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*ALEXANDER in the TENT
of DARIUS,*

Published February 1st 1754. by J. & R. Knapton

THE ANCIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

*Late Principal of the University of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in
the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and
Belles-Lettres.*

Translated from the FRENCH.

VOL. V.

THE FIFTH EDITION,

Illustrated with COPPER-PLATES, and a Set of MAPS of Ancient
Geography coloured, drawn by the *Sieur D'Anville*, Geographer to
the King of France.

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(a) **A**LEXANDER, to stop the murmurs and discontents which arose among his soldiers, set out for India. He himself wanted action and motion, for he always, when unemployed, lost part of the glory he had acquired in war. An excess of vanity and folly prompted him to undertake this expedition; a project quite useless in itself, and attended with very dangerous consequences. He had read in the ancient fables of Greece, that Bacchus and Hercules, both sons of Jupiter, as himself was, had marched so far. He was determined not to be surpassed by them; and there were not wanting flatterers, who applauded this wild, chimerical design.

These are the things that constitute the glory and merit of such pretended heroes; and it is this which

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many people, dazzled by a false splendor, still admire in Alexander: A ridiculous desire of rambling up and down the world; of disturbing the tranquillity of nations, who were not bound to him by any obligations; of treating all those as enemies, who should refuse to acknowledge him for their sovereign; of ransacking and extirpating such as should presume to defend their liberties, their possessions, and their lives, against an unjust invader, who came from the extremity of the earth to attack them, without the least shadow of reason. Add to this glaring injustice, the rash and stupid project he had formed, of subduing, with infinite labour, and the utmost hazard, many more nations than it was possible for him to keep in subjection; and the sad necessity to which he was reduced, of being perpetually obliged to conquer them a-new, and punish them for their rebellion. This is a sketch of what the conquest of India will exhibit to us, after I shall have given some little account of the situation and manners of that country, and some of its rarities.

Ptolemy divides India into two parts: India on this, and India on the other side of the Ganges. Alexander did not go beyond the former, nor even so far as the Ganges. This first part is situated between two great rivers, Indus, whence this country receives its name, and the Ganges. Ptolemy says, the limits of it are, to the west, Paropamisus, Arachosia, and Gedrosia, which either form a part, or are upon the confines of the kingdom of Persia: To the north, mount Imaus, which is part of Great Tartary: To the east, the Ganges: To the south, the Ocean or Indian sea.

(b) All the Indians are free, and, like the Lacedæmonians, have no slaves among them. The only difference is, the latter make use of foreign slaves, whereas there are none in India. They do not erect any monuments in honour of the dead, but are of opinion, that the reputation of illustrious men is their mausolæum.

They

They may be divided into seven classes. The first and most honourable, though the smallest, is that of the Brachmans, who are, as it were, the guardians of religion. I shall have occasion to mention them in the sequel.

The second and greatest is that of the husbandmen. These are had in great veneration. Their only employment is to plough the fields, and they are never taken from this employment to carry arms and serve in the field in war-time: It is an inviolable law, never to molest them or their lands.

The third is that of herdsmen and shepherds, who keep herds and flocks, and never come into cities. They rove up and down the mountains, and often exercise themselves in hunting.

The fourth is of traders and artificers, among whom pilots and seamen are included. These three last orders pay a tribute to the king, and none are exempt from it but those that make arms, who, instead of paying any thing, receive a stipend from the publick.

The fifth is of soldiers, whose only employment is war: They are furnished with all sorts of necessaries; and, in time of peace, are abundantly supplied with all things. Their life, at all times, is free and disengaged from cares of every kind.

The sixth order is that of overseers, (Ἐπίσκοποι) who superintended the actions of others, and examine every transaction, either in cities or the country, and report the whole to the prince. The virtues and qualities required in these magistrates are exactness, sincerity, probity, and the love of their country. None of these magistrates, says the historian, have ever been accused of telling an untruth. Thrice happy nation, were this really fact! However, this observation proves at least that truth and justice were had in great honour in this country, and that knavery and insincerity were detested in it.

Lastly, the seventh class consists of persons employed in the publick councils, and who share the cares of the government with the sovereign. From this class are

taken magistrates, intendants, governors of provinces, generals, and all military officers, whether for land or sea; comptrollers of the treasury, receivers, and all who are entrusted with the publick monies.

These different orders of the state never blend by marriage; and an artificer, for instance, is not allowed to take a wife from among the class of husbandmen; and so of the rest. None of these can follow two professions at the same time, nor quit one class for another. It is natural to conclude, that this regulation must have contributed very much to the improvement of all arts and trades; as every one added his own industry and reflections to those of his ancestors which were delivered down to him by an uninterrupted tradition.

Many observations might be made on these Indian customs, which I am obliged to omit, for the sake of proceeding in my history. I only entreat the reader to observe, that in every wise government, every well-governed state, the tilling of lands, and the grazing of cattle, (two perpetual and certain sources of riches and abundance) have always been one of the chief objects of the care of those who preside in the administration; and that the neglect of either, is erring against one of the most important maxims in policy.

I also admire very much that custom of appointing overseers, whether they are known for such or not, who go upon the spot, in order to inspect the conduct of governors, intendants, and judges; the only method to prevent the rapine and outrages to which unlimited authority, and the distance from a court, frequently give occasion; the only method, at the same time, for a sovereign to know the state of his kingdom, without which it is impossible for him to govern happily the people whom Providence has entrusted to his care. This care regards him personally; and those who act under him can no more dispense with the discharge of it, than they can usurp his diadem.

It

It is remarkable, that in India, from the month of June to those of September and October, excessive rains fall very often, whereby the crossing of rivers is rendered much more difficult, and frequent inundations happen. Hence we may judge how greatly, during all this season, the armies of Alexander must have suffered, as they were at that time in the field.

Before I leave what relates in general to India, I shall say a few words concerning elephants, with which that country abounds more than any other. The elephant exceeds all terrestrial animals in size. Some are thirteen or fifteen feet high. The female goes a whole year with her young. It lives sometimes to the age of an hundred or an hundred and twenty years; nay much longer, if some ancient writers may be credited. Its nose, called its trunk (*proboscis*) is long and hollow like a large trumpet, and serves the elephant instead of a * hand, which it moves with incredible agility and strength, and thereby is of prodigious service to it. The † elephant, notwithstanding its prodigious size, is so tractable and industrious, that one would be almost apt to conclude it were formed with something like human reason. It is susceptible of affection, fondness and gratitude, so far as to pine away with sorrow when it has lost its master, and even sometimes to destroy itself when it happens to have abused or murdered him in the transport of its fury. There is no kind of thing which it cannot be taught. Arrian, whose authority is not to be questioned, relates, that he had seen an elephant dance with two cymbals fixed to his legs, which he struck one after the other in cadence with his trunk; and that the rest danced round him, keeping time with a surprizing exactness.

He describes very particularly the manner in which they are taken. The Indians inclose a large spot of
B 3 ground,

* Manus data elephantis, quia propter magnitudinem corporis difficiles additus habebant ad pastum. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. n. 123.

† Elephanto belluarum nulla providentior. At figura quæ va- stior? De Nat. Deor. lib. i. n. 97.

ground, with a trench about twenty feet wide, and fifteen high, to which there is access but in one part, and this is a bridge, and is covered with turf; in order that these animals, who are very subtle, may not suspect what is intended. Of the earth that is dug out of the trench, a kind of wall is raised, on the other side of which a little kind of chamber is made, where people conceal themselves in order to watch these animals, and its entrance is very small. In this inclosure two or three tame female elephants are set. The instant the wild elephants see or smell them, they run and whirl about so much, that at last they enter the inclosure, upon which the bridge is immediately broke down; and the people upon the watch fly to the neighbouring villages for help. After they have been broke for a few days by hunger and thirst, people enter the inclosure upon tame elephants, and with these they attack them. As the wild ones are by this time very much weakened, it is impossible for them to make a long resistance. After throwing them on the ground, men get upon their backs, having first made a deep wound round their necks, about which they throw a rope, in order to put them to great pain, in case they attempt to stir. Being tamed in this manner, they suffer themselves to be led quietly to the houses with the rest, where they are fed with grass and green corn, and tamed insensibly by blows and hunger, till such time as they obey readily their master's voice, and perfectly understand his language.

Every one knows the use that was formerly made of these animals in battle; however, they frequently made greater havock in the army to which they belonged, than in that of the enemy. Their teeth, or rather tusks, furnish us with ivory. But it is time to return to Alexander.

(c) This prince having entered India*, all the petty kings

(c) Quint. Curt. l. viii. c. 9---14. Arrian. l. iv. p. 182---195. l. v. p. 195---221. Plut. in Alex. p. 697---699. Diod. l. xvii. p. 557---559. Justin. l. xii. c. 7, 8.

* Quintus Curtius supposes, that several countries on the other side of the Indus, but adjacent to that river, belonged to India, and made part of it.

kings of these countries came to meet him, and make their submissions. They declared, that he was the third son of Jupiter,* who had arrived in their country: That they had known Bacchus and Hercules no otherwise than by fame; but as for Alexander, they had the happiness to see him, and enjoy his presence. The king received them with the utmost humanity, commanding them to accompany him, and serve him as guides. As no more of them came in to pay their homage, he detached Hephæstion and Perdicas with part of his forces, commanding them to subdue all who should refuse to submit. But, finding he was obliged to cross several rivers, he caused boats to be built in such a form, that they could be taken to pieces; the several parts of them to be carried upon waggons, and afterwards put together again. Then, having commanded Craterus to follow him with his phalanx, he himself marched before, with his cavalry and light-armed troops; and, after a slight engagement, he defeated those who had dared to make head against him, and pursued them to the next city, into which they fled. Craterus being come up, the king, in order to terrify, on a sudden, those nations who had not yet felt the power of the Macedonian arms, commanded his soldiers to burn down the fortifications of that place, which he besieged in a regular way, and to put all the inhabitants of it to the sword. But as he was going round the walls on horseback, he was wounded by an arrow. Notwithstanding this accident, he took the city, after which he made dreadful havock of all the soldiers and inhabitants, and did not so much as spare the houses.

After subduing this nation, which was of great consequence, he marched towards the city of Nyssa, and encamped pretty near its walls, behind a forest that hid it. In the mean time, it grew so very cold in the night, that they had never yet felt so excessive a chill; but, very happily for them, a remedy was

B 4 hear

* Could these Greek names of gods be known to the Indians?

near at hand. They felled a great number of trees, and lighted up several fires, which proved very comfortable to the whole army. The besieged having attempted a sally with ill success, a faction arose in the city, some being of opinion, that it would be best for them to surrender, whilst others were for holding out the siege. This coming to the king's ear, he only blocked up the city, and did not do the inhabitants any farther injury; till at last, tired out with the length of the siege, they surrendered at discretion, and accordingly were kindly treated by the conqueror. They declared that their city had been built by Bacchus. The whole army, for six days together, celebrated games, and made rejoicings on this mountain, in honour of the god who was there worshipped.

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He marched from thence to a country called Dædala, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, who had fled for shelter to inaccessible mountains, as also those of Acadera, into which he afterwards entered. This obliged him to change his method of war, and to disperse his forces in different places, by which means the enemy were all defeated at once: No resistance was made any where, and those who were so courageous as to wait the coming up of the Macedonians, were all cut to pieces. Ptolemy took several little cities the instant he sat down before them: Alexander carried the large ones, and, after uniting all his forces, passed the river * Choaspes; and left Cœnus to besiege a rich and populous city, called Bazica by the inhabitants.

He afterwards marched towards Magosa, whose king, called Assacanus, was lately dead, and Cleophes, his mother, ruled the province and city. There were thirty thousand foot in it, and both nature and art seemed to have united their endeavours in raising its fortifications; for towards the east, it is surrounded with a very rapid river, the banks of which are steep, and difficult of access; and on the west are high, craggy rocks, at the foot whereof are caves, which, through

* This is not the Choaspes which runs by Susa.

through length of time, had increased into a kind of abyſſes; and where theſe fail, a trench, of an aſtoniſhing height, is raiſed with incredible labour.

Whiſt Alexander was going round the city, to view its fortifications, he was ſhot by an arrow in the calf of his leg; but he only pulled out the weapon; and, without ſo much as binding up the wound, mounted his horſe, and continued to view the outward fortifications of the city. But as he rode with his leg downward, and the congealing of the blood put him to great pain, it is related that he cried; * *Every one ſwears that I am the ſon of Jupiter, but my wound makes me ſenſible that I am a man.* However, he did not leave the place till he had ſeen every thing, and given all the neceſſary orders. Some of the ſoldiers, therefore, demolished ſuch houſes as ſtood without the city, and with the rubbiſh of them they filled up the gulphs above mentioned. Others threw great trunks of trees and huge ſtones into them; and all laboured with ſo much vigour, that in nine days the works were compleated, and the towers were raiſed upon them.

The king, without waiting till his wound was healed, viſited the works, and after applauding the ſoldiers for their great diſpatch, he cauſed the engines to be brought forward, whence a great number of darts were diſcharged againſt thoſe who defended the walls. But that which moſt terrified the Barbarians, was thoſe towers of a vaſt height, which ſeemed to them to move of themſelves. This made them imagine, that they were made to advance by the gods; and that thoſe battering rams which beat down walls; and the javelins thrown by engines, the like of which they had never ſeen, could not be the effect of human ſtrength; ſo that, perſuaded that it would be impoſſible for them to defend the city, they withdrew into the citadel; but not finding themſelves more ſecure there, they ſent ambaffadors to propoſe a ſurrender.

* Omnes jurant me Jovis eſſe filium, ſed vulnus hoc hominem eſſe me clamat. *Senec. Epiſt. lix.*

render. The queen afterwards came and met Alexander, attended by a great number of ladies, who all brought him wine in cups, by way of sacrifice. The king gave her a very gracious reception, and restored her to her kingdom.

From hence Polysperchon was sent with an army to besiege the city of Ora, which he soon took. Most of its inhabitants had withdrawn to the rock called Aornos. There was a tradition, that Hercules having besieged this rock, an earthquake had forced him to quit the siege. There are not on this rock; as on many others, gentle declivities of easy access; but it rises like a bank; and being very wide at bottom, grows narrower all the way to the top, which terminates in a point. The river Indus, whose source is not far from this place, flows at the bottom, its sides being perpendicular and high; and on the other side were vast morasses, which it was necessary to fill up before the rock could be taken. Very happily for the Macedonians, they were near a forest. This the king had cut down, commanding his soldiers to carry off nothing but the trunks, the branches of which were lopped, in order that they might be carried with the less difficulty; and he himself threw the first trunk into the morass. The army seeing this, shouted for joy, and every soldier labouring with incredible diligence, the work was finished in seven days; immediately after which the attack began. The officers were of opinion, that it would not be proper for the king to expose himself on this occasion, the danger being evidently too great. However, the trumpet had no sooner sounded, but this prince, who was not master of his courage, commanded his guards to follow, himself first climbing the rock. At this sight it appeared no longer inaccessible, and every one flew after him. Never were soldiers exposed to greater danger; but they were all resolved to conquer or die. Several fell from the rock into the river, whose whirlpools swallowed them up. The Barbarians rolled great stones on the foremost, who being scarce able

to keep upon their feet (the rock was so slippery) fell down the precipices, and were dashed to pieces. No sight could possibly be more dismal than this; the king, greatly afflicted at the loss of so many brave soldiers, caused a retreat to be sounded. Nevertheless, though he had lost all hopes of taking the place, and was determined to raise the siege, he acted as if he intended to continue it, and accordingly gave orders for bringing forward the towers and other engines. The besieged, by way of insult, made great rejoicings; and continued their festivity for two days and two nights, making the rock, and the whole neighbourhood, echo with the sound of their drums and cymbals. But the third night they were not heard, and the Macedonians were surprized to see every part of the rock illuminated with torches. The king was informed, that the Indians had lighted them to assist their flight, and to guide them the more easily in those precipices, during the obscurity of the night. Immediately the whole army, by Alexander's order, shouted aloud, which terrified the fugitives so much, that several of them fancying they saw the enemy, flung themselves from the top of the rock, and perished miserably. The king having so happily and unexpectedly possessed himself of the rock, in an almost miraculous manner, thanked the gods, and offered sacrifices in their honour.

From hence he marched and took Ecbolimus; and after sixteen days march arrived at the river Indus, where he found that Hephæstion had got all things ready for his passage, pursuant to the orders given him. The king of the country, called Omphis, whose father died some time before, had sent to Alexander, to know whether he would give him leave to wear the crown. Notwithstanding the Macedonian told him he might, he nevertheless delayed putting it on till his arrival. He then went to meet him, with his whole army; and when Alexander was advanced pretty near, he pushed forward his horse, came up singly to him, and the king did the same. The Indian then told him
by

by an interpreter, "That he was come to meet him
" at the head of his army, in order to deliver up all
" his forces into his hands. That he surrendered his
" person and his kingdom to a monarch, who, he
" was sensible, fought only with the view of acquiring
" glory, and dreaded nothing so much as treachery." The king greatly satisfied with the frankness of the Barbarian, gave him his hand, and restored him his kingdoms. He then made Alexander a present of fifty-six elephants, and a great number of other animals of prodigious size. Alexander asking him which were most necessary to him, husbandmen or soldiers? he replied; That as he was at war with two kings, the latter were of greatest service to him. These two monarchs were Abisares and Porus, the latter of whom was most powerful, and the dominions of both were situated on the other side of the Hydaspes. Omphis assumed the diadem, and took the name of Taxilus, by which the kings of that country were called. He made magnificent presents to Alexander, who did not suffer himself to be exceeded in generosity.

The next day, ambassadors from Abisares waiting upon the king, surrendered up to him, pursuant to the power given them, all the dominions of their sovereign; and after each party had promised fidelity on both sides, they returned back.

Alexander expecting that Porus, astonished with the report of his glory, would not fail to submit to him, sent a message to that prince, as if he had been his vassal, requiring him to pay tribute, and meet him upon the frontiers of his dominions. Porus answered with great coldness, that he would do so, but it should be sword in hand. At the same time a reinforcement of thirty elephants, which were of great service, were sent to Alexander. He gave the superintendence of all his elephants to Taxilus, and advanced as far as the borders of the Hydaspes. Porus was encamped on the other side of it, in order to dispute the passage with him; and had posted at the

head of his army eighty-five elephants of a prodigious size, and behind them three hundred chariots, guarded by thirty thousand foot; not having, at most, above seven thousand horse. This prince was mounted on an elephant of a much larger size than any of the rest, and he himself exceeded the usual stature of men; so that, clothed in his armour glittering with gold and silver, he appeared at the same time terrible and majestic. The greatness of his courage equalled that of his stature, and he was as wise and prudent as it was possible for the monarch of so barbarous a people to be.

The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy, but the river they were obliged to pass. It was four furlongs wide (about four hundred fathoms) and so deep in every part, that it looked like a sea, and was no where fordable. It was vastly impetuous, notwithstanding its great breadth; for it rolled with as much violence, as if it had been confined to a narrow channel; and its raging, foaming waves, which broke in many places, discovered that it was full of stones and rocks. However, nothing was so dreadful as the appearance of the shore, which was quite covered with men, horses, and elephants. Those hideous animals stood like so many towers, and the Indians exasperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made might fill the enemy with greater terror. However, this could not intimidate an army of men, whose courage was proof against all attacks, and who were animated by an uninterrupted series of prosperities; but then they did not think it would be possible for them, as their barks were so crazy, to surmount the rapidity of the stream, or land with safety.

This river was full of little islands, to which the Indians and Macedonians used to swim, with their arms over their heads; and slight skirmishes were every day fought in the sight of the two kings, who were well pleased to make those small excursions of their respective forces, and to form a judgment from such skirmishes, of the success of a general battle.

There

There were two young officers in Alexander's army, Egesimachus and Nicānor, men of equal intrepidity, and who, having been ever successful, despised dangers of every kind. They took with them the bravest youths in the whole army; and, with no other weapons than their javelins, swam to an island in which several of the enemy were landed; where, with scarce any other assistance but their intrepidity, they made a great slaughter. After this bold stroke, they might have retired with glory, were it possible for rashness, when successful, to keep within bounds. But as they waited with contempt, and an insulting air, for those who came to succour their companions, they were surrounded by a band of soldiers, who had swam unperceived to the island, and overwhelmed with the darts which were shot from far. Those who endeavoured to save themselves by swimming, were either carried away by the waves, or swallowed up by the whirlpools. The courage of Porus, who saw all this from the shore, was surprizingly increased by this success.

Alexander was in great perplexity; and finding he could not pass the Hydaspes by force of arms, he therefore resolved to have recourse to artifice. Accordingly he caused his cavalry to attempt several times to pass it in the night, and to shout as if they really intended to ford the river, all things being prepared for that purpose. Immediately Porus hurried thither with his elephants, but Alexander continued in battle-array on the bank. This stratagem having been attempted several times, and Porus finding the whole but mere noise and empty menaces, he took no further notice of these motions, and only sent scouts to every part of the shore. Alexander, being now no longer apprehensive of having the whole army of the enemy fall upon him, in his attempting to cross the river in the night, began to resolve seriously to pass it.

There was in this river, at a considerable distance from Alexander's camp, an island of a greater extent than

than any of the rest. This being covered with trees, was very proper for him to cover and conceal his design, and therefore he resolved to attempt the passage that way. However, the better to conceal the knowledge of it from the enemy, and deceive them on this occasion, he left Craterus in his camp with a great part of the army, with orders for them to make a great noise, at a certain time which should be appointed, in order to alarm the Indians, and make them believe that he was preparing to cross the river; but that he would not attempt this, till such time as Porus should have raised his camp, and marched away his elephants, either to withdraw or advance towards those Macedonians who should attempt the passage. Between the camp and the island he had posted Meleager and Gorgias with the foreign horse and foot, with orders for them to pass over in bodies, the instant they should see him engaged in battle.

After giving these orders, he took the rest of his army, as well cavalry as infantry; and, wheeling off from the shore, in order to avoid being perceived, he advanced in the night-time towards the island into which he was resolved to go; and the better to deceive the enemy, Alexander caused his tent to be pitched in the camp where he had left Craterus, which was opposite to that of Porus. His life-guards were drawn up round, in all the pomp and splendor with which the majesty of a great king is usually surrounded. He also caused a royal robe to be put upon Attalus, who was of the same age with himself, and so much resembled the king, both in stature and features, especially at so great a distance as the breadth of the river, that the enemy might suppose Alexander himself was on the bank, and was attempting the passage in that place. He however was by this time got to the island above mentioned; and immediately landed upon it from boats, with the rest of his troops, whilst the enemy was employed in opposing Craterus. But now a furious storm arose, which seemed as if it would retard the execution of his project, yet proved
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of advantage to it; for so fortunate was this prince, that obstacles changed into advantages, and succours in his favour: The storm was succeeded by a very violent shower, with impetuous winds, flashes of lightning and thunder, insomuch that there was no hearing or seeing any thing. Any man but Alexander would have abandoned his design; but he, on the contrary, was animated by danger, not to mention that the noise, the confusion, and the darkness, assisted his passage. He thereupon made the signal for the embarkation of his troops, and went off himself in the first boat. It is reported, that it was on this occasion he cried out, *O Athenians, could you think I would expose myself to such dangers, to merit your applause!* And, indeed, nothing could contribute more to eternize his name, than the having his actions recorded by such great historians as Thucydides and Xenophon (*d*); and so anxious was he about the character which would be given him after his death, that he wished it were possible for him to return again into the world only so long as was necessary to know what kind of impression the perusal of his history made on the minds of men.

