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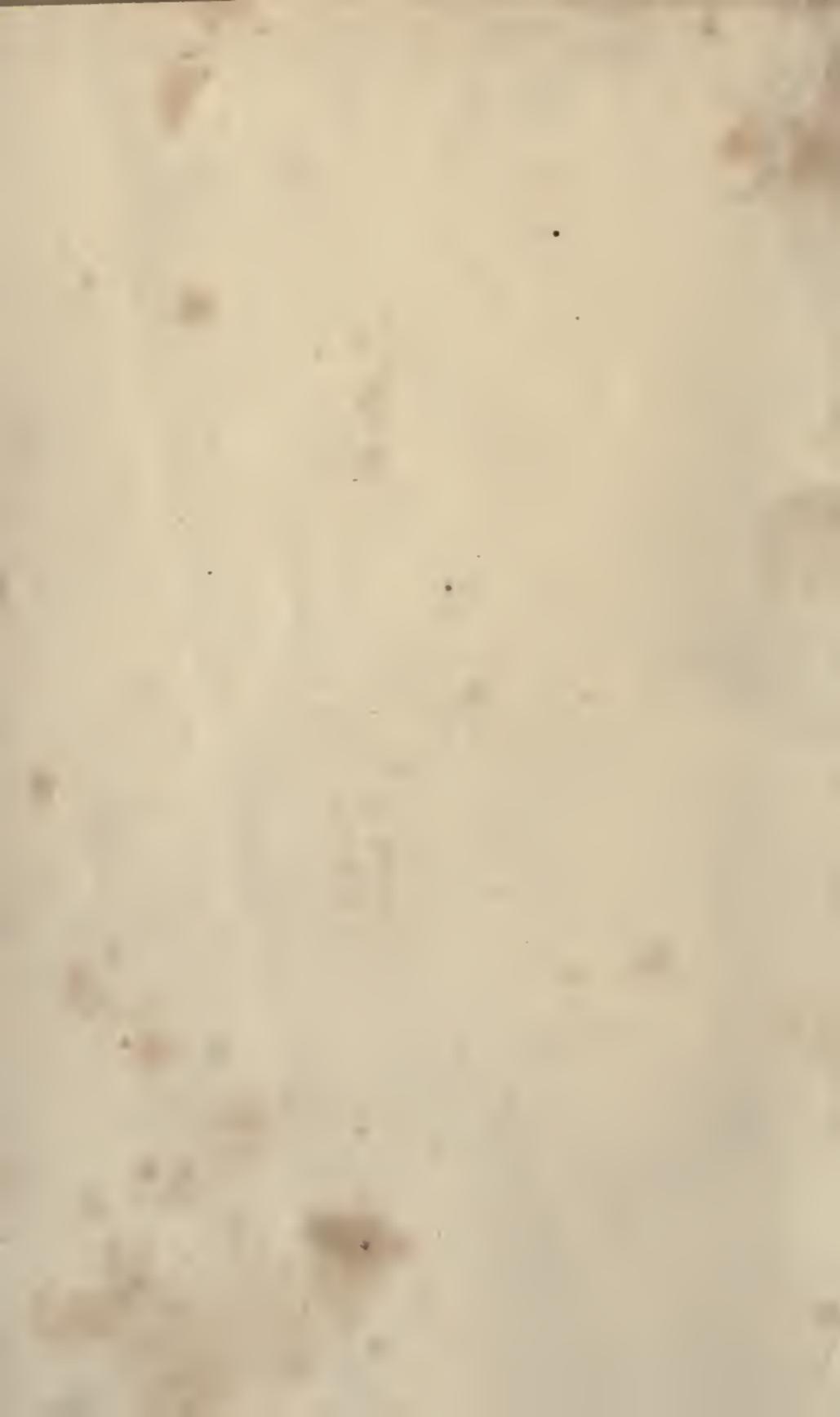
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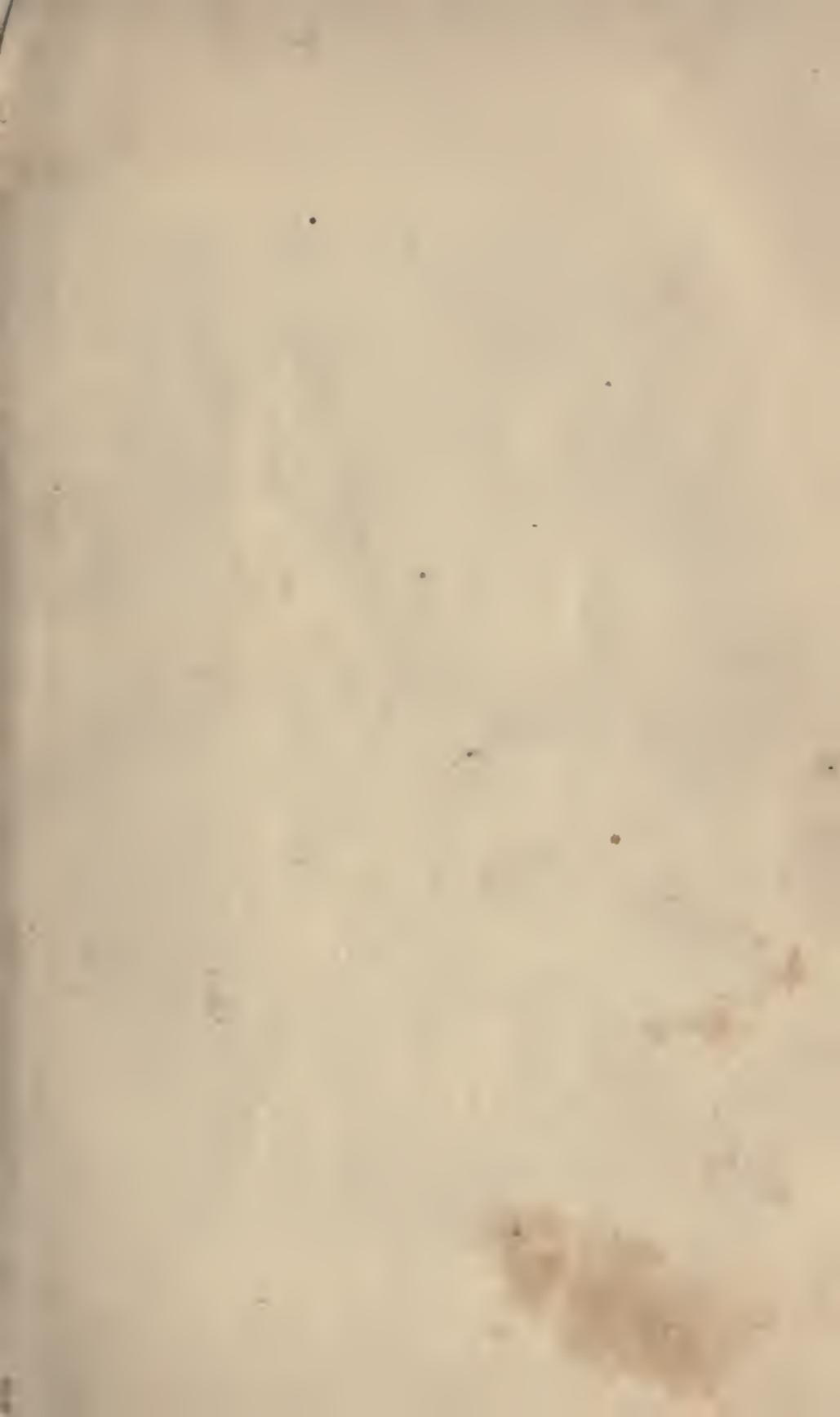


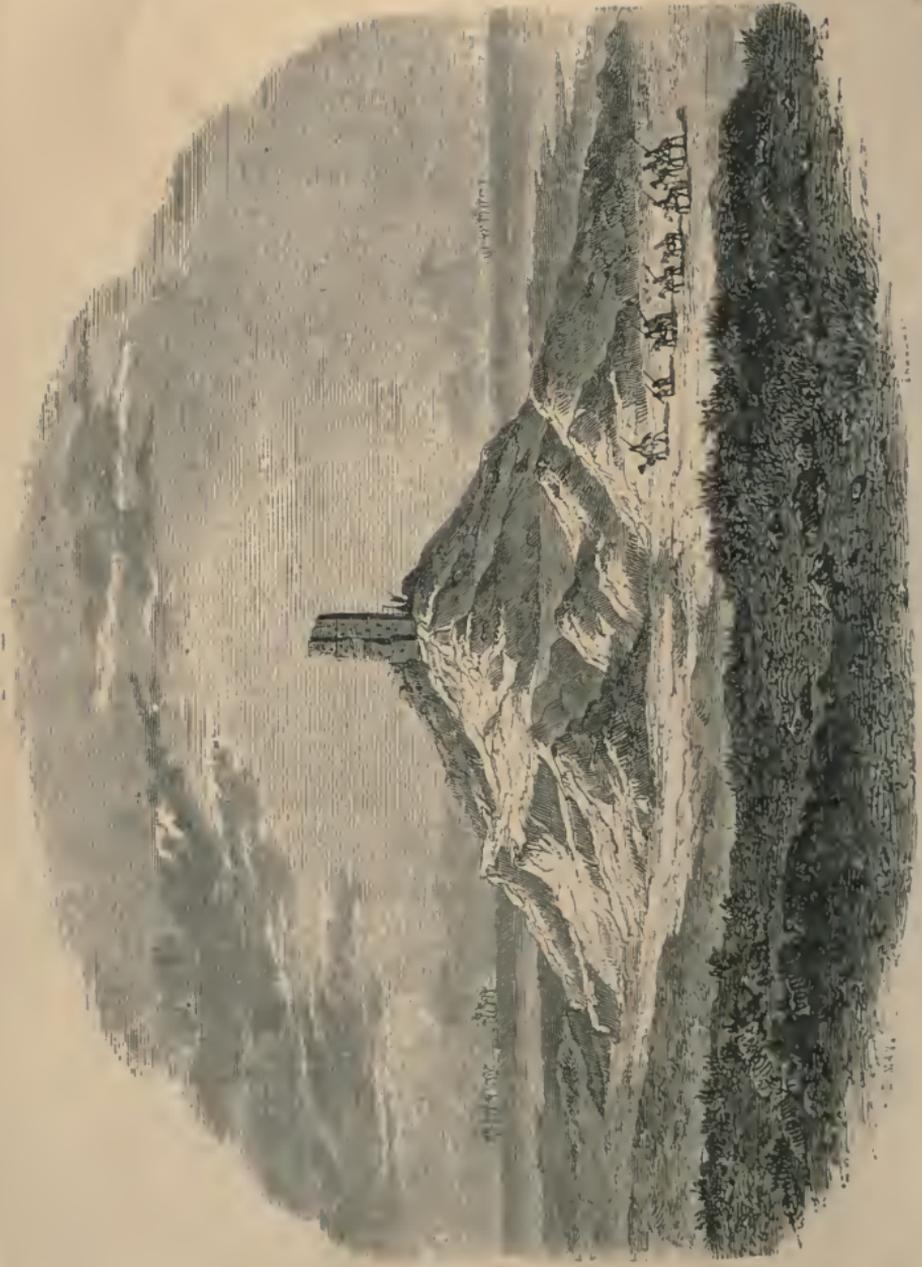




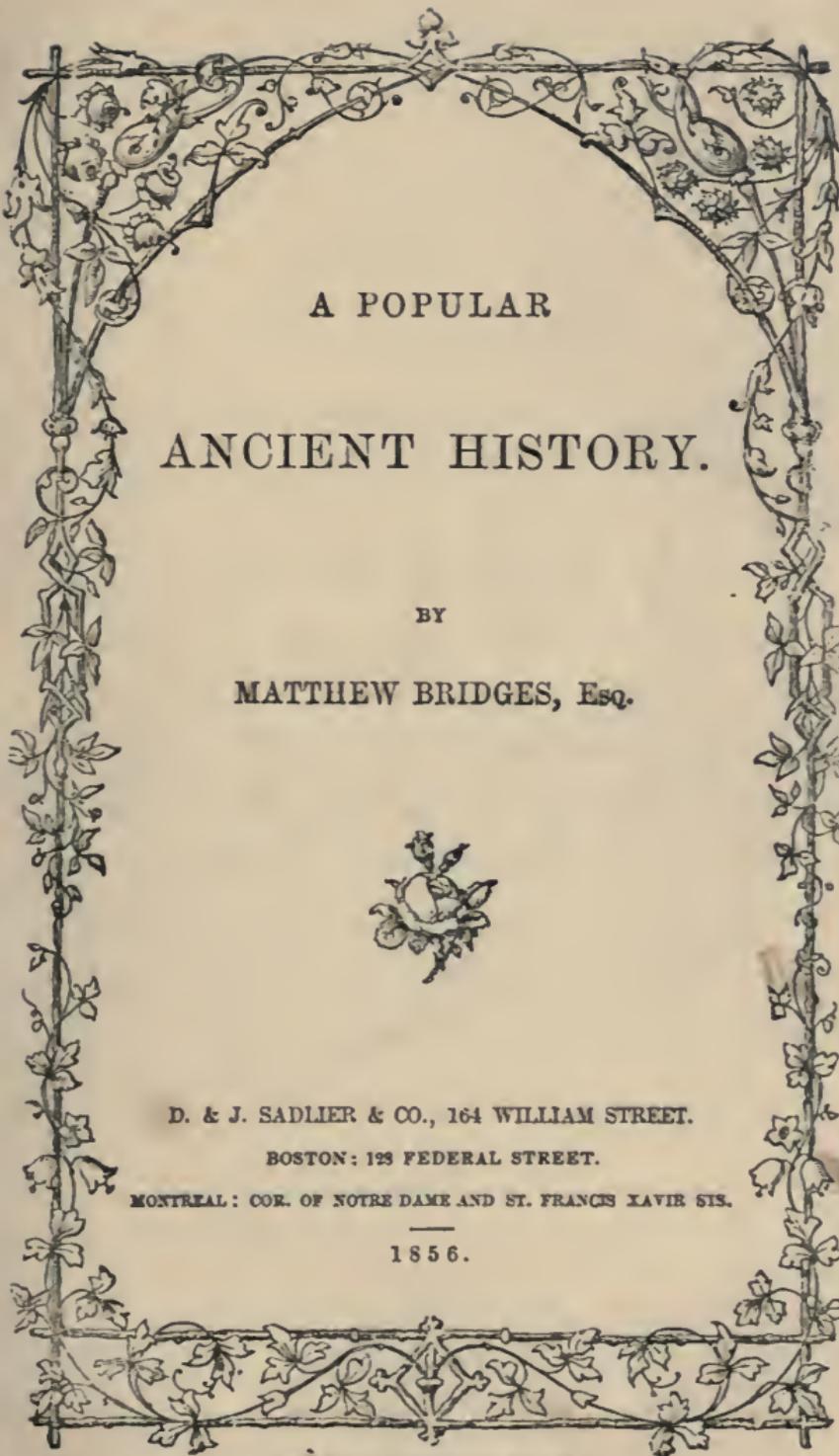
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Ruins of the Tower of Babel, on the banks of the Euphrates.

A decorative border of grapevines with leaves and clusters of grapes frames the text. The border is thicker at the top and bottom, forming a sort of arch and base.

A POPULAR  
ANCIENT HISTORY.

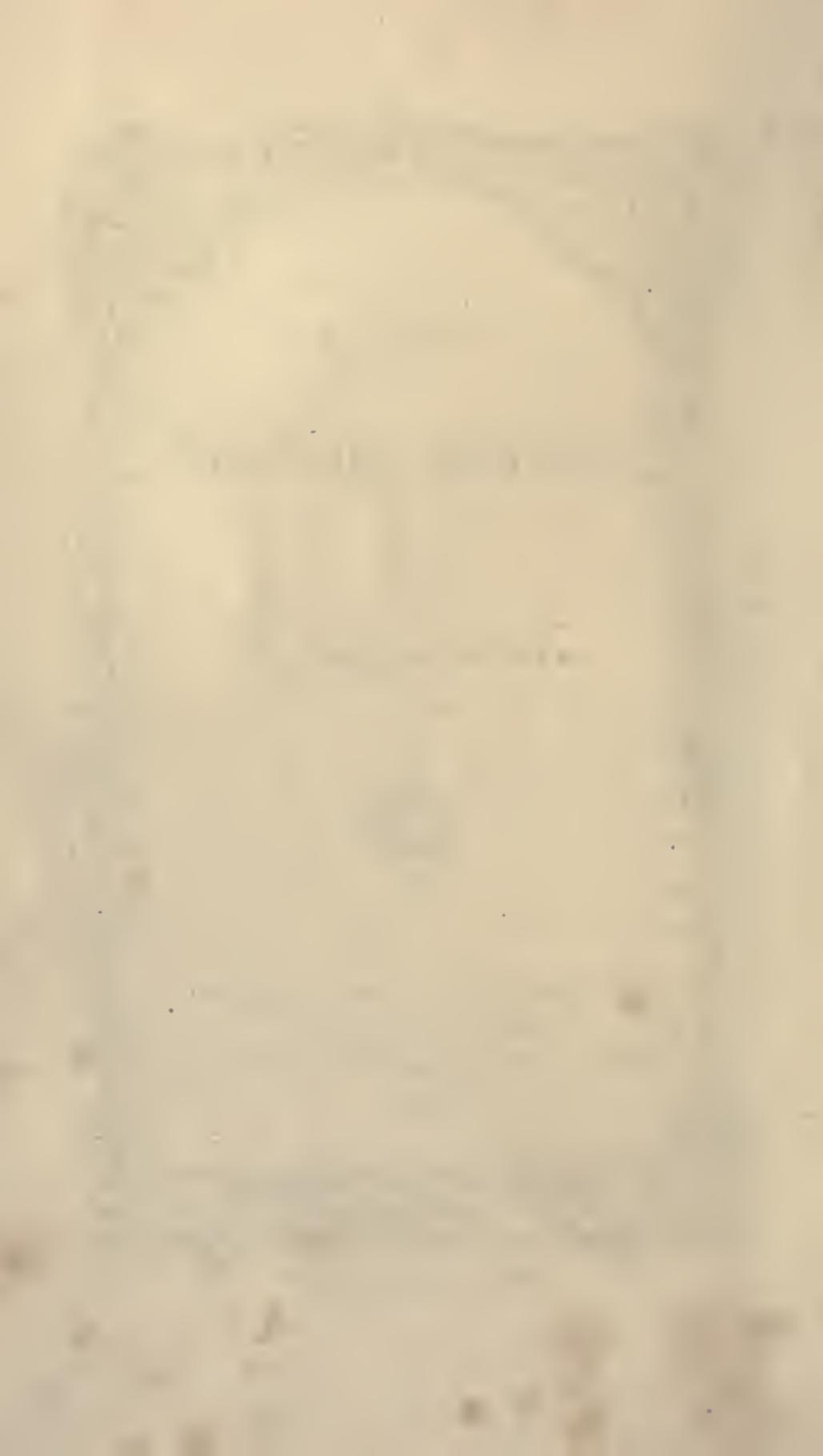
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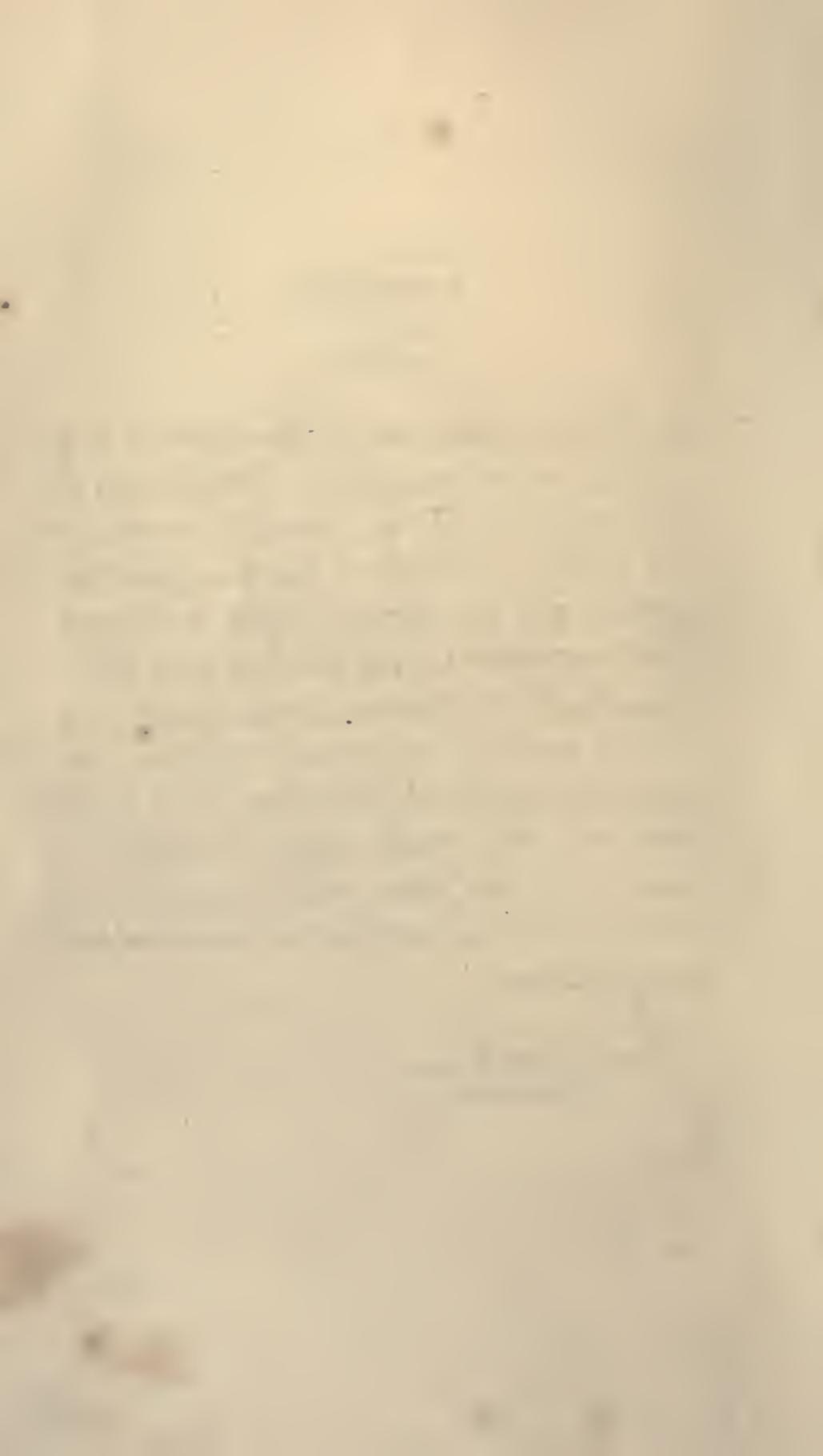


## PREFACE.

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THE following compilation has been drawn up as a companion to the Popular Modern History; each of these volumes, however, being intended as a complete work by itself. To carry out this idea some slight repetitions were necessary with regard to the early Christian centuries; but they have been made as few as possible. The best sources of information have been consulted, and made use of without limitation. The grand object of all sound History should be to set the simple truth before candid readers, that they may reason always from honest premises, and derive the largest amount of instruction in the most natural and agreeable manner.

CHESTER HILL HOUSE,  
WOODCHESTER.



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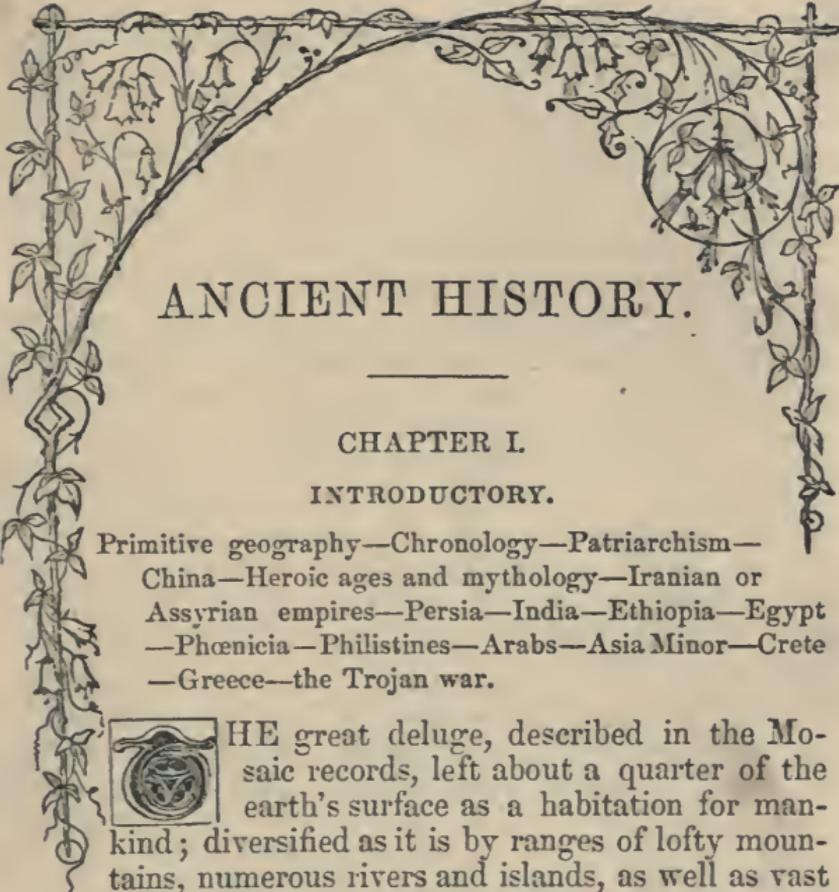
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# ANCIENT HISTORY.

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY.

Primitive geography—Chronology—Patriarchism—  
China—Heroic ages and mythology—Iranian or  
Assyrian empires—Persia—India—Ethiopia—Egypt  
—Phœnicia—Philistines—Arabs—Asia Minor—Crete  
—Greece—the Trojan war.



HE great deluge, described in the Mo-  
saic records, left about a quarter of the  
earth's surface as a habitation for man-  
kind; diversified as it is by ranges of lofty moun-  
tains, numerous rivers and islands, as well as vast  
varieties of atmosphere, vegetation, and locality.  
Beyond the limits of the temperate zone, it would  
almost seem that the excessive heat or cold over-  
whelms and subjugates every human energy. The ex-  
treme fertility of the tropics in the long-run is found  
to enervate rather than favour social progress; whilst in  
the Arctic regions the seal, the walrus, and the polar  
bear, the absence of the sun through a protracted winter,  
and the cold soil wrapt in a winding-sheet of perpetual  
snow, set impassable limits to the refinements of life or  
civilisation. A certain relative proportion, arranged be-  
tween the necessities and natural resources of nations,  
has most promoted their industry and advancement. It  
may be conjectured, therefore, that Europe to the south-

ward of the Orkneys has a destiny peculiarly its own, as honourable as it must be responsible. For the cradle of our race, however, we must look to the far eastward.

Adelung, Von Müller, and others, have entertained the idea that Cashmere or its vicinity may have been the real Ararat on which the ark rested, and which thus became the postdiluvian abode of mankind. They formed their theory upon bread-corn and the domestic animals being there indigenous,—upon the central plains of Asia being the highest portions of the globe, and consequently the first to emerge from the flood,—upon the sources being there situated of such enormous rivers as the Selinga, the Irtish, the Hoangho, the Indus, and the Ganges; besides some curious etymologies presumed to support their hypothesis. But, on the other hand, the Scriptures, Josephus, and the Fathers appear nearly unanimous in thinking or stating that Armenia was the locality in question, whence the world was re-peopled, and where a triple division commenced from the original stock of Noe's family into the great Caucasian, or European-Arabic stem,—the Mongolian, or South Asiatic and American,—and thirdly, the Negro or Ethiopian tribes. In the chronology of these primitive periods, as amended by sound modern criticism, there is a wonderful analogy, amounting as nearly as possible to unanimity. It would appear that about thirty-one centuries elapsed between the Deluge and the Incarnation; comparing the Samaritan, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin texts of the inspired records with the best authorities in the Chinese, Chaldean, and Egyptian annals, illustrated as all these have been by the lights of later discovery and erudition. That a very early settlement of the Mongolian family took place in China seems highly probable. This country, occupying an extent of geographical surface which contains within itself every variety of soil, climate, and natural production, presents us also with the patriarchal form of government still existing pretty much as it did four thousand years ago. The whole empire ap-

pears in a state of colossal petrification. No one there may presume to be wiser than his forefathers. Whatever may be the circumstances of an individual, he must wear the dress, practise the customs, plant his garden, or build his house, after the mode prescribed by ancient regulations. The very traditions of the people are diluvian in their character: each implement retains its rude form; the plough is still drawn by men; the written symbols of their monosyllabic language stand for ideas instead of simple sounds; the emperor is considered as the great-great-grandfather of all his subjects. Fohi, encircled with a rainbow, is thought to have been the first husbandman, who planted a vine, and, in connection with an ogdoad of eight persons supposed to have been preserved from a destruction of waters, reigned altogether, by himself or his posterity, down to the days of Hoang-ti, a sort of Chinese Nemrod, wonderfully synchronising with his genuine prototype in the Scriptures. Oriental paganism in these regions assumed the shapes of Buddhism and Brahminism; the origin of both which grievous superstitions may be referred to a period scarcely later than the building of the Tower of Babel.

Now one glance at least must be given, in an Ancient History intended to be written upon sound Christian principles, at the origin and development of heathen error; so largely did it enter into the essence, as well as the framework of society. The voice of all antiquity informs us how soon the race of man, with a few favoured exceptions, fell away from the worship and service of the only true God. Tradition indeed, even apart from revelation, preserved some fragments of knowledge and natural religion, however deformed and perverted they might become through the pride of intellect or the defilements of a fallen imagination. The bulk of these were veiled under the famous Mysteries, to which only the initiated were admitted; whilst before the eyes and minds of the vulgar mythology merely exhibited its exoteric aspect in the debasements

of a popular idolatry. It has been demonstrated by the Fathers and other learned writers, that all these mysteries, whether of Buddhism or Brahminism, Scythism, Hellenism, or Ionism, or those around the shores of the Mediterranean maintained under the names of Bacchus, Ceres, Cybele, Silenus, Jupiter, Rhea, Venus, and Isis, were all in substance identical. Their purport, when divested from many layers of puerility and absurdity, was to display the soul's lapse from its original purity into a state of darkness and confusion; affecting at the same time to teach the initiated, and none beside, how they might emerge out of such misery into the light and comforts of illumination. They alluded more or less to certain traditions of Paradise and the Deluge; to the Tree of Life in the midst of Eden; to its rivers, cherubic figures, and the malignity of the Serpent; to the ark of Noe, floating like an island over the waters, enclosing as it did the seeds of another world; to his deliverance from it as the father of a new human family, his instructing a long line of descendants in the arts of the vintage, agriculture, or government, and, over and above every thing else, instituting propitiatory sacrifices. Noe being considered but as a reappearance of Adam, there grew out of this idea a description of his death and regeneration, represented as the transmigration of his soul, together with the physical system of an endless succession of worlds; all which seems to have been scenically represented in such a manner, and with such awful solemnities, as powerfully to strike the imagination. The nomenclature of the primeval patriarchs underwent manifold changes from the variation of languages, and the individual objects of worship themselves getting mixed up with that of the mere material powers of nature; but that a perversion of arkite and diluvian history proved mainly the origin of paganism may be now almost taken for granted. It generated hero-worship and demonolatry; it produced the Buddhism and Brahminism of China, Thibet, Japan, and India; it developed into the Scyth-

ism, Hellenism, or Ionism described by St. Epiphanius ; it fostered as well as created the Zabianism of Assyria, Chaldæa, and Persia, blending the diluvian and paradisaic traditions with the sun, moon, and stars, transferring the Argo of the flood, the Garden of the Hesperides, the apple of Atalanta, the history of the Serpent, or Nemrod as the constellation of Orion, to the sidereal firmament. It originated materialism, as also the doctrines of Dualism or the Two Principles, with the marvels of the Indian Avatars, the metempsychosis of Magianism, the secret mummeries of Mithras, and the metamorphosis universally connected with the practices of sorcery and magic. Indeed, one of the great uses of mythology has been, that an unwilling testimony is extracted from it to the truth of the sacred oracles. These, in the custody of the Church, constitute a noble temple, majestic in its plan and perfect in its proportions ; whilst divine inspiration burns within, as the hallowed fire before the altar. The heathen had heard of this glorious shrine, and their ancestors or legislators had in a certain sense even beheld some parts of it ; but in daring to rear one similar to it, the glory of the original was forgotten, and enough alone remained to leave them without excuse, and prove beyond all doubt the previous existence and excellence of the model they had intended to imitate, but could not. In the lapse of ages even this stolen counterfeit fell to pieces,—the dromos, the pillar, the propylon, all became one vast cheerless ruin ; or if here and there a column might be found standing, cloud and darkness rested upon its capital.

Scarcely an authentic memorial remains of these heroic ages besides some antiquated monuments, a few hardly legible inscriptions, and the books of the Pentateuch, Josue, Job, and Judges. Tessellating, however, all the extant evidence together, with the fragmentary hints thrown out by the Greek and Latin writers who have touched on the subject, and who had access to records long since lost or destroyed, it would

seem that, after the lodgment of the ark on the summits of Ararat, the diluvian family resided in Armenia, keeping for the most part in that particular locality, according to St. Epiphanius, for 659 years, or to the fifth generation. Moses of Chorene delineates the country as one of the highest elevation, sending out rivers to the four cardinal points of heaven, and as abounding with domestic animals, as well as every species of food, besides yielding salt-springs, with all kinds of salutiferous waters, in the greatest plenty. Strabo mentions the olive as amongst its productions; a circumstance not without its significance, in connection with the dove that was sent out of the ark, before it finally rested. The adjacent plains and valleys, from their situation, must have been soon dry and habitable, without being exposed to the severe temperature of the more central tracts of Asia. We may fairly imagine that during these first six centuries and a half after the deluge there must have existed a considerable amount of peace and simple prosperity. It was patriarchy in its primeval aspect, at once genuine and venerable; one grey-haired sage as the priest and governor, who had conversed with the inhabitants of a former world, himself a living chronicle to his posterity, able to overawe them with what he had seen and heard, and who could point to the Iris on the rain-cloud as an unanswerable and infallible token of the covenant between God and man, and of the truth of the tale he told. The ferocity of the wilder animals must also have been restrained until mankind had sufficiently multiplied; as to which last point, taking for our guide the recorded census of the Israelites in Egypt, we ascertain that, on the decease of Noe, 350 years after the flood, his family may have amounted to a number somewhat under half a million; and in about three centuries more might have augmented considerably over twenty-fold, following only the ordinary course of increase. By the time Babylon was founded, under Nenrod, the human population must have exceeded a score of millions; an extent quite

sufficient to explain all the curious statements alluded to in the sacred volume. Phaleg, the great-great-grandson of Noe, or, in other words, fifth in descent from that patriarch, survived, as the Seventy state it, 339 years; in whose days the earth, as we are informed in Genesis, was divided amongst its occupants, which event must have happened at some date prior to the middle of the eighth century after the deluge, when Phaleg died, A.P.D. 740.

Now the most learned of the Fathers, upon the authority of Berosus, evidently demonstrate that Nemrod founded the first Cuthic, or Scythic, or Chaldean, or Assyrian dynasty at Babylon, about 700 years after the flood, and twenty-four centuries before the Incarnation. He is described in Scripture as a mighty hunter, and by all antiquity as a rebel against Almighty God, as the grand corrupter of the patriarchal religion, introducing into it Zabianism and Demonolatry. His object is supposed to have been a resistance to the divinely-appointed emigration, and the consolidation of a universal empire, to which his city with its lofty tower would be the capital. He and his followers must have arrived by a circuitous route in the plains of Shinaar, probably keeping, through necessity, on the banks of the Euphrates, which would guide their journeyings from the east to the land of their destination. The confusion of languages forms too large a topic for these pages; but the posterity of Nemrod, or Orion as the Greeks call him, or Maha Bala, the Great Bel, as he is styled in the Hindoo annals, reigned at Babylon for 190 years, when the second Assyrian dynasty commenced with Ninus, who founded Nineveh, according to this calculation, B.C. 2210, or thereabouts. Ctesias from this era presents us with a long line of monarchs succeeding each other for 1360 years, terminating with Thonos Concolerus and Sardanapalus, B.C. 850. During this second protracted period the entire Iranian regions, in their largest extent, from India to the Hellespont, were nominally brought under the Assyrian

sceptre; doubtless with many variations of prosperity and adversity, and never perhaps manifesting that wonderful coherence of form and action essential to the governments of later ages. Nineveh, nevertheless, must have been a mighty metropolis; at one time sitting as an undisputed queen among the nations, or at another insulted and invaded by her own more distant tributaries. An enlargement of her local splendour is dwelt upon by Diodorus Siculus, which is thought to have occurred rather less than half a century before the Trojan war; when an enclosure was formed of forty-eight miles in circumference, with ramparts a hundred feet high, and so broad that three chariots could drive upon them abreast from tower to tower, of which there were fifteen hundred. Within this enormous circuit were fields, plantations, detached houses and palaces with parks around them, filled with the wilder animals, like our zoological gardens, which the Persians called Paradises. The remains of several of these edifices, as is well known, have been recently discovered; so that, after three thousand years, we are introduced into their very apartments through portals guarded by colossal lions and winged bulls of white alabaster, with their human heads, griffins, and sphinxes, probably perverted in their origin from the figures on the east of Eden.

The first grand member of the Iranian monarchy was evidently Persia, or more properly Bactria, the eastern division of its territories. Traditions, derived through the Parsees, mention Kaiumarath as having been elected a kind of judge in that country rather before the birth of Abraham, and almost contemporaneously with the second Assyrian dynasty, founded by Ninus. His descendants are said to have built Susa, Persepolis, and Schiraz; but one of them, called Zohak, was set aside for his cruelty by Kaoh, a blacksmith, who enthroned Feridoon, the next rightful heir; and this prince, to reward his faithful partisan, adopted for the national standard the leathern apron of his benefactor. He is declared moreover to have worshipped

the true God, and repressed the Zabian idolatry. His bequest to his successors was a golden piece of advice in these words: "Reckon that all the days of your reign are so many leaves of your book of life. Be careful, then, to write nothing thereon unworthy of being handed down to posterity." Magianism began to prevail from about this period in Persia,—a system taught by Zoroaster, who consecrated certain caves to Mithras, and introduced the solar fire as typifying the Creator of all things—the Author of life and happiness. The Parsees also affirmed that there is an Eternal Being called Yezdan, the real Infinite, and Maker of both light and darkness; besides another most mighty power whom they style Ahriman, or the devil, the offspring of Night and Chaos. Good and evil they considered to be a mixture of the two potent principles out of which the world originated, and of which the good is destined for heaven, and the evil for hell. Feridoon is portrayed in the east as the Solomon of Persia, and seems to have flourished from nineteen to twenty centuries before Christ. Under his administration certain geographical definitions emerge into distinct notice upon the surface of history. Thus, for instance, Iran is mentioned as including Persia, Media, Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia. The eastern provinces beyond the river Gihon or Oxus, including India and Tartary, as far as Cathai or China, are called Turan, from his eldest son Tur, to whom they were allotted; which title again got corrupted into Turkistan. The western territories received the denomination of Mogreb, comprehending Syria, Asia Minor, Europe, the Mediterranean islands, and Africa. He gave his second son the title of Kaisar or Cæsar, and his youngest received that of Schah. Incessant changes followed upon his decease, involving the predominance sometimes of one country, and at other times of another.

The sacerdotal caste of Magi in the system of Zoroaster was rivalled by that of the Brahmins in Hindoostan, where it absolutely prostrated the intellect,

and defiled the national mind. Here were found the institutes of Menu, with their pictures of a delicious garden, in the midst of which stood a tree of knowledge, where the first pair of inhabitants had the appellations of Adim and Iva; whilst the river surrounding this island-paradise of Meru separated afterwards into four sacred streams, flowing respectively eastward and westward, and northward and southward, from the heads of an ox or cow, a lion, a vulture, and an elephant; or, in other words, with little variation the narrative is singularly analogous to that in the Pentateuch. India is proved by the primitive character of its social institutions to be one of the most ancient nations of the earth. Its majestic and richly inflected language may be understood from the Vedas and the Ramayuna, as well as other epic poems, running up into the earliest antiquity; yet illustrating at the same time into what abysses of corruption a people will descend when once deprived of divine and genuine religion. About the age of Feridoon, between the snowy peaks of the Himmalaya and Cape Comorin there were ten kingdoms called collectively Bharata, which coalesced subsequently into four, with many subordinate principalities. Every where, however, the cruel system of castes extinguished energy and vitality. No mental development can occur where the position of each member of the community is immutably marked out for him. Thousands of years have produced but little change in the general aspect of these regions: an immense, gentle, peaceful population; abundance of wealth; most of the useful, necessary, or ornamental arts in a certain stationary form; a manifold, mysterious, and intricate polytheism putrescent with lasciviousness; and necks inviting a conqueror. Emigration would seem at one time to have been amongst their characteristics; for an active intercourse arose between India and Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya, and Egypt. With respect to the third of these terms, indeed, a more than usual indefiniteness prevails; for the Greeks identified it with the inhabitants of Persia,

Chaldæa, Assyria, and other countries, as well as India, all of whom were styled in their turns Ethiopians. What is now Abyssinia, together with Nubia and its adjacent territories, may be perhaps described as Ethiopia Proper, of which Meroë was the ancient metropolis. Professor Heeren has attempted to construct a monumental history of it with much and well-merited success. It came to be the centre of an important carrying trade, extending from the shores of the Indian sea to those of the Mediterranean. Adule, Azab, and Axum still remain as links of this commercial intercommunication, founded as it was upon mutual interests and necessities, as also cemented by the sympathies and analogies of their common superstitions. Several such emporiums grew into the favourite seats of sacerdotal establishments. The dominancy of their caste led to the institution of temples and oracles, which helped again to promote and direct the course of the caravans from one city or oasis of the desert to another. Fresh colonies moreover were sent out in necessary directions. Exchange of merchandise engendered an enlargement of ideas: mutual friction thus kindling some elements of civilisation; nor does Diodorus Siculus hesitate to derive the general improvement of Egypt itself from Ethiopia, possessing, as he says it did, the art of picture-writing, not confined, as below the cataracts of the Nile, to the mere priests, but used by all classes, just as the people between Elephanta and the Mediterranean used the demotic or enchorial characters.

That marvellous valley, extending for six hundred miles between the African wilderness on the west and the barren mountains of the Red Sea on the east, developed the history of a nation not less remarkable than the Assyrians. The Nile was considered in mythology to have been one of the paradisaical rivers; and as such received idolatrous honours in common with the Ganges and Brahma-pootra of Bengal. A branch of the Caucasian race, it would appear, crossed the straits of Babelmandel; mastered the Ethiopians whom it met;

founded an empire on the Oriental system of castes in Nubia; then advanced with the stream and established that of Upper Egypt; and lastly spread over Lower Egypt and the Delta. Originally they came from India, and are enumerated by Manetho and Josephus as the Royal Shepherds under whom the Pyramids were constructed; their irruption may be fairly dated at B.C. 2160, or five years before the birth of the patriarch Abraham. In the division of the earth, Egypt had fallen to the family of Mesraim, who erected Thebes, naming the city after the wonderful vessel in which their diluvian ancestor had been preserved, and a model of which served as their principal temple. The old chronicle of Syncellus declares, that the eight demigods reigned as an ogdoad, with their posterity of the Cynic or Canicular Circle, for fifteen generations, through a period of 660 years; surprisingly correspondent with the Chaldaic calculation mentioned by St. Epiphanius as to the residence of the Noachidæ in Armenia. The posterity of Mesraim must have maintained their occupancy, however, for rather more than another two centuries and three quarters, until the irruption of the Royal or Cuthite Shepherds; who in their turn were driven out by the native population after a period of about 260 years, or B.C. 1900. Their withdrawal left very much at the national disposal the nome of Gessen, or Abaris, which the Shepherds had so long retained as their stronghold, being the most fertile pasture-ground in Lower Egypt, lying on the east or Arabian side of the Nile. Within fifteen years, the patriarch Joseph was sold as a slave to Putiphar the eunuch, then master of the forces to King Pharaoh; whose prudent policy led to the settlement of his brethren in the country, as detailed in the Holy Scriptures. For nearly four generations they there prospered and multiplied; when the Cuthite Shepherds once more returned, 145 years subsequently to the former expulsion of their forefathers; which explains the statement, in the second book of the Pentateuch,

that "there had arisen a new king or dynasty over Egypt, who knew not Joseph," B.C. 1756; and this second domination lasted down to the Exodus of the Children of Israel, B.C. 1650. The ten plagues had by that time exhausted the persecutors; receiving also, as the latter did, their final overthrow in the waves of the Red Sea at Pihahiroth before Beelsephon.

The mean width of the valley between Syene and Cairo has been calculated at about three leagues; and the whole area of cultivable soil, exclusive of the lateral valleys and the oases, at eleven thousand square miles. It cannot fail to strike the mind, that there seems something mysterious in the history of this fruitful country from its very commencement, with its peculiar system of laws and customs, its gross and yet stern superstitions, its reverence for the state of the dead, and its theocratically sovereign priesthood. This last became a depository for all arts and sciences; possessing also enormous wealth, of which it could never be deprived. Meanwhile a system of castes pressed upon the entire population as onerously as in Hindoostan; and yet the natives, although so often vanquished themselves, never amalgamated with their victors, but in their turns not unfrequently produced mighty warriors, who threw off one domestic yoke after another, or even overpassed in military triumph the narrow limits of their territory. Under several of their ancient kings, conquering expeditions appear to have extended towards the east as far as Bactria and India, or northward and southward to the Caucasus and Ethiopia. The symbols of their idolatry also blended easily together, being derived from common sources; for the Egyptian Apis found itself identical with the sacred Bull of the Assyrians, and the Nandi, or consecrated Cow, of the Brahmins. The Iranian and Nilotic monarchies were in fact contemporaneous empires; nor is it a little remarkable that the name of Nineveh is found in the statistical tablet of Karnak, B.C. 1490. Some have actually believed that much of Assyrian civilisation had

an Egyptian origin; but the former has evidently a more natural, and the latter a more conventional character. For any permanency, the arms of Egypt perhaps scarcely ever extended further than Mesopotamia; but that region, at all events, at one time sent its tribute to Thebes and Memphis in the shape of corn, dates, palm-wine, honey, and incense. Absolute as the sacerdotal dignity proved in a religious sense, the royal prerogative claimed to be in a secular one often exempted from its operation, at least during the life of the sovereign. As to all the visible representations of social life, whether public or private, we now gaze with astonishment at the vases, bracelets, embroidered robes, ornamented chariots, utensils, weapons and engines of war, enormous galleys, ingenious developments of mechanism, modes of administering justice, carrying on agriculture and architecture, which must have existed under the ancient Pharaohs, exhibited on the solemn walls of their mausoleums; to say nothing of the Pyramids and obelisks, or the ruins of Thebes and Elephanta.

Not distant from the mouths of the Nile lay the Phœnicians, who were a colony from that portion of the Aramæan race settled upon the Persian Gulf. Their emigration to the Syrian coast is said to have brought thither the use of glass, purple dyes, coined money, and the characters afterwards adopted in Europe for most of her written languages. Possessing an essentially maritime and energetic disposition, they visited every port and island of the Mediterranean; embarking from Elath on the Red Sea for the circumnavigation of Africa; exploring Cornwall and the Cassiterides for tin, as well as the Baltic shores for amber; but concealing many of their greatest enterprises beneath a veil of impenetrable secrecy. Tyre was their grand metropolis, bidding defiance through its insular position to the monarchs of Babylon or Memphis. Its merchants were more opulent and powerful than princes; nor was Carthage herself otherwise than one of their foreign

foundations. The Philistim, occupying a kind of pentapolis to the north of where the boundaries between Gaza and Pelusium lose themselves in the Sirbonian marshes, are thought to have come intermediately from Egypt, yet originally from Upper Asia. Trade and piracy rendered them the corsairs of their period, as well as thorns in the sides of the children of Israel, when the conquests of Josue and the Judges had subjugated or destroyed the Chanaanites. The Arabs remained in the lands of frankincense and spices, hovering in their nomadic state wherever the interests of their emirs or their own fancy might allure them, under the various appellations of Sabeans, Ismaelites, Edomites, Midianites, or Nabathæans. Their house was a tent, their beast of burden a camel, their world the wilderness, their religion the worship of the heavenly bodies, their employment commerce or robbery, as the case might happen. In ancient history they affected civilisation or social progress almost too slightly to be noticed; but Asia Minor was in a totally different category. Harassed as its beautiful districts might sometimes be through bands of wandering marauders, it more enjoyed the protection of the Iranian empire, and cultivated the banks of its own rivers; many of which watered luxuriant plains inviting the pursuits of pasturage or husbandry. With wealth came other blessings, followed by many curses. For three hundred years before the Trojan war several neighbouring nations formed themselves into a national confederacy around Mount Ida; which gradually extended itself across the Hellespont into Europe, comprehending Thrace, with various important districts to the confines of Thessaly, under a single dominion. It had political intercourse more particularly with Crete, where we hear of a hundred cities acknowledging the sceptre of Minos.

This potentate had borrowed his policy from Egypt, the country to which judges and legislators resorted in those ages for wisdom or learning. He established a

sort of constitution based upon secret societies, after having suppressed piracy and subdued the Cyclades. Situated as the island was, it had favourable opportunities for acquiring naval influence with Asia, Syria, Phœnicia, Greece, and Africa; yet the laws which the Cretans adopted forbade their making many foreign conquests. After the death of Minos, instead of a king, the people elected ten regulators from the ancient families to govern them for limited terms of office. The produce of the country, which was similar to that of Asia Minor, with a Mount Ida moreover of its own, was divided into twelve portions; all things were in common, and the citizens ate together in public companies; one portion went for sacrifices, and a second for the hospitable entertainment of strangers; each of the regulators took his own division of the remainder. The lands were cultivated by slaves; for freemen alone was reserved the use of arms. A senate, formed from the regulators going out of office, superintended the management of fruits, cattle, and money, as well as all other civil arrangements. The object seems to have been that each individual should be sufficiently and equally provided for, without his being liable to the temptations of either solicitude or refinement. Field-sports, gymnastic exercises, and personal adventures, absorbed universal attention, so that the domestic training of purely private life was little known. Fighting, and even theft, when executed with great adroitness, came to be regarded as legitimate methods for acquiring address and manual dexterity. Popular assemblies had simply the privilege of confirming or rejecting the propositions of the senate and the regulators, without the least right of mere modification. The influence of Cretan principles on one of the most important states in Greece will presently appear; whilst, as a general axiom, we may bear in mind that the practical elements of society among the Hellenes emanated from Egypt, the ornamental ones more frequently from Asia Minor. Assyria influenced the latter country in

a direct manner so long as her domination lasted; and afterwards indirectly through Persia, when it ceased. The Xanthian marbles illustrate the threefold connection between Assyria and Persia, Persia and Asia Minor, and Asia Minor and Greece.

Von Müller reminds us that both Pallas and Klaproth confirm geologically the old traditions in Strabo, Pliny, and Diodorus, about the land of Lectonia; which would seem to have occupied part of the space now filled by the Grecian sea; the Islands of the Archipelago being fragments of it, remaining after some mighty catastrophe had let out the waters of Scythia into the basin of the Mediterranean. Of those extensive floods, the Euxine, the Caspian, the lakes Van and Aral, with several others, are still extant vestiges. Thessaly itself must have been submerged before the river Peneus worked a tortuous channel through the lovely valley of Tempe; while M. de Choiseul Gouffier proves that great portions of the Danubian Principalities were formed in the same way. Hence all the accounts of the disruption between Europe and Asia are more particularly connected and coloured with diluvian memorials in the Greek mythology: whether in such instances as that of Inachus, who is said to have founded Argos, or the accounts of Ogyges and the Bœotian Thebes, when the lake Copais extended far beyond its later or present limits. The first settlers were clearly the Dodanim, the children of Javan, the son of Japheth, the youngest-born of Noe; whence the proverb, "older than Japetus," was used to express the greatest antiquity. They established the paradisaical oracle of Dodona, consecrated originally to the one true patriarchal God who made all things; and these Javanians must be distinguished from the Ionians, a denomination not nearly so ancient, as the exact Pausanias has demonstrated. The latter came from another stock, probably a Cuthite tribe mingled with the rovers from Phrygia and Phœnicia, sometimes called the Palli or Pelasgi, the invaders of the Javanian or Achæan territories, the cor-

rupters of their more simple religion, the progenitors of the four main divisions of the Greek nation—namely, the Dorians, the Eolians, the Ionians, and the Athenians or inhabitants of Attica. The origin of Athens as a city is justly conceived to have been from Egypt. We learn from Manetho, that the final resistance of the native Mesraim against their pastoral tyrants at length effected, after many and protracted struggles, an emigration into Greece of the Danaides, B. C. 1560, who, three years later, under their leader Cecrops, erected Athens, dedicating it to their own goddess of wisdom at Sais of the same name. He improved upon his Pelasgic predecessors, introduced better morals and judicial regulations, founded an asylum for the innocent or persecuted, and acted as a sacerdotal legislator. Agriculture flourished beneath his auspices, and was diffused, as from a common centre, over the adjacent districts, together with the fame of the venerable court of Areopagus. Here also grew up popular government; while Theseus united the twelve Attic boroughs to the metropolis, and amalgamated their respective senates into a single body. "Out of the townsmen of the whole state he formed an assembly for electing the king; reserving scarcely any prerogatives for himself, except those of presiding over sacrifices and councils, and commanding in war.

One hundred and thirty years after the time of Cecrops, the Phœnician Cadmus brought an alphabet into Bœotia, and founded the citadel of Thebes. Probably his character and history are merely mythological; although it is likely enough that Syria furnished through its colonists the seeds of literature, the cultivation of the vine, several of the oracles, and especially that at Delphi, besides some most gross superstitions. The Grecian tribes had various appellations, often according to their localities. Many of them were called Hellenes, at all events, at a later period; and St. Croix shows that there were two Amphictyonic assemblies, held alternately at Thermopylæ and Delphi, at the

vernal and autumnal equinoxes, composed of delegates from the different towns and districts, each possessing two votes, with the power of thus managing in confederacy the entire union. All disputes here underwent an orderly adjudication. The power of the league was brought to bear upon any contumacious members; the object being to promote harmony and civilisation upon a basis of divine worship. No place or city might be destroyed within the Amphictyonic limits; nor even in warfare were temples to be plundered, or fountains poisoned. The representatives brought their wives and children with them to the general conclave; so that it became a festival of gathered families, illustrated by public games, solemnly placed under the protection of the tutelary divinity. But in reality the weight and usefulness of such a congress ceased when a due proportion had terminated amongst its component elements; when Phthiotis and Mount Ceta influenced the decisions with as many suffrages as the Dorians and Ionians, or when the sordid Cythium had an equal sway with the royal Lacedæmon. That city, important as it subsequently became, was not as yet in the meridian of its greatness. Pelops and Perseus, in these earlier periods of history, rendered their favourite Argos the capital of the Peloponnesus. None of the chiefs between the Isthmus and Laconia escaped being more or less involved in the Theban contest; the memorials of which, however, are few compared with those of the Trojan war. The Ilian Priam had succeeded to the richest and most potent realm in Western Asia. Against him the princes of the Grecian states, under Agamemnon, associated themselves in the cause of Menelaus, whose consort had been carried away by the son of the Asiatic monarch. The throne of Troy was overturned after a ten years' war, B.C. 1184; an event immortalised by Homer in poems nearly as old as the Psalms of David. They furnish us with the most vivid pictures of military and domestic life then prevalent among the energetic inhabitants of classic climes. We are in-

troduced to their forms of government, their estimate of right and wrong, their love of truthfulness and justice, their treatment of women, their banquets and debates, their friendships, predilections, respect for old age or faithful service, their manners and habits, laws and customs. Like the Pelasgians, when they had once settled, the Achæans were devoted to husbandry and navigation; blending the acquisition of opulence with a certain rude simplicity and generosity by no means inherently opposed to very considerable advances in refinement. The soul of their civilisation seemed to be a love of freedom, a taste for the sublime and beautiful, and an admiration for personal qualities. Wisdom and courage had with them an almost inestimable value. Their sovereigns were merely the heads of an aristocracy, ruling over districts or multitudes pregnant with the germs of democracy, liable to be lighted up at any moment through enthusiasm rising out of circumstances, or by the coruscations of individual genius. Their amusements enkindled valour, generated patriotism, and even fostered such other virtues as they could appreciate; although sometimes tending to violations of external modesty. Slavery was the darkest feature in their social system; as the best was that profound appreciation of responsibility to invisible powers manifested in their propitiatory sacrifices. Princes and fathers of families often officiated as priests; just as may be observed in the Old Testament before the institution of the Mosaic ritual. True, however, it is that their religion was idolatry, gross, superstitious, and obscene; but assuredly they were not infidels in the worst sense of the word. With regard to matters of peace and war the people possessed a voice; nor could any important laws be passed without their approbation, or at least that of a majority.

## CHAPTER II.

From the Trojan war to the age of Solon and his contemporaries, including the origin of republican governments—Contest between Persia and Greece to the battle of Marathon.

IF the Greeks reaped a harvest of fame on the shores of the Hellespont, it was at some considerable cost to themselves and their country. Their long absence from home led the way to various domestic and governmental innovations. Dynasties rose and fell, or old ones returned. Monarchical principles expanded more completely into aristocratic developments, or were broken to pieces altogether, and succeeded by pure democracies. The progenitors of Agamemnon, or the Atreides, had in past ages supplanted the Heraclides, or posterity of Hercules, in their Peloponnesian possessions; but about eighty years after the overthrow of Troy the latter returned, leading the Dorians through the Isthmus of Corinth, regaining the territories of their ancestors, and confining the descendants of Agamemnon to Achaia alone; where, in the course of centuries, republican forms of administration obtained an entire ascendancy. Meanwhile Argos with its beautiful plains fell to the share of Temenos the Heraclide; the hills of Messenia to Cresphon, another hero of the same family; the kingdom of Lacedæmon to Aristodemos, another, or rather to his twin sons Eurysthenes and Procles, who were both to reign during their lives, with a stipulation that after their deaths two of their descendants—one of them representing each branch—should occupy the throne jointly. All these Peloponnesian sovereignties united themselves into a confederacy: yet the vigour of Lacedæmon, or Sparta, soon culminated above the rest. The city covered a large extent of

ground along the river Eurotas, at the foot of Mount Taygetus—no unsuitable scene for the formation of iron warriors. But when some century and half of anarchy had devastated Laconia, its people called upon Lycurgus, as guardian to one of their kings, to give them a permanent constitution. This he did, borrowing several of his ideas from Crete and Egypt, and embodying into the framework and spirit of his system not only those foreign elements, but also all the sternest principles of Dorian legislation. The object of his wishes was a popular plainness and equality of manners, with the maintenance of martial characteristics in the upper or dominant classes. Serfdom had been tolerated among the subjects of Minos; while the Laconian lawgiver, dreading the results of that oppression which he was about to imitate, contrived to introduce a third, or intermediate rank, between the lords and the slaves, namely, the Perioeci, or suburban and rural sojourners, whether Dorians of mixed marriages or Achæans who had not quite lost their privileges in submitting to the conquerors. The lands underwent a division into 39,000 allotments; 9,000 large ones for the fortunate Spartans, the other 30,000 smaller ones, liable to a certain rent, for the Perioeci, but the former to be cultivated for their holders by the Helots. These last were not allowed the use of arms, which remained solely in the hands of the two proprietary classes; the Spartans moreover keeping to themselves a monopoly of the government. It was administered by a couple of kings, five ephors, and a senate of twenty-eight members, who held their offices for life, and were elected by the popular assembly; into which, however, none but the most opulent citizens, that is to say the Spartans, were ever admitted. The constitution of Lacedæmon was therefore in effect a mere crowned aristocracy.

A joint sway, exercised by the two kings, acted as its corner-stone, since each prevented his colleague from any serious tyranny; whilst it was the interest of both that the ephors should not oppress the senate nor de-

grade the people. On the other hand, the ephors, at the commencement, generally stood by the executive of a double royalty so closely limited; and in adverse affairs they were not unwilling even to share the responsibility of the senate. Matters much altered, nevertheless, further on in their history. The ephorate had been introduced by King Theopompus, as a kind of Argus full of eyes, and ever awake to watch the public weal. Its powers of inspection, direction, and impeachment pervaded every department of the state, from the majesty of the throne to the lowest official, being at the same time on all occasions the judge as well as the accuser. Hence, when corruption and ambition gradually bore down upon patriotism in the lapse of ages, this most singular element of suspicious policy swelled into more than its appropriate dimensions, and crushed instead of assisting the monarchy. During war the sovereigns were commanders-in-chief; and out of Læconia their regal prerogative was absolute. Invested moreover with the characteristics of a genealogy imagined to be divine, through their supposed descent from Jove and Hercules, they offered the sacrifices and presided at festivals. At the former they had a cert in share allotted them out of the corn, flesh, and wine which were brought to the altars on the first and seventh days in each month. That victims might never be wanting to them in cases of sudden need, they received always a pig from every sow that littered. They had double portions at the public meals, besides enormous fish-ponds near their palace well stocked, and large landed estates, the inheritance of conquest. Their rights of wardship and adoption must have been also important; for in default of male issue daughters inherited the properties of their parents, and that too where the number of those who could acquire real possessions was extremely limited. It is said that, during the Theban contest, females held so considerable a portion of the country, that their influence proved not less pernicious than it was extensive. At councils, if hostilities

came under discussion, the Pericæci were summoned to the debate, as they would have to participate in the peril; but not otherwise. The effectiveness of their middle position naturally depended on their moderation; nor could this fail to be influenced by the general tone of manners. So long as these remained what Lycurgus intended they should be, the Lacedæmonian constitution answered its original purpose. Rigour was the essence of the whole. Children from the commencement were inured to hunger, thirst, deprivation, and pain; their simple duties were obedience and endurance. Every youth had to rise up before hoary hairs, as well as to abstain from flinching or crying out in the agonies of the severest flagellation. Their clothing and education came under the head of public expenses, as did also the common tables, at which all the male citizens messed in company. Morals must have been sadly defective; for husbands and wives might not live too much together, and even matrimonial rights could be legally invaded or violated under certain circumstances. Cleverness in theft obtained praise rather than reprehension: yet it must be remembered, that where communism prevails, the characteristics of proprietorship will necessarily lose their distinctness. Even slaves, horses, and dogs could have no private owners. Money itself took the form of cumbrous masses of iron; no lucrative trade or vocation was to be tolerated. Literature and authors were unknown: the very laws remained unwritten. The charities and refinements of life could no more flourish than flowers upon a rock of granite. Field-sports were the universal recreation, in addition to dancing and gymnastic exercises. Whoever fled from an enemy had to suffer many punishments worse than death, nor is it conceivable how he could live at Sparta. Lycurgus died about B.C. 870, in Crete, whither he is said to have retired after exacting an oath from his countrymen that his laws should never be altered. He was himself of the royal or Heraclidan family. The Helots, or slaves, are imagined to have

been aboriginal inhabitants of the maritime marshes at one time conquered by the Laconians.

