CHAPTER XXIV

THE RISE OF MACEDON

To 338 B.C.

302. Country and People. — Macedon is the basin of a single river-system. Its waters in their upper course run through plains separated by high mountains, and then flow together in three parallel streams to the sea. It is somewhat like a hand with radiating fingers reaching from the coast into the continent. The country is made up accordingly of two distinct regions: the Highland, including the mountains and plains of the interior; and the Lowland, nearer the sea.

Dense forests nearly covered the Highland, even as late as the fourth century B.C. The sparse population lived in hovels, dressed in skins, and fed their few sheep on the mountain sides. Their habits were warlike: the youth could not sit at table with the men till he had killed a wild boar, and he who had slain no foe had to wear a rope about his body as a sign that he was not yet free. They ate from wooden dishes; they fought with the rudest weapons; poverty and exposure were toughening them into excellent material for soldiers.

In each separate valley dwelt a tribe under the rule of a king and nobles, as it had been in the Greece of Homer's day. The Macedonians were indeed Greeks who had not yet emerged from barbarism. The Lowlanders, however, were rapidly learning the ideas and the useful arts of the Hellenic colonies along their coasts. By hard fighting, the king of the Lowlands finally united all the tribes of Macedon under his sway.

303. Philip: Accession and Early Conquests. — In the time of Epaminondas the Thebans interfered in the affairs of Macedon, as explained above,[1] and carried away as hostage a young prince named Philip.

[1] § 299.

Thebes was then at the height of her glory: her generals and her army were the best in the world; her schools, streets, market-place, and assembly thronged with busy life; her arsenals sounded continually with preparations for war. The royal youth came a half-barbarian, with a voracious appetite for learning everything which would be useful to his country; he returned a civilized Greek, with an ambition to be the maker of a nation.

Soon afterward the king, an elder brother, fell while fighting against the rebellious Highlanders; and Philip mounted the throne, beset on all sides with difficulties and dangers (359 B.C.).

Within the next two years he had proved his right to rule by overcoming his domestic foes, defeating his hostile neighbors, and seating himself firmly in power. It became evident at once that he intended to enlarge his kingdom by subduing the surrounding states. First he wished to annex the coast cities, that he might have free access to the sea. Some of these cities were allies of Athens, and others belonged to the Chalcidic Federation, restored after its overthrow by Lacedaemon.[1] Grossly deceiving both Athenians and Chalcidians as to his purpose, he robbed Athens of her allies on the coast and seized Amphipolis, the greatest commercial city in the neighborhood. It must be said in his favor that he treated his new subjects with the utmost fairness, granting their cities more rights than the native Macedonians enjoyed.

304. War between Philip and Athens (357–346 B.C.). — In anger Athens broke the peace with him, but could do nothing more because she was engaged at the same time in a social war, — that is, a war with some of her allies who had revolted. She showed great weakness through this period in all her dealings with other states, as many of her citizens were opposed to an active foreign policy. She failed in the social war, and ended it by granting independence to the seceding states, Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium. Other allies deserted, till only Euboea and a few small islands were left, whose war contributions amounted to no more than forty-five talents a year. Philip, on the other hand, acquired enormous revenues by seizing Mount Pangaeus and working its gold mines. This source yielded him a thousand talents a year. With the money

[1] § 290.

he was enabled to keep up a standing army, build a fleet from the timber of the forests about Pangaeus, and bribe supporters in nearly every city of Greece. His immediate aim, however, was to make himself master of Thessaly; and the opportunity soon offered itself.

305. The Sacred War (356–346 B.C.). — About the time when Athens broke peace with him, trouble arose between Phocis and Thebes. The Phocians, like the Macedonians, were a fresh, vigorous race, whose martial strength and ardor had not yet been softened by commerce and city life. As they refused to submit to Thebes, this city persuaded the Amphictyonic Council to declare a sacred war[1] upon them on a false charge of having wronged Apollo. To pay the expenses of the war, the Phocian commanders borrowed large sums of money from the Delphic treasury, — a perfectly honorable transaction, as Delphi was a Phocian city and the war was in self-defence; yet the enemies of the little state cried out hypocritically against this still more impious crime against the god. By means of this money, the Phocian general brought together a great army of mercenaries, with which he overran Locris, Doris, and Boeotia, seized the pass of Thermopylae, defeated Philip twice in Thessaly, and drove him back to Macedon. This conflict between Phocis and Macedon was for the control of Thessaly. The unfortunate campaign of Philip merely spurred him to greater exertions. In the following year he reappeared with an army in Thessaly, defeated the Phocians, and drove them behind Thermopylae. Only the timely arrival of an Athenian force prevented the victorious king from passing through Thermopylae into central Greece. However, all Thessaly was now his, and immediately afterward he conquered Thrace nearly to the Hellespont.

