty, offering to pass over to the scene of his father's and his uncle's death, and in avenging them to save his country, he was received with an enthusiasm which communicated itself to the whole enterprise. It has, in fact, been suggested that his candidature was arranged with the Senate for the very purpose of giving popularity to the Spanish war.

Scipio arrived in Spain in the autumn of B.C. 210, with Marcus Silanus as his lieutenant: his army, united with that of Nero, numbered about 30,000 men. The fleet was commanded by his friend C. Lælius, the father of that Lælius whose devoted friendship for the younger Africanus has become so celebrated through the pen of Cicero. The Carthaginian forces in the peninsula were still under the same three generals, whose want of concert showed itself in their widely scattered positions. While Hasdrubal Barca was collecting his forces on the table-land of Castile, with a view to the passage of the Ebro and the Pyrenees, Mago was at the Straits, and Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo at the mouth of the Tagus. Scipio resolved to make an attempt upon New Carthage before either of the distant armies could come to its relief. Early in the spring of B.C. 209, his army and fleet started from Tarraco, and following the direct line along the coast, appeared before the city. Mago, a resolute commander, strengthened a garrison of only 1000 Carthaginians by calling the citizens to arms, and attempted a sally, in which he was repulsed. Assaulted in his turn, Mago kept the Romans at bay upon the tongue of land on the end of which the city stood. But while the attention of the garrison was thus occupied, Scipio directed his main attack from the side of the harbour, "where Neptune himself showed the way," over a bank left dry by the ebb tide. Here the defenders had deserted the walls, to take part in the conflict on the land side: an entrance was easily effected: and Mago, seeing the city lost, surrendered the citadel. The magnificent schemes of Hamilcar and his sons were annihilated in a single day by the loss of their great capital, with its ships and munitions of war, its stores of corn, and a treasure of 600 talents. Master of the persons of 10,000 captives, among whom were eighteen Carthaginian judges, Scipio rendered to the citizens their liberty on condition of obedience to

* Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. ii. pp. 159, 160.

Rome. The hostages of the Spanish tribes friendly to Carthage were promised liberty as soon as their people should send in their adhesion; and in fact the fall of New Carthage was soon followed by the submission of nearly all the nations on both sides of the Ebro. To crown this brilliant success, Scipio averted, for the present, the danger he had risked for its achievement, by returning to Tarraco before Hasdrubal had time to cross the Ebro.

It seems, however, that the young general was too much dazzled by the prospect of conquering all Spain, to pay sufficient regard to the more important bearing of his operations on the war in Italy. He endangered his own communications by breaking up his fleet, in order to strengthen his army with the crews; and he failed to prevent the departure, first of Hasdrubal and afterwards of Mago, to their brother's aid. He encountered the former at Bæcula in Andalusia; and though Scipio claimed a hard-won victory, Hasdrubal succeeded, by the sacrifice of a portion of his army, in drawing off his best troops, with his elephants and treasure, to the north coast, whence he effected his passage into Gaul by the western passes of the Pyrenees, to reap the fatal reward of his daring perseverance on the banks of the Metaurus. His departure left Spain an easy conquest to Scipio, though at the risk of Italy. Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo, and Mago, with the aid of the light cavalry of Masinissa and of a reinforcement sent from Carthage under Hanno, kept up a desultory warfare in the interior through the campaign of B.C. 207. In the following year the Carthaginians made another of those desperate efforts by which, as we have seen in Sicily, they were in the habit of showing too late what timely exertion might have effected; and their new army of 70,000 foot, 4000 horse, and 32 elephants, united to the forces of Hasdrubal and Mago, was totally defeated in a second battle at Bæcula, where the tactics of Scipio have been compared to those of Wellington at Salamanca. Keeping back his own Spaniards, on whom he could place no reliance, he threw the weight of his legions on the hastily raised and probably disaffected Spanish troops, who formed the bulk of the hostile army. When the battle was lost, the Spanish levies dissolved like the snow in spring; and Hasdrubal and Mago escaped almost alone to Gades. That primeval settlement of the Phœnicians was the only spot they now held in the peninsula (B.C. 206).

This decisive victory not only left Scipio free to carry the war over into Africa, but secured him no less an auxiliary than Masinissa. Dazzled by the success of the Roman arms, and

fascinated by the personal influence of Scipio, the king of the Massylians—as he had now become by the death of his father Gala—secretly promised his aid to the Romans. The enthusiastic young victor was tempted to make a similar experiment on the rival chief of the Massæsylians. He crossed over to Africa with only two quinqueremes, and spent some days at the court of Syphax, not only in the security of nomad hospitality, but in friendly intercourse with his adversary, Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo, who had crossed over from Gades on a like errand. The charm of Scipio's conversation proved less powerful than the beauty of Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal; and the promise of her hand determined Syphax to the side of Carthage, as its refusal was said to have been the secret cause of Masinissa's defection. The tragic end of this princess has been a favourite theme with poets and painters. Falling into the hands of Masinissa when he stormed his rival's capital, she won his heart and became his bride, but Scipio, dreading her influence over his ally, demanded her surrender as a prisoner of war, and Masinissa only saved her from the shame of being shown in the Roman triumph by sending her a bowl of poison.

The romantic excursion of Scipio to Africa had almost lost him Spain. The tribes which had reluctantly borne the Carthaginian yoke thought to expel all foreigners from their soil; and the Roman soldiers were clamorous for their pay. Scarcely had the rebellion been suppressed, and a terrible example given to the Spaniards by the sack of Illiturgi, when the illness of Scipio was seized by 8000 of his troops as the occasion for a mutiny, which his unexpected recovery enabled him promptly to suppress. The last hope of Carthage in the peninsula was at an end; and Mago, who could not long have defended Gades, was directed by the Senate to gather all the force that he had left, and to make a last effort to aid Hannibal in Italy. The sea had been laid open by Scipio's destruction of his own fleet, and the youngest son of Hamilcar sailed first to Minorca, the capital of which still bears his name, and thence in the following spring to Liguria, whose mountaineers supplied him with one more army. But his force was too weak, and Hannibal was too distant and too much reduced, for any effective operations. Beyond the sack of Genoa, all that Mago could do was to maintain a guerilla warfare for two years. At length, defeated in Cisalpine Gaul by Quintilius Varus, he embarked for Africa, but died of his wounds on the voyage, in the year before his brother's overthrow at Zama (B.C. 203).

The departure of Mago severed the last hold of Carthage upon Spain;* and Scipio so well knew how to improve his victory by his personal influence, that the natives, charmed by his generosity, humanity, and regal courtesy, would willingly have chosen him for their king. But, however eager to bend the state to his own will, Scipio was too sincere a patriot to gratify his ambition at its expense. That ambition had the one aim of finishing the war, and to this end Scipio resolved to take for his base not Spain alone, but the whole resources of the Roman empire. He returned to Italy, and offered himself as a candidate for the consulship. In spite of his being still far within the legal age, and his not having served the prætorship, he was elected by the unanimous vote of the centuries; and the sole conduct of the war was ensured by giving him for colleague the chief pontiff, P. Licinius Crassus, whose office forbade his leaving Italy. But still his object was not yet gained. The old Roman party in the Senate, headed by the venerable Fabius Maximus, were opposed to the African campaign, and adhering to the "safer policy"—always so dear to cautious mediocrity—would have been content with driving Hannibal out of Italy. Other feelings were mingled with this hesitation. It was not in human nature for the ancient senators to view without jealousy the unprecedented popularity of one who, besides being young, was imbued with the Greek learning which they distrusted and disliked. Nor does his military career seem to have inspired them with full confidence. His affable spirit was too closely allied to a laxity which allowed dangerous license to his subordinates; and, in his eagerness to conquer Spain, he had risked a second conflagration in Italy. On the other hand, the occasion itself and the unanimous voice of the people had united to declare that the war must be finished in Africa, and that Scipio was the man to finish it. So the Senate temporized. Sicily was assigned to Scipio for his province, where he was to build a fleet and make all other preparations for passing over to Africa in the following year. The Senate withheld from the consul the usual power of making a new levy, on the pretext that his real province was sufficiently defended by the two legions

* As early as the following year (B.C. 205) the two great divisions of the peninsula made by the Ebro were constituted into the Roman provinces of Hither and Further Spain (*Hispania Citerior* and *Hispania Ulterior*). In the division of the provinces by Augustus, the former was known by the name of *Tarraconensis*, from its capital Tarraco, and the latter was subdivided into *Bætica* (the region of the Bætis, *Guadalquiver*) and *Lusitania*, divisions which correspond roughly to *Andalusia* and *Portugal.*

already in the island; and even these were still under a stigma, for they were the relics of the army of Cannæ. The permission to enrol volunteers throughout Italy was perhaps designed as a means of ridding the land of a class whom it was difficult to bring back to order. "The African army," says Mommsen, "was, in the view of the majority of the Senate, a forlorn hope of disrated companies and volunteers, the loss of whom, in any event, the state needed not greatly to regret." The one opening left in this fence of jealousy was enough for Scipio, and the volunteer spirit of Italy rose at the call, as in the crisis of the First Punic War. Money was raised for the fleet by contributions levied on certain disaffected cities of Etruria, and on the states of Sicily; and forty days sufficed for its equipment. The recruits who flocked in from all parts of Italy were already for the most part experienced in war. The winter sufficed for all needful preparations, and at the beginning of B.C. 204, the expedition was ready to sail for Africa. At this very juncture, the only hope remaining to the Carthaginians of succour from without was cut off by the peace which was made between the Romans and Philip of Macedonia (B.C. 205).

Meanwhile Scipio had almost afforded his enemies a triumph. On his way to Sicily he had stayed to complete the reduction of Locri. This interference in a province not his own was followed by gross misconduct on the part of the officer whom he left in command there; and the citizens carried their complaints to Rome. Nor was the Senate less offended at the rumours of Scipio's almost regal style of living in Sicily, where he was said to be spending his time in the Greek gymnasia, and with the Greek artists and men of letters. A commission of inquiry was sent to Sicily; but when they saw the real state of his preparations, they flung away all distrust, and bade him in the name of the Senate to cross over into Africa.

On the side of the Carthaginians, Hannibal was still pent up in the Bruttian peninsula, unwilling to let go his last hold of Italy: Mago, in Liguria and Gaul, was too far off to influence the course of events. The defence of Africa depended on itself. The Carthaginians had obtained a powerful ally in Syphax, who had overrun the territories of Masinissa, and driven him as a fugitive to the borders of the desert. The force at Carthage itself consisted of 20,000 foot, 6000 horse, and 140 elephants, with a strong fleet in the harbour. No attempt was made to oppose the passage of Scipio, who landed in the spring of B.C.

204, at the Fair Promontory,* north of Utica. He was at once joined by Masinissa, bringing indeed no army, but a spirit and experience which were invaluable. The Libyans waited the first events of the campaign before taking a part. The Punic force proved unable to resist the Romans in the field, and after some successful cavalry skirmishes, Scipio advanced to the siege of Utica. But the approach of a great Numidian army under Syphax compelled him to retreat to a fortified camp on a promontory south of the Bagradas, where he spent the winter. This "Cornelian Camp" was Scipio's Torres Vedras.†

The spring of B.C. 203 found the proconsul in a most critical position between the armies of Syphax and the Carthaginians; but he extricated himself in a manner equally unscrupulous and daring. Having thrown the enemy off their guard by pretending a wish to capitulate, he surprised the camp of the Numidians, whose reed huts were speedily in a blaze; and when the Carthaginians hastened to render aid, their camp was surprised in turn. Both armies fled in panic, suffering a terrible loss in the pursuit. Syphax retreated to his capital of Cirta, the almost impregnable strength of which has failed again and again in ancient and modern war. It now yielded to the assault of Lælius and Masinissa, giving Syphax as a prisoner to the Romans, and Sophonisba to the fate which has been related; while Masinissa, consoled for her loss by the kingdom of his rival, brought the united force of the Numidians to the aid of Rome.

Meanwhile the Carthaginians, having been reinforced by a corps of 4000 Macedonians under Sopater, and by a body of Celtiberian mercenaries from Spain, had risked and lost a pitched battle in the plain of the Bagradas near Utica, and had gained little by a partially successful attack of their fleet on Scipio's naval camp. Once more, as in the times of Agathocles and Regulus, they were shut up within the city, and it was only the resolution of the popular party that averted the conclusion of a peace. Hannibal and Mago were recalled from Italy. The latter, as we have seen, died upon his voyage. The former, who had only been awaiting in his head-quarters at Croton the result of renewed negotiations with Philip, hastened to embark on the transports he had kept ready, and arrived safely at Leptis Parva towards the close of the year B.C. 203.

* *Pulchrum Promontorium*, probably the modern *Ras Sidi Bou Shusha*, or *C. Zibeeb*. (See the map on p. 359).

† The spot retained the name of *Castra Cornelia*. It is the modern *Ghellah*.

Rome was glad when he departed. For fifteen years his presence in Italy had been an incubus: for ten of those fifteen a pressing terror. The Romans computed their losses in the field at 300,000 men. Their best and bravest generals, the Scipios, Paulus, Gracchus, Marcellus, had yielded up their lives on the fields where many more had left their reputation. One man alone, of all who commanded in the beginning of the war, had come to its end with life and honour both preserved; and in his person the Romans decorated the whole state with the simple trophy of its deliverance. Of all the crowns which formed the rewards of distinguished valour, the most honourable was not the triumphal laurel of the victorious general;—not the chaplets of golden palisades, or golden turrets, or golden beaks of ships, won by the soldier who first broke into an enemy's entrenchment, or scaled the wall of a fortress, or boarded a hostile vessel;—not even the civic crown of oak leaves, the price of the precious life of a Roman citizen. Above all these in rank was the Wreath of the Blockade,* which was presented by a late-beleaguered army to the general who had broken up the siege, made of grass gathered on the spot where they had been shut up. And now at the age of ninety, Quintus Fabius Maximus was crowned with a chaplet of the grass of Italy, as the man who had first shown how to sustain the siege of the whole country, and had lived to see it broken up; while the youngest consul Rome had ever seen was gathering in Africa the laurels which were to crown the final triumph.

The arrival of Hannibal on the coast placed the popular party at Carthage in the ascendant, and they forced a rupture of the negotiations by plundering a Roman transport fleet, and capturing a Roman envoy. Scipio avenged the outrage by devastating the valley of the Bagradas, and selling into slavery the inhabitants, to whom he had previously offered a free capitulation. Meanwhile Hannibal advanced inland from Hadrumetum on the east coast towards the upper Bagradas, where the rival generals met in the neighbourhood of Sicca Venerea (*Al-Kaff*). A personal conference ensued. Both leaders are said to have been anxious for peace, Hannibal from the conviction of its necessity, Scipio from the fear of being superseded. But we can hardly believe that either would have been content to forego the decisive conflict, and the overtures of Hannibal may have been intended to forestall the accusations of the peace party at Carthage. He was unable to obtain any better terms than those Scipio had already offered,

* *Corona Obsidionalis.*

the cession to Rome of Spain and the Mediterranean islands, the confirmation of Masinissa in the late kingdom of Syphax, the surrender of the Carthaginian fleet, except 20 ships, and the payment of 4000 talents for the expenses of the war—in short, the reduction of Carthage to the rank of the chief city of Africa Proper, amidst doubtful allies and disaffected subjects, stripped of all imperial and maritime power, and with Masinissa planted as a thorn in her side.

Such terms could only be accepted as the result of a crushing defeat; and the Waterloo of ancient history was fought at ZAMA, in the plain of the Upper Bagradas, on the confines of Zeugitana and Byzacium.* In no great battle was there ever less of accident; in none did the issue depend more on the skill of the generals and the character of the troops. The commanders were well matched, but not so the forces at their disposal. Scipio had two veteran legions, with a proportionate number of auxiliaries, accustomed to act in the perfect unity of their well-known tactics, devoted to their leader, and borne along by his own enthusiastic faith in the destiny to which the gods had called him. Hannibal, on the other hand, had to eke out the relics of his veteran army with the African levies and the Carthaginian militia, of whom the latter suspected the fidelity of the Libyans, while the former remembered how often they had been sacrificed to save the lives of the Carthaginians. On both sides the infantry were drawn up in

* Both the exact place and time of the battle are uncertain. Zama, probably the place afterwards called Zama Regia, from being the residence of Juba, is supposed to be now represented by some ruins near *Jama*. The usual calculation, which fixes the date by means of a solar eclipse to October 19, B.C. 202, is scarcely trustworthy; and the sequence of events seems to imply that the battle was fought in the spring. The parallel between Zama and Waterloo is noticed by Dr. Arnold in the following terms:—"Twice has there been witnessed the struggle of the highest individual genius against the resources and institutions of a great nation; and in both cases the nation has been victorious. For seventeen years Hannibal strove against Rome; for sixteen years Napoleon Bonaparte strove against England. The efforts of the first ended in Zama: those of the second in Waterloo" (*History of Rome*, vol. iii. p. 62). Sir Edward Creasy has further called attention to the remarkable parallel between the victorious generals. "Scipio and Wellington both held for many years commands of high importance, but distant from the main theatre of war. The same country was the scene of the principal military career of each. It was in Spain that Scipio, like Wellington, successively encountered and overthrew nearly all the subordinate generals of the enemy before being opposed to the chief champion and conqueror himself. Both Scipio and Wellington restored their countrymen's confidence in arms, when shaken by a series of reverses. And each of them closed a long and perilous war by a complete and overwhelming defeat of the chosen leader and the chosen veterans of the foe" (*Decisive Battles*, pp. 127, 128).

three lines, with the cavalry on the wings, the Romans being in their regular order, while Hannibal placed his Africans in the first rank, the militia of Carthage in the second, and his veterans in the third. His van was covered by a formidable array of 80 elephants; but long experience had taught the Romans how little these beasts were to be dreaded, and Scipio left intervals to permit of their free passage through his lines. Their unwieldy strength was far more than counterbalanced by the transference to the Roman side of the arm in which Carthage had hitherto been strongest, the Numidian cavalry, who were now united under the command of Masinissa. It was this inequality that decided the first stage of the conflict. The charge of the elephants was spent upon the empty spaces in the Roman lines; and, galled with missiles as they passed by, they were driven to the right and left among the Carthaginian cavalry, which, while thus disordered, was dispersed by the Numidians of Masinissa. Meanwhile the contest between the first lines of the infantry lasted till both were so disordered and exhausted as to fall back upon the second ranks. Then was seen the fatal defect in the composition of the Punic army. The Carthaginian militia, always unable to put out their strength till driven to bay within their walls, gave such faint support that the Libyans deemed themselves once more betrayed, and began to cut their way through the second line. Hannibal, with consummate skill, brought up his reserve to the front, forcing aside the confused masses of his first two lines to the right and left, while Scipio led forward his second and third lines to the flanks of his first, which still held its ground. Though fearfully outnumbered, the veterans of Hannibal fought like men who had so often conquered in Italy, and yielded not an inch of ground. But by this time the Roman cavalry, returning from the pursuit, surrounded the devoted band, and, by a strange revolution of fortune, a movement such as had almost annihilated the Romans at Cannæ enabled the very survivors of that fatal field to destroy their conquerors still more completely on the plain of Zama: 20,000 Carthaginians were left on the field of battle, and as many more were taken prisoners. In a word, the army was annihilated, and Hannibal himself escaped with a handful of men to Hadrumetum. His conduct of the battle elicited the warmest admiration of his young conqueror, and an interesting story is told of the courtesies exchanged between them when they met some years later at the court of Antiochus the Great at Ephesus, where Hannibal was in exile when Scipio went there as an ambassador. In

answer to an inquiry, whom he esteemed the greatest of generals, Hannibal replied, "Alexander the Great." "But who was the second?" asked Scipio. "Pyrrhus," was the tantalizing answer. "And who the third?" "Myself." Surprised at having found no place as yet, Scipio rejoined, "What then would you have said if you had conquered me at Zama?" "Then," exclaimed Hannibal, "I should have ranked myself above Alexander, above Pyrrhus, above every other general."

Such feelings of admiration may have mingled with the generous impulses and motives of sound policy which induced Scipio to grant tolerable terms of peace. He was too wise to drive Carthage to despair, while the Numidians were still recent allies, and the Libyans had not declared decidedly for Rome; with the internal strength of the city as yet untried, and above all with such a general as Hannibal. He has been accused of hurrying on the peace, for fear of leaving a successor to reap the honours of the war; but the glory of his victory placed him above the danger of an immediate recall, and the resistance offered to the younger Scipio, when Carthage was in her extremity, proved the wisdom of not provoking such resistance now. But we cannot doubt that the noble mind of Scipio was swayed by higher motives, which the better part of the Senate would comprehend and share. The insolent pride, which regards the destruction of a foe as the natural consequence of his defeat, is as short-sighted as it is insensate. It has been condemned by all true statesmen, from the time of him who protested against putting out one of the eyes of Greece, to those who had in our own times to decide the fate of France. "Is it to be supposed," exclaims the eloquent German historian, "that one so generous, unprejudiced, and intelligent as Scipio, should not have asked himself of what benefit it could be to his country, now that the political power of the Carthaginian city was annihilated, utterly to destroy that primitive seat of commerce and of agriculture, and wickedly to overthrow one of the main pillars of the then existing civilization? The time had not yet come when the first men of Rome lent themselves to demolish the civilization of their neighbours, and frivolously fancied that they could wash away from themselves the eternal infamy of the nation by shedding an idle tear."

Nor was the magnanimity of Hannibal less conspicuous in submitting to the fate of the vanquished. The peace party at Carthage left to him the odium of the negotiation. He saw that it was impossible to resist terms which would disable Carthage from

becoming again the rival of Rome, and himself from renewing the great Barcine enterprise. The state had been played and lost, and the forfeit was enough to satisfy even the revenge of Rome. Carthage was placed so completely at her feet, that no attempt was made to improve the opportunity of the great Eastern wars, and resistance was only roused at length when the doom of the city was pronounced. Besides the conditions already prescribed in favour of Rome and Masinissa, and the increase of the pecuniary demand to an annual contribution of 200 talents (nearly £50,000), the Carthaginians bound themselves to make no war upon Rome or her allies beyond the limits of Africa, and not to go to war even in Africa itself without the permission of the Romans. Thus she was restricted within the limits of her original territory in Zeugitana and Byzacium, with the settlements on the coast of Tripolis, hemmed in on the land side by Masinissa's Numidian hordes,* shut out from the Mediterranean by Rome, and reduced to a condition little more than tributary. The peace was ratified in B.C. 201, and with this closing year of a century Carthage virtually disappears from the history of the world, until our attention is recalled to the brief episode of her destruction.

The military career of Hannibal in his country's service was closed, when—like Wellington and Napoleon—he was but 45 years old; and, if he was not destined, like the former, to influence the policy of a long peace won by victory, neither did he die, like the latter, in distant exile, till he had made more than one effort to retrieve the fortunes of his country. The vast influence he had won in spite of his defeat—confessed by his opponents when they left the peace negotiations in his hands—and the power acquired by the popular party through the obvious incapacity of the nobles, enabled him to commence an internal reform as a new basis of political power for Carthage. We have already noticed the nature of this reform, and its inevitable failure through the hopeless corruption of the people; but his political ascendancy seems to have lasted during the nine years that he remained at Carthage. Meanwhile, it is no discredit to the enthusiastic patriot and the enemy devoted by a life-long vow, if he did what he could to encourage the foes of Rome, though the details of such intrigues are recorded only by his enemies. It was no fault of Hannibal, but a striking example

* It should be remembered that the Numidian kingdom of Masinissa did not merely lie, like the Numidia of the maps, to the west of the Carthaginian territory (Africa Propria), but swept round it on the south, to the Lesser Syrtis, and still further eastward, below Tripolis.

of the providential dispensation by which the course of events is ordered, that the kings of Macedonia and Syria reserved their attacks till Rome could deal with them singly. At length, when Antiochus the Great was on the point of engaging in his war with Rome, the Anti-Barcine faction at Carthage denounced Hannibal as an abettor of the Syrian king. Cn. Servilius was sent as ambassador to Carthage, openly to demand an explanation, but secretly to obtain the surrender of Hannibal, or even, as is alleged by some, his assassination. Hannibal remained all day at his post in the Senate and Forum and took part in the discussion, but at nightfall he rode off to his marine villa, where in the hidden bay he had ships always ready to put to sea, and left the ambassador to carry back to Rome the alarming news of his escape. He was received with open arms by Antiochus at Ephesus (B.C. 195), and arranged a plan of campaign, in which his military genius and his steadfast enmity to Rome were equally conspicuous; but, as we shall see in the following chapter, only so much of it was adopted as involved Hannibal in his last defeat, fighting at sea against Rome aided by the ships of Carthage. When the rejection of his advice produced the foreseen result, and Antiochus was overthrown by the Scipios at Magnesia (B.C. 190), the surrender of Hannibal was made one of the conditions of peace. Once more he fled to the court of Prusias of Bithynia; but the Romans could feel no security while their dreaded enemy still lived, and T. Quinctius Flamininus was sent to demand his surrender or death. Hannibal's house was beset by assassins, and he chose death by taking poison. "He had long been prepared to do so," adds a Roman, "for he knew the Romans and the faith of kings. The year of his death is uncertain; probably he died in the latter half of B.C. 183, at the age of 76. When he was born, Rome was contending with doubtful success for the possession of Sicily; he had lived long enough to see the west wholly subdued, and to fight his own last battle with the Romans against the vessels of his native city, which had itself become Roman; and he was constrained at last to remain a mere spectator, while Rome overpowered the East as the tempest overpowers the ship that has no one at the helm, and to feel that he alone was the pilot that could have weathered the storm. There was left to him no further hope to be disappointed when he died; but he had honestly, through fifty years of struggle, kept the oath he had sworn when a boy." * His great adversary Scipio died, probably in the same year, in voluntary exile.

* Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 282.

At Rome the peace was celebrated with rejoicings not yet free from the dash of bitterness infused by the survival of their great enemy, whose supreme personal influence in the contest their own writers justly mark by calling it the *Hannibalic*, as well as the Second Punic War. Its result was to make the great rival of Rome her vassal, and the warlike Africans, who had formed the chief military strength of Carthage, her allies ;—to transfer from the Phœnician to the Latin republic the dominion of the seas and the empire of the West, where Spain and the islands were provinces of Rome and Massilia her close ally ;—and to foreshadow the great conflict with the East, of which a beginning had been made in the fitful hostilities with Macedonia. Meanwhile much had still to be done in Italy itself. The tribes of Cisalpine Gaul had to be reduced to a state which should make it impossible for them to assist another invader, and the Sabellian and Greek states, which had for a time been seduced to the side of Hannibal, had to be Latinized more and more by the confiscation of their lands, the imposition of Latin customs, and the foundation of Latin colonies. In the ten years following the second Punic war, colonies were planted at Venusia, Narnia, Cosa, Sipontum, Croton, Salernum, and other places ; and some of the maritime cities of the south received Latin names ; thus, Thurii became Copia, and Vibo Valentia. It was slower work to restore the ruined cities and to fill up the blanks in the population and in the culture of the land, caused by the fifteen years during which Italy had been the theatre of the war. The extent to which the country suffered from its inveterate sore of brigandage is attested by the condemnation in one year of 7000 robbers in Apulia alone. Finally, the old simple habits of the Latin rural population and of the yeomen burgesses of Rome had been completely undermined. But time was required to decide how far these evils would affect the stability of the republic, and what would be the issue of the brilliant prospect of foreign conquest opened by the victory over Carthage. For the present there was enough to fill the minds of men, from the highest to the lowest, as they shared or witnessed the triumphal procession of the young conqueror to the Capitol, to thank the gods to whom he never ceased to give the glory of his exploits.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE MACEDONIAN AND ASIATIC WARS.
B.C. 220 TO B.C. 187.