The kings of Sparta nominated those sacred envoys sent out to consult the Delphian oracle, and which so often led to colonisation; but meanwhile the attention of history concentrates itself upon Attica and Athens. At the Dorian irruption into the Peloponnesus, the family of Theseus, after reigning for 150 years, lost their throne, which came to be occupied by Melanthius, of an Achaian race, yet then emigrating from Messenia, whence he had been expelled by the Heraclides. The last descendant of Theseus, whom he set aside, seems to have been of illegitimate birth, and the murderer of his own brother. Codrus, son and successor to Melanthius, drove back the Dorians, and forced them to be contented with Megara, down to that period united with Attica. In the course of the war Codrus offered himself up as a sacrifice for his country, B.C. 1074, after an administration of twenty-one years, illustrated by such supereminent courage and ability, that his subjects abolished the regal name from an apparent respect to his memory, but in reality through the growth of democratic principles which had sprung up amongst them. They continued, indeed, the sovereignty in his family by electing his son Medon to the presidential office of archon. This dignity, by successive appointments, passed down through a line of twelve descendants for more than three centuries to B.C. 754, with the modification from that date of limiting it to an occupancy of ten years. More vital changes, however, threatened to ensue upon the extinction of the Medontidæ, in B.C. 714, when the cruel Hippomenes was followed by Leocrates, and the decennial honour was thrown open to all families of noble descent. A still wider step towards demagogism occurred B.C. 684; the duration of the archonship was contracted to a single twelvemonth, and the number of its holders augmented to nine. Three of them enjoyed peculiar rank and titles; the other six acted as supreme judges in different courts. A fearful

struggle now raged for a couple of generations between contending factions of the nobility, on the one hand, as well as between the popular body and the disunited tottering aristocracy on the other. Sedition, revolution, civil war, with their concomitant misfortunes and consequences, cursed the unhappy country; until, worn out with their suicidal contests, and convinced that the social fabric had dissolved into its original elements, the people delegated to Draco, B.C. 624, the task of reorganising the state. His code of criminal laws has at least given a title to all attempts at sanguinary or over-severe coercion on the part of rulers. The bow broke in stringing it; so that thirty years more elapsed before Solon of Salamis could assuage the troubled waters—B.C. 594.

He was one of the seven sages of Greece; addicted to study and meditation; formed by foreign travels; highly imaginative, yet possessing a genius and disposition impregnated with common sense. His archonship ushered in a new and better order of things, although peace seemed tardy in returning. He aimed at doing the best which the actual state of affairs would admit of, rather than wasting precious time and strength on theories which, however good in themselves, were under existing circumstances impossible. He found the material interests of Athens in anarchy and confusion; the landowners and citizens, the debtors and creditors, were at open war. These immediately attracted his attention; and an arrangement was accomplished by altering the standard of value and lowering the rate of interest. His countrymen demanded legislation and a constitution. He therefore forthwith established a timocracy, in which the several classes of inhabitants had their political position fixed principally with reference to property. A populous city, situated in a not very fruitful country, could not prosper, he thought, without the aids of industry and commerce. Far from endeavouring, like Lycurgus, to elevate his compatriots above the feelings of nature, he wished to enlist these

last upon his side, and deal with mankind upon their own principles. Selfishness, therefore, was not to be omitted from the calculation, as if it had no existence. A division of the citizens into four departments, according to their estates or incomes, excluding from eligibility to office those below a certain census, at once checked the inconvenient predominance of the old arrogant nobility, and erected a social fabric with its foundations laid upon wealth. It seemed to call into existence a new aristocracy, identified in its sympathies with freedom of trade and a large share of democratic liberty; for whilst the nobles, as the richest members of the community, as the sole constituents of the court of Areopagus, as possessed of the priesthoods, and directors of religious ceremonies, still retained an ample degree of influence, the Council of Four Hundred, an annually rotating college, afforded so many families an interest in the constitution, that there appeared little chance of its being factiously subverted. Under these regulations, the choice of an appointed number of senators and magistrates was left to the districts and tribes; but they were limited to those who possessed the necessary qualifications, whether pecuniary or otherwise. In fact, all offices seemed to be conferred and filled up by the multitude; yet only so long as the latter acted within the letter and spirit of the laws, composing altogether one rather complicated yet conservative system.

Meanwhile Grecian colonisation, upon which so much subsequently depended, had made varied and considerable progress between the eras of the Lacedæmonian and Athenian lawgivers. Long, indeed, before Lycurgus was born, and soon after the death of Codrus, Neleus, another of his sons, heading the democratic party, to whom even the modified sovereignty of Medon was distasteful, undertook the settlement of a portion of Asia Minor. The Trojan war had left the sea-coasts in great confusion and misery; but thirteen Ionian republics were soon founded there, and in the islands be-

tween the Hermus and the Mæander, amongst those beautiful meadows where the swans of the Cayster delighted in the gardens which began to bloom on its banks. Ephesus, Teios, Colophon, Lebedos, Phocæa, Priene, Samos, Chios, Miletos, Clazomene, Myus, Erythæa, and afterwards Smyrna, became seats of luxury and genius, abounding with every polite refinement. Their mutual bond of connection was the Panionium, or place of assembly for their deputies and chief citizens, on the promontory of Mycale. The Greek language was spoken in all its four dialects. Two other federal democracies of a similar description formed themselves to the north and south of Ionia. The first comprised twelve Eolian cities, with Cumæ and originally Smyrna in their number; six more were in Lesbos, one in Tenedos, others on Mount Ida, with an ancient anticipation of Venice on a cluster of alluvial deposits called the Hundred Islands. The southern confederacy comprehended the Dorian towns. When the Heraclides had returned, as already mentioned, to the Peloponnesus, they not only established themselves in Laconia, Messenia, and Argolis, but secured Egina, with some of the adjacent isles, and several of them settled in Crete. From thence they made expeditions against the Carians and Leleges, and wrested from the former Cnidos, Halicarnassus, Cos, and Rhodes. The Eolians, who had also come in the commencement from the Peloponnesus, founded at a later period Sestos and Abydos; the Ionians Heraclea, Sinope, and Amastris; Byzantium derived its origin from Corinth and Megara; and the ports of the Tauric Chersonesus, the Palus Mæotis, the Pontus, the Tyras, and the Borysthenes, from some other of the Grecian states. Verdant hills, a genial climate, secure havens, the suppression of piracy, the absence for a long interval of any imperial successors to the empires of Priam or Minos, to say nothing of the peculiar advantages of the Egean and Hellespont for infant navigation, were altogether a combination of circumstances favourable for many ages

and generations to the prosperity of these European and Asiatic colonies. In Greece itself, Phidon the Heraclide proved a legislator to Argos, B.C. 800, where he shared the supreme power with all citizens able to keep a horse; besides presenting them with a system of weights and measures, and teaching the Eginetans how to coin money. Philolaus, an illustrious Corinthian, followed his example at Thebes in Bœotia, where he added two other important principles; one relative to national education, and another with regard to a plan of strict entails designed for the perpetual maintenance of hereditary property, B.C. 728. This commonwealth, administered by wise and moderate men, suffered little from intestine disturbances through 250 years. Corinth, the capital of the isthmus, remained an aristocracy until Cypselus, the father of Periander, changed it into a democracy, with an executive in his own person. It had been a kingdom formerly, until the throne was overturned by the Bacchiades; and these latter were set aside, B.C. 654. Its riches were already proverbial. Eighty years prior to this event some of the Heraclides from Argos passed beneath its walls; whence, penetrating northward into a valley of Pæonia, they founded the Macedonian monarchy, B.C. 734.

Greek colonisation to the westward, supported both by the Ionians and Dorians, gave an origin to most of the Sicilian towns. Theocles of Athens led the way. The Lacedæmonians erected Tarentum in Magna Græcia, B.C. 645; thereby ridding themselves of some troublesome innovators desirous of softening down, if possible, the stern institutions of Lycurgus. Before an emigration, however, of so startling a nature, another Dorian adventurer from Argos, where all enterprises of the kind were positively prohibited, ventured to leave his country, and found Croton the rival of Sybaris, which had been settled by the Trœzenians and other Achæians. The population of Sybaris numbered 100,000, B.C. 719. The Cnidians and Eolians established the Italian Cumæ, to be celebrated at a future day for its

Sibylline prophecies; but the attractions and fruitful soil of Sicily seemed to secure for it a certain preference, and afforded its inhabitants an extent and opulence which it cost the hesperian peninsula many ages to overtake or surpass. The latter succeeded in doing so ultimately; yet it was from other causes coming into operation. The Corinthian Archias planted Syracuse, himself of Heraclidan or Dorian descent, in the second year of the eleventh Olympiad, B.C. 732. The Samians and Naxians settled Messene; whilst the latter crossed the strait and built Rhegium. Corcyra was an offset from Corinth, B.C. 703, importing from its parent no small amount of opulence and licentiousness. In this manner was civilisation more or less fully diffused and developed. When any state or nation discovered that their territories had grown too crowded, every tenth man was chosen by lot, or as many as had been born in the country within some particular year received an order to emigrate. Occasionally the magistrate selected them, or the younger and more energetic spirits would at once volunteer for the purpose. Arms and implements were furnished them; a sacrifice was offered on the shore, and the departing company invoked the protection of heaven. Arrived at their destination, a solemn ceremonial attended the erection of necessary ramparts for defence, and suitable residences for their settlement. No other ties than a common worship, or sentiments of traditional friendship, connected the new town or district with the mother-country. Protection was not expected from the latter, nor obedience exacted from the former. Ancient colonists at first only raised such productions as were essential to their subsistence; modern ones are often absorbed from their outset in attention to commercial advantages.

The primitive inhabitants of Italy at this time must have been few, and, with some exceptions, comparatively barbarous. Portions of the sea-coasts seem to have been peopled from the Peloponnesus; while the

Pelasgi, driven out of Thessaly, were conducted to the mouths of the Po. Some of these founded Spina, near where Ravenna now stands; others explored the Apennines, whose mountain tribes repulsed and followed them down to the Adriatic shores where they had landed. Profound obscurity rests upon the result; but evidently adjacent to Latium and the Tiber there dwelt a race calling themselves Siculans, who, expelled by the aborigines and their allies or subjects, the Pelasgi, quitted Italy, and united their fortunes with those of the Sicilians at the foot of Mount Etna; whereby the name of Sicily came to be imposed upon the whole of that beautiful island. It seems, moreover, at all events highly probable, that the various Pelasgic settlements fell under the permanent control of the Etruscans, at that period monopolising whatever civilisation there might exist in the peninsula, as also exercising very considerable maritime influence throughout the Mediterranean. They are supposed to have been at their commencement related to the northern nations, governing Italy from the Alps to the Tiber; and after the Gauls had taken from them the wide valley of the Po, concentrating their confederation of twelve cities pretty much within the boundaries of that territory, which borrowed from them the titles of Tyrrhenia and Etruria, in later times termed Tuscany. Niebuhr, indeed, declares that the Etruscans obtained the name of Tyrrhenians *from* the country thus conquered; but be this as it may, the Pelasgian and originally oriental characteristics of the primitive Italian populations can scarcely be overlooked. We discern them in the Palatine of the Arcadians, whence were derived the curious traditions connected with the foundation of Rome; its mysterious garden or grove, and sacred trees; the diluvian preservation of Romulus and Remus; their quarrel, as allusive to the first fratricide; or the rape of the Sabine virgins, visibly analogous to the conduct of the Benjamites in the book of Judges. It is seen again in the river Adonis, or the Fossæ Philistinæ, in the north

of Italy; nor is it at all improbable that when Josue expelled the Chanaanites from the promised land, many of the fugitives embarked at the sea-ports of Gaza and Ascalon for the western countries generally; so that they not merely settled in the Mauritanian districts of Africa, as Procopius informs us, but pursued their voyage through the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas, where, landing in Italy, they became, as Doctor Hales imagines, the real aborigines or earlier colonists, distinguished from the *indigenæ*, or native inhabitants. The proofs of this conjecture being the true one are not to be slighted, particularly with regard to those exploits of Samson of which vestiges remained in the local legends of Latium. With respect to the languages of the country, it has been shown by Lanzi that there were six prevalent dialects spoken at an early period from one end to the other of the great hesperian peninsula; namely, Etruscan, Euganean, Volscian, Oscan, Samnite, and Umbrian—all more or less derived from the Eolic. In the course of time other dialects arose, such as that of Latium, which gradually absorbing and enriching itself from the rest, culminated with the imperial fortunes of Rome, and became the Latin tongue. The metropolis of the world has its date from B.C. 753.

Carthage was founded a century and quarter earlier, B.C. 878. The Phœnicians had long been familiar with the African coasts; where they fostered the cultivation of corn, or still more that of commerce, although convenient harbours were far from being numerous. On a rock, in the background of its bay, stood Byrsa, or the higher part of the city, the primeval settlement of Dido. She is described in history and poetry as sister to a king of Tyre; and, absurdly enough, as having entertained Eneas only too hospitably on his voyage from Asia to the Tiber. The lower streets, on the narrow spit of land which formed the double haven, were called Megara; the tract adjoining the greater port was styled Kotton; whilst an island opposite to the projecting point

protected the whole. It seemed a location providentially arranged for an ancient emporium. Its political constitution claimed the admiration of Aristotle. Two judges, chosen annually from the most distinguished families, were at the head of the government. Their subjects styled them Suffetes; almost an identical title with that which was conferred upon Barak, Gedeon, and Jephthe in the sacred Scriptures. Under them a cabinet of five self-elected officials managed the details of public affairs, without any salaries for their labours. But they nominated the senate of one hundred members, who, with themselves, and a few others as assistants or assessors, constituted an omnipotent legislative authority. If they differed in opinion, there ensued an appeal to the general assembly of the people; an event, however, which could be called for so seldom, that practically it was a shadow rather than a substance. Morals were more attended to at Carthage than in most Grecian cities; and there was a magistrate there corresponding with the Roman censor. National idiosyncrasies also assisted in preserving the state from democratic convulsions. The people were of a grave or even gloomy character. Their commercial and religious tastes combined into one horrible union the worship of Mammon and Moloch. On occasions of panic or alarm three hundred noble children were sacrificed in the red-hot arms of iron idols glowing over as many fiery furnaces; so frightfully complete had the transfer been made of Phœnician superstitions from Syria to Africa.

For several centuries the Carthaginian republic maintained its power and prosperity. Three hundred populous and wealthy towns or cities acknowledged its sway between Mount Atlas and the Mediterranean. It undertook many distant and dangerous enterprises, by means of which discontent was diverted or allayed, energy encouraged, and poverty lessened. Sicily, Malta, Golo, the Balears, Sardinia, Corsica, and Spain were conquered. Wars were waged against the Etrurians in Italy; as also against the Massilians or Egyptians.

Punic vessels frequented the west of Africa down to Cape de Verd, discovered the Canaries, sailed in the British, German, and Baltic seas, and possibly crossed the Atlantic Ocean. Silver mines in Spain proved to the countrymen of the Annibals and Amilcars what the American Peru and Mexico afterwards became to their explorers in later and modern ages. The possession of the precious metals enabled them to hire mercenaries, and thereby ultimately undermined and enervated the national spirit. Campaigns, after many generations, came to be carried on for venal purposes; yet, down to the Syracusan and Roman expeditions, patriotism still stood its ground. Trade and commerce have their bright as well as their dark aspect. There was an intercourse carried on through the deserts which may well excite our wonder and admiration; extending from the metropolis as a centre over the arid wildernesses of Fezzan and the Garamantes to Zuila, the Greater Oasis, Ammonium, Zala, and Thebes; whilst another route penetrated the barren wastes of the Syrtes and the Lotophagi: a third, branching from the two former, ran in a southern direction, through the territories of the Atlantes, to Bournou and the Soudan; so that the entire northern continent, with its dreaded Sahara, witnessed at certain seasons the arching necks of the camel-caravans, laden with dates, oils, silver coin, and embroidered fabrics, going to be exchanged for the gums, spices, ivory, and slaves of the interior. Wells were excavated and maintained as watering-places at regular distances; vestiges of their extent and utility being still traceable. It may be safely affirmed that the Carthaginians knew more of Central Africa than the contemporaries of our own Shaw or Mungo Park. They not merely extended their native trade to the Niger and the Nile, but connected the Cyrenian pentapolis with their mercantile transactions in Upper Egypt. Battus, the Theræan, founded a rather flourishing monarchy about B.C. 631, which included all the regions between Marmarica and the Syrtes; cele-

brated as they were for the valuable silphium, roses, violets, and other odorous aromatics. The Punic merchants exported them as far as Meroë in Ethioopia across the sands of Nubia. Thence there was a circuitous route through Edfu to the Arabian Gulf and Berenice, as well as from Thebes to Cossier and Myos Hormos; the last rivalled by another from Memphis to Phœnicia and Ezion Gaber.

Egypt therefore became the staple of that increasing traffic circulating from Carthage to India, and flowing from the interior of Africa into Syria, Persia, and Asia Minor. Her own emerald mines contributed to those luxurious yet easily portable treasures which attracted so many expensive and oriental refinements to the banks of her mysterious river. Subsequently to the Trojan war, through the augmentation of her wealth, the dynasties into which she had been divided united under one magnificent monarchy. Her kings were, however, controlled by laws, over which last the priests presided. In one word, the ancient system of castes had survived all changes; and strong indeed must be the revolution that ever overthrows it. As the soldiers and husbandmen had for the most part separate interests, there could be but little coherence or common action when an enemy attacked the country; of which one consequence was that its destinies not infrequently depended upon a single battle. Political weakness moreover quickly called in foreign aid to resist external assault. Assyria was her menacing neighbour. The second Iranian empire had fallen to pieces through effeminacy and negligence about three centuries after the death of Priam, B.C. 884. Several secondary states arose out of its ruins, with some more important ones, such as the third Assyrian dynasty, commencing, after two generations of confusion, with that sovereign, B.C. 821, whoever he was, under whom, at a crisis of his protracted reign, the prophet Jonas preached at Nineveh, B.C. 800, and whose successor Pul invaded the land of Israel, B.C. 770. He is imagined to have rebuilt the tower of Belus at Ba-

bylon, where his son Nabonassar became the progenitor of Merodak Baladan, and a line of mighty princes, of whom the fourteenth destroyed Nineveh, B.C. 606. Another son of the same Pul had succeeded his father in the latter capital, the ferocious Tiglathpilesar, ancestor of the scriptural Sennacherib and Nabuchodonosor, in the days of Hezechias and Judith. Meanwhile, and contemporaneously with the foundation of the third Assyrian dynasty, the Arbacidæ had established themselves in the Median mountains, B.C. 821, and opened relations of amity with the hordes that wandered on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea. Ten years afterwards began the Pischdadian monarchy of Persia, B.C. 811; both these latter powers, however, subsiding for a time beneath the sway of the Assyrian emperors. Another Nabuchodonosor, sometimes styled the Great, successor to the destroyer of Nineveh, from the first year of his administration, B.C. 604, commenced a career of aggrandisement which only terminated with his decease, B.C. 561. He subdued all Elam, with its capital of Persepolis, B.C. 596, besides the entirety of Egypt, Phœnicia, and Iberia; so that for half a century his kingdom reached from the summits of the Caucasus to the sultry confines of Libya. He burnt Jerusalem B.C. 588; subjugated Idumæa, Moab, and Ammon; and after a siege of thirteen years acquired the walls of Tyre, the inhabitants removing to an opposite island, where they built a new city. Babylon became one of the wonders of the world, from its matchless architectural prodigies, and the conflux thither of all that wealth, or art, or science, could bestow. Its proud patron was exulting in his terrestrial glory, B.C. 569, when Almighty God humbled him with an insanity for seven years, according to the predictions of the undaunted Daniel, when he interpreted the imperial dream. Soon after his death another mystic vision was fulfilled, when the Assyrian dominion gave place to the sceptre of Cyrus and his Medo-Persians. This hero was born B.C. 599.

His grandfather Astyages had ascended the Median

throne B.C. 601. It had been consolidated by Deiocēs, who built Ecbatana, upon a basis of equity and justice. Cyaxares, descended from that prince, enlarged his territorial boundaries very considerably at the expense of Assyria and Lydia; although it must be remembered that his reign of forty years includes an interregnum of twenty-eight, during which interval the Scythians, under their leader Madias, overran Upper Asia, B.C. 640-612. Astyages succeeded him, whose daughter Mandane was the mother of Cyrus by Cambyses, a Persian of noble family. The realms around Persepolis, even when nominally acknowledging Assyrian supremacy, were evidently administered by their native princes, according to the usage universally prevalent throughout the east from the earliest ages. Cyrus was brought up with his father, with much of the national simplicity of manners, in the way of learning to abhor debt and lying, and getting inured to fatigue or hardship. Circumstances afterwards elevated him, in the maturity of his talents and strength, to the thrones both of Persia and Media, B.C. 559-1; the former comprehending Syria, Hyrcania, Bactria, and Arabia. The rulers of Babylon, under Evil-Merodach, the son of Nabuchodonosor, had endeavoured to form a confederacy against the Persians and Medians as early as B.C. 561, consisting of the Lydians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, Carians, Paphlagonians, and Cilicians in Asia Minor, besides the Indians, or Turanians of the farther orient. Belshazzar, his successor, pursued the same policy, and with no better result; the one falling in a disastrous battle, B.C. 558, and the other being slain by conspirators on the night of his sacrilegious feast, after Daniel had read to him the handwriting on the wall, B.C. 553, when Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede, took the kingdom. Croesus was at this period a prominent potentate in Lesser Asia, governing the monarchy of Lydia, separated from Syria by the river Halys, and of which Sardis was the capital. This state had been settled by Agron a generation before the Trojan war,

from whom the twenty-second in descent was set aside by Gyges, B.C. 718. The former dynasty derived its origin from the Heraclides, and reigned for rather more than five centuries: their supplanters were the Mermnades, terminating, after a period of 170 years, in the overthrow and capture of Cræsus by Cyrus, B.C. 548. These events unveil the close political connection that already existed between Egypt, Thrace, the Ionian colonies, and the Peloponnesus. The last Lydian sovereign had subjugated several of the Ionian republics, and received the celebrated Solon at his court. His munificence to the various oracles of Greece rendered his fame illustrious, and his subsequent folly conspicuous. The wealth of his realm must have been enormous; for after the fall of Sardis and Babylon, the conqueror carried off, according to the statement of Pliny, 34,000lbs. weight of gold, besides innumerable vessels cast out of the precious metals, and decorated with the leaves of the vine and platanus,—the matchless cup of Semiramis, weighing 1200lbs.,—and 500,000 talents of silver.

Nabonadius, a Babylonian nobleman, had been left by the Median Darius as his viceroy in the metropolis of Nabuchodonosor and his successors. The rebellion of such a satrap seemed to follow, as almost a matter of course, on oriental principles. Cyrus, however, conquered him, and captured the proud city itself, B.C. 536; which also led to the subjection of Egypt, and his acquisition of the entire Assyrian empire. His government appears to have been eminent for its moderation and energy; and for the seven years previous to his death remained unshaken, like a mountain of adamant. His eldest-born son Cambyses, a monster of iniquity, succeeded, B.C. 529, to the bulk of his wealth and power; Smerdis, the younger brother, being invested with the viceroyalty of Media, Armenia, and a third part of Cadusia. Egypt, after no very long interval, struggled vainly to throw off the Persian yoke. It had always been ready to resist Assyria whenever possible; and with that view had acted with the monarchs of Sardis, or any other

country, as occasion offered. In the seventh century before the Incarnation, a Greek colony had been introduced under Psammitichus, who fostered their language and customs, imbibing from them, in his own opinion, higher elements of civilisation. He explored the fountains of the Nile, sanctioned the cultivation of vines, allied himself with the Scythians, then domineering over Upper Asia, and died after a reign of fifty-four years, B.C. 619, or perhaps a little earlier. He was the father of Pharaoh-Necho, who slew the pious Josias, king of Judah and took Jerusalem; ending his career, nevertheless, not so prosperously as he commenced it, the Assyrian-Babylonish sceptre proving too strong for him. His grandson Apries, or Pharaoh-Hophra, connected with the scriptural Zedekias, ran an exactly analogous course. Egypt itself, however, amidst these revolutions of political fortune, grew so rich and commercial, that a canal through the Isthmus of Suez was seriously contemplated, and the voyage round the African continent by the Red Sea, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Pillars of Hercules, would really seem to have been accomplished. Yet iron is stronger than gold; so that Nabuchodonosor and Cyrus subjugated the noble valley of the Nile, and received tribute from its inhabitants. It revolted, indeed, under the successor of the latter potentate; but Cambyses crushed the insurrection with atrocious cruelty, B.C. 525, contemplating, upon his success, an extended invasion of Carthage by sea, as well as Libya and the Ethiopian Abyssinia by land. Failure followed upon all these projects. The Phœnicians in his service refused to fight against the Carthaginians, descended with themselves from common ancestors. His army destined for the Ammonians perished beneath the blast of a simoom in the sands: that portion of the troops attendant on his person, on the journey to Abyssinia, had to drink their own blood, and kill, if not devour, every tenth man for the subsistence of the survivors; and his retreat to Memphis covered him with shame and mortification. He there

lost the remnant of whatever sense he might have once possessed. The priests of Apis were scourged, and their sacred heifer wounded; he murdered his brother Smerdis; married two of his own sisters, and kicked the younger to death when pregnant for daring to bewail the fratricide; he violated the sanctity of graves in exhuming mummies for the gratification of his insatiable curiosity; and, above all, he made an onslaught on the mysteries of the Cabiri. The whole empire groaned, until a Magus set himself up as the real Smerdis, supposed to have been assassinated, but who, as he averred, was not actually destroyed. Cambyses hurried back towards Susa, and expired on the road, in part from an accident, B.C. 521. The impostor reigned for seven months.

At length suspicion awoke, which received remarkable confirmation through one of his numerous consorts ascertaining that he had lost his ears! Darius Hystaspes then headed a conspiracy, which justly placed him on the vacant throne. He was of the royal family of Achæmenes, and married the two daughters of Cyrus, Atossa and Artystona, besides other ladies whose relatives would strengthen his dynasty. Many years of able administration effectually re-established the Medo-Persian kingdom. Samos and the Asiatic islands were secured; Babylon was humbled and subdued for ever; the whole empire was divided into twenty satrapies or governments; a system of regular posts connected every important portion of it with the metropolis Susa, the grand foundation of his father-in-law; his annual revenues were fixed, upon apparently fair principles, at 14,560 Euboic talents, in addition to the Ethiopian and Colchian tributes, and a thousand talents in weight of frankincense from Arabia. His representative in Egypt attempted to add the Cyrenian pentapolis to his dominions, but failed. Darius himself met with defeat in his Scythian expedition; yet the conquest of Thrace rewarded his arms; and Macedonia paid homage to the lord and master of more than one hun-

dred and twenty provinces, rendering to the royal treasury an amount equivalent to 30,000,000*l.* sterling per annum, allowing for the comparative values of money and labour. Persia alone paid no direct taxes. The conquest of the Punjaub is geographically interesting, through its having arisen out of the voyage of Scylax down the Indus from Caspatyrus, and which led to more perfect acquaintance with the various regions between the gulf of Cutch and the straits of Babel-mandel. Indian imports alone were worth to Darius nearly 1,000,000*l.* a year at our prices. The splendour of his court and power dazzled the beholders; or at all events those whose strength of mental vision quailed at the gorgeousness of barbaric grandeur. But a stranger appeared before him at last of another character; the Athenian Hippias, whose arrival engendered inestimable consequences. Some leaders of the Ionian states had resisted the Persian satrap of Lydia; and the countrymen of the new-comer sympathised with them. Solon's legislation in Attica, although of immense influence and benefit, had not as yet produced halcyon times to that republic. The old aristocracy still remained proud, and the ancient democracy factious. The poorer popular classes, free indeed from taxes, but excluded from office, were ready for mischief in the general assemblies and courts of justice. There were also the local parties of the Paralians or sea-coasters, and the Pediaëans or agriculturists, as perhaps the two factions might be designated. Peisistratus, a relation of Solon, artful, clever, and ambitious, constituted himself leader of the first of these three divisions, or in other words, the patriot of the people. His rivals were Megacles, chief of the Paralians, and Lycurgus at the head of the Pediaëans. His own descent from the Medontidæ favoured his pretensions, when he contrived to obtain for his personal safety a military guard, with which he seized upon the Acropolis, and converted the commonwealth into a kingdom, B.C. 560. The union, however, of his antagonists expelled him for a time, when Megacles gave

him his daughter in marriage and restored him; yet after an interval again drove him away. Then ensued an absence of eleven years; from which he returned with an army, once more rallied his admirers, and permanently supported himself in the supreme government to the day of his death, B.C. 528. His sway proved mild and beneficent; the laws of Solon were observed, and Athens flourished under him. Hipparchus his son inherited his irresistible eloquence and conciliatory manners; but fell a victim possibly to his licentiousness, which excited the private revenge of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. The assassination of Hipparchus, which occurred when he was administering the government jointly with his brother Hippias, rendered the latter cruel and suspicious. He doubled his guards, and multiplied his enemies. Athens remembered her freedom, and beckoned to Lacedæmon for assistance.

The fact was, that the nobles were divided and agitated by merely selfish interests just as much as the lower classes, and it had been so for generations. About a century before, Cylon had headed one of the aristocratic parties, and the Alcæonides another. The first endeavoured, B.C. 620, to do what Peisistratus succeeded afterwards in accomplishing, but the Alcæonides prevented him. Thucydides tells us, that he intrenched himself within the citadel, where he was besieged by his opponents; from whom, however, he escaped with his brother; upon which the Cylonites, reduced by the pressure of hunger and thirst, became suppliants at the altars, where they were massacred. Herodotus tells the story in a somewhat different manner; but, at all events, the bloodshed was supposed to have brought down divine vengeance; for Epimenides, a prophet from Crete, on being sent for, offered an atonement for the sickness then raging. The consequences of the whole affair remained vividly in the augmented acrimony of partisanship. Cleisthenes, the leader of the Alcæonides on the death of Hipparchus, induced his faction to rebuild the temple at Delphi, and thereby gained

over to their side the voice of the pythoress. She commanded Sparta to restore liberty to Athens; upon which Cleomenes, the Lacedæmonian, expelled Hippias, B.C. 510. There are doubts as to the respective ages of the Peisistratidæ, which do not in the least affect the substance of the narrative. Solon's constitution still nominally remained; though the overthrow of the late usurpation shook it, as well as the entire fabric of Athenian society, to their very foundations. Isagoras headed the antagonistic section of the magnates, favoured as these now were for some reason or other by the Spartan liberators. Cleisthenes sought to win the people, after the example and precedent of the purest demagogism. As archon, B.C. 506, he divided the four original tribes into ten, altering in like manner all the inferior subdivisions, and increasing the senate to five hundred members, fifty being from each of the new tribes. Prompted by Isagoras, Lacedæmon then sent a herald to demand the banishment of those whose ancestors had stained them with the blood of the Cylonian massacre. Cleisthenes was obliged to yield and retire, so mysterious was the influence of superstition. Cleomenes once again marched against the city of Minerva to restore the old aristocracy; but Isagoras now probably asked too much; and a coolness arose between the invaders and those who had invited them. Demaratus, the royal colleague of Cleomenes, disagreed with him also; upon which their forces retreated across the Isthmus. In the meanwhile Athens herself had sought assistance from Persia; not recollecting that the representative of Peisistratus resided there, who must have perceived with an evil eye the perfect re-establishment of democracy in his native country, on the withdrawal of the Lacedæmonian army. He therefore left his retirement, and appeared in person at Susa. The revolt of the Ionian colonies, B.C. 502, fell out favourably for his intentions. Histiaeus, the tyrant of Miletus, persuaded Aristagoras, its governor, that the power of their Persian masters was more splendid than

substantial; and that the liberty they so ardently loved might yet be regained. Each, moreover, had his private grudge against the great king or his officers, sufficient to sustain the professions of patriotism with the gratifications of resentment. They applied to the Athenians as patrons of the Ionian race by no means without success, so that Attic policy passed rapidly into a new and unexpected phase. Hippias had made his earliest applications for aid in his restoration to Artaphernes at Sardis; the first incident which opened the eyes of his late subjects to their danger from that quarter. They therefore sent ambassadors into Lydia to counteract the peril; when the haughty viceroy, to their utter indignation and amazement, insisted that they should recall the son of Peisistratus. Hence auxiliary forces were at once voted for the help of the insurgents. The conflagration of Sardis aroused the wrath of Darius; and from such commencements sprang the conflict between Greece and Persia.

Hippias thus grew into an adviser instead of a mere adventurer at the court of Susa. Envoys came into the Egean sea, or along the coast of the Saronic gulf and the Peloponnesus, demanding tokens of submission, since the successor of Cyrus had resolved to punish rebellion, and extend his dominions westward. Many islands acquiesced, with Egina itself, so adjacent to Attica, and meanly sent earth and water. After immense preparations, intensified by the gallant attitude which Athens was now assuming, the tempest approached in the shape of vast armaments commanded by Dares and Artaphernes; Mardonius having some years before lost a fleet of 300 ships, with 20,000 men, off Mount Athos. The two Persian commanders advanced from Naxos to Eubœa, thence crossing over to Attica, where Hippias conducted them to the memorable plains of Marathon, B.C. 490. Their host numbered 100,000 infantry, with 10,000 cavalry. The Greeks under Miltiades were 9000 Athenians and 1000 Platæans. They drew up at the foot of a mountain, that the

enemy might not surround them nor fall upon their rear. Their flanks had the protection of large trees cut down for that purpose, and so arranged as to preclude an attack from horsemen. Then came the glorious onset, manifesting to the astonished Persians what heroic valour and military skill can effect when freedom has taken the field, for all that it holds dear, against slavery. The squadrons of the great king were scattered like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor; some into the sea, thousands to the shades, and all that remained alive to their vessels. Hippias bit the dust as he deserved. His allies had felt so sure of their victory, that they had brought marble with them to erect a trophy, which the famous sculptor Phidias formed into a statue of Nemesis, as the goddess whose province it was, in the opinion of paganism, to avenge an unrighteous invasion. Such was the triumph which humbled the pride of Persia, and arrested the career of barbarism; for which reasons the world has enshrined it on the tablet of its most grateful recollections; and assuredly that traveller must carry either an empty head or a hard heart, who can look upon the mound which still covers the slain, without a thrill of the deepest emotion. Immediately after the battle a soldier, stained all over with blood, ran into Athens to acquaint his fellow-citizens with the marvellous success of their army. Arriving where the magistracy had assembled, he was so spent, that having uttered "The victory is ours; rejoice, rejoice,—the victory is ours!" he fell down dead at their feet. The hostile fleet, instead of sailing by the islands on its return towards Asia, doubled the cape of Sunium, that it might suddenly capture the capital of Attica before her exultant warriors could march back from Marathon. But Miltiades was not the general to slumber over his laurels. He retreated in time to baffle every measure of the invaders. Darius could only exhibit the dignity of at least patiently submitting to his misfortunes, and making every effort in his power to repair them.

## CHAPTER III.

Xerxes and Athens—Pericles and the Peloponnesian war—  
Sovereignty of Lacedæmon—Thebes and Epaminondas—  
Decay of Grecian independence—Macedonia and Alexander  
—The Seleucidæ and Ptolemies—The Achæan league.

ARTAPHERNES led back into Asia the hosts which had been discomfited at Marathon; when three years of preparation ensued on the part of Persia to recover herself and punish the victorious Athenians. Another revolt in Egypt, however, not a little embarrassed Darius, who was still further harassed by the dispute between two of his sons with respect to the succession. This came ultimately to be decided in favour of Xerxes, through the influence of his mother Atossa, daughter to the mighty Cyrus. At length, after a reign of thirty-six years, Darius Hystaspes expired, B.C. 485; having had the honour of being recorded in the holy Scriptures as a favourer of the people of God and a restorer of His Temple. His political wisdom and moderation, his system of laws and finance, as well as his attention to maritime discovery and commerce, were admirable. He attempted some reformation of the magian superstition, at the suggestion, it is supposed, of those who had derived instruction from the venerable prophet Daniel; even sending ambassadors to Carthage, that they might recommend the abolition of human sacrifices and other abominable customs, B.C. 489. His successor speedily reduced Egypt; carrying forward also the immense designs of his father, with a view not merely of avenging Persia upon the most warlike states of Greece, but ultimately of conquering all Europe. It must never be forgotten, therefore, that the struggle between the east and the west was one in which were

involved the future prospects of civilisation. Meanwhile a galaxy of heroes grew up in Greece, great warriors and statesmen, following in the steps of Miltiades, —Aristides, Xanthippus, and Themistocles the conqueror of Salamis. These men knew how to manage the Athenian democracy, whose capital they contributed to raise from the rank of a moderate city to that of a leading state. The last of them persuaded his fellow-citizens to appropriate the produce of the Laurian silver-mines towards the formation of a fleet, by which, as his sagacity foresaw, the impending invasion might be more effectually resisted. An eclipse of the sun has enabled historians to fix with precise accuracy the date of eight o'clock in the morning of the 19th of April B.C. 481, as that on which the countless armies of the great king marched out of Susa towards the Halys and Celœnæ, on their way to Sardis for the winter. The infantry, comprising the soldiers of more than twenty nations, from India, Ethiopia, and Scythia, to Ionia and Libya, amounted to 1,700,000 men; the cavalry to 80,000; the Arabians with their camels, and the Africans with their chariots, to 20,000; the Thracian and insular levies to 300,000; giving a total of land forces to the extent of 2,100,000! Twelve hundred ships of war, with 3000 transports, might afford another half-million. Their progress seems to have been unimpeded, except by their necessities, or the lions and wild-bulls of Thessaly, until they reached the Pass of Thermopylæ; for the Hellespont had been crossed by an ingenious bridge, B.C. 480; when, in that celebrated defile where Leonidas, with a small Spartan detachment, fell gloriously amidst heaps upon heaps of slain, the real character of the contest once more appeared, as at Marathon. After treason alone had opened the bloody passage, its assailants, having lost at least a myriad of men, poured down through Bœotia into Attica, where the city of Minerva fell a prey to the flames; but from which Themistocles had providently withdrawn the population. His comparatively

small yet well-managed fleet had already roughly handled the Persians off the promontory of Artemisium, on the very day of Thermopylæ; and he now drew them up, to the number of 380 sail, in the strait between Salamis and the continent. Here the great king attacked him with 2000 vessels, of which the consequences were irremediable rout and ruin. Xerxes beheld his disaster from a throne erected on the sea-shore; whence he fled back with precipitation into Asia, leaving Mardonius with 300,000 soldiers to occupy the attention of the victors. The following year, these were defeated by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians at Plataea, under Pausanias; whilst on the same afternoon, the 22d of September B.C. 479, a joint Grecian squadron annihilated what remained of the vast oriental navies at Mycale in Ionia. Two such decisive battles concluded the Persian war in the second campaign.

Europe thus asserted her incontestable superiority over Asia, which has never since been shaken; whilst Athens reaped the immediate reward in a political supremacy lasting for three-quarters of a century. Persia, just before her recent defeats, had intimidated Argos and Thebes, nor could ever be otherwise than the watchful and wily enemy of Greece and her liberties. It was necessary, therefore, that Attica and Lacedæmon should retain their warlike attitude, although Xerxes had withdrawn personally from the struggle to revel in licentiousness at Susa. Yet no sooner was the danger over than we find the asserters of liberty almost immediately quarrelling among themselves. Pausanias as nearly as possible overturned the constitution of Lycurgus through his personal ambition and insolence; which so alarmed the Spartans, that, fearful of what might be effected contrary to their laws and customs by permanent armies under aspiring generals, they left the field of domestic domination altogether open to their Athenian rivals. These, on the other hand, still glorying in their maritime power and

successes, maintained their fleets in full efficiency, and commanded-in-chief over all the states which had any thing to apprehend from Persia. They formed a general confederacy of republics, with a nominally common treasury, of which in reality the keys remained in their possession. Yet, of course, such projects being unrighteous in themselves, they could not be carried out without consequent national punishment. Greater expenditure became necessary than the ordinary resources could supply. Adding Salamis to Attica, their superficial surface might be about 748 square miles, producing some of the precious metals, much fine porcelain clay, a few almost matchless marbles, together with oil, figs, honey, wines, barley, and some other not very important articles. Their united population can scarcely be taken at more than about 500,000, including 20,000 Athenian citizens, 10,000 sojourners under the title of Metceci, and the remainder serfs or slaves. A state under such circumstances, aiming at permanent domination on a large scale, illustrated the fable of the frog and the ox; the former envying the size of the latter, until she burst in her vain attempts at imitation. The means to which Athens had recourse to attract greater multitudes, were an equality without bounds, blended with the refinements of luxury, and the most tasteful licentiousness. Her crowds of mariners and strangers, however, soon corrupted her democracy; so that selfish contests were engendered through her usurpation, which pressed hard upon her allies and tributaries. An Athenian admiral sailed annually round the Archipelago, collecting the federal contributions and surveying the general aspect of affairs. The shadow of liberty, with its glorious associations, yet remaining, only served to keep alive impatience under this domestic yoke, and turn the eyes of all, whenever opportunity offered, towards the less wealthy Lacedæmon. The Peloponnesus had always adhered to Sparta, in the truest spirit of attachment to its Dorian traditions.

Cimon, the son of Miltiades, shone among the fore-

most of his countrymen in humbling their external enemies. His victories over Persia abroad, and his virtues at home, enabled Athens to consolidate her triumphs, as also to turn them to the best pecuniary and political account. The Thracian Chersonesus, Thasos, Cyprus, Egina, and Egypt, bore testimony to his ability and prowess. His enormous wealth, applied to popular objects, contrasted strongly, yet not unfavourably, with the voluntary poverty of Aristides, the rival of Themistocles, and the illustrious victim of an ostracism. Placed by his position at the head of the nobility, he experienced equally with his great compeers the ingratitude of what is called Greek patriotism. There grew up by his side the young Pericles, son to Xanthippus the conqueror at Mycale, an Alcmaeonide in origin, and perhaps the most polished demagogue in all history. With an eloquence of the highest order, he combined a handsome person, graceful manners, unbounded generosity and courage, vast estates, soaring ambition, and a fatal love of pleasure. Magnificent in his ideas, he adorned Athens with many marvels of architecture, some of which still survive; but which were erected at the cost of the allies, who, whilst admiring his genius, complained that, although the arts flourished, justice and integrity decayed. Yet the capital of Attica rapidly culminated to its zenith of grandeur and power. The dignity of his address helped to preserve his ascendancy in the state for fourteen years. He reduced Eubœa and Samos, and covered the sea-coast and islands with Ionian colonies. But through the people alone could he rule; so that his measures aimed at the withdrawal from the Solonian constitution of its more conservative elements. Among these not one was so prominent as the control of the Areopagus over the popular assemblies. This court consisted of the weightiest public characters, limited in number, and whose influence had a substantial foundation in the large extent of their property. Pericles set himself to neutralise so apparently irresistible an ob-

stale to his aggrandisement. The aristocracy made a manful struggle, which terminated with the banishment of Thucydides. From that moment demagogism became the virtual autocrat, and already shook its dragon curls at the very statesman who had summoned it from its native abyss to assist him in his own individual elevation. He then saw how necessary it was to amuse, or at least employ, the monster which even his abilities could not always master. His administration had flattered his fellow-citizens with their unrivalled advances in refinement and civilisation, and the grandeur of their maritime supremacy. He now fed their vain-glorious imaginations with day-dreams of distant dominion, which might render Attica for ever mistress of the Mediterranean, and victorious over her Dorian competitors. Nor must it be omitted, that less honourable motives operated in some degree upon the passions of Pericles. His favourite Aspasia lost two of her companions in an obscure broil with the Megareans; upon which an oath was prescribed making it obligatory with generals to invade the Megarensian territories twice every year. It would seem a melancholy truth, that the first sparks of contention, which flamed out afterwards into the Peloponnesian war, had their secret commencement in depraved human appetites, and were fanned, if not enkindled, by the breath of voluptuaries and courtesans. *Unde bella et lites, nonne ex concupiscentiis?*

Lacedæmon could not be expected to remain always an unmoved spectator of Athenian ascendancy. Although Damaratus, one of her kings, had accepted Persian protection in the court of Xerxes, and her armies, through a superstitious scruple, lost their participation in the glories of Marathon, yet she looked upon herself justly enough as at least the most important state in the Peloponnesus, and upon a par with her rival in upholding free Europe against the barbaric sceptre of Asia. Her jealousy had been excited both by the victories and policy of Cimon, especially when

his capture of the Thasian gold-mines between the Nessus and the Strymon promised to render the treasury of Attica richer than it had ever been before; but just then, B.C. 468, a most dreadful earthquake levelled Sparta to the ground; destroying so many of her houses and inhabitants, that the Helots and Messenians revolted, and assistance had to be asked for from the competitor she so little liked. Instead, however, of any useful alliance resulting from these circumstances, old mutual suspicions rather increased than diminished. Athens joined Argos; while the Helots of Laconia struggled with their oppressors for ten years, terminating the contest with a compromise. In the interim Athens prospered, and Lacedæmon recovered. The latter listened more willingly than ever to complaints of Athenian tyranny, guided as that was by the potent genius of Pericles. Corinth and her colony Corcyra had quarrelled; the Corinthians appealed to Sparta, the Corcyreans to Athens. Lacedæmon sent an embassy demanding reparation from her antagonist almost in the shape of an indictment, threatening Attica with war unless certain persons were expelled connected with the antiquated affair of Cylon; unless the siege of Potidæa were raised; unless the Eginetans were left free; unless the Megarensians were allowed access to the Athenian markets; and finally, unless the minor states of Greece were released from the confederation, over which, in fact, Pericles presided. To all intents and purposes, there was no other alternative allowed than that Athens should descend from her pinnacle of power, or fight for it. Pericles counselled his countrymen to do the last; so that the Peloponnesian war began, and continued, with intervals and various interludes, for seven-and-twenty years, B.C. 431-4. He probably foresaw that sooner or later some such arbitration would, of necessity, have to be resorted to; and that Attica could scarcely expect to be in better preparation for the trial than was the case at that time. There were 6000 talents in the public treasury; enor-

mous subsidies were due from the confederated states; the Persian spoils, with vast amounts of treasure, remained untouched in the temples; private prosperity and general commerce had never been greater; the arsenals wanted nothing; there were 12,000 infantry at home, besides 17,000 more in the garrisons and colonies; and the fleet comprised 300 sail in full equipment.

Hostilities broke out with extraordinary bitterness; ancient leagues and truces being considered at an end. With Lacedæmon, professing herself the deliverer of Greece from national oppression in the form of domestic ascendancy, all the Peloponnesians united, except the Argives and part of the Achæians, who ranged themselves on the side of Athens. Sparta also could count upon Megara, Phocis, Locris, Bœotia, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Anactoria; but, on the other hand, Pericles mustered under the influence of his glorious republic the Chians, Lesbians, Plataeans, Messenians, Acarnanians, Corcyrians, Zacynthians, Carians, Thracians, the islands generally, Eubœa, Samos, and the entire Cyclades, with the slight omissions of Melos and Thera. Yet the cause of Attica seemed almost blighted from the commencement; so unpopular had she visibly rendered herself through arrogance and ambition. Her plan for the campaign was to abandon the open plains to their invaders, and retaliate by descents upon Laconia when the armies of the latter might be engaged elsewhere. But the second year of the war saw such a plague at Athens as the world had never before witnessed; of which the memory will live to the end of time in the immortal pages of Thucydides. As regarded the body, it anticipated the horrors of Gehenna, through its secret internal fires, and the intensity of that intolerable thirst with which it consumed its victims: even dogs and vultures avoided the numberless corpses; or, in attempting to taste them, they died. Life, if preserved at all after seizure, had to be endured at the expense of blindness, mutilations of members too terrible for description, or a total

aberration of mind. Such convalescents stalked about amongst their relatives or former acquaintances wrapt in pallor, and manifesting with respect to the past that perfect oblivion of youth and manhood which made their retrospect a wretched blank, and themselves the mere spectres of society. Pericles at length sickened and expired, after pronouncing an oration over the slain in battle which will be read while language lasts; after inaugurating, as it were, the catastrophe of a contest destined for the humiliation of his country; and after encountering the most touching calamities in his own family with matchless unshaken fortitude. His death occurred B.C. 428: in his grave was buried the political grandeur of the government; although Alcibiades, his great-nephew and pupil, affected to assume his mantle; but with which he only aggravated the public misfortunes. Like his uncle, he possessed magical abilities, whether for peace or war. He ranged himself on the popular side, with Nicias and Demosthenes for his opponents at the head of the nobles. Cleon seemed to ride upon the crest of the democratic billows; yet it was Alcibiades who actually directed them, and reigned in the favour of a fickle multitude. He might call Socrates his master; but the lessons of philosophy, while they refined the sensualism of his profligacy, inflamed his imagination without softening his heart. His most distinguishing quality was an aptitude for penetrating the habits of mind and modes of acting amongst those around him, through which he managed to conciliate nations as well as individuals. As a citizen, his genius proved beyond measure dangerous and detrimental; pregnant, as it turned out to be, with more adroitness than perseverance, and permitting every possible indulgence to his passions. The war went on with various success. Its most remarkable event in Greece was the gallant defence of Plataea against the Peloponnesians. Brasidas exhibited himself as the genuine hero of the Lacedæmonians, mingling the sternness of an unspotted virtue with much mildness and gentleness of

manners. He fell, unhappily for Sparta, in the arms of victory, after defeating an Athenian force commanded by Cleon, who was also killed in the engagement, B.C. 420. An interval of pacification then followed, during which Alcibiades originated the Sicilian expedition.

Carthage had long exercised a predominant sway throughout Sicily, which her commerce enriched, and where there grew up a surprising number of opulent and magnificent cities. Syracuse excelled them all; over which Gelo, during times of great confusion, acquired the supreme power, B.C. 479. As it had been a Dorian colony, its constitution, until he overturned it, was aristocratic. Many of the great towns seem to have presented an analogous history, most of them wrenched from the parent state by some democratic process, terminating in the success of an ambitious leader, who, by means of specious professions and prætorian guards, erected himself into what was called a tyrant; that is to say, he subdued the people, and secured the command of their citadel. In this way Gelo had liberated Syracuse from Carthage. His sceptre passed on, after an able and beneficent reign, to his brother Hiero: and after him to another brother, Thrasybulus, when a republic came to be established upon the ruins of regal power, B.C. 460. Then ensued years of turmoil, involving more or less all the settlements in the island; Carthage endeavouring to retain her hold upon one-half of it, and overawe the remainder; several cities achieving a sort of perilous independence, only to be an apple of discord between aristocratic and democratic factions: whilst all those of Ionian origin enlisted themselves for Athenian protection, as to their foreign politics; and those of Dorian foundation appealing to Lacedæmon. Hence Sicily naturally enough found herself drawn into the whirlpool of the Peloponnesian war. Syracuse prided herself upon her metropolitan character and extent, being surrounded by walls and fortifications eighteen miles in circuit. When the smaller towns called upon Athens for her aid, the majority of her citizens

evidently knew little about the matter; so that Alcibiades, who had long studied the subject, allured them at once with golden prospects of a preponderance to be gained by a descent on Sicily, not only over the allies of the Peloponnesus in that island, but ultimately, through their appropriated resources, over the whole of Greece, all Italy, the Carthaginian and Libyan territories in Africa, as well as their hereditary oppressors in Egypt, Persia, and Asia Minor. Captivated by such promises; the people in an evil hour listened to their wishes rather than their interests; noble armaments were prepared for the purpose; nor had a finer fleet ever left the Piræus than that which sailed under the orders of Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus against Syracuse, B.C. 413. Delays and disagreements occurred at Corcyra and Catana, where success at first attended their operations; but meanwhile the nephew of Pericles had fiercer foes to contend with in Attica than any he might have to encounter in Sicily. An aristocratic faction, before his departure, had already raised charges against him of the most serious sacrilege; his absence rendered them triumphant in the assembly: Alcibiades was summoned home to answer the impeachment; so that his life, or at least his liberty, appearing to be at the mercy of an enraged, superstitious, and changeable mob, should he venture to face his own countrymen, he withdrew to Sparta, and revelled in the novel adulation of those who had once abhorred his very name. Lacedæmon listened to his narrative, and was conciliated by his strict conformity to her severest customs and manners. His treason—for that odious name must surely attach itself to his conduct, in spite of its provocation—brought a change over the hitherto transcendent career of Athens. In vain she reinforced her Sicilian armies until they amounted to 40,000 men, under Demosthenes, their ablest general then available; in vain Nicias endeavoured to arouse his energies from the effects of deplorably bad health, and his courage from the alarm into which it was thrown by an eclipse of the moon. Adver-

sity overwhelmed them all. At the suggestion of the Athenian exile, Gylippus had been despatched from Sparta to Syracuse. Its famous siege baffled every effort and stratagem of its assailants: the latter, allowing for a few nominal trophies, were in reality beaten both by sea and land; those vessels which had domineered over every island and harbour in the Egean, were swallowed up, or burnt, or captured; their mariners and commanders lost their lives or liberties; nor did much more than a wreck remain of the myriads of hitherto indomitable warriors, whose ancestors had fought or died at Mycale, Salamis, and Marathon. This fatal defeat occurred B.C. 412.

Athens was stunned by the intelligence, which for some time she would scarcely believe; yet her brave spirit held out for eight years longer. Lacedæmon, still advised by Alcibiades, invaded Attica, and seized upon Decelea, a fortified station midway between the Areopagus and the Bœotian frontier, whence the whole territory might be molested. The fallen republic at length recalled Alcibiades, although not until he had tampered both with friends and foes in the Peloponnesus, at home, in Ionia, and Persia, where he even went to reside, entangling the affairs of Greece with those of the great king, and indirectly contributing to a series of revolutionary changes in his own country. However, for a time it really seemed as though his versatile talents might yet have saved the state; but fresh mutations agitated the demagogic chaos, and he was a second time driven into banishment with several of his most useful colleagues, whilst others were sacrificed in popular commotions. At length a decisive victory, obtained by the Lacedæmonian Lysander over the Athenian navy and forces at Ægos Potamos, B.C. 404, ushered in the final act of this protracted war. The triumphant enemy appeared off the Piræus: the people made a courageous resistance; nor could it have been any thing else than famine which humbled the subjects of Solon at the feet of those of Lycurgus. The latter called a council of

the Dorian and other confederates, at which Thebes and Corinth demanded the combustion of their former oppressor, and that her citizens should be sold into slavery. But the conquerors exhibited rather more generosity; they respected the bulwark of Greece against Persia, although taking care that Athens should never recover her pre-eminence in opposition to themselves. In the seventy-fifth year from the battle of Salamis her domination thus terminated in calamity. It passed on effectually to the iron hands of her great rival, who allowed her only to maintain a squadron of twelve vessels, broke down her celebrated long walls, and established an oligarchy of the Thirty Tyrants. The sovereignty of Sparta endured for about a generation, B.C. 404-371; but during that period Thrasybulus emancipated Attica from the yoke of bondage very soon after it had been imposed, so that some prosperity once more dawned upon her inhabitants, notwithstanding their political depression. The same general reduced Byzantium, and Chalibis, and Lesbos, to act on the side of Ionian interests; nor could the court of Susa fail to perceive that an oversight had happened, when the Peloponnesus had been allowed to subjugate the Greek republics, instead of a balance being maintained between Lacedæmonian and Athenian influences. Sparta now domineered with all the pretensions of her predecessor in aiming at general power. Her resident envoys, in almost every independent town, both cajoled and directed the local authorities. Persia, therefore, interfered with oriental wiliness to set one valiant state against another, to engage their ablest officers and statesmen in her own service, or rashly employ their mercenaries whenever opportunities offered. Ten thousand of these shook the throne of the second Artaxerxes, and through their memorable retreat, B.C. 400, from the heart of Asia to the Euxine, revived some earlier suspicions which Europe had entertained that the splendours of the East were portions of a gorgeous illusion. Lysander, indeed, had mingled so much in

Persian politics, after the close of the Peloponnesian contest, that the ultimate corruption of his character was no doubt developed, or at least accelerated, by that circumstance. Athens then seemed to supersede Sparta in the favour of the great king. Conon, one of her noblest citizens, was appointed admiral of his fleet, with which he defeated the Lacedæmonian navy, captured fifty of its ships, and took five hundred prisoners, besides drawing over the Cyclades and Cythera from the Dorian league, and rebuilding, after his return home, the long walls, which had been destroyed. This step struck his new masters as too startling to be tolerated. He was summoned to Sardis for a brief term of imprisonment; yet his official appointments, with their rank and salaries, continued, which enabled him to mislead the satraps of Lydia, whilst in Attica all the great works of restoration were only the more pushed forward. Fresh victories also confirmed him in his high command. Agesilaus, at the head of Laconian forces, ravaged some of the richest provinces of Artaxerxes, until it became clear, even to oriental capacities, that it was necessary to conciliate Athens as a permanent counterpoise to Lacedæmon.

From this epoch Babylonian treasures flowed into every corner of Greece in the form of subsidies for purchasing some temporary preservation of Persia. It was considered at Susa, that so long as these warlike states could be kept in constant jealousies and embroilment by a subtle system of bribes and balances, small as they individually were, there could be no general invasion of Asia. Meanwhile corruption daily attained a more pernicious prevalence. Growing licentiousness undermined the foundations of constitutional law. Democratic violence, amidst the uproar of factions, let loose the passions of men, and forged the fetters of nations. Levity, perfidy, and irreligion swept over the surface of society, like winds from the Eolian cave. Sparta no longer remembered her sternness when the gold of her eastern enemy had induced her to recall the

virtuous Agesilaus; whilst her great officers and kings, far away from their ephors, holding foreign commissions by sea or land, or governing as *harmostæ* or residents the various confederated cities, fell in love with luxury and riches, rebellious at once against the iron money, the black broth, and the antiquated ethics of Lycurgus. Athens appeared too strong for insult or persecution, although happily incapable of renewing her schemes of ambition. Her ostracism had been copied in the institution of what was termed *petalism* at Syracuse, B.C. 460, where it was quickly abolished; yet, in fact, nearly all the Greek democracies would seem to have adopted it under some form or other. But in the great city of Sicily just mentioned the entire popular element came to be eliminated towards the close of the current century, B.C. 404, by the tyranny of Dionysius Miles, which lasted for thirty-eight years; his son of the same name succeeding for twelve more. Lacedæmon reaped the benefits of their political alliance, such as they were; whilst Athens derived through her trade with Syracusan merchants no slight commercial advantages. These last received material enlargements when the peace of Antalcidas had pacified the greatest portion of the Mediterranean, B.C. 387; an arrangement, however, dishonourable in its very nature, since it sanctioned the interference of Artaxerxes with the internal relations between Attica and the Peloponnesus. He allocated to himself by that treaty the cities of Lesser Asia, with the islands Clazomenæ and Cyprus; announcing the independence of all the other colonies except Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scyros, which were to belong, as of old, to the Athenian republic. Sparta expected to gain the most from a negotiation which had been conducted by one of her own statesmen, who has imposed his name upon it; yet within sixteen years afterwards her supremacy itself was extinguished. It seemed, indeed, only a righteous retribution that it should be so. In the midst of peace her general Phœbidas seized upon Thebes; following up the first aggression with a series

of disgraceful measures based upon ambition, treachery, and violence. She presumed upon her proud position, in other words; and had to pay the mortifying penalty.

Bœotia was a federal republic occupying the foggy yet fruitful plains outspread at the foot of Mount Cithæron. Eleven Bœotarchs, chosen by as many districts, had the chief management of matters; but they were not allowed to perform any public act without the consent of the four principal cities. Thebes being the capital, by its natural predominance excited the jealousy of the others. The conduct of Phœbidas was nominally disavowed by his government, which would fain have inflicted on him capital punishment, had it not been for Agesilaus, whose victories in Persia carried alarm to the palaces of Susa, and whose policy at home dissolved the Olynthian confederacy, so that his wishes were almost laws at Lacedæmon. The latter wanted to found every where an oligarchy in the room of democracy; and at the very time, therefore, when she professed a disapproval of what had been done at Thebes, she maintained a garrison in the fortress, and banished many of the best leaders of the popular party. Athens favoured the exiles, whom Pelopidas led back in triumph, resolving with Epaminondas that Peloponnesian oppression should no longer be tolerated. It had already crushed Mantinea, the Phliasians, and Olynthus; but had lost the dominion of the seas. Persia interfered, as on former occasions; and this time at the suggestion of the Athenians, friendly as they at first were to Bœotia, on the ground of assistance rendered during the usurpation of the Thirty Tyrants, though now piqued not a little at the sudden culmination of Thebes. Artaxerxes directed that the Greeks should arrange their internal dissensions on the principles of the Antalcidan treaty. Attica and Laconia obeyed, with many hollow professions of mutual satisfaction; both still hating each other, yet envious of the independent attitude assumed by the third party their neighbour. That neighbour had so grown up from small beginnings,

that it was able effectually to protest against the whole recent tendencies of Grecian policy; whether guided by Sparta for the support of aristocracies, or by Athens for the reverse. Cleombrotus, one of the Lacedæmonian kings, on his march back from Phocis, received orders to make the Thebans withdraw their control from the other Bœotian cities, which would have amounted to neither more nor less than a dissolution of that ancient republic. The battle of Leuctra followed, B.C. 371. Epaminondas there availed himself of that skill in military tactics by means of which, through immense study and perseverance, he became the hero of his age and a master to Alexander the Great. He introduced the oblique movement in war, whereby a portion of the army is kept in reserve until its antagonists are in a situation to be attacked upon the flank, which destroys their presence of mind and the consistency of their lines. Their superiority of numbers, as Von Müller remarks, thus becomes neutralised. Yet profound secrecy beforehand, with immense readiness of evolution, seem essential to success; so that the stratagem can be adopted only by the general commanding the best troops, and possessed of imperturbable penetration. At Leuctra fell the flower of the Lacedæmonian youth,—a moiety of the citizens of Sparta. The conquerors pursued their victory into the very streets of the Laconian capital; at the head of 40,000 men their noble and virtuous chieftains,—for Pelopidas had joined Epaminondas,—ravaged or overawed the Peloponnesus. The Argives, Elians, and democratic Arcadians, sided with them. Messenia recovered her freedom, which threw Athens and Sparta into a fresh alliance, about as worthless as preceding ones. The melancholy feature of the affair was, that the representatives of each faction hurried to Susa; where Pelopidas, however, directed the Theban embassy, and finally procured peace upon his own terms. The sovereignty of Greece, that fiercely-disputed prize of the Peloponnesian contest, was now transferred for nearly ten years to the Bœotian state;

diverting thither the bribes and intrigues of oriental satraps or venal partisans. Epaminondas, nevertheless, remained impregnable in his integrity. Modest and mild in character, he presided over the administration of an ungrateful and intractable country with the most magnanimous disinterestedness. Warm in friendship, a lover of learning and philosophy, and adorned with all the accomplishments of his time, besides being as victorious in the field as he was successful in the forum, his glory almost seems to stand alone when we look at it on the pedestal of his private virtues. After various expeditions south of the Corinthian isthmus, Arcadian commotions brought him to the plains of Mantinæa, where his second illustrious victory closed an unparalleled career with the heroic death of a warrior, B.C. 362. On that account, exclaims an admiring historian, the day proved calamitous even to those whom it crowned with laurels. The Bœotians, as if they had been beaten, remained motionless with sorrow; while the Lacedæmonians, as if pursued by the mighty shade of the conqueror, betook themselves to a precipitate flight. No general ever before arranged the order of battle on principles of deeper calculation, or carried the patriotism of warfare to greater perfection. There soon stood by his sepulchre a less unselfish soldier.