Scarce any person appeared to oppose their descent, because Porus was wholly taken up with Craterus, and imagined he had nothing to do but to oppose his passage. Immediately this general, pursuant to his orders, made a prodigious clamour, and seemed to attempt the passage of the river. Upon this all the boats came to shore, one excepted, which the waves dashed to pieces against a rock. The moment Alexander was landed, he drew up in order of battle his little army, consisting of six thousand foot and five thousand horse. He himself headed the latter; and, having commanded the foot to make all imaginable dispatch after him, he marched before. It was his firm opinion, that in case the Indians should oppose him with their whole force, his cavalry would give him infinite advantage over them; and that, be-
this

this as it would, he might easily continue fighting till his foot should come up; or, that in case the enemy, alarmed at the news of his passing, should fly, it would then be in his power to pursue, and make a great slaughter of them.

Porus, upon hearing that Alexander had passed the river, had sent against him a detachment, commanded by one of his sons, of two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty chariots. Alexander imagined them at first to be the enemy's van-guard, and that the whole army was behind them; but, being informed it was but a detachment, he charged them with such vigour, that Porus's son was killed upon the spot, with four hundred horses, and all the chariots were taken. Each of these chariots carried six men; two were armed with bucklers, two bowmen sat on each side, and two guided the chariot, who nevertheless always fought when the battle grew warm, having a great number of darts which they discharged at the enemy. But all these did little execution that day, because the rain, which fell in great abundance, had moistened the earth to such a degree, that the horses could scarce stand upon their legs; and the chariots being very heavy, most of them sunk very deep into the mud.

Porus, upon receiving advice of the death of his son, the defeat of the detachment, and of Alexander's approach, was in doubt whether it would be proper for him to continue in his post, because Craterus, with the rest of the Macedonian army, made a feint as if they intended to pass the river. However, he at last resolved to go and meet Alexander, whom he justly supposed to be at the head of the choicest troops of his army. Accordingly, leaving only a few elephants in his camp, to amuse those who were posted on the opposite shore, he set out with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three thousand chariots, and two hundred elephants. Being come into a firm, sandy soil, in which his horses and chariots might wheel about with ease, he drew up his army in battle-

array, with an intent to wait the coming up of the enemy. He posted in front, and on the first line, all the elephants at a hundred feet distance one from the other, in order that they might serve as a bulwark to his foot, who were behind. It was his opinion, that the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in these intervals, because of the fear those horses would have of the elephants; and much less the infantry, when they should see that of the enemy posted behind the elephants, and in danger of being trod to pieces by those animals. He had posted some of his foot on the same line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left; and this infantry was covered by his two wings of horse, before which the chariots were posted. Such was the order and disposition of Porus's army.

Alexander being come in sight of the enemy, waited the coming up of his foot, which marched with the utmost diligence, and arrived a little after: And in order that they might have time to take breath, and not to be led, as they were very much fatigued, against the enemy, he caused his horse to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now every thing being ready, and the infantry having sufficiently recovered their vigour, Alexander gave the signal of battle. He did not think proper to begin by attacking the enemy's main body, where the infantry and the elephants were posted, for the very reason which had made Porus draw them up in that manner: But his cavalry being stronger, he drew out the greatest part of them; and marching against the left wing, sent Cœnus with his own regiment of horse, and that of Demetrius, to charge them at the same time; ordering him to attack that cavalry on the left, behind, during which he himself would charge them both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to stir from their posts, till Alexander's cavalry had put that of the enemy, as well as their foot, into disorder.

Being

Being come within arrow-shot, he detached a thousand bowmen on horseback, with orders for them to make their discharge on the horse of Porus's left wing, in order to throw it into disorder, whilst he himself should charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally. The Indians, having joined again their squadrons, and drawn them up into a narrower compass, advanced against Alexander. At that instant Cœnus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him; insomuch that the Indians were obliged to face about on all sides, to defend themselves from the thousand bowmen, and against Alexander and Cœnus. Alexander, to make the best advantage of the confusion into which this sudden attack had thrown them, charged with great vigour those that made head against him, who being no longer able to stand so violent an attack, were soon broke, and retired behind the elephants, as to an impregnable rampart. The leaders of the elephants made them advance against the enemy's horse; but, that very instant, the Macedonian phalanx moving on a sudden, surrounded those animals, and charged with their pikes the elephants themselves and their leaders. This battle was very different from all those which Alexander had hitherto fought; for the elephants rushing upon the battalions, broke, with inexpressible fury, the thickest of them; when the Indian horse, seeing the Macedonian foot stopt by the elephants, returned to the charge: However, that of Alexander being stronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a second time, and obliged it to retire towards the elephants; upon which the Macedonian horse being all united in one body, spread terror and confusion wherever they attacked. The elephants being all covered with wounds, and the greatest part having lost their leaders, they did not observe their usual order; but, distracted as it were with pain, no longer distinguished friends from foes, but running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing that came in their way.

The Macedonians, who had purposely left a greater interval between their battalions, either made way for them wherever they came forward, or charged with darts those that fear and the tumult obliged to retire. Alexander, after having surrounded the enemy with his horse, made a signal to his foot to march up with all imaginable speed, in order to make a last effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force, all which they executed very successfully. In this manner the greatest part of the Indian cavalry were cut to pieces; and a body of their foot, which sustained no less loss, seeing themselves charged on all sides, at last fled. Craterus, who had continued in the camp with the rest of his army, seeing Alexander engaged with Porus, crossed the river, and charging the routed soldiers with his troops, who were cool and vigorous, by that means killed as many enemies in the retreat, as had fallen in the battle.

The Indians lost on this occasion twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse; not to mention the chariots which were all broke to pieces, and the elephants that were either killed or taken. Porus's two sons fell in this battle, with Spitacus, governor of the province; all the colonels of horse and foot, and those who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he lost but fourscore of the six thousand soldiers who were at the first charge, ten bowmen of the horse, twenty of his horse-guards, and two hundred common soldiers.

Porus, after having performed all the duty both of a soldier and a general in the battle, and fought with incredible bravery, seeing all his horse defeated, and the greatest part of his foot, did not behave like the great Darius, who, on a like disaster, was the first that fled: On the contrary, he continued in the field, as long as one battalion or squadron stood their ground; but at last, having received a wound in the shoulder, he retired upon his elephant; and was easily distinguished from the rest, by the greatness of his stature, and his unparalleled bravery. Alexan-

der, finding who he was by those glorious marks, and being desirous of saving this king, sent Taxilus after him, because he was of the same nation. The latter advancing as near to him as he might, without running any danger of being wounded, called out to him to stop, in order to hear the message he had brought him from Alexander. Porus turning back, and seeing it was Taxilus, his old enemy; *How!* says he, *is it not Taxilus that calls, that traitor to his country and kingdom?* Immediately after which, he would have transfix'd him with his dart, had he not instantly retired. Notwithstanding this, Alexander was still desirous to save so brave a prince, and thereupon dispatched other officers, among whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who besought him, in the strongest terms, to wait upon a conqueror, altogether worthy of him. After much intreaty, Porus consented, and accordingly set forward. Alexander, who had been told of his coming, advanced forwards in order to receive him with some of his train. Being come pretty near, Alexander stopped, purposely to take a view of his stature and noble mien, he being about five cubits in height *. Porus did not seem dejected at his misfortune, but came up with a resolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whose courage in defending his dominions ought to acquire him the esteem of the brave prince who had taken him prisoner. Alexander spoke first, and with an august and gracious air, asked him how he desired to be treated? *Like a king,* replied Porus. *But,* continued Alexander, *do you ask nothing more?* No, replied Porus; *all things are included in that single word.* Alexander, struck with this greatness of soul, the magnanimity of which seemed heightened by distress, did not only restore him his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the highest testimonies of honour, esteem, and friendship. Porus was faithful to him till his death. It is hard to say,

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whether

* Seven feet and a half.

whether the victor or the vanquished best deserved praise on this occasion.

Alexander built a city on the spot where the battle had been fought, and another in that place where he had crossed the river. He called the one Nicæa from his victory; and the other Bucephalon, in honour of his horse who died there, not of his wounds, but of old age. After having paid the last duties to such of his soldiers as had lost their lives in battle, he solemnized games, and offered up sacrifices of thanks, in the place where he had passed the Hydaspes.

This prince did not know to whom he was indebted for his victories. We are astonished at the rapidity of Alexander's conquests; the ease with which he surmounts the greatest obstacles, and forces almost impregnable cities; the uninterrupted and unheard-of felicity that extricates him out of those dangers into which his rashness plunges him, and in which, one would have concluded, he must a hundred times have perished. But to unravel these mysterious kinds of events, several of which are repugnant to the usual course of things, we must go back to a superior cause, unknown to the profane historians, and to Alexander himself. This monarch was, like Cyrus, the minister and instrument of the sovereign disposer of empires, who raises and destroys them at pleasure. He had received the same orders to overthrow the Persian and eastern empires, as Cyrus to destroy that of Babylon. The same power conducted their enterprizes, assured them of success, protected and preserved them from all dangers, till they had executed their commission and compleated their ministry. We may apply to Alexander, the words which God spake to Cyrus in Isaiah, *(k) Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will cause the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut: I will go before thee, and make the crooked paths straight: I will break*

break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee treasures of darkness, and hidden treasures of secret places.—I girded thee, though thou hast not known me. This is the true and only cause of the incredible success with which this conqueror was attended; of his unparalleled bravery; the affection his soldiers had for him, the foreknowledge of his felicity, and his assurance of success, which astonished his most intrepid captains.

SECT. XVI. ALEXANDER advances into India. *A digression relating to the Brachmans. That prince resolves to march as far as the Ganges, which raises a general discontent in his army. Remonstrances being made to him on that account, he lays aside his design, and is contented with going no farther than the ocean. He subdues all things in his way thither, and is exposed to great danger at the siege of the city of the Oxydracæ; and arriving at last at the ocean, he afterwards prepares for his return into Europe.*

(1) **A**LEXANDER, after his famous victory over Porus, advanced into India, where he subdued a great many nations and cities. He looked upon himself as a conqueror by profession as well as by his dignity, and engaged every day in new exploits with so much ardour and vivacity, that he seemed to fancy himself invested with a personal commission, and that there was an immediate obligation upon him to storm all cities, to lay waste all provinces, to extirpate all nations, which should refuse his yoke; and that he should have considered himself as guilty of a crime, had he forbore visiting every corner of the earth, and carrying terror and desolation wherever he went. He passed the Acesines, and afterwards the Hydraotes, two considerable rivers. Advice was then brought him, that a great number of free Indians had made a confederacy to defend their liberties; and among the rest, the Caytheans, who were the most valiant and most skilful of those nations in the art of war;

A. M.
3678.
Ant. J. C.
326.

war; and that they were encamped near a strong city, called Sangala. Alexander set out against these Indians, defeated them in a pitched battle, took the city, and razed it to the very foundations.

(*m*). One day, as he was riding at the head of his army, some philosophers, called Brachmans in the language of that country, were conversing together, as they were walking in a meadow. The instant they perceived him, they all stamp'd against the ground with their feet. Alexander, surprized at this extraordinary gesture, demanded the cause of it. They answered, pointing to the ground with their fingers, "That no man possessed any more of that element than he could enjoy: That the only difference between him and other men, was, that he was more restless, and ambitious than they, and over-ran all seas and lands, merely to harm others and himself: And yet—he would die at last, and possess no greater part of the earth than was necessary for his interment." The king was not displeased at this answer: But he was hurried on by a torrent of glory, and his actions were the very reverse of what he approved.

These Brachmans, says Arrian, are in great veneration in their country. They do not pay any tribute to the prince, but assist him with their counsel, and perform the same offices as the Magi do to the kings of Persia. They assist at the publick sacrifices; and if a person desires to sacrifice in private, one of these must be present, otherwise the Indians are persuaded they would not be agreeable to the gods. They apply themselves particularly to consulting the stars; none but themselves pretend to divination; and they foretel, chiefly, the change of weather and of the seasons. If a Brachman has failed thrice in his predictions, he is silenced for ever.

Their sentiments, according to Strabo, are not very different from those of the Greeks. They believe

(*m*) Arrian. lib. vii. p. 275, 276. Id. in Indica. p. 324. Strab. lib. xv. p. 715---717. Plut. in Alex. p. 701. Q. Curt. lib. viii. c. 9.

lieve that the world had a beginning; that it will end; that its form is circular; that it was created by God, who presides over, and fills it with his majesty; and that water is the principle of all things. With regard to the immortality of the soul, and the punishment of the wicked in hell, they follow the doctrine of Plato; intermixing it, like that philosopher, with some fictions, in order to express or describe those punishments.

Several among them go always naked, whence the Greeks give them the name of Gymnosophists. Many incredible particulars are related, concerning the austerity of their lives and their prodigious patience. Their only meat and drink is roots and water. As they admit the metempsychosis, and believe that the souls of men transmigrate into those of beasts, they abstain from the flesh of animals. It is thought, that Pythagoras borrowed this doctrine from the Brachmans. They continue whole days standing with their faces towards the sun, and that in the season when this planet darts its rays with the greatest violence. Persuaded that it is beneath the dignity of a man to wait calmly for death, when he finds himself oppressed by age or sickness, they hold it glorious to prevent their last hour, and burn themselves alive; and, indeed, they pay no honours to those who die merely of old age; and imagine they would pollute their funeral pile, and the fire that is to burn them to ashes, should they go into it otherwise than full of life and vigour. Other Brachmans, more judicious and humane than the former, live in cities, and associate with their own species; and so far from considering self-murder as a virtuous or brave action, they look upon it as a weakness in man not to wait patiently the stroke of death, and as a crime to dare to anticipate the will of the gods.

Cicero admires, in his Tusculan questions, the invincible patience, not only of the Indian sages, but also of the * women of that country, who used to contest

even

for

* Mulieres in India, cum est certamen judiciumque veniunt, cujusque earum vir mortuus, in quam plurimum ille dilexerit, plures

for the honour of dying with their common husband. This privilege was reserved for that wife whom the husband had loved most affectionately; and was given in her favour by the sentence of persons appointed for that purpose, who never gave a judgment till such time as they made a strict examination, and heard the allegations on all sides. The wife on whom the preference was bestowed, ran to meet death, and ascended the funeral pile with incredible joy and patience; whilst the surviving wives withdrew in the deepest transports of affliction, and with their eyes bathed in tears.

The description which (n) Porphyrius has left us of these philosophers, resembles in many particulars that given above. According to this author, the Brachmans live on herbs, roots, and fruits. They abstain from animals of every kind, and if they touch any, they thereby render themselves unclean. They spend the greatest part of the day and night in singing hymns in honour of their gods. They fast and pray perpetually. The greatest part of them live alone, and in the deepest solitude, and neither marry nor profess any thing. They wish for nothing so earnestly as death; and considering this life as a burden, they wait impatiently for the moment when the soul will leave the body.

These philosophers exist still in India, where they are called *Bramins*; and retain, in many points, the tradition and tenets of the ancient Brachmans.

Alexander, passing near a city wherein several of these Brachmans dwelt, was very desirous to converse with them, and, if possible, to prevail with some of them to follow him. Being informed that these philosophers never made visits, but that those who had an inclination to see them must go to their houses, he concluded, that it would be beneath his dignity to

(n) Lib. de Abstin. Animal.

plures enim singulis solent esse viro in rogam imponitur: illa nuptæ. Quæ est victrix ea læta, victa, mœsta discedit. *Tusc.* prosequentibus suis, unâ cum *Quæst. lib. v. n. 78.*

to go to them; and not just, to force these sages to any thing contrary to their laws and usages. Onesicritus, who was a great philosopher, and had been a disciple of Diogenes the Cynick, was deputed to them. He met, not far from the city, with fifteen Bramins, who from morning till evening stood always naked, in the same posture in which they at first had placed themselves, and afterwards returned to the city at night. He addressed himself first to Calanus, and told him the occasion of his coming. The latter, gazing upon Onesicritus's clothes and shoes, could not forbear laughing; after which he told him, "That
 "anciently the earth had been covered with barley and
 "wheat, as it was as that time with dust; that be-
 "sides water, the rivers used to flow with milk, ho-
 "ney, oil and wine. That man's guilt had occa-
 "sioned a change of this happy condition; and that
 "Jupiter, to punish their ingratitude, had sentenced
 "them to a long, painful labour. That their re-
 "pentance afterwards moving him to compassion, he
 "had restored them their former abundance; how-
 "ever, that by the course of things, they seemed to
 "be returning to their ancient confusion." This re-
 lation shews evidently, that these philosophers had some notion of the felicity of the first man, and of the evil to which he had been sentenced for his sins.

After this first conversation, Onesicritus spoke to Mandanis, the chief, and as it were, the superior of the band. This Brachman said, "That he thought
 "Alexander worthy of admiration, in seeking thus
 "for wisdom in the midst of the cares of his govern-
 "ment: * That he was the first, who had ever united
 "in himself the two characters of conqueror and phi-
 "losopher; that it were to be wished, that the latter
 "character were the attribute of those who could in-
 "spire the wisdom which they themselves possessed,
 "and command it by their authority." He added, That he could not conceive the motive which had prompted Alexander to undertake so long and labori-
 ous

* Μόνον γὰρ ἴδωι αὐτὸν ἐν ἑπταίς φιλοσοφῆντα.

ous a journey, nor what he came in search of, in so remote a country.

Onesicritus was very urgent with both of them to quit their austere way of life, and follow the fortune of Alexander, saying, that they would find in him a generous master and benefactor, who would heap upon them honours and riches of all kinds. Then Mandanis assuming a haughty, philosophical tone, answered, "That he did not want Alexander, and "was the son of Jupiter as well as himself: That he "was exempted from want, desire, or fear: That so "long as he should live, the earth would furnish him "all things necessary for his subsistence, and that "death would rid him of a troublesome companion " (meaning his body) and set him at full liberty." Caladanus appeared more tractable; and, notwithstanding the opposition, and even the prohibition of his superior, who reproached him for his abject spirit, in stooping so low as to serve another master besides God, he followed Onesicritus, and went to Alexander's court, who received him with great demonstrations of joy.

We find by history, that this people used often to employ parables and similitudes for conveying their thoughts. One day as he was discoursing with Alexander, upon the maxims of wise policy and a prudent administration, he exhibited to that prince a sensible image, and a natural emblem of his empire. He laid upon the ground a great ox-hide, which was very dry and shrunk up, and then set his foot upon one end of it. The hide being pressed so, gave way, and all the other ends flew up: Going thus quite round the hide, and pressing the several ends of it, he made him observe, that whilst he lowered it on one side, all the rest rose up, till treading at last upon the middle, the hide fell equally on all sides. By this image he hinted to him, that it would be proper for him to reside in the center of his dominions, and not undertake such long journies. We shall soon shew the reader, the manner in which this philosopher ended his days.

(*φ*) Alexander being determined to continue the war as long as he should meet with new nations, and to look upon them as enemies whilst they should live independent on him, was meditating about passing the Hyphasus. He was told, that after passing that river he must travel eleven days through deserts, and that then he would arrive at the Ganges, the greatest river in all India. That farther in the country lived the *Gangaridæ* and the *Prasii*, whose king was preparing to oppose his entering his dominions, at the head of twenty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot, reinforced by two thousand chariots; and, which struck the greatest terror, with three thousand elephants. A report of this being spread through the army, surprized all the soldiers, and raised a general murmur. The Macedonians, who, after having travelled through so many countries, and being grown grey in the field, were incessantly directing their eyes and wishes towards their dear, native country, made loud complaints, that Alexander should every day heap war upon war, and danger on danger. They had undergone, but just before, inexpressible fatigues, having been exposed to rain, accompanied with storms and thunder, for above two months. Some bewailed their calamities in such terms as raised compassion; others insolently cried aloud, that they would march no farther.

Alexander, being informed of this tumult, and that secret assemblies were formed in his camp, to prevent the ill consequences of them, sent for the officers into his tent, and commanding them to call the soldiers together, he made the following speech: “I am not ignorant, O soldiers, that the Indians have published several things, purposely to terrify us; but such discourses and artifices are not unusual to you. Thus the Persians described the streights at Cilicia, the vast plains of Mesopotamia, the rivers Tygris

(*φ*) Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 1---9. Arrian. l. v. p. 221---234. & l. vi. p. 255---259. Plut. in Alex. p. 699, 701. Diod. l. xvii. p. 559---570. Justin. l. xii. c. 9, 10.

“ Tygris and Euphrates, as so many insurmountable
“ difficulties, and yet your bravery conquered them.
“ Do you repent you have followed me thus far? As
“ your glorious deeds have subdued for you a multi-
“ tude of provinces, as you have extended your con-
“ quests beyond the Iaxarthes and mount Caucasus;
“ as you see the rivers of India flow through the
“ midst of your empire; why are you afraid of cross-
“ ing the Hyphasus, and of setting up your trophies
“ on the banks of it, as on those of the Hydaspes?
“ What! can the elephants, whose number is so
“ falsely augmented, terrify you to such a degree?
“ But has not experience taught you, that they are
“ more destructive to their own masters than to the
“ enemy? Endeavours are used to intimidate you by
“ the dreadful idea of innumerable armies; but are
“ they more numerous than those of Darius? It is
“ sure too late for you to count the legions of the
“ enemy, after your victories have made Asia a desert.
“ It was when you crossed the Hellespont that you
“ ought to have reflected on the small number of
“ your forces: But now the Scythians form part of
“ our army; the Bactrians, the Sogdians, and the
“ *Dabæ* are with us, and fight for our glory. I, how-
“ ever, do not depend on those Barbarians. It is on
“ you only that I rely; your victorious arms only are
“ present to my imagination, and your courage alone
“ assures me success. So long as I shall be surrounded
“ with you in fight, I shall not have any occasion to
“ count the number of my troops nor that of the ene-
“ my, provided you go on to battle with the same
“ marks of joy and confidence you have hitherto dis-
“ covered. Not only our glory, but even our safety, is
“ at stake. Should we now retreat, it will be sup-
“ posed that we fly before our enemies, and from that
“ moment we shall appear as mean as the enemy will
“ be judged formidable; for you are sensible, that in
“ war reputation is every thing. It is in my power
“ to make use of authority, and yet I employ en-
“ treaties only. Do not abandon (I conjure you) I
“ do.

“ do not say your king and master, but your pupil
“ and companion in battles. Do not break to pieces
“ in my hand that glorious palm, which will soon,
“ unless envy rob me of so great a glory, equal me
“ to Hercules, and to Bacchus.” As the soldiers
stood with their eyes cast on the ground, and did not
once open their lips—“ What!” continued he, “ do I
“ then speak to the deaf? Will no one listen to me,
“ nor condescend to answer? Alas! I am abandoned,
“ I am betrayed, I am delivered up to the enemy.
“ But—I will advance still further, though I go
“ alone. The Scythians and Bactrians, more faith-
“ ful than you, will follow me whithersoever I lead
“ them. Return then to your country, and boast;
“ ye deserters of your king, that you have abandoned
“ him. As for myself, I will here meet either with
“ the victory you despair of, or with a glorious death,
“ which henceforwards ought to be the sole object of
“ my wishes.”

Notwithstanding this lively, pathetick speech, the soldiers still kept a profound silence. They waited in expectation of hearing their commanders and chief officers remonstrate to the king, that their affection was as strong as ever; but that as their bodies were covered with wounds, and worn out with toils, it would be impossible for them to continue the war. However, not one of them presumed to address him in their favour. The example of Clitus, and that of Callisthenes, were still recent. The officers, who were then with him, had an hundred times ventured their lives in battle for their prince; but they had not the courage to hazard the losing of their fortunes by telling him the truth. Whilst therefore the soldiers, as well as officers, continued dumb, without once daring to lift up their eyes, there rose on a sudden a murmur, which increasing by insensible degrees, broke into such deep groans and floods of tears, that the king himself, whose anger was now changed into compassion, could not forbear weeping.