"After this shall he [the king of the north] turn his face unto the Isles, and shall take many: but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him. Then he shall turn his face toward the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found."
—*Daniel* xi. 18, 19.

ACCESSION OF PHILIP V.—STATE OF MACEDONIA AND GREECE—PHILIP'S PART IN THE SOCIAL WAR—HIS ALLIANCE WITH CARTHAGE—FIRST MACEDONIAN WAR—ANTI-MACEDONIAN LEAGUE—ATTALUS AND THE RHODIANS—AFFAIRS OF EGYPT—PEACE WITH PHILIP—RENEWED MACEDONIAN INTRIGUES—ALLIANCE OF PHILIP AND ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT—VIEWS OF ROME REGARDING THE EAST—EMBASSY TO EGYPT, ANTIOCHUS, AND PHILIP—THE SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR—TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS—PHILIP LOSES NORTHERN GREECE—THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE JOINS THE ROMANS—PROPOSALS FOR PEACE—BATTLE OF CYNOSEPHALÆ—PEACE WITH PHILIP—THE FREEDOM OF GREECE PROCLAIMED BY FLAMININUS—HIS TRIUMPH—DISCONTENT OF THE ÆTOLIANS—THEIR INTRIGUES WITH ANTIOCHUS—REVIEW OF THE SYRIAN KINGDOM—WARS WITH EGYPT FOR CŒLE-SYRIA AND PALESTINE—INVASION OF AND WARS WITH THE PARTHIANS—AFFAIRS OF ASIA MINOR—ACCESSION OF ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT—HIS WARLIKE VIGOUR—REVOLT OF MEDIA AND PERSIA SUPPRESSED—HIS WAR WITH EGYPT AND DEFEAT AT RAPHIA—WARS IN ASIA MINOR AND WITH THE PARTHIANS—DEATH OF PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR—ALLIANCE OF ANTIOCHUS AND PHILIP—CONQUEST OF CILICIA, CŒLE-SYRIA, AND PALESTINE—ATTACK ON ATTALUS, THE RHODIANS, AND THE GREEK CITIES OF ASIA MINOR—SUCCESSES OF ANTIOCHUS ON THE HELLESPONT—HE CROSSES OVER INTO EUROPE AND OCCUPIES THRACE—PROTESTS OF THE ROMANS—FLIGHT OF HANNIBAL TO ANTIOCHUS—HE PREPARES FOR WAR—THE ÆTOLIANS SEIZE DEMETRIAS AND DECLARE WAR WITH ROME—ANTIOCHUS LANDS IN GREECE—BEGINNING OF THE ASIATIC WAR—ATTITUDE OF MACEDONIA AND THE GREEKS—DEFEAT OF ANTIOCHUS AT THERMOPYLÆ—GREECE AGAIN SUBJECT TO ROME—REDUCTION OF THE ÆTOLIANS—MARITIME CAMPAIGN—ROMAN EXPEDITION TO ASIA—BATTLE OF MAGNESIA—FALL OF THE SYRIAN EMPIRE—WAR WITH THE GALATIANS—THE KINGDOM OF PERGAMUS—SETTLEMENT OF ASIA AND GREECE—THE ÆTOLIANS AGAIN SUBDUED—PHILIP AND THE ACHÆANS—DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS.

The peace with Carthage had scarcely lasted for a year, when the consul, P. Sulpicius Galba, on behalf of the Senate, moved in the assembly of the centuries a declaration of war against Philip V. of Macedonia, on account of his attacks on the allies of Rome in the East. Under this able prince, who had ascended the throne in B.C. 220, at the age of seventeen, Macedonia had acquired a position which marked her as the one among all the Hellenistic states best fitted to set bounds to the advance of Rome towards the East. Alone of all the kingdoms which had arisen out of the disruption of Alexander's empire, she had preserved much of the native Macedonian vigour and of the compact military organization by which that empire had been acquired; and the establishment of her monarchy on a more despotic basis, at the

expense of the great chieftains, had helped to consolidate her power for war. By the vigour of Antigonus Gonatas and his successors, the country had recovered surprisingly from the effect of the great Gallic invasion, and the garrisons on the frontier were strong enough to protect her from the Celtic and Illyrian barbarians. In Greece, though no longer wielding the supremacy she had possessed before the rise of the Ætolian and Achæan Leagues, she held the balance between those confederacies, and had still a dominion of her own over large portions of the peninsula. Thessaly and Magnesia were entirely hers, with the central states of Locris, Phocis, and Doris; and among other positions elsewhere, she held the three great fortresses of Corinth, Chalcis in Eubœa, and Demetrias in Magnesia, which were known as "the three fetters of the Greeks." While Sparta had fallen under the yoke of tyrants, and Athens was content to barter freedom for the enjoyments of literature and philosophy, the remnants of Hellenic vigour were found chiefly among the northern states, most of which were subject to Macedonia. However inferior in magnitude and external splendour to the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, she surpassed the former in the compactness of her strength, while she was as much above the latter in force as below it in devotion to literature and science. The Macedonian monarchy, in short, had more of the vigour of the Roman republic than all the Oriental kingdoms put together; and, if Philip could have obtained the position of his great namesake, as the head of a united Hellas, or even if he had made the timely decision to give an energetic support to Hannibal, it would seem as if the course of history might have been changed. How little such a change would have benefited the world, must at once be felt by any one who considers the absence of all congenial elements between Macedonia and Carthage, and the evil effects of destroying the Latinism now established in Italy.

The course pursued by Philip from the beginning of his reign precluded any such disastrous experiment. A Macedonian alliance had long been a cherished scheme of the Barcine family; and, had Antigonus Doson lived, it might probably have been made in time to turn the fortune of the Second Punic War. But Philip's attention was diverted from the West by the prospect of becoming the arbiter of Greece. The great defeat of Aratus and the Achæans by the Ætolians led the former to seek his aid, and for three years he was so entirely occupied by the Social War,* as

* See p. 117.

not to interfere even when the Romans conquered and expelled his ally Demetrius of Pharos.* But that active chieftain, finding refuge at the Macedonian court, used all his influence to induce Philip to begin war with the Romans; and the king's disposition to the enterprise appears to have been a motive for the peace which he concluded with the Ætolians (b.c. 217). There was wanting, however, the mutual confidence, which would have placed Philip in the position of general of the Greeks for the war with Rome. He knew not how to solve the problem of transforming himself from the oppressor into the champion of Greece. When at length the news of Cannæ decided him to form an alliance with Carthage, and he promised to make a descent on the eastern coast of Italy, his first enterprise, against Apollonia, was abandoned with a ridiculous precipitancy, on a false alarm of the approach of the Roman fleet (b.c. 216). A reason, or excuse, for further delay arose out of the capture by the Roman fleet of the envoys he sent into Italy to ratify the treaty with Hannibal, and the Romans used the interval in strengthening Brundisium, as the key of the Adriatic (b.c. 215). Fearing to encounter their fleet with his light Illyrian transports, Philip at length preferred his own immediate interest to keeping faith with Hannibal, and renewed the attack on the Roman possessions in Epirus. This was the signal for the First Macedonian War (b.c. 214). The Senate met the provocation by assuming the offensive; and a fleet despatched from Brundisium recaptured Oricum, reinforced Apollonia, and stormed the camp of Philip, who thereupon suspended active movements.

But it was not the policy of Rome to suffer him to rest. The capture of Tarentum by Hannibal created a fresh necessity for providing against an invasion from Macedonia; and the odium created by Philip's arbitrary conduct, and especially by his murder of Aratus, gave the opportunity for consolidating a new league against him (b.c. 213). It was now that the Romans chose their part between the two great Hellenic confederacies, on the application of the Ætolians for aid against Philip. Lævinus, the admiral of the Adriatic fleet, appeared at the assembly of the Ætolians, and promised them the long-coveted possession of Acarnania as the price of their alliance with Rome. The league was joined by all the states not united with the Achæans,—Athens, Sparta, Messene, Elis; and for the first time the Romans came into contact with the Asiatic kingdoms by the accession of

* See p. 420.

Attalus, king of Pergamus, to the anti-Macedonian confederacy. It was well for them that Antiochus the Great, occupied with his rivalry against Egypt, and with the disorders in his Eastern provinces, showed a hesitation in coming to the aid of Philip, like that of the latter in helping Hannibal; while Ptolemy IV. of Egypt adhered to the alliance formed by his grandfather with the Republic.* This league was formed in the same year in which the Romans gained their great success at Syracuse (B.C. 212). The object of the Romans—that of finding full occupation for Philip at home—was accomplished at the cost of the desolation of Greece by a purposeless war; the alliance of Attalus enabled them to assail the eastern coast, just as their Adriatic fleet commanded the western; and while these bonds were drawn round Hellas herself, citizens of Hellenic states were sold into slavery. The Ætolians at length awoke to the curse which their foreign alliance had brought upon the land, and, being at the same time hard pressed by the Achæans, they concluded a separate peace with Philip (B.C. 206). The Romans, who were now preparing for the invasion of Africa, instead of resenting their desertion, followed their example; and so ended the First Macedonian War (B.C. 205).

It soon appeared that Philip had accepted the peace from motives of convenience rather than good faith. While pursuing his aggrandizement in Greece and the Ægæan, he did not scruple to attack both Attalus and the Rhodians, who still maintained the independence they had secured under the successors of Alexander, and had made an alliance with the Romans. At the same time he entered into closer relations with Antiochus the Great; and the designs of the Syrian and Macedonian kings on Egypt, upon the death of Ptolemy IV. Philopator, became so evident, that the guardians of his infant son, Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, placed the young king under the protection of the Roman Senate. All was thus prepared for the interference of Rome in the East, which Antiochus and Philip ought long before to have anticipated by effective aid to Hannibal. It was only at the last moment that Philip suffered a force of 4000 Macedonian volunteers to embark for Africa, whose presence at Zama, so soon after the conclusion of the peace, was a senseless provocation to Rome, and no real help to Carthage. He was still pursuing the war with Attalus and the Rhodians for the possession of Caria, when the peace with Carthage left Rome at liberty to succour her Eastern allies.

* See p. 336.

That is a short-sighted view of this turning-point in the history of the world, which represents the Romans as having no sooner secured the supremacy of the West, than they began to meditate, in the spirit of wanton aggression, the conquest of the East. It is one of the most remarkable points in the history of their conquests, that the same enemies, whose hesitating and divided policy secured them the victory, were always prompt to provoke the struggle; while on their part, a general policy of aggression bore, in many particular cases, more than the mere appearance of reluctance in taking up the challenge. Many of the wars of the Republic bear, in this respect, a close analogy to those by which our Indian empire has been extended. In the present case, the exhaustion of Italy was an overpowering motive for a conciliatory policy, especially as it seemed that the war must be carried on at once in Greece and Asia. But, on the other hand, if ever the principles of national honour and interest can furnish a justification for war, it was plain that Rome must repel Philip's attacks on herself and her allies. It was resolved, therefore, to prepare for war with Macedonia, and to avert it, if possible, in the East. An embassy was sent to mediate between Antiochus and Egypt. The former was permitted to pursue his designs on Syria; and M. Æmilius Lepidus was sent, as guardian of the infant king, to watch over the interests of the latter; while every effort was used to strengthen the confederacy of the Greeks with the Rhodians and Attalus against Philip. Meanwhile, the proprætor, M. Valerius Lævinius, was sent with the Sicilian fleet of thirty-eight sail to the Ægæan, where Philip was rapidly subduing the islands and the coast of Thrace, and so preparing to attack the dominions of Attalus. It was after the capture of Abydos,—where the defenders were slain almost to a man, and a large number of the citizens chose a voluntary death as soon as the capitulation was signed,—that Philip received the Roman envoys on their return from Egypt and Syria. He listened to their demands, —that he should make war upon none of the Greek states, that he should restore the places he had taken from Ptolemy, and consent to an arbitration concerning his injuries against Attalus and the Rhodians,—only replying, with polite insolence, "that he would excuse what the envoy had said, because he was young, handsome, and a Roman." But, while the ambassadors were still at Athens, the *casus belli* which they had sought to extract from the king was supplied by an attack made on the city by the Macedonian general, to avenge the murder of two Acarnanians for intruding upon the Eleusinian mysteries (B.C. 201).

Still the desire of the Roman people for an interval of rest found utterance through the Tribunes in the Comitia, and the motion of Sulpicius for war with Philip was at first rejected. But the dread of a new invasion of Italy prevailed and the chief burthen of the levy was thrown on the allies. Sulpicius Galba landed at Apollonia with an army of two legions and 1000 Numidian horse, to which the spoils of Carthage enabled the Romans for the first time to add a force of elephants; and a fleet of 180 vessels was stationed at Corcyra. While the consul was detained by sickness at Apollonia, a division of the fleet sailed to the aid of Athens, under C. Claudius Cento. Finding the city secure for the present, Cento made a *coup de main* on Chalcis; and Philip hastened from Demetrias in Thessaly only in time to find his chief maritime fortress laid in ruins. He retaliated by a merciless ravaging of Attica, which was long remembered for the ruthless destruction of the sacred groves and tombs of the Attic heroes at Academus (B.C. 200).

The campaign of B.C. 199 was arduous and indecisive. A combined invasion of Macedonia involved the Romans in great risks, and their victory at the pass of Eordæa was followed by their retreat to the coast. The aid of Antiochus might now have enabled Philip to assume the offensive, but his first movements in Asia Minor were checked by the demand of the Romans that he should retire from the dominions of Attalus. Trusting, however, to his support, Philip advanced into Illyria, down the course of the Aoüs (*Viosa* or *Boiussa*), which falls into the sea by Apollonia, and occupied the pass between the mountains of Æropus and Asnaüs (B.C. 198). While the hostile armies confronted each other in this position, the consul T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS arrived to assume his command. He was a young man of thirty, belonging to that new generation who, with the Greek culture, had assumed a large share of Greek versatility, at the expense, as the opposite party alleged, of the old Roman integrity. "A skilful officer and a better diplomatist, he was in many respects admirably adapted for the management of the troubled affairs of Greece. Yet it would perhaps have been better, both for Rome and for Greece, if the choice had fallen on one less full of Hellenic sympathies, and if the general despatched thither had been a man who would neither have been bribed by delicate flattery nor stung by pungent sarcasm; who would not, amidst literary and artistic reminiscences, have overlooked the pitiful condition of the constitutions of the Hellenic states; and who, while treating Hellas according to its deserts,

would have spared the Romans the trouble of striving after unattainable ideals." * The consul found the position of the king too strong to be carried, even with the reinforcements he had brought, and both armies lay encamped for forty days. Meanwhile Philip sought an interview with Flamininus to treat of peace. The king offered to restore his conquests and give satisfaction for his injuries to the Hellenic states: but the negotiation was shipwrecked on the demand of the consul, that Thessaly should become a portion of free Hellas. At length the treachery of some Epirote nobles discovered to the Roman a pass by which he was enabled to turn Philip's position, while attacking him in front, and the king was compelled to retreat with a loss of 2000 men. He abandoned Epirus and Thessaly, destroying all the towns except the fortresses, and fell back to the pass of Tempe, to defend the entrance into Macedonia. All northern Greece now lay open to the Romans, and the states hastened to make their submission, except the Acarnanians, who remained faithful to Philip. Flamininus now directed all his energies against the south, where the Achæans were still neutral, and Macedonia held the strong fortresses of Chalcis and Corinth. The formation of the siege of Cenchreæ by sea, on the one side of the isthmus, by the united force of the Romans, Attalus, and the Rhodians, and the appearance of a Roman fleet in the Gulf of Corinth, on the other, decided the Achæans, who had hitherto been unwilling to join the foreign invaders. They took part in the siege of Corinth, which was promised by Flamininus as the price of their adhesion; but the Macedonian governor of Chalcis not only raised the siege, but seized Argos. Philip handed over this city to Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, who took the bribe, but betrayed the briber by adhering to the Romans.

During the winter, Philip tried the effect of another personal interview with Flamininus, in which the king showed that the Romans were the only adversaries whom he deemed worth consideration. His proposals were referred to the Senate, who at once dismissed the envoys, when they were not prepared to surrender all the fortresses beyond the limits of Macedonia. Upon this, Philip collected all his resources for a decisive effort. Flamininus, however, was the first to open the campaign. While his fleet besieged the Acarnanians in Leucas, the fall of Thebes by stratagem forced the Bœotians to join the Romans, and cut off the communication between the Macedonian garrisons in Corinth and

* Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 240.

Chalcis. While the proconsul advanced along the coast, supported by his fleet, Philip, eager to meet him, passed through the vale of Tempe into Thessaly. The armies met unexpectedly on the hill of CYNOSCEPHALÆ (the *Dog's Heads*), near Scotussa; and the encounter of the vanguards was converted by the eagerness of the Macedonian troops into a pitched battle, before Philip had time to set his forces in array. The right division of the phalanx, coming up in good time under his own command, charged down the hill upon the Roman legions, and bore down all resistance; but the left division, thrown into confusion by the haste with which Nicanor brought it up to support the king, was easily defeated, and its broken ranks were trampled down by the Roman elephants, the very force on which the Macedonians had been accustomed to rely. Thus far success and failure had been equally divided; but at this crisis a Roman officer collected twenty cohorts from the victorious wing, and led them against the right phalanx of the Macedonians, which was now far advanced in the pursuit. Defenceless against an attack in the rear, the phalanx was broken, and the battle was decided. The carnage, always great in a dense column, was aggravated by the Romans not understanding the Macedonian sign of surrender; 8000 were killed and 5000 taken prisoners, at the cost of only 700 Roman lives. Philip, escaping to Larissa, burned his papers and evacuated Thessaly. The Acarnanians, who had meanwhile lost Leucas, now at length abandoned his hopeless cause, and it did not need the defeats which his forces suffered in Caria and elsewhere, to make the victory of Cynoscephalæ decisive (B.C. 197). The terms of peace were dictated by the wonted moderation of Rome, and the sympathy of Flamininus with his courteous antagonist, rather than by the savage resentment of the Ætolians. Flamininus told them that it was not the custom of Rome to annihilate the vanquished; they might do it if they felt strong enough. The kingdom of the Philips was left as a barrier against Celtic barbarism, and a check upon Hellenic disunion; but the supremacy which it had held in Greece for 140 years* was finally abolished, and the Macedonian garrisons were everywhere withdrawn. As in the case of Carthage, the king was forbidden to make war without the consent of Rome; his military force was limited to an army of 5000 men, a fleet of five decked vessels, and no elephants; and a contribution of 1000 talents was imposed for the charges of the war. Finally, the successor of

* Since the battle of Chæronea (B.C. 338—197).

Alexander was bound to contribute a contingent to the forces of the Republic, which had seemed an easy conquest to his great ancestor's arms little more than a century before (B.C. 196).

It is a striking instance, and almost the last, of the traditional moderation of the Romans, that they took none of the territorial spoils of Philip for themselves. The influence of the young generation, whose minds were moulded by Hellenic culture,—and perhaps, too, the general prevalence of that sentiment towards Greece, as the mother of freedom and civilization, which has still survived long ages of degeneracy,—may be traced in the resolution to give liberty to all the Grecian states. Again and again had that liberty been proclaimed by the Macedonian and Asiatic princes, when each meant that Greece should serve none but himself; and when at last it was no longer offered in mockery, it found a disunited and unwarlike people, incapable alike of enjoying and defending it. But the melancholy with which the historian reverts to the disappointment did not cloud the spirits of those who in good faith gave and received the boon. The enthusiasm of sympathy, with which the liberator of a foreign land has been welcomed in our own day, may help us to understand the outburst of gratitude from the liberated people themselves, which welcomed the reading of the proclamation of freedom by Flamininus at the Isthmian Games: his very life was endangered by the press that crowded to touch his garment, or to see his face (B.C. 196). And yet the Greeks were reminded that the gift was bestowed by the policy of a calculating friend, when the cruel tyrant Nabis, having been subdued by the arms of Flamininus, was permitted still to rule in Sparta, as a check upon the Achæans; for the freedom which a foreign ally bestows is always maimed of its choicest part. Other instances might be cited in the final settlement of Greece; but, in truth, the failure of the experiment was due, not to the reserve of those who gave, but to the degeneracy of those who were unfit to use the gift. Some such misgiving seems to have been present to the mind of Flamininus, himself, when, after two years spent in the settlement of the country, he reassembled the deputies of the Greek states at Corinth, and exhorted them to a wise and moderate use of their recovered freedom. The only recompense he asked for Rome was the restoration of the Italian captives, whom Hannibal had sold into slavery to Greeks. Finally, he withdrew the garrisons from Demetrias, Chalcis, and Corinth, "the three fetters of Greece," and returned after an absence of five years to Rome, where the admiration of the Senate and

people for his work was displayed in a three days' triumph, surpassing Scipio's in magnificence (B.C. 194).

The most recent historian of Rome maintains that the course so much admired was a mistake, for which Rome soon suffered. "The war with Antiochus," he says, "would not have arisen but for the political blunder of liberating Greece, and it would not have been dangerous but for the military blunder of withdrawing the garrisons from the principal fortresses on the European frontier. History has a Nemesis for every sin—for an impotent craving after freedom, as well as for an injudicious generosity." *

There was in particular, then as in later ages, one element of unsoundness in the edifice of Grecian nationality, the presence of races only partially trained in Hellenic civilization, and yet possessing great influence through their military prowess. Such have been the Albanians in modern, the Ætolians in ancient times. In settling the affairs of Greece, Flamininus had not hesitated to prefer the superior political organization of the states of the Achæan league to the claims of the Ætolians as earlier allies of Rome. The confederacy of the former was enlarged by all Philip's possessions in the Peloponnesus, particularly Corinth; while the latter were only suffered to add to their league the petty states of Phocis and Locris, instead of Thessaly and Acarnania, which they claimed as the reward of "their victory at Cynoscephalæ,"—a boast by which they constantly provoked the jealousy of the Romans. Their discontent was the source of the intrigues which hastened on the inevitable war with Antiochus the Great.

The reign of that ambitious prince forms the turning-point in the annals in the Great Kingdom of Syria, or, as it was not unfitly called under the earlier Seleucidæ, of Asia. He ascended the throne exactly a century after the death of Alexander, an interval marked by but few events of importance in the annals of the kingdom. An outline has already been given of the history of Syria down to the death of the founder of the dynasty, Seleucus Nicator, in B.C. 280.† His son, ANTIOCHUS I. SOTER (the Preserver), was chiefly occupied, during his reign of twenty years, in wars with Eumenes, King of Pergamus, and with the Gauls in Asia Minor, and he fell in battle with the latter in B.C. 261. His son, ANTIOCHUS II., surnamed THEOS (*God*),‡ by the gratitude of

* Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 252.

† Chap. XVII. p. 90.

‡ It should be remembered that the high-sounding epithets of the Syrian and Egyptian kings, descriptive of all kinds of magnificence and social virtue, were either assumed by themselves or conferred by flatterers, and sometimes they were so

the Milesians for his delivering their city from the tyrant Timarchus, began that long series of wars with Egypt for the possession of Cœle-Syria, which after lasting several reigns were only ended by the interference of Rome, and the vicissitudes of which we need not trace.* The effect of the first war, made by Antiochus Theos upon Ptolemy Philadelphus, was so to weaken Syria as to leave her comparatively defenceless against the inroad of the Parthians under Arsaces, who rent from the kingdom the provinces east of the Tigris (B.C. 250), while the rebellious satrap Theodotus established the kingdom of Bactria. Antiochus now made peace with Ptolemy, and married his daughter Berenice, divorcing his former wife Laodice. When, on the death of Ptolemy (B.C. 247), he recalled Laodice, her sense of the insult that had been put upon her was so inveterate, that she contrived the murder of Antiochus, together with Berenice and their son (B.C. 246). SELEUCUS II., CALLINICUS (the *Glorious Victor*), the son of Antiochus and Laodice, no sooner succeeded to the throne, than his dominions were invaded by Ptolemy III., Euergetes, to avenge his sister's death; and Seleucus remained inactive while the king of Egypt advanced as far as the Tigris. But, when the invader was recalled by disturbances at home, Seleucus had little difficulty in recovering the conquered provinces. His next war was with his brother, Antiochus Hierax (the *Hawk*), who attempted to found an independent kingdom in Asia Minor; and it was only after a contest of several years that Antiochus was defeated and fled to Ptolemy. Having thus secured the West, Seleucus aimed at recovering the lost provinces in the East: and his decisive defeat by Arsaces (probably Arsaces II., surnamed Tiridates), was ever after celebrated by the Parthians as the true establishment of their independence. If it be true that Seleucus was taken prisoner in a second expedition and retained in captivity for several years by Arsaces, we can easily understand the increase of power which Attalus I. of Pergamus obtained in Asia Minor. In this case, too, Seleucus strove to repair his losses, and it appears to have been while he was thus engaged that he was killed by a fall from his horse, after a troubled reign of twenty years (B.C. 226).

ludicrously inappropriate as to provoke a satiric parody, as when Antiochus IV. *Epiphanes* (the *Illustrious*) was nicknamed *Epimanes* (the *Madman*).

* It is usually supposed that these are the wars alluded to in the eleventh chapter of the Book of Daniel, "the king of the north" being the Syrian king, and "the king of the south" the Egyptian.

Seleucus Callinicus left two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus. The former, SELEUCUS III., is said to have been surnamed CERAUNUS (the *Thunderbolt*) in derision of his weakness both of body and of mind; and, after a reign of only three years, he was murdered by two of his officers (B.C. 223). Of a very different temper was ANTIOCHUS III., THE GREAT, who was only in his fifteenth year when he succeeded his brother, and reigned for 36 years (B.C. 223—187). In the beginning of his reign, he earned his surname by the magnitude of his enterprises and efforts, though he was not in every case rewarded with commensurate success. He proved his military talents in the war against the rebellious brothers Molo and Alexander, the satraps of Media and Persia (B.C. 220). He next renewed the old contest with Egypt for the possession of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, and was forced to cede those provinces to Ptolemy Philopator, as the result of his decisive defeat at Raphia, near Gaza, in the same year in which the battle of the Trasimene lake was fought (B.C. 217).

Meanwhile, Achæus, the governor of Asia Minor, had raised the standard of independence; but after an obstinate resistance he was defeated and taken at Sardis, and put to death by Antiochus (B.C. 214). This success in the West encouraged Antiochus, like his father, to attempt the reconquest of the East, and with greater appearance at least of success. But a seven years' war (B.C. 212—205) only resulted in his acknowledgment of the independence of the Parthian monarchy (B.C. 205). The same year witnessed not only the crisis of the Hannibalic War, but the death of Ptolemy Philopator; and the opportunity offered by the latter event effectually withdrew Antiochus from direct participation in the great conflict. The league which he made with Philip, instead of being a well-concerted plan for the exclusion of the Romans from Asia, was only intended to leave him at liberty to pursue his designs against Egypt, while Philip bore the brunt of the war with Attalus and the Romans. During the crisis of the Macedonian War, he prosecuted a vigorous attack upon Cilicia, Cœle-Syria, and Palestine, while the Romans hesitated to engage in a new contest to protect the dominions of their youthful ward. At length a decisive victory over the Egyptians at Panium, the hill whence the Jordan rises, was followed by a peace which gave the coveted provinces to Antiochus, while the youthful Ptolemy was betrothed to Cleopatra, the daughter of the Syrian king (B.C. 198). It must not be forgotten that the transference of these provinces from Egypt, which had constantly pursued a tolerant policy towards

the Jews, led afterwards to the furious persecution of that people by Antiochus Epiphanes, and their successful revolt under the Maccabees.