The influence of Thebes expired, as it had commenced, with Epaminondas: nor was there any other state or citizen capable of uniting the divided republics of Greece by the pre-eminence of social or moral powers. Agesilaus, the last hero of Sparta, died soon after him, under some clouds, it may well be admitted, considering the tergiversation manifested by him in his Egyptian expedition. But he had, in fact, outlived the genuine spirit and vitality of that once free country, in which it was his pride and boast to have been born. The grand ages of Greece were gone. Athens had long lost her maritime prowess: although eloquence and philosophy, taste and poetry, still maintained their residence in the metropolis of Minerva. There the great orator Demosthenes thun-

dered in vain to a generation of professed republicans, who had condescended to sink themselves into pensioners of Persia. His genius forewarned his countrymen that the corruption of their principles and manners could not fail to overwhelm them: yet they heard him as the Trojans listened to Cassandra. Monarchy alone was now the form of government suited for eastern Europe: and Providence was about to prove it in the person of Philip the Macedonian. His kingdom had found its cradle in the heart of those rough mountainous regions between Hæmus, Thrace, Thessaly, and the Ionian sea. Little seems to be known authentically of his twenty royal predecessors; except that, in the days of Darius Hystaspes, the Macedonians became rather humble allies, if not actual tributaries, to the great sovereign at Susa. Subsequently to the Peloponnesian war a race of military adventurers sprang up, without any settlements or homes of their own, ready to act for hire under any leader who could pay them. Jason of Pheræ engaged a number of these mercenaries, as did Polydamas of Pharsalus; both of them able chieftains, eminent amongst their Thessalian compeers, constituting, as these latter had always done, a strict aristocracy, and governing large clans of vassals called Penestæ. It occurred to them that, by a union of forces, the quarrels of Thebes and Sparta might be made to advance the prosperity of Thessaly. Jason was therefore chosen Tagus, or commander; in which position he conceived that ambitious design against all Greece and Asia, which Philip and Alexander the Great afterwards realised. Jason, however, came himself to an untimely end through the daggers of conspirators; nor could his family and followers prevent their country from falling into confusion. At this period the Sacred War broke out connected with the oracle of the Delphian Apollo, B.C. 355, in which some of the Phocians were accused of sacrilege. A fine had been imposed by the Amphictyonic Council, where the Thessalians and Bœotians enjoyed a majority; and

Phocis refused to pay it, as Lacedæmon had already set a precedent for doing, through her resistance against somewhat similar penalties charged upon her for certain ravages in the neighbourhood of Thebes. The hold of paganism upon the Greek mind must have wonderfully relaxed when Phocis, relying upon her friendship with Attica and Laconia, boldly seized upon and rifled the Delphian temple itself; availing herself of its enormous treasures to imitate Jason and Polydamas. So many soldiers of fortune were enlisted, that the contest lasted for ten years. The Thessalians, getting the worst of it, invited Philip of Macedon to their assistance.

This prince, educated under Epaminondas, had ascended his throne B.C. 360, bent upon concentrating and extending the Macedonian monarchy. He aided the Thessalians at once; so that their adversaries, after various changes of fortune, sank to rise no more. His talents combined the subtlety of the serpent with the courage of the lion. With pleasing manners and apparent gentleness, he won affection as well as confidence. Moreover his love of conviviality and pleasure rendered him less dreaded; so that whilst he was forming the celebrated Macedonian phalanx, improving his revenues, increasing his armies, gaining dependents, sowing dissensions, and preparing that iron network which would soon capture within its meshes the liberties and fortunes of all Greece, the Athenians refused to believe that there was any thing to fear. He conquered the Pœonians and Illyrians, took Amphipolis by storm, reduced Pydna and Potidæa, seized upon the territory between the Strymon and Nessus, where he so advantageously worked the gold-mines as to obtain from them ten thousand talents a year: whilst Crenides, the capital of the district, was re-edified, and called after his own name. The entire circle of the Sacred War brought him a perfect harvest of good fortune. Ithome was taken, together with the immortal Pass of Thermopylæ, B.C. 353; which called forth the first

philippic at Athens from the prince of orators. The Persian exile Artabazus found a refuge at his court; of which the politics were rapidly extending their ramifications from Susa to the Piræus. Phocion, arriving at Megara, in vain once more repaired the long walls, and joined that city to its port Nisæa, so as to secure it to his own countrymen. The presents of the Macedonian monarch, although failing against this individual patriot, at least baffled the results of his virtue. In Eubœa his conquests seemed suspended for an interval; yet only that he might divide and secure Thessaly, as well as march against the strongest fortresses in Thrace and upon the Hellespont. A final struggle at length approached between Philip and his republican competitors for the sovereignty over Greece, which the battle near Cheronæa, B.C. 337, decided in his favour. The forces of Attica, with their Bœotian allies, had unsheathed their swords too late for any really useful purpose; although they fought with a valour not unworthy of their ancient reputation. The conqueror had already appeared in the Council of the Amphictyons; but he now convoked a general assembly of the Greeks, in which he was recognised as their generalissimo for an invasion of Persia, B.C. 336. His assassination, however, at a public festival the same year, transferred his vigorous sceptre to his still more celebrated son Alexander the Great; a youthful prince just entering upon the marvellous aspirations of his manhood.

The Greek states and cities immediately revolted,—an event only serving to develop the administrative talents of the new potentate. He contracted that friendship with Phocion which helped to store his mind with practical wisdom; which impregnated him with the military maxims of Epaminondas and his own father; and which matured the admirable education which he had received from the philosopher Aristotle. His arms rapidly overran the Illyrian, Triballian, and Taulanian regions, to the confines of Thrace and the borders of the Danube. These hardy contests invigorated him

for the fulfilment of his oriental career. Yet a rumour came to be spread throughout Greece that he was no more: upon which Thebes set the example of at once declaring for independence; when Alexander, within thirteen days, re-appeared in Bœotia! His resolutions had reached their climax to inflict such condign chastisement upon the offending capital as would effectually overawe the whole Grecian confederacy into abject submission and future obedience. He stormed the city, massacred the inhabitants, razed their houses, except the one in which the poet Pindar had resided, shared the lands amongst his soldiers, and sold the captives into slavery, which brought the much-needed fund of four hundred and forty talents into his treasury, B.C. 335. With great caution, he had taken previous measures for securing an Amphictyonic decree against the Bœotian metropolis, grounded upon a recent alliance which it had made with the great king; as if no other republic had bowed down before barbarian intrigues and bribery. These profound plans of intimidation perfectly answered their purpose; blended as they also were with such soothing, though insidious proposals, as the successor of Philip now made for raising Plataea and Orchomenos from their ruins. It is further imagined, that the punishment inflicted at Thebes itself re-acted in producing some remorse in his mind; since in reviewing it, he expressed that sort of tardy regret which seemed to temper the terror of his power whilst paving the way for its enlargement. At Corinth, he was accordingly constituted president and commander-in-chief over all the allied states of Greece, just as his father had been before him; with a sway extending from Epirus to the Hellespont, and from the Danube to the Egean. Crossing what are now the Dardanelles, with a well-appointed army of 30,000 infantry and 4500 cavalry, he landed on the Asiatic shore, amidst the politic revival of many heroic associations connected with the triumphs of Greece in the Trojan war. His troops were genuine warriors, full of refinement and fervid recol-

lections. Although liberty had been so long lost, its name and poetry remained, like a talisman in the palm of a mighty and irresistible magician. Hence, as he drew near Abydos, he launched a javelin against the hostile coast; leaped on the strand in complete armour; sacrificed to the shade of Protesilaus; erected altars to Jupiter, Minerva, and Hercules; and then advanced to Ilium and the tomb of Achilles. There, with all the pomp of pagan ceremonial, the ghost of that hero was invoked to assist his supposed descendant against Darius Codomannus, the imaginary representative of Priam, then ruling from the Cyclades to the Indus over forty nations.

At the river Granicus, the Persian multitudes first encountered their invaders, B.C. 334. Historians differ as to the numbers; but all agree that the stream was rapid, and its banks steep. The Macedonians advanced in two lines of infantry, with their horse on the left flank, and the baggage in the rear. Alexander threw himself into the thickest of the fight, and performed prodigies of valour until his lance broke. With a fresh spear, he then rode directly at Mithridates, son-in-law to Darius, as he was bringing forward immense reserves of cavalry; and piercing him through the mouth, he drove the Persians back, encouraging his own men with voice, gesture, and by his chivalrous example. The slaughter proved as enormous as the victory was complete. Lydia, Sardis, and the whole of Asia Minor, fell to the conqueror. At Ephesus, the tribute which had been hitherto paid to the Persians he ordered to be employed in the restoration of the temple to Diana, which had been burnt down the night he was born at Pella. The Grecian cities were restored to their independence as he pursued his march through Cilicia. A conspiracy, which might have been fatal, was happily discovered in time by Parmenio; the omen of the Gordian knot, attached to the chariot of Midas, received a satisfactory solution; while from his subsequent illness he was recovered through the skilfulness of his physician. At Issus, in the gorges of the mountains leading

into Syria, occurred the second grand overthrow of Darius, at the head of the vast host with which he had proceeded from Susa, amounting to six hundred thousand soldiers. He escaped with difficulty from the battle; leaving behind him his mother, wife, and children, with an almost incalculable booty, in the hands of the Macedonians. Alexander had wisely dismissed his fleet of one hundred and sixty galleys, considering it insufficient to cope with the Persian navy; nor, in fact, could his slender treasury very conveniently support its maintenance. He told his lieutenants, that by acquiring the maritime provinces of his enemy he should neutralise the energies of those floating squadrons, which could not long keep afloat without harbours. After the victory at Issus, therefore, he hastened into Phœnicia, B.C. 332, where all the sea-coast submitted to him, with the exception of insular Tyre; which was captured by assault, after an obstinate siege of seven months, and the construction of a famous mole, which united the new city to the adjacent continent. Cyprus had already yielded; so that Egypt was to be the next prize; although it was in his mind to turn aside from Gaza, that he might visit Jerusalem, which still acknowledged the supremacy of the great king. It is remarkable, that before Alexander had set out upon his expedition, when he was at Dios absorbed in the preparations for it, he dreamed that a venerable elder in sacerdotal vestments came and encouraged him in his purposes, even promising him the oriental empire. Jaddua, at this time high priest of the Jews, hearing that the victor was now advancing towards Judæa in anger, went out to meet him in solemn procession as far as Sapha, an eminence near the holy city. The Macedonian monarch no sooner beheld the pontiff than he forthwith recognised the realisation of his vision at Dios; and, stepping forward to embrace him alone, he saluted with adoration the sacred name of God upon his mitre. It is conceived by some ancient writers that the prophecies of Daniel were shown Alexander; pre-

dicting, as they so clearly did, the downfall of the Persian power.

Xerxes had ceased to reign B.C. 464, assassinated by his chamberlain after the perpetration of indescribable atrocities. Artaxerxes Longimanus succeeded him, the king Ahasuerus of the book of Esther, and patron of the patriotic Nehemias, his cupbearer. In his days the victories of Cimon so consolidated the Athenian ascendancy, that a most humiliating treaty is conceived to have been made, B.C. 449, thirty years after the triumphs of Plataea and Mycale; although, from the silence of Thucydides, and an apparent contradiction on the part of the philosopher Plato, its perfect authenticity has been disputed. Darius Nothus seized the reins of government on the decease of Longimanus, B.C. 423. It was he who assisted the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war, which ultimately turned the scale in favour of Lysander. He was followed, B.C. 404, by Artaxerxes Mnemon, whose younger brother Cyrus stands connected in history with Xenophon and the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. The peace of Antalcidas, already mentioned, as distinguishing the administration of this potentate, B.C. 387, only shows to what an extraordinary extent oriental astuteness must have undermined the foundations of Grecian freedom and independence. His long reign lasted for forty-six years; when, B.C. 358, Ochus, the third of his legitimate sons, ascended the throne at Susa, revelling after an ancestral fashion in those domestic massacres and cruelties which render Eastern annals almost universally repulsive. The curious incident of his life is the embassy which he sent to Macedon, about B.C. 344, to ascertain the aims and objects of Philip. Alexander must have been then in his thirteenth year; a precocious youth, obliged through the absence of his father to receive and answer the envoys. They expressed astonishment at the profundity of his understanding, and the shrewdness of his inquiries. He wished to learn from them how they were governed,

as well as in what particulars the strength of the great king at Susa consisted. Ochus was poisoned by the eunuch Bagoas, in revenge for the calamities inflicted upon Egypt, the native land of that minister, B.C. 335; on which event, after a brief interregnum of the unhappy Arses, the Persian diadem passed to Darius Codomannus, grandson to a brother of Darius Nothus. The entire spirit of these princes and their predecessors, whether in war or peace, openly or secretly, had been opposed to the prosperity and freedom of Greece for the greatest portion of a century, to say the least. From the age of Cyrus to the transit of the Macedonian phalanx across the Hellespont autocracy fought against democracy, barbarism against refinement. As to the choice of means or weapons, or the manner of carrying forward the warfare, there seemed small scruple on either side. Hostilities seldom altogether slept; or if sleeping, seldom failed to awake whenever any tempting opportunity offered for inflicting injury or deriving advantage. The Greek states at length had formally avowed their intention of invading Persia under the auspices of Philip; and when that monarch had been murdered, as Alexander his son complained he had, through the bribes, instigations, or agents of the great king, the Macedonian hero, in placing himself at the head of his countrymen, embodied the traditions and sympathies of every people between the Adriatic and Propontis, or the Danube and the Peloponnesus. In this spirit it was that such trophies were won on the banks of the Granicus, at Issus in the Syrian straits, or before the walls of the wealthy Tyre. In the nomes of the Nile there was no opposition shown towards any one ready to liberate them from the bondage of Babylon. He pressed on to the great oasis in Libya, where, either through policy or superstition, the oracle pronounced him to be the genuine offspring of Jupiter Ammon. The winter was spent at Memphis. It was in that metropolis that he developed those talents for administrative government which showed that he was something more than a merely fortunate

soldier. He not only conquered the land of the Pharaohs, but instructed his representatives how to rule it.

In the first place, he separated the financial, judicial, and military functions, to prevent the oppression of the people by their union; each official was responsible to himself, his own presiding mind combining the various departments into one comprehensive system. He then founded Alexandria, to become an emporium of commerce between the eastern and western worlds, through its marvellous river, with its seven mouths and two adjacent seas. Darius had made him an offer of his daughter in marriage, with a cession of all the provinces west of the Euphrates, and ten thousand talents for the ransom of his family. But his destinies involved a wider range; and a general rendezvous of his forces had been appointed at Tyre for the spring of B.C. 331. Thence he proceeded by way of Damascus, Palmyra, and Thapsacus, through Mesopotamia, to seek the oriental despot his competitor; whom he discovered near Arbela in Assyria, surrounded with a nominal million of men, awaiting the result of a final and decisive engagement. It was fought upon the 1st of October B.C. 331; on the night previous to which it was observed that Alexander slept with so much composure, that the clarions for the onset were sounding when his attendants awoke him for action. His pre-arrangements had been masterly and faultless. With no more than 50,000 infantry and cavalry, he rushed against those mighty multitudes, reaching far beyond the horizon of his eye but not of his mind. Entangling them at once with each other in the impetuosity of his attack, the day became one of complete rout, confusion, and slaughter to the Persians. Darius fled for his life in a north-eastern direction; leaving for his conqueror the kingdoms of Babylon and Susa, with their accumulated treasures at Ecbatana and Persepolis, amounting to many millions sterling. The royal fugitive died the next spring under the murderous hands of Bessus, his Bactrian viceroy. Alexander, however, quickly avenged

him; overrunning all Media and Sogdiana, pursuing, overtaking, and summarily executing the assassins, appropriating their provinces, and completing three triumphant campaigns, B.C. 330-327, with the acquisition of the entire regions of Mount Taurus, from the Caspian to the Oxus and Jaxartes. The countries of Turan and its Scythian inhabitants, after some resistance, yielded to the yoke. His Indian expedition then followed, B.C. 326; when, in ten days, he crossed the mountainous districts of Parapamisus, on the road to Candahar and the Indus, having first set fire to the baggage of the army, as well as his own, that no incumbrances might impede his progress. Taxila, imagined to be the modern Attock, immediately submitted, opening a path to the Hydaspes and the rich realms of Porus. The Macedonians, floating over the rivers of the Punjaub on pontoons supported by bladders or inflated skins, conquered all Caubul, with its adjacent territories, to the Sutledge; until the discontent of his weary warriors at length compelled Alexander to return, and abstain from the ravages of Hindostan. Many cities were projected, and several commenced, perhaps in more advantageous positions than those which had been destroyed. Two thousand vessels were launched upon the Indus, under the command of Nearchus, steering their course into the Persian Gulf; whilst the conqueror himself crossed with immense sufferings and losses the Gedrosian deserts, ultimately traversing the cultivated localities of Carmania, and arriving safely in Persia. The remainder of his career he spent in a necessary circuit amongst its imperial capitals; forming mighty and magnificent conceptions for consolidating and improving his enormous empire. It now extended from Epirus to Lahore, with a revenue of three hundred thousand talents! He could remind his mutinous troops at Opis that his father Philip had found them vagrants, and made them soldiers; that he had enabled them to subdue Thrace, Thebes, Thessaly, and all Greece, with the Peloponnesus, to their native kingdom; that a treasury narrow,

empty, and indebted, had been transformed into golden coffers overflowing with the spoils of the great king; that Asia, Egypt, Libya, and Cyrene, had been added to their European possessions; and that the power of Persia as an oppressor had passed away for ever. His main objects appear to have comprised not so much a few merely commercial advantages for mankind, as the expansion of a vast scheme of dominion, which was to unite the most distant nations under one and the same policy; but in the year B.C. 324, he expired at Babylon in the thirty-third summer of his age, either from a semitertian fever aggravated by drunkenness, or possibly the effects of poison. His queen Roxana was pregnant; but he had given his ring to Perdiccas.

The Macedonian monarchy presently broke to pieces; the sword had created it, and so the children of the sword divided it amongst themselves. Sixteen years of tumult and murder ensued, during which the Grecian satrapies fell into the forms of four great kingdoms—Macedon, Thrace, Syria, and Egypt. The first of these recognised Cassander for its sovereign, who had extirpated the family of the late conqueror; and whose own posterity gave way before Demetrius, the son of Antigonus. The descendants of this leader constituted a somewhat continuous dynasty, ruling over the paternal dominions of Alexander, to whom their ancestor had been an ambitious but successful officer. The greatest portion of Greece remained under their sway until the Romans put an end to the power of Perseus, B.C. 143. Thrace acknowledged Lysimachus, B.C. 322; who for a time acquired Macedonia, until expelled from it; after which he lost every thing through falling in battle with Seleucus. The Gauls then ravaged the country; as the Celts did Macedonia and its territories, to the very confines of the temple at Delphi. Syria and Egypt, however, struggled for the possessions of Lysimachus between the Hæmus and the Hellespont; during which contest the native princes recovered a temporary independence; which, after Cotys had allied himself to the

Romans, was surrendered to them altogether by his successor Sasales, B.C. 43. Syria meanwhile came under the sceptre of Seleucus, the governor of Babylon, with whom the Seleucidan era commences, B.C. 312. He had been dethroned by Antigonus, against whom he negotiated a league with Cassander, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy, terminating in the conflict of Ipsus in Phrygia, B.C. 301; when Antigonus was slain. From that event Seleucus prospered, carrying his arms eastward into India, and acquiring nearly all the provinces of the old Persian empire. At length, quarrelling with Lysimachus, who had added to his European dominions Bithynia, with other portions of Asia Minor, he besieged Sardis, and destroyed the life and reign of the Thracian monarch, his last competitor, on the fatal field of Corupedion, B.C. 282; thus absorbing in his succession by far the largest share of what Alexander had left behind him. He therefore assumed the title of Nicator, or conqueror; while his more genuine fame reposes on his having founded Antioch on the Orontes, Seleucia on the Tigris, Apamea, and Laodicea. Antiochus Soter, his son, succeeding his father, who was assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunos, B.C. 280, lost Pergamus and Bithynia, besides being obliged to recognise the dynasty of Antigonus in Macedon. From the very death, in fact, of Seleucus, the domination of his family might date its decline. Parthia and Bactria cast off the ascendancy of Syria within the lapse of thirty years; which Antiochus the Great strove fruitlessly to regain; his own humiliation at the hands of the Roman Senate being consummated by his defeat at Magnesia, B.C. 190. Egypt appears to have been the most fortunate of the four Macedonian kingdoms. At the third and final partition, consequent on the battle of Ipsus, Ptolemy the son of Lagus acquired the entire valley of the Nile, with part of Arabia, Libya, Cyrene, Palestine, and Cœlosyria. He erected the pharos of Alexandria, enlarged and adorned that flourishing capital, collected its celebrated library, invited learned men from all

countries to his court, and encouraged every kind of trade and commerce. His son Philadelphus trod in his footsteps, as did his grandson Evergetes. The Septuagint was composed or translated; literature found greater patronage than ever; a canal was constructed between the river and the Red Sea, or rather a former one re-opened, to facilitate intercourse and traffic with India, particularly through the harbour of Berenice, which was then formed for the purpose. The three tolerable Ptolemies were followed by ten degenerate ones, down to the sentimental and profligate Cleopatra.

Besides these four more prominent kingdoms of Macedon, Thrace, Syria, and Egypt, there emerged from the grand contention between Greece and Persia seven minor ones and a single republic, presenting different degrees of interest, yet all requiring to be mentioned—namely, Bithynia, Pergamus, Pontus, Cappadocia, Armenia, Parthia, Judæa, and the Achæan League. Of course, at times the latter were more or less included in the former; as at first all was confusion, according to the Scriptural description so strikingly given in the Machabees: “Alexander reigned twelve years, and then died; and his servants bare rule every one in his place; for after his death they all put crowns upon themselves, as their sons did after them many years; and evils were multiplied in the earth.” Bithynia had been at one time tributary to the sovereigns of Sardis, as it was afterwards to those of Susa. Its territories stretched along the Euxine to the Propontis and Mount Olympus. After the death of Alexander, a native chief named Bas superseded Calanthus the Macedonian satrap. He and his son Zipætes reigned between them nearly a century. His grandson Nicomedes allied himself with the Gauls, to whom he assigned a district called after them Gallo-Græcia, or Galatia. The real southern and eastern boundaries of Bithynia, geographically speaking, were the rivers Rhyndacus and Parthenius. Prusias the Hunter, connected in history with the Carthaginian

Annibal, was the grandson of Nicomedes above mentioned; whose name was also borne by the three lineal successors of Prusias. The fourth Nicomedes, having no children, made over his dominions to the Romans, B.C. 75. Pergamus included the ancient Mysia from Cyzicus to Lydia, and from Bithynia and Phrygia to the Egean and the Hellespont. While Lysimachus governed this part of Asia, his lieutenant, a eunuch named Philetærus, erected his viceroyalty into an independent realm, and called it after its well-known capital, B.C. 283. His nephew Eumenes was succeeded by his cousin Attalus, a great patron of learning; whose son, the second Eumenes, prospered through his Roman alliance, at the expense of his neighbours Prusias and Antiochus, as well as the potentates of Pontus and Cappadocia. After a time, however, his policy underwent considerable changes; so that the senate patronised his brother Attalus II. The reign of this prince lasted for his life; but on his decease the crown reverted to his nephew, Attalus Philometor, the son of his predecessor, who finally bequeathed it to the Romans, B.C. 133. The Pergamean territories had grown into importance, embracing at one period Mysia, Lydia, the two Phrygias, and Lycaonia, besides the Thracian Chersonesus in Europe. The second Eumenes collected in his library no less than 200,000 volumes; nor should it be omitted, that under his administration pergament, or parchment, was invented. Pontus formed an important portion of Northern Lesser Asia, running from Bithynia in the west to Colchis in the east, and bounded southward by Armenia Minor and Cappadocia. Having revolted from one of the sons of Darius Hystaspes, to whom it was given as an hereditary fief, it descended, under independent princes, to the second Mithridates, who voluntarily surrendered it to Alexander the Great. On his death the donor recovered his inheritance; his successors so enlarged it, that part of Bithynia came to be added to Paphlagonia, besides the various conquests of the seventh Mithridates, including Cappadocia, Phrygia, Caria, Lycia, and Pam-

phylia, together with the whole coast of the Euxine round to the Tauric Chersonesus. Those considerable dominions enabled him to maintain a contest of thirty years with Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey; until poison or the sword, administered with his own hand, B.C. 64, aided by the dagger of an attendant, crowned his innumerable cruelties with the crime of semi-suicide. Cappadocia had been a kingdom at an early period, consisting of a fine mineral country, lying between Pontus, Galatia, Lycaonia, Cilicia, and Armenia, and abounding with silver, iron, brass, alum, alabaster, crystal, and jasper. Ariarathes V., having married the daughter of Antiochus the Great, soon found himself in the vortex of Roman politics; which his successors for the next century so studied as to obtain whatever advantages they could from their royal neighbours. Their original founder was Pharnaces, who saved the life of Cyrus from a lion, and received this tributary diadem of Cappadocia for his reward. One of his posterity rescued it from the Macedonian conquest after the decease of Alexander. The eighth Ariarathes was the last of the race. Two other families then held the precarious sceptre—established successively, one by Ariobarzanes, and another by Archelaus; until every vestige of regal dignity subsided into the forms of a Roman province.

Armenia, with her mountainous yet fruitful regions, had bowed with slight reluctance to the supremacy of Assyria, Persia, and Macedon; nor for some interval did she revolt from the Seleucidæ. Under the third Antiochus it was, that Artaxias, the governor of Great, and Zariades the satrap of Little Armenia, made themselves independent, B.C. 190. Tigranes, descended from the former, united both territories; until his father-in-law Mithridates involved him in war with the Romans. What remained of his kingdom became an apple of discord between the latter and the Parthians. These hardy warriors, inhabiting the country between Media and Aria, south of Hyrcania, asserted their natural rights,

B.C. 229-231, in an open insurrection against Seleucus Callinicus, under Arsaces; whose dynasty ultimately enlarged its dominions, till they extended from India to the Euphrates, and from the Caspian to the Arabian seas. Less splendid, yet far more interesting, were the annals of Judæa; subject as it alternately was to Egypt and Syria, until the valiant Machabees enthroned themselves as sacerdotal princes.

We have thus rapidly sketched the four larger, and the seven lesser monarchies, which rose on the ruins of the vast Macedonian empire. There remains only the single republic of the Achæan league to close the chapter. Sparta had long witnessed the departure of her ancient constitution. The patriotic Agis in vain attempted to bring back a state of things which had gone for ever. Her oligarchy vacillated between Rome and Macedon, until there could be no hope of escape for her from the universal destiny of Greece. The cities of Achaia meanwhile renewed among themselves an old confederacy, which laboured for a noble interval, under Aratus, in the cause of liberty against the successors of Alexander at Pella. Gradually other states, with Athens among them, joined this Achæan league. Its hero was Philopœmen, an Arcadian general, worthy of having his name enrolled with an Aristides, a Themistocles, or even an Epaminondas. He had the courage to abolish the mere forms of Lycurgus at Lacedæmon, since their spirit had altogether evaporated. After the capture of Corinth, a memorial of the Achæan confederation at least survived in the title imposed upon the conquered provinces. The Ætolian and Bœotian towns had formed a similar union; although the narrowness of their animosities effectually prevented them from attaining any real importance. Philopœmen was a statesman as well as a warrior; the patron of equity and moderation. Peace, and freedom from foreign interference, were the objects of that alliance, over which he shone as so distinguished an ornament. Its states held an annual assembly at Ægium; where they elected a prætor, a treasurer, and a secretary,

with genuine simplicity, besides passing general decrees relative to wars, domestic concerns, and external treaties. Megalopolis and Sicyon in the Peloponnesus, as well as the rich capital of the Isthmus, were among its most prominent members.

## CHAPTER IV.

Sketch of Grecian civilisation—Language and literature—Poetry, history, oratory, and philosophy—Laconian and Athenian habits and manners—Finances—Military and naval forces—Moral influences.

THE influence of Greece upon civilisation will warrant our devoting some pages to a subject at once so interesting and important; nor must it be forgotten, that what this country of the Muses was to the rest of Europe, Athens herself was to the remainder of Greece. She might be termed in a certain sense the Paris of the ancient world,—the centre of taste and refinement. It has been justly remarked, that her beautiful language, her public walks, her groves of the Lyceum and the Academy, her architectural models, with their miracles of art, and particularly sculpture, her poets, historians, philosophers, and orators, have secured for her a more glorious and permanent empire than the feats of arms or policy can either bestow or take away. In no city were sciences so effectually studied, or manners so perfectly polished, or religious festivals and intellectual entertainments so magnificent and varied. Classical ideas diffused themselves throughout all ranks; and as commerce flourished at the Piræus, strangers eager for wealth, knowledge, or literary improvement, flocked thither in crowds from every shore of the Mediterranean. After the war of Troy, the Ionian and other colonies of Asia Minor became channels of intercommunication for connecting Attica and the Peloponnesus with the East, as Egypt, Sicily, and Carthage were for the south. The most admirable tongue ever flowing from the mouth of man since the confusion of Babel, spread itself in

innumerable directions. As our species is distinguished from brutes by the powers of speech, a people possessing them in the most perfect form had an advantage over other nations; and the Greek of Homer may be probably considered as the matrix of all the dialects. It is even admitted by the best scholars, that he must have used the Eolic digamma as one of the sixteen original letters of the alphabet. This curious character perhaps partly fell into desuetude from the harshness of its sound, or the adoption of other consonants; being abandoned first by the Ionians prior to the period in which writing grew general; it then seems to have been dropt by the Dorians; but continuing much later among the Eolians settled in Lesbos and some adjacent islands, as well as those retaining their old station in the Peloponnesus, it kept their name when banished from the rest of Greece, and particularly from Attica. In fact, Athenian taste always had the victory; nor will it be denied that the Attic dialect evinces wonderful compactness as compared with the Ionic, and an extraordinary polish as compared with the Doric; whilst in harmony it may scarcely yield to the former, is certainly superior to the latter, and upon the whole claims a pre-eminence over both. The countrymen of Pericles and Sophocles delighted to express their minds in personifications; but in reality their language passed through three distinct periods: the first including those ages before and after the return of the Heraclides, which comprise the rhapsodies of the Iliad and Odyssey, with some of the Orphic hymns perhaps, and a few similar fragments; the second comprehending the Peloponnesian era, which is that of Eschylus and the tragedians, Thucydides, and the Socratic school downwards; the third, the still more refined style and times of Menander. The four grand characteristics of Greek are, its force, its accuracy, its flexibility, and its opulence; so that it has become the voice and concentrated expression of intellectual energy, springing from and relating to principles, and those the great ones of our nature, rather

than the mere practical details of common life. We need not wonder therefore that, charged as it was with the genius of Homer and Plato, besides a hundred others, it grew into the general medium of thought and communication throughout the civilised world. The masterpieces of the father of profane poetry seem not to have existed in their complete arrangement at either Athens or Sparta until Lycurgus, falling in with them in Ionia, transcribed them from original copies with his own hands. Peisistratus, two centuries and a half later, watched over them with unremitting labour. His son Hipparchus introduced the custom of reciting them on the festivals of Minerva. Aristotle prepared an edition of them for Alexander the Great, who used to keep them under his pillow in a golden case. Aratus the astronomer, Aristarchus of Samos, and Aristophanes, librarian at Alexandria, also manifested the profound respect of antiquity for these immortal compositions, which are nearly as old as the Psalms of David.

The conqueror of Darius materially assisted in the dissemination of the Greek language, with all its accompanying refinements, throughout the East. His father Philip had loved and affected the pure Attic dialect, although the ordinary Macedonian would appear to have been more like the Bœotian vernacular, from some peculiarities in the Septuagint, which we know was composed under the auspices of the successors of Alexander. Not that such incidents should be too much relied on, since many foreign words were gradually incorporated even with the Attic purity; some from Persia, particularly with regard to land-surveying and public roads, borrowed as these improvements were from that country. Eschylus naturalised several terms from Sicily; and others followed relative to the astronomical sciences. Egypt supplied various denominations for articles of dress, imported with the linens, silks, and cloths, which came from the banks of the Nile. Fondness for travel also multiplied the variations of speech, especially when the marvellous narratives

from Pontus and the Phasis had grown into fashion,—corresponding with our novels, romances, and fairy tales. Even the accidental lisp of Alcibiades, at the height of his popularity, found so many imitators, that it led the way to a transmutation of one liquid for another; just as Pericles doubled several letters, and really ameliorated the grammar. Commerce also, of course, introduced a crop of innovations, not to call them actual barbarisms. Compared with modern languages, Greek has been likened to the precious medals in the cabinets of kings, nobles, and scholars; too fine and rare to circulate with the common money of the present day, which has to receive a certain amount of alloy before it acquires sufficient hardness for general usefulness and durability. Two other circumstances must also be remembered as constituting, in our opinion, defects with regard to the language and literature of the Socratic or best period: the one, an absence of the love of nature; and the other, a deficiency of domestic associations. As relates to the first, we seldom find a prospect transferred to a picture; for though Plato might be thought an exception in his younger years, he seems to have studiously curbed and sobered down his fine imagination after he had finished the *Phædrus*, and a few earlier productions. Ingenious attempts have been made to explain the fact from there having been no landscape-drawing, so far as we know, at Athens, whereby the science of perspective could alone be perfectly developed; besides the too powerful concentration of local and political interests, to allow of that quietude of mind and composure of spirits which are essential to the genuine enjoyment of the picturesque. Yet surely the survey from Sunium, from Hymettus, or even the Acropolis, over the sea, the Saronic gulf, its islands with their surrounding shores, might have naturally inspired full many a genius to cultivate painting as well as poetry, although we may admit the general aridity and dullness of Attican scenery. Besides which, there were plenty of mountains and valleys within no great distance, from Pelion, Ossa, and Par-

nassus, to the beauties of Tempe; and a hundred rivers, abundantly calculated for educating and kindling the enthusiasm of native artists, had they existed. The frequent occurrence of blindness has been adduced as another partial explanation, since the eye is the great inlet to the mind in this point. It undoubtedly prevailed to a considerable extent; the malady, perhaps, being favoured by the whiteness of the soil and want of verdure, coupled with the marvellous clearness of the atmosphere. Oculism had already formed itself into a distinct branch of the medical profession, and appears to have been thoroughly understood. As relates to the second fault in Greek literature at a particular period, its comparative poverty with regard to domestic sympathies, we can only feel that Athenian life was for the most part a public one. The agora and gymnasium had more to do with moulding the inner man than the charms of a home rather too secluded for genial enjoyments, where, though the females were probably the most elegant in the world, they remained without the simplest elements of intellectual culture.

Allowing, however, what the reader pleases for these drawbacks, the poetry, history, oratory, and philosophy of Greece pervaded and illuminated antiquity. The beautiful odes of Anacreon express the refinement which luxurious pleasure had already attained in the age of Peisistratus; as the fragments of Sappho, Alcæus, and Tyrtaeus, give us the highest ideas of the perfection of Grecian taste. The Argonautics of Orpheus, though of a much later date than his own times, wear an antique simplicity peculiar to themselves; while the maxims of Theognis furnish an example of the most ancient form of handing down lessons of wisdom, when books were scarce and invaluable. Pindar contains good materials for mythology; but our chief admiration is excited by the lofty elevation of his soul, which penetrates the passions, as it must have overwhelmed his hearers with astonishment. His thoughts, pregnant with sense, are stamped in characters of light. His

figures are distinguishable in member, joint, and limb: their robes are brilliant as the sun; and the banners, which in lyric triumph they so majestically wave, are bathed in meridian glory. But the Drama, whatever may have been its origin, most deeply affected the people. Eschylus portrayed the heroic ages with matchless felicity of description. Euripides appeals to the tenderest sympathies of all hearts, through all times, and in all climates: he possesses a richer fund of ideas, with greater art and eloquence than his rival, and possibly more philosophical pathos; but Sophocles strikes us as the nobler poet, combining dignity with grace in a more masterly style. Aristophanes has enshrined in magical humour the genius of comedy, with the modes and manners of Athenian society, the favourite subjects of its keen banter, and the musical cadences of an intricate versification. As to history, there are only fragments remaining of Hellenicus and Hecataeus; but in the thirty-third year after the victory over the Persians, Herodotus read his Nine Muses on the wars between Europe and Asia, amid the plaudits of his assembled countrymen. In the various delineations of his pictured pages, the simplicity, truthfulness, and benignity of his disposition infuse themselves at once into our bosoms, and render us the spectators and auditors of his melodious narrative. Thucydides listened to his recital with profound emotion; and lived to record, with the most original merits of his own, that period of the Athenian supremacy which comes down to the twenty-second summer of the Peloponnesian war, when Tissaphernes had arrived at Ephesus, B.C. 411. As the opulence of nature had fallen to his predecessor, he aimed at excelling him in artistic depth and beauty. He wrote for the few rather than for the many; for students and statesmen rather than popular admirers. Xenophon took up his subject, and has been styled the Bee of Attica. His perspicuity can never fail to be liked, and may serve as a model always; together with that refined moral sentiment breathing

throughout the whole as its only ornament. Polybius lived more than two centuries later, ambassador at Rome from the Achæan League; besides whom there were various other valuable authors—not only annalists and biographers, but masters in several of the sciences: such as Hippocrates, the father of physic, in the days of Perdiccas, at the court of Macedon; Aristoxenus, the scholar of Aristotle, composer of the work on music; with Euclid, and those writers on the same delightful art collected by Meibomius. Then there were geographers and critics, such as Demetrius Phalerius; not to enumerate the mathematicians and naturalists. It has been justly observed, that the mere knowledge of history might be more advantageously studied amidst the storms of the Athenian republic than under the calmer patronage of luxurious and learned sovereigns at either Pergamus or Alexandria. Notwithstanding the value of libraries, impediments, when they do not from their nature depress, rather exalt and enlarge the powers of the mind. Liberty is a nobler intellectual mistress than an absolute monarchy.

This was seen in that galaxy of orators which agitated and illustrated the Greek democracies so long as their vitality lasted; for not only did they charm their contemporaries with splendid speeches, but they furnished posterity with most instructive treatises. Rhetoric with them was far from being a mere logomachy. Through Antiphon we become acquainted with the civil law of Athens. Andocides has immortalised his opponent Alcibiades as a genius of inconsistency and profligacy preserved in the liquid amber of his eloquence. Isæus teaches us the hereditary tenures of Attica. Isocrates anticipated, in nominal profession, that golden rule of the gospel, that we should, upon principle, act towards others as we would they should behave towards ourselves: he also graphically gives us the state of Greece before it fell from its independence through its own demerits. Lysias presents us with similar pictures, interspersed with pungent satire

on the absurdity of demagogic licentiousness. They both show us that order is the soul of conservatism, and that it must rest upon obedience. Demosthenes assumed a bolder tone; living amidst such hypocrisy and confusion, it was necessary he should speak out loudly. His Philippics are specimens of oratorical fascination,—majestic in their stern simplicity, impregnated with force and passion, and yet possessing that unattainable polish of antiquity which resists alike the shock of violence and the silent canker of decay. The Macedonian potentate estimated his opposition as equivalent to that of many legions. His own phalanx indeed bore it down, simply because Thebes, Athens, and the Peloponnesus had ceased to be virtuous. Corrupt, however, as these republics had become, their end affects us, in the words of Von Müller, “like the death of an old and infirm friend.” Eschines was a rival not unworthy of Demosthenes; nor will the names of Demades, Dinarchus, or Lycérgus be forgotten.

The best of the orators derived their strength, such as it was, from the higher walks of philosophy; whose various schools, perhaps, deduced their morals rather from the nature of man than that of God; although in possession, as the Apostle has shown us, of the book of creation, besides many invaluable fragments of primeval tradition. These last, veiled under the ancient mysteries, had found a home for ages among the temples and catacombs of Egypt; whence Greece and her colonies from time to time received them. Pythagoras is said to have been born at Sidon, brought to Samos, and taken back again into Phœnicia; where, as well as in Miletus, he became acquainted with the sages of the period. Thence he proceeded to Heliopolis, Memphis, and Diospolis; spending five-and-twenty years on the banks of the Nile before he travelled through Crete and the Peloponnesus, on his way to Croton in Italy, where he settled, and founded his celebrated sect. It rapidly spread eastward and northward; subsisting till towards the death of Alexander, when the Academy and Ly-

ceum eclipsed its glories. Silence, asceticism, and gravity of deportment were the particular external characteristics which met the eye; whilst in reality, amidst a vast amount of pretension and imposture, he taught, no doubt, some moral truths; and, what was remarkable, admitted women amongst his disciples. In astronomy and mathematics his discoveries were important; and long after his societies had dissolved, there remained individual Pythagoreans both at Athens and Lacedæmon. It will not escape the attentive reader that the Spartan lawgiver, with Solon, Thales, and indeed all those who aspired to instruct their generation, went to Egypt as the seat of wisdom. Socrates avowed that he had an attendant spirit, whatever that might be, which had accompanied him from a child, and by whose suggestions he guided his life. He taught that principles must be reduced to practice; nor is it possible to study his life and discourses, through the matchless dialogues of his great pupil Plato, without feeling that he was a sort of pagan confessor, put to death for being in advance of his age. He taught moreover that the Supreme Being, though invisible, is clearly seen in His works, which demonstrate His existence, as also the benevolence of His providence. His system too admitted an intermediate order of essences, peculiarly concerned in the management of human affairs; together with wonderful vestiges of the immortality of the soul, a state of future rewards and punishments, a judgment to come at the hands of Almighty God, a kind of distorted purgatory, and something like an idea of that Divine Instructor and Redeemer who was to be the desire of all nations. Plato thus describes him: "He shall be stript of every possession except his virtue; stigmatised as wicked at a time when he exhibits the strongest proofs of goodness; endowed with patience to resist every temptation and reverse of fortune, yet inflexibly maintaining his integrity; not ostentatious of his good qualities, but desiring rather to be good than to seem so. In fine, the recompense

which that Just One, so disposed, shall receive from the world, is this: he shall be scourged, tortured, bound, blinded; and at length, having suffered all sorts of evils, he shall be crucified!" The founder of the Academy has indeed charmed and enchanted all generations. With him the fairest conceptions of poetical genius become sublimated into so attractive a philosophy, that our minds are at once captivated and elevated; yet upon the most abstract subjects, whether moral, metaphysical, or mathematical, his language is clearer than the running stream; while for sweetness, gentleness, and simplicity, its idealisms vie in exquisite loveliness with the violets and flowers of the valley. As intellect differs from wit, so Aristotle is distinguished from Plato. His treatise on Politics afforded admirable instruction; but what is principally to be remembered about him is, that his doctrines prevailed during many centuries in the Arabian and Christian schools. His Ethics, if we bear in mind the circumstances under which they were propounded, must be considered excellent; nor will it be easy to find an ancient writer of clearer or more correct judgment with a wider range of information. Many of his observations on the history of animals, heretofore scarcely held as probable, have been established by recent discoveries. His scholar, Theophrastus, gave much valuable information with regard to plants, and the productions of Greek and Asiatic soils.

From these and similar sources sprang the elements of Grecian civilisation; involved as it was, with respect to its earlier characteristics, in the clouds of national mythology. This last partook so much of actual history as to seem genuine and real, with now and then so much of fable as to appear miraculous. It was, therefore, at once familiar and venerable throughout the regions of Hellas. Like the mysterious chain of Homer, it linked heaven and earth, time past and present, distant colonies and adjacent districts, gods, heroes, and men, in one ineffable union. It was sometimes Ionian, sometimes Doric; it belonged to states and families;

it embraced the islands and the continent; it accompanied the emigrant to Asia, Africa, or Sicily, and Magna Græcia; and yet whencesoever it arose, and whithersoever it wandered, it was recognised as sacred and identical. It was the robe which invested what the ancients described as their religion; composed as that system was of truth mingled with falsehood, correct primeval traditions corrupted into the errors of paganism; the whole interspersed with precepts of morality, cruelties of superstition, various sacrifices and modes of expiation, sanctity of the sacerdotal character, dreams, divinations, oracles, incantations, polytheism, prayer, and penitential offerings. Connected with the cheerful side of all this were the games and festivals. Gay and brilliant as their own cloudless firmament, the Greeks were devoted to the dances and songs of recreative enjoyment. The elegance of their intellectual energy gave vitality, durability, and immortality of character, in a certain sense, to the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian assemblies. Their foot, chariot, and horse-races; the Pentathlon, which included leaping, running, hurling the quoit or disk, or the spear, and wrestling; the musical contests, the comic dances of the sailors, the Delian festivals, with from sixteen to twenty others; that of the sacred ship Theoris with its arkite memorials, produced a permanent and enlivening effect upon the entire population. The victors in these various trials of strength or skill considered themselves invested with the honours of a splendid triumph: nor need the reader be more than just reminded how the crown of bay-leaves, ivy, pine, parsley, or olive, with the preliminary preparations, the pecuniary rewards, and the decisions of the judges, were associated with history and poetry, and have found their way into the figures and illustrations of nearly all civilised languages. Attica and the Ionians might appear to cultivate and prefer that which was exclusively elegant and beautiful; yet the guardian divinity of the Doric races was supposed to be Apollo, whose pæans, musical instruments,

and processional dances, were as cheerful and simple, though less costly than those of their rivals. Each one, however, delighted in the display of humour, wit, and talent. Mimicry, satire, and comedy, had every where an appropriate share of patronage and praise. Through the manly firmness and sedateness of Lacedæmon there gleamed a fund of hilarity, perceptible in her pithy speeches and proverbs, sparing of words yet pregnant with meaning; which perhaps the Laconian over-estimated when he deemed them superior to the eloquence of Athens, simply because the latter had got too much entangled with sophistry. Beauty, regarded as the measure of that inner life which reveals itself in the external form, was revered and sought for equally by the Spartans, as by their competitors, in all its modifications and relations. The collective idea of their respective social institutions was to each country only one mode of the beautiful. Its outward representation constituted art; as to which the palpable superiority rested with Athens. It embraced the most various objects; it ennobled war, and adorned the thousand details of social existence. We do not deny the majesty enthroned in the remains of Doric sculpture and architecture—their robust massiveness and systematic utilitarianism; but the memorials of Ionian genius appeal to the sympathies of a far more advanced and higher civilisation: the former represent a ruder people reposing on the consciousness of youthful strength; the latter enshrine the victories of intellect as connected with the maturer results of reason and educated refinement.

Yet as to architecture, the Athenians expended their greatest efforts upon the public edifices; influenced by that republican principle of worshipping popular admiration which operates as the demon of democracy. Their private residences, even when the property of opulent persons, seem to have been simple and inexpensive, built of plaster or unburnt bricks, with a middle court and a fountain, surrounded by rooms for the guests, the chambers of the unmarried men, and the storerooms. In the

centre stood an altar; and out of the court ascended a flight of steps leading to a hall more in the interior, set apart for the males of the family, and floored with cement. At the extreme end, separated by another ascent of steps, were the female apartments. The larger rooms had roofs with heavy beams resting upon pillars on either side; the spaces between which were sometimes wainscoted, handsomely inlaid, or even now and then, in rare instances, gilded. In the country a farmyard might be attached, with stalls for the cattle; but in the city, of course, space was every thing. The streets were narrow and angular, often darkened by the overhanging houses. The Piræus alone was laid out in straight lines by the architect Hippodamus. The court, already mentioned, was divided from the street by an outer wall in the better class of domiciles; but the commoner kind opened at once upon the public pathway by a door. There were ten thousand houses at Athens in the time of Xenophon; inhabited partly by families, and partly let to under-tenants or lodgers: and the Piræus evidently constituted the genteel quarter, corresponding with our Belgravia or West End. Much interior elegance was no doubt exhibited in the accommodations for sleeping, bathing, and anointing the person, as also in many of the commonest utensils and articles of furniture. As to dress, the Athenian matrons still gloried in the full and flowing chiton, reaching down to the ancles, and made either of linen, woollen, or byssus. At times, it was tucked into the girdle to prevent its sweeping the ground, when it must naturally have hung in clusters, or a festoon of folds, on each side. This dress moreover had sleeves according to the Ionic and Attic fashions, but not otherwise. Over the whole was thrown a sort of short tunic fastened on each shoulder, falling loosely under the arms as low as the waist. It was generally saffron-coloured; while the garment for state occasions was the peplos or veil, often adorned with embroidery or broad hems; besides which there used to be worn formerly a couple of wings care-

fully shaped into something like the tails of swallows, coming down, as the corners of a shawl would, to the calf of the leg. This ornament was derived from the ancient wardrobe of the temple of Pallas, and therefore was regarded by girls with religious respect: though in more modern times it got gradually shortened by clasping the zone lower; until latterly it was laid aside altogether. The female head-dress consisted of three braids of hair flowing behind each ear, a fillet or band round the forehead, at the back an edifice of curls, and lastly, a thick braid falling at random and always powdered with the consecrated barley-flour. The ordinary Laconian costume was less elaborate: yet on grand occasions there seemed little difference: nor did the fair sex fail to indulge themselves in ear-rings formed like olives or mulberries; armlets twisted above the elbow like snakes; brooches or clasps, in appearance like the handle of a shield, and fastened with a double tube; handsome rosettes, necklaces, and collars. Male costume had improved in simplicity and convenience. The oriental habits, which their ancestors were thought to have borrowed from Asia Minor, were superseded, even among the Ionians, by Dorian customs and fashions. The admirer of an obsolete era, exhibiting himself with antique correctness in the nicely folded garment of white knotted linen, with sleeves reaching to the knuckles, and trimly curled locks gathered into bunches like grapes, or with the golden grasshopper of his forefathers adorning his head, was looked upon as an elderly prig or a tasteless fop, in the dandified days of Aristophanes. Yet in processions nothing could well exceed the elegance and propriety of their official vestments, when the elders swept majestically along in their robes of snow, attended by their youthful descendants in the cheerfulness of their yellow array. Democracy could seldom appear more attractive.

Solon had laid it down as the fundamental principle of his constitution, that the supreme power resides with the whole community; from which followed as a ne-

cessary consequence the total abolition of villenage, or bondage to the soil, and the participation of all free citizens in the government. These last were divided, as we have already seen, into four classes; the distinctions between which, being founded on a valuation of their property, will help to illustrate an important element in Athenian society. The first class drew from their estates an annual return of five hundred measures of dry and liquid produce,—corn and wine for example; the second included such as received three hundred, and could keep a war-horse, which also implied one for the groom, and a yoke or team for the plough,—hence they were sometimes called knights or horsemen; the third class, whose yearly produce was two hundred, or at least one hundred and fifty, were termed the Zeugitæ, from keeping a team of mules, draught-horses, or oxen; while the fourth comprehended all below the third valuation, and were styled the Thetes. The taxes were proportioned to the several degrees of this census; of which only the three first classes, according to Solon, were held competent to fill public offices: although a share in legislation and election fell to all the citizens without exception. No one, however, could be deemed a citizen unless born in lawful wedlock from a male and female citizen, and who had proved that he was so before a Phratia or religious community. Foreigners could contract no lawful marriages; although naturalisation was possible, either for them or illegitimate children, when sanctioned by the suffrages of six thousand citizens for their admission. The precise and narrow limits, therefore, within which the four favoured classes of citizens were circumscribed, gave rise to the Metœci or settlers, who, being aliens in their origin, had come to live at Athens, and could only enforce their rights before a court of justice through the intervention of a patron. These persons paid a certain impost for protection, the punctual discharge of which ensured them toleration; otherwise they fell into the condition of slaves, the basement and bulk of the population. In

numbers, there were more than nine out of every ten souls the positive property of private individuals, with the exception of a very few serfs belonging to the state. The democracies of antiquity were not mobs of levellers recognising no differences of condition; but on the contrary, the ranks of master and servant were only too distinct and dreadful. Slaves were acquired by capture, purchase, or generation; they could be tortured at any time, with the view of extorting legal evidence; nor might they receive education as free citizens. Yet Solon gave them the privilege of appealing against the tyranny of a cruel owner, by demanding to be sold to another. In his establishment of sanctuaries, he also secured them against momentary ill-treatment. Freedom might be bought for money, or received from the state as a present for services rendered to the community. The emancipated party then passed into the position of the settlers or sojourners; and the master by whom he had been discharged became his judicial patron or representative. In many respects matters were much the same at Sparta, allowing for national varieties.

Three classes of persons, divided by rigorous civic distinctions, constituted the population of Laconia: the Doric Heraclides congregated at Lacedæmon, who were the original conquerors; the Pericæci, or sojourners in the circumjacent towns, enjoying personal freedom, yet subject to the former; and the vanquished Helots, or slaves. These, however, more strictly speaking were serfs of the state rather than of the individual, to whom they belonged in common with certain portions of land; nor could they be sold out of the country even by the government. They were attached to the soil, from the produce of which they paid taxes, not, like the Lacedæmonians, to the state, but to their masters. Others fulfilled various of the humbler public employments. They also followed their lords to the wars as squires or attendants, waited on them at table, and served as common sailors in the fleet. Their primitive dress was the

fleece of a sheep, with a dogskin cap. Their hard lot subjected them to much cruelty; although it might be tempered through the possible prospect of emancipation, in case of their becoming foster-brothers to the young nobles; which now and then happened to a few fortunate ones among them. They had to till the nine thousand larger allotments of land which belonged to the genuine Spartan proprietorships, as arranged by Lycurgus; while the thirty thousand smaller portions were distributed among the Pericæci; yet these last, unassisted by mercenary or prædial labour, could often barely extract sufficient returns for themselves and their families, after payment of the tribute imposed by government under the denomination of rent. To preserve intact the original number of households was a grand object of legislation: leading to stringent laws of inheritance; involving some strange moral anomalies; and rendering heiresses, in particular circumstances, objects of the greatest solicitude. They conveyed to their husbands the possession of their hereditary estates; but the children of these marriages belonged to the houses not of the fathers, but of the mothers, being considered, in fact, as heirs of their maternal grandfathers. Where a parent neglected to indicate the kinsman who was to espouse his daughter, the selection fell to the crown; and, practically, the wardships of Lacedæmon grew into an important branch of the royal prerogative. The occasional instances of utter childlessness were provided for by various modes of adoption. Even children begotten by helots on women whose husbands had fallen in battle before they had fulfilled this duty of a citizen were recognised as heirs in default of other resources, in order that accumulative successions might be prevented. Yet one would imagine that property could scarcely have involved many attractions where community of goods was rather sought for than social or refined enjoyment. At the public tables every male Spartan dined; from the kings and ephors down to the boys

under seven years of age, who sat on stools at the feet of their fathers, and were whipt afterwards at the altars of Diana. Barley-bread, black broth, indigestible cheese, a little meal, some coarse flesh-meat, a few figs and dates, with the smallest possible quantity of wine mingled in the water, benches without cushions, and the absence of the gentler sex, must have altogether constituted a diurnal series of dismal banquets. Presents for a dessert were tolerated afterwards, when the names of the benevolent donors were announced; who might offer from any private stores of their own such articles as fish, game, poultry, lambs, fruits, and cakes. On such occasions, each child was allowed a barley-bun baked in oil. The conversations are said to have been grave and decorous; but they could hardly have been otherwise than dull and unintellectual amongst a people neither encouraging foreign travel, nor fostering general literature, nor permitting their inherent love of simplicity and beauty to take its natural course, and develop into the innumerable efflorescences of domestic or conventional civilisation.

Not but that the Lacedæmonian education had some redeeming features; such, for instance, as its reverence for old age, and the manner in which it enjoined filial obedience. Full-grown men always treated their mothers with respectful deference; nor should it be forgotten that, generally speaking, the feminine character at Sparta presented many masculine peculiarities. The young matrons followed the exercises of their consorts, to strengthen their physical frames; they suffered their weaker offspring to be examined by the state, which settled whether a sickly or deformed infant should be reared or destroyed; they abjured every enervating manifestation of maternal tenderness, and surrendered their children early to the severities of a patriotic discipline. The boys were betimes arranged into troops, commanded by their equals, yet looking upon every elder as a superior. They were at once marked out for military service from the very commencement. The

entire levy of the male population capable of bearing arms comprehended six divisions, led by as many polemarchs, each with four captains under him, commanding a battalion; besides which there was the proud band of the three hundred, acknowledging the more immediate orders of the kings. The battalions at first comprised one hundred soldiers, subdivided into larger and smaller companies of fifty and twenty-five; which divisions were retained, or at least similar ones, with increased strength, after the Laconian armies had become much more numerous than their primitive and original array of only two thousand citizens. They are supposed to have set the example of adopting military uniforms and martial music for other purposes than merely giving signals. Their armour, weapons, and tactics, might probably be identified with those which prevailed throughout Greece; allowing for local customs and the changes of fashion or time. A series of gymnastic training called into action the fullest muscular powers, with the cultivation of address, suppleness, flexibility, and energy. Good flute-players were always in high request; their melodies frequently converted the march of warriors into a sort of dance, approaching in gravity and stateliness those Pyrrhic measures which formed a mimic representation of battle, and which it was part of the duty of every Spartan boy to learn after his fifth year. It was an exercise of great antiquity: imitating the thrust of the sword, and the movement whereby it was parried; the discharge of the arrow from the bow, and the cautious defence against it; the hurl of the spear, and the mode of turning it aside. There were choral dances also, in which both sexes took a share; but that they practised the art of wrestling together, although asserted by several writers, may justly be doubted. Marriages began by a sort of forcible abduction; yet the violations of conjugal fidelity appear to have been exceedingly rare. Severe punishment ensued; and beyond all question the Dorians were chaster and less luxurious altogether than the Ionians. But having no written laws,

and the entire position of property being so anomalous, there is less known with regard to the Lacedæmonians, as to the details of their criminal and civil courts, their fiscal and commercial economy, or the intricacies of their private and public finances, than in the case of their more illustrious rivals.

The Athenians, on the other hand, present us with some curious historical lights on these subjects. Bearing in mind the smallness of their territories, the changes through which their commonwealth ascended and descended, as it passed beneath its various political phases, it stands out as a phenomenon which can never fail to be interesting to all students in all ages. The vast Pelasgic walls of its citadel still astonish the stranger, when he perceives how barbarism has been suffered for ages to attempt their destruction. Exclusive of these, the capital of Attica was defended by enormous fortifications; of which the two harbours of the Piræus and Munychia were the strong points. They lay surrounded by ramparts six miles in circumference, sixty hellenic feet in altitude, and broad enough at the top for two carriages to drive upon them abreast. Such defences implied considerable commerce; which, though often despised by the free citizens, yet received favour from the state, and was subject to very few annoyances. Arms, metallic wares, woollen fabrics, lamps, utensils of all sorts, leathern articles, peltry, and oriental luxuries were required for consumption; consequently goods had to be procured for the necessary exchange; for though restrictions on trade with the view of encouraging domestic manufactures and industry were unknown, there were some monopolies and prohibitions on the exportation of corn and naval stores in time of war. Money was treated as merchandise; so that there were no usury-laws. Credit, with its great general principles, seems to have been thoroughly understood. Promissory notes came into use; and the treasury even knew how to anticipate future revenue by the issue of what we should call exchequer-bills. The gold coinage in cir-

ulation was principally derived from Persia or Cyzicus; the Attic stater or chrysus being equal in weight to two silver drachmas, and in value to twenty. This silver drachma formed the standard of currency, varying very little from the age of Solon to that of the Peloponnesian war; its ascertained weight being sixty-six-and-a-half English grains, and its value in denomination as nearly a franc as possible. The obol was worth about three-halfpence; one hundred drachmas went to the mina; and rather more than six thousand to the talent, =243*l.* 15*s.* The purchasing power of all these of course varied with the prices of corn and labour, as well as some other necessaries of life. Under Peisistratus corn came to be reckoned at one drachma for the medimnus, equal to about six-and-eightpence the quarter; a drachma was also then the price of a sheep, as well as the daily expense of a heavy-armed soldier. An ox would fetch five times that sum in the Athenian market. Comparing these items with similar ones at different and later periods, we may perhaps acquiesce with fairness in a conclusion, that in the days of Darius Hystaspes a talent was about equivalent to 2000*l.* of our money, in the time of Pericles to 1000*l.*, in that of Alexander the Great to 200*l.* During the Athenian supremacy of three-quarters of a century, pecuniary investments were arranged with most legal and cautious precision. Mortgages of houses and lands had just the same characteristics that they have now amongst ourselves; agricultural securities seem to have been preferred; the rule prevailed that the security should be twice the value of the loan, upon which a monthly interest of one per cent was payable. Money was also advanced upon merchandise; on which the usury varied from twenty to fifty per cent per annum, according to the circumstances of the risk, or the general arrangement; for if a cargo was lost, the lender could not call for repayment. Sometimes the cash was only advanced for the outward voyage, or only upon the homeward, or upon both, as the case might be; the entire agreement being

managed by bankers; who, by the way, allowed a small dividend upon the deposits of their customers. The *deigma*, or grand market, where commodities were exposed for sale, appears to have been always crowded by foreigners. Retailers, or middle-men, acting between the growers and consumers, formed a numerous and powerful body; indicating both the extent and complication of commercial transactions.