306. Philip threatens Olynthus (352–349). — Up to this time the Chalcidians had been in alliance with Philip, whom they looked upon as a petty tribal chief. But alarmed at the wonderful growth of his power, they made peace with Athens in violation of their agreement with him. The crafty king let three years slip quietly by, during which he won over to himself by threats and bribes a considerable party in every Chalcidic town; then, when fully pre-

[1] § 104.

pared for war, he ordered O-lyn'thus[1] to give up his step-brother, who had taken refuge from him in that city. As Greeks considered it a religious duty to harbor exiles, Olynthus refused, and sent at the same time an appeal to Athens for help.

DEMOSTHENES
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

307. Demosthenes. — Among the speakers in the Athenian assembly, when the request from Olynthus came up for consideration, was the man who was to be known through future ages as the antagonist of Philip, — Demosthenes, the most eminent orator the world has known.

Demosthenes was only seven years old when his father, a wealthy manufacturer, died, whereupon the guardians took most of the estate for themselves. He was a slender, sallow boy, who, instead of joining with comrades in the sports of the gymnasium, stayed at home with his mother, nursing his wrath against the unfaithful guardians till it became the ruling passion of his youth. To prepare himself for prosecuting them he studied legal oratory under an experienced master. It is said, too, that even in youth he resolved to become a statesman; but his voice was defective, his body weak and awkward, his habits unsocial, — his whole nature unfitted for such a calling. Strength of soul, however, made up for personal disadvantages. He trained his voice and delivery under a successful actor; he studied the great masterpieces of Attic prose; he steeled his will and so exercised his mental muscles that they became capable of the highest and most prolonged tension. Severe toil,

[1] The chief city of Chalcidice.

continued through many years, gave him his genius. Success in prosecuting the guardians led to speech-writing as a profession, from which he gradually made his way into public life.

He was the first to foresee the danger to Hellenic freedom from Philip, and lost no time or zeal in warning Athens to meet it while it was yet far off. In 352 B.C. he began his opposition to the king of Macedon in an oration called his *First Philippic;* and when envoys from Olynthus begged Athens for an alliance, he urged his countrymen to accept the opportunity. "Give prompt and vigorous assistance, use your surplus revenues for war rather than for festivals; be not content with sending mercenaries, but take the field yourselves against Philip, and you will certainly defeat him, for his strength is derived from your weak policy, his power is based on injustice, and all his subjects will revolt, if only you give them a little encouragement and support." Such were the sentiments of his Olynthiac Orations. He tried to inspire his countrymen with the vigor and ambition of their fathers, who had beaten down Persia and had founded an empire; yet his words had little effect, as he was still a young man and almost unknown.

The Athenians made the alliance, but sent insufficient help; so that before the end of another year Philip had taken Olynthus and the thirty other cities of the League. He destroyed them all, and enslaved the entire population.

308. Character of Philip; his Army and State. — Hellas was punished for the disunion of her states, but this does not justify Philip. The cruelty and violence of all the Greek tyrants combined scarcely equalled this one deed of the Macedonian king.

There could now be no doubt that he was dangerous. He ruled Macedon, Thessaly, Chalcidice, and the greater part of Thrace; he had his hirelings among the leading men of the Hellenic cities. He was a self-made man, an incessant toiler, who spared not his own person, but "in his struggle for power and empire had an eye cut out, his collar-bone fractured, a hand and a leg mutilated, and was willing to sacrifice any part of his body which fortune might choose to take, provided he could live with the remainder in honor and glory."[1] The body served a masterful intellect; few men

[1] Demosthenes, *De Corona*, 67.

have equalled him in quickness of thought and in soundness of judgment.

The greatest of his achievements was the creation of the Macedonian army. The rough Highland huntsmen and the peasants of the Plain, organized in local regiments, composed his phalanx. Learning a lesson from Athens,[1] he lightened their defensive armor and increased the length of their spears. Thus they could move more rapidly than the old-fashioned phalanx, and in conflict with any enemy their lances were first to draw blood. The nobles served in the cavalry as "companions" of the king; the light troops composed his guard; the sons of nobles were royal pages, associating with the king and protecting his person. Gradually military pride, the glory of success, and most of all the magnetism of a great commander, welded this mass of men into an organic whole. The military organization not only civilized the Macedonians by subjecting them to discipline, but it also destroyed their clannishness, and made of them one nation with common interests, sentiments, and hopes. And Philip's country was not so exclusive as the Hellenic cities had always been; it readily admitted strangers to citizenship, and in this way showed capacity for indefinite growth in population and in area. Macedon was already far larger than any other Greek state; its army was better organized; its troops were superior; and its king possessed a genius for war and for diplomacy.