The time seemed now arrived for Antiochus to fly to the aid of Philip, before he should be crushed by the Romans; but the Syrian king still clung to the nearer and dearer object of extending his power over the whole of Asia Minor, where his armies had meanwhile not been inactive. As early as B.C. 199—8, Attalus had complained to the Romans of his aggressions on Pergamus; and now he collected a great army at Sardis, while his fleet advanced along the southern shores of Asia Minor, so that he was brought into collision both with Attalus and the Rhodians, the allies of Rome. We have seen how his advance in the former quarter was checked by the mandate of the Roman envoys; in the latter the Rhodian republic trusted to their own energetic action. They named the Chelidonian islands off Lycia—the old division between the Greek and Persian waters—as the point beyond which the passage of the king's fleet would be regarded as a declaration of war; nor, when Antiochus disregarded the menace, did they shrink from making good their word; and the news of the battle of Cynoscephalæ arrived in good time for their encouragement. A maritime war ensued along the whole western coast of Asia Minor up to the Hellespont; and, though the Rhodians succeeded in protecting the chief cities of Caria, and Antiochus was repelled from some important places by the resistance of the inhabitants, he became master of several others, and among the rest of Abydos on the Hellespont. Even the conquest of his ally Philip was in the first instance favourable to his progress; for the hesitating policy of the Romans suffered him to occupy the places vacated by the Macedonian garrisons (B.C. 187).

In the following year Antiochus crossed the Hellespont, took Sestos, and began to rebuild Lysimachia, the old capital of Lysimachus in Thrace. In reply to the remonstrances of Flamininus, he abjured all schemes of European conquest, but asserted his clear right to the dominions won from Lysimachus by his ancestor Seleucus; but the discussion was broken off by the return of the king to Syria on a rumour of the death of Ptolemy (B.C. 196). The ensuing year found him again in Thrace, organizing the country as a satrapy for his son Seleucus. Still the Romans were content with diplomatic interference; and Flamininus, to whose province the matter belonged, preoccupied with the work of restoring liberty to Greece and with the conviction that an Asiatic

war would be impolitic, suffered Antiochus to acquire a position in which he might suddenly stand forth as the head of the Hellenic race.

The designs of the king could no longer be mistaken when he received Hannibal at his court at Ephesus; and from that time forward he made active preparations for war with Rome. To strengthen his position in Asia, he completed the marriage already arranged between his daughter and Ptolemy; he gave another daughter to Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia; and offered another to Eumenes II., King of Pergamus, with the restoration of the cities taken from him, if he would renounce the alliance of Rome. The Greek cities were tempted by promises of liberty or only nominal recognition of his supremacy; the Galatians won by liberal presents; and the wild Pisidians reduced by force. Hannibal obtained the king's consent to a plan for invading Africa at the head of a powerful force, and thence passing over again into Italy, while the Romans were occupied with the formidable insurrection that had broken out in Spain. In Greece itself, which was to be the chief theatre of the war, Antiochus hoped for the support of Philip, and he knew that he could rely on that of the Ætolians.

In fact, no sooner had Flamininus taken his departure from Greece, than this people began to intrigue against the Romans. To their discontent with the recent settlement they added the arrogant claim to be the arbiters of Greece, as they had been the victors at Cynoscephalæ. While assuring Philip that he was expected by all Hellas as its liberator, they encouraged the disaffected with promises of the king's speedy arrival. After enticing Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, to commence a rising, which was put down by Philopœmen with the forces of the Achæan League, they next formed a plot to murder Nabis and seize the city. The tyrant was killed at a review, and the Ætolian troops effected their entrance; but the citizens rose and cut them off, and Sparta joined the Æchæan League, her adhesion being hastened by the appearance of a Roman fleet off Gythium. The Ætolians were more successful in their attempt to surprise Demetrias, which they wished to offer to Antiochus as the base of his operations in Greece, and Chalcis was only saved by the arrival of Flamininus, who had persuaded the Senate that war had become inevitable. It was first declared by the Ætolians, whose general replied to the demand of Flamininus for a copy of their manifesto, that he would deliver it on the banks of the Tiber. Antiochus could now delay no longer. Though his disposable force con-

sisted only of 10,000 infantry, 500 horse, 6 elephants, and 40 ships of war, he crossed from the Hellespont to the Pagasæan Bay, and established his head-quarters at Demetrias; while a Roman army of about 25,000 men landed at Apollonia under the prætor Marcus Bæbius. Thus began the great though brief Asiatic War (B.C. 192).

The scheme of concerted action, by which alone success was probable, entirely broke down. The jealousy of common natures towards a great man, added to the old rivalries of faction, not only kept the Carthaginian nobles from consenting to Hannibal's renewal of the African War, but enabled them to persuade Antiochus and his court to keep the illustrious refugee in that shade, out of which his merits still shone brightly. Eumenes and the Rhodians, and the chief Greek cities of Asia, not only resisted all the solicitations of Antiochus, but took an active part with Rome; and even Egypt offered to do the same. But the worst disappointment was the course adopted by Philip, who, looking upon Antiochus as lately a faithless ally and now a rival in Thrace, and having against him certain other grounds of offence,* willingly supplied his military contingent to the Romans, in accordance with the treaty. The Achæan League, representing nearly all that was left of national spirit in Greece, was steadfast to the cause of Rome, and so were the Thessalians and Athenians. The Ætolians, who had saluted Antiochus as "Captain-General of Greece," could only bring the adhesion of the Bœotians, Eleians, and Messenians to support the title; while his promises of the countless hosts of Asia had dwindled to a force barely equal to a single Roman legion with its auxiliaries. Nor did the activity of Antiochus supply what he wanted in numbers. By appearing first in the field he was indeed enabled to occupy Thermopylæ, to take the fortress of Chalcis, and some towns in Thessaly; but, on the advance of a small Roman force, he retired to spend the winter in pleasure at Chalcis. No reinforcements appeared from Asia, and the king's little army only received an addition of 4000 men from the Ætolians, while the Romans collected an army of about 40,000 at Apollonia, under their able and resolute consul, Manius Acilius Glabrio.

The brief campaign of B.C. 191 was opened by the advance of the Romans into Thesssly, where they recaptured the towns taken by Antiochus, and fixed their head-quarters at Larissa.

* For example, in marching through Thessaly, Antiochus had ostentatiously buried the bones which still lay exposed on the battle-field of Cynoscephalæ.

The commonest prudence would now have dictated the abandonment of an enterprise which had hopelessly failed; but Antiochus preferred to entrench himself at Thermopylæ, and await the arrival of reinforcements from Asia. It seems as if history were parodying one of its own most brilliant chapters, when it shows us the fickle Asiatic king established in the position once held by Leonidas, and overwhelmed there by the legions of the West. The very path over the mountains, which had conducted the Persians to the rear of the pass, was now turned to the same use by a Roman detachment under a leader of whom we shall soon have more to say, Marcus Porcius Cato. Its defence had been entrusted to the Ætolians; but half their force had marched off to Heraclea, and the other half made only the feeblest resistance. Surrounded in the narrow path, Antiochus might perhaps, though unworthy, have had the honour of a death like that of Leonidas, had he stayed to share the fate of his army; but he escaped with 500 men to Chalcis, and sailed thence to Ephesus. Greece lay once more at the disposal of the Romans; and the Ætolians, who alone attempted a resistance at Naupactus, were admitted to a capitulation through the influence of Flamininus. There could now no longer be any hesitation about the necessity of carrying the war into Asia; and before the winter set in, the Romans and their allies gained the command of the Ægæan by a great naval victory over the fleet of Antiochus, at Cyssus on the coast of Ionia. The presence of six Punic ships in the Roman fleet affords a most striking proof of the humiliation of Carthage, and of the hopelessness of Hannibal's attempt to rouse her against Rome.* The beaten fleet of Antiochus retired to the harbour of Ephesus.

This success was followed up by the acquisition of allies among the Asiatic Greeks, the most important gain being that of Smyrna. Meanwhile Antiochus was roused, too late, to make those preparations for keeping the Romans out of Asia, which ought to have supported his own expedition into Europe. The fleet at Ephesus was raised to a force which enabled its admiral Polyxenidas to gain a victory over the Rhodian squadron which had been left at Samos to observe him, while the Roman admiral Caius Livius was absent at the Hellespont, preparing for the passage of the army by the reduction of Sestos and Abydos: but the return of the

* These ships were probably a contingent sent in accordance with the treaty of peace; though we have no distinct mention of such an article. Or they may have been required and furnished as a pledge that the Carthaginian government was clear of participation in the schemes of Hannibal.

main fleet reduced Polyxenidas again to the defensive. A more formidable effort was made on the southern coast of Asia Minor by the collection of a naval force from Lycia, Syria, and Phœnicia, under the command of Hannibal, whose plan was to form a junction with the squadron at Ephesus, when the united fleets, having swept the Roman and Rhodian fleets from the Ægæan, would have sailed for the Hellespont, to prevent the crossing of the Romans into Asia. The scheme resembled that of Napoleon to obtain the command of the English Channel for the transit of his invading army; and it was foiled as decisively as that was at Trafalgar. After long detention by westerly winds, Hannibal encountered the enemy at the mouth of the Eurymedon, a scene famous for the double victory of Cimon. The practised seamanship of the Rhodians prevailed against superior numbers, and Hannibal's defeat was embittered by the reflection that, himself in the service of a foreign prince, he had encountered the ships of his country fighting on the side of Rome. Even the remnant of his fleet was prevented from entering the Ægæan by the position which the victors took up off Patara. Finally, just about the time when the Roman land army reached the Hellespont, and the ships of Attalus had been detached from Samos to its support, a last effort was made by Polyxenidas against the fleet thus weakened. The last sea-fight of the war took place at the promontory of Myonnesus.* The Romans broke the enemy's line, and cut off the left wing, sinking or capturing 42 ships; and the victory was recorded at Rome by an inscription in Saturnian verse, which told how the Romans "had settled the mighty strife and subdued the kings." It is well worth observing that, in all this maritime campaign, the Romans displayed consummate seamanship and were by no means indebted for all their success to the invaluable aid of the Rhodians, who were at this time the best mariners in the world.

But it was on the land that this first and decisive conflict between Rome and Asia had to be decided. Antiochus opened the campaign by ravaging the territory of Pergamus, while his son Seleucus laid siege to the city, with the hope of crushing his chief Asiatic enemy before the arrival of the Romans. But the unsteadiness of his Gallic mercenaries and the vigour of Eumenes compelled the raising of the siege, and Antiochus retired to Sardis to collect his forces. The precipitancy of his advance into Greece

* The action was fought nominally the 23d of December, but according to the corrected calendar about August, B.C. 190.

was now matched by his reckless abandonment of Thrace, without even drawing off his garrisons or destroying his magazines. It would doubtless have been imprudent to have risked his newly levied Asiatics beyond the Hellespont; but by placing them on its bank to defend the passage, and holding Lysimachia as an advanced post, he might have protracted the campaign so as to force the Romans to winter in Thrace, in the midst of his own country, and far from their supplies.

It was about the time when these preliminary campaigns by sea and land were decided, that the Roman army reached the Hellespont. The consul in command was Lucius Scipio, who is distinguished from his brother Publius by the title of Asiaticus, which he gained in this war. But he had none of his brother's genius; and he only obtained the provinces of Greece and Asia by the association of Africanus with him, nominally as legate, the charm of whose name called to arms 5000 of the veterans who had followed him in Spain and Africa. In the spring of B.C. 190 the Scipios arrived in Greece, to take command of the army of Glabrio, which was destined for the campaign in Asia. A delay occasioned by the resistance of the Ætolians to the severe terms imposed on them by the Senate was ended by a six months' armistice; and the army pursued its march through Thrace, where Philip secured them supplies, and peace with the barbarous tribes. They reached the Hellespont in the autumn, about the time of the battle of Myonnesus. The strait which had been crossed by Darius and Xerxes, in the fruitless enterprise of extending Asiatic despotism into Europe, and by Alexander on the mission of shattering that despotism at its seat and founding Hellenic civilization on its ruins, was now passed by the Roman legions to fulfil the final destiny of the ancient world, its union under an empire founded on well-ordered law and government. Instead of resisting their passage, Antiochus sent an embassy to offer terms which, Scipio replied, might have been accepted under the walls of Lysimachia, but not now, "when the steed felt the bit and knew its rider." Nothing would suffice, short of the whole expenses of the war and the cession of Asia Minor. The king knew neither how to submit nor how to protract the war by falling back upon his resources and awaiting the ensuing spring. He staked all upon one great battle, which was fought in the valley of the Hermus, near Magnesia, at the northern foot of Sipylus, the mountain which overhangs Smyrna on the other side. The Romans eagerly accepted the challenge, though their general had been left behind ill at Elæa,

and their force was far less than half the enemy's, including 5000 volunteers from Macedonia, Pergamus, and the Achæan league. But the king's army of 80,000 men, including 12,000 cavalry, was one of those mingled Asiatic hosts which had so often been scattered by the Greek and Macedonian phalanx, and which on that day did not even need the shock of the Roman legions to disperse them. There was indeed a phalanx on the side of Antiochus, but he cooped it up in a narrow space with double files thirty-two deep, in the middle of his second line between the Gallic and Cappadocian infantry, which again were flanked by the heavy cavalry called Cataphractæ, or cuirassiers. The front line was formed by the light-armed infantry, the war-chariots, and the mounted archers, among whom were to be seen Arabs upon dromedaries; and the fifty-four elephants were placed between the two divisions. The Romans adopted their usual mode of battle; but the protection afforded by the river enabled them to weaken their cavalry on the left wing, and to strengthen the right, which was led by Eumenes, who won the chief honours of the day. He began the battle by advancing his archers and slingers with orders to aim at the horses of the war-chariots and at the camels. Both turned about and carried confusion into the ranks of the cuirassiers behind them, while Eumenes led a charge of 3000 Roman horse upon the Gauls and Cappadocians, whose flight was imitated by the already disordered cavalry. The rout of the left wing was now complete, and the phalanx was uncovered on that side. Beset in front and flank by the victorious horse, it was compelled to suspend its advance against the Roman legions, and to form front both ways. Its great depth favoured the manœuvre, and the support of the heavy cavalry from the other wing might have enabled it long to hold its ground. But they were already far from the scene of action: under the command of Antiochus himself, they had driven in the weakened wing of cavalry; and with his usual aptitude for doing everything in the wrong time and place, the king was attacking the Roman camp, while his phalanx was assailed by the enemy's whole force. With its crowded ranks decimated by the archers and slingers—for the legions were still held in reserve—it was slowly retiring in good order, when the elephants, galled by the missiles, burst in among the ranks, and the broken phalanx joined in the headlong flight. The carnage which raged among its dense masses was only increased by a desperate effort to defend the camp. Considering that the army of Antiochus was annihilated by the impetuosity of the attack with-

out the legions being ever engaged, we can readily believe that the Asiatics lost 50,000 men, at a cost to the Romans of only 24 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers.

As the battle of Magnesia was the last, in ancient history, of those unequal conflicts, in which oriental armies yielded like unsubstantial shows to the might of disciplined freedom, so it sealed the fate of the last of the great oriental empires; for the kingdom left to the heirs of Seleucus was only strong enough to indulge them in the luxuries of Antioch and the malignant satisfaction of persecuting the Jews. All resistance ceased in Asia Minor; that great peninsula was ceded as far as the Taurus and the Halys, with whatever remained nominally to Antiochus in Thrace; and, with characteristic levity, he thanked the Romans for relieving him of the government of too large a kingdom. The peace was not finally ratified for two years (B.C. 188); and meanwhile the king had to bear the cost of the occupation of Asia Minor, amounting to 3000 talents, nearly £750,000; and the treaty of peace imposed on him, besides, a war-contribution of 15,000 Euboic talents, about £5,000,000. "With the day of Magnesia, Asia was erased from the list of great states; and never perhaps did a great power fall so rapidly, so thoroughly, and so ignominiously as the kingdom of the Seleucidæ under this Antiochus the Great. He himself was soon afterwards slain by the indignant inhabitants of Elymaïs at the head of the Persian Gulf, on occasion of the plundering of a temple of Bel, with the treasures of which he had sought to replenish his empty coffers" (B.C. 187).

Lucius Scipio Asiaticus, in retiring at the expiration of his consulship (B.C. 189), still left his successor, Cneius Manlius Vulso, work to do and laurels to win in the subjugation of the allies of Antiochus. The petty princes of Phrygia soon submitted to the power and exactions of the new lords of Western Asia; but the powerful Celtic tribes of Galatia made a stand in the fastnesses of Mount Oympus. Here, however, they were reached by the Roman slingers and archers, and after the flower of the cantons of the Tolistoboii and Tectosages had been slain or taken prisoners, the remnant found a refuge with the Trocmi beyond the Halys. That river, fixed by the treaty with Antiochus as the eastern limit of Roman power in Asia, was respected as the present terminus of their conquests, without putting a bound to their influence. Ariarthes, king of Cappadocia, was admitted to their alliance, at the intercession of his brother-in-law Eumenes, on paying a mitigated penalty of 300 talents; and the satraps of the

Greater and Lesser Armenia exchanged their allegiance to Antiochus for the friendship of Rome. The satrapy of Pontus, which became, as we have seen, an independent state during the last years of the Persian rule, was now held by Mithridates IV., the father-in-law of Antiochus. It was not till two generations later, that Mithridates V. formed an alliance with the Romans and aided them in the third Punic War; and a century had still to elapse from the death of Antiochus, before Mithridates the Great renewed the enterprise of seeking in Greece a battle-field for the sovereignty of Asia (b.c. 87). Of the states to the west of the Halys, Prusias was left in possession of Bithynia; but his dependence upon Rome was soon proved by his shameful betrayal of Hannibal: and the Gauls were bound to remain within their own territories. The exemption thus secured to the Greek cities from the contributions which they had been obliged to pay the barbarians won their warmest gratitude to Rome. These cities received their freedom, except where it could only have been granted at the expense of Eumenes, who consented, however, to grant special privileges to those which were still bound to pay him tribute. For the rest, this prince was justly rewarded for his sufferings and services by the apportionment of the greater part of the territories ceded by Antiochus to the aggrandizement of his kingdom. Pergamus became the most powerful state of Western Asia, including nearly the whole of Asia Minor up to the Halys and the Taurus, except Bithynia and Galatia on the one side, and on the other Lycia and the greater part of Caria, which went to recompense the fidelity of the Rhodians; and to these Asiatic possessions were added, in Europe, the Thracian Chersonese and the city of Lysimachia. Secure of having in the dynasty of the Attalids devoted allies, who were now as able as they always had been willing to keep a check upon Antiochus on the one hand and Philip on the other, the Romans were able to retire from Asia. Their last acts evinced their firm determination neither to interfere with any state beyond the Taurus, nor to acquire transmarine possessions by means of their fleet. "The Romans," says Mommsen, "brought nothing home from the East but honour and gold, which were, even at this period, usually conjoined in the practical shape assumed by the address of thanks—the golden chaplet." Even the honour of their arms was placed in peril by the losses which they suffered from the attacks of the barbarians on their homeward march through Thrace, under the proconsul Manlius, after the ratification of the treaty with Antiochus (b.c. 188).

A policy precisely similar guided their settlement of the affairs of Greece. When the consul Manlius passed over into Asia, his colleague, M. Fulvius Nobilior, landed at Apollonia to coerce the Ætolians, who had flagrantly violated the armistice made with Scipio (B.C. 189). A single campaign reduced them to complete submission; and besides the payment of a large contribution, they lost a great part of their possessions, including the port of Ambracia and the island of Cephallenia; but the latter, with the neighbouring island of Samé, had to be reduced by force. These islands and Zacynthus were retained by the Romans, to strengthen the hold which Corcyra already gave them of the Adriatic. With this exception, and their slip of territory on the Illyrian coast, they resolved not to be tempted over the seas which divided Italy from Greece; and all the other gains of the recent war were divided between Philip and the Achæans. But even their policy of moderation was carried out in such a manner as to offend both these allies, and to sow the seeds of future disagreement. The Macedonian king, who had not only resisted the temptations of Antiochus, but had fought against the Ætolians and smoothed the passage of the legions through Thrace, saw a rival planted in that country in a spirit of manifest suspicion. The Achæans reluctantly gave up the island of Zacynthus and their claims upon Ægina, and were humiliated by being advised to confine themselves to the Peloponnesus. The patriot party chafed at finding themselves not only subject to Roman intervention, but invoking it by their utter inability to keep their own confederacy in order. The accession of Sparta to the league, and the enforced inclusion of Messene, which had prayed to be admitted to the Roman alliance as an independent state, revived ancient national antipathies. Sparta broke out into open revolt, and suffered severe punishment as a conquered city, even the institutions of Lycurgus being superseded by the Achæan laws (B.C. 188). The Roman Senate, constantly appealed to as arbiters in these disputes, showed a reluctance to interfere, which was partly founded on the frivolous weakness displayed by the envoys; and it has been well observed that, instead of their carrying strife to Greece, it was the Greeks that carried their dissensions to Rome. The revolt of Messene, in B.C. 183, led to the death of Philopœmen, who was taken prisoner and compelled to swallow poison in his dungeon. His death was amply avenged, and his remains interred with heroic honours at Megalopolis, the urn containing his ashes being carried by the historian Polybius.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE SUBJUGATION OF GREECE. B.C. 187 TO B.C. 146.

"He who hath bent him o'er the dead
Ere the first day of death is fled,
The first dark day of nothingness,
The last of danger and distress—
* * * * *
Some moments, aye, one treacherous hour,
He still might doubt the tyrant's power;
Such is the aspect of this shore;
'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more."

DISCONTENT OF PHILIP—HIS RENEWED PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—HIS SONS DEMETRIUS AND PERSEUS—MURDER OF DEMETRIUS—DEATH OF PHILIP—HIS CHARACTER—ACCESSION OF PERSEUS—HIS PREPARATIONS AGAINST ROME—BARBARIAN ALLIANCES—STATE OF HELLENIC FEELING—THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR—INDECISIVE CAMPAIGNS—THE ROMAN GENERALS INCOMPETENT: THEIR ARMIES DISORGANIZED—Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS—INVASION OF MACEDONIA—THE ARMIES AT TEMPE—LUCIUS ÆMILIUS PAULUS ELECTED CONSUL—HIS CHARACTER—DECISIVE BATTLE OF PYDNA—FINAL DESTRUCTION OF THE MACEDONIAN PHALANX—CAPTURE AND FATE OF PERSEUS—SETTLEMENT OF MACEDONIA—NEW RELATIONS OF ROME TO THE HELLENIC STATES—PERGAMUS AND THE RHODIANS—AFFAIRS OF SYRIA AND EGYPT—ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AND THE ROMAN ENVOY—HOW TO CIRCUMSCRIBE A CIRCLE ABOUT A KING—ROMAN ALLIANCE WITH THE MACCABEES—POLICY OF ROME TOWARDS FOREIGN STATES—SETTLEMENT OF GREECE—PATRIOT AND ROMAN PARTIES—EXECUTIONS AND DEPORTATIONS—THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE—LYCORTAS AND CALLICRATES—DEPORTATION OF 1000 ACHÆANS—THE HISTORIAN POLYBIUS—DEVASTATION OF EPIRUS—TRIUMPH AND DEATH OF ÆMILIUS—THE ADELPHI OF TERENCE—QUARREL OF ATHENS AND OROPUS—EMBASSY OF THE PHILOSOPHERS TO ROME—OROPUS, SPARTA, AND THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE—RETURN OF THE ACHÆAN EXILES—ANDRISCUS, THE MACEDONIAN PRETENDER—ROMAN COMMISSIONERS IN GREECE—RIOTS AT CORINTH—WAR WITH THE ACHÆANS—SACK OF CORINTH BY MUMMIUS—GREECE BECOMES THE ROMAN PROVINCE OF ACHAIA.

While the Romans were contending in the East with Philip and Antiochus, they had been compelled to meet resistance and insurrection in the West. It will be convenient, however, to reserve the little that need be said of the Gallic, Ligurian, and Spanish wars, with the more important subject of the internal history of Rome, till we have traced the brief closing chapters of the contest of the Latin with the Hellenic and Phœnician nations. Macedonia and Carthage were in a very similar position towards Rome; too deeply humiliated ever to be fully trusted; and exposed by that humiliation to constant aggressions and complaints from their more favoured neighbours, out of which some pretext of necessity must inevitably arise for putting an end to their embarrassing existence. The fate of Macedonia involved that of Greece, where the Roman settlement had left the smouldering embers of discontent, which internal discord was ready to fan into a flame.

Philip, whose warm support of the Romans in the late war had doubtless been confirmed by resentment against Antiochus, not unmingled with the hope of recovering the ancient possessions of Macedonia in Thrace, saw the kingdom of Lysimachus revived in favour of the Attalids, the greatest enemies of his house. His occupation of the conquests of Antiochus in Northern Greece, which has been bestowed upon him by the Romans, was resisted by the Thessalians. He was continually denounced in the diet of the Greek confederations, and the perpetual complaints made against him at Rome were followed by decisions which gave him numerous causes for resentment. But he had the power of dissembling what he was resolved no longer to endure, and his only reply to the taunts of his enemies was, in the words of the poet, "our last sun is not yet set." Meanwhile he was aided in keeping on good terms with the republic by his younger son Demetrius, who, having been sent as a hostage to Rome, entered warmly into the views of the philo-Hellenic party. But when Philip was informed by the Senate that they forgave his provocations for his son's sake, he began to view the latter with suspicion, and his elder son Perseus found means to give his jealousy a fatal issue. Demetrius, who had returned to Macedonia, was accused of being a party to the intrigues which were constantly on foot to form a Roman party; and appearances at least were so much against him, that he meditated flight to Rome. This intention, made known to Philip, acquired the character of a plot from an intercepted letter of Flamininus; and the father ordered the execution of his son. The deed was scarcely done, when Philip discovered the intrigues of Perseus, whose punishment he was meditating, when he died, overwhelmed with remorse and disappointment, in the fifty-ninth year of his age and the forty-second of his reign.

"Philip V. was a genuine king, in the best and worst sense of the term. A strong desire to rule in person and unaided was the fundamental trait of his character; he was proud of his people, but he was no less proud of other gifts, and he had reason to be so. He not only showed the valour of a soldier and the eye of a general, but he displayed a high spirit in the conduct of public affairs whenever his Macedonian sense of honour was offended. Full of intelligence and wit, he won the hearts of all whom he wished to gain, and especially of those who were ablest and most refined, such as Flamininus and Scipio: he was a pleasant boon companion, and, not by virtue of his rank alone, a dangerous wooer. But he was at the same time one of the most arrogant and flagitious

characters which that shameless age produced. He was in the habit of saying that he feared none save the gods; but it seems almost as if his gods were those to whom his admiral Dicæarchus regularly offered sacrifice—Ungodliness and Lawlessness. The lives of his advisers and of the promoters of his schemes possessed no sacredness in his eyes; and it is quoted as one of his maxims of state, that whoever puts to death the father must also kill the sons."* His career was a striking illustration of the accidents of a despotic monarchy. Having first by his selfish neglect shipwrecked the enterprise of Hannibal, his great talents were unable to preserve his own from the same ruin through the like faults in Antiochus. Passion robbed him of the offered distinction of becoming the leader of the Greeks; and the prince who, as a mere boy, seemed able to set a limit to the advance of Roman conquest, lived to be borne upon its tide as a zealous vassal, and died vainly meditating how to turn it back (B.C. 179).

His son PERSEUS, the last king of Macedonia, was of a character altogether different. Succeeding to the throne at the age of thirty-one, and with a military reputation early gained in the war against the Romans, he brought to the execution of his father's last schemes that self-discipline in which Philip had been most deficient; while, free from the weaker vices of Philip's more genial character, he inherited all his arrogance and unscrupulousness. His stately person and carriage, and his accomplishment in all manly exercises, were worthy of a royal captain; and he was persevering in the formation of elaborate plans. But when the time of action came, he wanted the genius and versatility of his father; and the care with which he amassed treasures for his campaigns was neutralized by his reluctance to part with them on the greatest emergency. "It is a characteristic circumstance," says Mommsen, "that after defeat the father first hastened to destroy the papers in his cabinet that might compromise him, whereas the son took his treasure-chests and embarked."