Athenian imports came under the three heads of Egypt, India, Persia, and portions of the Levant; Marseilles, the south of France, with the whole coast now included in the Gulf of Lyons; the Egean, Hellespont, Propontis, and Euxine, comprehending Thrace, Macedonia, and the islands. From the first, a swarm of traders brought ivory, gold, gums, perfumes, spices, linens, cottons, apes, peacocks, negroes for footmen, and corn. Rhodes was a sort of staple or half-way port between Egypt and Greece, to say nothing of the north; so that the great mercantile houses of Athens had generally a partner or agent there. From Marseilles and the western Mediterranean were sent the productions of Italy, Sicily, and Spain, as also those of Carthage and Mauritania, particularly wheat and minerals, of which last probably the tin came from Cornwall or the Cassiterides. The Black Sea ports were most important, as we may gather from the high estimate attached to the transit-duties of the Hellespont. All kinds of raw material passed down the Dardanelles,—lumber and timber, spars, pitch, tar, and flax for cordage, under the title of naval stores; oats, barley, coarse cloths, slaves, and dried sturgeons from the *Palus Mæotis*,—and the mouths of the long rivers. Athenian exports comprehended a thousand miscellanies of art,—statues, exquisitely painted terracotta vases, honey, fruits, wines, oils, and marbles. Attica, in fact, furnished purveyors for the civilised world, creating all manner of artificial wants among mankind, and opening fresh sources for her own prosperity in satisfying them. But as the profits of commerce resembled a lottery in their uncertainty, provident parents, in marry-

ing their daughters to rich merchants, took care that any real property settled should not be liable to the chances of traffic, nor to the debts of their husbands. Such was the singular basis upon which the splendours of Athens rested,—a combination of industry and ingenuity, refinement and enterprise, prudence and energy. The entire circumference of the metropolis was sixteen miles at its largest extent; including the docks and arsenals, the markets, theatres, gymnasia, courts of justice, and countless temples, of which the Parthenon alone enclosed a forest of pillars thirty-three feet high. The cost of building the propylæum was half a million sterling: yet so great was the opulence of the treasury under Pericles, that he was able to erect edifices at an expense of 1000 talents each. An unbounded admiration for spectacles and august festivals, of which the Athenians had twice as many as the other Hellenes; the banquets connected with the sacrifices, to which hunger and destitution clamorously thronged; an injurious system of poor-laws, involving profuse distributions of food and money among the myriad individuals of a hydra-headed democracy; the salaries given to the judges in the partition of confiscated property,—these, and other causes, at last undermined the fabric of the constitution, until it dissolved like a glorious vision amidst the external storms which assailed it. There could have been no satisfactory police in Attica; as we may infer from the frequency of personal violence. Legal subtleties multiplied beyond toleration. Lawsuits rivalled our Chancery experience in their protracted durability. Jurors and judges were identical: no distinction practically existed between law and equity; the courts of appeal got choked with accumulated business from the tributary states and colonies; while the four principal tribunals of ordinary jurisprudence, together with those at the Piræus for commercial purposes, degenerated into just so many sinks of iniquity. There were few actual mendicants at Athens, simply because there were so many masters. In times of general distress, public

subscriptions were made for the poor; as also, when pestilence prevailed, there were infirmaries opened: nor were actual benefit-clubs, after a certain fashion, unknown in Attica.

The chief source of public revenue arose through the contributions exacted from the dependent allies, as they were rather too softly termed. Aristides had settled these at 460 talents annually, which amount Pericles raised to 600; Alcibiades to 900; until it swelled in the course of the Peloponnesian contest to 1200, equivalent to about 1,200,000*l.* It had become gradually transmuted from a particular quota of ships and money into a regular five-per-cent property-tax, and may have risen now and then over 1,300,000*l.* sterling, perhaps including the expenses of its collection. Then there were the customs and an excise: the former levied at the rate of one, and afterwards of two per cent on the declared value of the imports and exports at the three harbours of Attica; added to which were the port-dues, generally amounting to another one per cent *ad valorem*. The excise was taken at the gates of the markets, and was extended, in the shape of a five-per-cent toll, so as to incide upon the exports and imports of all the allied cities and colonies. At Byzantium it was wantonly doubled to ten per cent. Most of these imports were farmed out to companies, who bid for them at an auction under the white poplar-tree at Athens. We may notice in passing, that joint-stock associations, for various objects, were no mysteries to Xenophon and his ingenious contemporaries. Then there were the judicial fines and fees; as to which some idea may be formed when it is mentioned, that to enter a common cause for hearing cost sixty drachmas to begin with! Then there was the alien tax, paid by the Metœci, or sojourners, for their protection, at the rate of ten or twelve drachmas per annum for men, and six for those foreign women who had no children; which Böckh calculates as having been worth about twenty-one talents a year. Then there were the proceeds of

the noble marble-quarries at Hymettus and Pentyle, and the silver mines of Laurium; as to which the state sold the right of working them either to individuals or societies, reserving a twenty-fourth part of the produce in addition to the purchase-money. Then, beside all these, there remained the rents of national property, both sacred and secular, attached to the temples and corporations, such as pastures, forests, arable lands, houses, salt-works, and fisheries in the lakes or rivers; also the liturgies, or compulsory subscriptions towards festive entertainments, the poll-tax on slaves and courtesans, tithes, fines, escheats, confiscations, forced contributions for something like ship-money, with a supplemental income-tax; the two last only levied on very great emergencies. In one word, the total revenues on which the republic might rely in the year 422 B.C., after the fall of Brasidas and Cleon at Amphipolis, are stated at about 2000 talents; equivalent to the resources of the British crown under James II. The gross rental of real property throughout Attica is mentioned by Demosthenes at 6000 talents per annum; by Polybius at 5725; the difference possibly representing the expenses of collection. It is a large amount for such narrow territories, and affords us high ideas of the wealth and civilisation to which Athens must then have attained.

Out of the general income of the government, the latter had to support the Theoricon, or public admittance of the poor to the theatre, which was given to each free citizen whose name was on the national roll, together with a good dinner on the grander festivals. Then came the payments to the judges, advocates, ambassadors, senators, ecclesiasts or jurors, dramatists, actors, and poets, in fact the entire civil service, including the financial and religious authorities. On the public buildings Pericles expended enormous sums, apparently out of all due proportion to the public means. But the people were to be gratified at any rate; and to please them still further, he not only invaded the privileges

of the Areopagus, but he introduced the practice of paying soldiers taken out of the ranks of pretended patriots. Two obols a day were allowed the heavy-armed warrior for his service, with two more for his subsistence; but the horsemen received thrice these sums. The pay of the sea-service fluctuated, but was never so low as that of the land-service. No blackmail was ever extracted from an enemy, or the country which might be the seat of war. Every article used was paid for, under an apprehension that the contrary system would be in the long-run more perilous to public tranquillity; nor can it be denied that the Athenians were right. Weapons, machinery, and all connected with the material of warfare, occasioned a continual drain upon the treasury. The varying numbers of the archer-guard, usually denominated the Scythians, enlisted from the slaves, cost about thirty-eight talents per annum, and had to preserve the peace as armed constables; a duty, from their peculiar position and condition, of the greatest delicacy. The seamen, in time of peace, absorbed no more than sixteen, and the cavalry forty talents per annum; but the war-estimates were wonderful. On occasions Athens maintained in the field 40,000 men, besides several hundred large vessels of the most important class, with sailors and marines in proportion. Her ordinary forces were 100 ships, about 10,000 infantry, and horsemen varying from 1000 to 1200; but the army, itself mainly composed of citizens, seemed disqualified by its democratical constitution from becoming a standing one. The term of service was from twenty to sixty years of age, as at Sparta; and the union of civil and military life was equally striking. Before the Macedonian age, the mode of arming amongst almost all the Hellenes was nearly similar. In the presence of an enemy the highest in command was the archon king; then the archon polemarch; and lastly the ten generals, selected from the tribes, headed by a leader nominated from the people. As a reward for the

courage and constancy displayed in the Persian contest, Aristides unfortunately obtained that the Thetes, or fourth class of the census, should be eligible to almost all public offices; whilst he also abolished the exclusive claim to the archonship on the part of the first class, which until then had prevailed; so that the camp was little else than the republic itself under leathern tents instead of solid houses, within a square rampart of earth instead of the long walls, and with its sword drawn for attack in the field instead of being peaceably in its sheath at the agora. Its principal power, however, rested upon the navy, with its regular triremes, or fast-sailing line-of-battle ships, with its well-adjusted crew of marines, rowers, and sailors; the first being to the last in a proportion of five to two. The oars were kept in time by the sound of a hammer or pipe. In naval actions the main object was to get the wind, or break the line of an adversary, or bear down upon him obliquely, so as to crush his tackle at once, and board him before he could recover from the shock of the collision.

Athenian morals began materially to suffer when so many mariners, naturally without self-control, found their way into the popular assemblies. The institutions of Solon had aimed at virtue according to the knowledge he enjoyed; and chaste manners were considered essential, not only for various religious rites, but also for many civil offices. Adultery incurred dire disgrace, with tremendous punishment besides, almost at the will of the injured husband. Temperance was enjoined from the commencement of life. At an early age the youth were committed to the care of two masters; one for bodily, and the other for mental exercises. In general they learned to read, and often to write, besides arithmetic, and committing to memory large passages from the greatest poets, in praise of the gods, ancient heroes, or their own ancestors. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were in the mouths and minds of most persons. Common elementary lessons were given in sand; scribes formed a separate profession by themselves; and books were

so reasonable in price, that the entire works of Anaxagoras could be purchased for a drachma, or a bushel of corn. The professor of music appeared as soon as possible; his object being not merely to teach an elegant accomplishment, but the cultivation of moral sentiments by means of melody and measure. With the Athenians, their impressions became so many fervid impulses. Their mind presented an alembic, in which rhythm and modulation were infused into their very intellectual existence; so that, if we may say so, harmony was the soul of their mental chemistry, as it was thought to be of all intelligence. The lyre was preferred to the flute, as being a more graceful instrument; in which apparently slight particular one sees the Ionian characteristic as opposed to the Dorian. The chase, gymnastic exercises, and last, though not least, philosophical discussions, occupied certain proportions of the day. There was a prevalent endeavour to please amongst all ranks and classes: connected as, no doubt, this attractive trait of temper was with egregious vanity, degenerating at length into insolence and domineering tyranny. In one word, the lords of Attica lived on the best possible terms with themselves; amiable so long as they might be unruffled. They possessed greater acuteness, elegance, wit, genius, and literary enlargement, than the Lacedæmonians; but the latter had greater strength, though less idealism; deeper principles, though less poetry; more tenacious attachment to their national system, though with less intellectual appreciations. Athenian women had the worst lot comparatively; when they grew up guarded by bolts and bars, in a seclusion almost equal to that of an oriental harem. Their youth passed away in the useful yet somewhat menial occupations of spinning, weaving, baking bread, and managing the slaves. The household was the threshold of a forbidden world to an honourable matron, forced into an early marriage, and debarred from every species of educational improvement. Her highest distinction in society was to be

absolutely unobserved. Maidens never went abroad except with the greatest solemnity on grand festivals, when they walked in procession, looking upon the ground, the visible models of virtue and decorum. Their hearth and home must have literally been to them either a heaven or a hell upon earth; and more probably the former, from the pure development of the domestic affections incidental to a retired life at once so guarded as theirs, and connected with so much inviolable respect for their personal dignity, their civil rights, and their religious holidays. There was a class of females, as is well known, combining matchless charms of person and conversation, at Athens, and even influencing the fortunes of the commonwealth through their power over its popular leaders, yet ungraced by chastity, and unrespected by the laws. Their most alluring enchantments, however adorned by intellectual cultivation, or natural advantages, or gentleness of temper, secured them nothing but transient pleasure or fortune, with names of infamous celebrity. Yet, in fact, when they culminated, their country declined;—its grandeur was approaching its horizon, so far as political ascendancy might be concerned; as if to furnish history with another illustration, that for the strength of a people to be permanent, it must repose on no other foundations than its moral virtues.

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## CHAPTER V.

Sketch of Hebrew history, particularly from the age of Moses to the period of the Machabees ; with a brief account of the Jewish religion, manners, and customs.

WE turn now, from the survey of a civilisation merely intellectual and secular, to the history of a nation declared to be the people of Almighty God ; to whom He imparted a divine revelation of Himself, and whom He condescended to elevate to the rank and dignity of His Church under the Old-Testament dispensation. The garden of Eden was supposed by several of the ancients to have been a paradise of instruction as well as pleasure ; presenting in embryo some shadows even of the Sacraments themselves, or at all events of that scheme of redemption which would restore to the descendants of the first Adam what their progenitors had lost. The patriarchal system, beyond a doubt, had its types and sacrifices preserved in the line of Seth to Noe and his posterity. They handed it down through Sem, Arphaxad, Heber, Phaleg, and others, to Abraham, conducted out of Ur among the Chaldees into the land of Chanaan. The father of the faithful would appear to have been born B.C. 2155 ; about which period, we may infer from the book of Job that there existed a full recognition of one religious authority, to which men believing in the true God felt themselves to be amenable, and from which any departure or lapse into idolatry constituted a judicial offence ; that the providential government of the Almighty was carried on by a heavenly hierarchy ; that one Creator had made all things ; but that there had been a defection or apostasy of some of His creatures, thus explaining the apparition and existence of sin and evil in His once perfect universe ;

that the offerings of particular oblations were propitiatory; that angels and holy persons might be in a certain sense intermediate intercessors with the Most High; and that as He now superintended and ruled over the whole world, so He would one day judge mankind, after their resurrection. Belief in the great Redeemer was also solemnly announced; and Abraham, as the favoured friend of Jehovah, foresaw the atonement of Christ, in which he must have solaced himself amidst the weariness of his pilgrimage. The promise was given him that his children should come out of Egypt with a high hand, and settle in those very territories, of which only a sepulchre was to be his personal portion. Accordingly, when four hundred and thirty years had passed from the date of this intimation, B.C. 2080-1650, there occurred the marvellous exodus of the Israelites; multiplied, as they now were, from the seventy-five souls with whom Jacob and Joseph had addressed Pharaoh, into 600,000 warriors, besides their wives and offspring. After a sojourn in the land of Gessen for little more than a century, the Royal Shepherds had reinstated their dynasty on the banks of the Nile, in no way disposed to recognise the claims of the Hebrews; occupying, as they did, a territory or nome which the invaders looked upon as most peculiarly their own, their ancestors having been expelled from it about fifteen years prior to the arrival of Joseph in Egypt. The Israelites, therefore, had to endure the hardest bondage in those horrible brick-kilns, where the materials were prepared for the public edifices of Memphis and other splendid cities. The more, however, they were oppressed and persecuted, the faster they increased; until a cruel edict for the massacre of their infants led to the rescue of one of them by the daughter of Pharaoh, who discovered among the flags an ark of bulrushes, in which a lovely babe appealed to her compassion with its tears. This was Moses, destined to become the meek and yet mighty man of God, the legislator and deliverer of his people. Exchanging for their sake the delicacies of a court for

the wildernesses of Madian, he there received, as he was feeding the flocks of his father-in-law Jethro, a divine commission from the angel of the Lord, who appeared to him in the burning bush, and appointed him to his exalted office. For forty years, with the assistance of his elder brother Aaron, he braved the rage of tyranny in palaces, the dullness of his own nation crushed under its terrible task-work, and the malice of the old serpent as manifested among the magicians of the Mesraim. Waters were turned into blood; frogs, lice, and flies, scourged the unhappy country; the flocks and herds failed in the forsaken fields; boils and blains broke out upon man and beast; thunder, hail, and lightning, roared, and fell, and flashed in the rear of murrain and universal malady; locusts destroyed what the tempest had spared; a horror of great darkness wrapt every quarter, except that of the children of Israel, in an awful pall of alarm and panic for three days; until the final plagne smote down every first-born, from the throne of the sovereign to the hovel of the slave and the captive in the dungeon, and not a house existed where the death-wail was unknown unless it had been solemnly consecrated by the Paschal Lamb of the Lord. Jannes and Mambres then acknowledged openly, as they had before done secretly, that their sorceries were futile; whilst, at the request of all Egypt, Moses and his people withdrew in triumph, and laden with spoils, from the scene of their bitter bondage; encamping over against Pihahiroth, between Magdal and Beelsephon. Thither the last of the Royal Shepherds destined to reign over the valley of the Nile madly followed; the waves of the Red Sea, miraculously divided for the Hebrews, overwhelmed their pursuers. Egypt recovered her independence, and once more expelled the Cuthites from her coasts; many of these last poured themselves into Palestine, to fill up the crimes of that land, where, in another generation, divine wrath again visited them in the punishment of their posterity by Josue; and the victims of their recent malice, safe on the opposite shore,

sang canticles of praise to the Almighty, who had led them so gloriously to their deliverance by the hands of Moses and Aaron. The emigration of the Danaides into Greece occurred about ninety years after the exodus.

During the forty years of penal wandering expended by the Abrahamides in Arabia, the divine legation of their lawgiver was fully and wonderfully developed. He had an enormous host to deal with, whose spirit had been at once corrupted and broken by their protracted slavery in a heathen, licentious, and superstitious country. They were full of murmurs and ingratitude: not less fickle than they were conceited; gasping for marvels, yet strangely unaffected by them when they so often occurred; but believing in the one true God, who had remembered His promise to their fathers. The sandy desert, in which they were so justly condemned for their perverseness and obstinacy to fulfil their temporal penance, stretched nearly two hundred leagues in extent along the borders of Africa towards the mouth of the Euphrates. From the granite summits of Horeb the Decalogue was promulgated, amidst scenery and circumstances which enabled them to realise almost the catastrophe of the Last Day; so fearful were the storm and earthquake, the thunders, the darkness made visible by lurid fires, and the voice of a supernatural trumpet reverberating long and loud, as an Omnipotent Presence touched and melted the mountains. It was there that Moses ascended to his mysterious converse with the Most High; to his fast of forty days and nights; his mediation for the apostasy of an impatient people rushing already into idolatry in the plains below; his ratification of a covenant and reception of a ritual which were subsequently to expand into the more perfect Church of Christianity; and the sanction afforded by Heaven to the enigmatical character of his system, as shown by the veil which had to be thrown over the glory of his countenance, when the Israelites could not steadfastly behold it through the brightness of its effulgence. In fact, the whole progress of the people from Egypt to Cha-

naan seemed to typify the transit of the Church of God from earth to heaven; from its state of bondage and persecution in the world, to that of its glorification as the New Jerusalem. Its warfare and certain triumph; its necessary exclusiveness with regard to the slightest sin or error; its passage through the Red Sea of martyrdom, or the Jordan of death; its baptism in the cloud; its spiritual drink, flowing from the spiritual rock; its manna, which was the food of angels; the precious wood of the tree, sweetening the fountains of Marah; the singular idiosyncrasies of its enemies; the plague of the fiery serpents and its efficacious remedy; together with the entire service of the Tabernacle and its accessories;—all and each accumulate before us the various features of a consistent analogy. There can scarcely be an escape from this conclusion in any truly candid mind: nor will further consideration fail to confirm it, as we proceed to sketch in greater detail a few of the principal lineaments connected with Judaism. We shall just call momentary attention to the Tabernacle, which grew subsequently into the Temple; to the high-priesthood and hierarchy in general; to the numerous sacrifices and propitiations; to some of the leading doctrines associated with the chair of Moses; to several miscellaneous customs, facts, and circumstances, which cannot be satisfactorily separated from it; and finally, to the outlines of Jewish history from the times of the Judges and later sovereigns down to those of the immortal Machabees.

Mention is made in the Holy Scriptures of three distinct tabernacles previous to the erection of the Temple at Jerusalem: the first, that of the congregation, which Moses constructed for himself, that he might have a suitable place to give audiences in, hear causes, inquire of Almighty God with respect to difficult questions, and perhaps solemnise some offices of religion. The second was that which was set up expressly for Jehovah, to be the palace of His Presence, and the medium of the most solemn public worship

according to the Sinaitic ritual. The third was that subsequently prepared by David for the reception of the ark, when he received it from the house of Obededom. The inspired legislator was directed to make an oblong tent thirty cubits in length and ten in height and breadth. It was formed of forty-eight prepared leaves or planks of setim-wood, each a cubit-and-half wide and ten cubits high, let into one another by a couple of tenons or mortises above and below, and compacted together by bars running from one end to the other. The holy place occupied two-thirds of this movable edifice; the holy of holies the other third. Within the former stood the altar of incense, overlaid with gold; a table with the loaves of proposition, twelve in number; and the great candlestick of pure gold with its seven branches. Within the latter was the ark of the covenant, overlaid with gold, in which were the tables of the ten commandments, a vessel full of manna, and the famous rod of Aaron which had budded. The lid of the ark was of solid gold, and was called the mercy-seat; at the two ends of which were the golden cherubim, looking inwards and towards each other, with their wings expanded, embracing the whole circumference, and meeting on each side in the middle. Here the Shechinah or Divine Presence rested in the appearance of a luminous cloud; whence the heavenly oracles were sometimes imparted with an audible voice to the high-priest on important occasions. The roof of the tabernacle was a square framework of boards covered with curtains of fine embroidered linen, presenting to the eye various brilliant colours of crimson and scarlet, purple and hyacinth. Over these were laid wrappers of goats'-hair curiously woven; whilst the outside covering of all was a texture of sheep and badger-skins, dyed red and azure, to protect the entire pavilion from the weather. A most beautiful veil separated the holy of holies from the holy place. Round about the tabernacle was an oblong court, a hundred cubits by fifty in extent, encompassed with

silver-gilt pillars upon brazen pedestals. Ten of them were to the west, six to the east, with the spaces of four more for an entrance, twenty to the north, and twenty to the south, at five cubits' distance from each other. This splendid colonnade supported the curtains of enclosure, made of twined linen thread after the manner of net-work; which surrounded the tabernacle on all sides except at the entrance of the court, which was decorated with a magnificent festoon formed out of far richer materials. In this court stood the brazen laver, where the priests washed their hands and feet whenever they were to offer sacrifices or go into the tabernacle; directly opposite to the entrance of which was the brazen altar of burnt-offerings, in the open air, whereon fire was kept perpetually burning, and where the smoke arising from the victims consumed could produce neither injury nor inconvenience. Under Solomon, all these outlines of grandeur and solemnity were developed into his matchless temple on Mount Moriah; upon a scale of dimensions, and with a display of oriental glory, still better suited to the Mosaic economy and worship. The holy of holies typified heaven itself; and furnished, with its august associations, not a few illustrative features for the ineffable visions of the Apocalypse, as revealed to the apostle at Patmos.

It could alone be entered once a year by the high-priest or supreme pontiff,—nor even then without blood,—on the great day of atonement. To him was confided the administration of religion without appeal; he was the final arbiter of all controversies, president of the sacred council or sanhedrim, and latterly a secular sovereign as well as the chief spiritual pastor to his people. Aaron was the first appointed; and to his family the dignity was confined. There were four sacred symbols peculiar to himself, as representing in his own person a peculiar nation, consecrated to the service of Almighty God: a robe of blue wool, with its seventy-two golden bells and pomegranates; the purple ephod of fine twisted linen; the breastplate of judgment, with the names of

the twelve tribes engraved upon as many precious jewels, and containing the Urim and Thummim; and lastly, the crown of the tiara, on which was inscribed "Holiness to the Lord." From the same family also were selected the priests, who served immediately at the altar, offered the sacrifices, maintained the perpetual fire, attended the lamps of the sanctuary, kneaded, baked, and offered the loaves of proposition on the golden altar, and changed them on each successive Sabbath. They were divided by David and Solomon into twenty-four courses, with a prince or prefect over every class. Their genealogies had to be unimpeachable, their bodies free from every conceivable defect, and their lives without stain of impurity. One of their four sacerdotal vestments was a linen tunic, reaching down to the ankles, fitting closely to the person, with sleeves, but without seam, and woven from the top throughout. They were waited upon by the Levites, the entire tribe of that name; whose principal business was to take down and put up the tabernacle in the wilderness, bear its various compartments and furniture upon their shoulders when the host moved, and afterwards, at Jerusalem, to serve in killing and flaying the victims, carrying on the musical and other services of the Temple; or when not in attendance there, to instruct the people in the knowledge of the law, keep the public records, watch over the general interests of the treasury, and assist in the affairs of the state as well as the Church throughout the country. Their three orders were those of the Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites; which were subsequently somewhat differently arranged, through their division by king David into four classes. The Nethenims were the descendants of the ancient Gibeonites, sentenced to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. Forty-eight cities in Chanaan received the distinction of belonging to the tribe of Levi, out of which thirteen were sacerdotal. At the most flourishing period the entire numbers of their inhabitants were eight-and-thirty thousand male adults; of which a thousand

fulfilled their services at the Temple every week in rotation, four thousand acted as singers, and six thousand more as judges, magistrates, and civil officers. They received and managed the tithes of corn, fruit, wine, and cattle; so that the practical administration of matters remained very much in their hands.

The sacrifices were most interesting, and of various kinds, connected as to the sacred act of oblation with the priesthood only. Those of which the blood was shed may be classified under the heads of burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, sin-offerings, and trespass-offerings; besides those other fire-sacrifices, which were national, regular, diurnal, weekly, monthly, and annual. Then there were the unbloody sacrifices, taken solely from the vegetable kingdom, consisting of meal, bread, cakes, ears of corn, and parched grain, with oil and frankincense, prepared according to the divine command. They were to be free from leaven or honey, but salted freely with pure salt or saltpetre. The drink-offerings formed an accompaniment to both the bloody and unbloody sacrifices; consisting of wine partly poured upon the brow of the victim to consecrate it, and partly allotted to the priests, who drank it with their sacrificial portions. Then there were the ordinary oblations; such as the loaves of proposition, the incense offered twice a-day, during which the people prayed in profound silence, as also on the great day of expiation, when the high-priest officiated in person. The voluntary or free oblations were offered at will by individuals for the service of the Temple—of wood, grapes, or any other article; or the vow of engagement, when parties undertook any particular abstinence or mortification. The prescribed oblations were the first-fruits or tithes, such as Abraham gave to the king of Salem, Melchizedech, who was also priest of the most high God, offering up as he met the patriarch bread and wine. Thus early was the grand and unbloody sacrifice of the Blessed Eucharist prefigured in that mysterious character, after whom the future Redeemer was to assume His pontificate for ever as the

sumed by him. On his decease, B.C. 106, his son Aristobulus violated this custom.

John Hyrcanus, towards the conclusion of his career, espoused in a political sense the sect of the Sadducees. These were the disciples of Sadok, the pupil of Antigonus Sochæus, the president of the Sanhedrim, who flourished about B.C. 260. Whatever might have been the tenets of the master, his scholars degenerated into infidelity, more or less; for they latterly impugned the doctrine of a resurrection, the existence of angels or spirits, and the certainty of future rewards or punishments. In other respects they were, like the Samaritans, slaves to private judgment, and abhorers of oral tradition. Few in numbers, they conformed when in high office to the policy of their stout opponents the Pharisees, who were far more active and numerous than themselves. These celebrated separatists,—for that word constitutes a correct translation of their name,—fully recognised a divine Providence; contending that Almighty God was nevertheless pledged to bless the Jews, and make them all partakers of the terrestrial kingdom of the Messiah; bound also to make them eternally happy as the faithful children of Abraham, and not even at liberty to condemn any one of them, through the merits of that patriarch, their practice of circumcision as well as the Sinaitic ritual, their oblation of sacrifices, and their own good works; these matters altogether forming the efficacious causes of their justification. Their ideas of the immortality of the soul scarcely went beyond the absurdities of the Pythagorean metempsychosis; but their pretended strictness of conduct told with the multitude, although in reality it was based upon consummate hypocrisy, beneath the influence of which interior religion insidiously evaporated in mere external observances. Tradition itself, the point upon which their orthodoxy might appear the least impeachable, became under their hands, in no slight degree, an affair of partisanship; since their professed allegiance to central authority failed to con-

trol their private preferences, when a pontiff was to be opposed, or any particular purpose agitated. They knew their influence over the populace; and exercised it against Hyrcanus and his successors with ruinous results. A far more interesting sect were the Essenes, divided into two classes: the practical, who lived in secular society, yet with much circumspection; and the contemplative, who in many respects were like the ascetics of a later and more enlightened age. Both classes were exceedingly abstemious, exemplary in their moral deportment, and rigid in religious observances. The contemplatives are thought never to have married; but devoting themselves altogether to meditation, they avoided cities, and buried themselves in rural retirement. Sometimes they were called *Therapeutæ* or physicians, from their absorbing application to spiritual diseases; and although they denied the resurrection of the body, they believed in the immortality of the soul, as also in the existence of angels, and a world of retribution hereafter. Their sect seems to have comprised both sexes; nor can there be a doubt but that under the Machabees there existed communities of sacred virgins, living as Christian nuns came afterwards to do, or at least in some system analogous to the holy seclusion of the cloister, only apart from the obligation of vows.

Judaism had become diffused by this time throughout most of the larger cities on the shores of the Mediterranean, yet no where more than at Alexandria. One consequence was the prevalence of a somewhat purer notion of Divine Providence even among the Gentiles. Some of these enrolled themselves as members of the Jewish Church, participated in its worship, and regulated their lives by the laws and institutions of Moses. There were two sorts of such proselytes, namely, those of the gate, as they were called, who believed in the true God, and observed the seven precepts of Noe; and those of justice, who were genuine converts, formally admitted by circumcision, baptism, and the oblation of

sacrifice. The dispersion connected with the captivity also multiplied them throughout the various provinces of Assyria and the east, as well as in Greece, Italy, and Asia Minor. In the latter countries they spoke almost exclusively the Greek language, and were termed Hellenists; receiving, however, all the doctrines of the ancient revelation, including the resurrection, the intercession of saints, and an intermediate state of purgatorial purification. In Egypt, as already hinted, the Jews constituted an important portion of the population. Ptolemy Lagus, the natural brother of Alexander the Great, carried home with him to the nomes of the Nile 100,000 captives from Jerusalem and Judæa, upon whom afterwards he not only conferred innumerable favours, but extended his patronage to their native pontiffs on Mount Sion. His wise and liberal policy permanently added to his dominions Cyprus, Arabia, Libya, and Ethiopia. Beneath his auspices the high-priest Simon the Just, B.C. 300-291, repaired and fortified the sacred city with its temple, illustrating the inspired eulogy of Ecclesiasticus; besides revising the canon of the Old Testament; of which, under his son Eleazar, a translation was commenced by the seventy interpreters, called the Septuagint version, at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus, B.C. 278. The tribes of Israel, therefore, held an increasingly influential position, particularly in the flourishing metropolis of the Macedonian conqueror, although in many cases no longer able to prove their distinct genealogies. When Onias the Third had been deposed from his pontificate by Epiphanes, he remained at Antioch, the favourite capital of the Seleucides, hoping for a restoration to his dignity; especially when Jason the usurper had been driven by his Syrian masters into the territories of the Ammonites. Menelaus, however, another pretender, endeavoured to purchase the office by an offer sufficiently tempting in its amount to the satrap Andronicus; who, corrupted by this horrible simony, allured Onias into his power, and cruelly murdered him, B.C. 170.

His death excited so profound an indignation, not less among the heathen than his own countrymen, that the assassin was stript of his purple robes, and publicly executed by royal order upon the spot where he had perpetrated his crime. The soul of the departed pontiff afterwards appeared to Judas Machabæus, presenting him with a sword, accompanied by the prophet Jeremias; but his son, Onias the Fourth, failed in realising his primogenitural claim upon the inheritance of Aaron; and perceiving that the Asamonean family succeeded in founding their dynasty at Jerusalem, he withdrew to Ptolemy Philometer, from whom he obtained permission to erect another temple for Jehovah in the prefecture of Heliopolis, B.C. 150. It was built on the model of that of Solomon, though not so large or magnificent; and was called after the name of its founder, who consecrated priests and levites, and carried out the Mosaic ritual in its ceremonial completeness. The tower was of noble altitude; the altars presented a perfect resemblance to their original pattern; gifts and precious offerings poured in from every quarter; the Egyptian monarch endowed it with ample lands and revenues, probably that it might operate as a counterpoise to the patronage of the Seleucides in Palestine; only, instead of the candlestick of the sanctuary with its seven mystic branches, a golden lamp of gorgeous splendour, suspended from the roof by a chain of costly material and workmanship, illuminated the solemn recesses of the Onion. Its circumference exhibited a lofty wall of massive brick, with portals of ponderous stone. The Jews of Judæa looked upon its prosperity perhaps with natural jealousy; yet we may observe, that Chelkias and Ananias, the two sons of Onias the Fourth, intermarried with their more fortunate rivals, whilst they filled the highest posts of honour in Egypt, and rendered their entire nation immense services during the reign at Jerusalem of Alexander Jannæus. On one occasion, less than forty years later, an enormous proportion of those connected with the old temple took

refuge from the confusion of the period, and seem to have celebrated the Passover with the Hellenists at the Onion. It is not a little singular, that, just fifteen centuries after the exodus, the descendants of Moses and Aaron should have become so potential and popular in their former land of bondage; nor can we fail to recognise and admire the wonders of that superintending Providence, which thus secured in a learned language, spoken throughout the civilised world, the scriptural canon in its fullest amplitude, sanctioned by the hereditary representatives of the Sinaitic pontificate; whilst still later, an asylum was thereby offered in the same territories to the Blessed Virgin Mother of the Incarnate Word, when compelled to flee for safety from the infanticide and persecutions of an infatuated successor to the Machabees.

## CHAPTER VI.

Sketch of Roman history—The regal and consular periods down to the Punic wars, and the reduction of Macedonia and Greece to the form of provinces.

OUR attention must now be directed to that vast empire which absorbed so many of the countries already described. Its commencement may almost be compared to the sources of the Nile, as concealed at least from the knowledge of the ancients, and therefore involved to them in clouds of mystery and mythology. Modern scholarship has expended upon the investigation an immense amount of labour and inquiry; and the subject has been perfunctorily alluded to in a former chapter. Very little is known with certainty; so that the field for conjecture and ingenious hypothesis is boundless. The outlines of the account usually given are as follow. Eneas, having escaped from the sack of Troy, after many wanderings obtained a settlement with his companions at Lavinium, on the Latin coast of Italy. His immediate descendants are said to have founded Alba Longa; one of the kings of which had a daughter pretending to be pregnant by Mars with Romulus. This somewhat supernatural hero became the first of seven successive sovereigns at Rome, a small town which he had erected on the banks of the Tiber, B.C. 753. We are further informed, that after a duration of nearly two centuries and a half, royalty was abolished, in consequence of an outrage offered by a son of the last monarch to Lucretia; that two annual consuls were appointed at the head of the government; that war then ensued with Porsenna, the Etruscan prince of Chusium, where the exiled royal family of Tarquin had taken refuge; which contest was distinguished by the

exploits of Mucius Scævola and Horatius Cocles. A series of domestic and military events followed; of which, as to constitutional changes, the most important were the creation of the offices of dictator and tribune, the decemviral administration with its twelve tables, the Licinian laws in favour of the plebeians; whilst, as to military matters, the most prominent circumstances were the conflict with Coriolanus, the disaster of the Cremera, the siege of Veii, the capture of Rome by the Gauls, the war with the Latins, and three successive ones with the Samnites. Such is a brief summary of the narrative afforded in the lively pages of Livy, who has the credit of having thrown the legends of Fabius Pictor and others into a continuous history; of which the entire period, for 473 years, down to the invasion of Pyrrhus, B.C. 281, may be considered debatable ground. Authentic Roman annals, in the sense of their being supported by testimony strictly contemporaneous, certainly do not ascend higher. Before that era, the contradictions and anachronisms occurring to every candid critical inquirer are sufficient to modify the confidence with which he receives the regal and consular stories, from those of the shepherd Faustulus to the enactments of Publilius Philo. There are twenty-five different accounts of the foundation of the great metropolis of Italy itself; and for more than a couple of generations the acumen of the continent, in connection with our native writers, has been successfully engaged in expelling from the regions of reality the achievements of Romulus, the legislation of Numa, the constitution of Servius Tullius, and the attractive romance of the Tarquins. Much, however, of this fashionable incredulity has its origin in an unreasonable depreciation of oral tradition: upon which we may venture to make a few observations.

For many ages, it must be remembered, there were no other means of preserving a knowledge of what had passed than by parents instructing their children, through word of mouth, with regard to the various cir-

cumstances of which the former were cognisant. The primitive history of the world, for example, apart from revelation, could have been preserved only in this way before the invention of visible signs for that purpose. As we may fairly suppose that Providence is no friend to oblivion, it cannot be wrong to assume the general efficiency of such oral traditions for their particular object. Necessity being the mother of invention, primeval narratives were committed to memory in some form of versification, like the poems of Homer, or the Theogony of Hesiod, or the compositions of the old bards and Druids, which men, women, and children, got by heart, to an extent, and with an accuracy, that moderns can have no idea of, as there is now no necessity for that peculiar kind of mental exercise. Surely, therefore, there need not be any insuperable difficulty in conceiving that Livy, Cato, Dionysius, or Varro, might become acquainted through legendary sources with a generally correct outline of Roman history for the few hundred years previous to their own day. In addition to all which, there existed commemorative festivals and anniversaries; some monumental records, here and there the tablet of an ancient rescript or alliance, besides local customs, or tenures of property connected with remarkable events in bygone times; so that, maintaining a modest reserve with regard to the degree of belief which the regal era of the city may claim at our hands, or the two subsequent centuries, we may feel that much light and instruction are to be derived even from the earlier narratives as generally laid down. Like most other ancient records, they present to the antiquarian many curious vestiges of paradisaical or diluvian memorials illustrating the scriptural pictures of the earlier world; whilst from the arrival of the valiant king of Epirus in Italy, there can be no doubt but that Roman history possesses a solid credibility, quite as sound as that which belongs to Greece from the days of Peisistratus, or to Persia and Egypt from their still more remote antiquity. There is as little sense in being too slow to

trust as in being too ready to listen, since neither of these states of mind may be deemed healthy. Nor, again, is it a symptom of genuine philosophy to crave a greater amount of moral evidence than the case under consideration can be fairly expected to produce. The part of real wisdom is to avoid straining at the gnat as well as swallowing the camel. Humility and docility are the best friends to learning after all.

The names of the seven Roman sovereigns were Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Martius, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, and Tarquinius Superbus; whose successive administrations extended over two hundred and forty-four years. Romulus is said to have reigned thirty-seven of them. His fratricide with regard to Remus is variously stated; but they pretended to show at Rome, even during the empire, the ruminal fig-tree beneath which the royal infants were preserved and suckled by the she-wolf, as connected in its miraculous repullulation with life and immortality; the memorials of their rescue from a flood; the hut of Romulus, with its roof of straw; his inaugural crook; and the locality of the sacred grove which he instituted as an asylum for criminals. Numa, after an interregnum, reigned forty-three years; withdrawing his subjects from the martial pursuits of his predecessor, and training them through a system of religious observances to greater civilisation of manners. He introduced several sacerdotal orders, under a pontifex maximus; as also the vestal virgins, with their sacred fire. His intercourse with the nymph Egeria taught him to erect temples, procure the performance of prodigies, establish landmarks, festivals, games, and public markets. He reformed the calendar, arranged the distribution of lands, healed the discords between the Romans and Sabines, drew up a code of both written and unwritten laws; and at length died, as he had lived, the patriarch of a golden or paradisaical age. Tullus Hostilius reigned thirty-two years, Ancus Martius twenty-four: the former brought the Albans to

Rome, after the destruction of their own city; the latter extended his dominions to the sea, and built Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber. Tarquinius Priscus, a prince of Tuscan origin, reigned for thirty-eight years, amplifying his capital, embanking its river, constructing those vast drains and sewers which are still extant, and commencing on the Capitol a shrine of stupendous splendour to the honour of the three great gods of Rome. On his assassination, his successor, Servius Tullius, whose Etruscan name was Mastarna, reigned for forty-four years, and immortalised his memory by a constitution involving principles strikingly analogous to those of Solon at Athens. Tarquinius Superbus governed magnificently for twenty-five years. His expulsion, his previous successes, his subsequent reverses, and the abolition of regal power by Junius Brutus, present some singular historical parallels with the restoration, nearly about the same time, of the democracy in Attica, B.C. 509-510. The Tarquins fled to Porsenna, at Clusium, just as the Peisistratides did to the court of Persia. But on a retrospect of the royal period at Rome, we at least perceive such results as these, which are palpable: the metropolis assumes its form of seven hills, with walls which enclose several public edifices, and a considerable mixed population; three distinct tribes appear, each divided into ten *curiæ*, and each of these last into ten *gentes* or houses. Such were the *populus*, or primeval citizens; besides whom, with their slaves, there existed a body of persons called *clients*, or foreigners, who from various causes had settled at Rome, under the protection of particular citizens, who, as their patrons, are called *patres* or *patricians*. The Alban immigration, brought in by Tullus Hostilius, formed the *plebs*; which contained all ranks of society, whether nobles or commons, connected with the conquered state of Alba Longa. They were not deprived of their own property, but had no share in the government, nor in the public lands belonging to Rome; these last being exclusively enjoyed by the patricians,

on payment of a tenth of their produce to the treasury. The plebs supplied the infantry of the army, had no rights of intermarriage with the patricians, lived apart from them, and were in fact opposed to them in their nearest and dearest interests.

For the patrician gentes, being a close corporation not admitting the supply of vacancies, necessarily diminished in numbers; while the plebeians, on the other hand, received constant accessions. For such reasons, the first Tarquin formed out of them three new tribes, and added them to the old patrician ones. Servius Tullius went still further; for he divided all the plebeians into thirty local tribes independent of their rivals: and then, to combine the two orders more effectually, he constituted a mingled aristocracy and timocracy, by dividing all the people into centuries for the purposes of war, passing laws, and electing magistrates. The total of these centuries amounted to 193, which were thus arranged so as to throw the chief burden of military service and taxation upon the rich; securing them in return a decisive preponderance in the suffrage. The three original tribes, and the three Tarquinian ones, were the six principal, to which twelve more were added, comprehending the most wealthy of the plebeians; and these eighteen were to supply the cavalry of the army, being hence denominated as knights or equites. The remainder of the plebeians underwent an apportionment into five classes, according to their property; these classes being again subdivided into centuries. Thus the highest included persons possessing an estate worth 100,000 asses and upwards, to whom forty senior and forty junior centuries were awarded; the second class descended to an assessment of 75,000 asses, to whom ten senior and ten junior centuries only fell; the third class went down to 50,000 asses, with a similar assignment of centuries; the fourth class sank to 25,000 asses, also with the same amount of centuries; the fifth class had its pecuniary qualification as low as 11,000 asses, with an award of fifteen senior and

fifteen junior centuries; five additional centuries being thrown in to comprehend the carpenters, baggage-servants, musicians, and complete the whole number. The distinctions between the seniors and juniors lay in their ages being above or below forty-five years; the latter having to serve in the field and in the front ranks, the former to defend the city. Arms and accoutrements of different sorts and characters were also assigned to the respective classes, regulated upon an appropriate scale of expensiveness or economy. When the centuries assembled in the Campus Martius, and the laws or other matters came to be laid before them, as previously prepared by the senate, the equestrians voted first, and then the classes in their order; so that, provided the eighteen centuries of the knights could coalesce with the eighty centuries of the first class, a majority was at once obtained, and there was no occasion for calling up the others. The patricians had afterwards in their curiæ the power of adopting or rejecting any measure which had passed the ordeal of the centuries. The object, therefore, of the legislator in giving weight to wealth and birth was thus fully attained; and but for the injustice of the patricians, too unwilling as they were to surrender the least tittle of their privileges, Rome might, much sooner than she did, have become the mistress of the world. It appears by a treaty made in the first year of her republic, B.C. 509, with the Carthaginians, which has fortunately been preserved, that she was mistress of the whole coast from the mouths of the Tiber to Terracina; and that she traded with Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa. The form of government adopted on the expulsion of the kings was that of placing the executive in the hands of two magistrates to be chosen annually from the patricians. These magistrates were originally called prætors, and afterwards consuls. They held the full regal prerogative, but divested of its sacerdotal dignity.

The Tarquins are said to have taken refuge in Etruria, where the Tuscans possessed twelve cities,

with an equal number in northern Italy. Their institutions seem to have been oligarchical; since the Etrurian *lucumones* or nobles tyrannised over vassals analogous to the helots of Lacedæmon or the slaves and serfs of Thessaly. The Veientians made some military efforts in favour of the royal exiles; whose best friend, however, was Porsenna the prince of Clusium. He clearly defeated the young democracy, acquired a third of its territory, and imposed on it some such discreditable treaty as that which the Philistines applied to the Israelites in the age of Saul,—prohibiting the use of iron except for agricultural purposes. The Etruscans thus advanced into Latium, yet met with a defeat before Aricia from Aristodemus the Greek sovereign of Cumæ; which happily afforded the Romans an opportunity of regaining their independence. Tarquin then roused the Latins in his cause: when the victory of Regillus extinguished his hopes for ever, B.C. 495-6, of which the tidings were brought to the eternal city by Castor and Pollux,—two divine and beautiful youths, who dismounted from their horses near the temple of Vesta, washed themselves after the fatigues of the day in an adjacent fountain, and then vanished for ever! Fierce internal struggles now ensued between the patricians and plebeians. The Valerian law had secured them equal rights in the way of appeals, and trial by their peers, within a mile of the walls,—an act of fairness which the aristocratic classes had always abhorred. To evade it, they introduced the office of dictator, from whose decisions there could be no appeals; except afterwards one that was reserved for the patricians, who had the privilege moreover of approving or rejecting this potent and almost absolute official, when he had been elected by the senate. The patricians also kept exclusive possession of the public domains; and having the government in their own power, they no longer paid a tenth to the state. Taxes, wars, floods, and famines reduced great numbers of the plebeians to distress; so that the latter were forced to borrow

money at usurious interest. The patricians, or clients in their names, proved most oppressive creditors: since the attachment of the person for debt, a practice prohibited by Servius, was once again permitted, and every palace had now its prisons for those who failed to meet their pecuniary engagements. The senate had been brought up to its full complement of three hundred members, after the flight of the Tarquins; and sided for the most part, with the inherent pride of an oligarchy, in supporting the public grievances. Insurrection alone obtained what real justice demanded. Whenever the people refused to enlist, as they sometimes did to manifest their discontent, the appointment of a dictator at first terrified them. Servilius and Valerius attempted the delicate task of conciliation, by allowing imprisoned debtors to serve in the legions, their families remaining undisturbed while the male members were under arms; but Appius Claudius headed the upper classes, with the soul of a tyrant in the mail of a hero. He breasted the tempest, as he would have done the waves of the ocean, had he been cast into them. The celebrated secession to the Mons Sacer ensued, B.C. 494. The bloodshed of civil contention was barely averted, partly through an alliance between the patricians and the Latins, and partly through a semblance of concession, more specious than genuine, had it not led to the institution of the tribunate, consisting of five popular officers, inviolate in their persons, nominated for the express protection of the plebeians, and able by their veto to bridle the excesses of all parties. The fable of Menenius Agrippa happily illustrated the necessity of more harmonious action than had hitherto prevailed between the central executive and the general members of society.

Then followed disputes about agrarian regulations, which, prior to the accurate analysis of Niebuhr, have been singularly misunderstood. It was an universal practice amongst the Italian states to reserve a third of all conquered lands as public grounds for tillage or

pasturage, for which citizens occupying them had to pay a tenth of the produce as rent; all such farms, moreover, being liable to resumption by the government. Time and circumstances had thrown the bulk of these enormous possessions into the lap of the patricians, which rendered the plebeians clamorous for what was termed an agrarian law; the object of which had nothing to do with private property, but was merely intended to afford the plebeians their appropriate share in what had grown into a huge aristocratic monopoly. The teeth of the hitherto fortunate holders of national plunder had forcibly to be drawn before they would let go their prey. Within the walls of Rome, it might be said, there almost existed two distinct nations, so violent was the spirit of parties; but the plebeians, while they saw that political equality was not as yet attainable, were resolved to aim at least at a legal equilibrium. Hence the decemvirs were granted by the upper to the lower classes after a protracted struggle, B.C. 453-4; and the duplication of the tribunitial college three or four years earlier. These new dignitaries consisted of ten magistrates selected from the patricians, the powers of the consulate, tribunate, and quæstorate, being suspended during their continuance; each member of the decemvirate ruling in his turn for ten days, and giving to those who might appeal from the sentence of his colleagues the assistance which the tribunes used to give. Their principal object was to compile a code of laws; and a deputation of three venerable individuals visited the various Greek cities of Italy and the mother country for the purpose of inspecting and studying their respective constitutions. The patrician and plebeian orders were now kneaded into one nation; the former, with their clients, being blended with the local tribes of the latter. The comitia of the centuries were declared to be the sole jurisdiction in capital cases, as well as in all charges affecting freedom and civil rights; the desired equality of citizens being thus secured before the law. Ultimately ten tables of regulations met with

universal adoption, their compilers then offering to resign; yet, for some inexplicable reason, it was considered that another couple of tables was requisite, to complete which ten fresh decemvirs came into office; according to Livy all of them patricians, according to Dionysius three of them plebeians. Both historians, however, agree in their list of names, as also in their statement that the first set of decemvirs satisfied every reasonable expectation; but that the second set were a conclave of despots, led by Appius Claudius, who, after retaining their offices another year without re-election, overawed the senate, let loose the licentiousness of the populace, murdered Siccus Dentatus, and would fain have allowed Appius to violate Virginia with impunity, had not her father plunged a knife into the bosom of the beautiful and innocent child. Then it was that the virtue of Rome found a vent for its indignation in overthrowing at once the provisional administration of the decemvirate. The two supplemental tables had been finished, when the army took post on the Aventine hill and restored the tribunate and consulate. A proposition for throwing open the latter to both orders made way for the appointment of military tribunes, three from the patricians, and as many from the plebeians, superseding the old consuls. Sometimes the two forms of government alternated. Notwithstanding the obstinacy with which the aristocracy fought every inch of the political field, it was clear that, upon the whole, the popular element advanced. Liberty of intermarriage became established. The assassination by the senate of Spurius Mælius, a knight, as we should say, of the middle class, B.C. 440, is variously reported; but at all events stands connected with the name of Cincinnatus, and the liberality of wealthy plebeians in times of scarcity. The destruction of the Fabian family at Cremera had occurred less than forty years previously; from which era, the war with Veii, the revolt of Fidenæ, incessant conflict with the Latins and Hernicians on the one side, and the Volscians and Equians on the

other, bring down the stream of tradition to the story of Camillus and the Veientian capture, B.C. 396. This hostile rival to Rome was at last entered by a mine, after a siege as long as that of Troy; from which event the senate decreed that every citizen serving in their armies should henceforward receive regular pay.

The Celts about this period appear with distinctness on the page of history; they were among the earliest races which occupied Europe, and were now spread over Gaul, Britain, and portions of Iberia. There is a story told, that Aruns, an Etruscan, having lost the purity of his wife through the seductions of a grandee, to whom he had acted as guardian, crossed the Alps, and brought down the Celtic Gauls upon Italy, to gratify his revenge. The tempter took with him, says Dionysius, the wine and oil of his country, which favourably compared with the beverage of the barbarians, described as an unsavoury juice extracted from barley soaked in water and reduced to a state of putrefaction; in other words, much the same sort of beer as that mentioned in the Germany of Tacitus. Instead of the fruit of the olive, they used the lard of swine. Aruns conducted his fierce allies through the plains of the Po to the shores of the Adriatic; where, after conquering Umbria, they found their way over the Apennines, and laid siege to Clusium, the native city of their leader. Its people called on the Romans for assistance, who sent an embassy of mediation; but which got entangled in an unintentional quarrel, so that a Gallic chief was slain by Fabius, one of the envoys. Camillus, the hero of Veii, had fallen into disgrace after the Falerians had been subdued, and was in banishment at Ardea. Meanwhile, hordes of the northern invaders advanced to the banks of the Tiber; the results of a disastrous battle at Allia involved the destruction of every edifice on the seven hills except the Capitol, which held out, with the senate and about a thousand of the patricians, amidst the conflagration of their homes and the devastation of the adjacent country, B.C. 390. The sickly season of autumn

followed upon an assault of the besiegers, which happily failed. Disease thinned their ranks; it is reported that Camillus accelerated their retreat; and yet further, that a golden ransom was paid for Rome before Manlius and his band of patriots could descend in safety from their citadel. The enemy, indeed, had then withdrawn; but the city was a heap of ruins. For an instant the idea was even entertained of emigrating to Veii, when an omen decided for an immediate rebuilding of the fortifications. A new metropolis soon grew up over the ashes of its predecessor; warfare went on as before with every neighbour; the Gauls themselves ventured to return, and were beaten; old internal discords awoke into fury not less unmanageable than before; and Manlius Torquatus, the saviour of the Capitol, in endeavouring to arrange the difficult disputes between unfortunate debtors and cruel creditors, fell a sacrifice to the envy of the patricians; who, as an order in the state, whatever might be their personal courage, always considered their peculiar privileges entitled to a priority of attention. The Licinian rogations snatched the republic barely in time from her own political suicide; placing her finally in the road which led to her future grandeur.

It cost, however, a severe struggle before such important constitutional changes could be effected. In the year B.C. 375 the supreme magistrates were military tribunes; the people expressed their hopes, and the senate its fears. Licinius Stolo, elected one of the popular officers, proposed three new laws, namely, that as to debts, money already paid for interest should be deducted from the principal, and the remainder discharged by three annual payments; that as to the public lands, no individual should occupy more than five hundred jugera, something like our acres; and that as to the executive government, the ancient consulate should be restored, consisting of two functionaries, of which for the future one should be without failure or exception a plebeian. A fourth rogation came subsequently to be added, that

the curators of sacred things should be increased from two to ten, and not all of them to be patricians. Camillus was appointed dictator to intimidate Licinius and his colleagues from perseverance in their patriotic exertions; yet fortunately in vain. Although the warrior had grown venerable in the contests of the forum and the field, and was even nominated a second time to the dictatorship, justice at length prevailed over intrigues, menaces, and violence. The conqueror of Veii became satisfied that the aristocracy must yield; and ultimately they did so. The senate even assented to further modifications of their monopoly; such as that agrarian proprietors should be bound to employ free labourers on their lands in rated proportions to their possession, and that half the guardians of the Sibylline books should be plebeians. On the other hand, it was agreed that the consular powers should be diminished. The prætorian jurisdiction was separated from it, and assigned to a patrician dignitary. This last arrangement covered the retreat of the defeated party, and yielded no slight compensation for its concessions; for as the prætor ranked with the consuls, and might be styled their colleague, the patricians seemed still to keep two parts out of three to themselves amongst the supreme offices of the executive. The people nevertheless enjoyed the fruits of a genuine victory, B.C. 367. This was made sufficiently evident from the convulsive efforts, which succeeded the death of Camillus, on the part of a mortified oligarchy to regain its ascendancy; but without any corresponding advantages. Several Gallic incursions, the apparition of Greek pirates off the coast of Latium, the celebrated mythological leap of Curtius into the chasm of the forum, and the surrender of the Campanians, preceded the three Samnite and one extraordinary Latin war, which occupy the rest of the unauthenticated period down to the expedition of Pyrrhus, B.C. 365-281.

The Samnites seem to have been mountaineers akin to the old Sabines, who had conquered and colonised Capua, whose climate enervated their energies, and whose

descendants are destined to be slaves. At all events, the dwellers on the hills had come to hate and despise even those claiming to have been formerly their compatriots; perhaps because they envied them their more luxurious mode of living, in the valleys along the margin of the silent Liris, or Garigliano, B.C. 343. The Campanians, hard pressed by the highlanders, were helped both by the Romans and the Latins; the latter, however, subsequently to the campaign which witnessed the battles of Mount Gaurus, Saticula, and Suessula, abandoning their long-standing alliance with the senate, and so shaping their policy as to merit, after a severe catastrophe, the metamorphosis of their future position from that of allies into tributaries. In the third year of the contest, the definitive reduction of their country was effected: some fortunate individuals among them obtained the rank of citizens, whilst others found themselves deprived of their lands and rights. They were prohibited from convening their former federal assemblies; nor were the subjects of one state permitted to intermarry or hold territorial property in another. It must be borne in mind, that hitherto they had composed a moiety of the legions, and their generals at one period commanded alternately with the Romans. So intimate appeared the union, that they had demanded an open recognition of their equality, which led, as we have seen, to severance, collision, and at last irretrievable humiliation. The final and decisive conflict occurred at the foot of Vesuvius; when the plebeian consul Decius, who had devoted himself a victim for his country, fulfilled his vow in presence of the contending armies. Consecrated for the purpose, in magnificent robes, by the pontifex, and perceiving the left wing of his lines yielding beneath the pressure of their opponents, he spurred his war-horse forward into the thickest of his foes, where he sank all covered with wounds. The Romans rallied at the spectacle; the other consul supported the revival of their energies; and scarcely a fourth of the Latins survived the slaughter. From that hour

they ceased to serve except as auxiliaries, always forming separate cohorts with the Volscians and Hernicians. The second Samnite war began, B.C. 326, with the siege and capture of Palæopolis; followed up five years afterwards with the terrible disaster of the Caudine Forks. The account given of it in Livy is animated, vivid, and picturesque. It appears almost a pity that the severe yet faithful sternness of criticism should render it little more than one of the dissolving views of history. There was probably a nucleus of truth at least in the matter; and the groundwork of fact now becomes more solid as we advance. Ultimate triumph at all events attended the Roman eagles. Their permanent influence over Magna Græcia culminated annually. We may feel the more certain of this from the contact which had for some time occurred between the annals of Italy, Epirus, and the Peloponnesus. Archidamus and Cleonymus from Sparta, and Alexander, a predecessor of Pyrrhus, conducted expeditions against Tarentum; and perhaps the second of them had even scoured the Adriatic with a piratical squadron as high up as Padua, B.C. 338-302. The third Samnite war was principally fought out in Etruria, where the enemies of the republic met with little else than customary defeat at the hands of Papirius, Carvilius, and the more celebrated Fabius Maximus. Three laws of Publilius Philo, the dictator, are reported about this era, as completing the Roman constitution: one of them including the censorship among the higher offices common to both orders; a second depriving the senatorial curiæ of their veto; and a third making the plebiscita, or decrees of the tribes, binding on all citizens. Conjecture and hypothesis may be the basis of these statements; but something of the sort happened, which terminated for a considerable interval internal discord; so that the dominion of the Seven Hills already extended from Latium over Etruria and Campania.

Tarentum, the richest capital of southern Italy, had interfered in the Samnite struggle, and attracted the

indignation of Rome. Its luxurious inhabitants applied to Lacedæmon, the mother-country of their colony, for assistance; and with still brighter ideas of success to Pyrrhus king of Epirus, a royal freebooter, profoundly comprehending the mere art and science of warfare; carried away, moreover, with the hallucination of conquering the west, as the victorious son of the Macedonian Philip, his kinsman, had overrun the east; as also fancying that the military traditions of Epaminondas would bind invincibility to his mercenary standards. His sword was ready to leap from its scabbard in the service of any one who would pay for it. Epirus had been always famous for its connection with the diluvian grove and oracle of Dodona, the soldier-like character of its inhabitants, and its ancient division into the three provinces of Chaonia, Thesprotia, and Molossis, crowded with populous towns and villages. The third of these districts had subjected the other two soon after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war; to which several adjacent valleys came to be added, forming altogether a small, yet potent and perfectly independent realm under the dynasty of the Eacidæ, bounded on the north by the Cerannian mountains, on the south by the Ambracian gulf, on the east by Thessaly and Macedon, and on the west by the Ionian sea. Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, was a princess of this family. Pyrrhus represented a junior branch of it; deriving his descent from Arymbas, younger son of Alcetas, her grandfather. Personally he had been a pupil to Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus, who had married his sister Deidamia; and on the overthrow of Antigonus, at the great battle of Ipsus, B.C. 301, he rescued the Greek cities for the Macedonian monarchy, and still further helped his brother-in-law, by consenting to go as a hostage into Egypt, when peace was at length concluded between Demetrius and Ptolemy. There he espoused Antigone, daughter to Berenice, the favourite queen of Ptolemy Lagus, through whose auspices and patronage the throne of Epirus was finally secured for

him, to which he endeavoured to add, by a transient usurpation, that of Macedon. In fact, he just gained at least a moiety of it, and then lost it from the superior power of Lysimachus, when the invitation from Tarentum attracted him across the sea. For the first time the arms and tactics of Greece and Rome now came into collision. Pyrrhus defeated his opponents at Pandosia and Asculum, partly through his scientific manœuvres and valour, and partly from the use of elephants, to which the Romans were unaccustomed; but which they soon discovered the means of rendering more dangerous than effective by showers of sulphureous fire-balls. The gallant invader then sought the friendship of the senate, but he was assured that no pacific proposals could be listened to until he quitted Italy. His third victory, near Beneventum, seemed bought so dearly, that he withdrew into Sicily and the Peloponnesus, closing his bold but inconstant career by an accident at Argos. The Romans meanwhile reduced Apulia and Calabria, together with the country of the Salentines; so that, by the joint exercise of clemency and energy, the entire peninsula, from the confines of Cisalpine Gaul to the straits of Messina, became subject to their sway, B.C. 260-1.

The colonies of Magna Græcia were enjoying a high degree of civilisation long before they melted into mere members of the Roman republic. The limits of the latter had hitherto comprised only Tuscany, the Apennines, Latium, Campania, and Samnium, with some other provinces; when, previous to the termination of the fifth century from the foundation of the city, this expansion of territory occurred. Pyrrhus had taught the legions how to intrench themselves; nor should we fail to observe, that they always adopted whatever there might appear, in the arms, customs, or manners of their antagonists, to be better than their own. They were never too wise to learn; and it was in acting upon such maxims that they ultimately conquered the world. It was their fixed resolution to become a first-rate

military power; their policy from Romulus and his successors was that of an enlarging dominion; it was aggressive on the face of it; their very word for an enemy and a stranger sounded the same; indomitable perseverance invigorated their grossest deeds of injustice, and every Roman acquisition involved more or less the process of an imperial fusion. Each separate army seldom contained a muster beyond 40,000 men; an amount of force sufficient for the field, and not too oppressive to the commissariat. Infantry constituted its chief strength; the light-armed troops went before, and the van followed; three main lines were so drawn up in battle that each rank might receive the others into its intervals, like the spaces on a chessboard; and the pecuniary qualification of the poorest soldier was above 40*l.* sterling, at a time too when an ounce of silver would purchase seventy pounds weight of brass! Engagements began with the advance of slingers and archers: the latter having wooden arrows, three feet long, and pointed with iron; the former hurling either stones or balls of lead. After these had dispersed themselves on the flanks, the spearmen rushed forward, darting their heavy pikes, and then drawing their swords, with shields on their left arms. The helmet and cuirass protected the person; while matters were so managed as that the triple line should produce the result of three successive battalions brought up in support of each other. Should the enemy, therefore, break through the first, it was only to meet a second, or even behind that a third; while the front of the legion presented too much extent to be easily outflanked, with sufficient depth to give its onset an irresistible momentum. The Roman legion, as Palladio well remarked, could fight every where and at all times; when the Macedonian phalanx had but a single opportunity and place where it could be formed with advantage. The young warriors were trained in every exercise hardening the human frame, or rendering it strong and agile. They accustomed themselves to all

seasons and all climates; being instructed to swim through rivers, emulate the speed of horses, and double the weight of their weapons when merely practising. It was an object frequently attained to march twenty miles in five hours, with a burden of 60lbs. upon every pair of shoulders. The cavalry carried enormous lances and sabres. In regular campaigns the station was marked out every night. It was a square surrounded with a ditch ten feet deep, and with a wall defended by breastworks. The rampart was constructed with stones, if possible. Strong branches of trees fixed into the earth, the sharp ends of which hardened in the fire projected obliquely and crossed each other, secured the exterior. Bastions rose all around, higher than the rest of the fortification, and in the shape of a horse-shoe; whence the wings of assailants advancing to storm the camp, as well as their soldiery, hidden under the penthouses, might be struck down with projectiles. In the circumvallation every post was made strong in itself, that it might be capable of defence, should the others be lost; whilst the entire interior presented the form and disposition of forces ready at the sound of alarm to develop in battle-array.