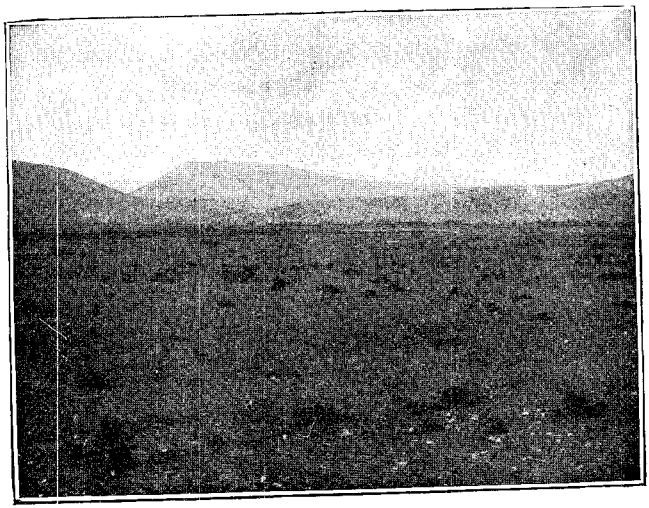
309. Peace with Athens and the Overthrow of Phocis (346 B.C.). — Three years after the fall of Chalcidice Athens made peace with Philip. The treaty included the allies of both parties, with the exception of the Phocians, whom Philip reserved for destruction. His excuse was that they had seized the treasures of Apollo at Delphi; he really wished to gain a foothold in central Greece and at the same time to pose as a champion of the prophet god.

A few days after signing the treaty he passed through Thermopylae, and as agent of the Amphictyonic Council he destroyed the twenty-two cities of Phocis and scattered the inhabitants in villages. The council decreed that the Phocians should repay by annual instalments the ten thousand talents they had taken from Apollo's treasury. Their seat in the council was given to Philip. This posi-

[1] § 288.

tion, together with the presidency of the Pythian games, assured him great honor and influence throughout Hellas. He was now not only a Greek, but the greatest of the Hellenic nation.

310. The Battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.). — In the years of peace which followed, Philip was busily winning friends among the Greeks; it was his aim to bring Hellas under his will by creating



BATTLEFIELD OF CHAERONEA
(From a photograph)

in each city a party devoted to himself. In all his movements, however, he was met by the eloquence and the diplomacy of Demosthenes. Gradually the orator brought together a Hellenic League to drive Philip out of Greece. Several states in Peloponnese and in central Greece joined it.

As the time seemed ripe for a final attack upon Greek liberties, Philip caused his agents to kindle another sacred war in central Greece. He then marched again through Thermopylae, and occupied El-a-te'a, near the Boeotian frontier. As this movement threatened Boeotia, Thebes was induced to enter the Hellenic League. The allied forces met him at Chae-ro-ne'a in Boeotia. On each

side were about thirty thousand men. Philip's generalship won the day.

In this battle a monarch, commanding all the resources of his state, proved superior to a loose alliance of republics. The outcome impressed upon men the idea that monarchy was the strongest and best form of government. Hence it helped to determine that to the present day the civilized world should be ruled chiefly by kings and emperors.

311. The Congress at Corinth. — The Hellenic states hastened to submit to the victor, Sparta alone maintaining her independence. Philip drew up a plan for their organization under his leadership. The states were to be free and to govern themselves under their own constitutions. But no more civil strife was to be permitted within the states, or wars between one state and another. All were to send deputies to a congress at Corinth. The body was to meet whenever called by Philip to deliberate under his presidency on war, peace, and all matters of national interest. The first session was held shortly after the battle of Chaeronea. In the second session, 337 B.C., the Greeks elected Philip captain-general, and agreed to furnish land and naval forces in proportion to their several means. The object of these preparations was the conquest of Persia.

Let us for a moment compare Philip's congress with the one which met in the same place in 480 B.C.[1] The aim of the earlier session was the protection of Hellenic liberty from Persian aggression; that of Philip's congress was the conquest of the aggressor. Doubtless there was a certain historical justice in the latter object — in the attempt to balance the right and wrong of the world; and it afforded the Greeks an outlook into a new and great future. But on the former occasion the deputies acted voluntarily, on the latter under fear of a master, whose garrisons held their strongholds. Philip wished merely to be the war-captain of a free and united Hellas; his leadership was to be in kind the same as that of Sparta or of Thebes. But the majority of the Greeks could only look upon him as a foreign master, whom they for the present were constrained through fear to obey. For all these reasons we must regard the

[1] § 202.

later congress as distinctly inferior to the earlier in nobility of motive and character.