Macedonia had been far more humiliated than weakened during the reign of Philip. She still formed a compact territory, rich in agriculture, mines, and commerce; and the eighteen years that had elapsed since the peace with Rome had renewed her resources under Philip's constant care. An army of 30,000 men, with the means of paying 10,000 mercenaries, and immense provisions of corn and arms, formed the nucleus of a formidable force, if only other powers could be brought into a new coalition against Rome.

* Mommsen, vol. ii. p. 224–5.

But all such schemes failed both in Carthage and in Asia; and the plot to murder Eumenes at Delphi, on his return from Rome in B.C. 172, would have been fruitless had it succeeded. The attempts to gain over the barbarians on the north prospered better. Perseus secured allies among the Illyrians, and among the powerful Odrysians on the Lower Danube. Philip had previously formed a scheme for pouring down into Italy over the Eastern Alps a torrent of barbarians from beyond the left bank of the Middle Danube, but the whole horde was destroyed by the resistance of the Dardani (in Servia); and the fortress of Aquileia, at the head of the Gulf of Trieste, seems to have been built about this time to protect the eastern frontier.

Throughout the Hellenic world, in Asia as well as Europe, the sentiment of discontent against the foreign power of Rome, and against Eumenes as its instrument, led the national party to look with hope towards Perseus. He was received with favour at Delphi, where he used the pretext of a religious vow to display his army before the eyes of the Greeks, and his proclamations were posted in various cities, inviting refugees to come to Macedonia. The whole Rhodian fleet escorted his Syrian bride from Antioch; envoys from the disaffected cities of Thrace and Asia held secret conferences with Macedonian officers, and Perseus made alliances with the Byzantines, the Ætolians, and some of the Bœotians. So prudently, however, did the king conduct all his intrigues, that it was not till the seventh year of his reign, after Eumenes had appeared at Rome to prefer a long list of accusations against Perseus, that the Senate resolved upon the Third and last Macedonian War (B.C. 172).

From this moment, Perseus began to show that irresolution in action which contrasted so strangely with his long and patient preparations. The winter, which ought to have been spent in securing a position in Greece, was wasted in discussing the Roman declaration of war, through the medium of Q. Marcius Philippus, who had connections of hospitality with Perseus, while the Roman envoys were busy among the Greeks. Among the Achæans, even the patriot party held firm to their alliance: their influence was predominant among the Thessalians; and even the Ætolians had a general devoted to the Romans. The fourth great confederacy, that of the Bœotians, was divided at its disruption—upon the demand of the Roman envoy, that each of the cities should declare in his presence what part they took—was attended with open hostilities. Coronea and Haliartus, which had formed alliances with

Perseus, were besieged by the united forces of the other cities, led by the Roman envoy, Publius Lentulus. On the breaking out of the war, all the Greeks of Asia Minor, who had shown friendly dispositions to Perseus, and even Byzantium, declared in favour of the Romans; and the only substantial aid that the king received was from Cotys, the chieftain of the Odrysians. Though thus left alone, he was able to bring into the field an army of 43,000 men, of whom 21,000 were soldiers of the phalanx, and 4000 Macedonian and Thracian cavalry.

Early in the spring of B.C. 171, the consul P. Licinius Crassus landed at Apollonia, and found himself in command of between 30,000 and 40,000 Italians, and 10,000 auxiliaries, among whom the most important were the troops of Attalus and the Numidian cavalry. The fleet had already appeared in the Ægæan under C. Lucretius. It numbered only forty ships, as the treaty had prohibited the Macedonian king from maintaining a navy to oppose it; but it carried 10,000 troops, 2000 of whom were at once despatched to garrison Larissa, in preparation for the campaign in Thessaly. The first collision occurred in the neighbourhood of that city. Crassus proved utterly incompetent as a commander, and the superiority of the Macedonian and Thracian horse gave an easy victory to Perseus. He forthwith proposed a peace, which the Romans at once rejected, both because it was their rule not to negotiate after a reverse, and because the instant revolt of Greece would have followed such a confession of defeat.

This result was in fact imminent, had Perseus known how to improve his advantage, the news of which flew through Greece while Crassus was leading his army up and down in Thessaly. But a check which the king received in a second cavalry engagement was made an excuse for retiring into Macedonia, thereby of course resigning the hope of calling the Hellenic patriots to arms. The Romans used the opportunity to subdue the Macedonian garrisons in Thessaly and the two Bœotian cities of Haliartus and Coronea, the inhabitants of which were sold into slavery, while Perseus maintained, upon the whole, the superiority in Illyria and Epirus. In the ensuing year, Perseus repulsed three several attempts of the consul, A. Hostilius Mancinus, and of the western army under Appius Claudius, to penetrate into Macedonia, and inflicted a severe defeat upon the latter in Epirus. Had his father been in his place, it would have been easy to crush the Roman army, which was utterly disorganized by the weakness of its commanders and the licence of the recent sieges (B.C. 170).

The third campaign was opened by the new consul, Q. Marcius Philippus, with a movement the boldness of which gave Perseus a still better opportunity than the inactivity of his predecessors. Resolved to penetrate at all hazards into Macedonia, Marcius left one division to face the force that guarded the pass of Tempe, and led his main army over the defiles of Olympus, which Perseus had neglected to guard, down to the coast at Heracleum. Here the consul found himself between the garrison of Tempe in his rear and the main army posted in a strong position on the little river Elpius. But Perseus, preoccupied with the one idea that the impregnable defence of Tempe had been turned, fled in alarm to Pydna, where he ordered his ships to be burnt and his treasures to be sunk in the sea. It was only when the consul's unresisted progress was stopped after four days for want of supplies, that the king took courage to turn upon him. Meanwhile the surrender of Tempe saved the Romans by restoring their communications with Thessaly; and for the rest of the year the two armies confronted each other idly on the banks of the Elpius, while the Romans gained no advantage in Illyria, and failed to take Demetrias, or even to keep command of the Ægæan against the light Macedonian cruisers. Thus the war had done little save to give one more illustration of that fortune of the Romans which so often saved them from their own errors through the greater errors of their antagonists. It was time that the scale should be turned by the appearance of a true Roman general, and such an one appeared in the new consul Lucius Æmilius Paulus.

This eminent man added to his own great merits the distinction of being the son of the gallant but unfortunate consul who fell at Cannæ, and the father of the celebrated general who finally avenged that calamity by the destruction of Carthage.* He was one of the few who combined the amenities of Greek culture with the virtues of the old nobility. Though possessed of a fortune slender enough to correspond to his name, and therefore cramped in what was now a chief means of political advancement, he would not condescend to flatter the populace, and he is emphatically distin-

* The younger Africanus was adopted by Publius Cornelius Scipio, the elder son of the elder Africanus. In accordance with the Roman custom, he received his new father's name, with that of his own *gens* affixed in the form of the derived adjective; and became P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus. The elder son of Paulus was adopted by the great Q. Fabius Maximus, and he became Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus. *Paulus* (in the English form *Paul*) signifies in Latin *Little*. It is an interesting fact in the history of Roman names, that the indifferent order of the gentile and family names first occurs in the case of the *Æmilii Pauli* or *Pauli Æmilii*.

guished by a contemporary as "one of the few Romans of that age to whom one could not offer money." Born about B.C. 230, he was prætor in B.C. 191, and only attained to the consulship in B.C. 181. In the former office he distinguished himself in the Lusitanian War; in the latter, by his conquest of seven Ligurian tribes. Thirteen years were now devoted to the education of the two sons, whose exploits so well repaid his care; and it was equally a tribute to his merit, and a confession that the state could no longer dispense with his services, when he was elected consul for the second time, in order to finish the Macedonian War. His sixty years had ripened his experience, without impairing his energy; and the army stood in the greatest need of his stern discipline. His two sons accompanied him to the theatre of war, where the younger Africanus served under his father at the same age (17) at which the elder had saved his father's life.

On arriving at Heracleum, Paulus found the two armies encamped in their old positions on the Elpius. By seizing the pass which leads over Olympus from Pythium to Dium, he turned the Macedonian position, and forced Perseus to fall back to PYDNA. Here the decisive battle was fought on the 22d of June, B.C. 168.* An accidental collision between the outposts brought on the conflict a day earlier than that fixed by Paulus. It was the last and most formidable trial of strength between the Macedonian phalanx and the Roman legion, and Paulus afterwards confessed that he had trembled for the issue. His vanguard was dispersed, and the legions themselves moved backwards, though in good order, till they reached the hill in front of their own camp. The phalanx, already disordered by their hasty advance, and isolated from their supports, were unable to preserve their serried ranks on the broken ground; and the Roman cohorts, pouring round their flanks and rear, searched out every gap. The cavalry, after looking on inactive for a time, caught the alarm that all was lost, and Perseus himself was the first to fly. Still the deserted phalanx fought to the last, and the select 3000 perished to a man. It seemed, says Mommsen, "as if the phalanx, which fought its last great battle at Pydna, had wished itself to perish there." No less than 20,000 men were left dead upon the field, and 11,000 were taken prisoners. The war was ended; and all Macedonia submitted in little more than a fortnight from the arrival of Paulus.

* According to the disordered Roman calendar, the 4th of September. The date is fixed by an eclipse of the moon, which was announced beforehand to the army, lest they should deem it an evil omen.

Perseus fled to the island of Samothrace, with the 3000 talents which ought long since to have been devoted to the war. A few faithful adherents followed him; but when he made the mean attempt to propitiate the enemy by putting one of them to death as the instigator of the attempt to murder Eumenes, the rest deserted him. A letter which he sent to the Roman general was returned because he designated himself King; and he then surrendered at discretion, with his children and his treasures. His pusillanimous supplications might have provoked the resentment of a man less mindful than Paulus of the mutability of fortune; but the consul received him with a courtesy worthy of the first great king who had ever been a prisoner to the Roman people. After his stately form had graced his conqueror's triumph in the following year (B.C. 171), he was released from prison at the intercession of Paulus, and died in retirement at Alba. The humiliating story of the last successor of Philip and Alexander does not need to be adorned with the fabulous accounts of cruelties and sufferings. Some say that his guards tortured him to death by depriving him of sleep: others, that he ended his life by voluntary starvation: and his son is said to have earned his living as a scrivener at Rome.

Of the only two allies of Perseus, the Illyrian king Genthius was subdued about the same time by the prætor Lucius Anicius, in a month's campaign. Illyria was parcelled out into petty states dependent upon Rome; and its piratical fleet was given to the Greeks on the Adriatic. Cotys, the king of Thrace, made his peace with Rome the more easily, as he might become a check on the increased power of Pergamus. Macedonia itself was broken up into the four republican federations of Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella, and Pelagonia, which were modelled after the pattern of the Hellenic Leagues, and paid to Rome 100 talents annually, the half of the old land-tax. This constitution lasted to the time of Augustus, though Macedonia was made a province of Rome in B.C. 146. Thus ended the kingdom of Macedonia, having survived the death of Alexander a little more than a century and a half.

The fall of Macedonia involved a new settlement of the relations of Rome to the Hellenic states. The great power blotted out from the list of nations was not only a dangerous enemy, but sometimes, as had been proved in the reign of Philip, a useful ally; and, now that it could be no longer used as a check on Greece and Asia Minor, so there was the less reason for maintaining other

powers to keep it itself in check. Hence followed a course of action more politic than generous. The kingdom of Pergamus, after all its services to the Romans, began to feel the curb; and, when Eumenes was stopped at Brundisium by a decree of the Senate, that kings should no longer visit Rome to plead their cause in person, he learnt that "the epoch of half-powerful and half-free alliance was at an end; that of impotent subjection had begun." No better pretext could be found for this treatment than a suspicion, apparently unfounded, of secret relations between Eumenes and Perseus; but the other Asiatic ally of Rome, the Rhodian state, had done much to bring down punishment on itself. Their open manifestation of Hellenic sympathies with Perseus has been already noticed, and they did not hesitate to denounce Eumenes as the instigator of a war injurious to all the Greeks. Still they took part with Rome; but their sufferings from the loss of their commerce with Macedonia appear to have given the anti-Roman party a temporary ascendancy, or else their republican arrogance and naval power led them to presume on their services; and, at the very time when Q. Marcius was encamped within Tempe, envoys appeared both at his head-quarters and in the Senate, to say that the Rhodians would no longer tolerate hostilities so injurious to themselves. Their abject submission, with the severe punishment of the partisans of Macedonia, scarcely averted a declaration of war; and in spite of the protest of Cato against punishing allies who had committed no act of hostility, Rhodes was deprived of all its possessions on the mainland; its freedom of commerce was restrained, and a rival free port opened at Delos; and its petition for the privileges of an ally was only tardily granted in B.C. 164.

With regard to the Hellenic kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, Rome was content with the part of an umpire, which she played in a manner thoroughly characteristic. A new war had broken out for the possession of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, which had been charged with the dower of Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, or, as the Egyptians maintained, ceded at her marriage. The notorious Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (the younger son of Antiochus the Great), who had succeeded his brother Seleucus IV. Philopator in B.C. 175, had carried on the war for three years with such success that, in the same year in which Perseus was conquered, he had already laid siege to Alexandria, and would probably have seized Egypt, under the name of guardian to his infant nephew Ptolemy VI. Philometor, when a Roman embassy appeared in his camp, headed by C. Popilius Lænas. The envoy

presented to the king the letter of the Senate, bidding him to restore all he had taken from Egypt, and to keep himself within Syria. Antiochus read the letter, and promised to consider it with his councillors. Thereupon Popilius drew a line with his staff round the spot where the king stood, and bade him decide before he crossed that line. Antiochus felt himself in the hands of the power that had quelled his father, and yielded to the demands of Rome (B.C. 168). Before turning from this quarter of the world, we must notice that the great revolt of the Jews under Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees, against the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, broke out in this same year (B.C. 168); and that the Romans, pursuing their policy of curbing the eastern powers, made an alliance with the Jews in B.C. 161, though the death of Judas Maccabæus immediately afterwards made it fruitless for the present.*

These proceedings furnish at once a decisive proof, that the civilized states of the East had fallen under the power of Rome, and the last examples of the old Roman policy towards vanquished states. Polybius justly dates from the battle of Pydna the establishment of Rome's universal empire. "It was, in fact, the last battle in which a civilized state confronted Rome in the field on a footing of equality with her as a great power; all subsequent struggles were rebellions or wars with peoples beyond the pale of the Romano-Greek civilization—the barbarians, as they were called. The whole civilized world thenceforth recognized in the Roman Senate the supreme tribunal, whose commissioners decided in the last resort between kings and nations; and, to acquire its language and manners, foreign princes and noble youths resided in Rome. A palpable and earnest attempt to get rid of her dominion was in reality made only once—by the great Mithridates of Pontus. The battle of Pydna, moreover, marks the last occasion on which the Senate still adhered to the state maxim, that they should, if possible, hold no possessions and maintain no garrisons beyond the Italian seas, but should keep the numerous states dependent on them in order by a mere political supremacy. The aim of their policy was, that these states should neither decline into utter weakness and anarchy, as had nevertheless happened in Greece, nor emerge out of their half-free position into complete independence, as Macedonia had attempted to do, not without success.

* The details of the Maccabæan revolt belong to the special department of Scripture History. We shall have another occasion to review the whole history of Judea under the Maccabees and Asmonæans.

Accordingly, the vanquished foe held at least an equal, often a better, position with the Roman diplomatists than the faithful ally; and, while a defeated opponent was often reinstated, those who attempted to reinstate themselves were abased—as the Ætolians, the Macedonians after the Asiatic war, Rhodes, and Pergamus soon learned by experience. But not only did this part of protector soon prove as irksome to the masters as to the servants: the Roman protectorate, with its ungrateful Sisyphean toil, that continually needed to be begun afresh, showed itself to be intrinsically untenable. Indications of a change of system, and of an increasing disinclination on the part of Rome to tolerate by its side intermediate states, even in such independence as was possible for them, were very clearly given in the destruction of the Macedonian monarchy after the battle of Pydna. The more and more frequent, the more and more unavoidable intervention in the internal affairs of the small Greek states, in connection with their misgovernment and their political and social anarchy,—the disarming of Macedonia, where the northern frontier at any rate required a defence different from that of mere posts,—and lastly, the introduction of the payment of land-tax to Rome from Macedonia and Illyria,—were so many symptoms of the approaching conversion of the client states into subjects of Rome."*

The application of these principles to the states of Greece Proper was the more inevitable on account of their internal divisions. We have already seen what fierce dissensions rent even the most patriotic of the Greek confederacies—the Achæan League. The last Macedonian war had the effect, in every Grecian state, of bringing into direct antagonism a national and a Roman party; and the fall of Perseus was the signal for the triumph of the latter, with all the atrocities of the worst days of Greek factions. All who had made themselves obnoxious to the party now dominant were denounced as partisans of Perseus, and were either put to death on the charge of treason, or deported to Rome for trial. Lyciscus, the general of the Ætolian League, had 500 patriots executed by the sentence of the diet. Similar scenes were enacted in Thessaly, Bœotia, and Acarnania; nor did the loyalty of the Achæan League to the Roman alliance save it from its fate; for Rome never hesitated between generosity and opportunity. The confederacy had long been divided into a patriotic and a Roman party. Since the death of Philopœmen, in B.C. 183, the former had been led by Lycortas, the general of the League, and

* Mommsen, vol. ii. pp. 311, 312.

father of the historian Polybius. He is first mentioned in B.C. 189, as one of the envoys to Rome on the collision between Sparta and the Achæan League; and, after supporting and continuing the policy of Philopœmen, he finally succeeded in bringing back Sparta and Messene into the confederacy. In B.C. 179 he distinguished himself by his firm opposition to the demand of the Romans for the restoration of all the Spartan exiles; and, during the war with Perseus, he prevailed on the Achæans to preserve neutrality. The last mention of his name is in the year of the defeat of Perseus; and this seems to have been the last year of his life. His leading opponent was Callicrates, one of those characters who, branded as traitors by the patriots of their own country, have gained the dubious eulogies of philosophical historians for their discernment in deserting the cause of freedom. He first showed his colours when, sent to Rome to support the views which Lycortas had carried in the diet against the restoration of the Spartan exiles, he did not scruple to urge upon the Senate the policy of giving active support to the Roman party in all the Hellenic states * (B.C. 179). He returned, the bearer of such letters of approval from the Senate, that the league could not refuse to elect him general. In B.C. 174, we find him again in opposition, resisting the motion of the general Xenarchus for an alliance with Perseus; and, in B.C. 168, he thwarted the proposal of Lycortas for sending aid to Egypt against Antiochus Epiphanes, by producing a letter from the proconsul Q. Marcius, commanding the League to confine itself to friendly mediation. And now, when Paulus Æmilius was settling the affairs of Greece, Callicrates seized the opportunity to denounce 1000 of the Achæan patriots for complicity with Perseus, and they were carried to Rome for trial (B.C. 167). Their removal was doubtless meant by the Romans as an act of precaution rather than of vengeance; they were distributed in honourable captivity among the Italian towns; but any attempt to escape was punished with death. They were permitted to return after seventeen years (B.C. 151). Callicrates reaped the reward of their betrayal in the hatred of his

* Mommsen says of this conduct:—"Callicrates the Achæan, who went to the senate to enlighten it as to the state of matters in Peloponnesus, and to demand a consistent and sustained intervention"—(he *did* this, but *went to do* the very opposite)—"may as a man have had somewhat less ability than his countryman Philopœmen, who was the main founder of the patriotic policy; but he was in the right." There is all the difference in the world between confessing, in the light of history, that the Greeks had lost the capacity for freedom, and lauding the traitor who used the melancholy fact as a pretext for foreign intervention.

countrymen, who deemed it a pollution to bathe with him, while the very boys threw the name of traitor in his teeth; but yet later ages have reaped unspeakable benefit from his crime. Among the exiles was the historian Polybius, whose long residence at Rome, and friendship with the younger Africanus and other leading Roman statesmen, gave him that accurate information, and that knowledge of Roman policy which combined with the love of freedom in which he had been trained, and the endowments bestowed upon him by nature, to make him the greatest of ancient historians, except Thucydides. But for the long didactic essays, into which he was led by over-anxiety to make his work instructive, he might have shared the honours of the first rank among historians.*

This deportation, of course, rendered the Achæans helpless for the present, and secured the ascendancy of Callicrates, in spite of their hatred. The Athenians were rewarded for their neutrality by the gift of the ruined city of Haliartus, in Bœotia, and of Lemnos and Delos, the latter being made a free port, as a rival to Rhodes. Amphipolis and Leucas were taken from the Ætolians and the Acarnanians, who had betrayed some sympathy with Perseus, while the Epirots, who had openly espoused his cause, felt the utmost resentment of the victors. By the command of the Senate

* The peculiar character of the work of Polybius is indicated by its very title, which is not a *history*, but *Pragmatei a* (πραγμετεία), that is, an *investigation* or *essay* of the subject treated, in contrast to the *Apodeixis Historias* (ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις) or, *statement of information* of Herodotus. Intermediate between the two is the method of Thucydides, in which principles are connected with the facts that illustrate or suggest them, instead of being drawn out into didactic digressions. The work of Polybius, which was a continuation of the History of Aratus (see p. 115), consisted of forty books, and embraced the important period from the accession of Philip V. to the extinction of Hellenic independence (B.C. 220—146). As the author lived from about B.C. 204 to B.C. 122, and had the opportunity of learning the earlier events he records from eye-witnesses, both in Greece and at Rome, the work is strictly one of contemporaneous history. But his impartiality in dealing with his own times is not more remarkable than the conscientious diligence of his researches into the earlier periods which he notices by way of introduction and digression; and we have special means of judging his merits, by comparing him with the careless and one-sided rhetoric of Livy. His work has, moreover, the artistic character of unity. Its subject was the real establishment of the Roman empire, in the space of fifty-three years from the accession of Philip V. to the conquest of Perseus. This occupied the first part of his work, to which the second, relating the final subjection of Greece, may be regarded as a supplement. Unhappily we possess only the first five books entire, with fragments of the rest. Remembering that Polybius would of course write in the language of his own age, and not in that of two or three centuries earlier, it is scarcely necessary to notice the amusing objection made to his style by the Cambridge scholar, who said he never read Polybius *because it was bad Greek.*

Æmilius destroyed seventy of their towns, and sold 150,000 of the people into slavery. Paulus, who had remained in Greece to regulate these affairs with ten commissioners, returned to Rome in the autumn of B.C. 167. He brought an enormous spoil into the treasury, and celebrated a three days' triumph, the most magnificent that had ever ascended to the Capitol. A king, loaded with chains, for the first time walked before a proconsul's triumphal car, and behind it rode on horseback the two sons of Paulus, Q. Fabius Maximus and P. Cornelius Scipio. But the man, whose family had been his chief care, must have felt all this but little consolation for the loss of his two younger sons, boys of twelve and fourteen, who died, one a few days before and the other a few days later. For once, the office of the slave was superfluous, who was wont to ride behind the victor's car, to remind its occupant that he was mortal (B.C. 167). The proud name of Æmilius Paulus Macedonicus died with him in B.C. 160, owing to the adoption of his two sons into other families. His funeral games are memorable for the first exhibition of the *Adelphi* of Terence.

The final catastrophe was still prolonged for twenty years; but little remains to be told of the interval. Athens and Sparta appear as petty states, contributing indirectly to the destruction of that Hellas, for the supremacy of which they once contended. The city of Solon, Themistocles, and Pericles, was reduced to dependence for the supply of her expenses on the bounty of the Ptolemies; and when that failed her, she returned to piracy, like the Greeks, before the age of civilization. An expedition against Oropus in Eubœa provoked an appeal to the Roman Senate, who referred the question to the Sicyonians, and Athens was condemned to pay the enormous fine of 500 talents,—the measure, not of the injuries inflicted on Oropus, but of her presumption in taking up arms (B.C. 156). An embassy was sent to Rome to deprecate the severity of the sentence; and just five years after the passing of a law banishing all philosophers and rhetoricians, the Senate received as envoys the three chief masters of the philosophic schools of Athens, Diogenes the Stoic, Critolaüs the Peripatetic, and Carneades the founder of the third Academy. The last, in particular, charmed the leading men of Rome by his declamations, the most celebrated of which were those on justice, which he delivered on successive days. His magnificent eulogium of Justice, on the first day, won even the sternest Romans of the old school—and among them Cato—to doubt whether they themselves had exercised the virtue towards the Greek philosophers. But when, on the

second day, the orator proceeded to answer all his former arguments, and to prove that justice was a mere conventional device for the maintenance of civil order, Cato indignantly moved the Senate to send the sophist back again to his school, and not to suffer the Roman youth to be corrupted.

The mitigation of the fine to 100 talents still left it beyond the resources of the Athenians, who seem to have taken the first opportunity of revenging themselves on Oropus (B.C. 150). This time the Oropians appealed to the Achæan League, relying less on the justice of their cause than on the corruption of the leading statesmen. So far as the transaction is intelligible, a bribe of ten talents was given to Menalcidas, the general of the league, who promised the half of it to Callicrates, for the use of his all-powerful influence. This promise he failed to keep, and Callicrates revenged himself by accusing Menalcidas, who was a Spartan, of advising the Romans to sever Sparta from the league. Menalcidas only escaped condemnation by a present to Diæus, his successor in the office of general; but Diæus—and this says something for the remnant of public virtue left among the Achæans—Diæus fell into such disgrace by the transaction that he was fain to occupy the attention of the confederacy by urging a new attack on the Spartans, on the ground that they had violated the laws of the league by a private appeal to Rome respecting a disputed boundary.

Other events had occurred to inflame and encourage the war party. In B.C. 151 the Achæan exiles had returned from Rome, having been dismissed with a sort of contemptuous mercy. After the repeated rejection of their petition for liberty, their cause was espoused by P. Scipio, as the friend of Polybius. Cato, gained over by Scipio, decided the question by a characteristic speech, thrown in when the debate was almost exhausted. "Have we nothing better to do," said he, "than to sit here all day long, debating whether a parcel of worn-out Greeks shall be carried to their graves here or in Achaia?" But when the exiles proceeded to petition the Senate for restoration to their honours, Cato told Polybius, with a smile, that he resembled Ulysses returning to the cave of the Cyclops for the hat and sash he had left behind. Of the 300 exiles who landed in Greece—for to this had their number been reduced—almost the only one who had learned the necessity of moderation was Polybius himself. They were mad enough to look with hope towards Andriscus, a low-born adventurer, who called himself Philip, and claimed the Macedonian throne as

the son of Perseus, but was defeated and taken prisoner by the prætor, Q. Metellus, after some brief success. In the same year Polybius retired from a scene where he found no good to be done, to join his friend Scipio in the Third Punic War; and Callicrates died at Rhodes, on an embassy to Rome respecting the affairs of Sparta, leaving his epitaph to be written by the traveller Pausanias, "his death being, for aught I know, a clear gain to the country" (B.C. 149).