At

At last, whilst the whole assembly were in tears, and in deep silence, Cœnus took courage, and drew near to the throne, discovering by his air and action, that he desired to speak. And when the soldiers saw him take off his helmet, that being the custom when any person spoke to the king, they besought him to plead the cause of the army; and accordingly he spoke as follows: “No, Sir, we are not changed with regard to our affection for you: God forbid that so great a calamity should ever befall us. We shall always retain the same zeal, the same affection and fidelity. We are ready to follow you at the hazard of our lives, and to march whithersoever you shall think fit to lead us. But if your soldiers may be allowed to lay before you their sentiments sincerely, and without disguise, they beseech you to condescend so far as to give ear to their respectful complaints, which nothing but the most extreme necessity could have extorted from them. The greatness, Sir, of your exploits has conquered, not only your enemies, but even your soldiers themselves. We have done all that it was possible for men to do. We have crossed seas and lands. We shall soon have marched to the end of the world; and you are meditating the conquest of another, by going in search of new Indias, unknown to the Indians themselves. Such a thought may be worthy of your valour, but it surpasses ours, and our strength still more. Behold those ghastly faces, and those bodies covered over with wounds and scars. You are sensible how numerous we were at your first setting out, and you see what now remains of us. The few, who have escaped so many toils and dangers, are neither brave nor strong enough to follow you. All of them long to revisit their relations and country, and to enjoy in peace the fruit of their labours and your victories. Forgive them a desire natural to all men. It will be glorious, Sir, for you to have fixed such boundaries to your fortune, as only your moderation
“ could

“ could prescribe you ; and to have vanquished yourself, after having conquered all your enemies.”

Cœnus had no sooner spoke, but there were heard, on all sides, cries and confused voices intermixed with tears, calling upon the king as *their lord and their father*. Afterwards, all the rest of the officers, especially those who assumed a greater authority because of their age, and for that reason could be better excused the freedom they took, made the same humble request: But still the king would not comply with it. It must cost a monarch many pangs, before he can prevail with himself to comply with things repugnant to his inclination. Alexander therefore shut himself up two days in his tent, without once speaking to any one, not even to his most familiar friends, in order to see whether some change might not be wrought in the army, as frequently happens on such occasions. But finding it would be impossible to change the resolution of the soldiers, he commanded them to prepare for their return. This news filled the whole army with inexpressible joy; and Alexander never appeared greater, or more glorious, than on this day, in which he designed, for the sake of his subjects, to sacrifice some part of his glory and grandeur. The whole camp echoed with praises and blessings of Alexander, for having suffered himself to be overcome by his own army, who was invincible to the rest of the world. No triumph is comparable to those acclamations and applauses that come from the heart, and which are the lively and sincere overflowings of it; and it is great pity that princes are not more affected with them.

Alexander had not spent above three or four months, at most, in conquering all the country between the Indus and the Hyphalus, called to this day *Pengab*, that is, *the five waters*, from the five rivers which compose it. Before his setting out, he raised twelve altars, to serve as so many trophies and thanksgivings for the victories he had obtained.

These instances of gratitude, in regard to the gods, were attended with the most incredible marks of vanity. The altars which he erected in their honour were seventy-five feet high. He caused a camp to be marked out, three times as large again as his own, and surrounded it with fosses fifty feet in depth by ten broad. He ordered the foot to prepare, and leave each in his tent two beds, seven feet and a half in length: And the cavalry to make mangers for the horses of twice the usual dimensions. Every thing else was in proportion. Alexander's view in these orders, which flowed from an extravagance of vanity, was to leave posterity monuments of his heroick and more than human grandeur, and to have it believed, that himself and his followers were superior to all other mortals.

He afterwards crossed the Hydraotes, and left Porus all the lands he had conquered, as far as the Hyphasus. He also reconciled this monarch with Taxilus, and settled a peace between them by means of an alliance, equally advantageous to both. (p) From thence he went and encamped on the banks of the Acesines; but great rains having made this river overflow its banks, and the adjacent countries being under water, he was obliged to remove his camp higher up. Here a fit of sickness carried off Cœnus, whose loss was bewailed by the king and the whole army. There was not a greater officer among the Macedonians, and he had distinguished himself in a very peculiar manner in every battle in which he engaged. He was one of those singularly good men, zealous for the publick, all whose actions are free from self-interested or ambitious views, and who bear so great a love to their king, as to dare to tell him the truth, be the consequence what it will. But now Alexander was preparing for his departure.

His fleet consisted of eight hundred vessels, as well gallies as boats, to carry the troops and provisions. Every thing being ready, the whole army embarked,
about

about the setting of the Pleiades or seven stars, according to Aristobulus, that is, about the end of October. The fifth day, the fleet arrived where the Hydaspes and Acesines mix their streams. Here the ships were very much shattered, because these rivers unite with such prodigious rapidity, that as great storms arise in this part, as in the open sea. At last he came into the country of the *Oxydracæ* and the *Malli*, the most valiant people in those parts. These were perpetually at war one with another; but, having united for their mutual safety, they had drawn together ten thousand horse, and fourscore thousand foot, all vigorous young men, with nine hundred chariots. However, Alexander defeated them in several engagements, dispossessed them of strong holds, and at last marched against the city of the *Oxydracæ*, whither the greatest part were retired. Immediately he causes the scaling-ladders to be set up; and, as they were not nimble enough for Alexander, he forces one of the scaling-ladders from the soldier; runs up the first (covered with his shield) and gets to the top of the wall, followed only by Peucestes and Limneus. The soldiers, believing him to be in danger, mounted swiftly to succour him; but the ladders breaking, the king was left alone. Alexander, seeing himself the butt, against which all the darts were levelled, both from the towers and from the rampart, was so rash, rather than valiant, as to leap into the city, which was crowded with the enemy, having nothing to expect, but to be either taken or killed before it would be possible for him to rise, and without once having an opportunity to defend himself, or revenge his death. But, happily for him, he poised his body in such a manner, that he fell upon his feet; and finding himself standing, sword in hand, he repulsed such as were nearest him, and even killed the general of the enemy, who advanced to run him through. Happily for him a second time, not far from thence there stood a great tree, against the trunk of which he leaned, his shield receiving all the darts that were

shot at him from a distance; for no one dared to approach him, so great was the dread which the boldness of the enterprize, and the fire that shot from his eyes, had struck into the enemy. At last an Indian let fly an arrow three feet long (that being the length of their arrows) which piercing his coat of mail, entered a considerable way into his body, a little above the right side. So great a quantity of blood issued from the wound, that he dropt his arms, and lay as dead. Behold then this (q) mighty conqueror, this vanquisher of nations, upon the point of losing his life, not at the head of his armies, but in a corner of an obscure city, into which his rashness had thrown him. The Indian who had wounded Alexander, ran, in the greatest transports of joy, to strip him; however, Alexander no sooner felt the hand of his enemy upon him, but, fired with the thirst of revenge, he recalled his spirits; and, laying hold of the Indian, as he had no arms, he plunged his dagger into his side. Some of his chief officers, as Peucestes, Leonatus, and Timæus, who had got to the top of the wall with some soldiers, came up that instant, and attempting impossibilities, for the sake of saving their sovereign's life, they form themselves as a bulwark round his body, and sustain the whole effort of the enemy. It was then that a mighty battle was fought round him. In the mean time the soldiers, who had climbed up with the officers above mentioned, having broke the bolts of a little gate standing between two towers, they, by that means, let in the Macedonians. Soon after the town was taken, and all the inhabitants were put to the sword, without distinction of age or sex.

The first care they took was to carry Alexander into his tent. Being got into it, the * surgeons cut off, so very dexterously, the wood of the shaft which had been shot into his body, that they did not move the steel point; and, after undressing him, they found it

(q) Plut. de fortun. Alex. p. 344.

* In these ages they and physicians were the same thing.

it was a bearded * arrow; and that it could not be pulled out, without danger, unless the wound were widened. The king bore the operation with incredible resolution, so that there was no occasion for people to hold him. The incision being made, and the arrow drawn out, so great an effusion of blood ensued, that the king fainted away. Every one thought him dead; but the blood being stopt, he recovered by degrees, and knew the persons about him. All that day, and the whole night after, the army continued under arms round his tent; and would not stir from their posts, till certain news was brought of his being better, and that he began to take a little rest.

At the end of the seven days he had employed for his recovery, before his wound was closed, as he knew that the report of his death increased among the Barbarians, he caused two vessels to be joined together, and had his tent pitched in the middle, in sight of every one; purposely to shew himself to those who imagined him dead, and to ruin, by this means, all their projects, and the hopes with which they flattered themselves. He afterwards went down the river, going before at some distance from the rest of the fleet, for fear lest the noise of the oars should keep him from sleep, which he very much wanted. When he was a little better, and able to go out, the soldiers, who were upon guard, brought him his litter, but he refused it, and calling for his horse, mounted him. At this sight, all the shore, and the neighbouring forests echoed with the acclamations of the army, who imagined they saw him rise, in a manner, from the grave. Being come near his tent, he alighted, and walked a little way, surrounded with a great number of soldiers, some of whom kissed his hands, whilst others clasped his knees; others again were contented with only touching his clothes, and with seeing him; but all in general burst into tears, and calling for a thousand

D 3

blessings

* So arrows are called that have books. Animadvertunt hamos in-beards at their points like fish-esse telo.

blessings from heaven, wished him long life, and an uninterrupted series of prosperity.

At this instant deputies came from the *Malli*, with the chiefs of the *Oxydracæ*, being one hundred and sixty, besides the governors of the cities and of the province, who brought him presents, and paid him homage, pleading in excuse for not having done it before, their strong love of liberty. They declared, that they were ready to receive for their governor, whomsoever he pleased to nominate; that they would pay him tribute, and give him hostages. He demanded a thousand of the chief persons of their nation, whom he also might make use of in war, till he had subjected all the country. They put into his hands such of their countrymen as were handsomest and best shaped, with five hundred chariots, though not demanded by him; at which the king was so much pleased, that he gave them back their hostages, and appointed Philip their governor.

Alexander, who was overjoyed at this embassy, and found his strength increase daily, tasted with so much the greater pleasure the fruits both of his victory and health, as he had like to have lost them for ever. His chief courtiers, and most intimate friends, thought it a proper juncture, during this calm and serenity of his mind, for them to unbosom themselves, and expose their fears to him: It was Craterus spoke on this occasion. “ We begin, royal Sir, to breathe
 “ and live, now we find you in the condition to
 “ which the goodness of the gods has restored you.
 “ But how great were our fears and our griefs! How
 “ severely did we reproach ourselves, for having
 “ abandoned, in such an extremity, our king, our
 “ father! It was not in our power to follow him;
 “ but this did not extenuate our guilt, and we look
 “ upon ourselves as criminals, in not having attempted
 “ impossibilities for your sake. But, Sir, never
 “ plunge us in such deep affliction hereafter. Does a
 “ wretched paltry town deserve to be bought at so
 “ dear a price as the loss of your life? Leave th
 “ petty

“ petty exploits and enterprizes to us, and preserve
 “ your person for such occasions only as are worthy of
 “ you. We still shudder with horror, when we reflect
 “ on what we so lately were spectators of. We have
 “ seen the moment, when the most abject hands
 “ upon earth were going to seize the greatest prince
 “ in the universe, and despoil him of his royal
 “ robes. Permit us, Sir, to say, you are not your
 “ own master, but that you owe yourself to us: We
 “ have a right over your life, since ours depends on
 “ it; and we dare take the freedom to conjure you,
 “ as being your subjects and your children, to be
 “ more careful of so precious a life, if not for your
 “ own sake, at least for ours, and for the felicity of
 “ the universe.”

The king was strongly touched with these testimonies of their affection, and having embraced them severally with inexpressible tenderness, he answered as follows: “ I cannot enough thank all present, who
 “ are the flower of my citizens and friends, not only
 “ for your having this day preferred my safety to your
 “ own, but also for the strong proofs you have given
 “ me of your zeal and affection, from the beginning
 “ of this war; and if any thing is capable of making
 “ me wish for a longer life, it is the pleasure of enjoying, for years to come, such valuable friends as
 “ you. But give me leave to observe, that in some
 “ cases we differ very much in opinion. You wish
 “ to enjoy me long; and even, if it were possible,
 “ for ever; but as to myself, I compute the length
 “ of my existence, not by years, but by glory. I
 “ might have confined my ambition within the narrow limits of Macedonia; and, contented with the
 “ kingdom my ancestors left me, have waited, in the
 “ midst of pleasures and indolence, an inglorious old
 “ age. I own, that if my victories, not my years, are
 “ computed, I shall seem to have lived long; but can
 “ you imagine, that after having made Europe and
 “ Asia but one empire, after having conquered the
 “ two noblest parts of the world, in the tenth year

“ of my reign, and the thirtieth of my age, that it
 “ will become me to stop in the midst of so ex-
 “ alted a career, and discontinue the pursuit of glory,
 “ to which I have entirely devoted myself? Know,
 “ that this glory ennobles all things, and gives a true
 “ and solid grandeur to whatever appears insigni-
 “ ficant. In what place soever I may fight, I shall
 “ fancy myself upon the stage of the world, and in
 “ presence of all mankind. I confess that I have at-
 “ chieved mighty things hitherto; but the country
 “ we are now in, reproaches me that a woman has
 “ done still greater. It is Semiramis I mean. How
 “ many nations did she conquer! How many cities
 “ were built by her! What magnificent and stu-
 “ pendous works did she finish! How shameful is it,
 “ that I should not yet have attained to so exalted
 “ a pitch of glory! Do but second my ardour, and
 “ I shall soon surpass her. Defend me only from se-
 “ cret cabals, and domestick treasons, by which most
 “ princes lose their lives, I take the rest upon my-
 “ self, and will be answerable to you for all the
 “ events of the war.”

This speech gives us a perfect idea of Alexander's
 character. He had no notion of true glory. He did
 not know either the principle, the rule, or end of it.
 He certainly placed it where it was not. He was
 strongly prejudiced in vulgar error, and cherished it.
 He fancied himself born merely for glory; and that
 none could be acquired but by unbounded, unjust, and
 irregular conduct. In his impetuous sallies after a
 mistaken glory, he followed neither reason, virtue,
 nor humanity; and, as if his ambitious caprice ought
 to have been a rule and standard to all other men,
 he was surprized that neither his officers nor soldiers
 would enter into his views; and they lent themselves
 very unwillingly, to support his ridiculous enterprizes.

Alexander, after having ended his speech, dismiss-
 ed the assembly, and continued encamped for sever-
 al days in this place. He afterwards went upon
 the river, and his army marched after him upon the
 banks,

banks. He then came among the *Sabracæ*, a powerful nation of Indians. These had levied sixty thousand foot and six thousand horse, and reinforced them with five hundred chariots; however, the arrival of Alexander spread a terror through the whole country, and accordingly they sent ambassadors to make their submission. After having built another city, which he also called Alexandria, he arrived in the territories of Musicanus, a very rich prince, and afterwards in those of the king of Samus. At the siege of one of this king's towns, Ptolemy was dangerously wounded; for the Indians had poisoned all their arrows and swords, so that the wounds they made were mortal. Alexander, who had the highest love and esteem for Ptolemy, was very much afflicted, and caused him to be brought in his bed near him, that he himself might have an eye to his cure. He was his near relation, and, according to some writers, a natural son of Philip. Ptolemy was one of the bravest men in the army, was highly esteemed in war, and had greater talents for peace. He was averse to luxury, vastly generous, easy of access, and did not imitate the pomp, which wealth and prosperity had made the rest of the Macedonian noblemen assume: In a word, it is hard to say, whether he were more esteemed by his sovereign or his country. We are told, there appeared to him in a dream a dragon, which presented him an herb, as an effectual remedy; and that upon his waking, he ordered it to be sent for; when laying it upon the wound, it was healed in a few days, to the universal joy of the army.

(r) The king continuing his voyage, arrived at Patala, about the beginning of the dog-days, that is, about the end of July; so that the fleet was nine months at least from its setting out, till its arrival at that place. There the river Indus divides into two large arms, and forms an island, but much larger, like the Delta of the Nile; and hence the city above mentioned received its name, *Patala*, according to Arrian,

(s) Arrian, signifying, in the Indian tongue, the same as *Delta* in the Greek. Alexander caused a citadel to be built in Patala, as also an harbour and an arsenal for the shipping. This being done, he embarked on the right arm of the river, in order to sail as far as the ocean, exposing in this manner so many brave men to the mercy of a river with which they were wholly unacquainted. The only consolation they had in this rash enterprize, was, Alexander's uninterrupted success. When he had sailed * twenty leagues, the pilots told him that they began to perceive the sea-air, and therefore believed that the ocean could not be far off. Upon this news, leaping for joy, he besought the sailors to row with all their strength, and told the soldiers, " That they at last were come to the
 " end of their toils, which they had so earnestly de-
 " sired; that now nothing could oppose their valour,
 " nor add to their glory; that without fighting any
 " more, or spilling of blood, they were masters of
 " the universe; that their exploits had the same
 " boundaries with nature; and that they would be
 " spectators of things, known only to the immortal
 " gods."

Being come nearer the sea, a circumstance new and unheard of by the Macedonians, threw them into the utmost confusion, and exposed the fleet to the greatest danger; and this was the ebbing and flowing of the ocean. Forming a judgment of this vast sea, from that of the Mediterranean, the only one they knew, and whose ebblings are imperceptible, they were very much astonished when they saw it rise to a great height, and overflow the country; and considered it as a mark of the anger of the gods, to punish their rashness. They were no less surprized and terrified, some hours after, when they saw the ebbing of the sea, which now withdrew as it had before advanced, leaving those lands uncovered it had so lately overflowed. The fleet was very much shattered, and the ships being now
 upon

(s) Arrian. in Indic. p. 314.

* Four hundred furlongs.

upon dry land, the fields were covered with clothes, with broken oars and planks, as after a great storm.

At last Alexander, after having sailed full nine months in rivers, arrived at the ocean, where gazing with the utmost eagerness upon that vast expanse of waters, he imagined that this sight, worthy so great a conqueror as himself, greatly overpaid all the toils he had undergone, and the many thousand men he had lost, to arrive at it. He then offered sacrifices to the gods, and particularly to Neptune; threw into the sea the bulls he had slaughtered, and a great number of golden cups; and besought the gods not to suffer any mortal after him, to exceed the bounds of his expedition. Finding that he had extended his conquests to the extremities of the earth on that side, he imagined he had compleated his mighty design; and, highly delighted with himself, he returned to rejoin the rest of his fleet and army, which waited for him at Patala, and in the neighbourhood of it.

SECT. XVII. ALEXANDER, *in his march through deserts, is grievously distressed by famine. He arrives at Pasagardæ, where CYRUS's monument stood. ORSINES, a powerful lord, is put to death by the clandestine intrigues of BAGOAS the eunuch. CALANUS the Indian ascends a funeral pile, where he puts himself to death. ALEXANDER marries STATIRA, the daughter of DARIUS. HARPALUS arrives at Athens; DEMOSTHENES is banished. The Macedonian soldiers make an insurrection, which ALEXANDER appeases. He recalls ANTIPATER from Macedonia, and sends CRATERUS in his room. The king's sorrow for the death of HEPHÆSTION.*

(t) **A**LEXANDER being returned to Patala, prepared all things for the departure of his fleet. He appointed Nearchus admiral of it, who was the only officer that had the courage to accept of this commission, which was a very hazardous one, because they were to sail over a sea entirely unknown to them.

them. The king was very much pleased at his accepting of it; and, after testifying his acknowledg-ment upon that account in the most obliging terms, he commanded him to take the best ships in the fleet, and to go and sound the sea-coast extending from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulph: And, after having given these orders, he set out by land for Babylon.

(u) Nearchus did not leave the Indus at the same time with Alexander. It was not yet the season proper for sailing. It was summer, when the southern sea-winds rise; and the season of the north-winds, which blow in winter, was not yet come. He therefore did not set sail till about the end of September, which was too soon; and accordingly he was incommoded by winds some days after his departure, and obliged to shelter himself for twenty-four days.

We are obliged for these particulars to Arrian, who has given us an exact journal of this voyage, copied from that of Nearchus the admiral.

Alexander, after having left Patala, marched through the country of the *Oritæ*, the capital whereof was called Ora or Rhambacis. Here he was in such want of provision, that he lost a great number of soldiers; and brought back from India scarce the fourth part of his army, which had consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. Sicknefs, bad food, and the excessive heats, had swept them away in multitudes; but famine made a still greater havock among the troops in this barren country, which was neither plowed nor sowed; its inhabitants being savages, who fared very hard, and led a most uncomfortable life. After they had eat all the palm-tree roots that could be met with, they were obliged to feed upon the beasts of burthen, and next upon their war-horses; and when they had no beasts left to carry their baggage, they were forced to burn those rich spoils, for the sake of which the Macedonians had ran to the extremities of the earth.

The

The plague, a disease which generally accompanies famine, completed the calamity of the soldiers, and destroyed great numbers of them.

After marching three score days, Alexander arrived on the confines of Gedrosia, where he found plenty of all things: For the soil was not only very fruitful, but the kings and great men, who lay nearest that country, sent him all kind of provisions. He continued some time here, in order to refresh his army. The governors of India having sent, by his order, a great number of horses, and all kinds of beasts of burthen, from the several kingdoms subject to him, he remounted his troops; equipped those who had lost every thing; and soon after presented all of them with arms, as beautiful as those they had before, which it was very easy for him to do, as they were upon the confines of Persia, at that time in peace, and in a very flourishing condition.

He arrived in Carmania, now called Kerman, and went through it, not with the air and equipage of a warrior and a conqueror, but in a kind of masquerade, and Bacchanalian festivity; committing the most riotous and extravagant actions. He was drawn by eight horses, himself being seated on a magnificent chariot, above which a scaffold was raised, in the form of a square stage, where he passed the days and nights in feasts and carouzing. This chariot was preceded and followed by an infinite number of others; some of which, in the shape of tents, were covered with rich carpets, and purple coverlets; and others, shaped like cradles, were overshadowed with branches of trees. On the sides of the roads, and at the doors of houses, a great number of casks ready broached were placed, whence the soldiers drew wine in large flaggons, cups, and goblets, prepared for that purpose.

The whole country echoed with the sound of instruments, and the howling of the Bacchanals, who, with their hair dishevelled, and like so many frantick creatures, ran up and down, abandoning themselves in every kind of licentiousness. All this he did

in imitation of the triumph of Bacchus, who, as we are told, crossed all Asia in this equipage, after he had conquered India. This riotous, dissolute march lasted seven days, during all which time the army was never sober. It was very happy, says Quintus Curtius, for them, that the conquered nations did not think of attacking them in this condition; for a thousand resolute men, well armed, might with great ease have defeated the conquerors of the world, whilst thus plunged in wine and excess.

(x) Nearchus still keeping along the sea-coast, from the mouth of the Indus, came at last into the Persian gulph, and arrived at the island of Harmusia, now called Ormus. He there was informed, that Alexander was not above five days journey from him. Having left the fleet in a secure place, he went to meet Alexander, accompanied only by four persons. The king was very anxious about his fleet. When news was brought him that Nearchus was arrived almost alone, he imagined that it had been entirely destroyed, and that Nearchus had been so very happy as to escape from the general defeat. His arrival confirmed him still more in his opinion, when he beheld a company of pale, lean creatures, whose countenances were so much changed, that it was scarce possible to know them again. Taking Nearchus aside, he told him, that he was overjoyed at his return, but at the same time was inconsolable for the loss of his fleet. *Your fleet, royal Sir,* cried he immediately, *thanks to the gods, is not lost:* Upon which he related the condition in which he had left it. Alexander could not refrain from tears, and confessed, that this happy news gave him greater pleasure than the conquest of all Asia. He heard, with uncommon delight, the account Nearchus gave of his voyage, and the discoveries he had made; and bid him return back, and go quite up the Euphrates

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as far as Babylon, pursuant to the first orders he had given him.