The Punic wars tried the pluck and spirit of the Romans to the uttermost. Their primary source sprang up in Sicily and Spain, to say nothing of the inherent rivalry of European and African institutions. Syracuse, under Dionysius and his son, remained still powerful; but the second Dionysius was far from inheriting the abilities of his father. His cousin Dion, and then the Corinthian Timoleon, overturned his tyranny, which had been protected by an armament of 100,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and a fleet of 500 vessels. The emancipated metropolis, however, in hailing its last liberator, B.C. 344, had not virtue enough to preserve its recovered freedom after the enthrallment of a couple of generations. Timoleon, indeed, governed admirably for two-and-twenty years; but on his decease, B.C. 322, Sosistratus and Agathocles contended for the supre-

macy, the former the friend, the latter the foe of the Carthaginians. Agathocles at last succeeded in wading to a throne through seas of bloodshed and slaughter. His origin had been that of a common soldier; which vocation he changed for that of a potter, until a wealthy marriage helped him to rise, and literally shut the gates of mercy on mankind. His talents were as extraordinary as his crimes. During a reign of nearly twenty-eight years, he shook the Punic prosperity to its foundations, and paved the way beyond a doubt for the future triumphs of the Scipios. His standards even made their appearance in Italy and the Lipari islands; when, escaping storm and shipwreck, an awful destruction awaited his return home. Accustomed to pick his teeth with a quill after dinner, Mænon, whom he had horribly injured, dipt that instrument secretly in a most deadly poison; the dire results of which were so dreadful, that he was hurried before life had nearly left him to the flames of his funeral pile, where he finally expired as in a visible hell, without child or follower to lament him, B.C. 293, at the age of ninety-four! His assassin succeeded him for a brief interval, under the title of prætor of Syracuse; but Sicilian affairs soon manifested irretrievable confusion. Pyrrhus received an invitation into the island, which he accepted to very little purpose. Agathocles had kept in his pay some Mamertine mercenaries, who naturally enough were discharged at the catastrophe of their master. As if the genius of that hoary monster had possessed them, they fell without provocation upon the city of Messina, murdering the inhabitants, and devastating the adjacent country. Syracuse summoned Carthage, her old mistress, to assist her in attempting to punish these wretches; the latter beckoned to the victorious Romans; and thus, after some hesitation consequent upon the flagrant injustice of that cause which Italy was about to patronise, the first missive of defiance was launched against Africa. The capital of Dido had passed the meridian of her greatness. Alexandria grievously in-

terfered with her commercial monopolies, or at least with many of them. Her naval squadrons might be still numerous; yet the natural means for supporting their efficiency were on the wane. Her principal military forces served for high remuneration, as hired foreigners, without the associations of genuine patriotism on their side. Rome, on the other hand, led her native legions of freeborn citizens into the field with all the vigour of recent ascendancy in her favour. The domestic government moreover of the two nations differed like darkness from light. Social jealousy, connected with decay and southern luxury, was no match for a salient democracy, inured to hardships, and at that particular crisis virtuous, comparatively speaking, in its general morals. Hostilities commenced B.C. 264.

They lasted for twenty-three years; the African republic principally relying upon her presumed superiority at sea, and the excellence of her Numidian and Spanish cavalry. But Rome had resolved upon having a fleet; when a single Carthaginian ship of war, driven by an accident on the Italian shores, happily served as a model. The future mariners of the Eternal City received their earliest lessons in rowing upon dry land; and, inferior to their foes in the science of manœuvring their vessels, they invented machines for grappling the galleys together in an action, and thereby reducing nautical tactics to the level of a land fight. The consul Duillius won the first naval victory. The Romans already triumphed in Sicily. Regulus, in imitation of Agathocles, carried the war into the Punic provinces, spreading terror to the gates of Carthage. Xanthippus, a Spartan mercenary, there defeated and captured him, with his entire army. The character of the unfortunate general has been unduly elevated by an absurd legend describing him as a political martyr, put to death for his patriotism in a barrel lined with knives. At length a signal discomfiture off the Ægatian islands convinced Amilcar Barcas that there

must be a suspension of the struggle. Roman privateers had ravaged the African coasts, and even entered the port of Hippo, setting fire to the merchantmen, and retreating with immense booty; nor were the Carthaginian forces to be quite depended on for their fidelity. Peace was therefore made at the expense of surrendering all Sicily, and paying a large sum of money under colour of the balance being against Carthage in the exchange of prisoners. Besides which, they were to give an indemnity to the Romans of 110 talents of silver for twenty years, notwithstanding the protests of the African leaders, which only resulted in more onerous pecuniary terms. Finally, a thousand talents had to be paid down, with the period for paying the remainder shortened one-half; all Italian captives to be set at liberty without ransom; and Hiero, sovereign of Syracuse, to be recognised as an inviolable ally of the senate. This prince was a lineal descendant of Gelon, the original founder of the Syracusan monarchy, and had succeeded to the supreme direction of affairs in that capital upon the departure of Pyrrhus. After ascertaining by severe experience that his interests lay in warmly supporting the conquerors of Magna Græcia against the former oppressors of Sicily, he became a cordial partisan and well-rewarded friend to Rome. The latter had lost 700 ships, and her competitor 500, in the late protracted contest. A census, taken about this time, mentions the total number of citizens as amounting to 251,220, representing a very considerable population, B.C. 240-2. The acquisition of Cisalpine Gaul received its completion, through the victory at Clusium, B.C. 224, whereby the consuls extended the sway of their republic to the foot of the Alps, over the Senonians inhabiting what is now Lombardy. The Ligurians, on the gulf of Genoa, for an interval maintained their independence; but on the other side the peninsula an Illyrian queen Teuta, at the head of a piratical confederacy in the Adriatic, was compelled to yield the seaboard of Liburnia and Dalmatia to the

Romans, reducing her ships within the limits of a harmless number, and paying an annual tribute.

The second Punic war had its commencement in Spain; where Asdrubal and Amilcar, the most illustrious generals of Carthage, were training Annibal to avenge the misfortunes of their common country. At a distance from the mean factions of the capital, this youthful hero had been long educated to a life of energy and valour among the best soldiers of his government; deriving as it did the very sinews of its existence from the great silver mines. His father fostered in him, for good or for evil, an almost fanatical hatred against Rome; so that it is said, at an early age the obligation of a solemn oath was imposed upon him never to make peace with the present masters of Italy. His genius and prowess commanded the admiration of antiquity. When twenty-six years old, he assumed his military leadership, with abilities on a par with those of Alexander, the Greek chieftains his predecessors, Pyrrhus of Epirus, or any other warrior who had yet appeared. To break the truce with Rome, he attacked Saguntum, an ally of the republic, B.C. 219; satiating his first fury amidst the massacre of its inhabitants, after they had defended their walls with a valour which should have encountered a better fate. The consuls had scarcely disentangled themselves from the sanguinary resistance of the Gauls; so that some time elapsed before war was formally declared. Then it was, B.C. 214, that the adventurous son of Amilcar marched a thousand miles in little more than five months across the Alps into Piedmont, losing by the way 30,000 infantry, 3000 cavalry, all his elephants, and finding himself near the modern Turin at the head of only about 26,000 effective troops. His entire course through the Pyrenees to the confluence of the Rhone and Saone, and then over the snowy summits and slippery glaciers of Mount Cenis, amidst the gathered winters of ages and the constant aggressions of hostile assailants, has ever been deemed almost equivalent

to a miracle. His first battle secured him the submission and attachment of the recently devastated districts on the banks of the Ticino; so that no sooner had the consul Scipio retreated, both baffled and wounded, than every kind of reinforcement and supply accumulated round the standards of Carthage. Then followed his second grand triumph at the Trebia; with his subsequent advance through mud and water for four days and nights into Etruria, which cost him the loss of an eye, from exposure to the wet weather, and an enormous number of horses. Meanwhile Cneius Scipio, brother to the unfortunate consul, had landed in Spain, reducing what is now the country of Catalonia, and entirely overthrowing Anno. Important advantages were also gained at sea, near the mouth of the Ebro, by the Romans; all which advantages, however, received a fearful counterbalance in due season on the fatal margin of Thrasymene, where the Romans under Flaminius were drawn into an ambush by their astute and active adversaries, and severely beaten, with the slaughter of 15,000 soldiers, their rash generals, and a multitude of auxiliaries. The famous Fabius Maximus then received his appointment to the office of dictator, in which he restored the affairs of the republic, shattered as they seemed by a social and political earthquake not less tremendous than the natural one, which made the ground literally rock and reel during the late combat with Annibal, although neither of the armies is said to have been conscious of it at the moment. Yet not even the prudence of Fabius could avert the catastrophe of Cannæ, B.C. 212. It gave the mighty victor possession of some of the fairest provinces for a considerable series of years. He could acquaint his friends in Africa, that in a succession of pitched battles he had slain or dispersed 200,000 of their enemies, taken 50,000 prisoners, overrun Apulia, Brutium, Lucania, and Campania, and that three bushels of golden rings had been torn from the dead fingers of Roman knights and senators. These last nevertheless found an abundance of avengers. The

constancy of the city on the Seven Hills, throughout its multifarious misfortunes, can never be over-praised. The Roman ladies were not even allowed to shed tears. Their husbands and relatives remembered the traditions of their ancestors; offered more frequent and expensive sacrifices, in the fervours of a religious spirit however erroneous; and rapidly recovered their energies. Fresh forces were sent into Spain, for some time with rather doubtful success: until, under the auspices of the greatest of the Scipios, the troops of Carthage at length succumbed. Gracchus conquered Sardinia; Syracuse, which after the decease of Hiero had changed sides, had to yield to Marcellus, although defended by the machines of Archimedes for three years, B.C. 207; and the last hope of Annibal, the army led to his assistance from beyond the Pyrenees by his brother Asdrubal, was annihilated on the Metaurus by Tiberius Nero, B.C. 203. Yet he still maintained himself at the expense of the Roman provinces.

The warrior destined for his humiliation was to meet him on the plains of Zama. Scipio transported his forces thither, and compelled the Carthaginian senate to recal their champion from Capua, where enervating enjoyments had helped to undermine those energies which had conducted him from Saguntum to Campania. The purest of the Roman heroes was a youth in years, but an adult in wisdom and virtue. His splendid integrity and patriotism had induced the elders amongst his contemporaries in rank and position to forego their jealousies, and acquiesce in his palpable superiority. In chastity he stood alone as an example of that excellence, so rare in heathen annals: from his own camp he had banished 12,000 women of loose or dubious character. It was now to be decided whether Italy or Africa were to rule the Mediterranean. Annibal intended with his elephants to break through the Roman lines, and then bring his armies into action on all sides. On the other hand, Scipio penetrated his design, and allowed those tremendous animals simply to meet his light infantry,

which opened and let them pass without injury; immediately closing up his intervals, and falling with the flower of his troops upon his adversaries. Every thing that generalship or courage could do was done; but Rome and her fortunes rose triumphant over the slaughter of 20,000 men, and the total defeat of Carthage. The second Punic war thus closed in unclouded victory, about two centuries before the Incarnation. Rigorous terms of peace were imposed upon the prostrate foe. She was limited to her disarmed metropolis and its proper territory. Numidia was taken from her, and assigned to Masinissa, another Hiero in his aptitude for discovering the right mistress to serve. All her magnificent navy had to be surrendered, with the exception of ten triremes. Their liberty of declaring war, or making peace, ceased as to the free action of the Carthaginian authorities without the consent of the conquerors. Exactions upon a large scale ensued both in money and produce; such as a tribute of 200 talents per annum for fifty years, besides an enormous quantity of corn and other supplies. All the elephants had to be given up; nor were any more to be tamed and trained for warfare. Scipio, on his return, brought into the treasury 120,000 lbs. weight of silver bullion. His triumph surpassed those of any of his predecessors in pomp and gorgeousness. Yet, when offered the dignity of perpetual dictator, he at once declined it, simply accepting the well-merited title of Africanus. Rome now ruled from the Alps to Agrigentum, as well as over all the islands which the African republic had possessed, and the most important parts of Spain, and particularly the districts of the silver mines. At those of New Carthage 40,000 hands came to be constantly employed, producing daily returns of 25,000 drachms. It was remarked that many Macedonians had fought among the Punic mercenaries at Zama: nor would the policy have been otherwise than prudent, had the successors of Philip and Alexander boldly combined with Egypt, Syria, and Greece on the side of the rivals of

Rome. As matters, turned out, however another Philip, the contemptible descendant of Antigonus, swayed the sceptre of Macedon: a prince who mistook cunning and artifice for sagacity. He had indeed formally allied himself with Annibal, but neglected to support him with efficiency; the consequence of which was, that without really assisting his confederate he drew towards himself the wrath of the conquerors. At the same time he weakened his means by interfering with the three Greek associations or leagues of the Achæans, Ætolians, and Bœotians; all of whom, with their noble country so naturally calculated for defence, might have made a stand for independence under the auspices and reminiscences of Athens and Lacedæmon, had a real Leonidas or Philopœmen only risen up among them. Yet thus it was not to be: for the Ætolians called in the Romans to rescue their liberties from a royal oppressor; and they dealt a death-blow to the power of the degenerate Philip at the battle of Cynocephale, B.C. 196. He had murdered the worthiest of his sons on a false accusation brought against the innocent victim by his illegitimate offspring and successor Perseus. This sovereign, vainly endeavouring to restore the fortunes of his paternal throne, and provoking the vengeance of those who had defeated his father, fell in with his final ruin from the valour of Paulus Emilius near the city of Pydna, B.C. 167; when the massacre of two myriads of his soldiers, consequent on the skilful disruption and dispersion of the once invincible phalanx, sealed his doom, and sent him for shelter to Samothrace. There surrendering at discretion, in the 165th year after the death of the great Macedonian conqueror at Babylon, his royal yet feeble representative adorned the triumph of the victorious consul with the riches of his own realm as well as those of Epirus following in his train, to the extent of nearly 2,000,000*l.* sterling. His career terminated in prison, and amidst the most abject degradation. But within fifteen or sixteen years after his defeat, there appeared an adventurer named

Andriscus, calling himself his son, whose pretensions and abilities cost the senate immense trouble, with the loss even of the prætor Juventius and a considerable army. Suppressed at length, with a couple of other impostors, the whole of Macedonia was reduced to the form of a Roman province about B.C. 150.

Annibal, not long after the misfortune of Zama, had become prætor of his humbled republic, and employed his incomparable talents in effecting some domestic reforms. No greater encomium could be pronounced upon him than the undying apprehension and vigilance with which his adversaries, both at home and abroad, watched his words and actions. Many deeply-rooted abuses had crept into the Carthaginian government; while the nobility, who throve upon them, abhorred the reproofs of a general cast down from his high estate; and at length hunted him into exile, with the base connivance, and at the probable instigation, of Rome in the very altitude of her glory. He betook himself to the court of Antiochus, whither Thoas the Ætolian had also repaired, in a spirit of discontent with the senate and consuls; these functionaries not having sufficiently estimated or rewarded, as he thought, his services against the Macedonian monarchy. As a profound politician, he pointed out to the descendant of Selencus, that if the tide of Italian ascendancy were not arrested at the present crisis, the victorious Roman republic would rapidly overwhelm Asia. The suggestion came before a shallow and imperious mind, accustomed to consider orientalism as an emanation of the divinity existing for the protection of kings: and Annibal was on the spot to support every specious argument. Antiochus, now and then styled in history the Great, was slumbering moreover under the laurels of his earlier years, in a capital founded for his dynasty, where voluptuousness knew no limits, and where dreams of invincibility might be almost naturally indulged on the part of a mighty eastern potentate, acknowledged from the Troas to the Caucasus, with Media, Syria,

Palestine, and Phœnicia, altogether some of the fairest portions of the earth, crouching beneath his sceptre. Crowned with garlands, surrounded with eunuchs, amidst the music of flutes and lyres, the sultan of 400,000 men in arms with condescension listened to the bravest and wisest among soldiers and sages; believing them when they flattered his ambition, and scorning the only counsels which could enable him to realise it. In pavilions of silk and purple, or upon an elephant covered with scarlet and gold, he expected after a pompous declaration of war to trample in the dust those legions and leaders whom neither Macedon nor Carthage had withstood. Acilius Glabrio and Scipio Africanus had slight difficulty, after the action of Thermopylæ in Europe and that of Magnesia in Asia, in compelling him to purchase an ignominious peace at the price of all his territories to the westward of Mount Taurus, and the surrender of half his navy. Their ally Eumenes, the king of Pergamus, was presented with the greater share of these conquests, B.C. 190; after having chastised in Galatia the ferocity of those Gauls whose progenitors a century before had terrified the interior of Macedonia. Antiochus had to defray the whole expenses of the war, and consent to pay besides an annual tribute of one or two thousand talents for twelve years. Annibal and Thoas were also to be given up; but both withdrew, and the former found a wretched refuge with Prusias the sovereign of Bithynia. His stratagems, however, enabled that prince to defeat Eumenes once at sea, and twice on land: yet Prusias would have yielded his benefactor to the Romans, if he had not poisoned himself.

The third Punic war at length approached; when the influence of Italy had overawed Greece, Thessaly, all the various regions to the Bosphorus, the islands of the Adriatic, the coasts of the rebellious Istria, as well as the empires of Egypt and the East. Civil dissensions, the sure forerunners of national dissolution, ran high at Carthage. Forty senators, driven from that

city, besought the venerable Masinissa, at that time ninety-six years of age, to effect their restoration. His interference was spurned by the dominant faction, since he had ever been the faithful partisan of their conquerors; and when the affair was referred to the latter, the Romans at once gave their decision in accordance with the wishes of the Numidian. His own interests and influence, beneath the shadow of their patronage, had immensely increased among the tribes of the desert; over whom several of his forty-four warlike sons reigned with absolute authority. Intercourse with Europe had also taught him much with regard to the science and importance of agriculture; so that various wastes, apparently condemned to perpetual sterility, now developed a rich and extensive system of husbandry, probably through improved means of irrigation. The commercial predilections of Carthage were thus interrupted, either in reality or by anticipation, from the jealous, watchful, and suspicious ambition of this inconvenient neighbour; to say nothing of the rivalry and occasional hostilities which actuated and harassed their mutual caravans coming across each other, sometimes in the distant halting-places of the interior. The prostrated metropolis of Africa moreover, as her spirit revived, had commenced the construction of vessels rather beyond the strict and stern limitations of the last humiliating treaty; a circumstance sure to be reported at Rome in no very amicable manner by Masinissa. Cato the elder, far advanced in years, and full of anti-punic prejudices, imbibed in his Sardinian prætorship and Spanish proconsulate, was at that time a sort of oracle on the Seven Hills; where the recollections of the terrible Annibal remained as vivid in his own mind as in those of the more elderly among his hearers. It was an assertion perpetually on his lips that Carthage ought to be destroyed; notwithstanding the opposition of the Scipios, whose profounder judgment predicted the corruption of their country, from the moment when there should cease to be any boundary to its aspirations, or possible source

for its fears. Public opinion had, therefore, reached a considerable state of effervescence upon the subject of African politics in general, when Masinissa appealed to the senate against his opponents. The pretext suggested by their old and constant ally found favour with the majority every where, for annihilating forthwith their once formidable rival, ready to rise up and regain her former potency, as it seemed, unless the present opportunity should be seized of crushing her for ever. It was resolved to proceed at last to the utmost extremities, and that without further delay. Every ship that had been built contrary to stipulation was now demanded, and given up amidst groans and indignation; inflamed almost to madness, as these sensations became, when the surrendered galleys were openly burnt in the harbour by the commissioners sent to receive them. The inhabitants of the mortified capital were then ordered to withdraw some leagues from the coast, and found a new city inland, at a certain distance from their native and paternal homes. Human nature could bear no more; desperation supplanted prudence: resolutions to resist were universal; each member of the council swore that he would perish with Carthage, except one of the Suffetes, who, on hinting the omnipotence of destiny, was stoned immediately on the spot. From that hour any pause in their exertions was unknown. The instant object was to replace the lost navy; all the timber that could be collected was brought to the dockyards; all metals, noble and ignoble, holy or profane, were melted down for the manufacture of arms; even the women cut off their long hair for bowstrings and cordage; all ages, ranks, and sexes, shared the dreadful danger; and for three years these devoted defenders of their country defied the domination of its assailants. More than once were the legions defeated; two walls were taken, and yet the besieged braved an assault from behind the third; the haven was lost at last; and no sooner were the citizens aware of it than they began to dig a new one. It became a death-struggle, in other

words, between vengeance and despair; and the star of the younger Scipio alone it was which ultimately triumphed.

By an ingenious stratagem he secured the recently-constructed harbour; while the city, thus laid open and defenceless, still waged the gory and hopeless warfare for nearly a week longer. Insurrection at last inflamed the horrors of resistance; certain partisans declared for the besiegers; and whole streets of houses were set on fire by their obstinate owners. Asdrubal, at the end of another interval, went over to the enemy; upon which his consort kindled some prepared combustibles in their palace, throwing herself, with two of their children, amid loud cries of malediction, into the enormous furnace of its flames. Many citizens slew themselves on the graves and mausoleums of their forefathers; as mansions, monuments, and magnificent temples, illuminated the firmament for seventeen days. Such was the funeral pyre of expiring Carthage, or at least the capital of Dido, with its 700,000 people, and the associations of a millennium of years, B.C. 147. When Scipio beheld the conflagration and carnage, he wept, as well he might, over the woes of a fallen foe, with tears of generosity, sympathy, and melancholy prophecy. The metropolis of Africa was never again to rise from its tomb in the character of a permanently independent state. It is conjectured that not a few of its survivors may have escaped to the banks of the Niger, and settled on the site of the recently-discovered town of Timboctoo; but the vast bulk of the population must have been either massacred, or sold into captivity, or reduced with the adjacent provinces under the Roman yoke. Greece, with her Achæan, Ætolian, and Bœotian confederacies, fared little better in a political sense; although in a literary one she conquered her conquerors with the softer refinements of civilisation. The Romans, on the suppression of Andriscus in Macedonia, called upon the League of Aratus and Philopœmen to surrender their fortresses; which demand met with insult from the po-

pulace of the isthmus; and Mummius was sent thither with an army in consequence. Critolaus, at the head of the Hellenic association, committed suicide; but his successor Diaeus dared, like another Leonidas, when it was clearly too late, to defend his country with six hundred and fourteen companions. The legions swept them away like the leaves of the forest; the leader of these patriots finally poisoning himself with his wife and family. Corinth was captured and burnt in the same year with Carthage; all its adult males perished, emigrated, or submitted; its women and children stocked for a season the odious slave-markets; pictures, statues, plate, with the celebrated brass, supposed to have been formed from a confluence of the precious metals in a state of fusion, and the richest treasures of art, were for the most part happily transported into Italy, notwithstanding the loss of much that might be interesting, through the recklessness of pillage and plunder; while Thebes, the birthplace of Epaminondas, and Chalcis in Eubœa, the mother of so many colonies, had to share a similar fate. The Peloponnesus and Attica, with all the remainder of Greece, sank, under the superintendence of a Roman prætor, to the rank and denomination of the province of Achaia; enjoying their own laws, customs, and language, but with the abolition of popular government, the payment of an annual tribute to the senate, and the acknowledgment of such magistrates as it thought proper to appoint, B.C. 146-7. Numantia in Spain gave far greater trouble, not being reduced for many campaigns, and several portions of the country contriving to retain their independence for more than another century.

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## CHAPTER VII.

Rome till the termination of the Republic at the battle of Actium.

ALTHOUGH the dominions of the great republic were thus rapidly extending, there yet lay in her path a dreary series of conflicts and calamities before she could attain her utmost territorial limits: six civil or social contests, two successive insurrections, and an important conspiracy; two provincial, one piratical, and three perilous struggles, besides another war undertaken for conquest; two triumvirates, bathed in the best blood of her citizens, with an imperial despotism to close the scene:—such were the terrible events and circumstances which Providence permitted for her instruction. Philosophers have traced her government as commencing in voluntary association, which settled into limited monarchy; then changing from regal into aristocratic forms, some of the latter developing the opposite principles of democracy; then hurried forward through a train of revolutions, so as to seem almost torn in pieces by the hands of a greedy oligarchy; until the political storm subsides, and stagnates into the dead calm of a military absolutism, reflecting upon its treacherous surface the image of a naked sword. That weapon, indeed, had been wielded by the Romans against their earlier enemies to some purpose. Their acquisition of Italy presented an exact parallel with their subsequent invasion of the world; in the former case subduing, through immense efforts, the warlike tribes around them, which led to their ascendancy over the more luxurious states of Magna Græcia as a matter of course; in the latter, overthrowing Pyrrhus, Annibal, Carthage, the Gauls, Macedonia, and Greece, as a preparative for

grasping the sceptre of the East and South, of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, when their invincibility had been fully attested. The results might have been very different, had Campania and Capua, or the Sybarites and Tarentines, become their subjects at the close of the regal, or the commencement of the consular period. There would then have been none of that external compression which compelled them to become great in the school of experience and difficulty, and trained their legions to the iron endurance of hardship in combating the Latins, the Hernicians, the Sabines, the Etruscans, the Samnites, or the Volscians; populations passionately addicted to hostilities, nor yielding to any other yoke of obedience than that imposed by force. Hence the avidity for battle, and the honour of serving in the field; where each soldier had the number of his cohort and decury engraved on his helmet and his heart, while he fought amongst his own countrymen, whose opinion must ever remain for himself and family either the best reward or the most inevitable and severest punishment. Hence the three hundred and twenty triumphs, from the first of Romulus to that of the conquerors of Jerusalem. Hence for so many ages their comparative recklessness about private booty, apart from the lands reserved as a recompense for the soldiery; so that after a portion had been set aside for the daily wants of the troops, or for the sick and wounded, the remainder flowed into the treasury of Saturn, that one campaign might furnish funds for another, and that each victory might be made an instrument for obtaining its successor. Paulus Emilius could boast, that after having deposited in the coffers of his country forty-five millions of silver pieces, he left no portion for his daughter, nor for his widow the value of her dowry. These were the heroes and patriots who broke down the kingdoms of Macedonia and Epirus, and reduced them, together with the yet nobler republics of antiquity, into submissive Roman provinces.

Yet in the rear of dominion and conquest followed

riches and luxury, discontent, degeneracy, and depravity. The third Attalus, after reigning as a madman over Pergamus for five years, bequeathed his crown and estate to the Romans, with whom his father Eumenes had once been so intimately allied, B.C. 132. This extraordinary legacy opened fresh fountains of corruption amongst all classes, thirsty as they were now growing for something else than the frugal simplicity of their predecessors. Blood, which for centuries had never stained the streets of the city, began not unfrequently to be shed without remorse. The conqueror of Carthage was actually murdered; while the custom commenced at Rome of carrying a dagger beneath the robe. His nephew, Tiberius Gracchus, proposed, as tribune of the people, that the treasures of Attalus should be divided amongst the commonalty; an idea essentially unjust, for they had been left to the government, which, since the Macedonian war, had found itself sufficiently endowed to cease altogether from imposing any further taxation on its citizens. The wealth of Pergamus came opportunely; as it enabled the fiscal authorities to proceed in the same course of indulgence, without oppressing the provinces. The demagogue, however, knew that he had struck a chord in the minds of the people which would tell upon his popularity. He therefore went a step further, and introduced a law that no citizen should hold more than a certain quantity of the public lands. This was more reasonable, and not less agreeable to the multitude. The ancient agrarian regulations had lost, from lapse of time and consequent change of circumstances, their original character. At the present period, patricians and plebeians had got so intermingled, that the preponderance of landed property was with the latter; but the two orders, in fact, formed only one class of affluent individuals, standing in opposition to another still larger class of such as were extremely poor. It was the modern problem anticipated, of wealth and destitution looking each other in the face with fearful or envious eyes; yet without the social resources, inci

dent to later ages, of entering upon some trade, or going into respectable domestic service. To buy or sell as retailers, or even wholesalers, was deemed beneath the dignity of any one in possession of freedom; and slavery precluded the necessity of hired labour. Possessors of property thus felt themselves obliged to believe, in self-defence, that Tiberius Gracchus aimed, under specious pretences, at establishing what might afterwards amount to a community of goods; a mode of putting the case against him which his own violence materially tended to favour. He appealed to the mob for the ejection of a colleague from office simply on the ground of his holding more moderate opinions than himself. He then proceeded to require that civil rights should be communicated to all Italians; which would admit to the legislature precisely that species of politicians whom he wished to see there. The senate and nobles caught immediate alarm; seeing no other hope for preserving their influence and position than in the timely suppression of such perilous patriotism. Scipio Nasica, the very personification of pagan virtue, headed the resistance. Nearly every proprietor of any consequence, with the knights and a respectable section of the people, ranged themselves on his side, as he stood on the steps of the Capitol. Amidst the subsequent tumult Tiberius Gracchus fell; an eminent instance of a man naturally honourable looking to an end without suitably regarding the means, B.C. 132. Ten years afterwards, his brother Caius renewed the agitation. His professed objects were the old Licinian law as to the tenure of the public lands; that all Cisalpine Gaul should be included in Italy, and should participate in the same privileges; that corn should be sold to the people at an extremely low price; that six hundred knights should be enrolled in the senate; and that the judicial office should be transferred from the senatorial to the equestrian order. Notwithstanding the attractive offers thus made to the lower set of dignitaries against the upper, Caius succeeded no better than Tibe-

rius. The second insurrection only proved more sanguinary than the first. The eloquent democrat was slain, with 3000 of his adherents, B.C. 122.

Yet fearful is the responsibility of those who lift the anchors of ancient constitutions. Obedience becomes unfashionable, and its reverse a sign of spirit. The bonds of society shake themselves loose; so that gain gets to be the god of the hour. At Rome, no crime or disorder seemed disgraceful, if profitable. Money commanded all things. Agriculture and the useful arts fell into decay amidst the national delirium. The younger Gracchus had a price set upon his head; and when he had been put to death in a wood sacred to the Furies, the consul Opinius gave its weight in gold for it. Another member of this democratic family conducted 6000 colonists to the ruins of Carthage, attempting to rebuild the city and call it Junonia. Meanwhile old king Masinissa had died, and been succeeded by his son Micipsa, who divided the Numidian sovereignty, on his own deathbed, between his two children Hiempsal and Adherbal, and his nephew Jugurtha. The two former were murdered by their cousin and colleague, which forthwith brought upon the criminal a sentence of deposition from the senate. But the artful African believed that every one of his judges might be won over at a price; so that bribery on an enormous scale was resorted to, and with considerable success, until the appointment of Metellus. War had been formally declared against Jugurtha; when, just as the new general had driven his enemy to extremities, party-spirit at home transferred the consulate, and with it the glory of successfully terminating the expedition, to his lieutenant Marius, a man of mean extraction, opposed to Metellus, whose birth and policy were thoroughly aristocratic. Marius, however, quickly concluded the struggle; led the captive chieftain in chains behind the wheels of his triumphal chariot; and then had him deservedly cast into a dungeon, where he was either strangled or starved to death. Antagonists of another

nature soon absorbed the attention of Rome and her popular leader. During his absence in Africa, the northern tribes of Cimbrians, with the Teutones, Ambrones, and Helvetians, swarmed over Gaul and the banks of the Danube; fierce, savage barbarians, of gigantic stature, carrying terror with them wherever they appeared. The consuls Carbo, Silanus, Scaurus, Cassius, Cæpio, and Manlius, were all and each successively defeated with tremendous slaughter; severe punishments, inflicted on some of these unfortunate officers, attested the rage, rather than any revival of real discipline, which actuated the Roman multitude at the slightest shadow of apprehension or mortification; and Marius was unanimously chosen to lead the legions to revenge as well as to victory. His military conduct demonstrated the genius of a master-mind, and justified the selection. Severity seemed his predominant characteristic; nor would he have failed in being truly a great man, had he but known how to restrain himself as strenuously as he coerced his troops. He sagaciously habituated the latter to the sight of the tall Titans with whom they would have to engage, long before he trusted them to the chances and perils of an actual encounter. When such familiarity had, as he thought, accomplished its purpose, he sent his colleague Catulus to seize the passes of the Rætian Alps; whilst in person he overthrew the Teutones at Aix in Provence, and then hastened to the support of Catulus. At Vercellæ on the Athesis the combined Roman armies skilfully assailed their dangerous yet undisciplined invaders. One of the most sanguinary combats then ensued; when, just as Marius was being nearly outflanked by numbers, his genius enabled him to turn a particular movement to the best account; and, with the sun bursting from behind a cloud to invigorate his charging columns, he swept all resistance before him, and covered the plains of Verona with 140,000 corpses, B.C. 102. The triumph not merely saved Rome from destruction, but gave also the political ascendancy to that party of demagogues

which the conqueror of Jugurtha and the Gauls had patronised.

The proposal of Caius Gracchus, that the judicature should be transferred to the equestrian order, had been carried out; so that 3900 knights administered the laws, and farmed the revenues of the provinces. One consequence was, that the most nefarious fiscal oppression flourished without check or limitation; since all appeals against financial oppression came only to the tribunals of the oppressors themselves; in other words, the wolves and watchdogs were the same persons. Drusus at last brought the senate and knights into conflict; yet with so little capacity on his side, that his own order misunderstood his motives, and coalesced with his and their opponents. To save himself through the populace, he then trod in the steps of the Gracchi; bringing forward laws for the assignment of lands, and regulating the prices of corn, as also promising the freedom of the city to all Italy. He was stabbed by an unknown hand as he returned home from the forum amidst an immense concourse. Subsequent excitement engendered what came to be called the Social war; for the Italians flocked to the Seven Hills to enforce their rights on undeniable grounds. Their contingents had always outnumbered the regular legions; fortified by which fact, they claimed what could no longer with any justice be withheld. Government having somewhat haughtily rejected their demands, they attempted to form an independent confederacy among the Umbrians and Sabellians, which afterwards received the adhesion of Tuscany, Campania, and Calabria. Defiant hostilities were declared against Rome by the entire association, of which the Marsian town Corfinium was made the capital. The contest continued for three years, costing 300,000 lives, and concluding with the desired concession. One by one the allies attained their full civil privileges, being admitted as Roman citizens B.C. 91-88. Cruelties, as well as massacres of the most infernal character, had been pepe-

trated; which had scarcely terminated, when news arrived that Mithridates, the king of Pontus, terrifically imitating the example, had assassinated on a single day 80,000 of their countrymen resident in his dominions of Asia Minor. This potentate was the seventh of his name; an energetic successor and avenger of the old oriental monarchs. Inheriting through his father those provinces considered as an hereditary satrapy from the days of Darius Hystaspes, he added to them, after a series of victories over his neighbours, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Bithynia, besides Ionia; thus rendering himself master of the complete continent of Asia Minor. Legions with their generals quailed before him both by land and sea. At Pergamus he publicly whipt Manius Aquilius, the senatorial legate; then stretched him upon the rack; and finally had melted gold poured down his throat, as emblematic of Roman avarice, injustice, and corruption. Then ensued the horrible massacre of those Roman citizens who had settled in the territories which he had wrested from the senate; all of whom he looked upon as spies, ready to report his procedures at the capital, or join the eagles of Italy whenever and wherever they might appear. That these victims of Eastern vengeance were unpopular appears but too plain from the secret alacrity with which the cruel orders of the tyrant were executed. He then equipped his fleet, and fell upon the islands; plundering the coffers of Cos, where the Asiatic Jews had deposited 800 talents for their temple at Jerusalem, and seizing upon these as well as innumerable other spoils. The Rhodians resisted him successfully; but the realms of Pergamus, with the adjacent islands of the Ægean and the Cyclades, had to acknowledge his sway; to which his son Ariarathes and some able commanders annexed Eubœa, Greece, Thracé, and Macedonia. The regions of the Bosphorus he acquired from the last of their native chieftains, Parisades III.; which gave him the whole of Colchis the present Mingrelia, together with

the valleys of the Caucasus, Abasia, and Circassia to the Cuban, the wild steppes between that stream and the Sea of Azof or Palus Mæotis, alive then as now with Scythian cavalry, the estuary of the Don or Tanais, and the entire peninsula of the Crimea, at that time known as the Tauric Chersonesus. His grand design was to unite the countless hordes of inhabitants from Asiatic Sarinatia and the Euxine, along the Danube to the Alps, under one vast national alliance, whose military forces were to learn discipline and civilisation from himself; after which he would assume their leadership, and conduct them round the head of the Adriatic to the conquest of Italy. His talents and conceptions were in reality prodigious, and his aspirations still greater. He could speak fluently the twenty-two or five languages of his extended dominions. His navy and armies seemed to defy competition. He reigned gorgeously but cruelly for upwards of forty years; contending with the Romans during twenty-five of them for the supremacy of the world.

The famous Sylla, member of a reduced patrician family, had been the lieutenant, and was now the rival, of Marius. He was besieging Nola, a city of the Italian Socialists, when he received his appointment to conduct the war against Mithridates. Marius, though seventy years old, could not bear that his competitor should enjoy this honour; so that he had the decree recalled, and himself nominated. Sylla, on hearing it, immediately marched to Rome: provided a supply of torches to set her streets on fire; and poured in 26,000 legionaries, to whom his will was law, through the gates of the Colline and Esquiline. Marius, after some fruitless attempts to rally his adherents, owed even his personal safety to a slave, and was declared an enemy to the republic, together with his son and ten adherents. Concealing himself amid the marshes of Minturnæ, where he was captured and thrown into prison, a Cimbric had been sent to execute the hoary-headed general; when, terrified with the look and voice of the conqueror

of his countrymen, he cast down his weapon and fled. The intended victim escaped to Africa; while Sylla rapidly overran Greece, meeting with his first obstacle at Athens. There Archelaus, commanding for Mithridates, endured his memorable blockade, followed up by as sanguinary a storm; and the city of Socrates and Plato had to sue for forgiveness, which was awarded for the sake of ancient sympathies and associations. The decisive battle took place near Chæronea in Bœotia, followed, however, by another of less importance at Orchomenus in Thessaly; both terminating in the total overthrow of the Pontic forces. Their sovereign then demanded peace; which the conqueror granted on the surrender of Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia, together with the European provinces, part of his fleet, and an enormous sum of money. Sylla had left the consulate in the hands of Octavius and Cinna; the latter was expelled by his colleague; which had no sooner happened than Cinna collected an army and menaced the senate. Still further to strengthen himself, after courting popularity through intrigues with the new Marsian citizens of the late Italian league, he recalled Marius. That angry exile gathered many a gallant veteran to his standards; and accompanied by Cinna, Carbo, and Sertorius, like a lion roaring for his prey he entered the metropolis, and dyed it with blood. The consul Octavius in vain defended the Vatican; until his well-known features, gory and pallid from their decapitation, appeared streaming on the summit of a spear, as they were borne aloft through the streets. Senators, patricians, priests, and nobles, fell sacrifices to private revenge, insatiable covetousness, or the malice of common informers. Catulus was compelled to commit suicide. The head of Antonius, the great orator, was brought to Marius as he sat at supper: he took and handled it, and embraced with terrific gratitude the murderer. Having thus glutted his demoniacal appetite for slaughter, and made himself, with Cinna, consul for the seventh time, he relieved a guilty country from his presence,

and expired in the seventieth year of his age, B.C. 87. Sylla, having terminated the Mithridatic war, was at hand to celebrate his obsequies.

These constituted a worthy memorial of the spirit of civil contention, each train of vile and revengeful passions engendering their correspondent successors. Landing in Apulia, the victor of the Pontic armies moved his triumphant legions with the greatest order and discipline, so as to meet and collect the flying consulars and return with them to the Capitol, that there he might restore the senate to its legal rank and rights. Cinna endeavoured to arrest his career; but was killed in an uproar by his own soldiers. Sylla then met and overthrew Norbanus, at the head of an opposing detachment, near Capua; and the troops of Scipio came over to him. Cneius Pompey also joined him, with the clients of his father; and one of his officers gained Sardinia. In fact, the Marians failed every where, from Africa northwards; after the most horrible massacres and iniquities had been perpetrated by the son and successor of their late leader. Sylla, however, in professing to punish such atrocities, only multiplied them under the name of vengeance. Proscription followed proscription; wealth soon became crime when murder was gain. The new master of Rome seemed for the moment a summary of her previous monsters. He consigned 8000 of his adversaries at once to the sword, when they had surrendered to the mercy of a man who could coolly jest at their dying groans, which were heard from afar in the forum. The younger Marius in vain defended Præneste. His partisans were cut off one after another: wives closed the doors against their husbands; children slew their own parents; violence trampled down virtue; and the constitution itself had become a laughing-stock. Marius massacred his thousands, Sylla his ten thousands; whilst between them history records a mournful total of thirty-three consulars, seven prætors, sixty ediles, 200 senators, 1200 knights, and 150,000 Roman citizens, all openly slain, besides the myriads who per-

ished in unknown dungeons or from the pressure of abject and sudden destitution. Dividing amongst his forty-seven legions the lands and properties of the Marians, he made himself perpetual dictator; restored the republic to that form which vested the main power and authority in the patricians; deprived the tribunes of their old privilege of proposing laws; completed the reduced senate from the equestrian order, to the extent of three hundred; and increased, for the advantage of his friends, the colleges of pontiffs and augurs. Sertorius, one of the Marian faction, had alone resisted him with success in Spain. The talents of this officer shone out with considerable brilliancy, particularly in Lusitania, where he established a sort of Roman government in miniature for eighteen years, notwithstanding the various efforts that were adopted for his extinction. Sylla, in the very plenitude of absolute power, abdicated amidst the amazement of mankind; resigning himself to an undisturbed intellectualism and sensualism in his retirement at Puteoli; where he closed his course through an odious and horrid disorder, which devoured him with vermin and covered him with premature corruption, B.C. 75-7. The Servile war meanwhile agitated the south of Italy, just as the Social contest had done before it. A few gladiators, led by the Thracian Spartacus, kept at bay four Roman armies; baffled as they successively found themselves by well-organised bands of robbers, freebooters, slaves, corsairs, and peasants. Crassus at length defeated them in a final engagement; which swallowed up 40,000 rebels, with their leader, and a multitude of the best legionaries, in one common catastrophe. Mithridates had watched from his Pontic throne each symptom of the chaos thus afflicting the dominions of his grand antagonist. When Nicomedes, the sovereign of Bithynia, imitated the precedent of Attalus, and bequeathed his realm to the Romans, he disputed the powers of the royal testator, and preoccupied the prize. Sertorius had prepared in the west to make a diversion in his favour, but was assassinated by Perpenna at a

lanquet, B.C. 72. The war of the pirates might also have helped him, as at first it appeared. What Spartacus and his gladiators threatened to be on land, an association of Cilicians and Isaurians really became at sea. These latter buccaneers annihilated for an interval the honest commerce of the Mediterranean. The coasts of Italy were so scourged by them, that no noble deemed his family safe in any country-seat; nor could an ordinary journey be taken without precaution. Squadrons of their vessels intercepted the supplies of corn for the capital; when, although several commanders were sent out against them, the delinquents escaped, and renewed their annoyances. It required the genius and promptitude of Pompey the Great to suppress them altogether, which he at length did, within the brief space of forty days, B.C. 66; although their successors and descendants, amidst the Isaurian fastnesses, more or less afflicted the empire for many centuries.

The mountainous and midland districts of Asia Minor had long furnished the enemies of Rome with some of their boldest soldiers. Many of these mercenaries had served the latter monarchs of Macedonia; more particularly the Gauls, settled in Galatia, and conquered by a former Attalus, king of Pergamus, about B.C. 260. Subsequent to that period their geographical limits had been between the Sangarius and Halys, extending from the Euxine into Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Pontus; where they lived under a kind of confederation singularly analogous in several respects to the more modern one of Switzerland. Antiochus the Great had hired them; but after the Romans had humbled that potentate and signed a treaty with the Gauls, Mithridates subjugated their cantons or races, until Sylla again liberated them. That leader had been sorely embarrassed in Asia itself, through the intrigues of Flavius Fimbria, who, after exciting endless commotions, was with immense difficulty brought to destroy himself, leaving behind him all the elements of confusion more rife than they were before among the Galatian mercenaries. The

Pontic king, therefore, now gathered them together with great effect; and the second Mithridatic war illustrated the thoughtful talents of Lucullus, an intellectual man of the world long withdrawn from military affairs, who had to learn from books and reflection how to manage the vast enterprise with which the senate intrusted him. His campaigns proved a series of victories. The tyrant, driven from a long chain of important positions, had to fall back upon the nomadic hordes, which his indefatigable courage and skill transformed into fresh armies after the defeats at Cyzicus. Yet, with these and the Caucasian mountaineers, he found no better fortune on the bloody field of Cabira, from which he threw himself upon the support of his son-in-law Tigranes, the sovereign of Armenia and Syria; a prince perhaps understanding how to rule slaves, but not how to arrest the Romans. Near his capital, Tigranocerta, he unfurled his banners at sunrise over 300,000 troops, to whom he issued his presumptuous mandate that they should at once disperse or capture the 30,000 soldiers of Lucullus—destined as those warriors were, within a few hours, to prostrate his pride in the dust. Mithridates, however, obtained another army, and sought for the future to enfeeble his invaders by delays, annoyances, and small incessant engagements. Nevertheless at Artaxata the great general encountered both his royal competitors, and routed them completely; yet was forced to retreat on a mutiny appearing among the legions. Their disobedience baffled him perpetually, until at length calumny effected his recall; although, with some hesitation, the senate sanctioned his being allowed a triumph. In the interval Mithridates, who had marched again into Pontus and beaten the Romans, now recovered Cappadocia, and seemed as formidable as ever. But Cneius Pompey was at hand, the conqueror of the pirates, eclipsing all his contemporaries for many years in the arena of secular glory; destined in his elevation, as also in his fall, to set every constitutional form at defiance. As a

simple knight he had triumphed, without having borne any public office; he had obtained the consulate without passing through the previous grades; he then superseded Lucullus in the honour of extinguishing the Asiatic conflagration. It was the boast of Mithridates that he had set the corners of the world on fire; while, at more than seventy years of age, he summoned all his energies and foresight for the final struggle. He met with disaster at Dastira, whence he fled to Colchis. His son Machares had joined the Romans; his father, getting him into his power, executed him as a traitor. Iberia and Albania were now drawn into the unequal contest. Pompey, by repeated victories, at length tranquillised the Caucasus, and marched southward to reap the harvest of his own labours as well as those of Lucullus. Tigranes purchased peace through the surrender of Syria, which was made a Roman province; Armenia Minor was given to Deiotarus, the Galatian Gaul; and Paphlagonia was divided. Tidings at this crisis arrived that the Pontic monarch, having obtained another army among the Scythians, designed some grand comprehension of these tribes with the Gallic nations in Asia and Europe from the Don and the Danube to the Rhine and the Rhone; upon which Pompey returned on his steps in haste, but found his aged enemy no more. His efforts had been strained and stretched in vain from the Caspian to the Adriatic: Pharnaces, his second son, had rebelled against him, and seduced a portion of the new reinforcements. Two attempts at suicide, by poison and the sword, failed from the strength of his constitution and the feebleness of his arm; until ultimately Bithocus, an attendant Gaul, in mercy despatched him, B.C. 64. Pompey made Pontus, as he had done Syria, a Roman province; when his attention was attracted towards Judæa. On the death of John Hyrcanus, B.C. 106, his son Aristobulus had assumed the regal title; this prince, convicted of both matricide and fratricide, being succeeded within twelve months by his brother Alexander Jannæus. He reigned for twenty-

seven years, and his queen for nine more, supported by the sect of the Pharisees, the then dominant party. On her death, their two sons, Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus II., commenced their domestic contentions for the Asamonæan throne, which continued until Pompey finally decided in favour of the former, B.C. 63.

The conqueror of Mithridates had already given away kingdoms with lavish liberality. Pharnaces, for his timely assistance in effecting the ruin of his father, received the fine territories of the Bosphorus from the Phasis to the Dnieper. His patron had visited Damascus, and suppressed the last of the Seleucides, overawed Aretas the Arabian chieftain of Petra, taken the temple of Jerusalem by assault, and visited the Holy of Holies. Hyrcanus, though restored to the pontificate, which he enjoyed for twenty-three years longer, was not to wear a crown, nor dispute the behests of Rome. Pompey carried away with him Aristobulus II., with his four children, that, together with their golden vine, worth 400 talents, their presence in person as captive princes might enhance the splendour of his approaching triumph. No leader hitherto had accomplished such brilliant exploits. He could boast that he had made the boundary of the empire its centre; that he had marched victoriously through all Europe and Asia Minor, Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Phœnicia, Judæa, as well as parts of Scythia and Arabia; that he had reduced almost all these countries into provinces, conquered 2000 cities and founded twenty-nine new ones; taken 800 vessels, slain or captured about 2,000,000 of enemies; restored 850 towns from their ruins; delivered into the public treasury 20,000 talents, and more than doubled the revenues of the state, besides distributing among his troops largesses to the amount of nearly 4,000,000*l.* sterling. Crete had been conquered by Metellus, its inhabitants having been forced into an alliance with the pirates; when the latter formed a regular society of corsairs, rioting in the ancient trade of

Carthage and Corinth, and with squadrons afloat to the extent of a thousand sails. The islands of the Ægean acknowledged the supremacy of Italy, not excepting Rhodes herself, with her considerable dependencies and powers, as well as Numidia, with Africa to Mount Atlas, since Pompey had taken prisoner Hiabas, the representative of Masinissa. The suppressor of Sertorius and his adherents in Spain had also restored Roman ascendancy in those regions; while fresh avenues seemed opening for private ambition in many other directions. In fact, the laws were already silenced by the inordinate influence of individuals; universal selfishness, supplanting belief in religion altogether, had destroyed those hopes in a future life, which, however vague and erroneous they might be, yet helped to elevate the sentiments of antiquity above the low impulses of vulgar passions; honours, dignities, and friendships had grown entirely venal; and corrupt citizens justified whatever atrocities might happen to be called for by the ever-increasing necessities of an insatiable luxury. One of the most important consular transactions of Pompey had been his abrogation of the tribunitial restrictions established by Sylla; so that at the commencement of his career the tribunes, out of gratitude, anticipated his wishes, and promoted every extraordinary act of the republic in his favour; yet circumstances finally constituted him the leader of the aristocratic party. The democratic faction meanwhile grew gigantic in its aspirations and pretensions; at its head moreover appeared a still younger champion than the patrician hero of the east, and that man was Julius Cæsar.

He was son-in-law to Cinna, and connected with the Marians in many ways. Overwhelming intercession alone saved him from the wrathful penetration of Sylla, who used to say that he saw in him a combination of Mariuses. It may, indeed, be well questioned whether the world can have ever beheld his resemblance or equal; such administrative as well as military ge-

nus, such wit, eloquence, constancy, perseverance, and promptitude, such style, science, and learning, grasp of comprehension, minuteness of observation, bodily as well as mental vigour, loftiness and grandeur of conception, blended with subtlety of intellect and clearness of apprehension,—in other words, every thing included in his marvellous character, with the melancholy exception of virtue. Ambition seized upon his soul at an early period, marking him out as destined to leave an immortal name, were it only as a mere slaughterer of mankind. While Pompey was expanding the limits of the empire, domestic treason had nearly buried it in an abyss of ruin. Catiline, an eminent profligate, originated a conspiracy which involved the conflagration of Rome, the assassination of the consuls and senate, the dissolution of society in Italy, and his own elevation to absolute power. The public peril brought forward Marcus Tullius Cicero, as the prince of Latin orators and patriots, and the father of his country. His matchless wisdom, courage, integrity, and eloquence, unveiled the mine, unmasked the hidden and mysterious mischief, and placed the government in security. The conspirators were discovered, denounced, and defeated. A fearful conflict near Pistoia, B.C. 63, extinguished their horrible insurrection, the success of which would have been worse than any preceding it. Names of the highest distinction had been stained with the suspicion of some guilty participation, nor had that of Julius Cæsar escaped. To repair his fame and fortune, he had accepted the prætorship of Spain. There the debaucheries of his youth gave way to an astonishing development of energy and capacity for the highest secular affairs; so that, being nominated consul on his return to Rome, the resplendence of his character, as a political star of the first magnitude, enabled him to welcome Pompey and form the outlines of a triumvirate between themselves and Crassus. The hero of the east had discharged his troops on landing in Italy, desiring, after his gorgeous triumph, two favours only from the senate,

—the ratification of his Asiatic policy, and lands for his soldiers. Both were refused; from which moment it seems probable he assented to the propositions of Cæsar, which were, that the latter should be again consul, with an appointment for five years, of the Gauls, and Illyricum as his province; and that the three should act together, upon the principle of mutually supporting each other, as the heads and supporters of government. The wealth of Crassus gave him immense weight in the metropolis, where Pompey began to be envied, particularly by a fickle populace.

Cæsar, whose nomination had proceeded from the people rather than the senate, withdrew to the theatre of his glory, conscious that behind the Alps he could shape his means for effecting all ultimate designs. Cisalpine Gaul had long been part of Italy. Transalpine Gaul had been first entered by the Romans B.C. 123, where a province had been subsequently acquired out of the south-eastern territories, extending along the sea-coast from the Alps to the Pyrenees; nearly the identical country which was afterwards, in the mediæval ages, called Septimania. His present army consisted of four legions, devoted to his service, and confiding in his already well-known fame,—for he had subdued several Spanish nations never before subject to Rome. He secured his position as a munificent partisan by paying off all his debts out of his profits and plunder, to the amount of 1,000,000*l.* Pompey, moreover, had married his daughter; the best pledge, it was thought, for the consolidation of the first triumvirate, B.C. 58. Cæsar lost no time in falling upon the Helvetians before they could cross the Jura; an attempt which they were about to make; but being thus anticipated and conquered, they were changed into useful allies, and the passes through their mountains colonised for still more important purposes. In due course, the future dictator of the empire broke up every national confederacy, and triumphed over every obstacle. Before the termination of his command he met Pompey and Crassus at

Lucca, arranging with his colleagues, that they should assume the consulate, enlarging the limits of his own transalpine commission to ten years, and granting him an increased number of legions. With these ample concessions, he manifested the inherent superiority of discipline, science, and genius, over disunited tribes, however brave and numerous. He most skilfully so managed matters as that each expedition arose naturally out of its predecessor. In ten years the entire extent of Gaul lay bleeding at his feet. His mighty mind moulded the country to his private will and pleasure as a potter manipulates his clay. Even the Rhine offered no effective resistance; nor the gloom of the Hercynian forests; nor the channel dividing our own island from the continent. Twice he invaded Britain, filling the imaginations of his countrymen with the intelligence and probable consequences of his victories. They had been won by a creative energy and power perhaps greater than those of Alexander, wading through seas of slaughter, the sack of towns and cities, and the other iron oppressions of war. Pompey had selected Africa and Spain for his provinces, Crassus preferred Syria. Wealthy as he was, his appetite for gain and luxury grew by what it fed upon. It came to be remembered afterwards, that when he left the city, Ateius, one of the tribunes, had devoted him with a thousand execrations to the infernal furies; casting at the same time perfumes and charms into a fire kindled at the gate by which he went out. The Parthians had risen against the oriental frontier. Their first eminent chieftain, Arsaces, B.C. 250, having revolted from Antiochus Theos the Selencidan, founded almost the only dynasty which Rome never permanently conquered; which continued for nearly five centuries, until supplanted by the Persian Sassanides; and which sometimes reigned over eighteen nominal kingdoms, from the Indus to the Tigris, and from Mount Caucasus to the shores of the Red Sea. The Upper Kingdoms, as they were called, are enumerated in history as eleven, stretching from

the confines of the Caspian and Armenia to the borders of Scythia; the other seven comprehended the remaining provinces, and were known as the Lower Kingdoms. Ecbatana and Ctesiphon seem to have been the respective capitals. Crassus gloated in his fancy upon the harvest of spoil which the East, as he imagined, would be certain to afford him; and with this view, his own intrigues had, in reality, excited the Parthians to attack the empire. Jerusalem lay in his road; where he greedily appropriated enormous treasures, which Pompey had left untouched. Ten thousand talents scarcely satisfied his insatiable avarice; but onward he went, revelling in the very wantonness of war, to his fate at Carrhæ, in Mesopotamia. Surenas there surrounded him with that light irresistible cavalry which scourges and baffles heavy-armed troops when sinking exhausted amidst the sands of the desert. Down to that crisis remonstrances and offers of fair arrangement had been pressed repeatedly upon the Romans, which, when too late, they would gratefully have accepted. Clouds of avenging archers now harassed them on all sides; supplies of food, forage, and, above all, water, vanished like the mirage of the wilderness. In a decisive battle the legions were routed, and the son of their wretched leader slain; nor could the father finally escape, since his crafty foe cut him off at a conference, and poured melted gold into his mouth, that he might be glutted with his favourite metal, B.C. 54. Cassius, his lieutenant, saved Syria, with the loss of more than 30,000 soldiers. The equilibrium of the first triumvirate was thus destroyed.

Yet before this event, the death of the noble Julia, daughter to Cæsar, and the wife of Pompey, had severed the tie between them. The latter had remained at Rome, not caring to govern his provinces in person; but slumbering beneath his laurels, whilst his vigilant competitor watched every ripple upon the waters. The one had placed himself, without much depth of design or dignity, at the head of the aristocracy; the other

was the idol of the tribes, the invincible conqueror of Gaul and Britain, borrowing perhaps some grandeur through being still at a distance, and exciting more hopes than fears. Pompey could endure no rival; Cæsar no superior. Cato abhorred both, but dreaded the latter more than the former; desiring only to live or die an unsullied patriot. No keen observer could help seeing that the sword, at last, would have to settle their pretensions. Pompey had been appointed consul without a colleague, seeking to have the dictatorship renewed in his own omnipotent name; the friends of Cæsar required that he should be nominated as the other consul, in his absence, which demand was met by an order that he should disband his legions. Cicero vainly exerted his eloquent mediation; and it would appear that, upon the whole, the senate first threw down the gauntlet by constituting Pompey general of the republic, with an army and executive to be supported out of the public treasury. Cæsar then on his part also cast the die, accepted their challenge, and crossed the Rubicon, B.C. 48. Italy, with the exception of Corfinium, at once declared for him; Pompey and the senate withdrew to Capua, and afterwards to Greece. At Rome the usurper assembled the people, protesting that his and their adversaries compelled him to act as he was then doing. Meanwhile his words were rapidly followed up by deeds pregnant with as much prudence as audacity. Having organised an executive of his own adherents, and well aware that the military strength of his rival lay in Spain, under Afranius and Petreius, he set out for that country without delay. Marseilles opposed his passage, yet with no success. His masterly strategies overcame unnumbered obstacles, the walls and fortifications of cities, the passes of the Pyrenees, the ravines and rivers of the peninsula beyond them. The generals of Pompey, notwithstanding their advantageous position, were forced to surrender themselves and their armaments, apart from the honour of fighting a single battle; upon which Cæsar, flushed with his

good fortune, hastened rapidly back through Gaul and Italy to embark at Brundisium, and land his legions at Dyrrachium. Thither had the great champion of the senate summoned to his standard the potentates of those various countries which formerly he had vanquished. He seemed to represent the majesty of Rome; yet in reality felt not a little hampered by that very circumstance. The republic considering him as her servant, he could with the less facility conceive independent plans, or carry them into execution at his will. His elevated rank proved too often a gigantic incumbrance; whilst the army of his antagonist was less numerous, yet composed of better materials, his measures emanated from his own breast, and could be controlled by none; his soldiers, inured to hardship, action, and victory, placed implicit confidence in the talents and sagacity of their leader.

Then loomed on the horizon the field of Pharsalia, upon which an empire, instead of the old republic, was to be founded. It has been supposed by some that Pompey should have protracted the war, gone back again into Italy, and appealed to the spectres of worn-out sympathies to confound the rapid energies of his rival. Nothing, however, in the honest judgment of history, could have much longer delayed the result. His patrician supporters induced him by their taunts to quit his fortified camp and descend into the plains of Thessaly, B.C. 48. The Cæsarians advanced with firm steps, and then halted, perceiving that their adversaries remained still in position; hoping, perhaps, that those who charged first would be the sooner exhausted. But the former had already recovered their breath; their courage seemed excited by the exertion; so that, having thrown their darts and spears, and drawing their swords, they rushed on. The rough shock of battle horrified the sons of senators, when death and ghastly wounds in reality stared them in the face. Yet part of the Pompeian cavalry fancied themselves victorious at certain ranks of infantry giving way be-

fore them; which was neither more nor less than an artful manœuvre to surround them on the flanks and in the rear, and then bring them up suddenly against the Germans, massed together cohort behind cohort. That unexpected phenomenon dispersed in a moment the gallantry of the noble yet effeminate riders. They paused, reeled backwards, broke, turned, and finally fled in all the confusion of panic. Cæsar then skillfully moved forward upon a side of the hostile lines exposed through this fatal flight of the cavalry; and closing up the intervals of his animated troops, he charged with triple onset the full front of the enemy. It was decisive: not only the denuded wing, but the entire van swayed and yielded. Amidst tremendous slaughter the day was irrecoverably lost. Pompey abandoned post after post, after his competitor had been seen riding through his own squadrons endeavouring to moderate their fury. On the following day whatever remained of the senatorial army surrendered to the victor. The latter, with illustrious magnanimity, threw into the fire every letter and document, found in the tents and baggage of Pompey, unread and unopened. It was on such occasions that his truest heroism appeared. He wept over the head of his fallen rival, when it was subsequently presented to him in Egypt; where Ptolemy, whose father had been indebted to Pompey for the throne, had basely connived at an assassination of the great Roman, in the very presence of his virtuous consort Cornelia. Cæsar, indeed, remained far too long in that country, entranced by the wiles of Cleopatra, who had a couple of children by him. In a tumult at Alexandria, originating from his base partiality for the fascinating queen against her brother, he narrowly escaped destruction by throwing himself into the sea and swimming off to a vessel. He avenged his peril, however, in the next battle, by severely chastising the Egyptians: the last of their degenerate Ptolemies lost his life in the waters, and Cæsar bestowed the whole kingdom on his paramour.

Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, at length roused the conqueror from an apparent slumber upon the lap of voluptuousness; for that Pontic prince had turned to his private advantage the confusion of the times, and augmented the realm of the Bosphorus, which Pompey had awarded him, through the partial recovery of his hereditary dominions. Julius Cæsar, marching into Lesser Asia, defeated him with such celerity and success, that he wrote on the occasion his celebrated despatch of three emphatic words, announcing to the senate that the resistance of their vassal had terminated with his appearance: *Veni, vidi, vici*, in fact, formed not an unfair summary of the Pontic expedition. From the north-east he hastened to the south-west, defeating army after army opposed to him in Africa. Cato, no longer confiding in the republic, slew himself at Utica; his colleagues, Afranius, Labienns, Scipio, Petreius, and Juba the Numidian, all perished or submitted, thoroughly disheartened by the unfortunate battle of Thapsus: the other Pompeian commanders retired to Spain, where the two sons of their late leader fought in vain the for some time doubtful conflict at Munda; but in reality there was no further hope or chance for any restoration of freedom. The ascendancy of despotism was established, through the sword of Cæsar, over the whole Roman world; thus existing wherever civilisation had penetrated, since the remote regions of China or India were no exceptions.

The now absolute dictator indulged his countrymen with the gorgeous spectacle of ascending the Capitol literally laden with the spoils of the Rhine, Gaul, Britain, Egypt, Pontus, Mauritania, and Spain. Within ten years he had overcome the combinations of Ariovistus and Vincengetorix from the forests of Germany to the palisaded towns on the Thames, and from the sandbanks of Batavia to the passes of the Alps and the Pyrenees: he had subdued Spain twice; he had marched through Italy at the head of a victorious

army; he had overthrown the vast power of Pompey the Great; reduced Egypt to obedience; seen and defeated the son of Mithridates; extinguished in Africa the energies of Cato and the arms of Juba; fought fifty engagements, in which it was calculated that 1,192,000 men had fallen; commenced the re-erection of Carthage and Corinth; and collected the materials for four triumphs. More kings and captive princes in chains attended his chariot than had ever before required the whisper of the Roman slave to remind the conqueror that he was mortal. His vessels of gold and silver, with their accompanying treasures, amounted to 12,000,000*l.* sterling. He was installed in all his dignities, with uncontrolled authority, for life; the halcyon interval that ensued was stained with neither proscription nor persecution; while, as Pontifex Maximus, he accomplished a reformation of the calendar, and laid the foundations for a new legal code. Employment being necessary for the legions, war was meditated against the Parthians, to avenge the death of Crassus, and against some distant tribes upon the shores of the inhospitable Euxine. But not as yet had Rome eliminated the ingredients of that internal volcano with which her bosom still throbbed and heaved. A conspiracy was hatched against Cæsar, in which patriots enrolled their names who owed their lives to his clemency, as well as their fortunes to his favour. Impelled by false sentiments of ideal rather than practical virtue, Brutus and Cassius, amidst a throng of adherents less honest than themselves, pierced him with three-and-twenty wounds in the senate-house, on the ides of March B.C. 44; where, wrapping around him the rich robes of his too-dearly purchased dignity, he fell at the feet of Pompey's statue, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. Their daggers removed a mild despot, bringing back upon their agitated countrymen the days of Marius and Sylla. Cicero once more stepped forward as a sort of mediator, by proposing that the senate should ratify all the actions of the late autocrat; when Marcus

Antonius contrived to maintain the confusion into which all affairs were thrown, through making it manifest that he intended to succeed Cæsar if he could. To counteract such a catastrophe, Cicero and the senate set up Octavianus, the nephew and adopted son of Cæsar. Antonius began the new contest by attempting to drive Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators, out of his province of Cisalpine Gaul; besieging him for that purpose in Mutina. The consuls, Hirtius and Panza, hastened to his relief; Octavianus joined them; and Antonius was obliged to fly into Transalpine Gaul. The two consuls fell before Mutina; not without suspicion of treachery on the part of Octavianus, whose dissimulation and want of moral principle thus early began to display themselves. But the senate lay under the hallucination that they would find no difficulty in keeping him down, could they but once, through his means, get rid of Antonius.

These events led to the second triumvirate; for Lepidus and Plancus, commanding armies in Gaul, were gained over by Antonius. Octavianus, appointed consul in the room of Panza, also lent a willing ear to their invitation, having more and more seceded from the senate, whom he had merely used as a bridge to help him across the recent difficulties. It was proposed that Octavianus, Antonius, and Lepidus should constitute an executive precisely analogous to the former one of Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus. Their first meeting was held in a little island formed by two streams near the modern Bologna, B.C. 43; where fresh tables of proscription immortalised their infamy in consigning 300 senators, 2000 knights, and many other distinguished citizens to immediate destruction. Every tie of kindred or friendship snapped asunder beneath the strain of ambition or revenge. Even the eloquent tongue of Cicero underwent the indignity of being pierced with the bodkin of Fulvia, the profligate widow of Clodius and wife of Antonius, whose vices and enormities it had so often denounced and described. For immediate go-

vernment Octavianus was to receive Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia; Lepidus Spain, with Gallia Narbonensis; and Antonius the remainder of Gaul. The first and the last, moreover, undertook with twenty legions each to march against the murderers of Cæsar. Brutus and Cassius, supported by Greece, Macedonia, and the Orient, had encamped at Philippi when the triumvirs approached them, B.C. 42; the spectre of the late illustrious victim significantly indicating to the best among the mistaken patriots, in the solemn silence of his tent at midnight, that their dread Nemesis was at hand. In the earlier action, Brutus penetrated into the camp of Octavianus; yet, on the opposite wing, Cassius was beaten, and killed himself in desperation. The second struggle presented nearly the same turn of events; only that the defeat of the troops confronted with Antonius involved the whole battle-array of Brutus in one universal overthrow. That noble yet deluded Roman fell upon his own sword a few days subsequently to the final contest; in which also the son of Cato, and the young Lucullus, with a host of other historical worthies, met a memorable termination to their career. After reveling in needless massacre, the victors separated; Antonius for Asia, and Octavianus for Rome. The one wished to humble the Parthian Pacorus by a fruitless invasion of his wildernesses, from which the weary and voluptuous warrior went southward into Egypt, and found ruin in the arms of Cleopatra; the other, with far deeper policy, quartered his soldiers upon Italy, and suppressed the Perusian insurrection. Sextus, the son of Pompey the Great, still retained considerable power at sea; but the fortunes of his house had irretrievably fallen. Antonius, through the wiles of the Egyptian wanton, soon divorced the virtuous Octavia, the sister of his colleague, and therefore niece of Julius Cæsar; which excited the anger of Octavianus and the disgust of every right-minded Roman. Her brother felt himself undisputed master of the metropolis, commanding, as he did, no less than forty-seven legions; having

eclipsed the influence of Lepidus, and quietly appropriated his entire military armament. It was now clear that the two other triumvirs would have to fight it out between them; the senate siding with the Cæsarians, and the East with Antonius. With artful ingenuity, Octavianus appealed to the republic generally, whether the forms of the ancient constitution were to be preserved, or to be laid on the lap of a degenerate daughter of the Ptolemies? He proceeded to Greece with eight of his best legions, five cohorts, and an admirable fleet of 250 vessels, under the guidance of Agrippa, an officer of experience and ability. The engagement occurred near the cape of Actium on the coast of Epirus, B.C. 31: the ships of Antonius were larger and much more numerous than those of his rival; but Agrippa had recently defeated the younger Pompey, and made many ports and harbours withhold their supplies from the oriental squadrons. At the very crisis of the conflict Cleopatra fled, through fright, with many of her galleys; while her love-stricken admirer had the folly to abandon the brave adherents of his worthless cause, and almost immediately follow her. From that hour the real struggle was over. Most of the sea and land forces under the banners of the Egyptian queen and her favourite triumvir ranged themselves with the victorious party. On the banks of the Nile the curtain of infamy dropped over the tragical drama. Octavianus coolly acquired, one by one, each object of his early ambition, except the mere living person of the beautiful sovereign, with which he had wished to grace his triumph. Antonius, at a false report of her death, had thrown himself upon his sword: finding, however, that she was yet alive, and his own existence not quite extinct, he begged to be brought into her presence, that he might expire in her embraces; which happened accordingly. Cleopatra no sooner perceived that she failed in producing amatory impressions upon her conqueror than she poisoned herself, either by the bite of a small serpent or the prick

of a medicated needle, B.C. 29. The realms of the ancient Pharaos subsided into subject provinces; the second of the Cæsars obtained the title of Augustus, the revered, inviolable, sole, and absolute ruler of the whole Roman world; like his uncle, he was styled imperator or emperor, expressing the military origin of his authority; the dictatorial, consular, censorian, pontifical, and tribunitial powers were summed up in himself; his autocracy veiled itself, with due decorum, in the masquerade of an effete constitution; his legions obtained their rewards; the people enjoyed bread and shows, and the empire peace; and the popular farce was enacted every tenth year of laying down and receiving again his extraordinary and unlimited prerogative.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Rome, as an empire preserving some forms of the republic,  
from Augustus to Commodus.

THE imperial sceptre of Augustus extended over more than 120,000,000 of population, from the ocean, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euxine, to the Euphrates, the Red Sea, the cataracts of the Nile, the deserts of Sahara, and Mount Atlas, including the fairest portions of the temperate zone, with about 1,600,000 square miles of fertile and well-cultivated land; having the Mediterranean, as a vast central lake, for water communication, and the whole territory stretching nearly a thousand leagues from east to west, and three-fourths of that distance from north to south. Satisfied with such ample dominions, he cultivated the arts of peace and simplicity; watching carefully the frontiers, but advising his successors not to enlarge them. He drew up a census of the revenues, which is unhappily lost; and instituted the prætorian guards for his personal protection. With affected moderation, he divided the provinces between himself and the senate; assuming for his own share just those which seemed to involve the most trouble and responsibility, but which in reality kept under his immediate command the forty-four legions of the empire. In several slight wars with the barbarians he was usually successful, with the exception of that against the Germans, and their leader Herman or Arminius. The temple of Janus was thrice closed during his administration of forty-four years. In the year 753 from the foundation of the city, during one of these pacific intervals, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ condescended to be born into the world, through the Almighty power of the Holy Ghost upon the person of the Im-

maculate Virgin Mary, at Bethlehem of Judæa, in the fulness of time : from whence, of course, commences the era of the Incarnation. Augustus for the most part was fortunate in his ministers, particularly Mæcenas, the great patron, under the imperial auspices, of Horace and Virgil, as well as of science and literature in general. Architecture and agriculture both flourished; and with respect to the former, it was his boast that he had found Rome only built with brick, but that he should leave her a metropolis of marble. He cultivated letters in the spirit of good taste, and had many personal friends. His subjects adored him for his mildness and moderation; many of them expressing a wish, when dwelling upon the painful retrospect of the past, or the doubtful prospects of the future, that either he had never lived or might never die. In his family he was less fortunate, having to lament over the untimely fates of Marcellus and Drusus, as also the profligacy of his daughter Julia, and the ambition of Livia his consort. He expired at Nola, in Campania, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, A. D. 14, when the republic began to be forgotten; even old men only remembering its corruptions, its civil wars, and its horrible proscriptions.

It was the son of the ambitious Livia who succeeded him; an artful monster, in the full maturity of life and its dissimulations. His mind was that of a tyrant, ever walking in darkness. When the noble Germanicus had been removed, not without suspicion of poison, there remained no restraint upon his natural propensities, which were those of the vilest sensualism. At last he retired to the island of Caprea, in the bay of Naples; a natural paradise, transformed by Tiberius into a den of human demons. His minister, Sejanus, rioted for a long interval in the delegated imperialism of his master, until he himself fell an unpitied victim to its rage and suspicions. On the 3d of April A. D. 33, according to the common computation, the adorable sacrifice of Our Saviour on the cross of Calvary was consummated under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judæa.

The cruel stepson of Augustus was at last succeeded by a despot more ferocious than himself, if not more wicked, Caius Caligula his grandson, A.D. 37. It is possible that madness may be adduced, with something like the appearance of probability, as an explanation of his enormities. There seemed an air of insult beyond the range of mere ordinary passion in many of his actions and imaginations; such as that of elevating his horse to the consulship, and feeding him out of a golden manger; wishing that Rome had but one neck, that he might sever it at a single stroke; and many similar aberrations. It was observed that he began his reign well; when, after about twelve months, a severe attack of illness changed him into a maniacal Mephistopheles, with a crimson diadem metaphorically burning upon his brows. He drove men in herds to be murdered. On one occasion he hunted the spectators of a public show into the waters of the Tiber. Nobles and patricians went to the scaffold, through caprice, covetousness, lust, or revenge, like sheep slaughtered at the shambles. After four years Chereas happily planted a dagger in the bosom of the despot, A.D. 41, when, for twice twenty-four hours, the city breathed freely, fancying that the existence of absolutism might be at an end; until the prætorian guards, to the number of 10,000, in their fortified camps on the Viminal and Quirinal hills, elected Claudius, the weak-minded brother of Caius, to the empire; and the senate received with submission their feeble ruler; remembered as he is, in connection with the conquest of Britain, more than for the nominally legal massacre of thirty-five senators and three hundred knights during the thirteen years that he filled the throne. He was poisoned by his wife Agrippina, A.D. 54, to make room for her own son, Domitius Nero, the pupil of the sentimental Seneca. For the first five years the lessons of that philosopher would really appear to have had an influence over his scholar; yet, at the termination of that period, passion, armed with irresponsible power, broke loose through all limits. There

came to be no crime which he did not perpetrate. Matricide, fratricide, and infanticide, shed hues of darkness upon the dreadful indictment of history against his name, which has passed into a proverb throughout the civilised world, as among the many synonymes of savagery. He set fire to his capital, and sang the wars of Troy whilst he gloated over its destruction, charging the conflagration upon the unprotected Christians, as well as crowning his atrocity by their more nefarious and barbarous persecution. His unnatural debaucheries can be neither named nor thought of without pollution. His Golden House, as it came to be called, was to have been among the wonders of the empire—a palace and decorated territory of immense extent, surrounding several of the Seven Hills, including within their walls gardens, parks, woods, lakes, orchards, and wildernesses. Its entrance was capacious enough to receive a colossus, representing Nero himself upon a scale of incredible magnitude; the tiles of its roof were gilded, the ceilings and cornices were inlaid with gold and ivory, the dome of the banqueting-hall represented the firmament in motion, with the sun, moon, and stars, so that night incessantly succeeded day; while the machinery, on suitable occasions, could shower upon the guests a gentle aspersion of perfumed waters; and the whole was nearly completed within his reign of fourteen years. So degenerate had manners become, that the emperor actually appeared as a singer on the public stage: and when, after innumerable murders, involving all that was virtuous or excellent at Rome, he at last perished by a sort of involuntary suicide, there were flowers strewn upon his grave, and monuments erected to his memory, A.D. 68. Several conspiracies had been formed and failed; but now fresh civil wars commenced, amidst which, Galba, a man of honourable birth and advanced age, was raised to the throne by the army which he commanded in Spain.

This prince endeavoured to restrain the prætorians, and atoned for the rash attempt with his life; being presently assassinated, to open a path to the golden palace

for Otho, the guilty partaker of too many of the pleasures of Nero, A.D. 69. He was also thrust aside after the battle at Bebricum: compelled by an act of self-destruction to make way for Vitellius, a mere voluptuary, memorable for little else than his military innovations with regard to the numbers necessary for constituting a legion, which he ventured considerably to contract for his own purposes. But the Flavian family had now risen into consequence through the victories of Vespasian and his son Titus. These great generals were then in Judæa, instrumentally emptying the vials of Divine vengeance upon Jerusalem. The Machabees having administered the affairs of the Jews for one hundred and twenty-six years, down to the disputes between the second Hyrcanus and his brother Aristobulus, Julius Cæsar, after his defeat of Pompey, continued the former in his pontificate; but bestowed the secular government of the country upon Antipater, an Idumæan by birth, and in religion a Jewish proselyte. His son Herod the Great, after various revolutions, and particularly a Parthian invasion in which Hyrcanus was carried away captive, married Mariam, the granddaughter of the latter: nuptials which might naturally have been imagined conducive to the safety of the royal and sacerdotal family. Yet they proved far otherwise: since the cruel policy of Herod ultimately extinguished the Asamonæan race and dynasty; so that the sceptre altogether departed from Judah, as Palestine fell prostrate beneath Roman influences. Her repeated insurrections, however, incited the intense hatred of her rulers. The Temple had been restored with immense magnificence; and, as brokers or merchants, the Hebrews almost every where still appeared, then as now the bankers and money-changers of the world. Their obstinacy and judicial blindness proceeded nevertheless to fill up the measure of their iniquities; and when the oppressions of Florus had driven them to desperation, Nero had despatched Vespasian to overwhelm their resistance and lay siege to their capital. Then were awfully fulfilled the pre-

dictions of prophecy. The Syrian army electing their commander to the purple, Titus remained encamped on the Mount of Olives, while his father marched away to Italy. All the terrors of doom and judgment thus gathered around the devoted walls of Sion. Party divisions completed its internal miseries; they destroyed one another in perpetual civil conflicts, and challenged the wrath of the victor by their accumulated wickedness. His conquest was at last only effected by storm, through streets in flames, over piles of the dying and the dead. Amidst howls of despair and unparalleled massacres, the city of David, and the venerated shrine of a dispensation in its origin divine and illustrious, sank fearfully into heaps of ashes, A.D. 70; whilst, upon the testimony of Josephus, it is declared that from one to two million lives were sacrificed in the assault and war. The whole empire, in fact, had been more or less convulsed throughout this mysterious period. The Oniqn came to an end in Egypt; Civilis raised Gaul in rebellion; the Germans crossed the Rhine; the Parthian cavalry hovered on the confines of Syria; at Rome, the splendid temple of Jupiter on the Capitol was burnt to the ground for the second time; earthquakes occurred in many places, with the most singular celestial and atmospheric phenomena, particularly in the Holy Land; and in the metropolis of the world were to be seen each day the excesses of the soldiery, the clash of arms, and false charges of every kind brought before judicial tribunals. It seemed as if the anger of Heaven was poured out upon mankind and their evil works. Vespasian quickly terminated the brief reign of the voluptuous Vitellius; governing for nine years in a manner and upon principles which proved him worthy of the eminence his talents had attained. Complaints about his frugality only marked the degeneracy of the age: since peace was restored to the provinces, the finances were placed in a prosperous condition without excessive imposts; military discipline was revived; ruined cities were rebuilt; and an ad-

mirable system of roads was enlarged and maintained. He died A.D. 79: the administration of his son Titus as sole emperor lasting but for two years, remarkable for the first recorded eruption of Vesuvius; to say nothing of the spontaneous conflagrations and pestilence which afflicted Rome. The noble Coliseum was inaugurated after these calamities, with festivities for a hundred days; but Titus unfortunately sickened of fever the next year, A.D. 81, and was succeeded by his brother Domitian. For fifteen years he imitated Tiberius and Nero rather than his father and brother: so that when a conspiracy closed his career, it was no matter of regret that the Flavian dynasty ceased, A.D. 96. He was the last of the twelve Cæsars; as jealous of every one around him as he was expensive in embellishing the city. The acquisition of Britain as a Roman province received its completion under his auspices, through the abilities of the virtuous Agricola. It cost a struggle of forty years, commenced by the most stupid, carried on by the most dissolute, and terminated by the most timid of all the emperors. A victory over the Caledonians, at the foot of the Grampian hills, brought all England, Wales, and the Scotch Lowlands to the friths of Dumbarton and Edinburgh, permanently under the imperial yoke; whilst at the close of the campaign Agricola conducted his fleet round the northern portion of our island. Ireland alone retained her virgin liberties.

Upon the death of Domitian, Nerva was elected by the senate; a member of their own body, venerable for his age and virtues. His adoption of Trajan was the most important act of his life, which lasted but for a couple of years after his elevation. The taxes were reduced, which the extravagance of his predecessor had rendered oppressive, and certain common lands were distributed amongst the poorer classes. Trajan became sole sovereign of the empire A.D. 98, combining in his own person both the conqueror and statesman. From the earliest dawn of his administration, there set in a tide of secular prosperity for nearly three generations.

The adopted son of Nerva extended the imperial boundaries beyond the fruitful plains and mountains of Dacia, between the Neister, the Tibiscus, and the Euxine, including Moldavia and Transylvania: the hordes of the Caucasus, as well as the emirs of Arabia, obeyed his commands; while the plans of Julius Cæsar received their accomplishment in the temporary acquisition of Ctesiphon, the capital of Parthia. He manifested moreover his esteem for commercial enterprise in fostering intercourse with India; for, notwithstanding his military expeditions, trade and the finances so flourished, that his government lightened the burdens of the provinces almost annually; while at the same time he perfected the legal code, adorned the Seven Hills with several magnificent edifices, and founded an extensive library. Only one senator underwent punishment during his entire reign; and that single instance had the fullest sanction of his own order, after an ample trial. He died at Seleucia, A.D. 117; whence his remains were brought with immense pomp to the metropolis, and there interred in the forum still bearing his name, and beneath that lofty and sculptured column which has survived his once-celebrated palace, floating for so many ages on the calm waters of Nemi. The grand blemish on his political career was his treatment of Christianity; although, by a system of something like national education, at least in Italy, he unconsciously assisted to undermine that popular ignorance upon which the basis of paganism partially rested. The poor at Rome had instruction gratis; and the plan received subsequent enlargement. The emperor provided the funds by loans to trustees upon liberal terms; five per cent being paid, instead of twelve, as the ordinary rate of interest. Adrian, his successor, abandoned upon principle most of the newly-acquired territories; erecting also a barrier in North Britain against the incursions of the Caledonians. Elsewhere his ambition limited itself to the old natural frontiers of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. An insurrection of the Jews, under

Barchochebas, had to be extinguished in almost a deluge of blood, so intense and ferocious was their fanaticism. He made many useful progresses throughout his enormous empire, which must have had the effect of familiarising the various populations with their sovereign, and promoting social unity. His patronage of the fine arts exhibited more liberality than good taste; but he was a wonderful builder in his way, as so many vestiges of his villas and other curious ruins of his time testify. Towards the termination of his reign his temper became peevish and cruel; but happily his adoption of Antoninus Pius prevented the results that might otherwise have been expected. He succeeded to the throne A.D. 138; reigning with beneficent mildness and tranquillity for twenty-three years. Government presented the aspect of an enormous family, not less dignified and energetic in its operations than it was economical in all the details of fiscal management. The accumulations in the treasury amounted to more than 22,000,000*l.* sterling when the death of Pius transferred his sceptre to the hands of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, A.D. 161. This emperor stands forward in history as an imperial philosopher, the pride of the Portico; demonstrating that a mind versed in the meditations of the closet need not on that account feel disqualified for the discussions of the cabinet, or even the military labours of the field. His abilities were in reality of rather a superior order; and would probably have shone to greater advantage had his intellectual pretensions been somewhat less ostentatious. Heathenism made much of him from its unavoidable paucity of tolerable materials; since, deriving its own inner life from the foulest falsehood in principle and the vilest vices in practice, it was amazed, in identifying itself with the character of Marcus Aurelius, at the unaccustomed cleanliness of its sensations. His administration could not afford to remain so pacific as that of his predecessor; for the German tribes were ready to pour down upon Italy, whilst in the east a Parthian armament alarmed with its invasion the voluptuous towns

of Syria. His campaigns and general policy against both quite satisfied the provinces that their sovereign and his legions were as yet equal to their vocation. The scourges of famine and pestilence were also alleviated by several wise arrangements; of which the success might have reminded the emperor, particularly in his tyrannical prejudices towards the Church of the only true God, that a purer religion than his own had partially purified even paganism itself in some of its external conduct and professions. His family exhibited abundant example of the genuine hollowness of stoicism when developed even under the most favourable circumstances. Faustina, his consort, disgraced him by her licentiousness; while the character of his son Commodus made the empire tremble with apprehension. Aurelius expired in the midst of his eighth campaign against the Marcomanni, A.D. 180.

It must be admitted that the spectacle is an august one of so many provinces and nations reposing for nearly ninety successive years in comparative peace and prosperity beneath the imperial influences of Rome. That metropolis of the world had undergone many metamorphoses, and was gradually improved; although down to Augustus the streets were irregular, with an admixture of wooden and brick houses. Some of the latter were very lofty, since the Cæsars had to limit them to an altitude of seventy feet; with some sagacious regulations against fires, involving also the maintenance of the aqueducts and subterranean drains. Cleanliness always attracted attention; most conducive, as it proved beyond a doubt, to the general salubrity and comfort of a population swelling to an amount of many myriads, and perhaps in the second century to a couple of millions. The less wealthy classes lived in habitations called islands, probably from their being large blocks of building insulated from adjacent edifices by lanes and alleys on all sides. Palaces or mansions for the rich and noble covered an enormous space of ground; affording colour to the reproach of Pliny, that the very

kitchens of patricians had grown as large as the fields of their ancestors. The old Romans were in fact warlike husbandmen; each individual cultivating about two acres, or as much land as a yoke of oxen could plough in the same number of days. Some of the best families had their names from the particular pulse or corn for which they were eminent in rearing good specimens,—hence the Fabii, the Lentuli, or the Pisones. Their wives and daughters prepared for their husbands and fathers the necessary personal garments out of the fleeces of their flocks and herds, from the first Tarquin to the second of the Cæsars. Territorial domains constituted the riches of the state; until the manners of antiquity had so declined, that they could only be discerned in traditions, books, or the simple lives of a few senators resisting upon principle every innovation. Within the consular period land had become so plentiful, that instead of the patch or plot awarded as of yore to each citizen, there came to be an augmentation to seven acres apiece; that moderate distribution expanding in the course of centuries to the magnitude of five hundred. As conquests multiplied, Italy ceased to be aught else than a vast horticultural paradise for the enjoyment of the opulent; depending for its cereal sustentation upon the harvests of Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, and Egypt. The Asiatic and Macedonian expeditions introduced from the east and south many new fruits into Western Europe, such as apples, citrons, peaches, pomegranates, apricots, cherries, plums, and oranges; some of which, in the lapse of seasons, got propagated as far as Britain. Olives ramified from Rome into Spain and Gaul. Wine in the Samnite wars had to be poured only by drops upon the altars; yet so generously at last did Italy repay her vine-dressers, that more than eighty sorts could be enumerated by the husbandmen between Turin and Tarentum. Gardens proved every where a boundless source of innocent pleasure; halls and windows were generally decorated with beautiful flowers. Cicero and Pliny describe their country-seats

with exquisite delight; they evidently developed the utmost simplicity in connection with the highest refinements. Picture-galleries, with the most costly accompaniments of statuary and other articles of curiosity, charmed the eye and gratified the taste; whilst, even at the table and in the bath, slaves able to read aloud attended, so as that those portions of time which were necessarily devoted to the body should not be altogether lost as to the improvement of the mind. The number of healthy lives in some parts of Italy would seem to have been uncommonly great. In a small tract of country, under Vespasian, fifty-four persons had attained their hundredth year; forty were between the hundred-and-tenth and the hundred-and-fortieth; and two had exceeded a century and a half. The public games, although most brutal, were most exciting, and generally held in amphitheatres having their roofs open to the sky. Pompey at once let loose 600 lions into the arena, and Augustus 420 panthers. The Romans seem to have been less afraid of that recreative cruelty which is in itself revolting than of enervating softness, which appears attractive and half-meritorious, while in their estimation it deprived the mind of all energy and vigour.

In taking a rapid survey of the provinces, one is struck with the geographical fitness of Italy for becoming the seat of universal empire. Its coasts, offering an easy communication with all parts of the Mediterranean, afforded great advantages for upholding its dominion; while the seas and Alps formed the bulwarks of its security. Its position moreover, in the centre of civilisation, enabled it often to anticipate sudden movements, and rendered it a land of 1197 rich towns and cities, many of which contended for the honour of the imperial residence. Spain furnished the government with brave warriors, brass, iron, gold, silver, and horses; not to mention flax and spartum, which was a kind of broom, the fibre of which was used in manufacturing cordage. Saragossa, Tarragona, and Cadiz, with

three hundred and sixty other notable places, were sources of opulence and activity. Gaul was now well cultivated, having Marseilles and Autun as its most celebrated seats of learning, besides twelve hundred towns, varying in size and population, from Marseilles, Arles, Nismes, Toulouse, Bourdeaux, Autun, Langres, and Lyons, where the military roads united, to the rural capital of a mere district with its thousand inhabitants. Paris and Tongres were only wooden cities at this period; but Treves was a splendid residence even for nobles and patricians. At the era of the first movements among the northern nations, the chief Gallic departments were the province of Narbonne, containing two subdivisions; Aquitania, with an equal number; Lugdunum, with four; and Belgium, with two. Modern Switzerland, with its dependencies, belonged to the greater province of the Saone, to Germania Prima and the Lyonese departments. The banks of the Lake of Geneva were already known as Sabaudia or Savoy; and the passes of the Alps were maintained with the greatest care and circumspection. Britain had become an organised portion of the empire; divided into regular provinces, with London and York for their principal cities, a pearl-fishery on the sea-coast, and fleets cruising in the channel or stationed off the Isle of Wight. Its territorial surface lay chiefly in pasture and forest; but some commerce existed in the Thames: its vessels visited Ireland and the Orcades; and even Thule, whatever island that might be, was known to fame. The northern Maelstrom perhaps frightened its navigators from proceeding further towards Norway; but a real intercourse sprang up with the dwellers at the mouths of the great rivers; nor was it difficult to ascend the Rhine from Cologne, which rapidly grew into an emporium of considerable importance. Near its own sources were those of another grand stream flowing through Rhætia, Noricum, and Pannonia, Mœsia, and Dacia; or at least all these regions had more or less connection with the Danubian frontier, compre-

hending an imperial administration from Verona, Como, Bregenz, the Tyrol, Upper Bavaria, the Lower and Inner Austria, over Carniola, Carinthia, Istria, portions of Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, and Wallachia, to the very shores of the Euxine. The great bulk of these vast territories went under the general denomination of Illyricum, from the Lake of Constance, including Liburnia and Dalmatia, with the districts of Salona and Epidaurus, down to nearly the bottom of the Adriatic; most fertile and important provinces, studded with populous towns and strongly fortified stations, pregnant with mineral treasures, and celebrated in a subsequent century for giving birth to a dynasty of emperors, whose names, as the successful opponents of the earlier Gothic invasions, will never be forgotten. When the northern shores of the Danube were abandoned, its southern ones flourished all the more for a time through the immigration of those who had tasted the sweets of civilisation, and learned to prefer them to the wildness of a barbarous independence. Vienna, Sirmium, Naissus, and many more such places, rose into eminence. The legions drew their best enlistments from the Illyrian and Mœsian shepherds and husbandmen; rivalled only by the warlike tribes of Thrace, Thessaly, Epirus, and Macedonia. Agriculture meanwhile extended its improving influences over all these countries; so that from Dyrrachium and Buthrotum to Perinthus and Byzantium forests were felled, marshes drained, roads opened, towns and villages multiplied, flocks and herds of the best cattle fed and tended upon pastures of the richest herbage and an almost boundless extent along the flowery margins of the Macedonian and Thracian waters, or on the slopes of Rhodope and Hæmus. Thessalonica culminated into a first-rate capital, through the lucrative trade connected with the lead, iron, and gold mines; as also from the exportation of cheese and salted meats, which the Dacian peasantry prepared with unparalleled skill in their pastoral valleys among the mountains.

Greece, with her beloved Athens, still remained the mistress of science and philosophy, in the heathen sense of those terms; having derived fresh architectural embellishments from the liberality of Herodes Atticus, and the completion of the temple of Minerva according to the plans of Pericles, which Adrian had conceded. Thebes, Mægara, and Corinth arose out of their ruins once and again; constituting for ages the strongholds of paganism even after the light of Christianity had dawned upon the world. The old Ionian colonies on the coast of Asia had suffered from multifarious revolutions; yet that fine peninsula, which had been associated with Cræsus, Cyrus, and the Assyrian monarchies, could number in the first and second centuries more than five hundred cities, from Tarsus in Cilicia round by Ephesus, Smyrna, Chalcedon, Sinope, and Trebizond. The citizens of that town, which could glory in being the birthplace of St. Paul, were famous for their dialectics, and for their genius in improvising rhapsodies, as humble imitators of Homer. In the neighbouring Pompeiopolis the descendants of the confederate pirates now dwelt as peaceable and prosperous inhabitants. Pamphylia continued as rich as ever in the produce of her olive-yards and vines, and the outlet for her fruits by the river Melas. Lycia was a nursery for mariners; Galatia for soldiers; Cappadocia for horses; Armenia for archers; Phrygia for delicious grapes; Paphlagonia and Pontus for cavalry: other districts grew the best corn and wove the neatest cloths: Sardis, Ancyra, Amisus, Nice, Cyzicus, and Nicomedia, were noble provincial capitals; not to mention Cios, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus, or Alexandria, on the site of ancient Troy, founded by the conqueror of Darius, and flourishing in the vicinity of the woody Ida. The northern and eastern shores of the Black Sea, now known as the Crimea, Circassia, Abasia, Imeritia, and Mingrelia, with the other usurpations of Russia, from the Bay of Batoun or the Phasis round by the Palus Mæotis and the Liman of the Bug and Dnieper to the mouths of the

Danube, acknowledged the sovereignty of the emperors, and received at their hands either tributary princes or Roman garrisons; as did also the Albanian and Iberian tribes of the Caucasus, and the realms of the two Armenias, with their warlike populations, towards the close of the third century. The commerce of the Euxine was not inconsiderable, although the predictions of Polybius were being fulfilled in the augmented difficulties of its navigation from the accumulations of sand and silt in several of the harbours. Safer havens offered themselves in the 'Tauric' Chersonesus; where the dockyards of Panticapæum launched the best vessels, constructed from timber floated down the Don. At Cimmeris, the shallows of what is now the Sea of Azof seemed less perceptible; where the peltry of Scythia, with honey, arrows, and some other articles, formed materials for exchange in the hands of Roman merchants. Many of these had large establishments on the Propontis, in the Ægean, and at Antioch on the Orontes. Syria was very populous, opulent, and full of great markets, in which wealth and voluptuousness walked hand-in-hand through those flowery paths and plains infested by the worst moral serpents. From what is now Scanderoon to Gaza, at the entrance of Egypt, with its havens of Majama and Ascalon, Phœnician merchantmen traded successfully in Tyrian purple shipped at the port of Lydda, and in the celebrated bal-am gathered from the gardens of Jericho. The new town of Elia rose on the site of Jerusalem, which the Jews for a dreary interval were forbidden to approach. Cæsarea, Tyre, Berytus, Heliopolis, and Joppa, produced the finest linens, the cleverest ropedancers, and the best artists for the orchestras of the East; not to mention their medicated wines and beautiful courtesans. Jurisprudence, with some of the other sciences, also flourished in Syria; while Laodicea, famous for its horsemen, Apamea, and Edessa, rivalled Antioch or Damascus in their almost metropolitan splendours. Tadmor in the wilderness, at first founded by Solomon, had grown into the richer Palmyra of the

Greeks; and already the Saracens or Arabians of the desert enrolled their names among the allies of the legions. Mesopotamia was enriched by the caravans of India, which traversed their vast distances from the bottom of the Persian Gulf, connected by the Euphrates and Tigris with those frontier cities towards Persia of which Nisibis was the principal. Other commercial routes descended from Catabathmos into Egypt, with its population of 7,500,000, according to Josephus, besides that of Alexandria, which could not have been less than another half-million. The emerald-mines, producing four species of those beautiful jewels, which found their way all over Italy and the Gauls in the west, as well as to Lahore, Bengal, and China in the orient, were among the mountains of Kharbat, the country of the Bejahs, eight days' journey from the Nile, and between twenty and thirty miles from the Red Sea: it is evident that they had been worked as far back as the days of the old Pharaohs. Myos Hormos, Arsinoe, Berenice, Adulis, Ptolemais, and Aden flourished as seaports on the Arabian Gulf: whence every article of luxury could be procured of native growth or manufacture as well as in the capital of Lower Egypt, with the exception of oil. This, however, was afforded in abundance from Africa; indicating under that name, as understood by the Romans, the provinces of Carthage, with Numidia, and both the Mauritanias, stretching from Barca, Darnis, and Cyrene, 1600 miles in length by 40 in breadth, to the roots of Atlas and the ocean. Caligula had extirpated the last vestiges of independence from the ancient realms of Masinissa by destroying the posterity of Juba. More than three hundred cities in these fertile possessions acknowledged Carthage, when it had recovered its architectural glories, under Augustus, as their provincial metropolis. Dominion over the numerous islands of the Mediterranean completed the Roman empire: Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes; the insular seaports of the Ægean, the Propontis, the Cyclades, the coasts of Greece, the

waters of the Adriatic; Sicily, with her wools, corn, iron, and cattle; the Baleares and Liburnian isles, celebrated for their slingers and seamen; Sardinia and Corsica, with their peculiar soils and wild irregular inhabitants,—all subjected to the yoke of a single imperial administration, and participating more or less in the benefits and blessings of civilisation.

Statistical investigations have shown that under the Antonines there were at least 4000 large cities, with a corresponding number of smaller towns, colonies, and villages. The population, consisting of citizens, provincials, and slaves, seems to have been distributed, in round terms, and as an approximation to the real state of facts, upon some such scale as allowing thirty millions to Italy, Sicily, and Spain; twenty to Gaul and Britain; a similar amount to the Illyrian, Macedonian, Thracian, and Greek provinces; the same to Asia Minor and the Euxine; ten to Syria; eight to Egypt; twelve to Africa;—120,000,000 in all. Such a total has been generally given as existing during the age of the twelve Cæsars; which, if correct, must have admitted of immense increment towards the close of the second century, after a nearly universal peace of about a hundred years. It would appear that, by the time that Commodus commenced his disastrous reign, the citizens, with women and children, might have increased to about fifty millions; the provincials of both sexes to as many more; while those in slavery were probably equal in numbers to the free inhabitants of the Roman world. This computation would yield 200,000,000 altogether; nor may it easily be believed that the gross result was much under it in reality; and of course the population of each country in that case should be considered as augmented in proportion, although it is not pretended that the calculation can be aught else than conjectural. Be this as it may, the vast and various departments of the empire were connected with each other and their imperial metropolis by noble and public highways, which, issuing from the forum of Rome, traversed Italy,

pervaded the provinces, and touched the more distant frontiers. Mountains were perforated and rivers bridged over for the special purposes of transit; so that troops could march, or important intelligence be communicated, or the general intercommunications of society be maintained, if not with the speed and facilities, yet nearly with the certainty, of modern times. The collection of revenue naturally followed rather closely upon these refinements. Augustus arranged the customs, excise, and legacy duties; which underwent numerous modifications in subsequent reigns. It will be sufficient to mention that, including sundry tributes, Asia, under the earlier Cæsars, rendered to the imperial treasury about 4,500,000*l.* per annum; Egypt and Africa about 8,500,000*l.*; Gaul about 4,500*l.*; Spain, Britain, Illyricum, Thrace, Greece, the islands, and what we should describe as the mines, woods, and forests, about 4,500,000*l.*; in all, 22,000,000*l.* sterling annually on an average of years. Perhaps this sum may be taken, under the circumstances, as equivalent to our present East-India revenues, or what from thirty to forty millions sterling would be in the United Kingdom. The pay of a soldier, as well as the ordinary value of labour, allowing for the uncertainties of the estimate where so large a portion of the people existed in a state of bondage, might be correctly stated at from a franc to a shilling per diem, the price of corn varying from twenty to thirty shillings the quarter. Indeed, wholesome food of every sort for man and beast would seem to have been plentiful, or, in other words, cheap. It may be observed, that those fatal famines which so frequently afflicted the infant republic were far less prevalent from the reign of Nerva to that of Severus, the accidental scarcity in any single province receiving speedy alleviation from the abundance of its more fortunate neighbours. Columella has elegantly described the advanced state of husbandry in Spain even under Tiberius.

The multiplication of cities or large towns, as well as their security, promoted luxury and its consequences.

The industry of the rural districts expended itself in the service of the rich; so that, in their dress, their tables, their mansions, and their furniture, the latter soothed the pride of refinement, and gratified an almost illimitable sensualism. The existence of slavery, with its power and private irresponsibilities, as well as of heathenism, with its profound corruptions, necessarily inflamed the evil. Christianity alone offered the true remedy, in a religion as yet despised and persecuted by the majority. Meanwhile the pampered children of fortune depended principally upon the Babylonian traffic in the marts of Syria for the valuable stuffs and carpets which adorned their floors or apartments, or on the hundred and twenty vessels which sailed from Myos Hormos, about the summer solstice, for Ceylon and Malabar, to fetch their precious freights of silks, pearls, diamonds, ivory, and aromatics. The Romans maintained a garrison at Elana or Ezion Gaber; Moosa and Ocelis being the great entrepots, the one for the native produce of Arabia, and the other for that of India. Aden for a season suffered something almost tantamount to ruin and suppression from the stupid jealousy of Claudius; but under milder and wiser administrations it rapidly recovered, and grew into the regular staple of the Red Sea. Its traffic extended to Muscat and Gherra on the Persian Gulf, described by Pliny as a town five miles in circumference, with walls and towers of fossil salt. Thence the camels of their merchants crossed the deserts to Petra, Bosra, and Damascus. Mecca also was even then a market of eminence, trading with Elana by annual convoys. Such channels of intercommunication with the East seem, however, to have produced little or no effect upon the intellect or geographical enterprise of the age. Genius, in fact, no longer inspired literature, nor was energy connected with the love of letters. This last had degenerated, with a few exceptions,—such as Lucan, or Tacitus, or Plutarch, and Diogenes Laertius,—from the glories of the Augustan era. Originality withered be-

neath despotism; although evidently a superficial taste for study diffused itself, in a certain sense, over the whole extent of the empire; just as people often learn to read, without taking the trouble to think, wherever the presence of civilisation may render the absence of education unfashionable. Rhetoric had its disciples by the myriad, from the Alps to the Graupian mountains; the works of Homer, Virgil, and many others of lesser note, were transcribed and read on the banks of the Thames, the Seine, the Rhone, the Rhine, and the Danube; physics and astronomy were cultivated by the Greeks; and at Athens the Antonines founded a school in which grammar, logic, politics, and the doctrines of the four great sects of philosophy, were taught by professors at the public expense. The salary of a philosopher was between 300*l.* and 400*l.* a year; and similar establishments were formed in various larger cities. Herodes Atticus gave the sophist Polemo above 800*l.* for three declamations. But the genuine beauties of the ancient poets and orators, instead of kindling a fire like their own, called forth only cold and servile imitations; or if any ventured to deviate from those admirable models, it was at the sacrifice of good sense and propriety. All that can be safely affirmed is, that the tranquil and outwardly prosperous state of the empire for so protracted a period was warmly felt and confessed by the Romans; whilst in many respects it very greatly favoured the extension of the Church of Almighty God in its secret influences upon the world.

It must be remembered, however, that both the internal and external quietness of society rested upon a military basis; the most insecure that the mind of man can conceive. Soldiers under the Antonines were very analogous in their general character to what they are in modern times. Whilst their discipline remained good, and their officers were without ambition, all went on well. Regular pay, occasional donatives, superstitious affection for their standards, with that sort of sentiment which is called honour, and which is too apt

to pass for much more than its genuine value, sufficiently preserved a splendid smoothness of surface not always in sympathy with the materials for explosion which it covered. Nine centuries of war, however, gradually introduced into the service many modifications, nor could the legions of Adrian and the Antonines be said to present precisely the same aspect with those which had conquered Carthage, or achieved the victories of Julius Cæsar. Still, their mere arms and tactics continued with little difference, except in the way of improved manufacture, fashion, weight, or size, or as the latter might be necessarily affected by science, experience, and participation in the general refinement of the age. The employment of auxiliaries on a larger scale than used formerly to be adopted opened the door insensibly for the admission of barbarians, so that elements of disorder and violence thus found themselves in the identical ranks with the luxury and consequent licentiousness which were enervating Roman courage. Meanwhile there were few acute observers of the progress of decay; or if they saw it, they remained silent. The complete legion of the first or second century is supposed to have contained 12,500 men, with all its baggage, weapons, machines, horses, and general equipments. Thirty of these formidable brigades, each possessing ten military engines of the larger, and fifty-five of the smaller size, constituted the peace-establishment of the Antonines. Three of them were encamped in Britain; sixteen on the Rhine and Danube—of which two were in the Lower Germany, three in the Upper, one in Rhætia, one in Noricum, four in Pannonia, three in Mœsia, and two in Dacia; eight were on the Euphrates—six of them in Syria, and two in Cappadocia; Egypt, Africa, and Spain, had one apiece. The cavalry no longer consisted of the opulent members of an order, or individuals from the upper classes, but was drawn from the hardest and most suitable peasantry, just as the infantry were, about in the proportion of one to fifteen. Augustus had arranged the Roman navy on a very

moderate scale, limiting his views to the protection of commerce and the fluvial frontiers. Two permanent fleets had their stations at Ravenna in the Adriatic, and Misenum in the bay of Naples, another held its constant anchorage off the coast of Provence; the Euxine was guarded by forty armed vessels; a squadron, varying in numbers, always maintained the communication between the shores of Gaul and the mouth of the Thames, while ample flotillas constantly occupied the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates, overawing the wild hordes who might be hovering on their margins for purposes of plunder or outrage. The total of all these sea and land forces would scarcely exceed half a million. Domitian raised the annual stipend of the legionaries to twelve pieces of gold, equal to about ten of our sovereigns; a rate which increased with the growth of military license. The prætorians had double pay and privileges, being not more than 20,000 in number under the Antonines. Their existence at all was an insidious yet mighty element of mischief.

Adrian had to contend with the insurrection of Barchochebas, which is said to have lasted three years at least, involving the desolation of the nine kingdoms, as they once were called, of Cyprns, the demolition of fifty castles and nearly a thousand towns or villages in the East, as well as the destruction of 500,000 lives, through famine, fire, distempers, and actual massacre. Such was the fanaticism displayed in the struggle, that the Hebrews seemed like demons in ferocity; for they not merely murdered immense multitudes, but clothed themselves in the skins of their victims, devoured their flesh, washed themselves in their blood, sawed them asunder, and made garlands of their entrails. Hence society in the second century was not without some most terrific shadows, especially when we recall to our recollection an awful list of earthquakes like that at Antioch, A.D. 115, where crowds were killed or wounded, one of the consuls perished, the emperor with his whole army being nearly swallowed up in the catastrophe, and

the ground rolling in literal billows, as if it had been an ocean. Dion Cassius declares that an adjacent mountain bowed its summit over the guilty city, that several eminences subsided into plains, that rocks were rent asunder, that new rivers burst forth, while former ones disappeared, and that the crash of falling houses drowned the cries of the dying. Trajan was slightly injured; but the historian attributes his escape to supernatural interference. Nor should his foreign expeditions be forgotten, with the reaction which even successful warfare always entails. It was the destiny of his successor to have to destroy the city of Jerusalem a second time, about A.D. 135; although it is true that the Jewish insurrection never extended beyond the limits of a few provinces. Yet Antoninus Pius had to drive back the wandering Moors of the south into the solitudes of their mountain fastnesses, as well as in the north to repel the Brigantes of Britain, breaking through, as they did, with misery and defeat for themselves, that barrier which separated them from the imperial territories. Marcus Aurelius had to encounter still louder surges of the barbarian deluge, doomed as it was in subsequent generations to overwhelm every obstacle in its way. The Parthians, invaded by the Alani in Media, thought proper to avenge their sufferings upon Sohemus king of Armenia, a sovereign tributary to the Romans. Annihilating the legionaries who opposed them, they rushed upon Syria, devastating the country to the banks of the Orontes; when Lucius Verus, a nominal colleague to the emperor, assisted by Priscus and Cassius, a couple of able commanders, drove them back across the frontiers with sanguinary losses, and renewed the victories of Trajan. Sohemus was restored, Seleucia, Babylon, and Ctesiphon were taken; and in the sack of the last city many myriads of men fell a sacrifice. Rome, however, vindicated the majesty of her insulted name, and for an interval the Parthian arrows might be said to sleep in their quivers.

It was on the Rhine that for the present a more dangerous enemy appeared. Germany had formed a part of the country of the Celtæ, which originally comprised the whole west of Europe as far as the straits of Gibraltar; but by degrees, when nations became more discriminated, it came to comprehend only Gaul, and at length only that part of Gaul which is included between the Garonne and the Marne. The limits of Germany Proper extended from the sources of the Danube to the utmost north, embracing the isles of Scandinavia, and from the Rhine to the forests and plains of Sarmatia and the Carpathian mountains. According to some geographers, it was a title imposed upon the entire territory westward of the Tanais; yet, however this might be, its most distinguished tribes were the Suevi, or Swabians, who were afterwards lost in the name of Allemanni; the Saxons; the Boii, or Bohemians; the Bajoari, or Bavarians; and the Franks, who were not a distinct race, but a military confederation. These northern people were large in limb and tall in stature, with blue eyes, red hair, and sometimes long beards. In warfare they knew no fatigue, but of sedentary labours they soon got weary. They abjured towns; and could endure hunger better than thirst, or cold than heat. Their huts were placed on the banks of rivulets, or near fountains, or in woods, or in the midst of their fields; every farm being a distinct centre, around which the herds of the owner wandered, or where, among the agricultural tribes, their slaves and women tilled the land. Hides of wild animals, hunted down for food and clothing, hung from the shoulders of their warriors; while the females wore woollen coats decorated with feathers, with their breasts exposed, and their feet without any protection whatever. They rose late from a vile pallet of straw; for the men always caroused deep into the night, filling themselves with beer and a coarse kind of porridge made from roasted corn. Their other food consisted of meat, butter, fruits, and cheese. At their meals marriages were proposed, enmities recon-

ciled, and important enterprises discussed or agreed upon—leaving them, however, still open to a revision on the following day. Chastity, courage, and candour were the characteristics of the Germans. Polygamy was limited to a very few individuals; nor was slavery so intolerable with these savages as with some more civilised nations. Their barley-drinks became less popular after they had once tasted the wines of Gaul. The cattle of their pastures were strong and small, and their cows gave abundance of milk. When commerce appeared, through their intercourse with the frontiers, they preferred silver to gold because the pieces were more numerous, and they could oftener change them. Arms, horses, and enchased chains for family memorials, delighted them above all other presents. Racing, wrestling, and stone-throwing, constituted their simple sports, besides gaming, which with them was a passion rather than a recreation. After a man had lost his all, he would often stake his own person, and if unlucky submit to the loss of freedom. Their political institutions recognised all authority as resident in the assembly of freemen, who elected to offices, and held every body responsible for good conduct. The moon was their universal calendar. They met in arms; for these were at once the emblems and guards of their rude independence. The priests presided; and when silence had been proclaimed, an elder spoke. Each tribe had its chief, with about one hundred counts or companions, maintaining in concert the general administration of justice and affairs. In war they elected a leader intrusted for the time with considerable power, so that an acute reader may already discern the natural sources of a future feudal system. As the chief, so the general or duke had the choice of his companions left to his discretion; his success or reputation of course depending on the wisdom of his selection. The religion of Germany was the dark superstition of the old Hercynian forest—human sacrifices, with the adoration of the genius of war. It is uncertain whether the Saxons at Irmensule

did not worship the ghost of the great Arminius, who, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, terrified Augustus, and afterwards withstood the arms of the renowned Germanicus.

Apprehensions of danger to the empire from such brave and peculiar neighbours were entertained in the time of Trajan, whose statesmen and counsellors rejoiced at the want of union so happily manifested among the barbarians, and at the impression made on them by the new wants which they began to feel on thus touching the confines of civilisation. Two centuries and three-quarters from the memorable Cimbric migration, which Marius had the good fortune to meet successfully, the Allemanni threw themselves upon the Rætian territories, A.D. 162; while to the westward the provinces of the Saone were in commotion, and Marcomir in the east made an impression upon Pannonia and Noricum. His more particular followers were a colony, who, from the banks of the Rhine, had occupied Bohemia and Moravia, and erected a formidable yet temporary monarchy under their king or chief Maroboduus. Marcus Aurelius had to summon into action all his firmness, vigilance, patience, experience, and practical philosophy. In eight campaigns he fixed generals of ability in the several stations of attack, and assumed in person the conduct of the most important operations on the Upper Danube. After a long and doubtful conflict, the spirit of these barbarians was for the time subdued. The Quadi and Marcomanni, who had taken a lead in the war, suffered most severely in its catastrophe; yet so frequent were their subsequent rebellions, that the irritated emperor had resolved to reduce their country into the form of a province, when death arrested his designs, either at Sirmium or Vienna, A.D. 180. His son Commodus, surrounded by profligate intimates, concluded an inglorious peace instead of realising the plans of his father; but, at all events, the German League was for the present dissolved; and the new sovereign was but too happy to exchange the privations of a Pannonian camp for the lux-

uries and jubilations attendant upon his return to Rome. For three years he imitated the paternal virtues, such as they really were; for that they omitted many duties of domestic life cannot be denied. The excessive indulgence of Marcus Aurelius to his consort, brother, and son involved an atrocious injury to his subjects, both as to example and consequences. The first was the infamous Faustina, daughter of the excellent Pius, and one of the most wanton and abandoned women the world has as yet seen. Yet her own husband, in his *Meditations*, gravely thanks the gods for having bestowed on him a partner so faithful, so gentle, and of such wonderful simplicity of manners! He even promoted several of her paramours to lucrative posts of honour, whilst at her decease he requested the senate to enroll her among the female divinities, which was done accordingly; and it was decreed that the youth of either sex, on the day of their nuptials, should pay their adorations before the altars of their chaste patroness. No one, therefore, need wonder at the subsequent courses of Commodus, nurtured as he had been in an imperial palace which was in reality a mere painted sepulchre of morals.

His sister Lucilla, a princess as profligate as her mother, first startled him into overt acts of crime and cruelty by her conspiracy against him, A.D. 183. From that moment the natural timidity of his character ran for protection to the worst passions of human nature. He began to hate exactly where he should have loved, or at least admired. Informers and spies soon swarmed around the itching ears of a weak head, a selfish heart, a jealous disposition, a fearful mind, and hands feeble yet holding the reins of absolute irresponsible power. The results were dreadful. Neither Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, nor Domitian surpassed him in cool barbarity, or in the indulgence of low sordid propensities. The noblest blood of the senate flowed in murders under the mask of law, especially in the case of the Quintillian brothers Maximus and Condianus, whose fraternal union and unmerited execution have preserved their names

from oblivion. His minister Perennis perished with less regret; and the revolt of Maternus, during the festival of Cybele, only aggravated the official wickedness and avarice of Cleander, another favourite dignitary, who had succeeded to the perilous functions of his predecessor. His death in a sedition, which had nearly destroyed the imperial palace, A.D. 189, failed to awaken Commodus from his trance, although famine and pestilence were already afflicting the city. He buried himself in obscene and unnatural pleasures too horrible for recital, while the intervals of sensualism were filled up with the basest amusements. He ventured to exhibit before the eyes of the Romans the skill with which he could slaughter either beasts or birds in the amphitheatre, by aiming at any part of their bodies, whether stationary or in motion. An arrow from his hand, headed with a crescent of steel, intercepted the rapid career of ostriches as they flew, or rather ran, round and round, until their bony necks were severed at the very vertebræ by the delighted archer. He allowed a panther to leap upon a trembling malefactor, piercing the animal through its throat before its teeth or fangs could inflict a wound. One hundred lions were laid dead on the arena by as many shafts, shot in continuous succession from his unwearied bow. Ethiopia and India yielded their rarest zoological productions—the elephant, the giraffe, and the rhinoceros—to expire under the strokes of the son of Aurelius, styling himself the Hercules of the age. But when he descended to perform in public as a gladiator, even the grossest of the populace felt affected with shame and indignation. The archives of the empire recorded seven hundred and thirty-five occasions on which its despotic sovereign thus demeaned himself; and when he exacted an enormous stipend for his exhibitions from the gladiatorial funds of the metropolis, there seemed no lower sink of infamy into which he could by possibility descend. His personal safety reposed, as he fancied, upon the fidelity of his prætorian guards, whom he indulged in every conceivable excess,

that their own interests might protect himself against the plots of the senate or the people. The lists of consulars for proscription, on the slightest shadow of suspicion, augmented daily; imperial caprice proving often most fatal even to favourite functionaries and chamberlains. At last Marcia, one of his concubines, fearing for her private fortunes, and at the same time in conspiracy with Lætus, the prætorian prefect, presented him with a draught of wine when he had returned home after hunting. Sleep came upon him from the effects of the potion, which had been properly drugged for that purpose, when a robust wrestler entered his apartment, and strangled him on the last day of December A.D. 192. Helvius Pertinax, the prefect of the city, a man of rank and character, was raised to the throne, and the memory of Commodus branded with eternal infamy. His remains were dragged with a hook into the stripping-room of the gladiators, that they might satiate the fury of the people; nor was it easy to obtain for them a decent burial; while the statues were thrown down, the honours reversed, and the titles erased from every public monument of this degenerate descendant of the Antonines. His reign of twelve years had developed the decline of the empire.

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## CHAPTER IX.

Rome as a despotism, from the death of Commodus to the overthrow of the Western Empire.

PERTINAX, on his elevation to the empire, attempted to reform the state, and cleanse an Augean stable, by the exhibition of some private virtues. The public treasury was in such an exhausted position, that not more than about 8000*l.* sterling remained in its coffers. The sale of the imperial plate, equipages, furniture, and slaves raised an amount of money barely sufficient to meet immediate emergencies; while the hopes of himself and his people could only rest upon the severest economy for the future. Such prospects were by no means agreeable to the prætorians, who conspired therefore at once against the subject of their choice, and murdered him within three months, on the 28th of March A.D. 193. They then offered the throne for sale; and it was purchased by Didius Julianus, an opulent senator, whose folly, however, far exceeded his wealth; although he was acknowledged by the senate, and took possession of the palace; where he was beheaded as a common criminal on the sixty-sixth day of his absurd and precarious power, which he had bought with enormous sacrifices. Severus had assumed the purple on the Danube,—an African officer commanding the Pannonian legions; whose march into Italy and towards Rome sealed the downfall of the vain usurper, and the solemn apotheosis of his predecessor. The new sovereign accepted the allegiance of the capital, after pronouncing an eloquent oration at the funeral of Pertinax, with a double civil war before him, against Clodius Albinus in the West, and Pescennius Niger in the East. Within four years, A.D. 193-7, he conquered

both. The latter fell the first victim: he had been proclaimed emperor by the Asiatic armies in Syria; and was defeated in two engagements, one in Cilicia, and another near the Hellespont. Albinus was so far overreached in the contest, that he permitted Niger to fall before taking decided measures on his own behalf. His adherents were the troops in Britain, who, when fairly engaged, fought the desperate battle of Lyons; in which, while the valour of the combatants on either side seemed as nearly equal as possible, a victory was secured for Severus by his own personal skill and promptitude in the crisis of the action. His administration lasted eighteen years, with considerable advantage to the empire, so far as he asserted the superiority of the Roman arms over the Parthians and Caledonians on the frontiers. But internally his government was an unblushing military despotism. He raised the pay of his soldiers, augmented their various privileges, inflamed their tendencies to self-indulgence, relaxed their discipline, and quadrupled the number of the prætorians. That respect for constitutional forms which Augustus gloried in manifesting on all suitable occasions passed away for ever. Severus disdained to veil the genuine character of his reign; by the sword his sceptre had been won, and by that fearful weapon it was to be maintained. The senate ceased to be even a venerable shadow. Papinian, Paulus, and Ulpian, the most eminent of the civil lawyers illustrating the third century, henceforward taught that the imperial authority absorbed every other intrinsic right; that its possessor was freed from all legal limitations or restraints; that his arbitrary will might command the lives and fortunes of his subjects; that he could dispose of the empire as his private property; that liberty was essentially licentiousness, and passive obedience no less than a moral duty. Roman jurisprudence thus closely united itself with the system of absolute monarchy. Septimius Severus associated with him his two sons in the purple, Caracalla and Geta, and expired at York, A.D. 211.

The younger brother was quickly assassinated by the elder, in the very arms of their common mother, Julia; after which event the iniquity of the survivor cast off all control. His tyranny raged with almost ubiquitous fury through the provinces. His predecessors in imperial wickedness had generally levelled their ferocity at the senatorial or equestrian orders; Caracalla was the enemy of mankind. His wars might amaze the barbarians; but they equally terrified and harassed his unhappy subjects. Macrinus, commander of his body-guard, had him murdered in an expedition against the Parthians, A.D. 218; who, with his youthful son Diadumenian, trod the customary path of such criminal usurpers to an early and bloody sepulchre; being succeeded by Elagabalus, the supposed offspring of Caracalla by Socemias, a niece to the empress Julia, the widow of Severus. He had been appointed priest of the Sun at the temple of Emesa in Syria; nor could he be considered an unfair personification of paganism generally in all its cruelty, superstition, and pollutions. After three or four years of sensual indulgence, rarely paralleled since the age of Sardanapalus, he was put to death by his own attendants, the indignant prætorians, at Rome; his mutilated corpse being dragged through the streets of the metropolis and thrown into the Tiber, A.D. 222. His cousin, Alexander Severus, whose mother Mamæa was the sister of Socemias, had been already declared Cæsar; and the reins of imperial government passed from the hands of vice into those of virtue for thirteen years. His education, watched over by the tenderest maternal affection, now produced a harvest of results as grateful to the expectations of a fond parent as they have proved honourable to his own memory. His dress was plain and modest, his demeanour courteous and affable; the dignity of his court was preserved, without oppressing its officials or his people with the pomp or expense of needless ceremonial; at proper hours his palace admitted all classes of suppliants, who were informed, by

the voice of a public crier, that, as in the Eleusinian mysteries, none should approach their sovereign unless conscious of a pure and innocent mind. His administration revived for an interval the recollections of Trajan and Antoninus Pius; for the martial hordes of Germany were held in check, and the legions conducted by himself against the rising ascendancy of the Persian Sassanides. Meanwhile the virus of military licentiousness, silently extending itself from frontier to frontier, betrayed the presence of social maladies beyond the reach of ordinary wisdom or excellence. The firmness, indeed, of the young emperor had on more occasions than one assuaged the tempest of mutiny and insurrection; but his soldiers seemed scarcely worthy of a master whom they could only learn to love when he had been violently removed from them. His attempt to follow the example of Pertinax, and reform the army, cost him his life. He was murdered near Mayence, A.D. 235. No feature of his administration was more remarkable than his leniency in matters of finance. Caracalla had thrown open the privileges of Roman citizenship to all the free inhabitants of the empire, simply for the purposes of taxation. Under Augustus the prosperity of the treasury had relied on the customs, the excise, and the tax on legacies and inheritances, to the extent of five per cent, augmented to ten by the son of Severus; in addition to all which were the tributes of the provinces. The provincials had hitherto been exempted from taxes, just as the citizens had been from tributes; but the maxims of Elagabalus and his pretended father fastened both imposts upon their subjects; until Alexander reduced the latter to a thirtieth part of the sum demanded at the time of his accession. The universal freedom of Rome superseded the distinction of ranks by the separation of professions.