Thus every check on the war-party was removed; and the Spartans were left no resource but an appeal to Rome. The Senate sent two commissioners, who decided that the Achæan League should give up, not only Sparta, but Corinth; that is, that they should surrender the key of Peloponnesus, together with all other cities not Achæan (B.C. 147). The sentence was received with the greatest dissatisfaction at Corinth itself: the indignation of the citizens vented itself in an attack on the Spartan residents; and the Roman commissioners themselves were endangered in the riot. After a second fruitless embassy, to demand satisfaction for this new outrage, the Senate declared war against the Achæan League; and the prætor Metellus was ordered to march into Peloponnesus. The Achæan general Critolaüs proved as incompetent in the field as he had been headstrong in council. Abandoning the defence of Thermopylæ, he was overtaken and defeated at Scarphea in Locris, he himself never again being heard of. The other leader of the war party, Diæus, succeeded him as general, and checked the progress of Metellus; but meanwhile a second Roman army landed at the Isthmus under the consul Lucius Mummius. Diæus, marching to the defence of Corinth, was utterly defeated; and the city was evacuated, not only by the Achæan troops, but by the mass of the inhabitants. Their retirement failed to save Corinth from being made one of the chief examples of that vengeance by which the Romans were wont to put a decisive end to a long conflict. Mummius gave up the undefended city to the flames, the few men in it to slaughter, and the women and children to slavery. The precious treasures of art, which had been accumulated for centuries at Corinth—one of the chief schools of sculpture and painting—became partly the playthings of the Roman soldiers, a band of whom were seen by Polybius at a game of dice or draughts on a masterpiece of Aristides, and were partly exposed for sale. Taught their value by the enormous prices at which Attalus III. eagerly bought some of them,* the consul sent

* The "*Attalici Conditiones*" of Horace, *Carm.* I. 1.

the remaining pictures to Rome, stipulating with the masters of the vessels that they should replace any that might be lost by others of equal value! It is almost an equal satire upon Roman ignorance of Greek history and the contempt into which the great names of Hellas had fallen, that the country was constituted a province under the name of that state which had, till lately, been the least influential of all the rest; while, by a curious revolution, that name recovered the predominance it had enjoyed during the heroic age. Greece became the Province of Achaia, the northern limit being drawn south of Thessaly and Epirus, which were included in the new Province of Macedonia (b.c. 146).

Mummius remained for a year as proconsul, to regulate the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with ten commissioners sent from Rome (b.c. 145). The conqueror, so ignorant of art, is said to have displayed the old Roman accomplishments of equity and moderation; and Polybius, who had hastened from the ruins of Carthage to use his influence on behalf of his country, had power, as the friend of Scipio, to make his intercession respected. If we could penetrate the thoughts of such a man at witnessing, in the same year, the fate of Carthage and of his native land, we might venture on the hopeless task of writing an epitaph for the tomb of Hellenic freedom.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR. B.C. 150 TO B.C. 146.

"Giace l'alta Cartago: a pena i segni
Dell' alte sue ruine il lido serba;
Muoiono le città, muoiono i regni;
Copri i fasti e le pompe arena ed erba."—TASSO.

"Great Carthage low in ruins cold doth lie,
Her ruins poor the herbs in height can pass;
So cities fall, so perish kingdoms high,
Their pride and pomp lie hid in sand and grass."
FAIRFAX'S *Translation.*

STATE OF CARTHAGE BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND PUNIC WARS—HER PROSPERITY AND RESOURCES—HER LOYALTY TO ROME—ENCROACHMENTS OF MASINISSA—ROMAN COMMISSIONERS IN AFRICA—M. PORCIUS CATO AND P. SCIPIO NASICA—DELENDA EST CARTHAGO—HOSTILITIES WITH MASINISSA—SCIPIO IN MASINISSA'S CAMP—HIS DREAM—EMBASSIES TO ROME—DECLARATION OF WAR—THE CONSULS LAND IN AFRICA—CONFERENCE AT UTICA—THE CARTHAGINIANS GIVE UP THEIR ARMS—THE FINAL SENTENCE—RAGE AND RESISTANCE OF THE CITY—PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE—THE FIRST CAMPAIGN—OPERATIONS OF CENSORINUS—SERVICES OF SCIPIO—THE SECOND CAMPAIGN—HOPES FOR CARTHAGE—NEW ALLIES—HER INTERNAL DISSENSIONS—THE TWO HASDRUBALS—SCIPIO ELECTED CONSUL—HE LANDS IN AFRICA—PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE—CAPTURE OF THE CITY—THE SEVEN DAYS' FIGHT—DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE—THE TEARS AND TRIUMPH OF SCIPIO—LATER HISTORY OF CARTHAGE.

THE story of the last stand made by Carthage against Rome, in the agony of self-defence, is one of the briefest and most melancholy chapters in the history of the world. All the faults of character, all the crimes of policy, all the selfish arrogance of an aristocracy of wealth, seem not only to be forgiven in the pity excited by her fall, but atoned for by the absence of any provocation of her fate. And yet we must not pronounce too hastily that a blind hatred only sealed her doom. The wealth-producing power of the state survived her political extinction, and restored her to a prosperity which threatened to raise her again to political importance. Her fleet and army had been taken from her, but she still possessed her ports and walls: the sea divided her from Italy, and the resources of Africa were at her back. Thus situated, it might have been possible for her to devote herself solely to money-making, and to remain content as the vassal of Rome: no temptation might have prevailed to make the distress of Rome the opportunity of Carthage: no second family of Barca might have roused her with its thunder: this might have been possible; but it was impossible

for Rome to believe it. Her statesmen knew what their ambition would have been, had the case of Rome and Carthage been reversed; and they believed they ought not to risk the experiment on the unlimited submissiveness of their late rival. The tongue of Cato uttered the decree of fate, as much as the voice of hatred, in the sentence, *Delenda est Carthago*, "Carthage must be destroyed."

Half a century, however, elapsed before the coming of the crisis; and it might perhaps have been delayed much longer, but for the peculiar relations in which Carthage had been left towards Masinissa. During all the wars in Macedonia and Asia, in Spain and Liguria, she had resisted the temptations of opportunity, and refused participation in the schemes of Hannibal, with equal prudence on her own account and good faith towards Rome. This policy had brought its own reward in a marvellous recovery of prosperity. While Rome was incessantly engaged in war, the commerce of the Mediterranean would naturally be conducted chiefly by the ships of Carthage; and her territory still included the luxuriant fields of Zeugitana and Byzacium. Even after the rapacity of Masinissa had stripped her of the rich towns of Emporia, she ruled over 300 subject Libyan cities, and her own population amounted to 700,000. Of the military resources still available for her defence, some idea is given by the 200,000 stand of arms and 2000 catapults which were surrendered on the first demand of the Romans; and she had still the means and energy to manufacture daily 140 shields, 300 swords, 500 spears, and 1000 missiles for catapults, and to build 120 ships of war during the siege.* Of the immense treasures, in gold, silver, precious stones, and works of art, still preserved in the temples and palaces, the Romans had ocular proof in the triumph of Scipio, who, after giving up all private property to pillage, brought home the value of £1,500,000.

The peace which concluded the Second Punic War bound Carthage to restore to Masinissa all the territory of which they had dispossessed either him or his ancestors. A far less ambitious prince might have found in such a stipulation license for unlimited encroachment, and the clause which forbade the Carthaginians to make war in Africa without the consent of Rome might be taken as a guaranty of impunity. The Numidian prince ought to have been too well acquainted with the Republic to indulge the hope which some have ascribed to him, of setting up his throne on the

* These statistics of the resources of Carthage at the beginning of the Third Punic War are preserved by Strabo.

hill of Byrsa; at least he knew the need of caution, lest he should bring down the jealousy of Rome upon himself. His policy was, by perpetual but at first petty encroachments, not only to gain what he could from Carthage, but to goad her into a breach of the treaty which might provoke Rome to a new war, from which he trusted to obtain his full share of the spoil. Then followed the same hollow and wearisome proceedings that marked the relations of Rome during this half-century to all the protected states: embassies of complaint from the one party, and of recrimination from the other: Roman commissions sent forth to do justice or to watch for an advantage, according to the characters of their members or the policy prevalent in the Senate.

The most important of the disputes between Carthage and Masinissa related to the possession of *Emporia*, a rich district, comprising (as its name signifies) several important sea-ports on the shores of the Lesser Syrtis. The dispute had lasted about thirty years, when the Senate, which had hitherto only given a passive sanction to the encroachments of Masinissa, took more decided steps in his favour. About B.C. 161, a Roman commission decided that Carthage should give up to the Numidian king all of these towns which it still possessed, and pay him a compensation of 500 talents for their revenues since the peace. Such a decision was a vote of unlimited licence to Masinissa, who proceeded to use his privileges, not only by stripping Carthage of all her possessions west of the river Tusca, but by seizing the "Great Plain" on the upper course of the Bagradas. A new appeal was made to Rome, and a new commission sent to Africa; but, when they required as a preliminary that both parties should bind themselves beforehand to accept their decision, the Carthaginians at last took courage to refuse, and the commissioners returned to Rome.

But the mission had indirectly sealed the fate of Carthage. At its head had been the renowned M. Porcius Cato the Elder, commonly known as CATO THE CENSOR, whose remarkable character will claim our attention in the next chapter. The man who had the greatest weight in the Senate—the very type of old Roman ideas and prejudices—the survivor of the Hannibalic war, with all its traditions of terror and bitterness—saw in the restored prosperity of Carthage, her rich territory, her commerce and wealth, her populous and well-defended city, resources which some new Hannibal might soon direct against the Roman state. In his own mind he passed the sentence which he thenceforth never ceased to

advocate in the Senate. The forms of that assembly gave him a curious opportunity of never letting the subject rest. The votes were taken *vivâ voce*, and each member, when asked by the consul for his voice, was at liberty to add an opinion on any other question that he deemed important. So, whenever he was called upon to vote, no matter on what subject, Cato always added, "I vote, moreover, that Carthage should be destroyed."* His views met with a powerful opposition, especially from P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica,† the grandson of that Cneius Scipio who fell with the elder Publius in Spain, and the son-in-law of the elder Africanus. Scipio was as firmly attached as Cato himself to the old Roman manners, a proof of which he had given in his second consulship by inducing the Senate to order the demolition of a newly-constructed theatre. He advocated the preservation of Carthage, in order that its rivalry might form a check on the growing licentiousness of the people. No means were neglected by Cato to alarm as well as convince the Senate. Once he drew from the folds of his toga a bunch of ripe figs very early in the season, and threw them on the floor of the Senate-house. As all were admiring the fruit, he exclaimed, "Those figs were gathered but three days ago at Carthage; so close is our enemy to our walls!" When at length he died, at the age of eighty-five, he had seen the close of the first campaign of the war he had so loudly called for, and had pronounced the eulogium of the young commander who had proved himself worthy to bring it to a successful issue (B.C. 149).

While these discussions were prolonged at Rome, the events in Africa were ripening to a crisis. The conviction that nothing was to be hoped from Rome, and everything to be feared from Masinissa, put a bound to the Carthaginian policy of conciliation. The popular leaders, Hasdrubal and Carthalo, were placed at the head of the government, and their first step was to banish forty of the partisans of Masinissa, and to make the people swear never to suffer their return. They next ventured on a measure of self-defence by enrolling an army from those Numidians who still maintained their independence of Masinissa, under Ariobarzanes, the grandson of Syphax (B.C. 154). Upon this the wily Masinissa, instead of taking up arms, sent to Rome to offer his unconditional submission to any decree that might be made respecting

* "Præterea censeo, Carthaginem esse delendam."

† That is, *with the long nose.* His father, from whom he inherited his surname and his love of legal studies, was adjudged by the senate, in B.C. 204, to be the best citizen in the state.

the disputed territory on the Bagradas; and thus gave the preparations of Carthage the colour of being directed against Rome. Envoys were sent to Africa to demand the disbanding of the troops and the destruction of the naval stores. But the excitement at Carthage was now beyond control; and a popular rising not only deterred the senate from yielding, but endangered the Roman envoys. Cato now moved the Senate to declare war; and it was resolved to do so, if the Carthaginians again refused the demand already made (B.C. 152). Meanwhile, hostilities had commenced in Africa. The Carthaginians had refused to receive the exiles whom Masinissa had sent back with a military escort under his son Gulussa. The king marched upon the city, and a great battle followed, in which the Carthaginians were worsted. After some fruitless negotiations, the Punic general Hasdrubal was forced to surrender under a convention granting all the demands of Masinissa; and his army, after passing under the yoke, was treacherously cut to pieces in its retreat (B.C. 150). These operations took place under the eye of P. Scipio Æmilianus, who, at that time a military tribune in the army of Spain, had been sent over to Masinissa to obtain a supply of elephants; and the occasion had been seized by Cicero to put into the mouth of Scipio the relation of the courtesies interchanged with the ancient friend of his family, and the dream of his own future glories which followed their discourse about the elder Africanus.*

The Carthaginians had now furnished the desired pretext by making war in Africa, contrary to the letter of the treaty, and the Romans made open preparations for hostilities. Conscious of their helplessness, the Punic senate sent an embassy to throw all the blame upon the late generals, whom they condemned to death. But the Romans were the less ready to accept the sacrifice, as a firm base was offered to them in Africa at the same moment by the unconditional submission of Utica. The Punic envoys were coldly told that their excuse was insufficient; and when they asked what would suffice, the significant reply was, that the Carthaginians knew that themselves. A second embassy, consisting of thirty principal citizens of Carthage, with unlimited powers, found that war was declared, and two consular armies were setting sail for Sicily (B.C. 149). The Senate had resolved to finish the affair in Africa, while continuing the negotiations in order to disarm resistance. The envoys were told that Carthage would be suffered to retain her municipal freedom and laws, her territory

* Cicero, *De Republicâ*, vi. 9, *seq.*, commonly called the *Somnium Scipionis*.

and its property, on condition of sending 300 hostages of her noblest families to meet the consuls at Lilybæum, and obeying the further orders which they would there announce. The hostages were accordingly ready at Lilybæum to meet the consuls, who sent them on to Rome, and then told the Carthaginians that the final decision of the Senate would be announced to them in Africa. All this was but too plainly the dealing of the executioner with his victim; but the helpless Carthaginians still submitted, trusting, perhaps, that their city would at least be left to them, according to the promise of the Senate. The landing in Africa was unopposed, and provisions were supplied to the invaders. The consuls fixed their head-quarters at Utica, and there received the full Carthaginian Senate. They first called for a surrender of those armaments which they said the city no longer needed, as it would henceforth be under the protection of Rome. The mandate was complied with, and the arms already enumerated were delivered up. And now that the city seemed defenceless, with the hostile army at her gates, and her noblest youths in the hands of her implacable enemies, the one mandate to which all others were but the preface, was uttered by the consul Censorinus:—"It is the will and pleasure of the Roman Senate that Carthage should be destroyed, and that the citizens should remove to any other part of their territory, provided it be at a distance of twelve miles from the sea." There, it was implied, they might enjoy the laws and liberty, the territory and property, which the Senate had promised them, under the all-powerful protection of Rome.

When the news reached Carthage, the spirit of resistance which had been pent up within barrier after barrier of concession—concession which, whenever made to a powerful enemy, is a fetter to the weak rather than a barrier to the strong—burst all bounds. It was one of those supreme moments in a nation's life, when —as in the case of an unarmed man struggling with a powerful murderer—the overpowering instinct of self-preservation casts aside all thoughts of submission, together with all calculations of success or failure, and all fear of being worse destroyed. "The voice of the few who counselled the acceptance of what was inevitable was, like the call of a pilot during a hurricane, drowned amidst the furious yells of the multitude, which, in its frantic rage, laid hold on the magistrates of the city who had counselled the surrender of the hostages and arms, made such of the innocent bearers of the news as had ventured to return home expiate their terrible tidings, and tore in pieces the Italians who chanced to be

sojourning in the city by way of avenging beforehand, on them at least, the destruction of its native home." This spontaneous outburst of patriotic frenzy has been well compared to the defence of Tyre against Alexander and of Jerusalem against Titus.

The event proved that the idea of resistance was not an impulse of utter madness; and the disarmed city succeeded in protracting its defence for three years. On the land side its triple wall was still unbroken, and the rocks of Cape Camart and Cape Carthage sheltered it from attack by the sea on all sides but one, which was protected by its fortified quays and harbours. There was old timber sufficient to build a fleet, and the surrendered arms might be replaced if only some time could be gained. The remnant of the Carthaginian army was still in the field under Hasdrubal, who had evaded his sentence by escaping from the city, and was now entreated to co-operate in the defence, which was committed within the city to another Hasdrubal, a grandson of Masinissa. Amidst all these preparations, a show of submission was kept up by a message to the consuls, requesting a thirty days' armistice for the despatch of an embassy to Rome, The request was of course refused; but the consuls seem to have been lulled by it into the belief that they might take possession of the city when they pleased, and they delayed their advance from Utica. Meanwhile the city resounded night and day with the labour of men and women on arms and catapults, and even the female slaves gave their long hair to furnish strings for these engines of defence. By the time the consuls moved, Carthage was in some state to receive them.

Censorinus, who was by far the abler general of the two consuls, commanded the Roman fleet, while his colleague, Manius Manilius, attacked the city on its landward side. Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian commander in the field, took up his station at Nepheris, on the opposite side of the lake of Tunis, to harass the besiegers, and the check which might at once have been placed upon him by the overwhelming force of the Numidian king, was suddenly withdrawn. Masinissa, after remaining aloof, apparently in discontent, died at the age of ninety soon after the commencement of the siege. After a fruitless attack from the sea at the point where the tongue of land called *Tænia* juts out, and where the wall was weakest,* Censorinus sailed into the lake of Tunis, and prepared to renew the attack on this weak angle from the Tænia itself. The party whom he led in person to collect timber for his engines were attacked by the active leader of light cavalry, Himilco Phaneas,

* See the Plan of Carthage, and the description of the city in Chapter XXIV.

and the consul lost 500 men before he accomplished his purpose. Two enormous battering rams were erected, and a breach was made, but it was partially filled up by the besieged in the night, and the Roman engines were disabled by a *sortie.* The assault was, however, made on the following day; but the defenders were so strongly posted on the walls and in the neighbouring houses that the storming force was compelled to retreat, and would probably have been cut to pieces but for the reserve kept in hand by P. Scipio Æmilianus, who was serving as a military tribune. During the pause that ensued, the army of Censorinus began to suffer so severely from the pestilential marshes, that he put out again to sea, not without some loss from the fire-ships of the Carthaginians. His departure soon afterwards, to hold the Comitia, reduced the fleet to inactivity, and left the whole operations to the care of his incompetent colleague Manilius, who found enough occupation in obtaining supplies and repulsing the attacks of the enemy.

It was now that the qualities of Scipio were displayed in all their brilliancy. When the Carthaginians made a night attack upon the consul's camp, he led round a body of cavalry to the enemy's rear and forced them to retreat. When Manilius, disregarding his advice, had almost involved his army in destruction, in an expedition against Hasdrubal at Nepheris, the retreating troops were extricated by a flank attack led by Scipio. Nor was he less skilful in the diplomacy of the campaign. While the consul only deterred those chiefs who were anxious to negotiate, Scipio gained over Himilco Phaneas with his light cavalry, and recovered the services of the Numidians for Rome. The dying Masinissa had left to the adopted grandson of his old friend the charge of dividing his dominions among his three sons, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal;* and Scipio, after discharging this duty with success, brought Gulussa and his Numidian cavalry to the aid of the Romans. The dignified simplicity of character, which he inherited from his father, preserved him from the envy which the elder Africanus had provoked. His praises were mingled with all the news that reached Rome from Africa; and Cato, who died at the close of this first year of the war, pronounced the eulogium of the rising hero in the words of Homer:

"He only is a living man, the rest are gliding shades."

Still another year of ill-success elapsed before the public voice

* This bequest ultimately led to the Jugurthine War.

called him to the command; and he departed for Rome, taking Phaneas with him, about the time when Manilius was superseded by the new consul, L. Calpurnius Piso (B.C. 148). Under him and the admiral Mancinus the siege made absolutely no progress. Preferring to subdue the African cities, before pressing the attack on Carthage, he was repulsed from Clupea, and wasted the summer in a fruitless siege of Hippo Diarrhytus, while his success in taking Neapolis was more than counterbalanced by the disgust which his breach of the capitulation excited among the Africans The Carthaginians began to gain new allies. They were joined by Bithyas, a Numidian chieftain; they opened negotiations with the sons of Masinissa and the king of Mauretania; and they even sought, in the alliance of the Macedonian Andriscus, a shadow of the league between Hannibal and Philip. But all was overclouded by the renewed outburst of cruel treachery among themselves. Hasdrubal, the commander in the field, whether from envy of the higher post of his namesake in the city, or from whatever other motive, contrived to bring the latter into suspicion on account of his relationship to Masinissa, and having caused him to be put to death in the Senate-house, assumed the command within the city. The suspense of this campaign was intolerable to the Romans, and when Scipio, who had as yet held no higher office than that of military tribune, came forward as a candidate for the ædileship, the unanimous voice of the centuries saluted him as consul, though, in his thirty-seventh year, he was below the legal age. A special decree of the Senate assigned Africa as his province, and he sailed to the scene of his fame with his celebrated friends Lælius and Polybius.

When Scipio landed at Utica, he found the campaign of B.C. 147 already opened in such a manner that his arrival only saved a great disaster by a few hours. While Piso was absent, operating against the country towns, the admiral Mancinus thought he could strike a blow from a new quarter. With the small force at his command, he scaled the rocks below Cape Carthage, where the steep ascent had caused the defences to be neglected. They repulsed a desperate sally of the Carthaginians; and some of them entered the gates with the fugitives, but were soon thrust out again. Meanwhile their shouts of triumph had caused their comrades and the camp-followers to flock up the hill in disorder; and Mancinus found himself at nightfall perched on the cliff at the head of a force disordered and to a great extent unarmed, and cut off from supplies and reinforcements. His letter announcing

his situation had only just reached the head-quarters at Utica when Scipio arrived. After making known his presence to the besieged by means of deserters, he sailed round to the scene of action; and the first appearance of his fleet doubling Cape Carthage was enough to relieve Mancinus from a crushing attack, which the Carthaginians had renewed in the morning; and the post gained upon the hill was also secured. Having recalled the army of Piso from its desultory operations, and having restored discipline by his firmness, and cleared the camp of all hangers-on, Scipio commenced the siege in earnest. His head-quarters were fixed, as those of Manilius had been, on the isthmus uniting the peninsula of Carthage to the mainland; and his first operations were directed against the suburb of Megara. A simultaneous attack made on two points in the night had been repulsed by the courage of the defenders, when Scipio perceived a sort of fort outside the wall, and equalling it in height. From this a bridge was thrown across to the wall; a party crossed and broke down a little gate, which gave admission to the Roman army. Megara was thus taken, and not only the garrison of the suburb, but the army in the field, retreated within the fortifications of the city. Here Hasdrubal inaugurated a reign of terror by one of those fearful acts which the leaders of a desperate cause perpetrate to cut off all retreat from their followers. All the Roman prisoners taken during the war were put to death upon the walls with the most exquisite tortures, and the same fate was inflicted upon the citizens who dared to remonstrate, including several senators of Carthage.

Scipio now proceeded at once to fortify himself and to cut off all communication between the city and the mainland by means of parallel trenches three miles long, drawn across the whole width of the isthmus, with a wall towards the city, twelve feet high and six feet broad, with towers at equal intervals. The work was executed in twenty-four days, in spite of the interruptions of the enemy; but, before its completion, Bithyas forced his way out with the light cavalry to the camp at Nepheris. Thence scouring the country for supplies, he sent them in by sea, mariners being found ready, for a large reward, to make the venture when the wind blew direct into the harbour. But all the supplies thus sent were seized by Hasdrubal for the use of his 30,000 men, without regard to the suffering inhabitants. To stop these proceedings, Scipio resolved to block up the entrance to the port by a mole of stone, 96 feet broad; and the remains of this gigantic work still exist. The besieged, who at first ridiculed the attempt as impossible, answered

it by another unexpected stratagem. They were seen working night and day for two months at the inner or naval harbour, without even the deserters being able to tell what they were about. At length, just as the entrance to the port was effectually blocked up, a squadron of fifty triremes—part of the fleet of 120 which the Carthaginians had built during the siege—was seen by Scipio, from his camp upon the Isthmus, sailing out through a new channel, which had been cut from the inner harbour to the open sea. Had they known how to use their opportunity, the Roman fleet, surprised and unprepared, must have been destroyed. But the movement seems to have been made only to show the Romans that their blockade was ineffectual, and it was three days before they came out again to fight. Scipio's fleet was now ready to receive them, and though the action that ensued was indecisive, the not winning it was as fatal to the Carthaginians as a defeat, the more so as their fleet suffered much by collisions, in crowding back through the narrow passage. Many ships, unable to enter, were moored along the shore, under the protection of the missiles discharged from the quays. But the Sidonian mariners, who were now serving with the Roman fleet, contrived a plan of attack by which the ships were destroyed at their anchors; and thus the great Phœnician city, which had so long been mistress of the western seas, owed the loss of her last sea-fight and the destruction of her last navy to the seamen of her mother country.

Scipio now resolved to make himself master of the ports. The quay between them and the sea was only defended by a weak wall, which was attacked from the Tænia. But it was not till the battering engines had been once destroyed by the Carthaginians, who swam and waded through the shallow water in the night, that an entrance was effected. The Romans then built a brick rampart upon the quay, to the same height as the city wall; and posted upon it a guard of 4000 men, to harass the besieged with missiles. By this time the winter rains had set in, making the camp on the Tænia unhealthy: the city was closely invested by sea and land, and the distress was most severe within: so Scipio suspended the operations of the siege, and turned his chief attention to the reduction of the fortified camp of the Punic army at Nepheris. After a siege of some length, conducted by Lælius and Gulussa, two towers were battered down; the place was taken by Scipio in person; and of the soldiers and country people found within the fort, 70,000 were put to the sword, 10,000 were taken prisoners, and only 1000 escaped. The capture of Nepheris fol

lowed the storming of the camp. The Carthaginians had no longer an army in the field; and the country towns submitted to the Romans.

The winter was passed in the beleaguered city amidst intense suffering from famine and disease, and from the cruel tyranny of Hasdrubal. Many contrived to steal out of the gates, and those who remained were in no condition to resist the assault which Scipio renewed with the return of spring; but Hasdrubal would suffer no capitulation. While that general succeeded in repulsing an attack made upon the gate of the Cothon, Lælius scaled the wall between the outer harbour and the city, and became master of the "Great Place," or market-place, where the soldiers plundered the temple of Apollo of the golden plates that lined its walls and the golden ornaments of the god's statue, to the value of 1000 talents. The statue itself was afterwards carried to Rome. Having with difficulty restored order, Scipio prepared for the final assault upon the Byrsa. Three streets led up the ascent from the market-place to the citadel.* Narrow and winding, like all the streets of oriental cities, they were overhung by the upper stories of the lofty houses, from which the Carthaginians poured down showers of darts upon the Roman columns. These houses had to be taken one by one; when the defenders had been driven from floor to floor of the six stories, planks had often to be laid across, to pursue them into the opposite houses; and many a combat was to be seen on these fearful bridges. The streets and houses were cumbered with the dead; and Scipio found it necessary to clear a space for action by ordering the captured houses to be burnt and their ruins levelled with the ground. Many wretches, wounded or hidden in the houses, perished in the conflagration, which wrapped in volumes of smoke the unremitting fury of the combat, and cast its lurid glare over the scene by night. The exhausted Roman soldiers were relieved from time to time, while Scipio watched this unexampled conflict for six days and nights, allowing himself no time to sleep or eat.

On the seventh day, he had taken up his post on a lofty place, which commanded the whole view,† when a deputation appeared before him, to beg the lives of those who had taken refuge in the Byrsa. The request was granted for all except the Roman deserters; and, of that teeming population of 700,000 persons whose prosperity had excited the jealousy of Cato, a miserable remnant, 30,000

* See pp. 370—375, and the Plan of Carthage.