In Carmania, many complaints were made to Alexander, concerning governors and other officers, who had grievously oppressed the people of various provinces during his absence: For, fully persuaded he would never return, they had exercised every species of rapine, tyranny, cruelty, and oppression. But Alexander, strongly affected with their grievances, and pierced to the very soul with their just complaints, put to death as many as were found guilty of mal-administration, and with them six hundred soldiers, who had been the instruments of their exactions and other crimes. He even afterwards treated with the same severity, all such of his officers as were convicted of the like guilt, so that his government was beloved by all the conquered nations. He was of opinion, that a prince owes these examples of severity to his equity, which ought to check every kind of irregularity; to his glory, to prove he does not connive, or share in the injustice committed in his name; to the consolation of his subjects, whom he supplies with a vengeance themselves ought never to exercise; in fine, to the safety of his dominions, which, by so equitable an administration, is secured from many dangers, and very often from insurrections. It is a great unhappiness to a kingdom, when every part of it resounds with exactions, vexations, oppressions, and corruption, and not so much as a single man is punished, as a terror to the rest; and that the whole weight of the publick authority falls only upon the people, and never on those who ruin them.

The great pleasure Alexander took, in the account which Nearchus gave him of his successful voyage, made that prince have a great inclination to go upon the ocean. He proposed no less than to sail from the Persian gulph, round Arabia and Africa, and to return into the Mediterranean by the streights of Gibraltar, called at that time Hercules's pillars; a

voyage which had been several times attempted, and once performed, by order of a king of Egypt, called Nechao, as I have observed elsewhere. It was afterwards his design, when he should have humbled the pride of Carthage, against which he was greatly exasperated, to cross into Spain, called by the Greeks Iberia, from the river Iberus: He next was to go over the Alps, and coast along Italy, where he would have had but a short passage into Epirus, and from thence into Macedonia. For this purpose, he sent orders to the viceroys of Mesopotamia and Syria, to build in several parts of the Euphrates, and particularly at Thapsacus, ships sufficient for that enterprise; and he caused to be felled, on mount Libanus, a great number of trees, which were to be carried into the above-mentioned city. But this project, as well as a great many more which he meditated, were all defeated by his early death.

Continuing his march, he went to Passagardæ, a city of Persia. Orsines was governor of the country, and the greatest nobleman in it. He descended from Cyrus; and, besides the wealth he inherited from his ancestors, he himself had amassed great treasures, having, for many years, ruled a large country. He had done the king a signal piece of service. The person, who governed the provinces during Alexander's expedition into India, happened to die; when Orsines observing, that, for want of a governor, all things were running to confusion, took the administration upon himself, composed matters very happily, and preserved them in the utmost tranquillity, till Alexander's arrival. He went to meet him, with presents of all kinds for himself, as well as his officers. These consisted of a great number of fine managed horses, chariots enriched with gold and silver, precious moveables, jewels, gold vases of prodigious weight, purple robes, and four thousand talents of silver in specie*. However, this generous magnificence proved fatal to him; for he presented
such

* About 600,000*l*.

such gifts to the principal grandees of the court, as infinitely exceeded their expectations, but gave nothing to the eunuch Bagoas, the king's favourite; and this not through forgetfulness, but out of contempt. Some persons telling him how much the king loved Bagoas, he answered, "I honour the king's friends, but not an infamous eunuch." These words being told Bagoas, he employed all his credit to ruin a prince descended from the noblest blood in the East, and irreproachable in his conduct. He even bribed some of Orsines's attendants, giving them instructions how to impeach him at a proper season; and in the mean time, whenever he was alone with the king, he filled his mind with suspicions and distrust, letting drop ambiguous expressions of that nobleman, as if by chance; and dissembling very artfully the motives of his discontent. Nevertheless, the king suspended his judgment for the present, but discovered less esteem than before for Orsines, who knew nothing of what was plotting against him, so secretly the affair was carried on; and the eunuch, in his private discourses with Alexander, was perpetually charging him either with exactions or treason.

The great danger to which princes are exposed, is the suffering themselves to be prejudiced and overreached in this manner by their favourites; a danger so common, that St. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius, (y) assures him, that if he were exempt from this weakness, he may boast himself to be the only man in the world that is so. What is here spoken of princes, is applicable to all who represent them. Great men generally listen with pleasure to the slanderer; and for this reason, because he generally puts on the mask of affection and zeal, which soothes their pride. Slander always makes some impression on the most equitable minds; and leaves behind it such dark and gloomy traces, as raise suspicions, jealousies, and distrusts. The artful slanderer is bold and indefatigable, because he is sure to escape unpunished; and

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is sensible, that he runs but very little danger, in greatly prejudicing others. With regard to the great, they seldom enquire into secret calumnies, either from indolence, giddiness, or shame, to appear suspicious; fearful, or diffident; in a word, from their unwillingness to own, that they were imposed upon, and had abandoned themselves to a rash credulity. In this manner, the most unsullied virtue, and the most irreproachable fidelity, are frequently brought to inevitable ruin.

Of this we have a sad example on the present occasion. Bagoas, after having taken his measures at distance, at last gave birth to his dark design. Alexander, having caused the monument of Cyrus to be opened, in order to perform funeral honours to the ashes of that great prince, found nothing in it, but an old rotten shield, two Scythian bows, and a scymitar; whereas he hoped to find it full of gold and silver, as the Persians had reported. The king laid a golden crown on his urn, and covered it with his cloak; vastly surprized that so powerful and renowned a prince had not been buried with greater pomp than a private man. Bagoas thinking this a proper time for him to speak, "Are we to wonder," says he, "to find the tombs of kings so empty, since the houses of governors and provinces are filled with the gold of which they have deprived them? I, indeed, had never seen this monument; but I have heard Darius say, that immense treasures were buried in it. Hence flowed the unbounded liberality and profusion of Orsines, who, by bestowing what he could not keep, without ruining himself, thought to make a merit of this in your sight." This charge was without the least foundation; and yet the Magi, who guarded the sepulchre, were put to the torture, but all to no purpose; and nothing was discovered relating to the pretended theft. Their silence, on this occasion, ought naturally to have cleared Orsines; but the artful, insinuating discourses of Bagoas, had made a deep impression on Alexander's mind,

mind, and by that means given calumny an easy access to it. The accusers, whom Bagoas had suborned, having made choice of a favourable moment, came and impeached Orsines, and charged him with the commission of several odious crimes, and amongst the rest, with stealing the treasures of the monument. At this charge, the matter appeared no longer doubtful, and the indications were thought sufficient; so that this prince was loaded with chains, before he so much as suspected that any accusation had been brought against him; and was put to death, without being so much as heard, or confronted with his accusers. Too unhappy fate of kings, who do not hear and examine things in person; and who still continue infatuated, notwithstanding the numberless examples they read in history, of princes who have been betrayed in the like manner.

I have already said, that there had followed the king an Indian, called Calanus, reputed the wisest man of his country, who, though he professed the practice of the most severe philosophy, had however been persuaded, in his extreme old age, to attend upon the court. (z) This man, having lived fourscore and three years, without having been ever afflicted with sickness; and having a very severe fit of the cholick, upon his arrival at Passagardæ; he resolved to put himself to death. Resolutely determined not to let the perfect health he had always enjoyed; be impaired by lingering pains; and being also assured of falling into the hands of physicians, and of being tortured with loads of medicine, he besought the king to order the erecting of a funeral pile for him; and desired, that after he had ascended it, fire might be set to it. Alexander imagined Calanus might easily be dissuaded from so dreadful a design; but finding, in spite of all the arguments he could use, that Calanus was still inflexible, he at last was obliged to acquiesce with it. Calanus then rode on horseback to

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(z) Arrian. lib. vii. p. 276. Diod. lib. vii. p. 573, 574. Plut. in Alex. p. 703.

the foot of the funeral pile; offered up his prayers to the gods; caused libations to be performed upon himself, and the rest of the ceremonies to be observed which are practised at funerals; cut off a tuft of his hair, in imitation of victims; embraced such of his friends as were present; intreated them to be merry that day, to feast and carouse with Alexander; assuring them at the same time, that he would soon see that prince in Babylon. After saying these words, he ascended, with the utmost chearfulness, the funeral pile, laid himself down upon it, and covered his face; and, when the flame caught him, he did not make the least motion; but with a patience and constancy that surprized the whole army, continued in the posture in which he at first had laid himself; and completed his sacrifice, by dying pursuant to the custom practised by the sages of his country.

(a) The historian informs us, that people differed very much in opinion with respect to this action. Some condemned it, as suiting only a frantick, senseless wretch; others imagined, he was prompted to it out of vain-glory, merely for the sake of being gazed at, and to pass for a miracle in constancy (and these were not mistaken:) In fine, others applauded this false heroism, which had enabled him to triumph in this manner over sorrow and death.

Alexander, being returned into his tent, after this dreadful ceremony, invited several of his friends and general officers to supper; and in compliance with Calanus's request, and to do him honour, he proposed a crown, as a reward for him who should quaff most. He who conquered on this occasion, was Promachus, who swallowed four measures of wine, that is, eighteen or twenty pints. After receiving the prize, which was a crown worth a * talent, he survived his victory but three days. Of these guests, forty-one died of their intemperance: A scene, worthy of closing that which Calanus had a little before exhibited!

From

(a) Diodore.

* A thousand crowns.

(b) From Passagardæ, Alexander came to Persepolis; and, surveying the remains of the conflagration, was exasperated against himself, for his folly in setting it on fire. From hence he advanced towards Susa. Nearchus, in compliance with his orders, had begun to sail up the Euphrates with his fleet; but, upon advice that Alexander was going to Susa, he came down again to the mouth of the Pasi-tigris, and sailed up this river to a bridge, where Alexander was to pass it. Then the naval and land armies joined. The king offered to his gods sacrifices, by way of thanks for his happy return, and great rejoicings were made in the camp. Nearchus received the honours due to him, for the care he had taken of the fleet; and for having conducted it so far safe, through numberless dangers.

Alexander found in Susa all the captives of quality he had left there. He married Statira, Darius's eldest daughter, and gave the youngest to his dear Hephæstion. And in order that, by making these marriages more common, his own might not be censured, he persuaded the greatest noblemen in his court, and his principal favourites, to imitate him. Accordingly they chose from among the noblest families of Persia, about fourscore young maidens, whom they married. His design was, by these alliances, to cement so strongly the union of the two nations, that they should thenceforward form but one, under his empire. The nuptials were solemnized after the Persian manner. He likewise feasted all the rest of the Macedonians who had married before in that country. It is related that there were nine thousand guests at this feast, and that he gave each of them a golden cup for the libations.

Not satisfied with this bounty, he would also pay his soldiers debt. But finding that several would not declare the sum they owed, for fear of its being an artifice merely to discover those among them who were too lavish of their money, he appointed, in his

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camp,

camp, offices, where all debts were paid, without asking the name either of the debtor or creditor. His liberality was very great on this occasion, and gave prodigious satisfaction; we are told that it amounted to near ten thousand talents*; but his indulgence, in permitting every person to conceal his name, was a still more agreeable circumstance. He reproached the soldiers, for their seeming to suspect the truth of his promise, and said to them, † *That a king ought never to forfeit his word with his subjects; nor his subjects suspect that he could be guilty of so shameful a prevarication.* A truly royal maxim, as it forms the security of a people, and the most solid glory of a prince; which, at the same time, may be renounced for ever, by the violation of a single promise; which, in affairs of government, is the most fatal of all errors.

And now there arrived at Susa thirty thousand Persian young men, most of the same age, and called *Epigones*, that is, *successors*; as coming to relieve the old soldiers in their duty and long fatigues. Such only had been made choice of, as were the strongest and best shaped in all Persia; and had been sent to the governors of such cities as were either founded or conquered by Alexander. These had instructed them in military discipline, and in all things relating to the science of war. They were all very neatly dressed, and armed after the Macedonian manner. These came and encamped before the city, where, drawing up in battle-array, they were reviewed; and performed their exercises before the king, who was extremely well pleased, and very bountiful to them afterwards, at which the Macedonians took great umbrage. And indeed, Alexander observing these were harraffed and tired out with the length of the war, and often vented murmurs and complaints in the assemblies; he for that reason was desirous of training
up

* About fifteen hundred thousand pounds.

† Οὐ γὰρ χρῆναι εἶν' ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ

ἀλλό τι ἢ ἀληθεύειν πρὸς τὰς ὑπηνίκους, ὅτε τῶν ἀσχυμένων τινα ἀλλό τι ἢ ἀληθεύειν δοκεῖν τὴν βασιλείᾳ. Arrian.

up these new forces, purposely to check the licentiousness of the veterans. It is dangerous to disgust a whole nation, and to favour foreigners too openly.

(c) In the mean time Harpalus, whom Alexander, during his expedition into India, had appointed governor of Babylon, quitted his service. Flattering himself with the hopes that this prince would never return from his wars in that country, he had given a loose to all kinds of licentiousness, and consumed in his infamous revels part of the wealth with which he had been entrusted. As soon as he was informed that Alexander, in his return from India, punished very severely such of his lieutenants as had abused their power, he meditated how he might best secure himself; and for this purpose amassed five thousand talents, that is, about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds; assembled six thousand soldiers, withdrew into Attica, and landed at Athens. (d) Immediately all such orators as made a trade of eloquence, ran to him in crowds, all ready to be corrupted by bribes, as they were before by hopes of them. Harpalus did not fail to distribute a small part of his wealth among these orators, to win them over to his interest, but he offered Phocion seven hundred * talents, and even put his person under his protection, well knowing the prodigious authority he had over the people.

The fame of his probity, and particularly of his disinterestedness, had gained him this credit. Philip's deputies had offered him great sums of money in that prince's name, and entreating him to accept them, if not for himself, at least for his children, who were so poor, that it would be impossible for them to support the glory of his name: † *If they resemble me*, replied Phocion, *the little spot of ground, with the produce of which I have hitherto lived, and which has raised me to*

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(c) Plut. in Demosth. p. 857, 858. (d) Plut. in Phoc. p. 751.

* *Seven hundred thousand crowns.* sin dissimiles sunt futuri, nolo

† *Si mei similes erunt, idem meis impensis illorum ali auge-*
hic, inquit, agellus illos alet, qui
me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit: *Phoc. c. i.* *Cor. Nep. in*

the glory you mention, will be sufficient to maintain them; if it will not, I do not intend to leave them wealth, merely to foment and heighten their luxury. (e) Alexander having likewise sent him an hundred * talents, Phocion asked those who brought them, upon what design Alexander sent him so great a sum, and did not remit any to the rest of the Athenians? *It is,* replied they, *because Alexander looks upon you as the only just and virtuous man.* Says Phocion, *Let him suffer me still to enjoy that character, and be really what I am taken for.*

The reader will suppose, that he did not give a more favourable reception to the persons sent by Harpalus. And indeed he spoke to them in very harsh terms, declaring that he should immediately take such measures as would be very disagreeable to the person on whose errand they came, in case he did not leave off bribing the city; so that Harpalus lost all hopes from that quarter.

Demosthenes did not at first shew more favour to Harpalus. He advised the Athenians to drive him out from their city, and not to involve it in a war, upon a very unjust occasion, and at the same time without the least necessity.

Some days after, Harpalus, as an inventory was taking of his goods, having observed that Demosthenes took a particular pleasure in viewing one of the king's cups of solid gold, and that he admired the fashion, and the beauty of the workmanship, desired him to take it in his hand, and tell him *the weight of it.* Demosthenes taking the cup, was surprized at its heaviness, and accordingly asked how much it weighed? Harpalus answered with a smile, *Twenty † talents, I believe;* and that very evening sent him that sum with the cup: For so great was Harpalus's penetration, that he could discover by the air, and certain glances, the foible of a man struck with the charms of gold. Demosthenes could not resist its power;

(e) Plut. in Phoc. p. 749.

* An hundred thousand crowns.

† Twenty thousand crowns.

power; but, overcome by this present, and being * no longer master of himself, he joined on a sudden with Harpalus's party; and the very next morning, wrapping his neck well in woollen cloths, he went to the assembly. The people then ordered him to rise and make a speech, but he refused, making signs that he had lost his voice; upon which some wags cried aloud, that their orator had been seized in the night, not with a † squincy, but an *argyrancy*; thereby intimating, that Harpalus's money had suppressed his voice.

The people being told next day of the gift which had been sent to Demosthenes, were highly exasperated, and refused to hear his justification. Harpalus was thereupon expelled the city; and in order to discover the persons who had taken bribes, the magistrates commanded a strict search to be made in all houses, that of Caricles excepted, who having married but a little before, was exempt from this enquiry, out of respect to his bride. The politeness shewn on this occasion does honour to Athens, and is not always exercised elsewhere.

Demosthenes, to prove his innocence, proposed a decree, by which the senate of the Areopagus was impowered to take cognizance of this matter. He was the first they tried, and fined upon being convicted fifty ‡ talents, for the payment of which he was thrown into prison; however he found means to escape, and left his country. Demosthenes did not behave with resolution and magnanimity in his banishment, residing generally at Ægina or Trezena; and every time he cast his eyes on Attica, his face would be covered with tears; and he suffered such words to drop from him, as were unworthy a brave man;

* The expression in the Greek is full of beauty and spirit. Plutarch compares the gold which had been accepted by Demosthenes, to a garrison (of the enemy) which a governor had received into his city, and thereby dispossessed himself of the command of it. Πιλάρις ὑπὸ τῆς

δωροδοκίας, ὥσπερ παραδειγμένῳ φρουρᾷ.

† It is impossible to translate the agreeable play of these Greek words. Οὐχ ὑπὸ συνάγχης ἔφραζεν; ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀγρυπνίας εἰληφθαι νόμους τὸν δημάρχον.

‡ Fifty thousand crowns.

man; words which by no means correspond with his resolute and generous behaviour during his administration. Cicero was reproached with the same weakness in his exile, which shews that great men are not such at all times, and on all occasions.

(f) It were to be wished, for the honour of eloquence, that what Pausanias relates in justification of Demosthenes, were true; and it is very probable it was so. According to this author, Harpalus, after flying from Athens, was seized by Philoxenus the Macedonian; and being racked, to extort from him the names of such Athenians as had been bribed by him, he did not once mention Demosthenes, whose name, had he been guilty, he would not have suppressed before Philoxenus, as that orator was his enemy.

Upon the first report of Harpalus's flying to Athens, Alexander, fully determined to go in person to punish Harpalus and the Athenians, had commanded a fleet to be equipped. But after news was brought that the people in their assembly had ordered him to depart their city, he laid aside all thoughts of returning into Europe.

Alexander, having still a curiosity to see the ocean, came down from Susa, upon the river Eulæus; and after having coasted the Persian gulph to the mouth of the Tigris, he went up that river towards the army, which was encamped on the banks of it, near the city of Opis, under the command of Hephæstion.

Upon his arrival there, he published a declaration in the camp, by which all the Macedonians, who, by reason of their age, wounds, or any other infirmity, were unable to support any longer the fatigues of the service, were permitted to return into Greece; declaring, that his design was to discharge them, to be bountiful to them, and send them back to their native country in a safe and honourable manner. His intention was, in making this declaration, to oblige, and at the same time give them the strongest proof how

how greatly they were in his esteem. However, the very contrary happened : For being already disgusted upon some other accounts, especially by the visible preference which Alexander gave to foreigners, they imagined, that his resolution was to make Asia the seat of his empire, and to disengage himself from the Macedonians ; and that the only motive of his doing this, was, that they might make room for the new troops he had levied in the conquered countries. This alone was sufficient to exasperate them to fury. Upon which, without observing the least order or discipline, or regarding the remonstrances of their officers, they went to the king with an air of insolence which they had never assumed till then, and with seditious cries unanimously demanded to be discharged ; saying farther, that since he despised the soldiers who had gained him all his victories, he and his father Ammon might carry on the war against whomsoever, and in what manner they pleased : But as for themselves, they were fully determined not to serve him any longer.

The king, no way surprized, and without once hesitating, jumps from his tribunal ; causes the principal mutineers, whom he himself pointed out to his guards, to be immediately seized, and orders thirteen to be punished. This bold and vigorous action, which thunderstruck the Macedonians, suppressed their courage in an instant. Quite amazed and confounded, and scarce daring to look at one another, they stood with downcast eyes, and were so dispirited, and trembled so prodigiously, that they were unable either to speak or even to think. Seeing them in this condition, he re-ascended his tribunal, where, after repeating to them, with a severe countenance, and a menacing tone of voice, the numerous favours which Philip his father had bestowed upon them, and all the marks of kindness and friendship by which he himself had distinguished them, he concluded with these words : “ You all desire a discharge ; I grant it
“ you. Go now, and publish to the whole world, that
“ you

“ you have left your prince to the mercy of the nations he had conquered, who were more affectionate to him than you.” After speaking this, he returned suddenly into his tent; cashiered his old guard; appoints another in its place, all composed of Persian soldiers; shuts himself up for some days, and would not see any person all the time.

Had the Macedonians been sentenced to die, it could not have surprized them more than when news was brought them, that the king had confided the guard of his person to the Persians. They could suppress their grief no longer, so that nothing was heard but cries, groans, and lamentations. Soon after, they all run together to the king's tent, throw down their arms, confessing their guilt; acknowledging their fault with tears and sighs; declare that the loss of life will not be so grievous as the loss of honour; and protest that they will not leave the place till the king has pardoned them. At last, Alexander could no longer resist the tender proofs they gave of their sorrow and repentance; so that when he himself, at his coming out of his tent, saw them in this dejected condition, he could not refrain from tears; and, after some gentle reproaches, which were softened by an air of humanity and kindness, he declared so loud as to be heard by them all, that he restored them to his friendship. This was restoring them to life, as was manifest from their shouts.

He afterwards discharged such Macedonians as were no longer able to carry arms, and sent them back to their native country with rich presents. He commanded, that at the exhibiting of the publick games, they should be allowed the chief places in the theatre, and there sit with crowns on their heads; and gave orders, that the children of those who had lost their lives in his service, should receive, during their minority, the same pay which had been given their fathers. Such support and honours granted to veterans, must necessarily ennoble, in a very conspicuous manner, the military profession! It is not possible for

a government to enrich every soldier in particular; but it may animate and console him by marks of distinction, which inspire a stronger ardour for war, more constancy in the service, and nobler sentiments and motives.

Alexander appointed Craterus commander of these soldiers, to whom he gave the government of Macedonia, Theffaly, and Thrace, which Antipater had enjoyed; and the latter was commanded to bring the recruits instead of Craterus. The king had long since been quite tired with the complaints of his mother and Antipater, who could not agree. She charged Antipater of aspiring at sovereign power, and the latter complained of her violent and untractable disposition; and had often declared in his letters, that she did not behave in a manner suitable to her dignity. It was with some reluctance Antipater resigned his government.

From Opis, Alexander arrived at Ecbatana in Media, where, after having dispatched the most urgent affairs of the kingdom, he again solemnized games and festivals: There had come to him from Greece, three thousand dancers, makers of machinery, and other persons skilled in diversions of this kind. It happened very unluckily, during the celebration of these festivals, that Hephæstion died of a disease which he brought upon himself. Alexander abandoning himself to immoderate drinking, his whole court followed his example, and sometimes spent whole days and nights in these excesses. In one of them Hephæstion lost his life. He was the most intimate friend the king had, the confident of all his secrets, and, to say all in a word, a second self. Craterus only seemed to dispute this honour with him. A few words, which one day escaped that prince, shews the difference he made between these two courtiers. *Craterus, says he, loves the king, but Hephæstion loves Alexander.* This expression signifies, if I mistake not, that Hephæstion had devoted himself, in a tender and affectionate manner, to the person of Alexander; but
that

A. M.
3680.
Ant. J. C.
324.

that Craterus loved him as a king, that is, was concerned for his reputation, and sometimes was less obsequious to his will, than he was zealous for his glory and interest. An excellent character, but very uncommon.