Maximin, a Thracian peasant, succeeded to the purple; a giant in stature, as also in every species of wickedness and tyranny. He was above eight English feet in height; and could drink in a day seven gallons of

wine, besides eating from thirty to forty pounds of flesh-meat. He could move a loaded waggon, break the leg of a horse with his fist, crumble stones in his hand, and tear up small trees by the roots. The earliest notice which he attracted arose out of some wonderful performances exhibited before the Emperor Severus, with whose charger, at full gallop, he kept up with perfect ease; wrestling, after a long and rapid career, before he sat down, with seven of the strongest imperial guards in succession, and overthrowing every one of them. Enlisting with the gold collar, which he had won on this occasion, he soon became a centurion in the army; then advancing to be tribune of the fourth legion; then obtaining a still higher military command; and ultimately ascending the throne from which the son of Mamæa had been precipitated. He disgraced it with every atrocity in which a savage could indulge. At Rome meanwhile the senate elected the two Gordians, who perished before Maximin could reach the Alps, foaming with rage and fury. Balbinus and Pupienus Maximus were nominated in despair to meet and repel the tyrant; when happily, at Aquileia, his horrible cruelties raised against him his own soldiers, exhausted as they were by the magnanimous resistance of that town. The monster was slain in his tent, with his son and principal ministers, A.D. 238. The army, however, broke out into murmurs, although the whole civilised world resounded with acclamations, simply because the apparent selections of the senate remained paramount on the occasion. During the tumult of the Capitoline games, Balbinus and his colleague, not well suited to act together, were massacred by the prætorians; nor could another civil war be otherwise averted than by all parties acquiescing in the elevation of a third Gordian, grandson to the first, already nominated to the dignity of Cæsar before the death of Maximin. As a mere youth, he chiefly followed the suggestions of his father-in-law Mithreus, who engaged him in warfare with the Persians. They had invaded Mesopotamia, and threat-

ened Antioch; upon which the youthful emperor, not more than thirteen years of age at his accession, joined the camp, and displayed courage and ability quite equal to the demands of his elevated yet perilous position. He encountered, however, the fate which had attended so many of his predecessors, and was murdered by Philip, the captain of his guard, near the conflux of the Aboras with the Euphrates, A.D. 244. His assassin succeeded him, an Arabian by birth, and originally a captain of freebooters. On his return from the East to Rome, he celebrated the secular games with immense pomp; it being considered that a full millennium had elapsed since the foundation of the city by Romulus, B.C. 753 to A.D. 247. Her empire had expanded from a few hills in Latium into a vast aggregation of millions outspread from the Western Ocean to the Tigris, and from Mount Atlas to the Danube, the Rhine, and the Caledonian ramparts. But Philip soon met with just punishment for his sanguinary treason against Gordian. Two rivals arose, and contended with him for the purple in vain; the task, however, was accomplished by Decius, who commanded in Illyricum. He defeated the usurper, and killed him, near Verona, A.D. 249; the prætorians in the capital completing the tragedy by the massacre of his son, associated with him in the government. Meanwhile the heaviest calamities impended over the imperial provinces.

We have already glanced at Germany, extending at one time over a third part of Europe, so that it included not only the whole of Gaul and modern Germany, but also the Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Livonia, Prussia, and large divisions of Poland. Another historical fact must be added to these statements. Before the Christian era a people had emigrated from the far north towards the mouths of the Vistula, and settled themselves, under the denomination of Goths, in the fertile districts of Thorn, Elbing, Königsberg, and Dantzic, or at least where those flourishing seats of commerce subsequently

established themselves. They had probably crossed the Baltic from Carlscroon to the nearest ports of Pomerania and Prussia, preserving their Scandinavian traditions, and having numerous tribes of Vandals to the west of them scattered along the banks of the Oder. The Goths seem to have maintained their position in Prussia until the age of the Antonines, and to have been originally one great nation with their neighbours the Vandals: the former subdivided into the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Gepidæ; the latter into the Heruli, Burgundians, Lombards, and a variety of other clans or families, some of which in modern times became more or less celebrated. About the reign of Alexander Severus the Goths were found to have again emigrated from the shores of the Baltic towards those of the Euxine, augmenting their numbers as they moved along, until they reached the Borysthenes and the Tanais. In advancing to the borders of the Black Sea they encountered the Sarmatian races of the Jazyges, Alani, and Roxolani; but the Germans or Goths might be always distinguished from the Sarmatians by the fixed huts of the former, so different from the movable tents of the latter; by their close dress, as contrasted with the flowing garments of their rivals; by their having only one wife at a time, while the Sarmatians permitted polygamy; by their military strength lying in infantry, as that of the others in cavalry; and above all, by the use of the Teutonic language, so different from the Slavonian dialect, diffused as that now is, through Russian influences, from the confines of the Adriatic to the neighbourhood of Japan. By the middle of the third century these Goths of German extraction had acquired possession of the Ukraine, a country of considerable extent, intersected with rivers, and interspersed with forests of oak. The game and fish of its woods and streams, the natural honey of innumerable beehives formed in hollow trees or cavities of rocks, not to mention the rich opportunities offered for agriculture or pasturage, might have been expected to civil-

ise almost any tribes of immigrants, however hitherto unsettled. But it was not to be so with barbarians, whose destiny was to take another direction altogether. The Goths remained as wild as their forefathers, addicted to idleness, poverty, and rapine. The Roman province of Dacia had suffered much from them even under Alexander Severus, from the margin of the Neister to the Lower Danube. During the reign of Philip they crossed over the latter boundary, carrying their devastation to the walls of Marcionopolis, the capital of the second Mœsia. Its inhabitants had to ransom their lives and property; the invaders getting rapidly impressed with both the wealth and weakness of the Roman territories. Their return home brought down fresh swarms of their countrymen, commanded by Cniva, one of their chieftains, impatient to participate in the booty. Decius found them encamped before Nicopolis to the number of 70,000; not long after which they defeated the emperor in a sudden surprise, stormed Philippopolis, and massacred about a hundred thousand of the provincials. Decius manifested the most courageous firmness and ability in the Gothic war; yet both he and his son fell in an unfortunate engagement, where the legions got entangled in a morass, A.D. 251. Gallus was elected to the purple—an unworthy sovereign, foolish as well as base enough to purchase the retreat of the barbarians through an annual payment of tribute. Hostilian, another son of the late emperor, had been declared a colleague; but he died from an attack of pestilence. Emilian therefore revolted in Pannonia, while his pusillanimous master was in Italy; and marching thither to assert his claims, Gallus and his son Volusian were defeated on the plains of Spoleto, and then murdered by their own forces, A.D. 253. Valerian, the censor, succeeded, having first avenged the revolt of Emilian; the latter experiencing the identical punishment of his predecessors, on the very field where he had gained his recent victory over them.

The new emperor ascended his throne amidst bril-

liant expectations; for he had hitherto won his way upwards by apparent merit, and was now sixty years of age. He associated in the supreme honours of government his son Gallienus, an effeminate prince, destitute of either filial affection or general talents. But the Germans pressed upon Italy; the Franks were about to invade Gaul; the Goths prepared themselves for fresh ravages, and the exultant Persians menaced the Syrian frontiers. Under Caracalla, a swarm of the Sweves had appeared on the Mein, and coalesced with numerous other tribes, blending themselves by voluntary arrangement into one vast body of barbarians, adopting the title of Allemanni, or All-Men, which, as a geographical denomination, came almost to supplant that of Germany, for some ages at least, in Roman annals, except in so far as it was retained in certain districts of Gaul. After invading that division of the empire, they advanced through the Rhaetian Alps into Lombardy as far as Ravenna, while Gallienus was on the Rhine, and Valerian in the East. The senate, however, met the danger with a promptitude and success which baffled the Germans for the time; although so mean was the jealousy displayed by Gallienus on the occasion, that he seemed more afraid of the patriotism shown by the conquerors than of the perils which might arise from any return of the invaders. Senators thenceforward were therefore excluded from military service altogether; and subsequently an ignominious peace afforded the Allemanni an ample settlement in Pannonia. The Franks formed another and still more important confederacy, comprising the inhabitants of the Lower Rhine and the Weser, so as to include the modern circle of Westphalia, the landgraviate of Hesse, and the duchies of Brunswick and Lunenburg. Their political name implied that they were freemen; nor, as such, had their love of liberty any limits. They threatened the frontier to such an extent, that Gallienus, with his infant son Salonius, had to take up his permanent residence at Treves; while Posthumus, his

general, represented the real majesty of the empire, on various occasions, in sanguinary struggles; which could not, however, prevent them from ravaging the entire territory from Cologne to the Pyrenees, and even crossing these mountains into Spain, where their ravages lasted for twelve years. Tarragona and Lerida, with many other cities, were sacked as well as assailed; the torrent of devastation proceeded all along the coasts of the Mediterranean, until, seizing a number of vessels, the fierce freebooters sailed over into Mauritania, and astonished Africa with their fair complexions, their irresistible valour, and insatiable voracity. The Goths meanwhile had not forgotten the death and defeat of Decius. They passed from the Borysthenes into the Crimea, and conquered the kingdom of the Bosphorus, availing themselves of its maritime resources to make three naval descents to the southward. In the first, they destroyed Pityus, the utmost northern fortress of the Roman provinces on the Euxine, desolating its whole eastern shores down to Trebizond; in the second, they plundered Bithynia, not sparing either Nicomedia, Nice, Prusa, Apamea, or Cius; in the third, they penetrated through the Propontis and Hellespont into the Ægean, invading Greece, capturing Athens, and threatening Italy. The fury of warfare both by land and sea extended from Attica to Epirus. Gallienus awoke from his trance at Treves, and hurried to encounter the storm. It became an object with these Gothic corsairs to return home at length in safety, so heavily laden as they were with the spoils of Hellas and Asia; and a truce with their leaders obtained some transient respite for the exhausted provincials. Perceiving that their barbaric invaders issued from the Tauric Chersonesus and the estuary of the Tanais, they sometimes bestowed the appellation of Scythians on the mixed multitude; and the heart of heathenism seemed broken when, in their last and most sweeping aggression, they ruthlessly consigned to the flames the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus, A.D. 262-7.

The whole Orient, indeed, appeared on the verge of final ruin. We have already seen how that about the time when the Seleucides resigned to the Romans Asia Minor to the roots of Mount Taurus, the Parthians extended their empire from India to the frontiers of Syria. In the fourth year of Alexander Severus, A.D. 226, an eastern revolution supplanted their ascendancy by that of the Persian Sassanides, under Ardshir or Artaxerxes or Artaxares, supposed to have derived his origin from the old royal family of Iran. He pretended to reform the Magian superstition, adhering to the absurd doctrine of its two principles, and bitterly persecuting both Jews and Christians. His encouragement of agriculture laid the foundation for considerable external prosperity throughout Persia, bounded as it was by the Euphrates or Tigris, as the case might be, amid the variations of frontier in that direction; by the Araxes, the Oxus, the Caspian Sea, and the Indus, on the north and east, and the straits of Ormuz on the south. In the two conflicts which ensued with the Roman legions, the superiority of the latter had been tested by many trophies in Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, as well as by the calamities inflicted upon the great capitals of Selencia and Ctesiphon. The important interamnian realm of Osrhoene, with its chief towns of Edessa and Nisibis, had fairly fallen into the rank of an imperial dependency from the reign of Marcus Aurelius to that of Caracalla; nor can words adequately describe the astonishment of Antioch, when Artaxares formally claimed from the empire the entire possessions of Cyrus as far as the Propontis and the Ægean islands, A.D. 230. After fourteen years of ambitious administration, his son Sapor succeeded him, A.D. 240; a prince not less aspiring than his father. He saw with an eye of envy that Chosroes, representing a branch of the house of Arsaces, still maintained an independent sceptre in Armenia through his alliance with the Romans, although at length assassinated by Persian emissaries. Tiridates, his offspring, being an infant, Sapor at once

seized the dominions of Chosroes, as well as the entire territories of Osrhoene; and Valerian, marching against him, was vanquished and taken prisoner by the Persian monarch near the walls of Edessa, A.D. 260. Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia were overrun by the conqueror. Odenathus, one of the richest senators of Palmyra, connected with several tribes of the desert, alone ventured to oppose the proud Persian; compelling him at last to recross the Euphrates, not without disgrace. Valerian, however, languished and died in hopeless captivity; Gallienus remaining careless of the event, and devoting himself to the sensual indulgences of the metropolis, amidst the confusions of that disastrous period commencing with the death of Decius, and lasting to the accession of Claudius, the founder of the Illyrian emperors, A.D. 268. It is called in history the time of the Thirty Tyrants, from some fancied analogy with a particular era in Athenian annals. More than twenty pretenders to the purple sprang up one after another; besides some others perhaps, whose names and coins have not reached posterity, so as fully to complete the number. But, at all events, we know that Sicily was ruined; Alexandria rendered a prey to the horrors of civil contention for a dozen years; and the Isaurians enabled to ensconce themselves almost as an independent republic among the impregnable fastnesses of their mountains, until Christianity had somewhat softened the ferociousness of their character and manners. Famine and pestilence enhanced the horrors of war; together with earthquakes, conflagrations, and portentous atmospherical phenomena in many once-favoured provinces. At Rome, during one disastrous interval, five thousand persons died daily of plague or painful maladies; towns, which had escaped the invasion of barbarians, were nevertheless depopulated by sickness; while on the banks of the Nile half the population had perished. The rebel Aureolus at length invaded Italy, besieged Gallienus at Milan, and occasioned his death from an uncertain hand on the

20th of March A.D. 268. At his own request the imperial ornaments were transferred to a genuine hero commanding a detachment of the army in the neighbourhood of Pavia.

The hero was named by accident after the most stupid of the twelve Cæsars: in his character the second Claudius developed the virtues and valour of the best of them. He justly consented to the execution of Aureolus, and then boldly undertook a complete military reformation. A fourth naval expedition on the part of the Goths had issued from the mouth of the Neister, comprising armed vessels of all sorts and sizes, from those of the larger freight, amounting in number to a couple of thousand, to the smallest, of four thousand additional boats and shallops laden with stores and necessaries. Their warriors are stated at 320,000, and their siege of Thessalonica was only raised by the approach of the emperor. He gained a victory at Naissus, in Dardania, such as Rome had not seen since the days of Marius; yet he died soon afterwards at Sirmium, recommending Aurelian for his successor, A.D. 270. The supreme administration thus still continued in the ablest hands. The Gothic invasion and its consequences were for the present trampled out; the Germans were thoroughly chastised; Tetricus, who had usurped the government from Gallienus in Gaul, Spain, and Britain, for four or five years, was suppressed. The seven hills of the metropolis were surrounded with walls of more than twenty miles in circumference; justice, order, and energy were restored to the courts, the finances, and the provinces; and that splendid fabric of power which Zenobia had erected in the east, on the confines of the afflicted empire, was for ever overthrown. She claimed a descent from the Macedonian monarchs of Egypt; nor, whilst her private character remained spotless, was her beauty deemed inferior to that of her ancestress Cleopatra. Her learning and general love of literature were equal to her loveliness; not ignorant of Latin, she spoke the Greek, Syriac, and Egyptian lan-

guages with perfect fluency, and familiarly compared the poetry of Homer with the philosophy of Plato, under the tuition of her preceptor Longinus. Her consort was the celebrated Odenathus already mentioned, with whom she reigned at Palmyra, since Gallienus had acknowledged him as an imperial colleague, after his successful repulse of Sapor. Upon his murder, by a nephew named Mœonius, Zenobia may be said to have ascended the throne of Palmyra, Syria, and the East, from the Euphrates to the frontiers of Bithynia, and including the entire kingdom of the Ptolemies. Claudius had admitted her merits, but Aurelian repudiated her claims. In the battles of Emesa and Antioch, which she nobly fought in person, she lost two armies; nor could she collect a third before the oriental regions had succumbed beneath the conqueror; and Probus, the best general of Aurelian, was sent to recover Alexandria. The oasis of Palmyra appeared her last resource, which, for a century and a half since the triumphs of Trajan, had flourished as a Roman colony. It was taken after a gallant resistance, A.D. 273, and its heroic queen captured in her flight about sixty miles from the capital. That ill-fated city unfortunately revolted a second time, when its experience of the imperial clemency ought to have secured its allegiance. Its ruins, still extant, attest its remorseless punishment. Firmus had also imitated its luckless example on the banks of the Nile, and had to endure the fatal consequences. Aurelian never lost an engagement. His subsequent triumph at Rome surpassed the majority of its predecessors in grandeur and magnificence. The wealth of Asia seemed gathered together in the procession, occupying as it did an entire day, from its dawn to darkness, in ascending and descending the Capitoline hill. Ambassadors were there from the remotest parts of the earth; from Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, Bactria, India, and China. The exploits of the emperor had their attestation in the multifarious variety of his captives,—Gauls, Goths, Vandals, Sarmatians, Allemanni,

Franks, Egyptians, and Syrians; and above all, the fallen Tetricus, with the beautiful Zenobia and her family, laden with golden fetters, and the queen nearly fainting beneath the weight of her jewellery. Her solitary fault had been her ingratitude towards her illustrious tutor, the author of the *Treatise on the Sublime*. The car on which the victor shone in his glory had belonged to a Gothic monarch, and was drawn on this memorable occasion by four stags, or, according to another statement, by as many elephants. The chariots of Odenathus and Sapor followed: nor was the gorgeous ceremonial disgraced by any subsequent cruelties or excesses. Yet the remark must be made with limitations. The emperor, indeed, manifested genuine munificence towards both his royal prisoners and their families; but the universal pageantry and flattery with which he became surrounded soon corrupted his mind and understanding. His love of justice degenerated into the gratification of revenge and passion: he hated senators for reminding him, however unintentionally, that an empire acquired by the sword seemed to want the most solemn sanction of all, namely, the assent of an enlightened people; he therefore arrogantly avowed his resolution to govern with an iron hand, and, on his march against the Persians, fell a sacrifice to a military conspiracy in October A.D. 274.

The conspirators themselves immediately discovered that they had been misled by a secretary to perpetrate a crime of which the consequences could scarcely be any thing else than disastrous; for the evils likely to arise from each army setting up or putting down emperors were now evident. They therefore requested the senate to nominate a successor to their late victim, whose death they lamented with the sincerest contrition. Tacitus, after an interval of eight months, accordingly received the purple: so that it might seem to merely superficial observers as though the ancient senatorial privilege of election had really revived in

permanency. Such illusions every now and then occur in history, like the mirage in an arid wilderness. The new sovereign, after a brief administration, expired naturally, from the pressure of its responsibilities coming upon him in advanced age; and his brother Florian, a personage of very different character, would fain have assumed the transient sceptre. Neither senate nor soldiery, however, approved his aspirations; but Probus, with the assent and good wishes of both, ascended the vacant throne, A.D. 276. He was thought to possess the abilities of Aurelian, blended with milder dispositions. Within a few years, he defeated the Germans on the Danube and the Rhine, displaying also his invincible eagles on the banks of the Elbe and the Neckar. As one of the Illyrian emperors, he might have realised the opinions of Claudius, that nothing would reconcile the barbarians to peace, unless they experienced in their own territories the horrors of war. He erected a rampart of stone, with suitable towers, for two hundred miles, from the neighbourhood of Newstadt and Ratisbon as far as the Wimpfen, and thence on to the Rhenish fortresses, so as to cut off the Allemanni altogether from their power of penetrating into the empire through Swabia. He also introduced into their valleys the culture of the vine; not even declining to recruit his legions, or re-people exhausted districts amongst distant provinces, with the hardiest peasantry of the North. A considerable body of Vandals thus found their way into our own Cambridgeshire: the Bastarnæ accepted settlements in Thrace; and the Franks on the sea-coast of Pontus, where they were to act as a protective barrier against the Alani. Instead of doing so, they seized a fleet, and resolved to return home from the mouths of the Phasis to their native regions on the Rhine. Escaping along the Bosphorus and Hellespont, they cruised round the shores of the Mediterranean; plundering wherever they landed, in Asia, Greece, or Africa, and inflicting heavy calamities upon Sicily, and particularly Syracuse. Proceeding to the Columns of

Hercules, they then emerged upon the Atlantic; when, finally reaching the British Channel by the promontories of Spain and Gaul, they at last landed in safety upon their Batavian or Frisian marshes. The curtain of concealment was thus torn asunder from the wealth and weakness of the Roman world, revealing at once to the most savage hordes the amount of the tempting prizes, as well as the facility with which bold marauders might almost at any time obtain them. Probus remained no idle spectator of these miseries, whether present or anticipated. Saturninus meanwhile revolted in the East, Bonosus and Proculus in the West; yet the arms of the emperor suppressed them all. His triumph would have almost rivalled that of his predecessor, had it not been overshadowed by a gladiatorial insurrection, which stained the streets of the metropolis with tumult and slaughter. The legionaries moreover began to groan under the exactness of his discipline; when, in a mutiny among the morasses of Sirmium, which the troops were employed in draining, this able prince was suddenly murdered, after a reign of six years, A.D. 282.

Carus, the commander of his guards, succeeded, and was killed in his tent by a flash of lightning, or possibly assassinated by those who spread that extraordinary report. His two sons, Numerian and Carinus, had been associated with their father in the empire as Cæsars; but both violently perished; the reins of government passing into the firm grasp of Diocletian, by birth a Dalmatian peasant. The battle of Margus, in Moesia, A.D. 285, consolidated his fortunes. Carus had defeated the Sarmatians on the banks of the Danube, and recommenced a Persian war. When the ambassadors of Varanes, or Baharam, the fourth successor of Artaxares, paid their respects to the emperor, they discovered him seated on the grass, supping upon some hard peas and a piece of stale bacon; a coarse woollen garment of purple being the solitary symbol that announced his imperial dignity. His subsequent victories, however, ravaged Mesopotamia, reduced Seleucia and

Ctesiphon, and carried his standards far beyond the Tigris. The hopes of the Romans had even anticipated an assault upon the palaces of Susa and Ecbatana, when the tempest occurred to which the death of Carus was attributed. Superstition then rolled back the torrent of invasion towards Chalcedon, the Propontis, and Heraclea : there Numerian was murdered, and Diocletian elected. The chances of the latter against Carinus in Italy will receive illustration from a glance at the contrast to the severity of the camp in the East presented by the luxurious pageantries of the seat of sovereignty in the West. Public spectacles at Rome were exhibited on a scale of expenditure, skill, and ingenuity never before known. The centre of the circus, on festive occasions, got transformed into a vast forest filled with a thousand ostriches, a thousand stags, a thousand fallow-deer, and as many wild-boars ; all abandoned, at a concerted signal, to the riotous impetuosity of the populace. The tragedy of another day would consist of a hundred lions, an equal number of lionesses, two hundred leopards, and three hundred bears, zebras, elks, and camelopards, exhibited on one side, with African hyænas, Indian tigers, or the hippopotamus of the Nile, on the other. It must be borne in mind, that these creatures were generally exhibited to be massacred before the eyes of multitudes, instead of being quietly shown as subjects for science or recreation. Sanguinary excitement would alone gratify an imperial mob. The amphitheatres in themselves were matchless edifices, of which a few are still the wonders of the world : and when an arena was changed, as by enchantment, into a garden of the Hesperides, or a scene of craggy rocks and caverns, or a wide lake covered with vessels and nautical or marine monsters in all their floating terrors, the sight need not have been an unsuitable one for the amusement of a great nation. It was the slaughter and the impurity inseparable from such exhibitions that demoralised each generation ; rendering its youth effeminate, its elders profligate,

and its men of middle age simply truculent or ferocious. The soldiers of Carinus were drawn from these classes; and whilst their first onset broke the ranks of the Syrian army, enfeebled by disease and overwork, a tribune, whose wife the emperor had violated, by a single blow extinguished any further civil war for that time in the blood of the imperial adulterer.

The abilities of Diocletian were useful rather than splendid; yet they inaugurated a kind of new era in the Roman empire. Augustus, as we have seen, had respected at least the forms of the republic, which, in fact, with some exceptions, really constituted a decent veil for despotism down to the iron days of Severus, whose successors disdained to conceal the glittering sword by which all who had ever reigned had more or less governed since the age of Julius Cæsar. It remained for Diocletian to introduce oriental splendour of attire, together with the diadem and adoration of the living emperor. But he had the good sense to see that his own unassisted sovereignty could never withstand those hordes of enemies now pressing with redoubled force upon the frontiers. He therefore resolved to share the imperial dignity with his comrade and early friend Maximian, to whom, as possessing a rugged, active character, he committed the West, taking charge himself of the East, at Nicomedia, his adopted capital. Each bore the title of Augustus; the one, in addition, styling himself Jovius, and the other Hercules; and each appointed a Cæsar as an inferior colleague and successor. The latter were younger and more active princes; so that to them were assigned the most exposed posts of danger. Diocletian administered the affairs of Asia with an admitted supremacy of respect and deference over his coadjutors; Galerius, nominated as his Cæsar, governed Thrace and the countries on the Danube; Maximian, generally resident at Milan, retained Italy, Spain, Africa, and the islands; and his Cæsar, Constantius Chlorus, a worthy descendant of the late emperor Claudius, and designed for the purple by Carus, ruled

over Gaul and Britain. These arrangements were completed A.D. 286-292, and were probably the best that could have been devised under the circumstances; yet so complicated a partition of power could scarcely be expected to remain permanent, even when strengthened, as it seemed to be, by various matrimonial connections. However, the peasants of Gaul had been first punished for their insurrection in a servile conflict raised by the tyranny of their nobles; when Elian and Amandus, imagined by some to have professed the Christian faith, assumed the ensigns of empire, A.D. 287. The protracted and important revolt of Carausius, in Britain, was at last suppressed by Constantius, through the death of the usurper and the defeat of his minister and assassin Allectus, A.D. 287-296. The fortifications on the frontiers were still further improved or extended; dissensions were encouraged among the barbarians, to keep them within their own limits: whilst at the same time their captives or deserters received protection as serfs, or lands, in some instances, as settlers. Julian and Achilleus, who had proclaimed themselves emperors respectively at Carthage and Alexandria, were put down with dreadful slaughter by Maximian and Diocletian, A.D. 296; in the north the Goths were also held in check, and the Allemanni defeated. On the oriental boundaries of the empire, Galerius, directed by the policy of his elder colleague, had changed the dark fortunes of one campaign into the brilliant successes of another, against Narses, who ascended the throne of Persia not long after the death of the last-mentioned Varanes. In a decisive battle the Cæsar dispersed the forces, attacked the camp, and carried off as prisoners the wives, sisters, and children of his royal antagonist. The dominions of the Armenian monarch Chosroes had been seized by Sapor, and held by his descendants for six-and-twenty years, A.D. 260-286; but Tiridates, the rightful heir, was alive, and had received a Roman education. He had been recalled to his native kingdom, and lost it again, after some considerable interval, through the

overwhelming power of Narses, now at length defeated by Galerius, A.D. 297.

An honourable peace, continuing for forty years, followed upon the victory. It arranged that the Aboras or Chebar, called by Xenophon the Araxes, with the town of Circesium, should separate the empire from Persia; that Mesopotamia, with five provinces beyond the Tigris, should be relinquished for ever to the Romans, including the large and mountainous territory of Carduene; that Tiridates, their faithful ally, should be restored to the throne of his fathers, with the imperial rights of supremacy secured, and his limits extended to the fortress of Sintha in Media, thereby investing him with the full possession of Atropatene, whose principal city had probably the site of the modern Tauris or Tebreez; and that the king of Iberia, occupying the narrow defiles of the Caucasus, should receive and hold his tributary crown at the hands of the Roman emperor. Diocletian, after reigning through twenty years of cloud and storm, oppression, cruelty, and persecution, terminated his administration with a bold and atrocious attempt to extirpate the Church of God; but when the total failure of his affairs became apparent, he resigned the diadem, and retired for the rest of his life to the magnificent palace erected for him near Salona, A.D. 305, where he died, either by suicide or from dropsy, A.D. 313. Maximian had been persuaded to abdicate on the same day with his colleague; the two emperors, rather less than eighteen months before, having celebrated together the last triumph which Rome was ever destined to behold, A.D. 303. The confines of Gaul were somewhat enlarged under Constantius by his having wrested from the Franks the fens of Batavia; and the most striking feature surviving the extinction of freedom is certainly the extent of those numerous countries acknowledging but one fountain of government. Yet the immense mass was now only a body without a soul, enlarging a little from its having lost the real principle of vitality. Favour, and not merit, opened the solitary

road to reward or emolument; and the lower classes of society were engrossed by services in the field, or luxury and largesses at home. Laws were multiplied, as iniquity grew more and more apparent. Degeneracy descended from the head through all the members. Torture became a great engine of state; spies, as the very vermin of despotism, swarmed in countless numbers; taxes were levied at the discretion of an arbitrary sovereign; fiscal impositions affected both merchandise and manufactures, from the gems, the spices, or the fabrics of India down to the retailed productions of the most sequestered hamlet; and the usurer as well as the prostitute surrendered to the revenue some portion of the profits of their professions. Ceremony supplanted simplicity; rank and riches trampled in the dust any expostulations of wisdom and virtue. The borderers, or troops stationed on the frontiers, received a smaller remuneration for their more perilous services, and were considered not in so respectable a light as the wealthier and privileged palatines quartered in the safer neighbourhood of the larger capitals; and much consequent dissatisfaction ensued. The ancient strength of the legions had been gradually diminished; foreigners, as we have seen, were admitted into their cohorts; confusion took the place of that order which had ennobled the veterans of the republic or the Antonines. The soldiers seemed to depend more upon their numbers or weapons than upon their personal valour and discipline, and the obstacles daily increased which prevented voluntary enlistment. Although the obvious policy, in governing extensive dominions, must be the promotion of unity, the system of Diocletian, notwithstanding its professions to the contrary, carried in it the essential principles of division; so that, in securing the tranquillity of an unpopular sovereign, the vigour of the executive was sacrificed. The partition of the Roman world between four princes not only multiplied the expenses of as many different courts, but also led to the separation of the civil from the military powers, which were combined from

the administration of Augustus to that of Constantine. Under the latter the officers of the army came to be strictly prohibited from interfering in judicial or financial matters—an undoubtedly beneficial arrangement; but then, on the other hand, the command they exercised over their troops was altogether independent of the magisterial authority. To maintain the perfect equipoise required an imperial mind penetrated with the most profound judgment; and since few of the emperors possessed such qualifications, continual discord was felt from the frontiers to the metropolis—from the circumference to the centres of society.

On the resignation of Diocletian and Maximian, Galerius and Constantius were raised to the superior elevation of their predecessors, each having a Caesar assigned him—Maximin Daza for the one, and Severus for the other. Galerius, however, was an object of odium at Rome, where Severus merely acted as his viceroy; so that Maximian had soon the gratification of seeing his son Maxentius, who had been excluded from the succession, made master of Italy, which induced him to abandon his involuntary retirement, and again resume the purple. A transalpine revolution had inspired or quickened his movements. Constantius dying at York in the previous July, A.D. 306, the British and Gallic legions had elected his son Constantine for their sovereign, whose talents and position compelled the other emperors to admit him as their colleague. The reign of Severus proved of short duration, terminating in the surrender of Ravenna, as well as his own person, to the honour of his rivals, and his speedy execution by them as a common malefactor. But Maxentius, in supplanting him at Rome, forthwith convinced his subjects that they had not changed tyrants for the better. A rebellion in Africa inflamed the natural cruelty of his disposition towards all around him. Carthage and Cirtha were doomed to the flames; senators were incarcerated or murdered on the slightest pretences; the palace was defiled with magical abominations; while his passions

spared neither youth, beauty, nor innocence. His own father was forced to fly from him and take refuge with Constantine, who had married his daughter. Yet this restless and depraved old man could not abstain from machinations against his son-in-law and protector; so that the latter, to avoid falling himself a victim, had to compel him to end his unquiet course with a private strangulation at Marseilles. Invited by the Roman nobles, Constantine at length marched against Maxentius, being favoured with his famous vision of the Cross in the heavens as he prosecuted his expedition. Descending from the Savoyard Alps, he captured Susa and Verona, pursuing his course to the field of the Saxa Rubra, near the Milvian bridge over the Tiber, where, on the 28th of October A.D. 312, he gained a decisive victory. It was the first military encounter between Christianity and paganism. Maxentius, weighed down by the massiveness of his armour in the river, lost both life and empire. The western provinces to Mount Atlas immediately succumbed to the conqueror. Galerius had died of a dreadful distemper about seventeen months previously, after his vain attempt to invade Italy, and a nomination of Licinius to the honours of sovereignty. Maximin Daza had seized, on that event, the Asiatic provinces, allowing the new Augustus to reign only from the Adriatic to the Hellespont; so that the latter had already formed a coalition with the ruler of Gaul and Britain against the secret intrigues of Maximin with the late despot at Rome. In the spring of the following year Constantine and Licinius renewed this alliance at Milan, sealing it with that memorable edict which arrested the horrors of the tenth persecution throughout every country, except in the territories subject to Maximin. That potentate now declared war against the emperor of Illyricum; upon which Licinius met him in battle, and overthrew him between Perinthus and Adrianople, A.D. 313. His death at Tarsus, in the following August, left Constantine and his Illyrian colleague masters of the entire empire; the former

having openly avowed himself a convert to the Church of the only true God; the latter too soon forgetting the edict of Milan and some almost miraculous circumstances attendant upon his triumph over Maximin. Hostilities commenced between himself and Constantine, involving the fierce actions at Cibalis and Mardia, both of which proved unfavourable to Licinius, A.D. 314. For nine years, however, he was permitted by treaty to retain Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Libya, Thrace, one of the Mœsias, and Lesser Scythia; the remainder of Illyricum, Dardania, Macedonia, Greece, and the Peloponnesus, being conceded to the western emperor. The imperial colleagues were brothers-in-law, and their sons, Licinian and Crispus, had the title of Cæsar. But a second civil war, waged with slight concealment for the genuine ascendancy of either paganism or Christianity, broke out A.D. 323. Constantine nobly fought and won the grand engagement of Adrianople; his son Crispus obtained a naval triumph in the Hellespont. Martinian in vain received an absurd nomination from Licinius as another Cæsar; when at last a final struggle at Chalcedon crushed altogether the fortunes of the oriental emperor, depriving him of his liberty and power, and transferring the whole Roman world to the conqueror. He thenceforward governed it with supreme control to the day of his death, his transcendent abilities prospering or failing exactly as he remembered or neglected his religious obligations.

His domestic relations were overclouded with many shadows: but observing that the north-east, where the powerful nation of the Goths hovered like a thundercloud, was the quarter whence most danger was to be apprehended, and that Persia was gathering up her forces for future conflicts, he transferred the seat of empire to Byzantium, calling it, after his own name, Constantinople, A.D. 326. He divided his vast territories into four prætorian prefectures, containing thirteen dioceses; which were subdivided into one hundred and sixteen provinces, governed by thirty-six consulars.

five correctors, and seventy-five presidents, besides the three proconsuls of Asia, Achaia, and Africa. These last had a superior jurisdiction over their lieutenants or subordinates; whilst in a still higher rank than themselves were the vice-prefects of the Orient, Egypt, Asiana, Pontica, Thrace, Macedonia, Dacia, Italy, Illyricum, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain. The first was styled count, the second had the title of augustal prefect, and the remaining eleven were generally called vicars. Consuls, patricians, and senators still existed as the titular phantoms of the ancient constitution; although the admixture of eastern pomp and parade had now become painfully apparent. Seven powerful ministers of the palace surrounded the Roman sovereign: a chamberlain, the master of the offices, a quæstor or lord-chancellor, two treasurers, and as many counts of the domestics commanding an imperial body-guard; which consisted of 3500 magnificent soldiers, arranged into seven schools, as they were termed, of 500 each. Constantine reduced the legionary complement from 6000 to 1500 men; which, as the forces of the empire were numerically increased, enlarged their muster-roll with names that would have astonished the earlier Cæsars. Barbarians being insensibly admitted into every squadron, the shout of battle was no longer as the voice of a single nation, but the dissonant clang and clamour of different tribes and languages. Their variegated banners, with the coloured symbols on their bucklers, presented rather a motley and amusing spectacle than that terrific array of Roman eagles which had subjugated the kingdoms of the earth. The rulers of the same horde attacked as enemies, or defended as mercenaries, the imperial frontiers; and though his vigilance kept up no less than five hundred and eighty-three permanent garrisons as the iron girdle of his dominions, either private selfishness, or treachery, or the incurable defects of a bad system, let in, before many seasons had elapsed, an inundation of plunderers upon the provinces. This belt of fortifications, extending

along the Rhine, the Danube, the oriental limits, and the southern borders, employed 196,700 infantry, with 25,300 cavalry: thirty fleets, stationed on the great rivers, inland seas, and northern ocean, carried 100,000 marines and mariners on the lowest calculation; and probably about 300,000 additional troops completed the vast military establishments of the first Christian emperor. The average pay of the borderers and palatines per diem varied from a franc to a shilling of European money, exclusive of their rations—which last comprehended biscuit, bread, bacon, mutton, vinegar, and wine, given out on their separate and appropriate days. Clothing and arms were furnished from the magazines, where extraordinary attention was paid, not merely to their health and comfort, but even to the luxuries and recreations of the men. The emoluments of a tribune, or colonel, as he would now be called, had long been six superb vestments or articles of uniform, thirty or forty pounds' worth of plate, a hundred pieces of gold, a thousand of silver, and ten thousand of brass, per annum; together with daily allowances comprising a pound of beef, six of pork, ten of goat's flesh, half-a-pint of oil, twenty times that quantity of old wine, a good proportion of lard, salt, and potherbs, besides as much fuel as he pleased, and some other perquisites. In finance, it may be fairly conjectured that Constantine introduced the indiction. Every fifteen years the entire empire underwent a general census and valuation, including the soil, with every thing in the way of property upon it. An annual declaration from the emperor fixed the amount of taxation necessary for public purposes. The mode of assessment united the substance of a land-tax with the forms of a capitation; the survey of every country expressed the number of tributary subjects, and the total of the imperial impost. The latter was divided by the former; and the estimate that each province contained so many heads of tribute, rated at such a price, came to be received not only in the popular but even in the legal acceptation. Under Con-

stantine there is reason for supposing that they averaged about ten pounds sterling of our money, and were 3,500,000 in number; returning, therefore, a gross revenue of 35,000,000*l.* per annum—liable, however, to immense deductions on the score of expense in collection. This heavy imposition was in lieu, as well it might be, of all the ancient provincial tributes: besides which there were the taxes of excise and customs; the mines, woods and forests, with all kinds of possessions, belonging to the treasury as general property; and the coronary gold, exacted from wealthy cities on certain occasions, such as when the emperor assumed the diadem, obtained a victory, entered upon a consulship, announced the birth of a son, or nominated a Cæsar as his colleague. All these sources of receipt might probably be reckoned at an additional 15,000,000*l.* or 20,000,000*l.* per annum.

The higher classes imitated, at an appropriate distance, the orientalism of the court. Their mien exhibited the arrogance without the dignity of rank: they were saluted by inferiors with kisses on the hands or knees; whilst sonorous titles of personal address came to be multiplied with pitiable vanity. Seven ridiculous surnames might be sometimes claimed by a single senator. There were five degrees of position in the social scale,—the illustrious, the respectable, the most honourable, the most perfect, and the excellent,—all granted by the imperial sign-manual; each individual being respectively addressed in ordinary parlance as his highness, his sublimity, his gloriousness, his magnificence, his immensity, his gravity, with several more of the same sort; omitting that alone which included all the rest,—his absurdity! Modern courtesy has indeed caught, in some degree, the infection of the fourth century—modified, however, by refinement, convenience, freedom, and intellectual development; but fifteen hundred years ago a fine of 120*l.* sterling could be inflicted for omitting the proper epithet either in conversation or correspondence. Christianity alone it was which ameliorated the mischiefs of official pride, or that

growth of luxury which would have been otherwise intolerable. Paganism had, for the most part, overlooked the poor; yet no sooner had Constantine ascended the throne than the indigent, the sick, and the infirm, at once experienced the attentive regard of the laws, as well as of private charity. The very heathen beheld and admired these results of a religion which they nevertheless so heartily hated. It would require a volume to show how, in the various judicial, fiscal, and social arrangements of the empire, the sweet influences of the Gospel fell like dew upon the hardships of poverty, and even the horrors of warfare. The gladiatorial combats gradually disappeared; impurity and cruelty in every form were legally abolished, instead of being cherished, as, in too many instances, they had hitherto been, amidst the corruptions and superstitions of mythology. Meanwhile the emperor manfully defended his Illyrian frontiers, repaired the bridge of Trajan across the Danube, chastised the Goths and Sarmatians, and brought down the Chersonites upon the former; whilst of the latter he received, as colonists or recruits, about 300,000 emigrants, whom he cautiously scattered over the Roman Scythia, or in Mœsia, Thrace, and Macedonia, besides settling a few in Italy. On his decease, A.D. 337, his three surviving sons, with two of their cousins, shared amongst them the Roman world. Crispus, the eldest of his children and the best, had long fallen a victim to the tragical machinations of Fausta, the daughter of Maximian. With a single exception, all these princes had already been made Cæsars. Constans obtained Italy, Illyria, and Africa; Constantine II., Gaul and Britain, with Spain; Constantius, the East; Dalmatius, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece; Anniballian, Pontus, Armenia Minor, some adjacent territories, including Cappadocia, with the city Cæsarea and the peculiar title of king. The two nephews of the late emperor were soon murdered by their soldiers. Constantine Junior lost his life and dominions in a battle near Aquileia, fought with his brother Constans,

A.D. 340. Magnentius conspired against the last, and had him slain in a forest at the foot of the Pyrenees, A.D. 350. His realms passed for some years to the assassin, with the exception of Illyria, which elected Vetrico, an aged and worthy officer, who resigned his purple to Constantius, after a war which that potentate had carried on with small advantage against another Sapor, the successor of Narses in Persia. Constantius then marched against Magnentius, and crowned a bloody campaign with the decisive victory of Mursa or Essek, A.D. 351; so that, the ruined usurper soon afterwards destroying himself and his entire family, his conqueror remained sole sovereign, as his great father had been before him. He inherited, however, no share of the parental abilities, being at once weak, jealous, affected, haughty, and conceited. The imperial house had got reduced to himself and a couple of cousins—Gallus and Julian. The former, with no virtues, was made Cæsar for an interval, which terminated in his private execution; the latter was the more celebrated champion of mythology, justly known in history as the Apostate. His talents and genius were of the highest order. He was nominated Cæsar not quite a year after the miserable end of his brother, being presented to the army in the habit of a Roman prince November 6th A.D. 355.

He had engrafted at Athens all the jugglery of paganism upon the ambition of an able mind. Mistaking gross heresy for Christianity, he renounced the principles in which he had been reared and educated for the dreams of reformed Platonism;—as if casting himself into the abyss of perdition were the only alternative left. Combining his studious habits as a philosopher with many military energies and perceptions, he governed Gaul in the spirit of his grandfather Constantius Chlorus, and subdued the Franks and Allemanni in a series of admirable campaigns. Chnodomar, the mightiest of the barbarians, heading a host more than thrice his own in numbers, was beaten by Julian in a battle near Strasburg, which restored the integrity and

security of the frontiers. Every enemy after that event was prostrated; the burdens of the provinces were alleviated; justice and equity were administered with speed and regularity. His army saluted him as Augustus; upon which his imperial cousin and colleague once and again excited the Germans to invade some of the western provinces; thus sacrificing altogether the interests, and even safety, of the state to the gratification of his vindictive selfishness. But the new emperor proved himself as prompt in action as he was wary and prudent in his designs. Seizing forthwith upon Illyricum, with its magazines, mines, and hardy population, he embarked 3000 chosen volunteers upon the Danube, and with them pushed forward seven hundred miles in eleven days; so that before his enemies could receive any certain intelligence that he had quitted the banks of the Rhine, he had already disembarked his gallant followers in the neighbourhood of Sirmium. Constantius, just then having obtained a respite from the war which had been long waging with Persia, returned from Hierapolis in Syria to Antioch; which capital he left under the influence of considerable fever, induced, no doubt, as much by suppressed mortification as real fatigue. At Mopsucrene, near Tarsus, he expired after a short illness, A.D. 361. Julian ascended his throne; openly professed the old superstitions of mythology; fruitlessly endeavoured to impose upon them a new aspect; and reformed many of those abuses in the palace which his predecessor had patronised, or at least sanctioned. The department of the barbers alone comprised a thousand individuals, that of the cooks and cupbearers each as many; and the officer offering his services to shave the emperor enjoyed an enormous salary, some valuable perquisites, with a daily allowance for twenty servants and the same number of horses. The eunuchs were so numerous, that a contemporary orator compared them to swarms of summer flies. The most exquisite dainties were constantly procured to gratify the pride rather than the taste of the court—such as birds of the

most distant climates, fish from the most remote seas, fruits out of their natural season, winter flowers, and summer snows. The menial and useless crowd of domestics far surpassed in their demands the expenses of the legions. But while words were wanting to describe the pomp, parade, and luxury of Constantius, his successor, it must be admitted, went to an opposite extreme, in turning the imperial halls at Constantinople into silent or neglected chambers; as also in affecting habits of filthiness or eccentricity for his own person. However he might have deceived himself, he failed to deceive others. The apparent revival of paganism presented nothing else than a series of galvanic spasms and grimaces, mistaken for vitality only by those whose wishes were parents to their perceptions, being themselves in the gall of bitterness and the bondage of iniquity.

All men saw that intense vanity formed the ruling motive with this new and zealous disciple of Marcus Aurelius. Meanwhile the affairs of the Persian monarchy required and received his immediate attention. Sapor had commenced his hostile movements towards the close of the reign of the great Constantine; so that, for a quarter of a century, Mesopotamia, with its adjacent districts, had been exposed to the horrors, more or less, of a continuous military struggle. Julian conceived an admirable plan for attacking Ctesiphon; but it depended for its success upon the cordial co-operation of Tiranus, king of Armenia, the representative of Tiridates, himself too much attached to Christianity, as well as being connected through marriage with Constantius, to yield that steady assistance which the case required. Nevertheless, his invasion of Assyria, accompanied as it was with the sieges of Perisabor and Maogamalcha, displayed immense abilities. He transferred his fleet from the Euphrates into the Tigris with an ingenuity and accurate knowledge of the country which amazed both friends and foes; baffling the latter completely in their entire plans for defending the passage. Declining an assault upon the Assyrian

capital, and deserted by Tiranus, he boldly burnt his ships; and, allured by a pretended deserter, ultimately plunged into the depths of the wilderness. His object then was to fall upon Sapor with sixty thousand men, and renew the exploits of Alexander, perhaps on the plains of Arbela. From that false hope his fortunes never recovered. It was soon evident that the Persian guide must have deceived him from first to last. His legions began to faint upon the thirsty sands, as Crassus and his soldiers had done before them. The light cavalry of their enemies harassed them on every side; nor were repeated victories of the smallest avail. Julian fell at last, mortally wounded, on the 26th of June A.D. 363. His successor, Jovian, had to treat with Sapor upon the hardest terms; and by an involuntary yet necessary pacification, Nisibis, with the five provinces which Galerius had added to the Roman empire, were definitively ceded to the fortunate representative of Narses. Jovian died before reaching Constantinople,—an emperor of Pannonian origin and sincere piety. His countryman Valentinian now had the suffrages of the army in his favour, sharing the dignity with his brother Valens; the latter undertaking to govern the East, and the former the West. Neither could ward off the barbarians effectually. Saxons, Allemanni, Sarmatians, and Goths, grew bolder from day to day. Valentinian was valiant, but passionate; the character of Valens was weaker, and much more wicked. Military discipline meanwhile continually relaxed; the armour of the legionaries was lightened; infantry diminished, and cavalry augmented. The garisons of frontier-towns took to civil occupations; the multiplicity of violent crimes tended to introduce savage and barbarous punishments: so that, from the operation of all these causes, the tone of society went continually down. Thus, for instance, at Milan, the elder of the two imperial brothers maintained in his palace a couple of fierce and enormous bears, distinguished by the appellations of Innocence and Golden Darling,—into whose

cages, placed as they were near his bedchamber, criminals were thrown, in order that Valentinian might enjoy without personal inconvenience all the horrors of such hideous executions. Innocence at length earned her discharge, through her interminable meals made upon unhappy malefactors; upon which, with no little affectation of justice, she was restored, as a meritorious and emancipated servant, to the freedom of her native forests. Yet even upon such a monster the Church of God shed some showers of gentler influences: it induced him to prohibit the exposure of infants; to establish fourteen skilful physicians for the poor, with stipends and privileges, in the fourteen quarters of Rome; to promote the cultivation of science,—the more remarkable from his own comparative illiteracy; and to endow on a liberal scale public professors to carry on education in every provincial capital. Neither of the emperors could be styled strictly orthodox; but while Valentinian patronised religious or rather irreligious indifference, Valens remained a bitter Arian, rivalling his pagan predecessors in persecuting the only true faith. The powers of divine vengeance were therefore justly felt on all sides. The distant Huns began to move from their eastern hives, sending awful rumours before them of their genuine character.

From Livonia to the Black Sea the venerable Hermanric had ruled over the Goths until he was murdered. His subjects naturally separated into the two divisions of the East or Ostrogoths, governed by the house of Amali, and the West or Visigoths, acknowledging that of Balti. These latter, pressed by the Huns, proposed to Valens that he should let them occupy lands south of the Danube, on condition of their undertaking the defence of that frontier; to which the emperor consented, and had them inoculated, through Ulphilas, with his own pernicious heresy. They soon, however, followed their inherent propensities for lawless rapine, and desolated the Mæsiian provinces, marching in the full tide of their madness

towards the metropolis. Valens met them near Adrianople. The imperial armies, now mainly consisting of luxuriously-mailed cavalry, proved illusive protectors against the charges of the massive Gothic infantry, rushing forward, as they were wont to do, in columns, with an irresistible momentum. Rome and her eagles fled in confusion from this fatal field, A.D. 378; the emperor, wounded, sought refuge in the cottage of a peasant, which was set fire to by his pursuers, and he perished in the flames. Valentinian had died three years before, being succeeded by his two sons, Gratian, and a younger brother, named after his father. The former associated in the purple Theodosius, a Spanish descendant of Trajan, whose valour and virtues he nobly emulated; avoiding at the same time his vices, which had been those of heathenism. The oriental regions were consigned to his government, so that Constantinople at length breathed freely, A.D. 379. His talents overawed the barbarian invaders; many of them settled quietly amongst his more willing subjects; nor since the days of the first Constantine had a better administration existed from the Euphrates to Illyricum. In the West, matters were in a far worse state. The addition of a fifth consular province, called Valentia, in the north of Britain, had conferred no real benefit on the island. Maximus had there successfully revolted against Gratian, and subsequently procured his assassination at Lyons, A.D. 383. The younger Valentinian was driven out of Italy, and ultimately murdered by Arbogastes and Eugenius; Theodosius justly meriting universal gratitude by the extinction of Maximus near Aquileia, A.D. 388, and the two other criminals or usurpers at the foot of the Alps, A.D. 394. He now therefore reigned over the entire empire, being the last who did so; expiring himself, however, in the full maturity of his talents and prosperity, only four months after his final victory over Arbogastes. His two sons succeeded him: Arcadius, the elder, in the East, and Honorius in the West; their respective ages

being eighteen and eleven years, and their chief ministers Rufinus, a Gaul, and Stilicho, a Vandal.

These ministers of barbaric origin for their own private purposes brought confusion upon the families of their masters. Alaric, partially with their cognisance or concurrence, led his countrymen, the Visigoths, through Illyricum round the head of the Adriatic to the walls of Milan, A.D. 403. Honorius, having no adequate powers of resistance, permitted them to select either Gaul or Spain for their residence; but within six years afterwards the treachery of a weak government laid the capital of the world at their mercy, and Rome was sacked A.D. 409. The death of Alaric, in his thirty-fifth year, arrested not the progress of Gothic devastation. His adherents overran the entire territories between the Alps and Calabria in Italy; and in Gaul, between the Rhone, the Loire, and the Pyrenees. Pouring into Spain, they drove out thence the Vandals, Suevians, and Slavonian Alans, to the mountains of Galicia and Portugal; founding an empire only to be overthrown by the Saracens three centuries later. Meanwhile the Caledonians pressed upon Britain; the Franks on the Netherlands; the Burgundians on the Upper Rhine; the Heruli and Rugians upon Noricum; the Langobards upon Pannonia; the Ostrogoths upon Thrace: Sebastian and Jovinus simultaneously raising the banners of rebellion, together with Constantine, Attalus, and Heraclian, within the limits of the empire. Honorius died A.D. 423, leaving his nominal throne to his nephew Valentinian, the third of that name, an infant six years old. Africa was soon afterwards lost through the jealousy of its governor Bonifacius, who called in Genseric and his Vandals A.D. 427. Perceiving his error when it had become too late, he had applied for fruitless assistance to the emperor of the East, a second Theodosius, who had succeeded Arcadius at Constantinople. The royal Vandal, however, proved triumphant over the forces of both empires; conquered the whole country from Tangier to Tripoli;

founded a naval armament, with the Alans for his allies, which plundered Sicily and Palermo; avenged the murder of the third Valentinian in the punishment of Maximus, his rebellious successor; and pillaged Rome for fourteen days and nights; after having listened respectfully to the solicitations of Pope Leo the Great, coming forth in solemn procession with his clergy to mollify the passions of this covetous and heretical barbarian, A.D. 455. It was but two years before that the same saintly Pontiff had been more than equally successful with another scourge of the Almighty—the celebrated monarch of the Huns. Genseric had summoned Attila to cover him from the vengeance of the Visigoths, which he justly anticipated for having maltreated a princess of theirs married to his son Hunneric. Fearing that her people might coalesce with the western emperor for his chastisement, his crafty mind saw no safer policy then open to him than an invasion of Italy by his fellow-savages, victorious from the Volga to Vienna. Attila had united to his own tribes many clans from other nations, so that the whole of what is now South Germany obeyed him; and it was said that 700,000 warriors mustered beneath the standards of their invincible and terrible Tanjoo. Even barbarism dreaded an attack from such a quarter: the Burgundians, from Franche Compté, Dauphiné, Savoy, and Switzerland; Sangibar, with a clan of Alans settled upon the banks of the Loire; the Armoricans from Brittany; the Ripuarians between the Maese and Rhine; the Salian Franks under Meroveus, with the Saxons on the other side the river,—one and all assembled with the imperial legions to repel the friend of Genseric. From the margin of the Tiber the invader swept along, through Austria, Styria, Rhætia, and Allemannia, as far as Basil, where he defeated the Burgundians, and then rapidly advanced to Chalons on the Marne, A.D. 450. The confederates there awaited his approach, and fought for their lives. The king of the Visigoths fell. Attila retreated, as it

were, from a drawn engagement; when, after an interval, the invitation of a sister of the emperor drew him into Italy. Aquileia resisted, as she had done before so many assailants; yet this time to her fearful cost, A.D. 452. She was levelled to the ground; every town was taken to the very ramparts of Ravenna, in which a breach was made by the citizens themselves to testify their humble submission. As the conqueror drew near Rome, Pope Leo exhibited the genuine power of the Church, assuaging the anger of Attila, as afterwards he did that of Genseric, in a touching solemn interview. He besought him to spare the city and tomb of the apostles, which even Alaric had not violated. The hideous Hun was moved; he withdrew his countless hordes laden with spoil, and expired soon after on the night of his marriage, A.D. 453. As Maximus had been invested with the purple of Valentinian for a brief period, so, amidst circumstances of analogous humiliation, it passed on to Avitus in Gaul, A.D. 456; to Majorian, a valiant warrior, A.D. 457; to Severus, whose general, Ricimer, defeated the Alans, A.D. 461; to Anthemius, father-in-law to the successful general, A.D. 467; to Olybrius, the son-in-law of Valentinian, A.D. 473; to Glycerius, a nobleman, who afterwards retired into holy orders, and became bishop of Porto, A.D. 474; to Julius Nepos, nominated by the eastern emperor, in the same year; and lastly, to Romulus Augustus, the son of Orestes, then commanding the armies of Constantinople, A.D. 475. The Heruli, originally from Pomerania, had settled for a season in Pannonia, then roved into Noricum, and finally came down upon Italy under Odoacer. Pavia alone resisted, and was taken. Orestes lost his head, and his son the diadem; the latter having his life spared, which he terminated at a castle in Campania, once belonging to Lucullus. Thus ended the Western Empire of Rome with Romulus Momyllus Augustulus, as history sometimes calls him, in the 1229th year from the foundation of the city, A.D. 476.

## CHAPTER X.

## The Church of Christ during the earlier centuries.

WE have already glanced at the Church of God under the old dispensation of the Jewish commonwealth, when it was simply national. During the captivity of the Hebrews at Babylon one of their prophets had to interpret the dream of Nebuchodonosor, in which that monarch saw a stone cut out without hands, which smote the image of his mystic vision on its feet, and then became a great mountain, so as to fill the whole earth. Daniel informed him that this figure typified a heavenly kingdom, which would one day absorb all other royalties, and itself stand for ever. In other words, it was neither more nor less than a foreshadowing of the Church of Christ, which He was pleased to found in the present world upon the rock of St. Peter, to whom He gave the keys of his jurisdiction, assuring him that not even the gates of hell should prevail against it. Before His ascension into heaven, He had stamp'd upon this glorious institution its four marks of apostolicity, sanctity, catholicity, and unity. He endowed it with the seven most precious Sacraments, and more especially with His real presence in the Blessed Eucharist; as well as with an infallible teaching authority. Its rule of faith was the entire revelation of Almighty God, whether written or unwritten, delivered into its sacred custody; as to the interpretation of which, according to the divine promise, the Church could never err. With such treasures and powers she was to go forth among all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; converting them into faithful disciples of Jesus, whose

flock was to have one faith only, as constituting but one fold under one shepherd. The advent of the Saviour had happily occurred in the fulness of time, and, agreeably to prophetic declarations, when the temple of Janus was shut, and Augustus peacefully governed the Roman empire. Civilisation was then at its height, and expecting some great event. Paganism had been disavowed by many of its nominal adherents; since the speculations of its philosophers had been weighed and found wanting in genuine efficiency for the promotion of either happiness or virtue. That the crisis was altogether a providential one can scarcely be denied. From the fall of the first Adam to the crucifixion of the second, mankind, with the exception of a single favoured people, had been involved in a night of ignorance; but when the mighty sacrifice was consummated on Calvary, the thrones of Satan trembled to their foundations. The shock received by them instantly became observable in the silence of oracles, the neglect of heathen temples, the immediate conversion of myriads, and the gradual propagation of Christianity. No less than ten persecutions opposed its path of conquest, from the subterranean catacombs at Rome to the most distant portions of the globe. The blood of martyrs watered its course; popes, prelates, nobles, virgins, wives, widows, and children, carried forward the bright galaxy of witnesses and confessors from age to age; so that multitudes welcomed the glad tidings, whilst they gloried in being accounted worthy to suffer scorn, scourges, mutilations, poverty, incarceration, exile, or death, for the sake of the gospel, as their Redeemer and His followers had done before them. The shadow of the cross seemed to have an extension from pole to pole and from shore to shore.