† Probably the *Hill of St Louis.* See pp. 373, 374.

men and 25,000 women, marched out through the burning ruins of their houses over the heaped-up corses of their fellow-citizens. There remained the 900 Roman deserters, with Hasdrubal, his wife and his two sons. Hopeless of mercy, they retreated to the temple of Æsculapius, the heart of the citadel. Its strength might long have defied assault; but the little garrison were exhausted with famine, watching, and despair; and some of them at least resolved to perish as a voluntary sacrifice. But no sooner was the temple set on fire, than Husdrubal rushed forth, deserting wife, children, and followers, and came into Scipio's presence with an olive-branch in his hand. In utter scorn, the victor granted life to the abject wretch, but compelled him to prostrate himself at his feet in sight of the deserted garrison, who overwhelmed him with execrations. Above them all, the wife of Hasdrubal showed herself on the topmost story of the temple, holding a child in either hand:—"To thee, Roman," she exclaimed, "I wish nothing but prosperity; for thy acts are according to the laws of war. But I beseech thee, as well as the gods of Carthage, to punish that Hasdrubal as he deserves, for having betrayed his country, his gods, his wife and children." Then, having bitterly reviled her husband, she cut her children's throats, and threw them one after the other into the flames, into which she then leaped down herself. The like fate of the deserters completed this last and most hideous sacrifice to the Punic Moloch. The remaining captives were either sold as slaves, or left to languish in prison, except some of the chief leaders. Hasdrubal and Bithyas were placed in honourable custody in Italian towns. The city was given up to pillage; only the gold, silver, votive gifts, and the works of art deposited in the temples being reserved for the state. Many of these works had been carried off as plunder from the Sicilian cities, which were now invited to reclaim their property; and, among the rest, the brazen bull of Phalaris was restored to the Agrigentines.

The Roman Senate, in spite of the opposition of Scipio Nasica, decreed that Carthage, as well as the villas of her nobles, in the suburb of Megara, should be levelled with the ground; and that the ploughshare should be driven over her soil—the accustomed token of devoting the site to perpetual desolation—with a curse upon the man who should dare to cultivate or build upon it. Scipio was made the unwilling executioner of this savage doom; and the flames raged through the city for fourteen days before all her edifices were destroyed. The conqueror himself

was too prescient, as well as too generous, to share the exultation of Rome and the army over their fallen foe; and with tearful eyes he gave vent to the presentiments that mingled with his regret in the words of Hector:—

> "The day shall surely come, when sacred Troy will fall,
> And Priam, and the people of the ash-speared Priam all." *

Such forebodings, and the remembrance of the fearful scenes in which he had been a reluctant actor, must have made his triumph —which was far more magnificent even than his father's—as sad as that had been to the occupant of the triumphal car; but for his own conduct there was no self-reproach to embitter the universal applause. He was still reserved for another triumph over the country in which the family of his adoption had won their first laurels, and which was destined to confer upon him another name of honour.† And, after all, he was doomed, like his adoptive grandfather, to lose all his popularity by his political conduct, and to perish amidst the strongest suspicion of assassination. A Carthaginian might have believed that Baal and Astarte, Ashmon and Melcarth, took vengeance on the destroyer of their temples. A Greek would say that the gods were envious of the prosperity of a mortal whose glory trenched too nearly on their own. A believer in the moral government of the world by its true Ruler can hardly refuse to acknowledge the lesson, that even those whom he has called to be His instruments, though they have not known Him, must feel His power and will to humble those who are exalted.

The African territory, which now lay at the disposal of the Roman Senate and people, was that which had been left to Carthage, after all the encroachments of Masinissa. This was neither con-

* Homer, *Iliad*, vi. 448, 449:—

> Ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρή,
> Καὶ Πρίαμος, καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο.

Pope's translation is subjoined, though as it is even more than usually paraphrastic a literal version has been given in the text:—

> "Yet come it will, the day decreed by fates:
> (How my heart trembles while my tongue relates!)
> The day when thou, imperial Troy! must bend,
> And see thy warriors fall, thy glories end."

† The cognomen of *Numantinus*. It should be remembered that that of *Africanus* was already his by adoptive descent before he won it again by his exploits. The hereditary transmission of these surnames of honour formed among the Romans a nobility of merit, like that which is preserved among ourselves by such titles as Mahon, St. Vincent, Camperdown, and Douro.

ferred upon their allies—as they had rewarded Attalus with the conquests from Antiochus in Asia, and Masinissa himself with the kingdom of Syphax and the Libyphœnician cities,—nor, in disappointing the ambitious hopes of the Numidian princes, did the Romans reclaim from them any part of what they had won from Carthage.* The three sons of Masinissa were left in undisturbed possession of all the African shores and highlands and half-desert plains, between the Mediterranean and the Sahara, from the boundary of Mauretania to that of Cyrenaïca, except the northeastern angle around Carthage, and a portion only of the sea-coast of Byzacium. Scipio drew a trench to the sea at Thenæ, opposite the southern point of the islands in the mouth of the Lesser Syrtis, and this boundary line left to Numidia the rich district of Emporia, besides the inner table-land of Byzacena, and the "Great Plain" about the upper course of the Bagradas. This wide Numidian kingdom was soon reunited under Micipsa by the death of his two brothers. Of its subsequent fortunes we shall have to speak presently in relating the usurpation and all of Jugurtha. We have already had occasion to notice the compliment paid to the Numidian princes, by presenting them with the books found among the spoils of Carthage, except the treatise of Hanno on Agriculture; and the literary reputation of the later kings, Hiempsal and Juba, proves that the treasure, despised by the givers, was not unworthily bestowed. Nor must it be forgotten that Rome had already been indebted to Carthage for the chief poet of that age, and the most elegant writer in her literature, the comedian Terence.†

The limited territory along the coasts of Zeugitana and Byzacium, which formed the latest possessions of Carthage, was erected into the province of Africa, a name borrowed from the Carthaginians, and capable of indefinite extension.‡ The prov-

* This is distinctly stated by Sallust:—"Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida, *et finis Karthaginiensium quos novissume habuerant*, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat: Gætulorum magna pars et Numidæ asque ad flumen Mulucha sub Jugurtha erant."—(Jug. 19.) Of Mauretania the Romans knew nothing till the war with Jugurtha.

† Born at Carthage in B.C. 195, he was either by birth or purchase the slave of the Roman senator P. Terentius Lucanus, from whom, on his manumission, he received the name of P. Terentius Afer. He became intimate with Scipio and Lælius. His plays are reproductions of the Greek comedies of Menander. The first of them, the *Andria*, was brought out in B.C. 166, and he died in B.C. 159.

‡ The name of *Africa* seems to have been unknown to the Greeks till they adopted it from the Romans, and it was long before even the latter used it to replace the Greek name of *Libya* for the whole continent.

ince was placed under a prætor, whose seat of government was at Utica; and this most ancient Phœnician colony was rewarded for her early adhesion to Rome with part of the lands of her always envied rival. The other towns which had taken part with Rome, such as Hadrumetum, Leptis Parva, Thapsus, Acholla, and a few others, were made free cities; while of those that had adhered to Carthage, some were destroyed, and their lands added to the public domain of Rome (*ager publicus*) and let on lease to occupiers (*possessores*); while the rest, whose lands were equally forfeit in law, were allowed to retain them for the present, paying a fixed annual tribute (*stipendium*). The rich plains of Africa soon became even more important than Sicily for their supplies of corn to Rome,* and the Roman merchants found themselves in possession, through the port of Utica, of the commerce of Carthage, both with the Mediterranean and Inner Africa.

Within twenty-four hours after the destruction of Carthage, the plantation of a new colony on its site, under the name of JUNONIA, was one of the measures for improving the condition of the people carried by Caius Gracchus in his first tribunate (B.C. 123). In the following year he led 6000 colonists to Africa, and it was this absence that gave the aristocratic party the opportunity to effect his ruin. His death, the year after, caused the colony to be abandoned. Julius Cæsar revived the project the year before his death (B.C. 46); and, in B.C. 19, Augustus sent out a body of 3000 colonists to found the Roman city of Carthage, which was now made the capital of Africa in place of Utica. Under the empire, it vied with Rome and Constantinople in wealth and magnitude, and as a Christian bishopric it became as conspicuous as it had been for the worship of Baal and Melcarth. Taken by Genseric in A.D. 439, it was made the capital of the Vandal kingdom of Africa. In A.D. 533 it was retaken by Belisarius, and named *Justiniana*. A little more than a century later, it fell a prey to the Arabs under Hassan, by whom it was finally destroyed (A.D. 647).

* "Quidquid de Libycis verritur areis."—Horat. *Carm.* I. 1.

CHAPTER XXX.

CONQUESTS OF ROME IN THE WEST, AND CONDITION OF THE REPUBLIC.—FROM THE END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR TO THE FORMATION OF THE PROVINCE OF ASIA, AND THE DEATH OF THE YOUNGER SCIPIO. B.C. 200 TO B.C. 129.

"Rome had its heroic age: the Romans knew that they had such an age, and we may believe them. Polybius saw the end of it: he saw the destruction of Carthage and the savage sack of Corinth, and the beginning of a worse time. But he has recorded his testimony that some honesty still remained."—LONG.

THE ROMAN DOMINIONS IN THE WEST—WAR IN CISALPINE GAUL—CONQUEST OF THE INSUBRES AND BOII—LIGURIAN WARS—CONDITION OF SPAIN—CONSULSHIP OF CATO—GOVERNMENT OF TIBERIUS GRACCHUS—HIS TRIUMPH OVER SARDINIA—FIRST CELTIBERIAN WAR—NUMANTIA—MARCELLUS AND LUCULLUS IN SPAIN—CRUELTIES OF GALBA—LUSITANIAN WAR—VIRIATHUS—Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS ÆMILIANUS AND Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS SERVILIANUS—MURDER OF VIRIATHUS—NUMANTINE WAR—MANCINUS—BRUTUS SUBDUES LUSITANIA AND THE GALLÆCI—SCIPIO AFRICANUS IN SPAIN—SIEGE AND DESTRUCTION OF NUMANTIA—TRIUMPH OF SCIPIO—SERVILE WAR IN SICILY—ROMAN SLAVERY—LAWS AND OVATION OF RUPILIUS—ATTALUS III. BEQUEATHS PERGAMUS TO THE ROMANS—THE WAR WITH ARISTONICUS—CRASSUS IN ASIA—FORMATION OF THE PROVINCE OF ASIA—EXTENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE—CONDITION OF THE REPUBLIC—THE NEW NOBILITY AND THE CITY RABBLE—THE NOBLES IN POSSESSION OF THE SENATE AND THE CHIEF CIVIL AND MILITARY OFFICES—THE GOVERNMENT OF THE OLIGARCHY—SUCCESSFUL FOREIGN POLICY—INTERNAL AFFAIRS—FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION—INCREASE OF CORRUPTION—PUBLIC WORKS—THE AQUEDUCTS OF ROME—PARTY OF OPPOSITION AND REFORM—M. PORCIUS CATO—HIS EARLY LIFE AND SERVICE IN THE SECOND PUNIC WAR—QUÆSTOR IN SICILY—OPPOSITION TO SCIPIO—CATO AT THERMOPYLÆ—THE PROSECUTION OF L. SCIPIO ASIATICUS—VIOLENCE OF AFRICANUS—PROSECUTION AND TRIUMPH OF SCIPIO AFRICANUS—HIS RETIREMENT AND DEATH—SCIPIO AND WELLINGTON—CENSORSHIP OF CATO—HIS VAST INFLUENCE AND ITS SMALL RESULTS—THE YOUNGER AFRICANUS—VOTE BY BALLOT AT ROME—LAWS AGAINST BRIBERY—UNPOPULARITY AND DEATH OF SCIPIO—RELIGION AND MANNERS—ROMAN LITERATURE.

THE half century during which Rome was contending for empire with the Hellenic and Semitic races was occupied with an incessant conflict for the mastery of her newly-acquired dominion in the West; and the same period—or rather the first two-thirds of the century—was signalized at home by events of the deepest interest, in which such actors as Cato and the Scipios play their part. The grand result was the extension of the Roman empire over the European shores of the Mediterranean from the Pillars of Hercules to the Hellespont, the acquisition of provinces both in Africa and Asia, and the supremacy of Roman influence over the vassal kings and tribes of Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Numidia; till only Mauretania remained to complete the circuit of the Mediterranean, on whose waters the ships of the Republic no longer en-

countered any enemies but pirates. It was the reaction of this brilliant career abroad that mainly determined the course of events at home, and paved the way for the fall of the Republic.

Cisalpine Gaul had to be re-conquered, and the tribes of Spain to be subdued. We have seen that a war was still in progress with the Gauls, when Hannibal's passage of the Alps roused them to a general revolt; and from that time Carthaginian influence had been predominant between the Alps and the Apennines. And now it seemed as if the last remnants of the Barcine spirit had found a refuge among the Celtic tribes. In the very year when the peace was ratified with Carthage, a certain Hamilcar united the Gauls and Ligurians in a general attack upon the fortresses which the Romans had continued to hold throughout the war (B.C. 200). Placentia was stormed and destroyed, and Cremona was besieged. It is needless to follow the ten years' contest which the Gauls maintained with the obstinacy of a last effort against the resources and discipline of Rome. The Insubrians and Cenomani—the two chief tribes on the left of the Po, in the modern Lombardy—were first defeated (B.C. 196); but the great nation of the Boii, between the right bank of the river and the Apennines, were only subdued by P. Scipio Nasica in B.C. 191. Their subjugation was followed by the foundation of the colonies, the names of which have become so famous in medieval and modern history, Bononia (*Bologna*), Mutina (*Modena*), and Parma; and the Flaminian Road was continued through their country from Ariminum (*Rimini*) to Mediolanum (*Milan*), under the name of the Via Æmilia, by the censor M. Æmilius Lepidus (B.C. 179).

The conquest of the hardy mountaineers of Liguria* was a longer and more difficult task. In B.C. 187 the consul Lepidus, the same who has just been mentioned, marched against them with his colleague—such was the importance attached to the war—and from that period almost to the end of the century, we read of perpetual hostilities, in which the Roman generals for a long time gained no more than an occasional success, just sufficient to form the pretext for a triumph. The powerful tribe of the Apuani, in the Etruscan Apennines, eastward of the river Macra, submitted in B.C. 180, and were removed to the heart of Samnium, to the number of 40,000, while the Roman hold on their former country was made sure by colonies at Pisa (B.C. 180) and Luca (B.C. 179).† The

* See note to p. 140.

† Luca, the modern *Lucca*, was reckoned the southernmost city of the Ligurians; but it belonged to the province of Cisalpine Gaul.

Ingauni, in the Maritime Alps, west of Genoa, had been nominally subdued a year earlier (B.C. 181); but they long continued powerful enough, even by sea, to harass both the Romans and Massaliots with their piratical attacks. The armies of Rome gradually fought their way westward along the *Riviera*, till in B.C. 154 they crossed the Varus (*Var*), and for the first time came into contact with a Ligurian tribe (the Oxybii) within the limits of Transalpine Gaul. The wars in that country thirty years later, under the consul Sextius Calvinus, are again connected with triumphs over Ligurian tribes (B.C. 123–2); while the last triumph over those in Italy was won by the proconsul C. Marcius (B.C. 117). But, as always with such tribes, it was found that military roads were the most effectual instruments of subjugation, and in B.C. 109 the censor M. Æmilius Scaurus made the road along the coast from Luna (*Luni*) to Vada Sabata (*Vado*), and thence over the Apennines and down the valley of the Bormida to Dertona (*Tortona*). Strabo tells us that, after eighty years of warfare, the public officers of Rome, on their journeys through the country, could only command a space of twelve stadia (less than a mile and a half) in breadth; and the conquest of Liguria was only completed under Augustus (B.C. 14).

A far more formidable resistance had to be encountered in Spain, before the country won for Rome by the elder Scipio Africanus was finally subdued through the destruction of Numantia, the stronghold of Iberian independence, by the younger (B.C. 205–133). The Second Punic War had left the peninsula divided among a strange intermixture of elements, Celtic and Iberian, Phœnician, Hellenic, and Roman. The province within the Ebro, except the northern mountains, and the east coast as far as New Carthage, had been reduced by the arms of Rome; and the more quiet peoples of Bætica, long since brought under Phœnician culture, began to feel the influence of the Roman garrisons and of the Italian adventurers who came to work the silver mines. Here were founded the first Latin communities (except Agrigentum) beyond the limits of Italy: Italica (near *Seville*), where Scipio left the veterans of his army who, having married Spanish women, desired to remain in Spain (B.C. 205),* and the colony of Carteia, which was founded by Tiberius Gracchus in B.C. 171. The regions subject to Rome corresponded to the modern Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, and Andalusia, or the districts between the eastern coast

* Italica was not a municipal town, but it had a market-place, and formed a kind of centre for the Latin settlers of the neighbourhood—what the Romans called *forum et conciliabulum civium Romanorum.*

and the mountains running parallel to it, and between the southern coast and the Sierra Morena. The tribes of the central table-land, especially the great nation of the Celtiberians, preserved their own forms of government, which appear to have been republican, in nominal league with the Romans, but only serving in their armies for pay, while some of them still furnished mercenaries to Carthage as late as the battle of Zama. The remote Lusitanians and Gallæcians were completely independent, and the wild Cantabrians of the northern mountains scarcely known to the Romans so much as by name. Willing as they had been to aid the enemies who came to break the yoke of Carthage, the Iberians were little disposed to bow to that of Rome. Like their modern descendants, they harassed by a constant guerilla warfare the intruders who supposed themselves masters of the country. In B.C. 195, it was found necessary to send a powerful army into Spain, under the consul M. Porcius Cato, who had served with distinction through the Second Punic War. He had already established that character for the stern Roman virtues which has made his name proverbial in history, and had decisively assumed the position of rivalry against Scipio Africanus. His treatment of the Spaniards showed none of the weakness with which he had charged that general. His artifices set tribe against tribe; some were induced to demolish their own defences: others were taken into the pay of Rome: several victories were gained in the field: multitudes of unarmed captives, who had surrendered voluntarily, were partly massacred in cold blood, and partly sold for slaves, while many put themselves to death to avoid the same fate. Cato returned to enjoy a triumph in the same year as that of Flamininus over Philip V., boasting that he had destroyed more towns than he had spent days in Spain (B.C. 194).

The readers of modern history can easily imagine the effect of such treatment on the Iberian character. After fifteen years of sullen discontent, breaking out into frequent rebellion, another method was tried by a general of a very different temper. This was Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the son of the general who had fallen in battle against Hannibal, and the father of the two tribunes famous in history as "the Gracchi." He was, besides, the son-in-law of the elder and the father-in-law of the younger Scipio Africanus. Elected prætor in B.C. 181, he received Hither Spain as his province; and having brought to a successful end an obstinate war with the Celtiberians, he effected the pacification of the country by his wisdom and moderation. The natives bound

themselves to build no more towns, and the power of Rome was now established in Catalonia, Valencia, Arragon, and the eastern part of Castile (B.C. 179). The opportnnity may be taken to mention another war in which Gracchus was eminently successful. In B.C. 177 he was sent, as consul, to subdue a revolt of the Sardinians, over whom he triumphed in B.C. 175, bringing back with him to Rome such a multitude of captives, that the slave-markets were glutted, and the phrase as "cheap as Sardinians" passed into a proverb.* His colleague in the consulship, C. Claudius Pulcher, subdued the people of the Istrian peninsula. The wars in Corsica (B.C. 163) and Dalmatia (B.C. 156–5) afford other examples of the numerous conflicts by which Rome had to make good her empire.

The settlement effected by Gracchus ensured comparative tranquillity to the province of Hither Spain for a quarter of a century, during which the Roman arms appear to have advanced beyond the central table-land, into the valleys of the Tagus and Douro. But, as in modern times, Lusitania proved the refuge of Iberian independence, when the armies of the Latin race had overrun most of the peninsula. Its hardy people, united with the Vettones and Vaccæi, on the upper Tagus and Douro, defeated the united forces of both provinces, and carried their depredations almost to the walls of New Carthage (B.C. 154). For the first time since forty years, a Roman consul, Q. Fulvius Nobilior, was sent into Spain; and to hasten his departure, it was enacted that the consuls should enter upon their office on the 1st of January, B.C. 153.† But Nobilior was too late to avert a great defeat of the prætor Lucius Mummius, which was used by the victors as the means of rousing the central tribes to arms, and so gave the signal for the first CELTIBERIAN WAR.

Two small Celtiberian tribes had already begun to build the town of Segeda, and had refused the demands of the governor to desist, and to pay the arrears of tribute, which had not been collected for a long time, when Nobilior arrived with his army of 30,000 men. The unfinished city could offer no resistance; but the warriors escaped to the powerful tribe of the Arevaci, whom the success of the Lusitanians had prepared to take up arms; and the Romans were defeated in a great battle, with the loss of nearly 6000 citizens, on the 23d of August. The insurgents now established their head-quarters at the famous city of NUMANTIA, near

* *Sardi venales.*

† Such was the accident that fixed that beginning of the year which, after a long struggle, has superseded the more natural epoch of the vernal equinox.

the sources of the Douro, on a hill of moderate height, the precipitous sides of which rendered walls superfluous. The ascent was by a single narrow pass, which was defended by ditches and palisades.* A second victory over Nobilior before this place was followed by the surrender of Ocilis, with the Roman military chest and stores; but the Lusitanians south of the Tagus were subdued by the propraetor Mummius.

M. Claudius Marcellus, the consul of the following year, achieved successes which led the Arevaci to sue for peace; but after long delay the Senate resolved on their complete subjugation (B.C. 152). But Marcellus, either from a humane policy, or in the expectation of his successor's arrival, concluded a treaty with the Arevaci, guaranteeing their independence as tributaries of Rome (B.C. 151). The new consul, L. Licinius Lucullus, gave vent to his disappointment by an attack on the neighbouring Vaccæi. Their city of Cauca (*Coca*) was taken, and 20,000 inhabitants given up to the sword or to slavery, in violation of a capitulation; and this example of bad faith closed the gates of the other cities. The Romans were reduced to great distress, when Scipio Æmilianus, who was serving as a military tribune, prevailed on the people of Intercatia to accept his plighted word that the army would retire in peace, on being furnished with provisions.

Meanwhile the prætor, Servius Sulpicius Galba, had met with reverses in Lusitania, and Lucullus crossed the Tagus to his aid. Both resumed operations in the spring of B.C. 150, the consul in Turdetania, the country between the Gaudiana (*Anas*) † and the Straits, which the Lusitanians had invaded; the prætor on the right bank of the Tagus. Here Galba perpetrated one of the worst atrocities known in the history of war. Having induced three of the Lusitanian tribes to consent to a removal to new settlements, he collected them at his head-quarters, to the number of 7000; and then, separated into three divisions, they were disarmed, and either murdered or sold for slaves. It marked a new era in the social state of Rome, when Galba, whom Cato accused almost as the last act of his life—was able to purchase an acquittal with the wealth acquired by his crimes. But the exasperation they called forth in Spain itself soon gathered to a head under a

* The ruins of Numantia are to be seen at *Guarray*, about a Spanish league north of Soria.

† The *Guad*, which forms the first syllable of the two great rivers of Southern Spain, is of Arabic origin, and signifies river. *Guadiana* is the *River Anas* (the ancient name), and *Guadalquivir* = *Guad-el-Kebir*, the *Great River*.

fitting leader. The Lusitanians, who had again invaded Turdetania, had been defeated by the prætor Vetilius, and were in the act of capitulating, when VIRIATHUS, one of the few who had escaped from Galba's massacre, warned them against trusting to the faith of the Romans, and offered to lead them in a new struggle for liberty. Originally a shepherd, he had become known as a youth for the courage with which he had defended his flocks against wild beasts and robbers, and he had since gained distinction as a guerilla chieftain. Even the Romans acknowledge his noble patriotism, and the justice of his dealings both with his followers and his enemies. He held the prætor in check for two days, while the Lusitanian army dispersed in separate bands, and then, decamping in the night, he rejoined them at an appointed rendezvous. The Roman general, hastening in pursuit, was himself slain in an ambuscade, where half his army was lost; and a reinforcement of 5000 men, hastily despatched from the Ebro, were cut to pieces on their march. "Viriathus, now recognized as lord and king of all the Lusitanians, knew how to combine the full dignity of his princely position with the homely habits of a shepherd. No badge distinguished him from the common soldier; he rose from the richly adorned marriage table of his father-in-law, the prince Astolpa in Roman Spain, without having touched the golden plate and the sumptuous fare, lifted his bride on horseback, and rode off with her to his mountains. He never took more of the spoil than the share which he allotted to each of his comrades. The soldier recognized the general simply by his tall figure, by his striking sallies of wit, and above all by the fact that he surpassed every one of his men in temperance as well as in toil, sleeping always in full armour, and fighting in front of all in battle. It seemed as if, in that thoroughly prosaic age, one of the Homeric heroes had reappeared. The name of Viriathus resounded far and wide through Spain; and the brave nation conceived that in him at length it had found the man who was destined to break the fetters of alien domination." *

The occupation of the Romans in the Third Punic War left only the forces already in Spain to contend with Viriathus, who gained victory after victory over their incompetent generals, and decorated the tops of the Lusitanian mountains with the Roman spoils. Even when, in the year after the fall of Carthage, the conqueror's elder brother, Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus, was sent as consul into Spain, his two legions consisted only of recruits: and

* Mommsen, vol. iii. p. 10.

he at first met with some reverses (b.c. 145). The fruits of a more successful campaign in the following year (b.c. 144), were lost through the weakness of his successor, the prætor Quinctius; and in the same year the Numantine war broke out afresh (b.c. 143). Both the consuls of the ensuing year found full occupation in Spain; the war against Viriathus falling to the lot of Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus, another adopted son of old Fabius Maximus. He penetrated into Lusitania with two legions and ten elephants, only to retreat again (b.c. 142); and the successes with which he opened the next campaign were cut short by a decisive defeat and a shameful capitulation (b.c. 141). The Senate ratified the peace which recognized Viriathus as king of Lusitania; but they armed the new consul, Q. Servilius Cæpio, the brother of Servilianus, first with secret orders to plot against Viriathus, and then with authority to resume hostilities. Viriathus was reduced to sue for peace, which was granted only on the condition of his giving up to the Roman executioners all whom they claimed as their subjects, including his own father-in-law. This concession was followed by a demand for the surrender of the arms of the Lusitanians; and Viriathus, convinced that the treachery of Galba was about to be re-enacted, was meditating a last resistance, when his own envoys, who had been gained over by Cæpio, murdered him in his sleep (b.c. 140).