Hephæstion was as much beloved by all the courtiers, as by Alexander himself. Modest, even-tempered, beneficent; free from pride, avarice, and jealousy; he never abused his credit, nor preferred himself to those officers, whose merit made them necessary to his sovereign. He was universally regretted; but his death threw Alexander into excessive sorrow, to which he abandoned himself in such a manner, as was unworthy so great a king. He seemed to receive no consolation, but in the extraordinary funeral honours he paid to his friend at his arrival in Babylon, whither he commanded Perdiccas to carry his corpse.

In order to remove, by business and employment, the melancholy ideas which the death of his favourite perpetually awakened in his mind, Alexander marched his army against the *Cossæi*, a warlike nation inhabiting the mountains of Media, whom not one of the Persian monarchs had ever been able to conquer. However, the king reduced them in forty days, afterwards passed the Tigris, and marched towards Babylon.

SECT. XVIII. ALEXANDER enters Babylon, contrary to the sinister predictions of the Magi and other soothsayers. He there forms the plans of several voyages and conquests. He sets about repairing the breaches made in the piers of the Tigris and Euphrates, and rebuilding the temple of BELUS. He abandons himself to immoderate drinking, which brings him to his end. The universal grief spread over the whole empire upon that account. SYSIGAMBIS is not able to survive him. Preparations are made to convey ALEXANDER's corpse to the temple of JUPITER-AMMON in Libya.

(g) **A**LEXANDER being arrived within a league and a half of Babylon, the Chaldeans who pretended to know futurity by the stars, deputed to him some of their old men, to acquaint him, that he would be in danger of his life, in case he entered that city; and were very urgent with him to go on further. The Babylonish astrologers were held in such great reputation, that this advice made a prodigious impression on his mind, and filled him with confusion and dread. Upon this, after sending several of the grandees of his court to Babylon, he himself went another way; and having marched about ten leagues, he stopped for some time in the place where he had encamped his army. The Greek philosophers, being told the foundation of his fear and scruples, waited upon him; when setting, in the strongest light, the principles of Anaxagoras, whose tenets they followed, they demonstrated to him, in the strongest manner, the vanity of astrology; and made him have so great a contempt for divination in general, and for that of the Chaldeans in particular, that he immediately marched towards Babylon with his whole army. (b) He knew that there were arrived in that city, ambassadors from all parts of the world, who waited for his coming; the whole

(g) Arrian. lib. vii. p. 294---309. Q. Curt. lib. x. c. 4---7.
Plut. in Alex. p. 705---707. (b) Diod. lib. xvii. p. 577---583.
Justin. lib. xii. c. 13---16.

whole earth echoing so much with the terror of his name, that the several nations came, with inexpressible ardour, to pay homage to Alexander, as to him who was to be their sovereign. This view, which agreeably soothed the strongest of all his passions, contributed very much to stifle every other reflection, and to make him careless of all advice that might be given him; so that he set forward with all possible diligence towards that great city, there to hold the states-general, in a manner, of the world. After making a most magnificent entry, he gave audience to all the ambassadors, with the grandeur and dignity suitable to a great monarch, and, at the same time, with the affability and politeness of a prince, who is desirous of winning the affection of all. He loaded those of Epidaurus with great presents for the deity who presides over their city, as well as over health, but reproached him at the same time. *Æsculapius*, says he, *has shewed me but very little indulgence, in not preserving the life of a friend, who was as dear to me as myself.* In private, he discovered a great friendship for such of the deputies of Greece, as came to congratulate him on his victories, and his happy return; and he restored them all the statues, and other curiosities, which Xerxes had carried out of Greece, that were found in Susa, Babylon, Passagarda, and other places. We are told, that among these were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and that they were brought back to Athens.

The ambassadors from Corinth having offered him, in the name of their city, the freedom of it, he laughed at an offer which seemed altogether unworthy of one who had attained so exalted a pitch of grandeur and power. However, when Alexander was told that Corinth had granted this privilege to Hercules only, he accepted it with joy; and piqued himself upon treading in his steps, and resembling him in all things. But, cries * Seneca, in what did this frantick young man,

* Quid illi simile habebat verat felix temeritas? Hercules sanus adolescens, cui pro virtute nihil sibi vicit. Orbem terrarum transivit,

man, with whom successful temerity passed for virtue, resemble Hercules? The latter, free from all self-interested views, travelled through the world, merely to serve the several nations he visited, and to purge the earth of such robbers as infested it: Whereas Alexander, who is justly entitled the plunderer of nations, made his glory to consist in carrying desolation into all places, and in rendering himself the terror of mankind.

At the same time he wrote a letter, which was to have been read publickly in the assembly of the Olympick games, whereby the several cities of Greece were commanded to permit all exiles to return into their native country, those excepted who had committed sacrilege, or any other crime deserving death; and ordered Antipater to employ an armed force against such cities as should refuse to obey. This letter was read in the assembly. But as for the Athenians and Etolians, they did not think themselves obliged to put orders in execution, which seemed to interfere with their liberty.

Alexander, after having dispatched these affairs, finding himself now at leisure, began to think of Hephæstion's burial. This he solemnized with a magnificence, the like of which had never been seen. As he himself undertook the management of this funeral, he commanded all the neighbouring cities to contribute their utmost in exalting the pomp of it. He likewise ordered all the nations of Asia to extinguish what the Persians call the *sacred fire*, till the ceremony of the interment should be ended; which was considered as an ill omen, it being never practised in Persia, except at the death of its monarchs. All the officers and courtiers, to please Alexander, caused images to be carved of that favourite, of gold, ivory, and other precious materials.

VOL. V.

F

At

transivit, non concupiscendo, sed vindicando — malorum hostis, summum bonum duxit, terrori bonorum vindex, terrarum marisque pacator. At hic à pueritia latro gentiumque vastator — sum-
 mum bonum duxit, terrori esse cunctis mortalibus. *Senec. de Benef. lib. i. cap. 13.*

At the same time the king, having procured a great number of architects, and skilful workmen, first caused near six furlongs of the wall of Babylon to be beat down; and, having got together a great number of bricks, and levelled the spot designed for the funeral pile, he had a most magnificent monumental structure erected over it.

This edifice was divided into thirty parts, in each whereof was raised an uniform building, the roof of which was covered with great planks of palm-tree wood. The whole formed a perfect square, the circumference of which was adorned with extraordinary magnificence. Each side was a furlong, or an hundred fathoms, in length. At the foot of it, and in the first row, were set two hundred and forty-four prows of ships gilded, on the * buttresses, or supporters whereof, the statues of two archers, four cubits high, with one knee on the ground, were fixed; and two other statues, in an upright posture, compleatly armed, bigger than the life, being five cubits in height. The spaces between the prows were spread and adorned with purple cloth. Over these prows was a colonnade of large flambeaux, the shafts of which were fifteen cubits high, embellished with crowns of gold at the part where they are held. The flame of those flambeaux ending at top, terminated towards eagles, which, with their heads turned downward, and extended wings, served as capitals. Dragons fixed near, or upon the base, turned their heads upwards towards the eagles. Over this colonnade stood a third, in the base of which was represented, in relievo, a party of hunting animals of every kind. On the superior order, that is the fourth, the combat of the centaurs was represented in gold. Finally, on the fifth, golden figures, representing lions and bulls, were placed alternately. The whole edifice terminated with military trophies, after the Macedonian and Barbarian fashion, as so many symbols of the victory.

* In Greek *ἑνταυίδες*, or ears. which project to the right and left. These are two pieces of timber, of the prow.

tory of the former, and defeat of the latter. On the entablatures and roof were represented Syrens, the hollow bodies of which were filled (but in an imperceptible manner) with musicians, who sang mournful airs and dirges in honour of the deceased. This edifice was upwards of one hundred and thirty cubits high, that is, above an hundred and ninety-five feet.

The beauty of the design of this structure, the singularity and magnificence of the decorations, and the several ornaments of it, surpassed the most wonderful productions of fancy, and were all in an exquisite taste. Alexander had appointed to superintend the building of this edifice, Stasicrates, a great architect, and admirably well skilled in mechanicks, in all whose inventions and designs there appeared, not only prodigious magnificence and surprizing boldness, but such a greatness as was scarce conceivable.

(i) It was this artist, who, discoursing some time before with Alexander, had told him, that of all the mountains he knew, none would so well admit of being cut into the shape of a man, as mount Athos in Thrace: That, if he therefore pleased but to give orders, he would make this mountain the most durable of all statues, and that which would lie most open to the view of the universe. In its left hand it should hold a city, consisting of ten thousand inhabitants; and from its right should pour a great river, whose waters would discharge themselves in the sea. One would have thought that this project would have pleased Alexander, who sought for the great and marvellous in all things; nevertheless, he rejected it, and wisely answered, that it was enough there was one prince, whose folly mount Athos would eternize. This was meant of Xerxes, who having endeavoured to cut through the Isthmus of that mountain, wrote a * letter to it in the most proud and senseless terms. *With*

F 2

regard

(i) Plut. de fortun. Alex. ferm. i. p. 335.

* Proud Athos, who listest thy wise, I will cut thee quite to pieces,
head to heaven, be not so bold as to and throw thee into the sea. Plu-
oppose to my workmen such rocks tarch. de ira cohib. p. 555.
and stones as they cannot cut; other-

*regard to myself, says Alexander, mount Caucasus, the river * Tanais, the Caspian sea, all which I passed in triumph, shall be my monument.*

The expence of the splendid monument which this prince erected in honour of Hephæstion, with that of the funeral, amounted to upwards of twelve thousand talents, that is, more than one million eight hundred thousand pounds. But, what man was ever so ridiculously and extravagantly profuse? All this gold, all this silver, was no other than the blood of nations, and the substance of provinces, which were thus sacrificed to a vain ostentation.

To crown the affection which Alexander had for his deceased friend, something was still wanting to the honours he paid him, to raise them above human nature; and this was what he proposed, and for that purpose had sent to the temple of Ammon a trusty person, named Philip, to enquire the will of the god. It doubtless was the echo of that of Alexander; and the answer was, that sacrifices might be offered to Hephæstion, as a demi-god. These were not spared in any manner; Alexander himself first setting the example, when he made a great feast, to which upwards of ten thousand persons were invited. At the same time he wrote to Cleomenes, governor of Egypt, commanding him to build a temple to Hephæstion in Alexandria, and another in the isle of Pharos. In this letter (which is still extant) to excite his diligence, and hasten the work, he grants the governor, who was despised universally for his injustice and rapine, a general pardon for all his crimes, past, present, and future; provided that, at his return, the temple and city should be compleated. And now nothing was seen but new altars, temples, and festivals; no oaths were administered but in the name of the new deity: To question his divinity was a capital crime. An old officer (a friend of Hephæstion) having bewailed him as dead, in passing before his tomb, had like to have been put to death for it; nor would he

* *The Iaxarthes is here meant.*

he have been pardoned, had not Alexander been assured, that the officer wept, merely from some remains of tenderness, and not as doubting Hephæstion's divinity. I cannot say, whether Alexander prevailed so far, as to make any one give credit to Hephæstion's divinity; but he himself appeared, or at least endeavoured to appear, firmly persuaded of it; and gloried, not only that he had a god for his father, but that he himself could make gods. How ridiculous is all this!

During almost a year which Alexander continued in Babylon, he revolved a great number of projects in his mind; such as to go round Africa by sea; to make a compleat discovery of all the nations lying round the Caspian sea, and inhabiting its coasts; to conquer Arabia; to make war with Carthage, and to subdue the rest of Europe. The very thoughts of sitting still fatigued him, and the great vivacity of his imagination and ambition would never suffer him to be at rest; nay, could he have conquered the whole world, he would have sought a new one, to satiate the avidity of his desires.

The embellishing of Babylon also employed his thoughts very much. Finding it surpassed in extent, in conveniency, and in whatever can be wished, either for the necessities or pleasures of life, all the other cities of the East, he resolved to make it the seat of his empire; and for that purpose, was desirous of adding to it all the conveniencies and ornaments possible.

This city, as well as the country round about it, had suffered prodigiously by the breaking of the bank or dike of the Euphrates, at the head of the canal called Pallacopa. The river running out of its usual channel by this breach, overflowed the whole country; and forcing its way perpetually, the breach grew at last so wide, that it would have cost almost as much to repair the bank, as the raising of it had done at first. So little water was left in the channel of the Euphrates about Babylon, that there was scarce depth

enough for small boats, which consequently was of great prejudice to the city.

Alexander undertook to remedy this, for which purpose he embarked upon the Euphrates, in order to take a view of the place. It was on this occasion that he reproached, in a ludicrous, insulting tone of voice, the Magi and Chaldeans who accompanied him, for the vanity of their predictions; since, notwithstanding the ill omens they had endeavoured to terrify him with (as if he had been a credulous woman) he however had entered Babylon, and was returned from it very safe. Attentive to nothing but the subject of his voyage, he went and reviewed the breach, and gave the proper orders for repairing and restoring it to its former condition.

This design of Alexander merited the greatest applause. Such works are truly worthy great princes, and give immortal honour to their name, as not being the effect of a ridiculous vanity, but entirely calculated for the publick good. By the execution of this project, he would have recovered a whole province which lay under water; and have made the river more navigable, and consequently of greater service to the Babylonians, by turning it all again into its channel as before.

This work, after having been carried on the length of thirty furlongs (a league and a half) was stopped by difficulties owing to the nature of the soil; and the death of this prince, which happened soon after, put an end to this project, and several others he had formed. A supreme cause, unknown to men, prevented its execution. The real obstacle to the success of it, was the curse which God had pronounced against this city; an anathema which no human power could divert or retard. *(k) I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, had the Lord of hosts sworn above three hundred years before: I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water: And I will sweep it with the besom of destruction---(l) It shall*

(k) Isa. c. 14. ver. 22, 23.

(l) Chap. 13. ver. 20.

shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation---neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. Heaven and earth would sooner have passed away, than Alexander's design been put in execution. No river was now to flow by Babylon; the places round it were to be overflowed and changed into uninhabitable fens; it was to be rendered inaccessible, by the prodigious quantities of mud and dirt; and the city, as well as the country about it, were to be covered with stagnated waters, which would make all access to it impracticable. * Thus it now lies; and all things were to conspire to reduce it to this dejected state, in order that the prophecy might be compleatly fulfilled; *(m) for the Lord of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it? And his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?* Nothing shews more evidently the strength and weight of this invincible curse, than the efforts of the most powerful prince that ever reigned; a prince, the most obstinate that ever was, with regard to the carrying on his projects; a prince, of whose enterprizes none had ever miscarried; and who failed in this only, though it did not seem so difficult as the rest.

Another design which Alexander meditated, and had most at heart, was the repairing the temple of Belus. Xerxes had demolished it in his return from Greece, and it had laid in ruins ever since. Now Alexander was resolved, not only to rebuild it, but even to raise a much more magnificent temple. Accordingly, he had caused all the rubbish to be removed; and finding that the Magi, to whose care he had left this, went on but slowly, he made his soldiers work. Notwithstanding ten thousand of them were daily employed at it, for two months successively, the work was not finished at the death of this prince, so prodigious were its ruins. *(n)* When it came to the turn of the Jewish soldiers, who were in his army, to work as the rest had done, they could

F 4

not

(m) Isa. ch. 14. ver. 27. *(n)* Josephus contra Appion. lib. i. cap. 8.

* See what is said on this subject in the history of Cyrus.

not be prevailed upon to give their assistance; but excused themselves with saying, that as idolatry was forbid by the tenets of their religion, they therefore were not allowed to assist in building of a temple, designed for idolatrous worship; and accordingly not one lent a hand on this occasion. They were punished for disobedience, but all to no purpose; so that, at last, Alexander admiring their perseverance, discharged, and sent them home. This delicate resolution of the Jews is a lesson to many Christians, as it teaches them, that they are not allowed to join or assist in the commission of an action that is contrary to the law of God.

One cannot forbear admiring the conduct of Providence on this occasion. God had broke to pieces, by the hand of his servant Cyrus, the idol * Belus; the god who rivalled the Lord of Israel: He afterwards caused Xerxes to demolish his temple. These first blows which the Lord struck at Babylon, were so many omens of its total ruin; and it was as impossible for Alexander to compleat the re-building of this temple, as for Julian, some centuries after, to restore that of Jerusalem.

Although Alexander employed himself in the works above mentioned, during his stay in Babylon, he spent the greatest part of his time in such pleasures as that city afforded; and one would conclude, that the chief aim, both of his occupations and diversions, was to stupify himself, and to drive from his mind the melancholy and afflicting ideas of an impending death, with which he was threatened by all the predictions of the Magi and other soothsayers: For though, in certain moments, he seemed not to regard the various notices which had been given him, he was however seriously affected with them inwardly; and these gloomy reflections were for ever returning to his mind. They terrified him at last to such a degree, that whenever the most insignificant thing happened, (if ever so little extraordinary and unusual)

* God gives him this name in *Isaiah*.

unusual) his imagination swelled it immediately to a prodigy, and interpreted it into an unhappy omen. The palace was now filled with sacrifices, with persons whose office was to perform expiations and purifications, and with others who pretended to prophesy. It was certainly a spectacle worthy a philosophick eye, to see a prince, at whose nod the world trembled, abandoned to the strongest terrors; so true is it, says Plutarch, that if the contempt of the gods, and the incredulity which prompts us neither to fear or believe any thing, be a great misfortune, the superstitious man, whose soul is a prey to the most abject fears, the most ridiculous follies, is equally unhappy. It is plain that God, by a just judgment, took a pleasure in degrading, before all ages and nations, and in sinking lower than the condition of the vulgar, the man who had affected to set himself above human nature, and equal himself to the Deity. This prince had sought, in all his actions, that vain glory of conquests which men most admire; and to which they affix, more than to any thing else, the idea of grandeur: And God delivers him up to a ridiculous superstition, which virtuous men of good sense and understanding despise most, and than which nothing can be more weak or groveling.

Alexander was therefore for ever solemnizing new festivals, and perpetually at new banquets, in which he quaffed with his usual intemperance. After having spent a whole night in carousing, a second was proposed to him. He met accordingly, and there were twenty guests at table. He drank to the health of every person in company, and then pledged them severally. After this, calling for Hercules's cup, which held six bottles, it was filled, when he poured it all down, drinking to a Macedonian of the company, Proteas by name, and afterwards pledged him again, in the same furious bumper. He had no sooner swallowed it, but he fell upon the floor. "Here
(Lachrymæ)
" then,"

“ then,” cries * Seneca, (describing the fatal effects of drunkenness) “ is this hero; invincible to all the
 “ toils of prodigious marches, to the dangers of
 “ sieges and combats, to the most violent extremes
 “ of heat and cold; here he lies, conquered by his
 “ intemperance, and struck to the earth by the fatal
 “ cup of Hercules.”

In this condition he was seized with a violent fever, and carried half dead to his palace. The fever continued, though with some good intervals, in which he gave the necessary orders for the sailing of the fleet, and the marching of his land-forces, being persuaded he should soon recover. But at last, finding himself past all hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he drew his ring from his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas, with orders to convey his corpse to the temple of Ammon.

Notwithstanding † his great weakness, he however struggled with death, and raising himself upon his elbow, presented his soldiers (to whom he could not refuse this last testimony of friendship) his dying hand to kiss. After this, his principal courtiers asking to whom he left the empire; he answered, *To the most worthy*; adding, that he foresaw the decision of this would give occasion to strange funeral games after his decease. And Perdiccas, enquiring further at what time they should pay him divine honours; he replied, *When you are happy*. These were his last words, and soon after he expired. He was thirty-two years and eight months old, of which he had reigned twelve. He died in the middle of the spring, the first year of the CXIVth Olympiad.

No

* Alexandrum tot itinera, tot prælia, tot hiemes, per quas, victa temporum locorumque difficultate, trasierat, tot flumina ex ignoto cadentia, tot maria tutum dimiserunt; intemperantia bibendi, & ille Herculeus ac fatalis scyphus condidit. *Senec. Epist.* 83.

† Quamquam violentia morbi

dilabebatur, in cubitum tamen erectus, dextram omnibus, qui eam contingere vellent, porrexit. Quis autem illam osculari non curaret, quæ jam fato oppressa, maximi exercitus complexui, humanitate quam spiritu vividiore, sufficit? *Val. Max.* l. v. c. 1.

No one, says Plutarch and Arrian, suspected then that Alexander had been poisoned; and yet it is at this time that such reports generally prevail. But the state of his body proved that he did not die that way: For all his chief officers disagreeing among themselves, the corpse, though it lay quite neglected for several days in Babylon, which stands in a hot climate, did not shew the least symptoms of putrefaction. The true poison which brought him to his end was wine, which has killed many thousands besides Alexander. It was nevertheless believed afterwards, that this prince had been poisoned by the treachery of Antipater's sons: That Cassander, the eldest of them, brought the * poison from Greece; that Iolas, his younger brother, threw the fatal draught into Alexander's cup, of which he was the bearer; and that he cunningly chose the time of the great feast mentioned before, in order that the prodigious quantity of wine he then drank, might conceal the true cause of his death. The state of Antipater's affairs, at that time, gave some grounds for this suspicion. He was persuaded that he had been recalled with no other view than to ruin him, because of his mal-administration during his vice-royalty; and it was not altogether improbable, that he commanded his sons to commit a crime, which would save his own life, by taking away that of his sovereign. An undoubted circumstance is, that he could never wash out this stain; and that, as long as he lived, the Macedonians detested him as a traitor who had poisoned their king. Aristotle was also suspected, but with no great foundation.

Whether Alexander lost his life by poison, or by excessive drinking, it is surprizing to see the prediction of the Magi and soothsayers, with regard to his dying

* It is pretended that this poison was an extremely cold water, which distills drop by drop, from a rock in Arcadia, called Nonacris. Very little of it falls; and it is so vastly sharp, that it corrodes whatever vessel receives it, those excepted which are made of a mule's hoof. We are told, that it was brought for this horrid purpose from Greece to Babylon, in a vessel of the latter sort.

ing in Babylon, so exactly fulfilled. It is certain and indisputable, that God has reserved to himself only the knowledge of futurity; and if the soothsayers and oracles have sometimes foretold things which really came to pass, they could do it no other way than by their impious correspondence with devils, who, by their penetration and natural sagacity, find out several methods whereby they dive to a certain degree into futurity, with regard to approaching events; and are enabled to make predictions, which though they appear above the reach of human understanding, are yet not above that of malicious spirits of darkness. The knowledge * those evil spirits have of all the circumstances which precede and prepare an event; the part they frequently bear in it, by inspiring such of the wicked as are given up to them, with the thoughts and desire of doing certain actions, and committing certain crimes; an inspiration to which they are sure those wicked persons will consent: By these things, devils are enabled to foresee and foretel certain particulars. They, indeed, often mistake in their conjectures, but † God also sometimes permits them to succeed in them, in order to punish the impiety of those, who, in contradiction to his commands, enquire their fate of such lying spirits.

The moment that Alexander's death was known, the whole palace echoed with cries and groans. The vanquished bewailed him with as many tears as the victors. The grief for his death occasioning the remembrance of his many good qualities, all his faults were forgotten. The Persians declared him to have been the most just, the kindest sovereign that ever reigned over them; the Macedonians the best, the

* *Dæmones perversis (solent) malefacta suadere, de quorum moribus certi sunt quod sint eis talia suadentibus consensuri. Suadent autem miris & invisibilibus modis. S. August. de Divinat. Dæmon. p. 509.*

† Facile est & non incongruum,

ut omnipotens & justus, ad eorum poenam quibus ista prædicuntur... occulto apparatu ministeriorum suorum etiam spiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiat. *S. Aug. de Div. Quæst. ad Simplic. l. ii. Quæst. 3.*

most valiant prince in the universe ; and all exclaimed against the gods, for having enviously bereaved mankind of him, in the flower of his age, and the height of his fortune. The Macedonians imagined they saw Alexander, with a firm and intrepid air, still lead them on to battle, besiege cities, climb walls, and reward such as had distinguished themselves. They then reproached themselves for having refused him divine honours ; and confessed they had been ungrateful and impious, for bereaving him of a name he so justly merited.

