

THE
 HISTORY
 OF
 GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

History of GREECE, from the earliest Accounts to the End
 of the TROJAN War.

SECTION I.

State of the World before the first Accounts of Greece. Assyria, Syria, and Egypt civilized; the rest barbarous or uninhabited. Geographical Description of Greece. Unsettled Population of the early Ages. Spirit of War and Robbery. Phenician Navigation in the Grecian Seas, and Settlements on the Coasts.

THE first accounts of Greece are derived from ages long before the common use of letters in the country; yet among its earliest traditions we find many things highly interesting. Known at an era far beyond all history of any other part of Europe, its people nevertheless preserved report of the time when their country was uninhabited, and their forefathers lived elsewhere. Among the effects of this extreme antiquity, one is particularly remarkable: the oldest traditionary memorials of Greece relate, not to war and conquest, generally the only

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materials

materials for the annals of barbarous ages, but to the invention or introduction of institutions the most indispensable to political society, and of arts even the most necessary to human life. Hence, while the origin of other antient nations is matter only of conjecture for the antiquarian, that of the Grecian people seems to demand some inquiry from the historian. Indeed here, as on many other occasions, the historian of Greece will have occasion to exercise his caution and forbearance, not less than his diligence, while he traverses regions where curiosity and fancy may find endless temptation to wander: but the earliest traditions of that country interest in so many ways, and through so many means, that he would scarcely be forgiven the omission of all consideration of the times to which they relate.

It has been not uncommon, for the purpose of investigating the properties of human nature and the progress of society, to consider **MAN** in a state absolutely uncultivated; full-grown, having all the powers of body and mind in mature perfection, but wholly without instruction or information of any kind. Yet whatsoever advantages may be proposed from speculation upon the subject, it may well be doubted whether a human pair in such a state ever really existed; and if we proceed to inquire whence they could come, the fortuitous concurrence of atoms, fancied by Democritus and Epicurus, will be found perhaps as probable an origin for them as it is possible for imagination to devise. But since the deep researches of modern philosophers in natural history, assisted by the extensive discoveries of modern navigators, through the great enlargement of our acquaintance with the face of our globe, have opened so many new sources of wonder, without affording any adequate means to arrive at the causes of the phenomena, new objections have been made to the Mosaic history of the first ages of the world; which, it has been urged, must have been intended to relate, not to the whole earth, but to those parts only with which the Jewish people had more immediate concern. Many, however, and insuperable as the difficulties occurring in that concise historical sketch may be, some arising from extreme antiquity of idiom, some perhaps from injury received in multifarious transcription, and others from that allegorical style, always familiar and always in esteem in the

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East¹, invention still has never been able to form any theory equally consistent with the principles of the most enlightened philosophy², or equally consonant to the most authentic testimonies remaining from remotest ages, whether transmitted by human memory, or borne in the face of nature. The traditions of all nations, and appearances in every country, bear witness, scarcely less explicitly than the writings of Moses, to that general flood which nearly destroyed the whole human race; and the ablest Greek authors, who have attempted to trace the history of mankind to its source, all refer to such an event for the beginning of the present system of things on earth³. Not therefore to inquire after that state of man, wholly untaught and unconnected, which philosophers have invented for purposes of speculation; nor to attempt, which were indeed beyond our object, the tracing of things regularly to their origin through the obscure and broken path alone afforded by the Hebrew writers; the subject before us seems to refer more particularly, for its source, to a remarkable fact mentioned by those writers, to which strong collateral testimony is found, both in the oldest heathen authors, and in the known course of human affairs. Mankind, according to the most antient of historians, considerably informed and polished, but inhabiting yet only a small portion of the earth, was inspired generally with a spirit of migration. What gave at the time peculiar energy to that spirit, which seems always to have existed extensively among men, commentators have indeed, with bold absurdity, undertaken to explain; but the historian himself has evidently intended only general, and that now become obscure information⁴. All history, however, proves that such a spirit has operated
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Genesis,
 c. 10. & 11.