Meanwhile, in the Hither Province, the Celtiberian war, which had died out when the attention of the Romans was diverted to Africa, had been revived by the example of Viriathus; and the new conflict, known as the Numantine War, occupied the Roman arms for more than ten years (b.c. 143—133). The consul, Q. Cæcilius Metellus, who had won the surname of Macedonicus by his successes against the pseudo-Philip Andriscus, reduced the insurgents in two campaigns, except the two cities of Numantia and Termantia. Even these were about to capitulate, when the demand for the surrender of their arms drove the people to despair (b.c. 141). The consul Q. Pompeius,* though commanding an army far more numerous than the insurgents, was defeated under the walls of both cities; and, after two campaigns, he granted the insurgents a favourable peace under the outward guise of their surrender (b.c. 140). But, on the arrival of his successor, the

* This first of the Pompeian gens who is named in Roman history was said to have been the son of a flute-player. It is convenient to use the full Roman name for the rest of the Pompeii, reserving the familiar English form for the best known of them, the rival of Cæsar

consul Popillius Lænas, before the transaction was completed, Pompeius flatly denied the whole treaty in the face of the envoys who had come to pay the last instalment; and, after a winter spent in negotiation, the Senate resolved to prosecute the war (B.C. 138). Still, the extirpation of the rebels seemed as remote as ever. The failures of Popillius Lænas were eclipsed by the great disaster incurred by his successor, the consul C. Hostilius Mancinus, whose army, seized with a panic at a false rumour of the advance of the Vaccæi and Cantabrians to the aid of Numantia, fled by night from their entrenchments to the old camp of Nobilior at a greater distance from the city. Pursued by the Numantines, they were surrounded and forced to capitulate, a favourable treaty of peace being concluded by the hereditary influence of young Tiberius Gracchus, who was serving with the army as military tribune. When the news reached Rome, the Senate and people repeated the hollow pretence, which had been enacted nearly two centuries before in the Great Samnite war, of repudiating the treaty by the solemn surrender of the commander. The Numantines refused, like Pontius, to accept the sacrifice, and Mancinus was seen standing a whole day in his shirt, with his hands bound behind his back, and attended by the herald, between the Roman camp and the gates of Numantia (B.C. 137). His colleague Lepidus, who succeeded to the command, turned away from Numantia to co-operate with Decimus Junius Brutus, the consul of B.C. 138, who, having completed the subjugation of Lusitania in two campaigns, was pursuing that career of conquest among the Gallæci, from which he derived the surname of Callaïcus. But instead of sharing his honours, the proconsul Lepidus incurred a disastrous defeat before Palantia (*Palencia*), the capital of the Vaccæi (B.C. 137). His two successors saved their armies from any disaster by attempting absolutely nothing against Numantia; and the Romans at length resolved to send their best general against this petty provincial fortress.

In the year B.C. 134, P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus proceeded as consul for the second time, to finish a task which had foiled all the generals who had tried it; and that, like his great namesake, without the permission of the Senate to levy a consular army, but with a volunteer body-guard of friends and clients under his brother Q. Fabius Maximus. The disorganized army of Spain, with which he had to do his work, was reduced to discipline by his firmness, and brought to a sense of shame by his scornful treatment. Avoiding all offers of battle, Scipio spent

the summer in thus training his army and in obtaining command of the surrounding country. In the autumn he drew his forces round Numantia, where 8000 citizens were now besieged by four Roman legions and the Numidian contingent of horse and foot, amounting in all to 60,000 men, with twelve elephants. The manner in which the actors in approaching scenes are often brought together was illustrated in the army before Numantia, where Jugurtha commanded the Numidians, and the valour of C. Marius attracted the notice of Scipio, who is said to have predicted his future greatness. Caius Gracchus too was serving in Scipio's army at the very time when his brother Tiberius met with his violent death at Rome at the hands of Scipio's kinsman.

Scipio's profound distrust of his army, and his resolution to run no needless risk, agreed with the course which the position of Numantia seems almost to have rendered necessary. For the first time in Roman history, the spade and mattock took the place of the sword and the battering-ram. The city, which was about three miles in circuit, was hemmed in with a double line of circumvallation of twice the length, with walls, towers, and ditches; and the passage of supplies by the Douro, hitherto carried on at every risk, was completely stopped. Scipio's operations during the summer had prevented the gathering in of stores; and famine soon began to press upon the garrison. A bold leader cut his way out with a small band, and tried to rouse the Celtiberians to a last effort to save their beleaguered brethren. The city of Lutia seemed about to respond to the appeal, when Scipio, warned by the Roman party in the place, appeared before its gates. Four hundred noble youths were delivered up to him as leaders of the movement; and their hands were cut off—an oriental barbarity which had become not uncommon in the Spanish wars.

Thus deprived of all hope of succour, the Numantines offered to capitulate. The reply, that they must surrender at discretion, roused all the frenzy of an Iberian defence, and their own envoys who brought it were torn to pieces. But there was no assailing enemy against whom to prove their fruitless valour: the foe that advanced from house to house was silent famine, followed by despair. Is was not till the defenders had come to eat the bodies of the dead, that envoys were again sent to the Roman camp to make the required submission; and one condition only was asked for, that those who were unwilling to surrender might have leave to die. Scipio granted the space necessary to make and execute this terrible choice; and then the few gaunt survivors marched out

of the gates. Fifty of the principal citizens were reserved for the victor's triumph; the rest were sold as slaves. Numantia, razed to its foundations, added to Carthage and Corinth another terrible example, that no considerations of mercy would allow the submission of the conquered countries to remain incomplete. The siege had lasted fifteen months (B.C. 133).

All Spain was now subdued, with the exception of the Cantabrian mountaineers, and the peninsula became henceforth the most prosperous, and, next to Italy itself, the most thoroughly Roman part of the whole empire. The agricultural products of the country, especially its corn, wine, and wool, its mineral wealth, and its facilities for maritime commerce, attracted capitalists from Italy. Great towns were built, particularly in the south, and filled with a wealthy and highly cultivated Italian population. Latin became the language of both provinces, and several distinguished names were contributed by Spain to Roman literature. "To the present day, the language, the manners, and even the heathen Christianity of Spain, retain a living evidence of the successful Romanizing of the peninsula." * Scipio returned to Rome to celebrate another triumph, with the new title of Numantinus (B.C. 132); and Brutus appears to have triumphed over the Lusitanians and Gallæci in the same year. The latter general had enriched himself in Spain, and the public buildings, to the erection of which part of his gains was devoted, were inscribed with verses in his praise by his friend and comrade, the poet and orator L. Attius. But Scipio had remained true to his maxims of stern integrity. For the second time he returned to Rome no richer than when he started: and Cicero tells us that, when Attalus of Pergamus sent him those presents which no one had dared even to offer to his father, Scipio informed the king that he would use his bounty in rewarding the bravest of his soldiers.

The time of the destruction of Numantia witnessed two other events, which mark it as an epoch in the history of the Roman empire. The culminating greatness of that empire, in the acquisition of the kingdom bequeathed by Attalus at his death, is contrasted with the outbreak of an incurable internal source of decay, the first of the *Servile Wars*. Like the social luxury and political corruption which marked the age, the inordinate growth of slavery was at once the fruit of conquest and the beginning of its penalty.

* Long, *Decline of the Roman Republic*, vol. i. p. 100.

The innate curse which the moral government of God has stamped upon the daring and impious claim of man to make property of his fellow-man—the self-working law that, like all other tyranny, it is as difficult to let go as it was unjust to acquire—becomes doubly dangerous in the case of "captives taken with the spear," where no marked difference of race or colour or civilization places the master above the slave. And when slaves become so numerous as they had been now made by a century of foreign conquest in the three divisions of the world, the mode of their employment, their separation from the free community, and the carelessness of their masters about their welfare or their very lives, concurred to make them a persecuted and dangerous class. The abuse by which the Roman nobles and capitalists had obtained the "possession" of large tracts of public land involved the necessity of the cultivation of that land by slave-labour. In Italy, where the process was aided by the decay of the free population through the Hannibalic war, large regions were parcelled out into sheep-walks, under the care of slaves, who were made responsible for their flocks, and were left to find subsistence as they could. But a still richer field for speculation was found in Sicily, which came into the hands of the Romans devastated by centuries of war, almost like a virgin country. Its fertile plains could produce abundance of the corn, wool, wine, and other produce, for which Rome and Italy furnished an ample market; and the rich Romans and Sicilian Greeks vied with one another in working this profitable field by means of the captives whom the slave merchants bought in the camps of the great conquerors.

The condition of these slaves is thus described by the highest of living authorities on all matters connected with the constitution and social condition of the Roman republic:—"When the slaves landed in Sicily, they were kept by the dealers in slave-pens, waiting for the purchasers. The wealthy capitalists would buy whole batches at once, brand or mark the slaves like cattle, and send them off to the country to work. The young and robust were employed as shepherds, and the others in agricultural and other labour. Some worked in fetters, to prevent them running away. All of them had hard service, and their masters supplied them scantily with food and clothing. They cared little about their slaves. They worked them while they were able to work, and the losses by death were replaced by fresh purchases. This want of humanity and prudence in the masters soon produced intolerable mischief. The slaves who were employed in looking after sheep

and cattle of necessity had more freedom than those who were kept to cultivating the ground. Their masters saw little of them, and left them unprovided with food, supposing that they would be able to look after themselves and cost nothing. Many of these greedy slave-owners were Italians, some of whom probably did not reside in Sicily, but entrusted the management of their estates to overseers, and consumed the produce of their wool and the profits of their cattle either at Rome or in some of the Italian towns. These slave shepherds, an active and vigorous set of men, soon found out ways of helping themselves. They began by robbing and murdering, even in frequented places, travellers who were alone or only in small companies. They next attacked the huts of the poorer people, plundered them of their property, and, if resistance was made, murdered them. It became unsafe for travellers to move about by night, nor could people any longer safely live on their lands in the country. The shepherds got possession of huts which the occupants abandoned, and of arms of various kinds also, and thus they became bolder and more confident. They went about with clubs and spears, and the staves which were used by herdsmen, dressed in wolfskins or hogskins, and already began to make a formidable appearance. They had a great number of fierce dogs with them, and abundance of food from the milk and flesh of their beasts. The island was filled with roaming bands of plunderers, just as if the masters had allowed their slaves to do what they liked. . . . Though all the slave-owners would suffer from the depredations of these robbers, every man would be unwilling that his own slaves should be put to death when they were caught, and would claim them as fugitive labourers; and thus disputes might easily arise between the governors and the owners. The true state of the case is probably this: Slaves were bought cheap, and could be made profitable by working them hard; and thus the greediness of gain, the total want of any humane feeling in the masters, the neglect of proper discipline among the slaves, and the careless feeling of security produced by many years of prosperity, brought things gradually to such a state, that repression of the disorder was beyond the power of the masters or the governors; for the masters could not reduce such sturdy fellows to obedience on estates far removed from towns, and a Roman governor of Sicily had no army at his command." *

* Long, *Decline of the Roman Republic*, vol. i. pp. 114—116. It is impossible to quote this important work—to which it is understood that the author has devoted the remnant of a life spent not only in the service, but to a great degree in the

A servile population in such a condition as this was ready to burst all bounds upon any special provocation; and there are always some—without staying to discuss whether the majority or the minority—among slave-owners, whose abuse of their irresponsible power constantly supplies that provocation to the utmost. Such a man was Damophilus, a wealthy and luxurious landowner of Henna, whose wife Megallis vied with him in scourging and maltreating their slaves, both male and female, till the wretched creatures resolved to be revenged at all hazards. They found a leader in a certain Eunoüs, a Greek of Syria, the slave of another citizen of Henna, named Antigenes. This man was a juggler and a religious impostor. He pretended to have divine communications in dreams, and to have received a revelation from the Syrian goddess that he should be a king. The prophecies that came true gained him a certain degree of credit among the slaves, who overlooked his failures; and he added force to his predictions by the conjuror's trick of vomiting flames of fire from his mouth. His master used him as a privileged buffoon for the amusement of his guests, who gave him money, and begged to be remembered by him when he became a king. The counsel of this pretender gave the slaves of Damophilus faith in their success, and they marched against Henna, with Eunoüs at their head spouting flames. The town was surprised and the houses sacked with all the barbarities attendant on such an insurrection. Damophilus and his wife were dragged from their country-house into the theatre: he was cut down while attempting to address the assembled slaves; and she was delivered to the women to be tortured and killed. Amidst all these horrors the daughter of Damophilus, who had been accustomed to comfort the victims of her parents' cruelties, was sent in safety to her relations at Catana. All the citizens who fell into the hands of the slaves were put to death, except the armourers; and these were forced to make weapons for the insurgents.

Eunoüs was now saluted by the slaves as king: he called himself Antiochus, and his subjects Syrians. He formed a council of the wisest of his followers, his chief adviser being Achæas, a man of sense and action, who firmly opposed all cruel outrages. The servile army amounted in a few days to 6000 armed men, and they were joined by 5000 more who had risen in another part of

regeneration of classical and all other useful learning—without the acknowledgment of profound gratitude and personal attachment to the friend under whom the present writer made his first essays in literature:—"Prima *litterarum* rudimenta diligenti ac moderato duci approbavit."

the island under Cleon a Cilician. Even before this, Eunoüs had dared to meet the Roman armies in the field, and three prætors had been defeated, with the loss of their camps. The fourth, Hypsæus, who arrived from Rome about thirty days after the revolt, raised an army of 8000 men; but he was no match for the rebels, whose force had grown to 20,000, and after his defeat increased to 200,000, probably the whole slave population of the island. The war now assumed an importance second only to that of Numantia, and its conduct was entrusted to Scipio's colleague, C. Fulvius Flaccus, who seems to have done nothing (B.C. 134). His successor, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, achieved the first success in the war by taking the town of Messana, where 8000 of the rebels were killed, and all the prisoners crucified (B.C. 133). In the following year, the consul Publius Rupilius brought the war to a conclusion. The impregnable fortresses of Tauromenium (*Taormina*), on the eastern coast, and Henna, which stood on the highest hill in Sicily after Etna, were yielded to him by treachery, and all the slaves found in them were put to death with tortures, to the number of 20,000. Cleon, the second leader of the insurrection, fell in a sally from Henna; but Eunoüs, with his bodyguard of 1000 men, fled to the mountain fastnesses of the island, closely pursued by the consul. When escape was seen to be impossible, his followers put one another to death; and the mock king himself was dragged from his concealment and cast into prison at Morgantia, where he died of the same loathsome disease that consumed Herod Antipas.

Rupilius remained in Sicily as proconsul to regulate the affairs of the province, with the accustomed aid of ten commissioners from Rome; and his wise ordinances, embodied in the *Lex Rupilia*, became the basis for its subsequent administration. On his return to Rome he enjoyed that sort of lesser triumph in which the victor entered the city on foot, clad in the magistrate's purple-bordered toga, instead of riding in a four-horsed chariot and wearing the gorgeous triumphal robe embroidered with gold. His hand held no sceptre, and his head was crowned with myrtle in place of the triumphal bay; and for the solemn procession to the capital, heralded by the peal of trumpets, headed by the Senate, and closed by the victorious troops, there was substituted a lighter demonstration of popular rejoicing, in which knights and plebeians marched tumultuously to the lively music of the flute. On arriving at the Capitol, the general sacrificed, not a bull, as in the triumph, but a sheep; and it seems to have been from the

victim thus offered that the ceremony received the name of an Ovation.

The same year, in which the fall of Numantia secured the Roman dominion as far as the Pillars of Hercules, witnessed the acquisition of their first province beyond the Hellespont. Attalus III. Philometor, the sixth king of Pergamus, died in B.C. 133, after a reign of five years, in which he had become remarkable for nothing but his enormous wealth and extravagance, and the murder of his relations and friends. His minister Eudemus carried to Rome a will, by which Attalus bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people. The suggestion that this instrument was forged, which Sallust represents as contained in a vehement indictment of the Romans for fraud or oppression from the pen of Mithridates, seems beyond the range of historical criticism;* but, in any case, the disposition may be regarded as resulting from the growth of a Roman party in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and as the best means of averting the war with the certain issue of annexation. Accordingly, when Aristonicus, who was reputed to be a natural son of Eumenes II., claimed the crown and seized Leucæ (*Lefke*) on a promontory between Phocæa and the mouth of the Hermus, his usurpation was at once resisted by the Greek cities. Ephesus took the lead in fitting out a fleet; and Aristonicus, defeated in a sea-fight, fled into the interior. He soon collected a force, consisting chiefly of runaway slaves, seized Thyatira and Apollonis, between Pergamus and Sardis, and made himself master of Myndus, Colophon, and Samos. The aid given to the Greek cities by the kings of Bithynia and Cappadocia proved inadequate, and the Romans, occupied at home with the conflict begun by Gracchus, as well as with the affairs of Spain and Sicily, had as yet only sent five commissioners, of whom Scipio Nasica was one, to look after their inheritance.

On awaking to the danger, the wiser Romans would have again sent Scipio Africanus to end the war, but his political course had ruined his influence, and the command was obtained by the consul P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, who belonged to the party of the Gracchi† (B.C. 131). "Asellio, who wrote the history of this war, says that Gracchus possessed five things that are most valued: he was very rich, of a very noble family, a most eloquent speaker,

* "*Simulato impio testamento.*" The passage occurs in a letter from Mithridates to Arsaces, preserved from the fourth book of Sallust's lost Histories.

† The curious contest of Crassus with his colleague, L. Valerius Flaccus, for the command in Asia, is related by Mr. Long, vol. i. p. 205.

distinguished for his knowledge of law, and Pontifex Maximus. He was so well acquainted with Greek that he mastered the five dialects of the language, and was able when he sat in courts in Asia to answer every suitor in his own speech." The same historian relates an incident characteristic of the manner in which the Roman governors were now beginning to treat the provincials. "Crassus was preparing to besiege Leucæ, which we must suppose that Aristonicus had seized again. He wanted a large piece of timber for a battering-ram, and he wrote to a master-builder of Elæa, a town friendly to the Romans, to send the larger of two pieces of timber which Crassus had seen there. The builder, knowing the purpose for which the timber was wanted, did not send the larger piece, but he sent the smaller, which he considered to be more suitable for the purpose, and it was of course more portable. Crassus summoned the man to his presence, and without any regard to the reasons which were alleged for sending the smaller piece, he ordered him to be stripped and whipped well, on the ground that the authority of a commander would be ruined if a man should not exactly obey orders, and should use his own judgment when he was not told to do so. Crassus's notions of obedience would not satisfy a wise general, who is content when he has a thing done in the best way."*

Of his military operations we know nothing beyond this siege, which seems to have failed, for his great disaster took place near Leucæ. He appears to have been content to retire at the end of his year, after gathering the riches which attracted him to Asia, and to leave Aristonicus to his successor. On his way home, encumbered with baggage, he was surprised near Leucæ, utterly defeated, and slain in the pursuit. "We cannot," says Mr. Long, "add military ability to the five things which Crassus possessed." In connection with this campaign, the historians relate a curious example of Roman superstition. The statue of Apollo at Cumæ wept for four days. The haruspices, who interpreted the omen to signify that the war with Aristonicus would last four years, advised the Senate to have the statue broken and thrown into the sea; but the elders of Cumæ pleaded that the same sign had preceded the victories over Antiochus and Perseus. It was decided, on second thoughts, that the tears of the Cumæan Apollo were for Asiatic Greece, the mother-country of the colony, and he was propitiated with sacrifices and costly presents."†

* Long, vol. i. pp. 206, 207.

† The historian may safely leave to the special enquirer into the annals of super-

The triumph of Aristonicus was cut short by the arrival of the consul M. Perperna, whose unexpected attack drove him defeated to Stratonice in Caria, where famine compelled him to surrender (B.C. 130). The death of Perperna, from sickness, at Pergamus, left the settlement of Asia and the disposal of the prisoner to his successor, Manius Aquillius (B.C. 129), and it seems that Aristonicus was carried to Rome, and there strangled in prison. The kingdom of Pergamus was formed by Aquillius, assisted by ten commissioners, into the Roman province of ASIA.* It included the three great western divisions of Mysia, Ionia, and Caria, with the Greek colonies of Æolis, Ionia, and Doris, except that a strip of coast on the south of Caria was left to Rhodes. The Thracian Chersonese, which had belonged to Pergamus, was added to the province of Macedonia. The Lesser Phrygia was included in the province, and the Greater was given to Mithridates V., king of Pontus, as the reward of his aid against Aristonicus; but upon his death in B.C. 120, the gift was resumed, and annexed to the province of Asia during the minority of his son Mithridates VI., who became the great antagonist of the Roman people. With sovereign contempt for the rights of Syria, which was now torn by a dynastic contest, Cilicia and Lycaonia were given, if we may believe Justin, to the sons of Ariarathres, king of Cappadocia, who had fallen in battle against Aristonicus. Thus at length the Romans possessed on the continent of Asia a province abounding in natural resources, and filled with rich and magnificent cities, whose Greek inhabitants, however far inferior to their European brethren in military and political renown, had always taken the lead in the refinements of civilization. The wealth which had been fostered under the peaceful government of the Attalids offered inexhaustible resources to Italian speculators and Roman governors, and the prosperity of the Asiatics survived even the ravages of the Great Mithridatic War, which threatened for a time to drive back the Romans out of Asia. Meanwhile, the acquisition of the effete kingdoms of Syria and Egypt in the East, and in

stition that class of prodigies which were as regularly produced as they were regularly expected, and which, even if better attested than they are, have no visible bearing on the course of history. It may however be remarked, in passing, that some of them are the simplest natural phenomena. Any one who has noticed the deposit of dew on the smooth cold surface of marble or painted walls, and the like, on the sudden increase of warmth and moisture in the surrounding atmosphere, will be at no loss to understand the frequent mention of sweating and weeping statues.

* This use of the word *Asia*, requires to be borne in mind in reading the New Testament, as well as the ancient historians.

the West of Numidia and the barbarous regions beyond the Alps, seemed to be only a question of time; and the formation of the province of Asia marks the epoch of Rome's dominion over the civilized world. Her empire, spreading like a vast arch over the Mediterranean basin, with one foot resting on the Atlas, and the other on the Taurus, comprised, besides Italy itself, the following provinces:—(1) SICILY, acquired in B.C. 241; (2) SARDINIA and CORSICA, B.C. 238; (3, 4) HISPANIA CITERIOR and ULTERIOR, B.C. 205; (5) GALLIA CISALPINA, B.C. 191; (6) MACEDONIA, including Epirus, Thessaly, and Thrace, B.C. 146; (7) ILLYRICUM, probably formed about the same time; (8) ACHAIA, that is, Greece south of Epirus and Thessaly, B.C. 146; (9) AFRICA, formerly the territory of Carthage, B.C. 129; (10) ASIA, including all the richest part of Asia Minor, B.C. 129.

While Rome was thus acquiring the dominion of the civilized world, her internal state was marked by the decay of the old Roman virtues, the dissolution of the bonds of her old constitution, and the beginning of new troubles that were only to end with the fall of the Republic. This inward degeneracy was directly connected with the progress of foreign conquest, which poured a flood of wealth upon a people whose social habits had been based upon frugality and simplicity, and opened an unlimited field to speculation and rapacity. These causes of change had been partly anticipated by the working of the Roman constitution within the limits of Italy itself. The old distinctions of patricians, clients, and plebeians had vanished. With the admission of the plebeians to the higher magistracies, the increasing power of wealth to influence elections, and the custom of admitting those who had held the offices of state to the Senate, a new nobility had arisen, under the names of the Optimates, and a rabble, misnamed plebeian, had grown up by their side. The nobility were in possession of the Senate, whose initiative in legislation had grown into the dominant power in the state; and the prerogative vote of the equestrian centuries gave them the command of the Comitia Centuriata. The old equality of the Roman citizens was publicly annulled by the innovation carried by the elder Africanus, in his second consulship (B.C. 194), of assigning the front seats in the theatre to the senatorial order; and the censorship formed the great means of maintaining the powers of the nobility, so long as their vehement efforts could keep that office in their own hands. The importance of the higher magistracies was kept up by the policy of abstaining from multiplying them with the growth of the Roman

dominions, for it was only on the imperious demands of the newly-acquired provinces that they added to the two Prætors, who judged the causes of citizens and foreigners,* the four who governed the provinces of Sicily and Sardinia (B.C. 227) and the two Spains (B.C. 197). The device of prolonging the consular and prætorian commands, and committing the government of provinces to proconsuls and propraetors, multiplied the dignities of the nobility, and gave them enlarged opportunities for gaining wealth and honour, instead of widening the circle of those who might aspire to share them. The transference of the appointment of military tribunes from the general in command to the Comitia Tributa made this military grade, like the civil magistracies, the prize of successful canvassing, and what ought to have been the promotion of the deserving soldier became the first step in the public career of a young noble. Such was the effect of this system on the efficiency of the army that, in the war with Perseus, in which the Roman military system for the first time thoroughly broke down, it was found necessary to restore to the commander the appointment of the superior officers (B.C. 171). The exclusiveness of the civil magistracies had been somewhat checked, as we have seen, by the law which forbade re-election to the same office till after the expiration of ten years (B.C. 217); and in B.C. 180 another law fixed the order in which the magistracies must be sought, and the age below which they could not be held.† But, for all this, the curule offices, and consequently the Senate, became more and more the virtual inheritance of a few great houses, and the entrance of a "new man" into the well-fenced circle was regarded as an usurpation, unless he had some close personal tie with the noble families, such as bound the Lælii to the Scipios.

Thus the old republican aristocracy, based upon the equal rights of the original citizens, was transformed into a family oligarchy, in which the old patrician houses still held the predominance, while the lesser nobles, who should have formed a natural opposition, were united with them by common interests. The change in the governing body was reflected in the character of the govern-

* The *Prætor Urbanus* and *Prætor Peregrinus*, of whom, as we have seen, the first was created in B.C. 366, the second in B.C. 246.

† This was the *Lex Annalis* of the tribune L. Villius, according to which a man might be *Quæstor* at 31 years of age; *Curule Ædile* at 37; *Prætor* at 40; *Consul* at 43. An example of this succession is given in the case of Cicero, who was always proud of having, though a *novus homo*, obtained the magistracies "in his own year." Born at the beginning of B.C. 106, he was Quæstor in B.C. 75, Curule Ædile in B.C. 69, Prætor in B.C. 66, and Consul in B.C. 63.

ment. In those external affairs which have necessarily occupied most of our attention, we have seen the dignity and moderation, the caution sometimes degenerating into sluggishness, and the marvellous energy and still more marvellous endurance when a great occasion called for great efforts, which characterize an oligarchy in general and prove that the old Roman virtues still survived. "During the severe disciplinary period of the Sicilian war," says Mommsen, "the Roman aristocracy had gradually raised itself to the height of its new position; and, if it unconstitutionally usurped for the Senate powers which the law divided between the magistrates and Comitia alone, it vindicated the step by its certainly far from brilliant, but sure and steady pilotage of the vessel of the state during the Hannibalic storm, and showed to the world that the Roman Senate was alone able, and in many respects alone deserved, to rule the wide circle of the Italo-Hellenic states." The ascendancy of Fabius Maximus, and the jealousy shown towards a Marcellus and a Scipio, are practical illustrations of the strength and weakness of the senatorial management of foreign affairs.

The internal administration was not only far less successful, but it seemed as if it were conducted on the very opposite principles. The arts of canvassing not only showed these nobles who could assume so lofty a mien towards kings and foreign states divested of their stern dignity, but undermined the self-respect of the citizens, whose free voices had once raised to office the worthiest of their own body. The weakened sense of responsibility, except to the public opinion of their own class, led to that military indiscipline and those outrages upon justice of which the few instances we have noticed give but a scanty sample. The vast growth of revenue from the increased public domain, the tribute of foreign subjects, the customs duties, the Spanish mines, the spoils of war —of which Antiochus and Perseus alone contributed above four millions sterling—produced no corresponding measure of financial prosperity. So vast and sudden an accession of wealth could not but be in part wasted by mismanagement, and intercepted both by the gains of lessees and by the embezzlement of officers and magistrates. And here the political and financial systems reacted upon each other. The governor or military commander in a distant province was not only subject to the temptation of indulging the passion for luxury and the state of a viceroy with all the more zest because they were new to the spirit of a Roman, but he had to acquire the means of maintaining his conse-

quence in the eyes of his fellow-citizens, and his influence in the Comitia; and proconsuls, corrupted themselves by luxury and arbitrary power, and perverted by the homage of eastern flatterers or western barbarians, returned to make their fellow-citizens more and more deserving by their corruption of the contempt with which they learnt to regard them. The prevalence at once and the impunity of official plunder are attested by the saying of Cato:—"He who steals from a citizen ends his days in chains and fetters; but he who steals from the commonwealth ends them in gold and purple."