312. Significance of the Macedonian Supremacy. — At last Hellas was united. The end long dreamed of and struggled for by many patriotic Greeks was reached. The Hellenes were soon to become the leading people in a great empire, and were to offer it the benefit of their superior civilization. In so far as the world accepted the offer, it profited by Philip's achievement.

Now that the Hellenes were at peace among themselves and still living under free governments, we should expect them to progress more rapidly than before and to bring their civilization to a still greater height of excellence. But if we take this view of the case, we shall be disappointed. Progress was thereafter made along certain narrow lines, which will be considered in a later chapter.[1] In reality the conditions which favored the growth of civilization had passed away from Greece forever. One condition was the fearlessness of absolute freedom, which could not exist under a master, however benevolent he might be. Another was the stimulus of party strife and of interstate warfare, which Philip for a time suppressed. It is true that various other causes were coöperating with these two in bringing about a decline of Greek genius; but the fact here to be emphasized is that the classic age of Greek literature and art came to an end with the lives of the men who saw the battle of Chaeronea.

313. Growth of the Idea of conquering Persia; Philip's Preparations. — Before the battle of Plataea (479 B.C.), the Hellenes could think of nothing further than self-protection from Persia. Soon afterward, however, those who organized the Delian Confederacy conceived the idea of a perpetual war of aggression upon the great empire. They had advanced so far in confidence and strength as to believe that such a war would be successful, and even profitable. The most famous exponent of this policy was Cimon. For a time Pericles held to it. He believed that he could greatly disable Persia and win an empire for Athens by aiding in the liberation of Egypt and Cyprus. But when these attempts failed, the idea was for a time dropped. Early in the fourth cen-

[1] Ch. xxvii, § 345 ff.

tury it was revived by the successful march of the "Ten Thousand," which proved the weakness of the empire when matched against the Greeks. Resuming the policy of Cimon, Agesilaus hoped at least to conquer Asia Minor for the Greeks, and would doubtless have succeeded, had he not been recalled by war nearer home. Writers and orators then took up the idea, and made the public acquainted with it. When, accordingly, Philip came to the leadership, he found the Hellenic mind prepared for his proposition to conquer the Persian empire.

Preparation for this enterprise went on actively till, in 336 B.C., the army was ready to move into Asia. But Philip was delayed by troubles in his own house. His wife O-lym'pi-as, the mother of his son Alexander, was an Epeirot princess, a wild, fierce woman. Sent home to her kinsmen and supplanted by a younger wife, she began in jealous rage to plot against her lord. Between Philip and Alexander an angry brawl arose; then came a reconciliation celebrated with splendid feasts and games. In the midst of the rejoicing Philip was assassinated.

314. Summary of the Rise of Macedon. — (1) Gradually the tribes of Macedon adopted the civilization of the other Greeks. (2) In the first half of the fourth century B.C., they united in one state under a king. (3) Philip, ascending the throne, 359 B.C., began to extend his kingdom by annexing Greek colonies on the neighboring coasts. (4) For eleven years (357–346) he waged a successful war with Athens. (5) Meanwhile he conquered Thessaly, most of Thrace, and Chalcidice. (6) During this time he was creating the best-organized and best-disciplined army in the world. (7) Invited by the Amphictyonic Council to punish the Phocians for alleged impiety to Apollo, he destroyed all their cities and transferred their votes in the council to himself. He was now the greatest of the Hellenes. (8) When Athens, Thebes, and a few minor states united to resist his aggressions, he defeated their army at Chaeronea. (9) He then organized a Hellenic federation, represented in a congress meeting at Corinth under his presidency. In this way he unified a great part of Hellas. (10) But while preparing to lead the Greeks against Persia, he was assassinated.

Suggestive Questions

1. Why did not Macedon develop as rapidly in civilization as Attica? 2. Compare the Macedonians with the Homeric Greeks. 3. Compare the Athenians in the age of Philip with their ancestors in the age of Pericles.

In what respects had they declined or improved? 4. Was Demosthenes wise in constantly opposing Philip? Debate this question. 5. Compare the Macedonian army under Philip with that of Lacedaemon; with that of Thebes under Epaminondas. 6. Was the career of Philip advantageous to Greece? If so, in what way? 7. In the career of Philip, what evidences do you find of his genius? What is your estimate of his general character?

Note-book Topics

I. **Philip.** — Bury, *History of Greece*, 683–737; Holm, *History of Greece*, iii. chs. xv–xix; Curteis, *Macedonian Empire*, 23–85; Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander*.

II. **Demosthenes.** — Plutarch, *Demosthenes;* Butcher, *Demosthenes;* see Indices in the various histories of Greece. Extracts from his *Orations*, Fling, *Source Book of Greek History*, 286–295.

III. **The Athens of Demosthenes.** — Curtius, *History of Greece*, v. 123–133; Holm, *History of Greece*, iii. chs. xiii, xv.

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