After paying him this homage of veneration and tears, they turned their whole thoughts and reflections on themselves, and on the sad condition to which they were reduced by Alexander's death. They considered, that they were on the further side (with respect to Macedonia) of the Euphrates, without a leader to head them ; and surrounded with enemies, who abhorred their new yoke. As the king died without nominating his successor, a dreadful futurity presented itself to their imagination ; and exhibited nothing but divisions, civil wars, and a fatal necessity of still shedding their blood, and of opening their former wounds, not to conquer Asia, but only to give a king to it ; and to raise to the throne perhaps some mean officer or wicked wretch.

This great mourning was not confined merely to Babylon, but spread over all the province ; and the news of it soon reached Darius's mother. One of her daughters was with her, who being still inconsolable for the death of Hephæstion her husband, the sight of the publick calamity recalled all her private woes. But Sygambis bewailed the several misfortunes of her family ; and this new affliction awaked the remembrance of all its former sufferings. One would have thought that Darius was but just dead, and that this unfortunate mother solemnized the funeral of two sons at the same time. She wept the living no less than the dead : *Who now, would she say, will take care of my daughters ? Where shall we find another Alexander ?* She

would fancy she saw them again reduced to a state of captivity, and that they had lost their kingdom a second time; but with this difference, that now Alexander was gone, they had no refuge left. At last, she sunk under her grief. This princess, who had borne with patience the death of her father, her husband, of fourscore of her brothers, who were murdered in one day by Ochus, and, to say all in one word, that of Darius her son, and the ruin of her family; though she had, I say, submitted patiently to all these losses, she however had not strength of mind sufficient to support herself after the death of Alexander. She would not take any sustenance, and starved herself to death, to avoid her surviving this last calamity.

After Alexander's death, great contentions arose among the Macedonians, about appointing him a successor, of which I shall give an account in its proper place. After seven days spent in confusion and disputes, it was agreed that Arideus, bastard brother to Alexander, should be declared king; and that in case Roxana, who was eight months gone with child, should be delivered of a son, he should share the throne in conjunction with Arideus, and that Perdiccas should have the care of both; for Arideus was a weak man, and wanted a guardian as much as a child.

The Egyptians and Chaldeans having embalmed the king's corpse after their manner, Arideus was appointed to convey it to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. (o) Two whole years were employed in preparing for this magnificent funeral; which made Olympias bewail the fate of her son, who having had the ambition to rank himself among the gods, was so long deprived of burial, a privilege allowed to the meanest of mortals.

(o) *Ælian.* l. xiii. c. 30.

SECT. XIX. *The judgement we are to form of*
ALEXANDER.

THE reader would not be satisfied, if, after having given a detail of Alexander's actions, I should not take notice of the judgment we are to form of them; especially as authors have entirely differed in their opinions, with regard to the merits of this prince. Some have applauded him with a kind of extasy, as the model of a perfect hero, which opinion seems to have prevailed: Others, on the contrary, have represented him in such colours, as at least fully, if not quite eclipse, the splendor of his victories.

This diversity of sentiments denotes that of Alexander's qualities; and it must be confessed, that good and evil, virtues and vices, were never more equally blended, than in * the prince whose history we have written. But this is not all; for Alexander appears very different, according to the times or seasons in which we consider him, as Livy has very justly observed. In the enquiry he makes concerning the fate of Alexander's arms, supposing he had turned them towards Italy, he † discovers in him a kind of double Alexander; the one wise, temperate, judicious, brave, intrepid, but at the same time prudent and circumspect: The other immersed in all the wantonness of an haughty prosperity; vain, proud, arrogant, fiery; softened by delights, abandoned to intemperance and excesses; in a word, resembling Darius rather than Alexander; and having made the Macedonians degenerate into all the vices of the Persians, by the new turn of mind, and the new manners he assumed after his conquests.

I shall

* *Luxuria, industria; comitate, arrogantia; malis bonisque artibus mixtus. Tacit.*

† *Et loquimur de Alexandro nondummerso secundis rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit. Qui si ex habitu novæ fortunæ, no-*

vique, ut ita dicam, ingenii, quod sibi victor induerat, spectetur, Dario magis similis quàm Alexandro in Italiam venisset, & exercitum Macedoniæ oblitum, degenerantemque jam in Persarum mores adduxisset. Liv. l. ix. n. 18.

I shall have an eye to this plan, in the account I am now to give of Alexander's character, and shall consider it under two aspects, and, in a manner, two æras; first, from his youth till the battle of Issus, and the siege of Tyre, which followed soon after; and secondly, from that victory to his death. The former will exhibit to us great qualities with few defects (according to the idea the heathens had of these;) the second will represent to us enormous vices; and, notwithstanding the splendor of so many victories, very little true and solid merit, even with regard to warlike actions, a few battles excepted, in which he sustained his reputation.

FIRST PART.

We are first to acknowledge and admire, in Alexander, a happy disposition, cultivated and improved by an excellent education. He had a great, noble, and generous soul. (p) He delighted in bestowing and doing service, qualities he had acquired in his infant years. A young lad, whose business it was to gather up and throw the balls when he played at tennis, to whom he had given nothing, taught him a good lesson on that subject. As he always threw the ball to the other players, the king, with an angry air, cried to him, *And am I then to have no ball?* No, sir, replied the lad, *you do not ask me for it.* This witty and ready answer gave great satisfaction to the prince, who fell a laughing, and afterwards was very liberal to him. After this, there was no occasion to excite him to acts of generosity; for he would be quite angry with such as refused them at his hands. Finding Phocion continue inflexible on this head, he told him by letter, *that he would no longer be his friend, in case he refused to accept of his favours.*

Alexander, as if he had been sensible of the mighty things to which he was born, endeavoured to shine on all occasions, and appear more conspicuous than
any.

any other person. No one was ever fired with so strong a love for glory; and it is well known, that ambition, which is considered by Christians as a great vice, was looked upon by the heathens as a great virtue. It was that which made Alexander support with courage all the toils and fatigues necessary for those who would distinguish themselves in the exercises both of body and mind. He was accustomed very early to a sober, hard, plain way of life, uncorrupted with luxury or delicacy of any kind; a way of life highly advantageous to young soldiers.

I do not know whether any prince in the world had a nobler education than Alexander. He was very conversant in eloquence, poetry, polite learning, the whole circle of arts, and the most abstracted and most sublime sciences. How happy was he in meeting with so great a preceptor! None but an Aristotle was fit for an Alexander. I am overjoyed to find the disciple pay so illustrious a testimony in respect to his master, by declaring he was more indebted to him, in one sense, than to his father. A man who thinks and speaks in this manner, must be fully sensible of the great advantages of a good education.

The effects of this were soon seen. Is it possible for us to admire too much the great solidity and judgment which this young prince discovered in his conversation with the Persian ambassadors? His early wisdom, whilst, in his youth, he acted as regent during his father's absence, and pacified the feuds which had broke out in Macedonia? His courage and bravery at the battle of Chæronea, in which he so gloriously distinguished himself?

It is a pain to me, to see him wanting in respect to his father at a banquet, and employing severe, insulting expressions on that occasion. It is true, indeed, that the affront which Philip put upon Olympias, his mother, in divorcing her, transported him in a manner out of himself; but still no pretence, no injustice or violence, can either justify or excuse such usage to a father and a king.

(q) He afterwards discovered more moderation, when, on occasion of the insolent and seditious discourses held by his soldiers in an insurrection, he said, *That nothing was more royal, than for a man to hear with calmness himself ill spoken of, at the time he is doing good.* It has been observed, that the great prince of (r) Condé did not think any thing more worthy of admiration in this conqueror, than the noble haughtiness with which he spoke to the rebellious soldiers, who refused to follow him: *Go, says he, ungrateful, base wretches, and proclaim in your country that you have abandoned your king among nations who will obey him better than you.* “ Alexander (says that prince) abandoned by his own troops among Barbarians, who were not yet compleatly conquered, believes himself so worthy of commanding over others, that he did not think men could refuse to obey him. Whether he were in Europe or in Asia, among Greeks or Persians, it was the same to him. He fancied, that wherever he found men, he found subjects.” Alexander’s patience and moderation, which I took notice of at first, are no less wonderful.

The first years of his reign are perhaps the most glorious of his life. That at twenty years of age, he was able to appease the intestine feuds which raged in the kingdom; that he either crushed or subjected foreign enemies, and those of the most formidable kind; that he disarmed Greece, most of the nations whereof had united against him; and that in less than three years, he should have enabled himself to execute securely those plans his father had so wisely projected; all this supposes a presence of mind, a strength of soul, a courage, an intrepidity, and, what is more than all, a consummate prudence; qualities which form the character of the true hero.

This character he supported in a wonderful manner, during the whole course of his expedition against Darius, till the time mentioned by us. (s) Plutarch very justly

(q) Plut. in Alex. p. 688.
Fortun. Alex. Orat. I. p. 327.

(r) St. Evremond.

(s) Plut. de

justly admires the bare plan of it, as the most heroick act that ever was. He formed it the very instant he ascended the throne, looking upon this design, in some measure, as a part of what he inherited from his father. When scarce twenty years old, surrounded with dangers both within and without his kingdom, finding his treasury drained and incumbered with debts, to the amount of two hundred * talents, which his father had contracted; having an army which was greatly inferior in number to that of the Persians: In this condition, Alexander already turns his eyes towards Babylon and Susa, and proposes no less a conquest than that of so vast an empire.

Was this the effect of the pride and rashness of youth? asks Plutarch. Certainly not, replies that author. No man ever formed a warlike enterprize with so great preparations, and such mighty succours, by which I understand (continues Plutarch) magnanimity, prudence, temperance, and courage; preparations and aids, with which philosophy supplied him, and which he thoroughly studied; so that we may affirm, that he was as much indebted for his conquest to the lessons of Aristotle his master, as to the instructions of Philip his father.

We may add, that according to all the maxims of war, Alexander's enterprize must naturally be successful. Such an army as his, though not a very great one, consisting of Macedonians and Greeks, that is, of the best troops at that time in the world; and trained up to war during a long course of years, inured to toils and dangers, formed by a happy experience to all the exercises of sieges and battles, animated by the remembrance of their past victories, by the hopes of an immense booty, and more so, by their hereditary and irreconcilable hatred to the Persians; such an army, I say, headed by Alexander, was almost sure of conquering an army, composed, indeed, of infinite numbers of men, but of few soldiers.

* About thirty thousand pounds.

The swiftness of the execution was answerable to the wisdom of the project. After having gained the affection of all his generals and officers by an unparalleled liberality; and all his soldiers by an air of goodness, affability, and even familiarity, which, so far from debasing the majesty of a prince, adds to the respect which is paid him such a zeal and tenderness, as is proof against all things: After this, I say, the next thing to be done, was, to astonish his enemies by bold enterprizes, to terrify them by examples of severity; and, lastly, to win them by acts of humanity and clemency. He succeeded wonderfully in these. The passage of the Granicus, followed by a famous victory; the two celebrated sieges of Miletus and Halicarnassus, shewed Asia a young conqueror, to whom no part of military knowledge was unknown. The razing of the last city to the very foundations, spread an universal terror; but the allowing all those the enjoyment of their liberties and ancient laws, who submitted cheerfully, made the world believe, that the conqueror had no other view than to make nations happy, and to procure them an easy and lasting peace.

His impatience to bathe himself, when covered with sweat, in the river Cydnus, might be looked upon as a gay, juvenile action, unworthy of his dignity; but we must not judge of it from the manners of the present age. The ancients, all whose exercises were relative to those of war, accustomed themselves early to bathing and swimming. It is well known, that, in Rome, the sons of the nobility, after having heated themselves in the Campus Martius, with running, wrestling, and hurling the javelin, used to plunge into the Tyber, which runs by that city. By these exercises they enabled themselves to pass rivers and lakes in an enemy's country; for those are never crossed, but after painful marches, and after having been long exposed to the sun-beams, which, with the weight of the soldiers arms, must necessarily make them sweat. Hence we may apologize for Alexander's bathing himself in a river, which had like to
have

have been so fatal to him, especially as he might not know that the waters of it were so excessive cold.

The two battles of Issus and Arbela, with the siege of Tyre, one of the most famous of antiquity, entirely proved that Alexander possessed all the qualities which form the great foldier; as skill in making choice of a field of battle; such a presence of mind in the heat of action, as is necessary for the giving out proper orders; a courage and bravery, which the most evident dangers only animated; an impetuous activity, tempered and guided by such a prudent reservedness, as will not suffer the hero to be carried away by an indiscreet ardour; lastly, such a resolution and constancy, as is neither disconcerted by unforeseen obstacles, nor discouraged by difficulties, though seemingly insurmountable, and which know no other bounds or issue but victory.

Historians have observed a great * difference between Alexander and his father, in their manner of making war. Stratagem, and even knavery, were the prevailing arts of Philip, who always acted secretly, and in the dark; but his son pursued his schemes with more candour, and without disguise. The one endeavoured to deceive his enemies by cunning, the other to subdue them by force of arms. The former discovered more art, the latter had a greater soul. (t) Philip did not look upon any methods, which conduce to conquest, as ignominious; but Alexander could never prevail with himself to employ treachery. He, indeed, endeavoured to draw over the ablest of all Darius's generals; but then he employed honourable means. When he marched near Memnon's lands, he commanded his soldiers, upon the severest penalties, not to make the least havock in them. His design, by this conduct, was either to gain him over to his

G 3

(t) Pausan. l. vii. p. 415.

* Vincendi ratio utrique diversa. Hic aperte, ille artibus bella tractabat. Deceptis ille gaudere hostibus, hic palam fufis. Pru-

dentior ille consilio, hic animo magnificentior — Nulla apud Philippum turpis ratio vincendi. Justin: lib. ix. cap. 8.

his side, or to make the Persians suspect his fidelity. (u) Memnon also delighted in behaving with generosity towards Alexander; and hearing a soldier speak ill of that prince: *I did not take thee into my pay, says that general, striking him with his javelin, to speak injuriously of that prince, but to fight against him.*

The circumstance which raises Alexander above most conquerors, and, as it were, above himself, is the use he made of victory after the battle of Issus. This is the most beautiful incident in his life: Is the point of sight in which it is his interest to be considered, and it is impossible for him not to appear truly great in that view. By the victory of Issus, he had possessed himself, not only of Darius's person, but also of his empire. Not only Sysigambis, that king's mother, was his captive; but also his wife and daughters, princesses whose beauty was not to be paralleled in all Asia. (x) Alexander was, in the bloom of life, a conqueror, free, and not yet engaged in the bands of marriage, as an author observes of the first Scipio Africanus, on a like occasion: Nevertheless, his camp was, to those princesses, a sacred asylum, or rather a temple, in which their chastity was secured, as under the guard of virtue itself, and so highly revered, that Darius, in his expiring moments, hearing the kind treatment they had met with, could not forbear lifting up his dying hands towards heaven, and wish success to so wise and generous a conqueror, who governed his passions so absolutely.

In the enumeration of Alexander's good qualities, I must not omit one rarely found among the great, and which nevertheless does honour to human nature, and makes life happy: This is, his being informed by a soul capable of a tender friendship; his openness, truth, perseverance, and humility, in so exalted a fortune, which generally considers itself only, makes its grandeur consist in humbling all things around it,
and

(u) Plut. in Apoph. p. 174.
æ victor. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.

(x) Et juvenis, & cælebs,

and is better pleased with servile wretches, than with free, sincere friends.

Alexander endeared himself to his officers and soldiers; treated them with the greatest familiarity; admitted them to his table, his exercises and conversations; was deeply troubled for them when involved in any calamity, grieved for them when sick, rejoiced at their recovery, and shared in whatever befell them. We have examples of this in Hephæstion, in Ptolemy, in Craterus, and many others. A prince of real merit, does no ways debase his dignity, by such a familiarity and condescension; but, on the contrary, is more beloved and respected upon that very account. Every man of a tall stature, does not scruple to put himself upon a level with the rest of mankind, well knowing that he shall over-top them all. It is the interest of truly diminutive persons only, not to vie in stature with the tall, nor to appear in a crowd.

Alexander was dear to others, because they were sensible he was beforehand with them in affection. This circumstance made the soldiers strongly desirous to please him, and fired them with intrepidity; hence they were always ready to execute all his orders, though attended with the greatest difficulties and dangers: This made them submit patiently to the severest hardships, and threw them into the deepest affliction, whenever they happened to give him any room for discontent.

In this picture that has been given of Alexander, what was wanting to compleat his glory? Military virtue has been exhibited in its utmost splendor: Goodness, clemency, moderation, and wisdom, have crowned it, and added such a lustre, as greatly enhances its value. Let us suppose, that Alexander, to secure his glory and his victories, stops short in his career; that he himself checks his ambition, and raises Darius to the throne, with the same hand that had dispossessed him of it; makes Asia minor, inhabited chiefly by Greeks, free and independent of Persia; that he declares himself protector of all the

cities and states of Greece, in no other view than to secure their liberties, and the enjoyment of their respective laws and customs; that he afterwards returns to Macedon, and there, contented with the lawful bounds of his empire, makes all his glory and delight consist in rendering his people happy, in procuring it abundance of all things, in seeing the laws put in execution, and making justice flourish; in causing virtue to be had in honour, and in endearing himself to his subjects: In fine, that now become, by the terror of his arms, and much more so by the fame of his virtues, the admiration of the whole world, he sees himself, in some measure, the arbiter of all nations, and exercises, over the minds of men, such an empire, as is infinitely more lasting and honourable than that which is founded on fear only: Supposing all this to have happened, Alexander would have been as great, as glorious, as good a prince as ever blessed mankind.

To the forming so great a character, a greatness of soul, and a most refined taste for true glory, are required, such as is seldom met with in history. Men generally do not * consider, that the glory which attends the most shining conquests, is greatly inferior to the reputation of a prince, who has despised and trampled upon ambition, and known how to give bounds to universal power. But Alexander was far from possessing these happy qualities. His uninterrupted felicity, that never experienced adverse fortune, intoxicated and changed him to such a degree, that he no longer appeared the same man; and I do not remember that ever the poison of prosperity had a more sudden or more forcible effect than upon him.

SECOND PART.

From the siege of Tyre, which was soon after the battle of Issus, in which Alexander displayed all the

courage

* Scis ubi vera principis, ubi sempiterna sit gloria---Arcus, & statuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur & obscurat oblivio;

contra, contemptor ambitionis, & infinitæ potentæ domitor ac frenator animus ipsa vetustate florescit. *Plin. in Pan. Trajan.*

courage and abilities of a great warrior, we see the virtues and noble qualities of this prince degenerate on a sudden, and make way for the greatest vices and most brutal passions. If we sometimes, through the excesses to which he abandons himself, perceive some bright rays of humanity, gentleness, and moderation, these are the effects of a happy disposition, which, not being quite extinguished by vice, is however governed by it.

Was ever enterprize more wild and extravagant, than that of crossing the sandy deserts of Libya; of exposing his army to the danger of perishing with thirst and fatigue; of interrupting the course of his victories, and giving his enemy time to raise a new army, merely for the sake of marching so far, in order to get himself named the son of Jupiter Ammon; and purchase, at so dear a rate, a title which could only render him contemptible?

(y) How mean was it in Alexander, to omit always in his letters, after Darius's defeat, the Greek word, which signifies *health**, except in those he wrote to Phocion and Antipater! As if this title, because employed by other men, could have degraded a king, who is obliged by his office to procure, at least to wish, all his subjects, the enjoyment of the felicity implied by that word.

Of all vices, none is so groveling, none so unworthy, not only of a prince, but of a man of honour, as drunkenness; its bare name is intolerable, and strikes us with horror. How infamous a pleasure is it, to spend whole days and nights in carousing, to continue these excesses for weeks together; to pride one's self in exceeding other men in intemperance, and to endanger one's life in no other view than to gain such a victory! Not to mention the infamous enormities that attend these debauches, how greatly shocking is it to hear the frantick discourses of a son, who, being intoxicated with the fumes of wine, industriously strives to defame his father, to fully his glory,

glory, and, lost to all shame, prefer himself to him? Drunkenness is only the occasion, not the cause, of these excesses. It betrays the sentiments of the heart, but does not place them there. Alexander, puffed up by his victories, greedy and insatiable of praise, intoxicated with the mighty idea he entertained of his own merit, jealous of, and despising all mankind, has the power, in his sober moments, to conceal his sentiments; but no sooner is he intoxicated, than he shews himself to be what he really is.

What shall we say of his barbarously murdering an old friend; who, though indiscreet and rash, was yet his friend? Of the death of the most honest man in all his court, whose only crime was his refusing to pay him divine homage? Of the execution of two of his principal officers, who were condemned, though nothing could be proved against them, and on the slightest suspicions?

I pass over a great many other vices, which Alexander, according to most historians, gave into, and which are not to be justified. To speak of him, therefore, only as a warrior and a conqueror; qualities in which he is generally considered, and which have gained him the esteem of all ages and nations; all we now have to do, is, to examine whether this esteem be so well grounded as is generally supposed.

I have already observed, that, to the battle of Issus and the siege of Tyre inclusively, it cannot be denied but that Alexander was a great warrior and an illustrious general. But yet I doubt very much, whether, during these first years of his exploits, he ought to be considered in a more conspicuous light than his father; whose actions, though not so dazzling, are however as much applauded by good judges, and those of the military profession. Philip, at his accession to the throne, found all things unsettled. He himself was obliged to lay the foundations of his own fortune, and was not supported by the least foreign assistance. He raised himself to the power and grandeur to which he afterwards attained. He was ob-
liged

liged to train up, not only his soldiers, but his officers; to instruct them in all the military exercises; to inure them to the fatigues of war; and, to his care and abilities Macedonia owed the rise of the celebrated Phalanx, that is, of the best troops the world had then ever seen, and to which Alexander owed all his conquests. How many obstacles stood in Philip's way, before he could possess himself of the power which Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, had successively exercised over Greece! The Greeks, who were the bravest and most sagacious people in the universe, would not acknowledge him for their chief, till he acquired that title by wading through seas of blood, and by gaining numberless conquests over them. Thus we see, that the way was prepared for Alexander's executing his great design; the plan whereof, and the most excellent instructions relative to it, had been laid down to him by his father. Now, will it not appear a much easier task, to subdue Asia with Grecian armies, than to subject the Greeks who had so often triumphed over Asia?

But, without carrying further the parallel of Alexander with Philip, which all, who do not consider heroes according to the number of provinces they have conquered, but by the intrinsic value of their actions, must give in favour of the latter: What judgment are we to form of Alexander, after his triumph over Darius; and is it possible to propose him, during the latter part of his life, as a model worthy the imitation of those who aspire to the character of great soldiers and illustrious conquerors?

In this enquiry, I shall begin with that which is unanimously agreed, by all the writers on this subject, to be the foundation of the solid glory of a hero; I mean, the justice of the war in which he engages, without which he is not a conqueror and a hero, but an usurper and a robber. Alexander, in making Asia the seat of war, and turning his arms against Darius, had a plausible pretence for it; because the Persians had been in all ages, and were at that time
professed

professed enemies to the Greeks, over whom he had been appointed generalissimo, and whose injuries he therefore might think himself justly entitled to revenge. But then, what right had Alexander over the great number of nations, who did not know even the name of Greece, and had never done him the least injury? The Scythian ambassador spoke very judiciously, when he addressed him in these words: *What have we to do with thee? We never once set our feet in thy country. Are not those who live in woods, allowed to be ignorant of thee, and the place from whence thou comest? Thou boastest, that the only design of thy marching, is to extirpate robbers: Thou thyself art the greatest robber in the world.* This is Alexander's exact character, in which there is nothing to be rejected.