Meanwhile the growth of the empire itself absorbed a large proportion of the new revenues in roads, bridges, aqueducts, and those other works which the Romans never performed negligently, besides the expenses of civil administration. Large sums were expended in perfecting the system of roads in Italy itself; and the public works in the capital and its neighbourhood formed some of the best uses of the public wealth. The construction of the great system of sewers which ramified beneath the city from the Cloaca Maxima,* appears to have been contracted for in B.C. 180. Six years later the streets of Rome were paved (B.C. 174). In B.C. 160, the Pomptine marshes were drained; and P. Scipio Nasica, in his consulship in the following year, set up a public *clepsydra*, or water-clock, the city of Rome having gone on for six centuries without any accurate means of knowing the time by night as well as day (B.C. 159).† But the most magnificent work of this period was the great aqueduct (*Aqua Marcia*), constructed by the prætor Q. Marcius Rex, under the direction of the Senate, in B.C. 144. Rome had hitherto been supplied with water by only two of the fourteen aqueducts which spanned the Campagna with their long lines of arches, and of which only three still suffice to bring into the city a pure and copious stream that puts our boasted sanitary science to shame.‡

* See p. 192.

† A sun-dial (*solarium*) is said to have been brought from Greece and set up before the temple of Quirinus by the Consul L. Papirius Cursor, in B.C. 293; but being constructed for a lower latitude it was of course incorrect at Rome. A more accurate *solarium* was placed beside it by the Censor Q. Marcius Philippus, in B.C. 164.

‡ Had the Romans possessed an imperial capital on the banks of the Thames, it is as certain that they would never have converted the noble river into a brackish estuary, by drawing off from it a scanty supply of muddy water, mixed with the sewage of the towns on its upper course, to be doled out for the space of half an hour each day at an enormous price—as it is that, with the resources of modern engineering, they would have built an aqueduct from the Bala lake, or even a more distant source, if needful. Nay, stranger still, they would have found ædiles wealthy and liberal enough to pay for the work, for Rome was ignorant of a water-rate.

The *Aqua Claudia* was, like the Via Appia, the work of the Censor Appius Claudius Cæcus, B.C. 313, and was about eleven miles long. The *Anio Vetus* was begun in B.C. 273, with the produce of the spoil taken from Pyrrhus, to bring the water of the Anio from a point above Tibur, twenty miles from Rome, by a circuit of forty-three miles. Both these channels having fallen into decay, and the water of the latter being considered unfit for drinking, the Senate entrusted to the prætor Marcius the work of their repair and the construction of the new aqueduct which was named after him. It began at a point thirty-six miles from Rome in a direct line; but its entire course was above sixty miles, about one-ninth of the whole length being above ground, chiefly on arches, and the rest carried through the hills by tunnels. It delivered its water at a height equal to the summit of the Capitoline hill, and sufficed for the supply of Rome till the time of Augustus, when it was repaired by Agrippa, who united with it the *Aqua Tepula* and the *Aqua Julia*, so that the three entered the city in a triple tier of channels. The two great works of the Emperor Claudius, by which alone the Marcian aqueduct was eclipsed, were similarly carried one over the other near their termination. Of the cost of the work we have no information; but we are told that the sum allotted to the sewers was nearly 250,000*l.* The reserve on which the state was obliged to fall back in B.C. 209 amounted to 4000 pounds' weight of gold, or 164,000*l.*; while in B.C. 157 the value of the precious metals in the treasury was about 860,000*l.* Such were the general results of the aristocratic government at home and abroad.

The altered spirit of the ruling class was of course not unopposed; and the type of the party of resistance and reform is to be seen in the celebrated M. PORCIUS CATO, who is often called CATO MAJOR, to distinguish him from his equally famous great-grandson, Cato of Utica. Born at Tusculum, in B.C. 234, he was brought up on his father's Sabine farm, where his attachment to the hardy habits of the old yeomen-heroes was inflamed into a passion by the constant view of a neighbouring cottage, whither M. Curius Dentatus had retired after his three triumphs. There Curius had been found roasting turnips on his hearth by the Samnite ambassadors, whose costly presents he rejected, telling them that he had rather rule over those who possessed gold than possess it himself. Such was the model on which the youthful Cato formed his character; and he soon attracted the notice of a neighbour, L. Valerius Flaccus, one of the few young

patricians who lamented the altered spirit of the times, and gladly recognized one likely to stem the current. Under his patronage Cato entered public life. Of the same age as his future rival, the elder Africanus, he too was seventeen when he served his first campaign (B.C. 217);* and he passed through the whole war, from the Trasimene lake to Zama. In B.C. 204, the influence of Fabius Maximus and the party opposed to the transfer of the war to Africa obtained Cato's appointment as quæstor with Scipio in Sicily. In the ostentation and indulgence of the proconsul he found ample grounds for bitter political hostility; and on his return to Rome he vehemently accused his commander of luxury and extravagance. He was ædile in B.C. 199, and prætor in B.C. 198, when he obtained a high reputation for the justice and economy with which he governed his province of Sardinia. In B.C. 195 he was consul, with his friend L. Valerius Flaccus. His campaign in the Spanish peninsula has been already noticed; but it is worth while to mention an instance which occurred at Rome of his vehemence in the cause of republican simplicity, in his resistance to the repeal of the Oppian law of B.C. 215, that no woman should possess more half an ounce of gold, nor wear a garment of divers colours, nor ride in a carriage within a mile of the city, except to a religious festival. After a long contest, the Roman ladies proved too strong for the consul and the two tribunes who sided with him. His last military achievement seems to have been the decisive part he took in the victory over Antiochus at Thermopylæ (B.C. 191).†

The conquest of the Asiatic king was reserved, like the victory over Carthage, for his rival; but from that very conquest Cato found an opportunity to aim a heavy blow at the growing Hellenism of the party of Scipio. In B.C. 187, the two Petelli, as tribunes of the plebs, instigated by Cato, accused the Scipios of having been bribed by Antiochus to grant him lenient terms of peace, and of having applied to their own use money received from the king for the state. Lucius Scipio was summoned to produce his accounts; but when he was about presenting them to the Senate, his brother Africanus snatched them out of his hands and tore them up, a demonstration of virtuous indignation which seems rather to have contributed to the sentence against Lucius. Condemned to pay a heavy fine, he was being dragged to prison

* Strictly speaking, Cato entered the army one year later than Scipio at the full age of seventeen. He had no part in the first campaign of the war (B.C. 218) in which Scipio saved his father's life.

† See p. 495.

by the officers of the tribune Minucius, when Africanus attempted to rescue his brother by force, and a violent conflict was only averted by the interference of the tribune Tiberius Gracchus, who released the prisoner. The success of the prosecution of Asiaticus emboldened the party of Cato to attack Africanus himself. The tribune Nævius revived the charge against him in B.C. 185, and the trial happened to come on upon the anniversary of the battle of Zama. Scipio seized the occasion to prostrate his enemies and override the law itself by an appeal to the glories of that day; and the people assembled for his trial followed him to the Capitol, to return thanks for the victory, and to pray the immortal gods to grant Rome other citizens such as him. Among the parallels that have been drawn between Scipio and Wellington, this scene has been compared to an attack made on the great duke by a London mob on the anniversary of Waterloo. The questionable taste of perpetuating the recollection of an obscure street riot may be forgiven for the sake of the contrast presented by the impassive calmness of the Briton—which those who witnessed it can never forget—with the ostentatious defiance of the law by the Roman. Nor is the contrast less striking between that more than Roman sense of duty which prevented the statesman's unpopularity from overpowering the gratitude due to the deliverer of Europe, till he lived to be the arbiter of parties and a chief pillar of the throne, and the selfish petulance which drove the conqueror of Hannibal into retirement at Liternum, where he desired to be interred under the shade of his own laurels, instead of reposing in the bosom of his ungrateful country. But let us not forget that the weaknesses of Africanus were those of the age in which he lived, and of the belief which held out no prospect of future recompense for the humiliations which his opponents could inflict. He died probably in the same year as Hannibal, B.C. 183.

The year which followed the retirement of Africanus from Rome (B.C. 184) was that of the celebrated censorship of Cato. The election itself was a contest with the Cornelian party, L. Scipio being defeated by Cato and his friend L. Valerius Flaccus; and the power of the office was used for the unflinching application of Cato's principles. L. Scipio himself was deprived of the horse which the state provided for him as a knight,* and L. Flamininus, the brother of the conqueror of Philip V., was expelled from the Senate for an act of abominable cruelty during his government in Gaul in B.C. 192. These were but specimens of the

* This case proves that a senator still retained his equestrian privileges.

manner in which Cato exercised the primary duty of the office, the revision of the roll of citizens. Nor was he less sparing in lopping off the gains of the *Publicani* (or farmers of the taxes), and exacting full value for the money paid to contractors. Public works, of paving, draining, cleansing the water-courses, and so forth, were executed with equal activity and economy. Luxury was combated in every way; the old sumptuary laws were strictly enforced, and new taxes were imposed on expensive slaves, furniture, and dress. Nor was he less severe with his tongue than with his deeds. "He publicly laid before his noble colleagues, one after another, his list of their sins, certainly without being remarkably particular as to the proofs, and certainly also with a peculiar relish in the case of those who had personally crossed or provoked him. With equal fearlessness, he reproved and publicly scolded the citizens for every new injustice and every fresh disorder." *

Such a course could not fail to raise up a host of personal foes, ready to take advantage of the jealousy always excited by a reputation for superior virtue and integrity. Cato was accused no less than twenty-four times, but he was only once condemned. The perfect consistency of his life formed an impenetrable armour; and his commanding eloquence furnished him with a ready weapon against every assailant. His ascendancy in the Senate came to be almost undisputed; and he used it on every occasion to combat what he regarded as the three great enemies of the Republic—corruption, Hellenism, and Carthage. But his war against corruption struck only at its symptoms, and left the sources of the disease untouched. The advancing tide of Hellenism so far carried even him away that he studied Greek literature in his old age, and admired the Greek historians and orators; and the final conquest of Carthage,—which he so incessantly urged and of which he lived to see the commencement,—together with the subjugation of Greece, opened new flood-gates for the irruption of that tide of foreign wealth and foreign influence which he had spent his life in vainly resisting.

The life of the cultivator of his own Sabine farm was as remarkable as that of the censor and senator at Rome. Cato held the doctrine concerning the use of capital embodied in the old Roman law, which made the usurer to be twice as bad as the thief, for the former was to make fourfold restitution, the latter only twofold. He boasted that his own property was derived solely from two sources, agriculture and frugality; and he embodied his maxims

* Mommsen, vol. ii. p. 350.

for both in the oldest treatise on farming extant in the Roman language.* His treatment of his slaves and other cattle—for so he virtually classed them—was thoroughly characteristic of the selfish unfeeling economist, in whose religion mercy found no place. "A slave," he says, "must either work or sleep;" the measure of sleep allowed him being just enough to enable him to work to the utmost. In place of any efforts to attach the slaves to their masters, special pains were taken to keep them at variance among themselves, for another maxim said, "So many slaves, so many foes." As he presided at the frugal evening meal, Cato sat in judgment on the transactions of the day; and the slaves were called up in turn to receive from his own hand a certain number of stripes with a thong, according to their offences. Worn out slaves and worn out cattle were to be got rid of as they might; and the charger which had borne Cato through his Spanish campaigns was sold by him to save the state the expense of its transport to Rome. In his advancing years the growing love of gain caused him to waver in his constancy to agriculture; and, though he did not speculate in state-leases, or put out his money to usury, he invested it in commercial speculations. The model Roman farmer and patriot was as conspicuous for his avarice as the Hellenizing nobles for their prodigality; and his stern virtues are embittered by utter heartlessness. Among all the eulogies ever passed upon him, we never hear of his being loved. Amidst all his practical labours, however, he found leisure and taste for literature. Besides his treatise on farming, he composed a History of Rome from the foundation of the city to his own time, under the title of "Origines;" and he completed the work, at the age of eighty-four, the year before his death (B.C. 150).

Of the two generations that Cato saw rise up, the second had already produced the worthy successor, whose praise he lived to utter. Taking the two rivals as the patterns, the one of his destiny and the other of his character, Scipio Æmilianus emulated the greatness of the elder Africanus without his arrogance and ostentation, and imitated the stern virtues of Cato without his harshness and narrowness. The well-balanced temperament which he inherited from his father, the noble-minded Æmilius, was moulded by Greek culture, by constant intercourse with men of letters, and by his devoted friendship for the wise and gentle Lælius. To this greater moderation was added a deeper sense of how little could be done to arrest the downward course of morals and manners. How

* Cato, *de Re Rusticâ.*

much he feared for the future was shown when, in performing the lustration as censor, he changed the accustomed petition for the enlargement of the republic into a prayer for its preservation (B.C. 142). His efforts to imitate the severity of Cato's censorship were thwarted by his colleague, L. Mummius Achaicus, and they afterwards involved him in a prosecution. He degraded a knight, Tiberius Claudius Asellus, and deprived him of his horse, but reversed his decision on the remonstrance of Mummius. But Asellus remembered the affront, and in his tribunate he prosecuted Scipio. We are not distinctly informed either as to the charge or the result; but the five speeches in which Scipio defended himself are pronounced by Cicero to be models of pure Latin eloquence; and the orator did not spare comparisons between *Asellus* and the nobler animal that had caused the quarrel (B.C. 139).

In the same year Scipio was involved in a more serious political dispute, connected with a subject still agitated in constitutional states. The elections for the magistrates in the Comitia had hitherto been conducted by open voting, each citizen declaring the candidate for whom he gave his voice, and the vote in public trials (*judicia populi*) had likewise been taken openly. But in B.C. 139 the tribune Gabinius carried a law for the election of magistrates by ballot.* Cicero, who is our chief authority on this subject, wavers between his popular predilections and his zeal for his new "order." While stigmatizing the tribune as obscure and mean, he calls the ballot "the vindicator of silent liberty." He tells us that the people liked it, "for it enabled a man to put on an open face and hide his mind: it gave him the power of doing what he liked while he promised to do what he was asked. Accordingly it made the voter a match for the candidate who would either bribe, or coax, or intimidate him. It enabled a man, by a smaller amount of knavery, to defeat a greater knave."† Elsewhere he says that the ballot took away all the influence of the *Optimates*, and that so long as the people were free, they had never called for the pro-

* The successive laws, which established vote by ballot in various cases (B.C. 139, 137, 131, 119, and 107), were called *Leges Tabellariæ*, from the *tabella*, or *ballot-ticket*, on which the vote was inscribed. This, in an election, was of course the name of the candidate voted for; in the enactment of a law it was U. R., for the affirmative (*i. e.*, *uti rogas*, as you move) and A. (*i. e. antiquo*, I vote for the old law) for the negative: in a public trial it was C. (*condemno*) for *guilty*, A. (*absolvo*) for *not guilty*, and N. L. (*non liquet*, *i. e.* it is not clear) for a neutral verdict, answering to the Scotch *not proven*. There is a coin of the Cassian Gens, struck in honour of the proposer of the law for introducing the ballot into public trials, bearing the figure of a man who is dropping a ballot-tablet, marked with A., into a pannier (*cista*).

† Long, *Decline of the Roman Republic*, vol. i. p. 107.

tection of the ballot, and they only claimed it when they had fallen under the power of the great citizens: so ancient are the arguments with which the modern discussion of the question has made us familiar. But, in truth, the working of the system at Rome, when the Comitia had all but become the mere instrument of the factions of the nobility, affords no precedent either way for a popular constitution which is still healthful. As Mr. Long truly says, in summing up the argument: "The mischief that happened at Rome came neither from secret nor from open voting. It came from the character and condition of the people who voted, and the dishonesty of those who were candidates for office; and so it will be always." The battle, which our own age still finds so hard, with corruption at its source in the corruptors, had long since begun at Rome. In the simpler and purer age of the republic the law interfered to check that first approach to undue influence from which we derive our word *ambition*.* The earliest law forbade even that outward sign of "adding white to the dress," which is still unconsciously referred to when we speak of a *candidate* for office,† (B.C. 432); but the custom nevertheless became established. The law passed in the next ceatury (B.C. 358) against canvassing country-people on market-days was intended to preserve the advantages of the nobles over the new men. But it was the growing corruption of the period now under review that produced the first penal enactment against bribery and corruption. By the law named from the two consuls of B.C. 181, and therefore proposed with all the authority of the Senate, a person convicted of *ambitus* was incapacitated from being a candidate for the space of ten years. But no law could exclude an evil which it required an honest state of public feeling to correct.

Two years after the enactment of the Gabinian Law, the tribune

* *Ambitus* (from *ambire*, to *go about*) signified originally nothing more than the solicitation of votes; but it soon passed into the bad sense of undue influence; and the whole class of offences was embodied in the two words *ambitus* and *largitio* (bribery). The phrase, *bribery and corruption*, with which we are but too familiar, is not precisely equivalent, for its two terms describe the crime of the candidate and the effect of that crime upon the voter.

† The ordinary *toga* had the natural white colour of the wool; and the aspirants for office added a brighter white by rubbing it with chalk (*creta*), when it became the *toga candida* and they themselves the *candidati* (*white-washed*), and canvassing is figuratively described as *cretata ambitio*. The fresh white togas worn at festivals were not chalked, but either new or newly cleaned. On the other hand, the robe which had been allowed to become dirty (*toga sordida*) was worn, with the hair and the whole outward man in disorder, as the sign of dejection and forlorn misery, by persons under accusation.

L. Cassius Longinus proposed to extend the vote by ballot to state-trials before the whole people, except for that sort of constructive reason called *perduellio* (B.C. 137).* This innovation touched more closely upon the security of the nobles, on whose maladministration in office, and especially on the misgovernment of the provinces, such public trials were the chief check. The Cassian Law was opposed by the consul M. Æmilius Lepidus, and Scipio incurred some odium with his own party for giving the bill a support for which his only motive could have been an honest conviction of its necessity. The appeal to the solemn judgment of the whole people, which appears in so noble a light in the legend of Horatius and the trial of Manlius, had degenerated into a party manœuvre, in which secret voting was sometimes the shelter of the judges from intimidation, and sometimes the cloak for their corruption.

In the interval between Scipio's censorship and his command in Spain, he had the opportunity of displaying his republican simplicity at the courts of Syria and Egypt. He went on an embassy, to protect the interests of Rome in those kingdoms, with a retinue of only five slaves, as a practical protest against the wonted ostentation of the nobles when employed on such missions. We shall have to record, in the next Book, the violent political crisis which affairs reached at Rome during the absence of Africanus in Spain. Though so far removed from the scene of the conflict, and connected by relationship with both parties, Scipio's vehement conservatism would not suffer him to remain neutral. Though his wife was the sister of the Gracchi, and though Caius Gracchus was then serving under him with great distinction, the news of the murder of Tiberius called forth from Scipio no other comment than that of Athena on the fate of Ægisthus:—

"So perish he, whoe'er he be, that doth such deeds again." †

---

* Just as our Statute of Treasons speaks of *levying war* against the king, so *perduellio* (derived from *duellum*, the old Latin for *bellum*) signified properly the making war against the Roman people; and it included a large number of offences tending to the injury of the state, such as the loss of a Roman army by its general. The various cases of *perduellio* were gradually merged in *majestas*, treason against the greatness (or *majesty*) of the state.

† The quotation derives additional force from the preceding line (Homer, *Odyss.* i. 46, 47):—

καὶ λίην κεῖνός γε ἐοικότι κεῖται ὀλέθρῳ·
ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι.

"His death was equal to the direful deed;
So may the man of blood be doomed to bleed."—Pope.

The part which Scipio took on his return to Rome was consistent with the feelings he thus avowed. He did not shrink from assuming the leadership of the aristocratic party, vacated by the virtual banishment of Scipio Nasica, the slayer of Gracchus; and his vehement opposition mainly contributed to the rejection of the bill, proposed by the tribune C. Papirius Carbo and supported by C. Gracchus, to legalize the very innovation in attempting to effect which Tiberius had lost his life, the re-election of tribunes of the plebs for a second year (B.C. 131). But the discussion gave the death-blow to Scipio's popularity. Carbo asked him, before the assembled people, what he thought of the death of Gracchus, and Scipio did not hesitate to reply that he was justly slain ; and when the answer was received with shouts of rage, he told the people that he had never been terrified by the war-cry of an enemy, and would not now quail before those who had only a step-mother in Italy.* The same tribune, Carbo, carried a bill for extending the ballot to the voting on the enactment of laws (B.C. 131). This year, too, furnished a proof at once of the growth of a corrupt party spirit, and of the waning influence of Scipio, in the acquittal of L. Aurelius Cotta, whom he prosecuted for extortion in a provincial government.† It is strange to read Cicero's apology for the jury, that they acquitted Cotta lest they should seem to have yielded to the weight of Scipio's character.

Meanwhile, Scipio's protection was sought by the allies, who were aggrieved by the measures of the three commissioners who had the execution of the Agrarian Law of Gracchus. At present we are only concerned with this matter so far as it affects Scipio. On his proposal, the Senate transferred the trials of all the disputes from the commissioners to the Consul C. Sempronius Tuditanus (B.C. 129), who soon after left Rome to conduct a war in Illyria, so that no legal redress could be obtained. The Senate appear to have thought of making Scipio dictator, but to have shrunk from such an experiment on the temper of the people, who began to exchange mutual recriminations with their former favourite. They loudly declared that the man whom they had twice elected consul while he was under the legal age preferred the interests of the allies to theirs, while he complained of the ungrateful

* The allusion was to the number of *libertini*, or manumitted slaves, who had obtained the franchise. Tiberius Gracchus (the father) had, in his censorship (B.C. 169), enrolled the libertini in the four city tribes.

† The case was one of the class which became so common in the later years of the Republic under the name of *Repetundæ*, or *Pecuniæ Repetundæ* (literally, *money sought to be recovered*).

return for his services to the state. He was suspected of a design to obtain by force of arms the repeal of the Agrarian Law of Gracchus; and one day, amidst the renewed invectives of the tribunes, the forum resounded with the cry of "Death to the tyrant!" But the majority of the Senate stood firm to Scipio, and that same evening they attended him in a body to his house. He retired to rest apparently in perfect health, after desiring (according to one account) that writing materials should be placed by his bedside, as he intended to compose a speech for the next day. In the morning he was found dead in his bed. The belief was general that he had met with foul play; but amidst the confused accounts that have come down to us, there is neither any clear statement that the matter was investigated at the time, nor sufficient evidence to guide us to a decision. The conqueror of Africa, Asia, and Spain was borne to his grave without the honour of a public funeral. The orations pronounced over him by his two nephews, Q. Ælius Tubero and Q. Fabius Maximus, were composed by Caius Lælius, whose devoted friendship for Africanus, and the use made of both their names in the moral and philosophical dialogues of Cicero, will preserve their fame even should warlike glory be forgotten.

When we turn from the political changes in the Roman state to the principles which governed the inner life of its citizens, we are met on every hand with the indications of Hellenic and Oriental influence. That phase of national religion, which the Greeks had long since passed, was still in the ascendant at Rome: the ceremonies of public worship were multiplied: new sacerdotal colleges were instituted: property was burthened with endowments for "pious uses:" and it was with much difficulty that arrears of taxes were exacted from the priests. The dedication of tithes became so general, that a public entertainment was given twice every month in the Forum Boarium; and a collection of pence was made from house to house for the support of one of those foreign modes of worship which now began to be introduced. We have already seen how readily the Latin race adopted the systems of divination by means of the entrails of victims, the signs of the heavens, and the flight of birds, from the Etruscan and Sabellian nations. A new impulse seems to have been given to these forms of superstition by the discovery of the tomb of Numa, containing his sacred writings (B.C. 181). The rolls, which had a suspiciously fresh appearance, were found to consist either of twelve or seven books on Latin ecclesiastical law, and as many more on Greek philosophy. The latter were burnt by order of the Senate,

and the former were carefully guarded by the priests from the knowledge of the common people. The object of the imposture would seem to have been to place the code of religious worship, which was now fully elaborated, under the sanction of Numa's venerable name.

But the new relations of Rome with the East introduced a flood of foreign superstitions. Chaldæan astrologers and fortune-tellers spread over all Italy; and, just at the close of the Second Punic War, the orgies of Cybele, the Phrygian Mother of the Gods, were solemnly introduced by public authority. An embassy sent to Pessinus, in Galatia, brought back the unhewn stone which the priests gave them as the veritable image of the goddess, with a train of the eunuch priests themselves, whose order was continued at Rome under the name of *Galli*, with their oriental dresses, their processions to the music of fifes and cymbals, and their collections from house to house. No Roman citizen, however, was permitted to be enrolled among them (B.C. 204). This innovation was soon succeeded by the private introduction of the worship of Bacchus, which soon infected all Italy with the most abominable practices of licentiousness, private poisoning, and the falsifying of wills (B.C. 186). After 10,000 persons had been condemned, for the most part to death, in the course of seven years, the evil was as rampant as ever (B.C. 180). Meanwhile the influence of the Greek philosophy was seen in the rationalistic interpretations which were put upon the legends of the old mythology; while the more intellectual class, perceiving the arbitrary hollowness of such expositions, for the most part abandoned all religious faith. The well-known saying, "I wonder that an haruspex can keep his countenance in presence of an haruspex," is older than the time of Cicero. The decay of faith was accompanied with a rapid decline in the simplicity of the old Roman manners and in the gravity of the national character. The bonds of patriarchal discipline and morality were broken : vices of which it is a shame even to speak became common, and the slaves were purchased for their gratification : and the most horrible crimes were committed in the bosom of private families. The unbounded luxury of the upper classes was accompanied by a growing distaste for labour among the lower, who were humoured by a great increase of public amusements. These were suited to the rough character of the Roman people. While the cultivated few were alone trained to enjoy the scenic representations imported from Greece, the mass of the people were gratified by the Greek

athletes, who first appeared at Rome in B.C. 186; and the same year witnessed the importation from Africa, at an enormous cost, of lions and panthers, whose slaughter in the arena feasted the eyes of the degenerate progeny of the hardy Latin and Sabine hunters. How little the Hellenic influence of the age tended to refinement in these amusements, is witnessed by a scene which occurred in B.C. 167. Some Greek flute-players appeared, as a new feature, in the triumphal games. Their music failed to please, and the people showed unbounded delight when the performers laid aside their flutes and began to box.

Meanwhile, however, literature made steady progress; but it was a literature almost entirely imitated from the Greek models, while the Greek language became the great instrument of culture among the higher classes. The Greek Andronicus (called M. Livius Andronicus after the consular whose freedman he was) first exhibited a tragedy in B.C. 240, and translated the Odyssey in the Saturnian metre. Cn. Nævius, a Campanian who served in the First Punic War, wrote, besides dramas, an epic poem on that war in the Saturnian metre, introducing the popular legends of the foundation of Rome. His attacks on the great family of the Metelli brought upon him imprisonment and exile. The father of Epic poetry at Rome was Q. Ennius, a Greek of Rudiæ in Calabria, who was brought from Sardinia by Cato in B.C. 204, and enjoyed the friendship of the elder Africanus, in whose sepulchre he was buried (B.C. 169). His great work, the "Annals of Rome," in eighteen books, celebrated in verse the same subject which Cato treated in prose in the "Origines;" and he first used the dactylic hexameter, imitated from Homer, in place of the Saturnian metre of the old Latin poets. The New Comedy of the Greeks was transferred into Latin by the Umbrian, T. Maccius Plautus, and the African, P. Terentius Afer, of whom we have already spoken; but Terence had a less-known predecessor in Q. Cæcilius, who died in B.C. 168, and a successor in L. Afranius, who chose his subjects from Roman instead of Greek life (B.C. 100). Lucilius, the greatest Roman satirist before Horace, was born in B.C. 149; and the years B.C. 142 and B.C. 139 witnessed the births of Antonius and Crassus, the two great forensic orators who preceded Cicero.

END OF VOL. II.

BRITTLE DO NOT
PHOTOCOPY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
0068098065