¹ The original and principal purpose of that allegorical style which, whatever its advantages, or whatever its inconveniencies, the wisest men of antiquity never imputed either to fraud or folly in the writer, seems well explained in few words by Macrobius: *Philosophi, si quid de his (summo Deo et mente) assignare conantur, quæ non sermonem tantummodo, sed cogitationem quoque humanam superant, ad similitudines & exempla confugiunt.* *Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 2.*

This subject is learnedly treated in the second volume of Bishop Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*, and ingeniously commented upon in Governor Pownall's *Treatise on the Study of Antiquities*.

² See Pownall's *Treatise*, p. 130.

³ See particularly the beginning of Plato's third *Dialogue on Legislation*.

⁴ 'The schemes that men of warm imagination have raised from a single expression in the Bible, and sometimes from the

over the far greater part of the globe; and we know that it has never yet ceased to actuate, in a greater or less degree, a large portion of mankind; among whom the numberless hords yet wandering over the immense continent, from the north of European Turkey to the north of China, are remarkable. The Mosaic writings then, the general tenor of tradition preserved by heathen authors⁵, and the most authentic testimonies, of every kind, of the state of things in the early ages; vestiges of art and monuments of barbarism, the unknown origin of the most obstruse sciences, and their known transmission from nation to nation; all combine to indicate the preservation of civility and knowlege, under favor of particular circumstances, among a small part of mankind; while the rest, amid innumerable migrations, degenerated into barbarians and savages.

The provinces bordering upon the river Euphrates, supposed by many to have been the first settled after the flood, were certainly among the first that became populous. Here, from the climate, the wants of man are comparatively few, and those plentifully supplied, by a soil of exuberant fertility, level to a vast extent, naturally unincumbered with wood, and consequently little exposed to depredation from beasts of prey⁶. The families remaining in this country were not likely soon to lose the civility, the arts, and the science of their forefathers. Accordingly, whether they retained, or whether they invented, astronomy and dialling existed among the Babylonians at a period beyond all means of investigating their rise; and notwithstanding the deep obscurity in which the origin of letters is involved, we still can trace every known alphabet to the neighbourhood at least of Babylon.

Of the families who went in quest of new settlements, or who

⁴ supposition of a fact nowhere to be found, are astonishing. If you believe the Hebrew doctors, the language of men, which till that time (the building of Babel) had been ONE, was divided into seventy languages. But of the miraculous division of languages there is not one word in the 'Bible.' Dissertation on the Origin of Languages, by Dr. Gregory Sharpe, second ed. p. 24, where are some judicious obser-

ervations on the Mosaic account of the dispersion of mankind.

⁵ This has been largely collected by Mr. Bryant, in his Analysis of Antient Mythology.

⁶ The geography of this country has been investigated, and Herodotus's account of it confirmed, by the diligence and judgement of Mr. Gibbon, in his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

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wandered, perhaps many of them, without any decided intention of settling, those who took possession of Egypt seem to have been the most fortunate. That singular country, given, by its situation among deserts, to enjoy more than insular security, offered, in wonderful abundance, the necessaries of life. Its periodical floods, which, to the unexperienced, might appear ministers only of desolation, would be known, by those who had seen the Euphrates or Tigris periodically overflow their banks, to be among the most precious boons of nature. For, from the operation of the waters of the Nile, almost the whole of that strictly called Egypt, receives a kind of tillage, as well as a very rich manuring; so that, beside producing spontaneously a profusion of herbs and roots, nearly peculiar to itself, which form a coarse but wholesome food, it is moreover very advantageously prepared, by the hand of nature almost alone, for the reception of any grain that man may throw into it. Thus invited, the occupants of Egypt gave their attention to agriculture: and, the fertility of the soil making the returns prodigiously great, populousness quickly followed abundance; polity became necessary; and we are told that in this country was constituted the first regular government: by which seems to be meant, the first government in which various rights, and various functions, were regularly assigned to different ranks of men. Science appears to have originated in Asia. Of the arts, Egypt was probably the mother of many, as she was certainly the nurse of most. The sciences appear to have received attention there in proportion to their supposed importance to civil life. The very erroneous calculation of the year, probably carried from the East into Greece, and maintained in a great degree always there, received early very important correction in Egypt; where five intercalary days were added to twelve months of thirty days each. Geometry is said to have been the offspring of the peculiar necessity of the country; for the annual overflowings of the Nile obliterating ordinary landmarks, that science alone could ascertain the boundaries of property.