A pirate spake to him to the same effect, and in stronger terms. Alexander asked * him, what right he had to infest the seas? *The same that thou hast,* replied the pirate with a generous liberty, *to infest the universe: But because I do this in a small ship, I am called a robber; and because thou artest the same part with a great fleet, thou art entitled conqueror.* This was a witty and just answer, says (z) St. Austin, who has preserved this small fragment of Cicero.

If therefore it ought to be laid down as a maxim, and no reasonable man can doubt of its being so, that every war, undertaken merely from the view of ambition, is unjust; and that the prince, who begins it, is guilty of all the sad consequences, and all the blood shed on that occasion; what idea ought we to form of Alexander's last conquests? Was ever ambition more extravagant, or rather more furious, than that of this prince? Come † from a little spot

(z) St. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. iv. c. 4.

* Eleganter & veraciter Alexandro illi Magno comprehensus pirata respondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogasset, quid ei videretur ut mare haberet infestum; ille, liberâ continuaciâ: Quod tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia id ego exigu-

navigio facio, latro vocor: quia tu magna classe, imperator. Refert Nonius Marc. ex Cicer. 3. de rep.

† Agebat infelicem Alexandrum furor aliena devastandi, & ad ignota mittebat——Jam in unum regnum multa regna con-jecit:

spot of ground; and forgetting the narrow limits of his paternal domains, after he has far extended his conquests; has subdued, not only the Persians, but also the Bactrians and Indians; has added kingdom to kingdom: After all this, I say, he still finds himself pent up; and determined to force, if possible, the barriers of nature, he endeavours to discover a new world, and does not scruple to sacrifice millions of men to his ambition or curiosity. It is related that * Alexander, upon Anaxarchus the philosopher's telling him that there were an infinite number of worlds, wept to think that it would be impossible for him to conquer them all, since he had not yet conquered one. Is it wrong in † Seneca, to compare these pretended heroes, who have gained renown no otherwise than by the ruin of nations, to a conflagration and a flood, which lay waste and destroy all things; or to wild beasts who live merely by blood and slaughter?

Alexander, ‡ passionately fond of glory, of which he neither knew the nature or just bounds, prided himself

jecit: (or congeffit) jam Græci Persæque eundem timent: jam etiam à Dario liberæ nationes jugum accipiunt. Hic tamen, ultra Oceanum Solemque, indignatur ab Herculis Liberique vestigiis victoriam flectere: ipsi naturæ vim parat---&, ut ita dicam, mundi claustra perrumpit. Tanta est cæcitas mentium, & tanta initiorum suorum oblivio. Ille modo ignobilis anguli non sine controversia Dominus, detecto sine terrarum, per suum rediturus orbem, tristis est. *Senec. Epist. 94. & 119.*

* Alexandro pectus insatiabile laudis, qui Anaxarcho---innumerales Mundos esse referenti; Heu me, inquit, miserum, quod ne uno quidem adhuc potitus sum! Angusta homini possessio gloriæ fuit, quæ Deorum omnium domicilio suffecit. *Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 14.*

† Exilio gentium clari, non

minores fuere pestes mortalium, quàm inundatio---quàm conflagratio. *Senec. Nat. Quæst. lib. iii. in Præfat.*

‡ Homo gloriæ deditus, cujus nec naturam nec modum noverat, Herculis vestigia sequens, ac ne ibi quidem resistens ubi illa defecerant. Quid illi (Herculi) simile habebat vesanus adolescens, cui pro virtute erat scilicet temeritas? Hercules nihil sibi vicit: orbem terrarum transivit, non concupiscendo, sed vindicando. Quid vinceret malorum hostis, bonorum vindex, terrarum marisque pacator? At hic à pueritia latro, gentiumque vastator, tam hostium perniciēs quam amicorum, qui summum bonum duceret terrore esse cunctis mortalibus; oblitus, non ferocissima tantum sed ignavissima quoque animalia timeri ob virus malum. *Senec. de Benef. l. i. c. 13.*

himself upon treading in the steps of Hercules, and even in carrying his victorious arms farther than him. What resemblance was there, says the same Seneca, between that wise conqueror, and this frantick youth, who mistook his successful rashness for merit and virtue? Hercules, in his expeditions, made no conquests for himself. He over-ran the universe as the subduer of monsters, the enemy of the wicked, the avenger of the good, and the restorer of peace by land and sea. Alexander, on the contrary, an unjust robber from his youth, a cruel ravager of provinces, an infamous murderer of his friends, makes his happiness and glory consist in rendering himself formidable to all mortals, forgetting that not only the fiercest animals, but even the vilest, make themselves feared by their poisons.

But, leaving this first consideration, which represents conquerors to us as so many scourges sent by the wrath of heaven into the world to punish the sins of it, let us proceed to examine the last conquests, abstractedly in themselves, of Alexander, in order to see what judgment we are to form of them.

It must be confessed, that the actions of this prince diffuse a splendor that dazzles and astonishes the imagination, which is ever fond of the great and marvellous. His enthusiastick courage raises and transports all who read his history, as it transported himself. But ought we to give the name of bravery and valour to a boldness that is equally blind, rash, and impetuous; a boldness void of all rule, that will never listen to the voice of reason, and has no other guide than a senseless ardour for false glory, and a wild desire of distinguishing itself, be the methods ever so unlawful? This character suits only a military robber, who has no attendants; whose life is only exposed; and who, for that reason, may be employed in some desperate action: But is far otherwise with regard to a king, for he owes his life to all his army and his whole kingdom. If we except some very rare occasions, on which a prince is obliged to venture his person, and

and share the danger with his troops in order to preserve them; he ought to call to mind, that there is a great difference between a general and a private soldier. True valour is not desirous of displaying itself, is no ways anxious about its own reputation, but is solely intent in preserving the army. It steers equally between a fearful wisdom, that foresees and dreads all difficulties, and a brutal ardour, which industriously pursues and confronts dangers of every kind. In a word, to form an accomplished general, prudence must soften and direct the too fiery temper of valour; as this latter must animate and warm the coldness and slowness of prudence.

Do any of these characteristicks suit Alexander? When we peruse history, and follow him to sieges and battles, we are perpetually alarmed for his safety, and that of his army; and conclude every moment that they are upon the point of being destroyed. Here we see a rapid flood, which is going to draw in, and swallow up, this conqueror: There we behold a craggy rock, upon which he climbs, and perceives round him soldiers, either transfixed by the enemy's darts, or thrown headlong by huge stones into precipices. We tremble, when we perceive in a battle the ax just ready to cleave his head; and much more, when we behold him alone in a fortress, whither his rashness had drawn him, exposed to all the javelins of the enemy. Alexander was ever persuaded, that miracles would be wrought in his favour, than which nothing could be more unreasonable, as Plutarch observes; for miracles do not always happen; and the gods at last are weary of guiding and preserving rash mortals, who abuse the assistance they afford them.

(a) Plutarch, in a * treatise where he makes the eulogium of Alexander, and exhibits him as an accomplished hero, gives a long detail of the several wounds he received in every part of his body; and pretends
that

(a) Plut. de fortun. Alex. Orat. II. p. 341.

* This treatise, if written by Plutarch, seems a juvenile performance, and has very much the air of declamation.

that the only design of fortune, in thus piercing him with wounds, was to make his courage more conspicuous. A renowned warrior, whose eulogium Plutarch has drawn in another part of his writings, did not judge in this manner. (b) Some persons applauding him for a wound he had received in battle, the general himself declared, that it was a fault which could be excused only in a young man, and justly deserved censure. It has been observed in Hannibal's praise, and I myself have taken notice of it elsewhere, that he was never wounded * in all his battles. I cannot say, whether Cæsar ever was.

The last observation, which relates in general to all Alexander's expeditions in Asia, must necessarily lessen very much the merit of his victories, and the splendor of his reputation; and this is the genius and character of the nations against whom he fought. Livy, in a digression, where he enquires what would have been the fate of Alexander's arms, in case he had turned them towards Italy; and where he shews that Rome would certainly have checked his conquests, insists strongly on the reflection in question. He opposes to this prince, in the article of courage, a great number of illustrious Romans, who would have resisted him on all occasions; and in the article of prudence, that august senate, which Cyneas, to give a more noble idea of it to Pyrrhus his sovereign, said, was composed of so many kings. "Had he
 " † marched (says Livy) against the Romans, he
 " would soon have found, that he was no longer
 " combating against a Darius, who, encumbered with
 " gold and purple, the vain equipage of his grandeur,

(b) Timotheus. Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

* Mention is made but of one single wound.

† Non jam cum Dario rem esse dixisset, quem mulierum ac spadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque aurum, oneratum fortunæ suæ apparatus, prædam veriùs quàm hostem, nihil aliud quàm bene ausus vana contemne-

re, incruentus devicit. Longè alius Italiæ, quàm Indiæ, per quam temulento agmine commessabundus incessit, visus illi habitus esset, saltus Apuliæ ac montes Lucanos cernenti, & vestigia recentia domesticæ cladis, ubi avunculus ejus nuper, Epiri Rex, Alexander absumptus erat. Liv. l. ix. n. 17.

“deur, and dragging after him a multitude of women and eunuchs, came as a prey rather than as an enemy; and whom Alexander conquered without shedding much blood, and without wanting any other merit, than that of daring to despise what was really contemptible. He would have found Italy very different from India, through which he marched in a riotous manner, his army quite stupified with wine; particularly when he should have seen the forests of Apulia, the mountains of Lucania, and the still recent footsteps of the defeat of Alexander his uncle, king of Epirus, who there lost his life.” The historian adds, that he speaks of Alexander, not yet depraved and corrupted by prosperity, whose subtle poison worked as strongly upon him, as upon any man that ever lived; and he concludes, that being thus transformed, he would have appeared very different in Italy from what he had seemed hitherto.

These reflections of Livy shew, that Alexander partly owed his victories to the weakness of his enemies; and that, had he met with nations as courageous, and as well inured to all the hardships of war as the Romans, and commanded by as able, experienced generals as those of Rome; that then his victories would not have been either so rapid, or so uninterrupted. Nevertheless, with some, from hence we are to judge of the merits of a conqueror. Hannibal and Scipio are considered as two of the greatest generals that ever lived, and for this reason: Both of them not only understood perfectly the military science, but their experience, their abilities, their resolution and courage, were put to the trial, and set in the strongest light. Now, should we give to either of them an unequal antagonist, one whose reputation is not answerable to theirs, we shall no longer have the same idea of them; and their victories, though supposed alike, appear no longer with the same lustre, nor deserve the same applause.

Mankind are but too apt to be dazzled by shining actions, and a pompous exterior, and blindly abandon themselves to prejudices of every kind. It cannot be denied but that Alexander possessed very great qualities; but if we throw into the other scale his errors and vices, the presumptuous * idea he entertained of his merit, the high contempt he had for other men, not excepting his own father; his ardent thirst of praise and flattery; his ridiculous notion of fancying himself the son of Jupiter; of ascribing divinity to himself; of requiring a free, victorious people to pay him a servile homage, and prostrate themselves ignominiously before him; his abandoning himself so shamefully to wine; his violent anger, which rises to brutal ferocity; the unjust and barbarous execution of his bravest and most faithful officers, and the murder of his most worthy friends in the midst of feasts and carousals: Can any one, says Livy, believe, that all these imperfections do not greatly sully the reputation of a conqueror? But Alexander's frantick ambition, which knows neither law nor limits; the rash intrepidity with which he braves dangers, without the least reason or necessity; the weakness and ignorance of the nations (totally unskilled in war) against whom he fought: Do not these enervate the reasons for which he is thought to have merited the surname of Great, and the title of Hero? This however I leave to the prudence and equity of my reader.

As to myself, I am surprized to find that all orators who applaud a prince, never fail to compare him to Alexander. They fancy that when he is once equalled to this king, it is impossible for panegyrick to soar higher: They cannot image to themselves any thing more august; and think they have omitted the

* *Referre in tanto Rege piget superbam mutationem vestis, & desideratas humi jacentium adulationes, etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus; & fœda supplicia, & inter vinum & epulas cædes amicorum, & vani-*

tatem émentiendæ stirpis. Quid si vini amor in dies fieret acrior; quid si trux ac præservida ira: (nec quicquam dubium inter scriptores refero) nullane hæc damna imperatoris virtutibus ducimus! Liv. l. ix. n. 17.

the stroke which finishes the glory of a hero, should they not exalt him by this comparison. In my opinion this denotes a false taste, a wrong turn of thinking; and, if I might be allowed to say it, a want of judgment, which must naturally shock a reasonable mind. For, as Alexander was invested with supreme power, he ought to have fulfilled the several duties of the sovereignty. We do not find that he possessed the first, the most essential, and most excellent virtues of a great prince, which are to be the father, the guardian and shepherd of his people; to govern them by good laws; to make their trade, both by sea and land, flourish; to encourage and protect arts and sciences; to establish peace and plenty, and not suffer his subjects to be in any manner aggrieved or injured; to maintain an agreeable harmony between all orders of the state, and make them conspire, in due proportion, to the publick welfare; to employ himself in doing justice to all his subjects, to hear their disputes, and reconcile them; to consider himself as the father of his people, consequently as obliged to provide for all their necessities, and to procure them the several enjoyments of life. Now Alexander, who almost a moment after he ascended the throne left Macedonia, and never returned back into it, did not endeavour at any of these things, which however are the chief and most substantial duties of a great prince.

He seems possessed of such qualities only as are of the second rank, I mean those of war, and these are all extravagant; are carried to the rashest and most odious excess, and to the extremes of folly and fury; whilst his kingdom is left a prey to the rapine and exactions of Antipater; and all the conquered provinces abandoned to the insatiable avarice of the governors, who carried their oppression so far, that Alexander was forced to put them to death. Nor do his soldiers appear in a more advantageous light: For these, after having plundered the wealth of the East, and after the prince had given them the highest marks of his beneficence, grew so licentious, so de-

bauched and abandoned to vices of every kind, that he was forced to pay their debts, amounting to fifteen hundred thousand pounds. What strange men were these! how depraved their school! how pernicious the fruit of their victories! Is it doing honour to a prince; is it adorning his panegyrick, to compare him with such a model?

The Romans indeed seem to have held Alexander's memory in great veneration; but I very much question, whether, in the virtuous ages of the commonwealth, he would have been considered as so great a man. Cæsar (c) seeing his statue in a temple in Spain, during his government of it, after his prætorship, could not forbear groaning and sighing, when he compared the few glorious actions atchieved by him, to the mighty exploits of this conqueror. It was said, that Pompey, in one of his triumphs, appeared dressed in that king's surtout. Augustus pardoned the Alexandrians, for the sake of their founder. Caligula, in a ceremony in which he assumed the character of a mighty conqueror, wore Alexander's coat of mail. But no one carried his veneration for this monarch so far as Caracalla. He used the same kind of arms and goblets as that prince: He had a Macedonian phalanx in his army: He persecuted the Peripateticks, and would have burnt all the books of Aristotle their founder, because he was suspected to have conspired with those who poisoned Alexander.

I believe that I may justly assert, that if an impartial person of good sense reads Plutarch's lives of illustrious men with attention, they will leave such a tacit and strong impression in his mind, as will make him consider Alexander one of the least valuable among them. But how strong would the contrast be found, had we the lives of Epaminondas, of Hannibal and Scipio, the loss of which can never be too much regretted! How little would Alexander appear, set off with all his titles, and surrounded by all his conquests,

(c) Dion. l. xxxvii. p. 53. App. de Bell. Mithrid. p. 253. Dion. l. li. p. 454. Id. l. lix. p. 653. Id. l. lxxvii. p. 873.

conquests, even if considered in a military light, when compared to those heroes who were truly great, and worthy their exalted reputation !

SECT. XX. *Reflections on the Persians, Greeks, and Macedonians, by Monsieur BOSSUET, bishop of Meaux.*

THE reader will not be displeased with my inserting here, part of the admirable * reflections of the bishop of Meaux, on the character and government of the Persians, Greeks, and Macedonians, whose history we have heard.

The Greek nations, several of whom had at first lived under a monarchical form of government, having studied the arts of civil polity, imagined they were able to govern themselves, and most of their cities formed themselves into commonwealths. But the wise legislators, who arose in every country, as a Thales, a Pythagoras, a Pittacus, a Lycurgus, a Solon, and many others mentioned in history, prevented liberty from degenerating into licentiousness. Laws drawn up with great simplicity, and few in number, awed the people, held them in their duty, and made them all conspire to the general good of the country.

The idea of liberty which such a conduct inspired, was wonderful. For the liberty which the Greeks figured to themselves, was subject to the law, that is, to reason itself, acknowledged as such by the whole nation. They would not let men rise to power among them. Magistrates, who were feared during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. The law was considered as their sovereign ; it was she appointed magistrates, prescribed the limits of their power, and punished their mal-administration. The advantage of this government was, the citizens bore so much the greater love to their country, as all shared in the government of it ; and as every individual was capable of attaining its highest dignities.

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The advantage which accrued to Greece from philosophy, with regard to the preservation of its form of government, is incredible. The greater freedom these nations enjoyed, the greater necessity there was to settle the laws relating to manners and those of society, agreeable to reason and good sense. From Pythagoras, Thales, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Archytas, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and a multitude more, the Greeks received their noble precepts.

But why should we mention philosophers only? The writings of even the poets, which were in everybody's hands, diverted them very much, but instructed them still more. The most renowned of conquerors considered Homer as a master, who taught him to govern wisely. This great poet instructed people, no less happily, in obedience, and the duties of a good citizen.

When the Greeks, thus educated, saw the delicacy of the Asiatics; their dress and beauty, emulating that of women, they held them in the utmost contempt. But their form of government, that had no other rule than their prince's will, which took place of all laws, not excepting the most sacred, inspired them with horror; and the Barbarians were the most hateful objects to Greece.

(d) The Greeks had imbibed this hatred in the most early times, and it was become almost natural to them. A circumstance which made these nations delight so much in Homer's poems, was his celebrating the advantages and victories of Greece over Asia. On the side of Asia was Venus, that is to say, the pleasures, the idle loves, and effeminacy: On that of Greece was Juno, or, in other words, gravity with conjugal affection, Mercury with eloquence, and Jupiter with wise policy. With the Asiatics was Mars, an impetuous and brutal deity, that is to say, war carried on with fury: With the Greeks Pallas, or, in other words, the science of war and valour, conducted by reason. The Grecians, from this time, had

had ever imagined, that understanding and true bravery were natural as well as peculiar to them. They could not bear the thoughts of Asia's design to conquer them; and in bowing to this yoke, they would have thought they had subjected virtue to pleasure, the mind to the body, and true courage to force without reason, which consisted merely in numbers.

The Greeks were strongly inspired with these sentiments, when Darius, son of Hytaspes, and Xerxes invaded them with armies so prodigiously numerous as exceeds all belief. The Persians found often, to their cost, the great advantage which discipline has over multitude and confusion; and how greatly superior courage (when conducted by art) is to a blind impetuosity.

Persia, after having been so often conquered by the Greeks, had nothing to do but to sow divisions among them; and the height to which conquest had raised the latter, facilitated this effect. (e) As fear held them in the bands of union, victory and security dissolved them. Having always been used to fight and conquer, they no sooner believed that the power of the Persians could not distress them, but they turned their arms against each other.

Among the several republicks of which Greece was composed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the chief. These two great commonwealths, whose manners and conduct were directly opposite, perplexed and incommoded one another, in the common design they had of subjecting all Greece; so that they were eternally at variance, and this more from a contrariety of interests, than an opposition of tempers and dispositions.

The Grecian cities would not subject themselves to either: For besides that every one of them desired to live free and independent, they were not pleased with the government of either of those two commonwealths. We have shewn, in the course of this history, that the Peloponnesian, and other wars,

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were

(e) Plat. de Leg. l. iii,

were either owing to, or supported by, the reciprocal jealousy of Lacedæmonia and Athens. But at the same time that this jealousy disturbed, it supported Greece in some measure; and kept it from being dependent on either of those republicks.

The Persians soon perceived this state and condition of Greece; after which, the whole secret of their politicks was to keep up these jealousies, and foment these divisions. Lacedæmonia, being the most ambitious, was the first that made them engage in the Grecian quarrels. The Persians took part in them, with a view of subjecting the whole nation; and industrious to make the Greeks weaken one another, they only waited for the favourable instant to crush them all together. (f) And now the cities of Greece considered, in their wars, only the king of Persia; whom they called the great king, or the king, by way of eminence, as if they already thought themselves his subjects. However, when Greece was upon the brink of slavery, and ready to fall into the hands of the Barbarians, it was impossible for the genius, the ancient spirit of the country, not to rouse and take the alarm. Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmonia, made the Persians tremble in Asia minor, and shewed that they might be humbled. Their weakness was still more evident, by the glorious retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, who had followed the younger Cyrus.

It was then that all Greece saw, more plainly than ever, that it possessed an invincible body of soldiery, which was able to subdue all nations; and that nothing but its feuds and divisions could subject it to an enemy, who was too weak to resist it when united.

Philip of Macedon, a prince whose abilities were equal to his valour, took so great advantage of the divisions which reigned between the various cities and commonwealths, that though his kingdom was but small, yet, as it was united, and his power absolute, he at last, partly by artifice, and partly by strength,
rose

(f) Plat. de Leg. l. iii. Isocrat. in Paneg.

rose to greater power than any of the Grecian states, and obliged them all to march under his standards against the common enemy. This was the state of Greece when Philip lost his life; and Alexander his son succeeded to his kingdom and to the designs he had projected.

The Macedonians, at his accession, were not only well disciplined and inured to toils, but triumphant; and become, by so many successes, almost as much superior to the other Greeks in valour and discipline, as the rest of the Greeks were superior to the Persians, and to such nations as resembled them.

Darius, who reigned over Persia in Alexander's time, was a just, brave, and generous prince; was beloved by his subjects, and wanted neither good sense, nor vigour, for the execution of his designs. But, if we compare them; if we oppose the genius of Darius, to the penetrating, sublime one of Alexander; the valour of the former, to the mighty, invincible courage (which obstacles animated) of the latter; with that boundless desire of Alexander, of augmenting his glory, and his entire belief that all things ought to bow the neck to him, as being formed by Providence superior to the rest of mortals; a belief with which he inspired, not only his generals, but the meanest of his soldiers, who thereby rose above difficulties, and even above themselves: The reader will easily judge which of the monarchs was to be victorious.

If to these considerations we add the advantages which the Greeks and Macedonians had over their enemies, it must be confessed, that it was impossible for the Persian empire to subsist any longer, when invaded by so great a hero, and by such invincible armies. And thus we discover, at one and the same time, the circumstance which ruined the empire of the Persians, and raised that of Alexander.

To smooth his way to victory, the Persians happened to lose the only general who was able to make head against the Greeks, and this was Memnon of Rhodes.

So long as Alexander fought against this illustrious warrior, he might glory in having vanquished an enemy worthy of himself. But in the very infancy of a diversion, which began already to divide Greece, Memnon died, after which Alexander obliged all things to give way before him.

This prince made his entrance into Babylon, with a splendor and magnificence which had never been seen before; and, after having revenged Greece; after subduing, with incredible swiftness, all the nations subject to Persia; to secure his new empire on every side, or rather to satiate his ambition, and render his name more famous than that of Bacchus, he marched into India, and there extended his conquests further than that celebrated conqueror had done. But the monarch, whose impetuous career neither deserts, rivers, nor mountains could stop, was obliged to yield to the murmurs of his soldiers, who called aloud for ease and repose.