St. Peter transferred his see from Antioch to Rome, where, with St. Paul, he erected the illustrious fabric of the popedom; after which event both the apostles sealed their labours by a violent death in the fearful persecution of Nero, A.D. 64-68. That emperor crucified the one, and beheaded the other; apprehending moreover

a crowd of Christians, whom he covered with skins of wild-beasts, that they might be torn to pieces by dogs in the amphitheatre. Some were besmeared with wax, then impaled upon stakes and set on fire in the gardens, to illuminate the walks at night and gratify a pagan populace. Similar horrors were perpetrated for three or four years in various parts of the world, producing harvests of glory from seedtimes of confession and affliction. Domitian, Trajan, and Adrian, originated or sanctioned the three next formal attacks upon the only true religion; whilst the author of the fifth was the philosophic Marcus Aurelius, than whom the Church has rarely had a more subtle enemy. His stoicism was a compound of human pride, delusion, self-sufficiency, and superstition. Neither he nor Adrian possessed any really sound moral principles which could preserve them from sin, or prepare them to behold the face of God. Even suicide, in their ideas, was no proper crime; and, beneath an affected veil of calmness, one may discern the wrath of Aurelius raised by the heroic conduct of those who suffered for the faith. Alluding to them in his *Meditations*, he says, "this readiness of being resigned to the prospect of death ought to proceed from a propriety of deliberate judgment, and not from mere unintelligent obstinacy, as is the case with the Christians; it should be founded on grounds of solid reason, and be attended with calm composure, without any tragical raptures, and in such a way as may induce others to admire and imitate;" as if thousands of them did not submit to their glorious destiny with the fullest deliberation and intelligence; preferring celestial rewards to earthly enjoyments; calculating, or at least counting, the cost so as to decide aright; not doubtful, as the emperor was, about a future life, but thoroughly persuaded in their own minds that the crown and palm of immortality awaited them. His prejudices closed his eyes and heart from perceiving the real nature of their raptures, adorned as they were with the humility of meekness and the joyous cheerfulness of charity. Hence

too he turned a deaf ear to the apologies of St. Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Melito, and Apollinaris; multiplying those cruel edicts which involved the spiritual triumphs of St. Polycarp at Smyrna, and the saints at Lyons and Vienne. Nor was he affected by the miracle of the thundering legion; when, in his war with the Marcomanni, A.D. 174, the drought of his soldiers was relieved by copious showers, in answer to the prayers of the Christians; attributing the relief altogether to his own imaginary divinities. The sixth persecution began with Severus, in which SS. Leonidas, Irenæus, Victor, Perpetua, and Felicitas, with many more, entered upon eternal joy, A.D. 203. The seventh was the work of the gigantic monster Maximin, A.D. 235, hating as he did whatever Alexander or his mother Mamæa had patronised; and the latter princess happened to be a disciple of the learned Origen. Numbers were put to death in the East; the flames of heathen fury particularly raging against the clergy, and reaching even remote districts in Cappadocia. Decius commenced the eighth persecution with demoniacal rage; followed up by the ninth, under Valerian; the double trial continuing for twelve years, with occasional intervals, throughout nearly every province, A.D. 248-260; the period being moreover illustrated, amidst a noble army of generous sufferers whose record is in the book of life, with the saintly and canonised names of SS. Fabian, Babylas, Alexander, Cyprian, Lucius, Stephen, and the holy deacon St. Lawrence. The tenth persecution perhaps equalled all the rest put together in its unparalleled intensity. Diocletian and Galerius set no limits to their abhorrence of the Church of God; supported as their measures were by Maximian, Maxentius, and Maximin, in ghastly succession, A.D. 303-13, and by Licinius still later. Sacred edifices and private residences were destroyed by law; all Christians were degraded from every honour or office systematically throughout three-fourths of the empire; from the palace to the hovel there was no other alternative than

an avowal of heathenism or an agonising death. Bishops, priests, deacons, and the laity, by thousands laid down their lives for the sake of Christ; the scourge, the stake, the rack, the iron-chair, or horrible gridiron, heated red-hot, exercised the savagery of executioners and the fortitude of the confessors. Regard was paid to neither age, sex, nor situation; nor was any proof required as to particular overt acts of worship. Bare probable suspicion brought any one to the fiery trial; endured as it generally was with the most heroic resignation. Not content with spectacles of a single sufferer at a time, the pagans collected their victims together, and threw them bound hand and foot by numbers into the sea, or immolated them on the funeral pile of their own habitations. Judges were despatched for the express purpose to the seats of heathenism, that multitudes might be driven to idolatrous altars, or punished on the spot, in proportion to their constancy. The prisons were crowded with captives; new modes of inflicting or protracting physical agony were continually invented; each hall of justice had its shrine and its incense, to test the convictions of suitors before their causes came on; fresh decrees against Christianity were promulgated from city to city; copies of the sacred Scriptures were committed to the flames wheresoever found; and throughout this protracted period, with the exception of the Gallic prefecture under Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine, an unreserved extinction was attempted of the most valuable subjects of the Roman government. Such as surrendered the inspired writings to their adversaries justly acquired the disgraceful denomination of *traditors*; and marvellous indeed was the result, that, comparatively speaking, there were so few of them.

For a term of ten years this dreadful tempest raged; presenting the Church to our view like the burning bush of Moses,—on fire, yet not consumed. Martyrs multiplied rather than otherwise. Some were decapitated, as in Arabia; some devoured by wild-beasts, as in

Phœnicia; others lingered in lengthened tortures with their limbs broken or dislocated, as in Cappadocia; some were suspended with their heads downward over slow fires and roasted alive, as in Mesopotamia, Syria, and various other places. In Pontus, they were pierced under their nails with sharp-pointed reeds; molten lead was often poured over those parts of the body most sensitive and susceptible of anguish; and sometimes the depravity of human passion spent itself without pity or decency in indescribable exhibitions of unnatural cruelty. In Egypt, they were crucified in all kinds of ways; in the Thebais, oyster-shells supplied the office of jagged irons, with which the pagans rent the flesh of their prisoners. Women of honourable condition were hung up in the air by one foot fastened to a crane, exposed and uncovered. Trees were forcibly bent together through powerful machinery, to the boughs of which the Christians were bound, and in a moment torn asunder. The daily number of victims varied from ten to sixty; but an instance occurred when no less a company of witnesses expired, by a variety of torments, during the same day in Egypt alone than one hundred men, besides women and children. In Phrygia, the imperialists burnt to the ground an entire city of the faithful, because both governor and inhabitants had refused to sacrifice; when the whole multitude, calling upon Christ as their God, and embracing temporal destruction rather than spiritual apostasy, surely presented, had the Romans only recognised it, a spectacle far more glorious than the overthrow of Corinth, or the triumphant conflagration of Carthage. No one can peruse the original acts and annals of these ages without being struck with the perfect uniformity of religious principle and doctrine in defence of which these victims of persecution died:—the Trinity in Unity; the Incarnation and Passion of our Lord; the Resurrection and Judgment to come; the grace of the Holy Spirit; the oneness, sanctity, catholicity, and apostolicity of the Church; the number and efficacy of the Sacra-

ments; the canon of Scripture, and the ecclesiastical traditions, as being in the custody of the Holy See; its infallible authority as the rule of faith; the Real Presence; the sacrifice of the Mass; prayers for the dead; an intermediate state of purgatory; the intercession of saints; the veneration of relics; the supremacy of the Pope, as the representative of St. Peter, and the visible head of the episcopate throughout all the world. Not that it is meant to assert the existence of any formal creed, beyond that of the apostles, as explicitly enumerating these various articles of faith; since even the great symbol of Nice was not as yet promulgated. But it is nevertheless clear, from innumerable and incidental evidences, that such outlines comprehended the general body and essence of at least their implicit belief: each lineament, in the lapse of ages, coming to be more and more clearly defined by the Church, as the vagaries and depravities of her internal or external enemies required it. Meanwhile all the persecutors perished miserably: Galerius was devoured by worms and vermin at Sardica, until he acknowledged in his palace the Hand that smote him, A.D. 311. He had hitherto wished to be thought the offspring of Mars; and being deified by his successor, after a reign of nineteen years, the apotheosis of such a mortal might have assisted in its degree to overthrow the whole illusive structure of mythology. Maximin, however, revived for a time the fanaticism of his adherents; especially incited to that course by the political revolutions of Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Italy. His own illness at Tarsus in Cilicia even exceeded in its horrible circumstances that of his uncle. His body is described by an eye-witness as turning into an actual sepulchre of its soul long before the hour of dissolution. Wasting in the midst of corporeal corruption and decay, he would sometimes roll in torment upon the ground, and greedily swallow handfuls of earth; or at other times, with eyes starting from their sockets, he dashed his head against the walls, exclaiming, "Not

I,—not I,—but others, did it.” He had devoted himself to magic; yet at last he tortured his enchanters, and courted the Christians, acknowledging aloud the awful existence of one Almighty God, whom he had dared and defied. His death occurred in August A.D. 313, after a cruel administration of nine years. The careers of Maximian, his son Maxentius, and Licinius, have been already mentioned. A curse swept their very lineage from the earth; while their memories were held in universal execration. The conversion of Constantine came like the morning after a long night of storms.

Not that it proved an unclouded blessing by any means. His character was wayward and imperious on many important occasions. So long as his mother St. Helena lived, her unbounded influence over him was exercised for the noblest purposes. But heresy within the fold of Christ seemed to acquire strength, as heathenism waned outside it; the latter through the erection of churches, the general discountenance of mythology, and the deliverance of religion from its political persecutions and discouragements. The idols of paganism adorned the capitals no longer peculiarly as objects for worship, but merely as masterpieces often of artistic beauty. On some few occasions, when the materials were gold or silver, they might be exhibited to the mockery of the multitude, and then melted into money for the imperial or municipal treasuries. Several shrines of great celebrity forfeited their magnificent ornaments; the fabrics then falling into decay or ruin, as the funds belonging to them went towards the maintenance of pious or benevolent institutions. As early, however, as the reign of Trajan, the decline of ancient superstition had become apparent; and when the veil was torn aside from the delusions of Delphi or Dodona, their fanes, where hecatombs had once been offered, became the refuge for foxes and ravens. Benefits, therefore of incalculable extent were conferred upon society by the mere nominal profession of Christianity, which in-

volved as a matter of course the legal suppression of licentiousness, such as the groves of Venus Aphacitis, and certain other abominations inseparable from the domination of gentilism. Constantine, as the absolute monarch of the Roman world, established the worship of the only true God and His Son Jesus Christ; acknowledged the authority of His Church upon earth; employed his revenues and power for her honour, endowment, and protection; studied the Scriptures diligently, and multiplied transcripts of them to supply the ravages in this respect of the late persecution; spent hours, or sometimes entire nights, in his consecrated chapel, fasting or watching; observed the festivals of martyrs, as well as enforced the observance of Fridays and Sundays; sought the intercession of the saints in heaven, as also those of his subjects on earth; and preserved the purity of marriage both by example and precept. Several bishops were elevated to offices of the highest dignity in the state, or at least permitted to exercise an ecclesiastical influence upon civil affairs and general legislation. No one could fairly withhold admiration on these or similar points; especially when they are compared with the profligate and immoral characteristics of too many amongst his predecessors. Yet so rampant grew the rage of the father of lies, that he only the more concentrated his efforts to adulterate, where it was impossible to destroy. He could not, indeed, touch with any really injurious effect the subject-matter of divine revelation; but he could tamper with the allegiance of individuals, so as to allure them into spiritual revolt, as he had succeeded with the angels before the fall. Hence the commencement of heresy in some form or other, only less monstrous than ancient heathenism, will be found coeval with the very era of the apostles. Their Divine Master had forewarned them that scandals would come; and they came accordingly.

Constantine at first prohibited all sectarian conventicles, whether those of the blasphemous Paul of Samosata, who, like Noetus and Sabellins, confounded the

mysterious distinction of the Divine Persons in the Trinity; or those of the fanatical Montanists in Phrygia, who had misled Tertullian with their absurd succession of prophecy; or those of the Novatians, denying the temporal efficacy of repentance; or those of the Gnostics and Manichæans, including the Marcionites and Valentinians. Towards the Novatians he began to relax, exempting them by a special enactment from the effects of his general proscription; and he even allowed them a church at Constantinople. The schism of the Donatists in Africa called for the councils of Rome and Arles, A.D. 313-314; but it was Arianism, with its subsequent developments, which maintained a systematic assault upon the Deity of the Son of God and the proper personality of the Holy Spirit. Its founder was a popular preacher at Alexandria, who asserted that there had been a period when the Son had no existence, that He was capable of either vice or virtue, and that He held no higher dignity than that of the most exalted creature. Arius, through the plausibility of a conversation passing for piety, together with his hymns, sermons, attractive manners, and irreproachable morals, carried the world away with him; and while the emperor, in his unacquaintedness with theology, was fancying the matter to be of small importance, the Pope at last induced him to summon the celebrated Œcumenical Council of Nice, A.D. 324, over which Osius, with two other Roman legates, presided, and which drew up the Nicene Creed, declaring as an irrefragable doctrine that Christ is the Son of God, of the same substance, or consubstantial, with the Father. The great St. Athanasius now appeared, afterwards selected to be archbishop of the Egyptian provinces, which had the high honour of enjoying his spiritual administration for nearly half a century. When the torrent of innovation was sweeping away the vain, the weak, or the ambitious, he stood forth as the champion of the Church, encouraging the timid, instructing the ignorant, confirming waverers, and triumphantly defeating in the arena of argument the

boldest advocates for error. From his profound knowledge of theology and human nature, and the attention with which he watched over ecclesiastical affairs, he discerned difficulties before they approached, and therefore prepared others, as well as himself, with admirable diligence for their arrival. When the tempest burst, he withstood its violence, if possible; or prudently, but courageously, retired before its fury, if such a retreat were necessary, that he might return with fresh activity to his post, and restore confidence to his people. He feared not the face of the oppressor, and his behaviour towards the emperors, or their vicegerents, was always dignified and noble. Engaged as he was in scenes of continuous conflict, his love and fervour burned for communion with Heaven with a relish communicated to the saints alone for that interior life which is concealed from the world of sense, as altogether beyond its understanding. His happiest moments must have been those spent with the holy solitaries of the desert, where he fed upon the hidden manna, and drank deep at the fountains of life; or where, as he says, the Psalms of David proved to him a secret paradise of sweets, when wearied with the repression of gainsayers, or worn out with the laborious trial of defending the foundations of Christianity. No contrast can well be stronger than that presented between the comportment of himself and his opposers. Worldly-mindedness, emulation, and pride produced in them their concomitant consequences, which threw into more splendid relief the self-denial, the uprightness, and the humility of this saintly prelate. They relied upon the court and the inconstancy of Constantine; Athanasius depended upon the Church, her divine Protector, and her inherent prerogatives. They pretended to fathom every abyss of Scripture with the presumption of private judgment, and as their own interpreters; the prince of the Nicene symbol took refuge at Rome, and reverently rested in her definition that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, coequally and coeternally constituted a glorious Trinity in Unity; the depths of so

fathomless a mystery lying veiled under the wings of the cherubim. He was thrice driven from Alexandria, and as often restored in triumph.

Constantia, the sister of the emperor, and widow of Licinius, had imbibed from her consort an essential hostility to the Church, though nominally calling herself a Christian convert. Her prejudices, therefore, sympathised readily enough with the heresy of Arius; beneath the injurious influence of which she was unhappily the means of gradually drawing her brother. His vacillation produced material mischief, as may be seen in the history of the synods held successively at Antioch, Cæsarea, and Tyre, A.D. 327-335, or that of Rimini much later, in the reign of Constantius, A.D. 360. The latter ever manifested himself a bitter adversary to the orthodox faith; while his father, with no slight inconsistency, professed himself, amidst all his aberrations, an adherent, upon the whole, to the Nicene symbol. Arianism, however, under imperial and secular auspices, to an enormous extent overran the Roman world, finding favour with all other heresies and schisms, supported by edicts nearly as cruel and oppressive as those of pagan potentates, and pullulating into every fresh form of error which the subtlety of the human mind could devise. Julian the Apostate was brought up in its principles; a fact which may serve to account for some of his intellectual pravity. Valens followed in the footsteps of Constantius, contrary to the policy and wishes of his brother Valentinian, who, although far from being what his great successor became, yet always expressed himself with piety, and avowed an adhesion to the only true Church. His empress Justina proved quite the reverse; and what Constantia, and her niece Eusebia, the wife of Constantius, had been to St. Athanasius, the Arian partner of Valentinian was to the mighty St. Ambrose. But the Archbishop of Milan was happier in one particular than the Archbishop of Alexandria had been, for Theodosius the Great was his penitent. If Constantine had the advantage of erecting the standard

of the cross, and establishing or enriching its hierarchy, the emulation of his orthodox successor assumed the merit of subduing the arrogance of heresy, and effecting by an express law the final abolition of paganism. From the age of Numa the Romans had preserved a regular succession of pontiffs in several sacerdotal colleges, with corresponding establishments of augurs for the observation of omens, quindecimvirs who had charge of the Sibylline books, vestals devoting their virginity to the custody of the sacred fire, epulos, flamens, saliens, lupercals, and other officers, watching over the superstitious ceremonial of heathenism. Constantine and his family tolerated much of this mummery, and even accepted on public occasions some external ensigns connected with the ancient dignity of the gentile pontifex maximus. Gratian was the first who sternly rejected them; applying to the service of the state or the Church the rich revenues of error and impurity. Senators, however, still took their oaths of allegiance at the statue and altar of the goddess of Victory, which Constantius removed on his visit to Italy. Julian had of course restored them: Valentinian the elder winked at the profanation; but his pious son, supported by St. Ambrose and his imperial colleague Theodosius, banished them once more, and for ever. Further than that Gratian did not deem it expedient then to go; while four hundred and twenty-four temples, with their shrines, oblations, and idols, as yet were permitted to survive, in the western metropolis alone, for the corruption of an ignorant populace. It remained for the conqueror of Maximus and Arbogastes to propose, in a full assembly of the senate, the final and solemn question, whether the worship of Jesus or Jupiter should be the religion of Rome? An enormous majority declared at once for the Church of God, avowed their conversion to the truth, condemned to degradation the objects of their past idolatry, and proscribed its existence any longer in the empire. They were impatient, says Prudentius, "to strip themselves of their superstitions, to

cast off the skin of the old serpent, to assume the snowy robes of baptismal innocence, and humble their consular fasces before the tombs of the saints and the martyrs." Theodosius thenceforward openly made every species of pagan immolation criminal and infamous. Augury, divination, and gentilism in all its varieties, were publicly put down by the law. Special commissions throughout the East and West formally closed the fanes of mythology, abolished their privileges and practices, dispersed their hierophants, and confiscated their property. In Gaul, Italy, Africa, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, heathenism gradually vanished away. Now and then temples themselves were happily turned into churches; but more generally they sank, like the system which they represented, into naked ruins. The good emperor, without falling into the snare of personal or unnecessary persecution, had nevertheless the high honour of so enthroning the profession of the gospel upon the legal suppression of gentilism, that within rather more than a quarter of a century after his death even its faint and minute vestiges, according to the testimony of its advocates, seemed no longer visible to society.

It is not a little singular that Theodosius was the first emperor baptised in the true faith of the Trinity. His solemn edict, immediately afterwards, declared that "all nations under his government should steadfastly adhere to the religion taught by St. Peter to the Romans, which faithful tradition had preserved, and which was then professed by his representative, the Pontiff Damasus," A.D. 380. An Arian prelate had been openly intruded upon Constantinople forty years before in the person of Eusebius, forcibly translated thither from Nicomedia, A.D. 340; from which time the orthodox Catholics lay under a yoke of oppression precisely analogous to that which they have always had to experience in similar circumstances, whether the ruler be schismatic, Mahometan, or Protestant. On the death of Valens the scene providentially changed, and St. Gregory Nazianzen was seated for an interval in the episcopal chair. At

the second general council, held in that capital, the doctrines of Macedonius received their full condemnation, this heresiarch having dared to impugn the personality of the Holy Ghost; so that the Nicene Creed in due form received an addition upon the point, not rendered necessary by any failure of completeness in the body of Catholic doctrine, but by the novelty of another innovation calling for a fresh definition to repel false professors from the fold, A.D. 381. Theodosius, through his illustrious reign of fifteen years, may be said to have restored the Church of God in the oriental provinces, supported as he was by the sanction of St. Damasus, as well as the councils, prayers, and miracles of St. Basil in Asia, and St. Martin of Tours in Europe. A remarkable feature of his fame, however, rests upon his humility, as manifested towards his director St. Ambrose. Upon the murder of Gratian by Maximus, the Archbishop of Milan had checked, in an embassy to Treves, the ambition and malice of that usurper. The clergy and people of his diocese loved him no less than they revered him for his public services to the state, and his saintly devotion to the Church. Wealth was the object of his contempt; he had renounced his private patrimony, which was given to the poor; and he sold without hesitation even the consecrated plate on the altar when it was needed for the redemption of captives. He was at once the pillar of orthodoxy and the ecclesiastical luminary of Italy. A second embassy into Gaul established his political fame.

Having successfully employed his vast powers in rescuing the country and capital from Arianism, in which task he had to confront and baffle all the efforts of an enraged empress, utterly unmindful of her personal obligations to St. Ambrose, we can scarcely wonder at the unbounded veneration with which Theodosius so justly regarded him. The emperor had armed in the cause of the younger Valentinian against the invasion from Gaul, and married the sister of the latter, the young princess Galla, A.D. 387. After his victory, in the following

year, which extinguished the life, usurpation, and family of Maximus, he spent the winter at Milan, and the next spring at Rome. His virtues were indeed great and numerous. The serious or lively tone of his conversation adapted itself to the age, the rank, or the character of his subjects whom he admitted into his society, while the general affability of his manners displayed the image of his mind. But his faults were those of indolence and passion; the latter occasionally breaking out into storms of unmanageable violence. When the Arians at Antioch overthrew his statues, the most fearful severities would have been inflicted, had not St. Chrysostom, with hundreds of monks and hermits, arrested the hands and hearts of the executioners until the bishop of the city could procure an interview with their sovereign, and assuage his anger, A.D. 387. In this they happily succeeded: but a less fortunate event overclouded his administration three summers later. At Thessalonica, Botheric, the imperial lieutenant, with some other officers, were massacred in a sedition by the citizens, A.D. 390. Theodosius, then at Milan, impatient of the dilatoriness of a judicial inquiry, gave way to his choleric temper, and ordered at once that the Thessalonians should be visited for their crime with the penalty of a promiscuous slaughter. The Gothic troops of Botheric were directed to surround the circus, to which, as if for an exhibition of games, the general population had been invited. Without the slightest discrimination, those barbarians obeyed the mandate of their sovereign. A carnage of three hours involved the massacre of an enormous multitude, of which the numbers are variously stated from at least seven up to fifteen thousand; and the guilt of the emperor was aggravated by his long and frequent residences at Thessalonica. St. Ambrose was filled with horror when the tidings arrived, and withdrew into the country that he might avoid the presence of Theodosius. At the same time he represented to him in a private letter the tremendous nature of his guilt, which could only be effaced by the severest

penance. He solemnly warned him not to approach the altar of Christ, nor to receive the holy Eucharist. The emperor was deeply affected as well by genuine remorse as by the reproaches of his spiritual father; but after bewailing the consequences of his rash fury, he nevertheless ventured to proceed in the customary manner towards the cathedral for the performance of his devotions. He was stopped in the porch by the archbishop, who, in the tone and language of an ambassador from Heaven, assured him that simple contrition was far from sufficient to atone for his grievous conduct; that public expiation must be made for such fearful homicides as he had been the means of perpetrating; that the glory of the purple and the diadem should be humbled in the dust; and that, in the midst of the church, without any ensigns of his dignity, he should humbly solicit upon his knees, with prayers and tears, the pardon from Almighty God of his sins. Theodosius, after some vain remonstrances, acquiesced in his penance, which, through Divine grace, was doubtless accepted. The Saint gave him an indulgence, commuting the full period of punishment, which would otherwise have been almost indefinite, to the moderate term of about eight months; after which the imperial penitent was readmitted to the communion of the faithful, and an edict was issued interposing thirty days between any great political sentence and its execution. "The prince," observes Montesquieu, "actuated by the hopes and fears of religion, may be likened to a lion, docile only to the voice, and tractable to the hand of his keeper." The master of the Roman world was never greater than in the hour of his voluntary humiliation.

We are told, in the Ecclesiastical History of Theodoret, that when Julian the Apostate received his mortal wound in Persia, he filled his hand with his own blood, and cast it into the air, exclaiming, "O Galilean, Thou hast conquered!" He thereby acknowledged that the Saviour, to whom he had always given this name of imaginary reproach, was indeed the Almighty Victor,

whose glorious Church was destined to vanquish every enemy, even to the ends of the earth. No less than eighteen hundred consecrated prelates presided over its affairs before the close of the fourth century, of whom a thousand were settled in the Greek, and eight hundred in the Latin provinces of the empire. In one year twelve thousand pagans were baptised at Rome alone, under the papal administration of St. Sylvester, besides a proportionable number of women and children. War and commerce opened roads for the earlier missionaries to spread the knowledge of the Gospel even beyond the Roman confines; and barbarous nations listened to the voice of St. Peter throughout portions of India, Abyssinia, Ethiopia, Arabia, Iberia, Armenia, and the choicest territories of Sapor. The Goths and Germans also nominally enlisted beneath the standard of the Cross; although Valens and his Arian bishops unhappily corrupted the faith of the former to a lamentable extent for some generations. Externally and internally the Holy See, indeed, had to watch, under the auspices of successive Vicars of Christ, against the insidious origin and progress of false doctrines. The prince of the apostles found himself obliged, both at Rome and Antioch, to contend with Simon Magus, the source, through his admirers and disciples, of so many heresies. The grand dogma of the Incarnation seems to have been assaulted almost from the moment of its promulgation. To the Ebionites the blessed Redeemer appeared as a mere man; to the Docetes a sort of fantastic Deity—the favourite idea of the Marcionites, Manichæans, and Gnostics. The Nazarenes so far maintained their obstinate adherence to Jewish rites, that several of the first bishops of Jerusalem were circumcised; whilst an observant reader will discern the providence of Almighty God in suffering that city to be once more, as it were, annihilated under Adrian, that the reviving associations with Judaism might be finally and effectually rooted out. St. Irenæus and St. Hippolytus refuted no less than thirty-two sects analogous with those of the Valen-

tinians, which, in two centuries more, had multiplied to eighty. The object of one and all was an impugment of the paradisaical promise as to the glorious prerogatives of that Immaculate Virgin who was to bruise and crush, through her divine Son, the head of the malignant serpent. Then as now it was the war of a wicked world against the Woman. Cerinthus, the opponent of St. John, was followed by Carpocrates and Basilides, as well as Valentine, with some variations in absurdity; holding an infusion of the Deity into Jesus, the legitimate child of Joseph and Mary, either at his baptism or some period subsequent to his birth, which again forsook the body that was to suffer in Gethsemane and on Calvary before the commencement of its Passion. Paul of Samosata held that Christ was born a mere man; but that the Logos, Word, or Wisdom of the Father descended into him, and wrought miracles or instructed the nations, so that it was only in an imperfect sense that he might be called God at all; the heresies about the Incarnation thus blending themselves with those respecting the Holy Trinity. When the Church, through the Council of Nice, had clearly defined the consubstantiality of the Second and First Persons, Apollinaris presumed to advance the one incarnate nature of Christ, and that the Eternal Wisdom supplied in his flesh the place and office of a human soul. His principles, with those of his predecessors in error, gradually brought forward the force of St. Cyril of Alexandria, a suitable representative of St. Athanasius on the patriarchal throne of Egypt. He has been justly styled the great father of the doctrine of the Incarnation, A.D. 412-444, contemporary as he was with Nestorius, the subtle heresiarch of Constantinople.

This dangerous archbishop, with a singular analogy to many divines of the Anglican establishment in modern times, and those of some other Protestant persuasions, separated the natures of our Lord; and whilst he believed that the Blessed Virgin was the Mother of Christ, his ears and mind felt offence at her Catholic

title of the Holy Mother of God. His notions evidently involved the heresy of mere humanitarianism held in the subtlest solution, so as to prove the more poisonous from its being less easily discerned. An appeal to the See of Rome followed as usual, which led to the third œcumenical or general council, assembled at Ephesus—the city, of all others, most nearly and dearly associated with St. John, the apostle of love, and his sacred charge, our Blessed Lady. Nestorius was condemned, after immense investigation and much confusion, A.D. 431-5; but the thirty-two years during which St. Cyril administered the Egyptian primacy had scarcely passed away before the opposite heresy of Eutyches convulsed the Church, A.D. 448; an abbot of that name reviving the Monophysite error of Apollinaris, and asserting that the Redeemer possessed only one incarnate nature. The Roman See was fortunately filled at this crisis by the same saintly pontiff who encountered without fear the hostile rage of Attila and Genseric. St. Leo immediately addressed the Empress Placidia and her son, the third Valentinian, in the West, as well as St. Pulcheria, empress of the East, with her nominal husband Marcian. The result was the fourth general council, which came together at Chalcedon, A.D. 451. Six hundred and thirty bishops were ranged in order in the nave of the church of St. Euphemia; the patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople being preceded by the papal legates, of whom the third was a simple priest. The Tome of St. Leo was received; and once for all it was decided that Christ existed in one person but in two natures. It would have been well had the voice of the Vatican been as able to assuage the passions, as it was undoubtedly qualified to settle every disputed point of theology. Yet heresy had so infected the oriental communities, that they manifested a perpetual jealousy of that supremacy in the Chair of St. Peter which can alone preserve unbroken the essential unity of the Church. The emperors of the East themselves contributed to maintain a tone

and temper of mind which ultimately grew into the Greek schism. They pretended to aspire to an office for which no layman can by any possibility be ever competent, namely, that of composing creeds or interfering in spiritual matters. Notwithstanding the high ecclesiastical rank of the Patriarch of Constantinople, he declined, through his subsequent separation from the Popes, into the position of a domestic slave under the eye of an imperial master, at whose nod he alternately passed from the convent to the throne, or again from the latter to the former, as the caprice or policy of the successor of Constantine might dictate. Even before the fathers of Chalcedon had all returned home from their labours, a vain attempt was made by a particular party to foist in an additional canon, unduly elevating the see of New Rome, as Byzantium was fondly called, above those of Antioch and Alexandria, with a view of rendering it a sort of rival, in the second rank, to the sole and superior jurisdiction of the occidental Pontiffs; but St. Leo, on being appealed to, would only confirm their decrees as to matters of faith, altogether refusing his consent to the proposition about Constantinople. The history of that patriarchate, for 1400 years afterwards, forms an instructive commentary upon such fruitless endeavours, on the part of mankind, to alter the indisputable arrangements of a divine and overruling Providence. The keys of the kingdom of heaven were given to St. Peter; and with his representatives to the end of time they will remain.

The sentiments of the Christian world upon this point are clear and luminous; as much so as those relative to the grand Roman canon of Scripture, which the Chair of the Prince of the Apostles settled and ratified. Not to accumulate the testimonies of ancient fathers, or the decrees of councils, which are in the hands of the learned, from the first centuries to the sixteenth, it will be sufficient for the general reader to have transcribed for him the statements of seventy prelates under Pope Gelasius, A. D. 494; who, following

with the utmost accuracy in the footsteps of the Nicene, Sardican, African, and Chalcedonian assemblies, proceed to give a catalogue of the sacred books taken from the Septuagint, translated or compiled under the primogenitural pontificate of the Aaronic priesthood, and sanctioned by apostolical authority, as to the Old Testament; with those of the New Testament added exactly as in the Council of Trent: they then inform us, that "next to all these Scriptures of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles, on which the Catholic Church, by the grace of God, is founded, this too should be remarked,—that although all the churches throughout the world form but one bridal-chamber of Christ, yet the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church has been set over the rest by no decrees of any mere council; but that it has obtained the supremacy by the voice, in the Gospel, of our Lord and Saviour Himself, saying, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' To him also was afforded the society of the most blessed apostle Paul, the vessel of election, who on one and the same day, suffering a glorious death with Peter, in the city of Rome, under Cæsar Nero, was crowned; and they alike consecrated to Christ the Lord the above-mentioned Holy Roman Church, and as such set it above all the cities in the whole world by their presence and venerable triumph. First, therefore, is the Roman Church, the see of Peter the apostle, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing: but second is the see consecrated at Alexandria by Mark, his disciple and evangelist, who was sent by Peter the apostle into Egypt, who taught the word of truth, and consummated a glorious martyrdom: and third is the see held in honour at Antioch, in the name of the same most blessed apostle Peter, because he dwelt there before he came to Rome, and there the name of the new people of the Christians first arose." That the holy see, therefore, had a general supremacy

over the entire Church, from the commencement, identical in principle with that which has been claimed for her in all ages since, is an impregnable fact of history. It is equally true that it was grounded on Holy Scripture, as well as that episcopal jurisdiction was derived from the person of St Peter, and its perpetual fountain in ecclesiastical Rome as representing him. This papal supremacy was extended over the East, before its separation from the West, as acknowledged by oriental fathers, councils, and rulers; which is the more remarkable from the mere numerical majority of prelates being so completely with the latter. In other words, as St. Cyprian told his contemporaries, "the episcopate is one, of which a part is held by each bishop, without any division of the whole:" "the Chair of St. Peter at Rome," as he says in another place, "being that head and centre, whence the unity of the entire priesthood had its origin." Hence St. Clement, as a pope, in the first century, healed by his authority the divisions of the church at Corinth during the very lifetime of the last of the living apostles: St. Victor, one of his successors, censured the Asiatic churches: St. Stephen, another, those in Africa: St. Dionysius, another, receives an apology for his faith from the Archbishop of Alexandria: St. Polycarp of Smyrna goes to Rome about the question of Easter: Marcion, excommunicated in Pontus, betakes himself to the same admitted source of central authority: the Montanists from Phrygia, and Praxeas from Africa, appealed in an exactly similar manner: Aurelian, the heathen emperor, evidently viewed the papal supremacy as an established matter of course in the case of Paul of Samosata: St. Julius and St. Athanasius proved that it was contrary to sacerdotal law that any thing in the Church should be deemed valid, even though enacted by a council, which the Bishop of Rome had not approved of: whilst St. Marcellus refers the papal appellate jurisdiction altogether to apostolical institution. To dwell upon the evidence in its full extent would fill a volume; supported as it all is by the

sixth canon of Nice; the well-known decrees of Sardica, in A.D. 347; the testimonies of St. Basil, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Epiphanius, St. Optatus, St. Siricius, St. Jerome; the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon; the acts of the martyrs; and the directions of the Theodosian Code. The force of the facts will be found mainly in this: that while the Pope of Rome, and he alone, asserts, as need may arise, an authoritative jurisdiction over all, there is no admitted converse to the conclusion, since no one establishes, or dreams of doing so, any ecclesiastical control over the see of Rome.

Beneath its paternal protection the monastic system developed itself, involving the welfare of those who retired from the world, as well as of the Universal Church, in which the religious life formed so remarkable a feature. That something like it existed before the era of the Incarnation, among the Essenes, we have already seen; and before the reign of Constantine many saintly individuals had resigned their temporal possessions, to live alone with Almighty God in the desert, or form regular communities of their own sex, who might manifest the suitable dispositions. The earlier persecutions may have quickened, or even kindled their fervour, in the first centuries; while the disasters of civil warfare on the one hand, and prevailing profligacy on the other, would naturally enhance the value of such retreats. Some friendly cavern saved them, perhaps, at their outset, from the malice of the world or their pursuers; but when periods of comparative repose returned, rude edifices, hastily erected, supplied more appropriate habitations. The sites, which necessity had first pointed out, came to be hallowed by sacred associations, or recommended by other advantages. Hermits, indeed, with some founders of orders, grew bolder in their holy enterprises. They penetrated the recesses of impervious forests, scaled the loftiest mountains, reared their romantic abodes on the summit of a peak or the verge of a precipice; the verdant borders of the lake or stream, or valley below, being also peopled with ascetics, equally

pious, only less adventurous than themselves. A few even retired to an oasis in the wilderness of illimitable sands, or to a neglected islet in the ocean forsaken by all mankind except fishermen and themselves. There, in seraphic and undisturbed meditation, they sought for and found a peace surpassing the intelligence of philosophers; whilst communion with invisible realities invested the rock or humble hut in which they resided with the apocalyptic glories of Patmos. Their piety, prayers, penances, example, and general influence, sometimes proved the very salt which preserved whole countries or provinces from spiritual revolt and corruption, rendering their picturesque homes the asylums of humanity and learning, when the spoiler was ravaging all besides with the devastations of fire and the sword. As gentilism declined, public or private munificence brought monasteries into the neighbourhood, or within the walls of populous towns, and schools of education were connected with them for the young people in their vicinity. The varieties of rule and plan and manners in the whole system of asceticism may be compared to the colours of the rainbow, blending their very differences into an arch of harmonious beauty, encircling the Church of Almighty God; at once a sign of the everlasting covenant He has condescended to make with her, and at the same time promising that the spiritual seed-time and harvest of her husbandry shall never fail to the end of the world.

St. Anthony, and his imitators in the Egyptian Thebais, A.D. 251-356, multiplied their sacred colonies in the sunburnt tracts of Libya, as well as on the banks of the Nile. Tabenne was occupied by St. Pachomius, with fourteen hundred of his brethren: this holy abbot afterwards founding nine monasteries of men, and one of women; and the festival of Easter sometimes collecting together as many as fifty thousand religious following his saintly discipline. The twelve churches of Oxyrinchus, a city which had once worshipped a particular fish in its former temples, could compute ten thousand

females, and twice that number of males, as attached to the monastic profession. St. Athanasius introduced it at Rome, A.D. 341: St. Hilarion in Palestine, A.D. 328: St. Basil in Pontus, A.D. 360: St. Martin of Tours in Gaul, A.D. 370, where two thousand of his disciples attended him to an honoured grave. It spread felicitously through every province of the empire, from Mesopotamia to Britain and Ireland, to Iona and the Hebrides in the north, as well as over the Christian territories of Ethiopia in the south; illuminating every where the darkness of heathen superstition; promoting purity of morals and perfection of life; alleviating the horrors of invasion, slavery, and sickness; preserving the hidden life of the soul, as in a rough yet precious casket; and saving civilisation itself from the reckless ravages of barbarians. The obedience, the order, the diet, the dress, and the manual labour, in many instances, of the monks, kept them separate from secular society and many of its temptations. Agriculture might have died out of knowledge and recollection but for their consecrated industry; while with regard to literature, posterity, as even Gibbon admits, must gratefully acknowledge that the monuments of Greek and Roman taste have been rescued from oblivion by their indefatigable pains. In Egypt, it is true that they were contented with humbler occupations, such as the manufacture of wooden sandals, or twisting palm-leaves into useful mats and baskets. But every where their example seemed to sanctify exertion for the good of others; so that, when wealth flowed in upon them, as it subsequently did, such magnificent churches arose for the services of religion, or such hospitals for the sick and afflicted, or such schools and colleges for general education, as the world could never otherwise have seen. The gold of Ophir got melted in a furnace of love for all ranks of their fellow-creatures around them. Their establishment sent forth stern reprovers to rebuke monarchs in their palaces when they oppressed the people; preachers so to fill the pulpits, that countless multitudes flocked to the Sacraments;

prelates to govern dioceses in the true parental spirit of pastoral authority and unity; priests to serve at the altars of spotless sacrifice; and innumerable missionaries to gather the outcasts of heathenism or heresy into the Christian sheepfold. The monks were divided into two classes: the Cœnobites, who lived under a common and regular discipline; and the Anchorites, who lived alone. These latter sometimes had the name of Eremites, or Hermits, from the solitude of their dwellings. The most remarkable of these spent days without food, nights without sleep, and years without speaking. Some even lived on pillars, like Simeon Stylites, who passed thirty-seven summers and winters on the summit of his column, near Antioch, many feet from the ground, A.D. 395-451. He saluted every one who addressed him, whether the grandson of the great Theodosius, who came to consult him with the train of his nobles, or the promiscuous throng of pilgrims and peasants from Arabia, Persia, Armenia, Iberia, Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Britain. He preached twice a day, earnestly exhorting his hearers to turn away from earth to heaven, to fear the torments of hell, to remember their immortal destinies, and prepare for that kingdom which is not of the present world. At certain hours he decided on differences between various disputants, or settled cases of conscience. But by far the greater portion of the night as well as day was spent in prayer and meditation, or occupied in giving directions about the government of communities, opposing the artifices of Jews, Gentiles, and heretics—or in epistolary correspondence with ecclesiastical and temporal rulers, whom he besought to fulfil aright the duties of their vocations, and exercise an impartial guardianship over those committed to their charge. Ishmaelites came in troops of from two to three hundred, or even a thousand at once, abjured the orgies of their heathenism, broke their idols in pieces at the foot of his pillar, renounced many of their barbarous usages, and assented to the evangelical instructions of Catholic doctrine. A Saracen chieftain

imitated the example, publicly professing his faith, receiving holy baptism with the name of Naaman—melting down a golden statue of Venus he had hitherto worshipped, and then distributing the money it produced amongst the poor. Such were some of the victories associated with asceticism; more noble surely than the triumphs of the Capitol, or a crown in the Olympic games.

Feeble, indeed, as they must be, these outlines may perhaps convey an idea, however imperfect, of the aspect presented in history by the Church of Almighty God, which is one day to fill the whole world. No wonder that the first Christian emperor, with his successors, as well as the other magnates among mankind, hastened to pour their oblations into the lap of so glorious an institution—the living Body of the Redeemer upon earth, which He has purchased with His own most precious blood. The love of ordinary Christians had in fact anticipated them in generous liberality long before the reign of Constantine, and amidst perpetual liability to the fires of persecution. Hence we hear at an early period of magnificent furniture for shrines and altars; chalices and patens of gold and silver enriched with diamonds, besides costly aromatics for incense; the choicest products of the olive-yard, the balsam, or the bees, for lamps, chrisms, and wax-lights; gorgeously-embossed plate and priceless chains for the candlesticks and thuribles; sacerdotal vestments of embroidery, as well as the holy vessels of inestimable value—in addition to all the various other means necessary for maintaining constant sacrifice and services in the churches, or supporting a large number of the clergy and the poor, whether the mere indigent and sick, the aged, strangers, pilgrims, prisoners, and slaves, or orphans and widows. The faithful transmitted their alms and offerings from every quarter of the empire; whilst in each separate diocese, or in every congregation of it, there occurred

daily, weekly, monthly, or annual collections for ecclesiastical purposes. The Apostolical Canons mention honey, milk, fruits, fowls, and animals; and there existed also other real revenues arising out of lands, houses, fields, and gardens. About a century earlier than the administration of Decius, the Roman clergy had received in a single donation 1700*l.* sterling, or 200,000 sesterces, from a single benefactor. In the age of the Illyrian emperors many considerable farms belonged to certain churches at Antioch, Alexandria, and particularly the greater capitals of Italy and the southern shores of the Mediterranean. The possession of these last must have been very precarious under the pagan princes and potentates, since their laws did not permit the tenure of immovable property in mortmain. Through the edict of Milan, A.D. 313, Christianity happily recovered the estates of which it had been deprived by Diocletian and his colleagues; and eight years afterwards Constantine granted to all his subjects the free and universal permission of bequeathing their fortunes to the holy Catholic Church. No sooner had the head of Maxentius been transmitted to Africa than the metropolitan of Carthage was informed that he might draw upon the treasurers of the province for about 18,000*l.* sterling, to relieve the most pressing wants of his diocese, whilst further sums would be forthcoming, when necessary, to maintain the public services of religion throughout Numidia and Mauritania. New sacred edifices sprang up every where, their forms being simple and oblong, with roofs now and then swelling into a dome, and walls lengthening or branching into the shape of a cross. No expense was spared in promoting the suitable grandeur of each solemn ritual and ceremonial; and in many cases the entire system of ecclesiastical magnificence rested upon the secure basis of an annual imperial endowment. Prelates came gradually to possess an average income of about 600*l.* a year, equally removing them from opulence and poverty; whilst the ecclesiastical revenues of each diocese were divided into

four portions: for the respective uses of the bishop himself, on the scale already mentioned; his inferior clergy; almsgiving to the needy; and, lastly, the general requirements of divine worship. The patrimony of the Church was still subject to taxation from the state; although matters in this respect came to be modified afterwards. When the barbarous nations had once entered the spiritual sheepfold, there were no bounds to their gratitude and fervour. The external fabric of Catholicity then culminated to its highest splendour, of which some of the results were reserved for the period of the mediæval monarchies. Yet even at the baptism of St. Augustine every thoughtful heart must have felt the force of those sublime and simple words in the hymn of St. Ambrose, addressed to the throne of the Most High, in the cathedral of Milan, amidst assembled thousands and the rolling thunders of their own grand liturgy:

“Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur Ecclesia.”

## APPENDIX :

*Containing two Annotations illustrating the general views advanced in this volume with regard to Ancient Chronology and Mythology.*

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### NOTE I.

THE object of the present note is simply to explain the principles adopted with regard to the earlier chronology of this work, which will be found in a few, but important particulars, to differ from that in general use, especially as to the system connected with the Anglican version of the Scriptures, originated by Archbishop Usher; and followed, with some variations, by many Catholic writers, at least in this country, although not by all. We must not forget the old axiom of the Stoics: *χρονος εστιν επανορθωσις πραγματος και τηρησις.*

Few questions, however, are more open to discussion than those connected with this science. Thus, there are about 300 different epochs given of the creation by learned men; the extremes of their variations amounting to 3268 years! Nearly fifty might be mentioned with regard to the deluge, varying altogether to the extent of eleven or twelve centuries; and something of the sort, although of course not quite in the same degree, may be said as to the exodus of the Israelites, the reign of Sesostris, the foundation of Solomon's Temple, the era of Romulus, and the overthrow of Nineveh. The two pivots upon which each system will be found to turn are the dates respectively of the deluge and the call of Abraham. The first is stated by the Masorete Hebrew Old Testament as occurring B. C. 2288; by Usher, and the English translation of the Scriptures, B. C. 2348; by Father Petau, B. C. 2329; and the vulgar Jewish computation, B. C. 2104. The second event, the call of the father of the faithful, is given by the Hebrew verity two or three ways, B. C. 1913-18, settled in the Jewish computation as occurring B. C. 1742-37; by Usher, B. C. 1921-2; by Father Petau, B. C. 1963-8; by Sir John Marsham, B. C. 1918; by Scaliger, B. C. 1927. It will be observed by the intelligent reader, *that the feature of all these systems is allowing a comparatively brief period between the flood and*

*the age of Abraham*, not much exceeding four centuries, and now and then not coming up to that extent of time. Father Calmet states the date of the deluge at . . . . . B.C. 2344

The call of Abraham in Ur of the Chaldees . . . . . 1917

Total of the intervening period, in years, equal to . . . . . 427

Now learned men have been distressed at the immense difficulties connected with the Hebrew chronology in several particulars. For if it be strictly followed, we have Abraham presented to us as dying in a good old age, "having lived a long time, and being full of days" (Gen. xxv. 7, 8), after a life of only 175 years, when in fact he must have been born fifty-eight years before the decease of Noe, who lived 950 years; and must have died thirty-five years before Sem, who lived upon the earth six centuries! Again, if we follow the numbers of the Hebrew verity, which are frequently contradicted by its text, we must believe that *Abraham survived his own father Thare no more than forty years*, when we are nevertheless told in the inspired history of Genesis that Abraham was seventy-five years old when he left Charran, *where Thare had died*, and that he himself lived a century afterwards! Both the numbers and the text therefore cannot be true (Gen. xi. 31-2; xii. 4; xxv. 7); the chronology affirming that Abraham survived his father only forty years, and the history extending that period to a hundred.

That the Hebrew chronology, therefore, as altogether distinct from the Hebrew history, has been corrupted in its mere numbers, there can be no doubt; for example, in Exodus xii. 40, where the error is admitted on all sides, and thankfully corrected from the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, and the Alexandrine copy of the Septuagint. Other instances might be adduced, illustrating the incalculable value of the Samaritan version, more especially as to the numbers, extant as that Pentateuch is in the same language and character as the five Books of Moses were written in when Assaradon first sent it to Schechem by an Israelitish priest, B.C. 706. (Father Calmet.)

In sympathy, then, with the best chronologers both in England and on the Continent, this volume of Ancient History, in giving the general dates from the deluge to the birth of Abraham, has followed the Samaritan version rather than the Masoretic Hebrew of later date, allowing 942 years for that interval; and taking it as settled that Thare, the father of the patriarch, died at the age of 145 years, when his great son was seventy-five years of age. The ancient original text gives the sacred calculus thus:

A.P.D.

Sem, the son of a hundred years, begat Arphaxad  
two years after the flood, and lived afterwards  
500 years, begetting sons and daughters; and  
his days were 600 years, and he died . . . . . 502

	A.P.D.
Arphaxad lived 135 years, and begat Sale; and he lived afterwards 303 years; and all his days were 438 years, and he died, in the year after the flood . . . . .	440
Sale lived 130 years, and begat Heber; after which, in 303 years, he died . . . . .	570
Heber lived 134 years, and begat Phaleg; after which he died in 270 years . . . . .	671
Phaleg lived 130 years, and begat Reu or Ragau; after which, in 109 years, he died . . . . .	640
Reu, or Ragau, lived 132 years, and begat Sarug; after which, in 107 years, he died . . . . .	770
Sarug lived 130 years, and begat Nachor; after which, in 100 years, he died . . . . .	893
Nachor lived 79 years, and begat Thare; after which, in 69 years, he died . . . . .	941
Thare lived 70 years, and begat Abraham; after which, in 75 years, he died . . . . .	1017
Abraham lived 100 years, and begat Isaac. He settled in the land of Chanaan, on the death of his father in Charran, after the flood . . . . .	1017-20
<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: auto;"/>	
Which coincides with the year before the Incarnation . . . . .	2075-2080
<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: auto;"/>	
From which must be deducted, to the descent of Israel into Egypt, about years . . . . .	215
Whence, to the exodus, according to the promise . . . . .	215
<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: auto;"/>	
So that the children of Israel came up out of Egypt, instead of B.C. 1491, about A.P.D. 1450-47, and B.C. . . . .	1647-50

The numbers are stated B.C. 2075-80, and B.C. 1647-50, to allow for the slight difference with regard to the interval elapsing between Abraham's going into Charran and into Chanaan, which is variously thought to have been one year, three years, or five; but to speak of these remote events with sufficient accuracy, we may well say, that in round numbers there were thirty-one centuries from the flood to the Incarnation, of which *fourteen and a half* bring us down to the exodus, and whence *sixteen and a half more* bring us to the birth of our Saviour.

The unanimity of the really ancient and authentic accounts, upon the date of the deluge, as falling about B.C. 3100 years, is curious and striking. Accurately perhaps we ought to state the scriptural date as being before the Incarnation B.C. . 3097

The Chaldee statement is precisely this, viz. :

The period of St. Epiphanius, during which Noe and his posterity dwelt in Armenia, after the deluge, lasted for . . . . . 659 years  
 From the commencement of the first migration to the Tower of Babel . . . . . 38 years  
 Foundation of Babylon by Nemrod, B.C. 2400

According to which account the flood was B.C. . . . . 3097

Compare Ptolemy's canon with Eusebius, Syncellus, St. Epiphanius; as also with Berosus and the Chron. Paschal. Deuteron. xxxii. 8; Acts xvii. 26.

The Egyptian chronology gives precisely the same result :

	A.P.D.
The reigns of the Ogdoad, according to the old chronicle, lasted for a number of years, stated as . . . . .	217
The fifteen generations of the Cynic Circle exactly . . . . .	443
	660
The eleven following dynasties reigned for years . . . . .	1912
Down to the invasion of Cambyses, before Christ . . . . .	525
	3097

According to which the flood happened B.C. . . . . 3097

The Chinese calculus has only a difference of two years :

Fohi, the Noe of China, reigned for . . . . .	115 years
Shinnong, or Xinnom, with his seven descendants, constituting the Chinese Ogdoad, reigned altogether . . . . .	520 ,,
Hoangti, the Nemrod of China, reigned exactly . . . . .	100 ,,
From his death to the great solar eclipse in the second year of Chon-Kang, there elapsed . . . . .	209 ,,
Which eclipse is known to have happened B.C. . . . .	2155 ,,
	3097

According to which the flood occurred B.C. . . . . 3099 years.

It must be borne in mind that these calculations are all independent of one another. The Persian computation comes very near, being B.C. 3103; the Hindoo, B.C. 3112; the Septuagint version, rejecting a single error, under the sanction of Philo, Josephus, Origen, Eusebius, and Theophilus, B.C. 3116; to which others might be added. The erudite Eusebius also adopts the Samaritan in preference to the Masoretic Hebrew, giving the most cogent reasons for his opinion that the latter had been corrupted, and that the former was the true reading of the original Mosaic numbers. It has been justly observed, that the uniform chasin or omission of the total lives of the first eight postdiluvian patriarchs must have

been introduced early into the Masorete text; for it occurs also in the extant copies of the LXX., with the singular vestige remaining, as if to show clearly that it was once there, of the two last words, *και απεθανη*, throughout the whole. The Septuagint also adds a century to the life of Phaleg. That the Jews did most grossly attempt to corrupt their text is the well-known complaint of several of the holy Fathers.

And now a few words as to the latter part of the chronology of ancient history, or what is called the post-exodial period. It has been arranged upon the sacred text of the Scriptures throughout, with a single exception, which is that of the 3d Kings vi. 1, omitted, it must be remembered, in the corresponding passage of the Paralipomena, and plainly opposed to the assertion of St. Paul, as given in the original Greek of the New Testament (Acts xiii. 20). That it was a clerical error of the transcriber to state that only 480 years elapsed between the exodus and the fourth year of Solomon can scarcely be doubted, so fully contradicted as that mere number is by the inspired history of Josue and the Book of Judges. The mistake, therefore, may well be looked upon as in the same category with the clerical error in Exodus xii. 40, or 4 Kings viii. 26, as explaining 2 Paralip. xxii. 2, with regard to the age of Ochozias, who of course could not have been born two years before his own father, according to the accidentally mistaken statement of the MSS. affecting a mere number. Other instances might easily be quoted where the *inspired history of the sacred text* must be allowed to correct numerical errors.

Adopting, therefore, this system, we find from the close of the Pentateuch, and the Books of Josue and Judges, that there passed between the exodus and the subjugation of Israel by Chusan Rasathaim, including an interregnum after the death of Josue (xxiv. 31; Judges ii. 7-10; iii. 8), about . . . . 75 years

The reigns of the Judges, down to Samuel,	amount to . . . . .	450	„
Then came the sole administration of that prophet . . . . .		12	„
Then his dignity held conjointly with Saul . . . . .		18	„
Then Saul's sole reign (making up the whole forty years) . . . . .		22	„
Then David's reign, first over Judah, and then Israel . . . . .		40	„
To the foundation of the Temple by Solomon . . . . .		4	„

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Total period from the exodus to the Temple of Solomon . . . . . 621 „

This calculation exactly accords with the statement of St. Paul (Acts xiii. 20), as given in the Greek and Syriac texts, when he tells the Pisidian Antiochians, that after God had destroyed the seven nations of Chanaan, and divided their lands amongst his people,

“He gave them Judges about the space of 450 years, until Samuel the prophet.” It seems hardly possible to preserve the present grammatical construction of the Vulgate in this passage, supported indeed as it is by St. Chrysostom and the Venerable Bede, and, if the reading be a right one, by St. Jerome; yet contrary to the chronicle of Eusebius, as well as the Greek and Syriac versions of the New Testament, in their oldest and best manuscripts. We must leave the matter, of course, to the decision of our superiors, though it is a perfectly open question. Josephus and the Septuagint support the period of 620-5 years, or thereabouts, as being the real one between the exodus and the foundation of the Temple by Solomon.

From that event to its destruction under Nabuchodonosor, reckoning by the reigns of the kings of Judah, as checked by the Paralipomena, and allowing for the interregnum of eleven years (4 Kings xiv. 16, 17; xv. 1), there were evidently 441 years—the actual reigns 430, and the interregnum eleven years more. So that from the exodus to the destruction of the Temple was an interval of precisely 1062 years, that is,  $621 + 441 = 1062$ , which is confirmed by Josephus, the catastrophe under Nabuchodonosor occurring B.C. 586-8. It will be found, we trust, that these figures are throughout consistent with themselves, with an enormous majority of the ancient historians and holy fathers, and, above all, with the *textus receptus* of the sacred Scriptures, allowing for the mere numerical differences already stated.

#### NOTE II.

A few words in explanation of what is said in the text about the ancient mysteries, and mythology in general, may here perhaps be requisite. The authorities for the statements with respect to the former are, amongst others, Strabo. Geograph. x. pp. 468-70; Orph. Argon. v. 17-32, Hymn. 37-41; Dionysius in Perieget. v. 565-74; Strabo. iv. p. 198; Apollon. Rhod. Argon. lib. i. v. 917; St. Clemen. Alexandr. Strom. lib. i. pp. 303-5; De Vitâ Pythagor. Iamblich. sect. 151; Porphyr. de Antr. Nymph. pp. 253-4, 262-3; Zosim. lib. iv. p. 202; which list might be much enlarged from the learned works of George Stanley Faber, and Spencer, in their observations on pagan idolatry; as well as the analysis of Jacob Bryant, or that most curious treatise of another author (Theophilus Gale) entitled the “Court of the Gentiles.”

For what is said in these pages about Dodona and the Pelasgi, one may refer to Herodotus, lib. i. cap. 56; viii. 44; vi. 137-140; v. 26; lib. ii. cap. 51-2, 53; Arcad. Pelasg. i. 146; vii. 94; vii. 42; v. 64; and for the Javanians as being different from the Ionians (in fact identified with the Yavanas of the Hindoos), compare Daniel xi. 2, in the Hebrew, with Homer, Iliad. xiii. 685; Pausan. Achaic, p. 396-7; Strabo. ix. p. 302; viii. 44; as compared with

Euseb. Chron. pp. 13, 14; and with others. Paganism, in fact, knew quite enough to justify St. Paul in what he affirms of it, when addressing the Romans, i. 20-5. The origin of Athens is alluded to in this volume as probably derived from Sais, in Egypt, where a celebrated shrine existed to the goddess of wisdom, called in that country *Νειθ* or *Νηιθ*, from *Noe*, *Νωεθ* or *Νηιθας*, which read from the right to the left, as Cudworth conjectures, gave the name, *with the Egyptian mode of pronunciation*, of the goddess *Αθηνη*, after whom the capital of Attica came to be styled. Over the Saitic temple was this inscription to Pan, or wisdom, or omnipotence :

Εγω ειμι Παν το γεγονος, και ον, και εσομενον'  
Και τον εμον πεπλον ουδεις πω θνητος απεκαλυψεν.

This Pan was the most ancient of the Egyptian gods, according to Herodotus, and symbolical of the universe, lib. ii. cap. 145. And in the grand festival of the Pan-Athenæa, celebrated every five years at Athens, noble virgins carried in solemn procession the sacred *πεπλος*, or veil, of a white colour, embroidered with gold, on which were portrayed the exploits of the goddess against the giants of old, and which they offered to her image in the Acropolis. Homer mentions a similar ceremony in his *Iliad*, vi. 267; and others might be cited. The ceremony was retained in Attica long after its hieroglyphical meaning ceased to be understood; but it perhaps helps to furnish some commentary on the altar to the Unknown God mentioned by St. Paul in the Acts of the Apostles, xvii. 23-30. There was another inscription of a similar sort over the Temple of Apollo as the god of wisdom at Delphi, consisting only of two characters, *ΙΕ* or *ει*, 'thou art,' considered by several authors to be identical with the *ΙΑΟ*, the *Εγω ειμι*, the *Jah*, or *I AM*, of the sacred Scriptures; in Hebrew, *יהוה*. Compare Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. cap. 94, tom. i. p. 105, Amstel. Wetstein, 1746, et annot. 34, P. Wess.; with Varro, as quoted by St. Augustine on this subject; or the learned note in the *Universal History*, vol. ii. p. 540, Svo edit. Dublin, 1745. It has been sometimes overlooked, that Sophocles, in the fifth century before Christ, could thus describe the real author of his cosmogony :

Εἰς ταις ἀληθειαισιν, εἰς ἐστὶν Θεός,  
'Ὅς οὐρανὸν τ' ἐτενξε, καὶ γαίαν μακρὰν,  
Πόντου τε χαροπὸν οἶδμα κ' ἀνεμῶν βίας.

There is one, in truth, but one God,  
Who made the heaven, and spacious earth,  
The azure ocean, and the blasts of winds.

This is only a specimen, out of a mountain of evidence, to show how much, after all, on the one hand, the ancient pagans did some of them really know, and, on the other hand, how much more they really ought to have known, had they honestly acted up to, or cor-

responded with, the degree of light which they actually had. The extract given in the text from the second book of Plato's Republic may surely be looked at in this light, where, in describing the JUST ONE, and His sufferings which He would receive from an ungrateful world, he predicts this wonderful result: ὁ δίκαιος μαστιγώσεται, στρεβλώσεται, δεδήσεται—τελευτῶν, πάντα κακὰ παθὼν, ἀνασχινδουλεύθησεται. de Repub. lib. ii. tom. ii. pp. 361-2, edit. Serran. or Lips. 12mo, tom. v. p. 50. The last word will bear the rendering, as it strikes the author, "*He shall be crucified;*" ἀνασχινδουλέομαι, 'in crucem seu palum tollor, suspendor.' Or let us observe what the same philosopher says in the Phædo, when stating the utter insufficiency of human reason for the discovery of divine truth, and alluding to the necessity of a divine oracle, as compared with the dialogue between Socrates and Alcibiades, or the hymn of Eupolis, another pupil of Socrates, in which he describes this oracle or divine teacher as associated with the Deity; or the quotations from Cleanthes and Aratus, as given by Cudworth, Dr. Hales, and others, particularly Huetius in his Demonstratio Evangelica. A collection might easily be made from the remains of Plato alone, bearing upon the real intellectual responsibility of paganism.

Perhaps the most practical instance of this may be the mystical sacrifice of the Phœnicians, which consisted of the only son of a king being brought to the altar for immolation, by way of atonement to avert evil from the nation at large. It was instituted, according to Berosus the Chaldean, by Cronus, a principal deity, the same as Il, or El, which title is mentioned by St. Jerome as one of those belonging to the true God (ad Marcell. p. 136). Berosus transcribes his account from the very ancient Phœnician author Sanchoniathon, no longer extant, who is said to have derived his original records partly from Jerobaal, once a priest of Jao or Jeuo (compare Judges vii. i.), in other words, from Gedeon. The prince, or deity, he says, who instituted this mystical sacrifice, also instituted circumcision, which he performed on himself and then on his followers; and that the name of his own son, who was the first victim, and an *only* son, was Jeoud, the very word used by Moses when he describes Almighty God as saying to Abraham, "Take now thy son, thy Jehid or Jeoud" (thine only son), Genes. xxi. 2. This only son is said to have been born from a nymph named Anobret or Annoberet; which, in the Phœnician language, might be interpreted as "conceiving by grace." It should be further stated, that Porphyry, cited by Eusebius, connects the title of the originator of this mystical sacrifice with that of Israel, which he moreover says was a title conferred after his decease on one of the planets. The associates of this great Il or El, or Chronus, were the Elohim. Another interpretation of Anobret is given as "the fountain of light." The victim was to be always a *royal* only son: the oblation was to be made as a sacrifice to his father, by way of

satisfaction and redemption for the sins of others, to avert the just vengeance of God, and prevent universal corruption, as well as general ruin; and when the victim was offered he was to be clothed in royal apparel, βασιλικῷ σχηματι κεκοσμημένος. Compare Bryant. Anal. vol. vi. pp. 323-333; Bochart. Canaan. tom. ii. p. 790; Vossius de Orig. et Progr. Idol. i. 18, 143; Huet. Dem. Evang. p. 116; Scaliger. Fragm. p. 48; Stillingf. Orig. Sac. iii. 5, 407; Euseb. Prep. Evang. i. 10, 30, 40; iv. 16, 142; Grotius in Deuteron. xviii. 10. See also the intended sacrifice of Hercules in Herod. Euterp. cap. 45; the remarkable festival of the Saccæ among the Babylonians and Persians, as fully described by Dion Chrysostom. Orat. iv. de Regno; Athenæus, iv. 10, with the notes of Casaubon, as also the Scholiast on Aristophanes, Plut. v. 453, about the Athenians and their lustrative καθαρματα, and again in Equit. v. 1133; or the remarks of Servius on the third Æneid, mentioning similar sacrifices at Marseilles: all illustrating the wonderfully clear ideas which heathenism had with regard to the only method of expiation, rendering its followers and professors in a certain sense "inexcusable," as St. Paul says in his Epistle to the Romans, i. 20. How much more, then, should we not bless Almighty God for the fuller revelation of His glorious and everlasting Gospel, with its Holy Church and blessed Sacraments!

**THE END.**

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