Diodor. Sic.
 l. 1. c. 10. &
 43. & 80.

Herod. l. 2.
 c. 4.
 c. 109.
 Diod. l. 1.
 c. 81.
 Strab. l. 16.
 p. 757. & 787.

The singularly daring and unfeeling hardiness, attributed, by the Roman lyrist, to the man who first committed himself in a frail bark to the winds and waves, appears by no means necessary for the origin of navigation. In so warm a climate as the middle of Asia, bathing would be

Horat. ode 3.
 l. 1.

be a common refreshment and recreation; and the art of swimming, especially when so many terrestrial animals were seen to swim untaught, could not be long in acquiring. The first attempt at the management of a boat was thus deprived of all terror: and as it could not escape observation that wood floated naturally, and that the largest bodies floating were easily moved, the construction and use of canoos⁷ required no great stretch of invention. Every circumstance therefore leads to suppose, that vessels of that simple contrivance were employed on rivers before the first emigrations took place. The occupants of Phenicia, coming to the coast of the Mediterranean with these slender rudiments of naval knowlege, would find many inducements to attempt the improvement of the art. Their country, little fruitful in corn, but abounding with the finest timber, had a ready communication by sea and the mouths of the Nile with Egypt; which, with all its fertility, being almost confined to the production of annual plants, had occasion for many things that Phenicia could supply. Thus arose commerce.

Not then to extend inquiry to those remote and inhospitable, tho polished regions of the East, whose history is known only from writings without an alphabet, and where the study of a long life scarcely suffices for learning to read; nor to hazard any decision concerning the mysterious claims of a people, somewhat less remote, and who appear to have enjoyed early the use of letters, but whose riches and whose weakness have conspired to expose them, from times beyond certain tradition, to continual revolutions and constant subjugation; among the inhabitants of the earth, westward at least of the Indus, the Assyrians, and the Egyptians, with the people of the countries immediately about or between them, seem alone never to have sunk into utter barbarism. Assyria was a powerful empire, Egypt a most populous country governed by a very refined polity, and Sidon an opulent city, abounding with manufactures and carrying on extensive commerce, when the Greeks ignorant of the most obvious and necessary arts, are said to have fed upon acorns⁸. Yet was Greece the first country of Europe that emerged from

⁷ Called by the Greeks *Μορέζυλα*.

⁸ Some writers, confining their ideas to the acorn of the English oak, have expressed

a doubt if it were a food on which men could subsist. But it is to be observed, that *acorn*, *glans*, *βάλανος*, have been used in

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from the savage state; and this advantage it seems to have owed intirely to its readier means of communication with the civilized nations of the East.

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in their several languages as general terms, denoting all the various fruits of the acorn and mast kind. Our old herbalist Gerard, after Galen and Pliny, reckons chesnuts among acorns, and Xenophon calls dates *βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων*, palm-acorns, (Anab. l. 2. c. 3. sec. 9.) That the acorn or mast of a tree common in Greece would afford a wholesome nourishment for men, and yet that, in civilized times, it was not a very favorite food, we may learn from a passage in Plato's republic, where Socrates, specifying the diet to which he would confine his citizens, proposes to allow them *μύρτα καὶ φηγός*, myrtle-berries, and mast or acorns; to which Glaucon replies, 'If you were establishing a colony of swine, what other food would you give them?' (Plat. de repub. l. 2. p. 372. t. 2. ed. Serran.) Pausanias informs us that acorns continued long to be a common food of the Arcadians; not however, he says, the acorns of all oaks, *τῶν δρυῶν πασῶν*, but only of that called *fagus*, *φηγός*, (Pausan. l. 8. c. 1. p. 599.) Pliny also bears testimony to the superior merit of the acorn of the *fagus*, *dulcissima omnium glans fagi*; probably having the indigenous trees of Italy only then in his contemplation; for chesnuts, he tells us, were not such, having been imported from Lydia. (Hist. Nat. l. 15. c. 23.) What the tree thus spoken of by the name of *fagus* was, remains to be ascertained. I have never heard or red of acorns used as food for men in modern Italy; but in Spain, according to a living traveller of diligent inquiry and undoubted veracity, the peasants of the mountains, on the confines of Catalonia and Valencia, live most part of the year upon roasted acorns of the evergreen oak; a food which, he adds, he and his fellow-traveller, sir Thomas Gascoyne, found surprisingly savory and palat-

'able, tho not very nourishing;' (Swinburne's Travels through Spain, letter 2. p. 85.) And in the account of a still later journey through Spain, the following testimony occurs: 'For the first two leagues (in the way from Salamanca to Alba) we ascended gradually; then entered a forest of ilex, which, as my guide informed me, stretches east and west near forty leagues. The acorns here are of the kind described by Horace, as the origin of war among the rude inhabitants of an infant world, "glan- dem atque cubilia propter;" not austere, like those of the oak or of the common ilex, but sweet and palatable, like the chesnut; they are food, not meerly for swine, but for the peasants, and yield considerable profit.' Townsend's Journey through Spain, p. 91. v. 2.

I cannot help observing here, that Cæsar has been very arrogantly criticized for asserting that the *fagus*, and even for asserting that the *abies* was not in his time found in Britain; and, on the other hand, it has been absurdly enough contended, on his authority, that the beech is not indigenous in our island. It appears abundantly evident that the tree called *φηγός*, *fagus*, by Plato, Pausanias, and Pliny, was not the beech: Abete is the modern Italian name for the silver-fir; and we may reasonably believe that neither the silver-fir, nor that kind of evergreen oak which bears the sweet acorn, was in Cæsar's time to be found in Britain.

A few years ago, when the foregoing remarks were written, a kind of rage had been gaining over Europe for historical scepticism and historical invention; for overthrowing whatever accounts of early times have been transmitted on best authority, and imagining new schemes of antient history. Whatever check those deeply-

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The migrating hords mostly found countries overgrown with wood, and inhabited only by beasts. Hunting was their ready resource for a livelihood: arms their first necessaries: their life was thus spent in action: they spread far; had few neighbours; and, with those few, little intercourse. Such people were inevitably barbarous: but they would, much sooner than more civilized people give inhabitants to every part of the globe. Those who came to the western coast of Asia Minor would have many inducements to cross to the adjacent islands. Security from savage beasts, and men as savage, would be the first solicitude of families; and this those islands would seem to promise in a greater degree than the continent. Other islands appearing beyond these, and beyond those again still others, navigation would here be almost a natural employment. The same inducements would extend to the coasts of the continent of Greece, indented as it is with gulphs, and divided into peninsulas. But Greece was very early known to the Egyptian and Phenician navigators; perhaps soon after its first population; and as no part of it was very distant from the sea, the whole thus participated of means for civilization which the rest of Europe wanted.

This country, called by the antient inhabitants HELLAS, by the Romans GRÆCIA, and thence by us GREECE, so singularly illustrious in the annals of mankind, was of small extent, being scarcely half so large as England, and not equal to a fourth of France or Spain. But as it has natural peculiarities which influenced, not a little, both the manners and the political institutions of the inhabitants, a short geographical account of it may be a necessary introduction to its history.

GREECE is included between the thirty-sixth and forty-first degrees of northern latitude, and is surrounded by seas, except where it borders upon EPIRUS and MACEDONIA. These two provinces were inhabited by a people who participated of the same origin with the Greeks, were of similar manners, and similar religion, and spoke a dialect of the same language; but we shall see in the sequel circumstances tending to hold

interesting circumstances which have turned fancies, I am still desirous to vindicate the the attention of all minds from old history just credit of such a writer as Caesar, tho on to new politics may have given to such a matter in itself so little important.

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SECT. I. GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF GREECE.

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the more southern Greeks, tho divided under numerous governments, still united as one people, to the exclusion of the Epirots and Macedonians. Of what, therefore, according to Strabo's phrase, was universally allowed to be Greece, **THESSALY** was the most northern province. It is an extensive vale, of uncommon fertility, completely surrounded by very lofty mountains. On the north, **OLYMPUS**, beginning at the eastern coast, divides it from Macedonia. Contiguous ridges extend to the **CERAUNIAN** mountains, which form the northern boundary of Epirus, and terminate, against the western sea, in a promontory called **Acroceraunus**, famed for its height and for storms. **PINDUS** forms the western boundary of Thessaly, and **ÆTA** the southern. Between the foot of mount **Æta** and the sea, is the famous pass of **Thermopylæ**, the only way, on the eastern side of the country, by which the southern provinces can be entered. The lofty, tho generally narrow ridge of **PELION**, forming the coast, spreads in branches to **Æta**, and is connected by **Ossa** with **Olympus**. The tract extending from Epirus and Thessaly to the Corinthian isthmus, and the gulphs on each side of it, contains the provinces of **Acarmania**, **Ætolia**, **Doris**, **Locris**, **Phocis**, **Bœotia**, and **Attica**. Many branches from the vast ridges of **Pindus** and **Æta** spread themselves through this country. **ÆTOLIA** was everywhere defended by mountains with difficulty passable; excepting that the sea bounds it on the south, and the river **ACHELOUS** divides a small part of its western frontier from **ACARNANIA**. **DORIS** was almost wholly mountainous. The ridge of **Parnassus** effectually separated the eastern and western **LOCRIANS**. **PHOCIS** had one highly fruitful plain, but of small extent. **BÆOTIA** consisted principally of a rich vale with many streams and lakes; bounded on the north-east by the **Opuntian** gulph, touching southward on the **Corinthian**, and otherwise mostly surrounded by the mountains **PARNASSUS**, **HELICON**, **CITHÆRON**, and **PARNES**. The two latter formed the northern boundary of **ATTICA**; a rocky barren province, little fruitful in corn and less in pasture, but producing many fruits, particularly olives and figs, in abundance and perfection.

Southward of this tract lies the peninsula of **PELOPONNESUS**, not to be approached by land but across the **Bœotian** or **Attic** mountains,

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which on each side of the isthmus, rise precipitous from the sea, and shoot into the isthmus itself. The peninsula, according to the division of Strabo, contains Achaïa⁹, Argolis, Elis or Eleia, Arcadia, Messenia, and Laconia. ARCADIA, the central province, is a cluster of mountains, bearing, however, as on their shoulders, some plains, high above the level of the sea. Lofty ridges, the principal of which are TAYGETUS and ZAREX, branch through LACONIA to the two most southern promontories of Greece, TÆNARUM, and MALEA. Between these the EUROTAS runs: the vales are rich, but nowhere extensive. From CYLLENE, the most northern and highest of the Arcadian mountains, two other branches extend in a south-easterly direction; one to the ARGOLIC gulph, the other, by EPIDAURUS, to the SCYLLÆAN promontory, the most easterly point of the peninsula. These include the vale of ARGOS, remarkable for fruitfulness. ACHAIA is a narrow strip of country on the northern coast, pressed upon by the mountains in its whole length from CORINTH to DYME. To avoid confusion, however, in the political division of the country, it must be observed, that the Corinthian territory, and the Sicyonian, were distinct from that properly called Achaia, and, till a late period, were never included under the name¹⁰. ELIS and MESSENIA are less mountainous than the other Peloponnesian provinces. The latter particularly is not only the most level of the peninsula, and the best adapted to tillage, but, in general produce, the most fruitful of all Greece.

Like Italy, or more than Italy, in large proportion a rough and

⁹ Or Achæa. It is in some instances difficult to decide what may be deemed the proper English orthography of Greek names. There was a time when the French fancy of altering foreign names to vernacular terminations prevailed with our writers. This inconvenient practice, utterly useless in a language which neither declines its nouns, nor has any certain form of termination for them, has long been justly exploded with us; and, excepting a very few, upon which custom has indelibly fixed its stamp, we write Latin names only as they are written in Latin. But the practice has prevailed of following the later Latin writers

in their alterations of Greek names, inso-much that in regard to many circumstances the rule appears established. There are, however, still circumstances in regard to which no respectable authority is to be found, and, for some, precedents vary. In this uncertainty of rule I have thought it best to approach always as near to the Greek orthography as the tyranny of custom, and, it should be added, the different nature of the alphabets, will permit.

¹⁰ Pausanias, in a late age, attributes Corinthia and Sicyonia, not to Achaia but to Argolis. Pausan. l. 8. c. 1.