Alexander returned to Babylon, dreaded and respected, not as a conqueror, but as a god. Nevertheless, the formidable empire he had acquired, subsisted no longer than his life, which was but short. At thirty-three years of age, in the midst of the grandest designs that ever man formed, and flushed with the surest hopes of success, he died, before he had leisure to settle his affairs on a solid foundation; leaving behind him a weak brother, and children very young, all incapable of supporting the weight of such a power.

But the circumstance, which proved most fatal to his family and empire, was, his having taught the generals who survived him, to breathe nothing but ambition and war. He foresaw the prodigious lengths they would go after his death. To curb their ambitious views, and for fear of mistaking in his conjectures, he did not dare to name his successor, or the guardian of his children. He only foretold, that his friends would solemnize his obsequies with bloody battles; and he expired in the flower of his age, full
of

of the sad images of the confusion which would follow his death.

And, indeed, Macedonia, the kingdom he inherited, which his ancestors had governed during so many ages, was invaded on all sides, as a succession that was become vacant; and after being long exposed a prey, was at last possessed by another family. Thus this great conqueror, the most renowned the world ever saw, was the last king of his family. Had he lived peaceably in Macedon, the vast bounds of his empire would not have proved a temptation to his generals; and he would have left to his children the kingdom he inherited from his ancestors. But, rising to too exalted an height of power, he proved the destruction of his posterity; and such was the glorious fruit of all his conquests.

BOOK THE SIXTEENTH.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

Alexander's Successors.

C H A P. I.

SECT. I. *Troubles which followed the death of ALEXANDER. The partition of the provinces among the generals. ARIDÆUS elected king. PERDICCAS appointed his guardian, and regent of the empire.*

IN relating the death of Alexander the Great, I mentioned the many troubles and commotions that arose in the army on the first news of that event. All the troops in general, soldiers as well as officers, had their thoughts entirely taken up, at first, with the loss of a prince whom they loved as a father, and revered almost as a god, and abandoned themselves immoderately to grief and tears. A mournful silence reigned throughout the camp; but this was soon succeeded by dismal sighs and cries, which speak the true language of the heart, and never flow from a vain ostentation of sorrow, which is too often paid to custom and decorum on such occasions*.

When the first impressions of grief had given place to reflection, they began to consider, with the utmost consternation,

* *Passim silentia et gemitus; nihil compositum in ostentationem altius mœrebant, Tacit.*

consternation, the state in which the death of Alexander had left him. They found themselves at an infinite distance from their native country, and amidst a people lately subdued, so little accustomed to their new yoke, that they were hardly acquainted with their present masters, and had not as yet had sufficient time to forget their ancient laws, and that form of government under which they had always lived. What measures could be taken to keep a country of such vast extent in subjection? How could it be possible to suppress those seditions and revolts which would naturally break out on all sides in that decisive moment? What expedients could be formed to restrain those troops within the limits of their duty, who had so long been habituated to complaints and murmurs, and were commanded by chiefs, whose views and pretensions were so different?

The only remedy for these various calamities seemed to consist in a speedy nomination of a successor to Alexander; and the troops, as well as the officers, and the whole Macedonian state, seemed at first to be very desirous of this expedient: And, indeed, their common interest and security, with the preservation of their new conquests, amidst the barbarous nations that surrounded them, made it necessary for them to consider this election as their first and most important care, and to turn their thoughts to the choice of a person qualified to fill so arduous a station, and sustain the weight of it in such a manner as to be capable of supporting the general order and tranquillity. But it had already been written, (a) *That the kingdom of Alexander should be divided and rent asunder after his death*, and that it should not be transmitted in the usual manner to his posterity. No efforts of human wisdom could establish a sole successor to that prince. In vain did they deliberate, consult, and decide (b); nothing could be executed contrary to the pre-ordained event, and nothing short of it could possibly subsist. A superior and invisible power had already disposed of the kingdom,

(a) Dan. xi. 4.

(b) Non erit, non stabit, non fiet. *Isai.*

kingdom, and divided it by an inevitable decree, as will be evident in the sequel. The circumstances of this partition had been denounced near three centuries before this time; the portions of it had already been assigned to different possessors, and nothing could frustrate that division, which was only to be deferred for a few years. Till the arrival of that period, men indeed might raise commotions, and concert a variety of movements; but all their efforts would only tend to the accomplishment of what had been ordained by the sovereign master of kingdoms, and of what had been foretold by his prophet.

Alexander had a son by Barsina, and had conferred the name of Hercules upon him. Roxana, another of his wives, was advanced in her pregnancy when that prince died. He had likewise a natural brother, called Aridæus; but he would not upon his death-bed dispose of his dominions in favour of any heir; for which reason this vast empire, which no longer had a master to sway it, became a source of competition and wars, as Alexander had plainly foreseen, when he declared, that his friends would celebrate his funeral with bloody battles.

The division was augmented by the equality among the generals of the army, none of whom was so superior to his colleagues, either by birth or merit, as to induce them to offer him the empire, and submit to his authority. The cavalry were desirous that Aridæus should succeed Alexander. This prince had discovered but little force of mind from the time he had been afflicted in his infancy with a violent indisposition, occasioned, as was pretended, by some particular drink, which had been given him by Olympias, and which had disordered his understanding. This ambitious princess being apprehensive that the engaging qualities she discovered in Aridæus, would be so many obstacles to the greatness of her son Alexander, thought it expedient to have recourse to the criminal precaution already mentioned. The infantry had declared against this prince, and were headed
by

by Ptolemy, and other chiefs of great reputation, who began to think of their own particular establishment. For a sudden revolution was working in the minds of these officers, and caused them to condemn the rank of private persons, and all dependency and subordination, with a view of aspiring to sovereign power, which had never employed their thoughts till then, and to which they never thought themselves qualified to pretend, before this conjuncture of affairs.

(c) These disputes, which engaged the minds of all parties, delayed the interment of Alexander for the space of seven days; and, if we may credit some authors, the body continued uncorrupted all that time. It was afterwards delivered to the Egyptians and Chaldeans, who embalmed it after their manner; and Aridæus, a different person from him I have already mentioned, was charged with the care of conveying it to Alexandria.

After a variety of troubles and agitations had intervened, the principal officers assembled at a conference; where it was unanimously concluded, that Aridæus should be king, or rather, that he should be invested with the shadow of royalty. The infirmity of mind, which ought to have excluded him from the throne, was the very motive of their advancing him to it, and united all suffrages in his favour. It favoured the hopes and pretensions of all the chiefs, and covered their designs. It was also agreed in this assembly, that if Roxana, who was then in the fifth or sixth month of her pregnancy, should have a son, he should be associated with Aridæus in the throne. Perdicas, to whom Alexander had left his ring, in the last moments of his life, had the person of the prince consigned to his care as a guardian, and was constituted regent of the kingdom.

The same assembly, whatever respect they might bear to the memory of Alexander, thought fit to annul some of his regulations, which had been destructive to the state, and had exhausted his treasury. He
had

(c) Q. Curt. l. x. Justin. l. xiii. Diod. l. xviii.

had given orders for six temples to be erected in particular cities which he had named, and had fixed the expences of each of these structures at five hundred talents, which amounted to five hundred thousand crowns. He had likewise ordered a pyramid to be raised over the tomb of his father Philip, which was to be finished with a grandeur and magnificence equal to that in Egypt, esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world. He had likewise planned out other expences of the like kind, which were prudently revoked by the assembly.

(*d*) Within a short time after these proceedings, Roxana was delivered of a son, who was named Alexander, and acknowledged king, jointly with Ari-dæus. But neither of these princes possessed any thing more than the name of royalty, as all authority was entirely lodged in the great lords and generals, who had divided the provinces among themselves.

In Europe; Thrace and the adjacent regions were assigned to Lyfimachus; and Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece, were allotted to Antipater and Craterus.

In Africa; Egypt, and the other conquests of Alexander in Libya and Cyrenaica, were assigned to Ptolemy the son of Lagus, with that part of Arabia which borders on Egypt. The month of Thoth in the autumn is the epocha, from whence the years of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt begin to be computed; though Ptolemy did not assume the title of king, in conjunction with the other successors of Alexander, till about seventeen years after this event.

In the lesser Asia; Lycia, Pamphylia, and the greater Phrygia, were given to Antigonus; Caria, to Cassander; Lydia, to Menander; the lesser Phrygia, to Leonatus; Armenia, to Neoptolemus; Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, to Eumenes. These two provinces had never been subjected by the Macedonians, and Ariarathes king of Cappadocia continued to govern them

(*d*) Diod. l. xviii. p. 587, 588. Justin. l. xiii. c. 4. Q. Curt. l. x. c. 10.

them as formerly; Alexander having advanced with so much rapidity to his other conquests, as left him no inclination to amuse himself with the entire reduction of that province, and contented himself with a slight submission.

Syria and Phœnicia fell to Laomedon; one of the two Medias to Atropates, and the other to Perdiccas. Persia was assigned to Peucestes; Babylonia, to Archon; Mesopotamia, to Arcesilas; Parthia and Hyrcania, to Phrataphernes; Bactria and Sogdiana, to Philip; the other regions were divided among generals whose names are now but little known.

Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, was placed at the head of the cavalry of the allies, which was a post of great importance; and Cassander, the son of Antipater, commanded the companies of guards.

The upper Asia, which extends almost to India, and even India also, were left in the possession of those who had been appointed governors of those countries by Alexander.

(e) The same disposition generally prevailed in all the provinces I have already mentioned; and it is in this sense that most interpreters explain that passage in the Maccabees, which declares, that Alexander having assembled the great men of his court who had been bred up with him, divided his kingdom among them in his life-time. And indeed it was very probable, that this prince, when he saw his death approaching, and had no inclination to nominate a successor himself, was contented with confirming each of his officers in the governments he had formerly assigned them; which is sufficient to authorise the declaration in the Maccabees, *That he divided his kingdom among them whilst he was living.*

This partition was only the work of man, and its duration was but short. That being, who reigns alone, and is the only king of ages, had decreed a different distribution. He assigned to each his portion,

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and

and marked out its boundaries and extent, and his disposition alone was to subsist.

The partition concluded upon in the assembly, was the source of various divisions and wars, as will be evident in the series of this history. Each of these governors claiming the exercise of an independent and sovereign power in his particular province. (f) They however paid that veneration to the memory of Alexander, as not to assume the title of king, till all the race of that monarch, who had been placed upon the throne, were extinct.

Among the governors of the provinces I have mentioned, some distinguished themselves more than others by their reputation, merit, and cabals; and formed different parties, to which the others adhered, agreeably to their particular views, either of interest or ambition. For it is not to be imagined, that the resolutions which are formed in conjunctures of this nature, are much influenced by a devotion to the public good.

(g) Eumenes must however be excepted; for he undoubtedly was the most virtuous man among all the governors, and had no superior in true bravery. He was always firm in the interest of the two kings, from a principle of true probity. He was a native of Cardia, a city of Thrace, and his birth was but obscure. Philip, who had observed excellent qualities in him in his youth, kept him near his own person in the quality of secretary, and reposed great confidence in him. He was equally esteemed by Alexander, who treated him with extraordinary marks of his esteem. Barsina, the first lady for whom this prince had entertained a passion in Asia, and by whom he had a son named Hercules, had a sister of the same name with her own, and the king espoused her to Eumenes*. We shall see by the event, that this wise favourite conducted himself in such a manner as justly.

(f) Justin. l. xv. c. 2.
Nep. in Eumen. c. i.

(g) Plut. in Eumen. p. 583. Corn.

* Arrian declares he had another wife, l. vii. p. 278.

justly entitled him to the favour of those two princes, even after their death; and all his sentiments and actions will make it evident that a man may be a plebeian by birth, and yet very noble by nature.

(b) I have already intimated, that Syfigambis, who had patiently supported the death of her father, husband, and son, was incapable of surviving Alexander. (i) The death of this princess was soon followed by that of her two youngest daughters, Statira the widow of Alexander, and Drypetis the relict of Hephæstion. Roxana, who was apprehensive lest Statira should be pregnant by Alexander as well as herself, and that the birth of a prince would frustrate the measures which had been taken to secure the succession to the son she hoped to have, prevailed upon the two sisters to visit her, and secretly destroyed them in concert with Perdiccas, her only confidant in that impious proceeding.

It is now time to enter upon a detail of those actions that were performed by the successors of Alexander. I shall therefore begin with the defection of the Greeks in upper Asia, and with the war which Antipater had to sustain against Greece; because those transactions are most detached, and in a manner distinct from the other events.

SECT. II. *The revolt of the Greeks in upper Asia. The impressions occasioned by the news of ALEXANDER's death at Athens. The expedition of ANTIPATER into Greece. He is first defeated, and afterwards victorious. Makes himself master of Athens, and leaves a garrison there. The flight and death of DEMOSTHENES.*

THE Greeks (a), whom Alexander had established, in the form of colonies, in the provinces of upper Asia, continued with reluctance in those settlements, because they did not experience those delights and satisfactions with which they had flattered themselves, and had long cherished an ardent desire of re-
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turning

(b) Q. Curt. l. x. c. 5. (i) Plut. in Alex. (a) Diod. l. xviii. p. 591, 592.

turning into their own country. They however durst not discover their uneasiness whilst Alexander was living, but the moment they received intelligence of his death, they openly declared their intentions. They armed twenty thousand foot, all warlike and experienced soldiers, with three thousand horse; and having placed Philon at their head, they prepared for their departure, without taking counsel, or receiving orders from any but themselves, as if they had been subject to no authority, and no longer acknowledged any superior.

Perdiccas, who foresaw the consequences of such an enterprize, at a time when every thing was in motion, and when the troops, as well as their officers, breathed nothing but independency, sent Pithon to oppose them. The merit of this officer was acknowledged by all; and he willingly charged himself with this commission, in expectation of gaining over those Greeks, and of procuring himself some considerable establishment in upper Asia by their means. Perdiccas, being acquainted with his design, gave a very surprising order to the Macedonians whom he sent with that general, which was to exterminate the revolters entirely. Pithon, on his arrival, brought over, by money, three thousand Greeks, who turned their backs in the battle, and were the occasion of his obtaining a compleat victory. The vanquished troops surrendered, but made the preservation of their lives and liberties the condition of their submitting to the conqueror. This was exactly agreeable to Pithon's design, but he was no longer master of its execution. The Macedonians, thinking it incumbent on them to accomplish the orders of Perdiccas, inhumanly slaughtered all the Greeks, without the least regard to the terms they had granted them. Pithon being thus defeated in his views, returned with his Macedonians to Perdiccas.

(b) This expedition was soon succeeded by the Grecian war. The news of Alexander's death being brought

brought to Athens, had excited great rumours, and occasioned a joy that was almost universal. The people, who had long sustained with reluctance the yoke which the Macedonians had imposed on Greece, made liberty the subject of all their discourse: They breathed nothing but war, and abandoned themselves to all the extravagant emotions of a senseless and excessive joy. Phocion, who was a person of wisdom and moderation, and doubted the truth of the intelligence they had received, endeavoured to calm the turbulence of their minds, which rendered them incapable of counsel and sedate reflection. As the generality of the orators, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, believed the news of Alexander's death, Phocion rose up, and expressed himself in this manner: "If he be really dead to-day, he will likewise be so to-morrow and the next day, so that we shall have time enough to deliberate in a calm manner, and with greater security."

Leosthenes, who was the first that published this account at Athens, was continually haranguing the people with excessive arrogance and vanity. Phocion, who was tired with his speeches, said to him, "Young man, your discourse resembles the cypress, which is tall and spreading, but bears no fruit." He gave great offence, by opposing the inclinations of the people in so strenuous a manner, and Hyperides, rising up, asked him this question; "When would you advise the Athenians to make war?" "As soon," replied Phocion, "as I see the young men firmly resolved to observe a strict discipline; the rich disposed to contribute, according to their abilities, to the expence of a war; and when the orators no longer rob the publick."

All the remonstrances of Phocion were ineffectual; a war was resolved upon, and a deputation agreed to be sent to all the states of Greece, to engage their accession to the league. This is the war in which all the Greeks, except the Thebans, united to maintain the liberty of their country, under the conduct of

Leosthenes, against Antipater, and it was called the Lamian war, from the name of a city where the latter was defeated in the first battle.

(c) Demosthenes, who was then in exile at Megara, but who amidst his misfortunes always retained an ardent zeal for the interest of his country, and the defence of the common liberty, joined himself with the Athenian ambassadors sent into Peloponnesus, and having seconded their remonstrances in a wonderful manner by the force of his eloquence, he engaged Sicyone, Argos, Corinth, and the other cities of Peloponnesus, to accede to the league.

The Athenians were struck with admiration at a zeal so noble and generous, and immediately passed a decree to recall him from banishment. A galley with three ranks of oars was dispatched to him at Ægina; and, when he entered the port of Piræus, all the magistrates and priests advanced out of the city, and all the citizens crowded to meet that illustrious exile, and received him with the utmost demonstrations of affection and joy, blended at the same time with an air of sorrow and repentance, for the injury they had done him. Demosthenes was sensibly affected with the extraordinary honours that were rendered him; and whilst he returned, as it were in triumph, to his country, amidst the acclamations of the people, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, to thank the gods for so illustrious a protection, and congratulated himself on beholding a day more glorious to him, than that had proved to Alcibiades, on which he returned from his exile. For his citizens received him from the pure effect of desire and will; whereas the reception of Alcibiades was involuntary, and his entrance a compulsion upon their inclinations.

(d) The generality of those who were far advanced in years, were extremely apprehensive of the event of a war, which had been undertaken with too much precipitation, and without examining into the consequences

(c) Plut. in Demost. p. 838. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 5. (d) Diod. l. xviii. p. 594---599.

quences with all the attention and sedateness that an enterprize of so much importance required. They were sensible also, that there was no necessity for declaring themselves so openly against the Macedonians, whose veteran troops were very formidable; and the example of Thebes, which was destroyed by the same temerity of conduct, added to their consternation. But the orators, who derived their advantages from the distraction of the publick affairs, and to whom, according to the observation of Philip, war was peace, and peace war, would not allow the people time to deliberate maturely on the affairs proposed to their consideration, but drew them into their sentiments by a fallacious eloquence, which presented them with nothing but scenes of future conquest and triumphs.

Demosthenes and Phocion, who wanted neither zeal nor prudence, were of different sentiments on this occasion, which was no extraordinary circumstance with respect to them. It is not my province to determine which of them had reason on his side: But, in such a perplexing conjuncture as this, there is nothing surprising in a contrariety of opinions, though the result of good intentions on both sides. Phocion's scheme was, perhaps, the most prudent, and that of Demosthenes the most glorious.

However that were, a considerable army was raised, and a very numerous fleet fitted out. All the citizens who were under the age of forty, and capable of bearing arms, were drawn out. Three of the ten tribes that composed the republick were left for the defence of Attica, the rest marched out with the rest of the allies, under the command of Leosthenes.

Antipater was far from being indolent during these transactions in Greece, of which he had been apprised, and he had sent to Leonatus in Phrygia, and to Craterus in Cilicia, to solicit their assistance; but before the arrival of the expected succours, he marched at the head of only thirteen thousand Macedonians and six hundred horse; the frequent recruits which he had

sent Alexander, having left him no more troops in all the country.

It is surprising that Antipater should attempt to give battle to the united forces of all Greece with such a handful of men; but he undoubtedly imagined, that the Greeks were no longer actuated by their ancient zeal and ardour for liberty, and that they ceased to consider it as such an inestimable advantage, as ought to inspire them with a resolution to venture their lives and fortunes for its preservation. He flattered himself that they had begun to familiarise themselves with subjection; and indeed this was the disposition of the Greeks at that time; in whom appeared no longer the descendants of those who had so gallantly sustained all the efforts of the East, and fought a million of men for the preservation of their freedom.

Antipater advanced towards Theffaly, and was followed by his fleet which cruized along the sea-coasts. It consisted of one hundred and ten *triremes*, or galleys of three benches of oars. The Theffalians declared at first in his favour; but having afterwards changed their sentiments, they joined the Athenians, and supplied them with a great body of horse.

As the army of the Athenians and their allies was much more numerous than that of the Macedonians, Antipater could not support the charge, and was defeated in the first battle. As he durst not hazard a second, and was in no condition to make a safe retreat into Macedonia, he shut himself up in Lamia, a small city in Theffaly, in order to wait for the succours that were to be transmitted to him from Asia, and he fortified himself in that place, which was soon besieged by the Athenians.

The assault was carried on with great bravery against the town, and the resistance was equally vigorous. Leosthenes, after several attempts, despairing to carry it by force, changed the siege into a blockade, in order to conquer the place by famine. He surrounded it with a wall of circumvallation, and a very deep ditch, and by these means cut off all supplies of provision.

provision. The city soon became sensible of the growing scarcity, and the besieged began to be seriously disposed to surrender; when Leosthenes, in a sally they made upon him, received a considerable wound, which rendered it necessary for him to be carried to his tent. Upon which the command of the army was consigned to Antiphilus, who was equally esteemed by the troops for his valour and ability.

(e) Leonatus, in the mean time, was marching to the assistance of the Macedonians besieged in Lamia; and was commissioned, as well as Antigonus, by an agreement made between the generals, to establish Eumenes in Cappadocia by force of arms; but they took other measures, in consequence of some particular views. Leonatus, who reposed an entire confidence in Eumenes, declared to him at parting, that the engagement to assist Antipater was a mere pretext, and that his real intention was to advance into Greece, in order to make himself master of Macedonia. He at the same time shewed him letters from Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, who invited him to come to Pella, and promised to espouse him. Leonatus being arrived within a little distance of Lamia, marched directly to the enemy, with twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. Prosperity had introduced disorders in the Grecian army; several parties of soldiers drew off, and retired into their own country on various pretexts, which greatly diminished the number of the troops, who were now reduced to twenty-two thousand foot. The cavalry amounted to three thousand five hundred, two thousand of whom were Thessalians; and as they constituted the main strength of the army, so all hopes of success were founded in them; and accordingly, when the battle was fought, this body of horse had the greatest share in the victory that was obtained. They were commanded by Menon. Leonatus, covered with wounds, lost his life in the field of battle, and was conveyed into the camp by his troops. The Macedonian

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donian phalanx greatly dreaded the shock of the cavalry, and had therefore retreated to eminences inaccessible to the pursuit of the Theſſalians. The Greeks, having carried off their dead, erected a trophy, and retired.

(f) The whole conversation at Athens turned upon the glorious exploits of Leosthenes, who survived his honours but a short time. An universal joy spread through the city, festivals were celebrated, and sacrifices offered without intermission, to testify their gratitude to the gods for all the advantages they had obtained. The enemies of Phocion thinking to mortify him in the most sensible manner, and reduce him to an incapacity of justifying his constant opposition to that war, asked him, if he would not have rejoiced to have performed so many glorious actions? “Undoubtedly I would,” replied Phocion; “but I would not, at the same time, have neglected to offer the advice I gave*.” He did not think, that a judgment ought to be formed of any particular counsel from mere success, but rather from the nature and solidity of the counsel itself; and he did not retract his sentiments, because those of an opposite nature had been successful, which only proved the latter more fortunate, but not more judicious. And as these agreeable advices came thick upon each other, Phocion, who was apprehensive of the sequel, cried out, *When shall we cease to conquer then?*

Antipater was obliged to surrender by capitulation, but history has not transmitted to us the conditions of the treaty. The event only makes it evident, that Leosthenes compelled him to surrender at discretion, and he himself died a few days after of the wounds he had received at the siege. Antipater having quitted Lamia the day after the battle, for he seems to have been favourably treated, joined the remains of the army of Leonatus, and took upon him the command of

(f) Plut. in Phoc. p. 752.

* Non damnavit quod recte cius hoc existimans, illud etiam viderat, quia, quod alius male sapientius. *Fal. Max. lib. iii. consulerat, bene cesserat: felici- cap. 8.*

of those troops. He was extremely cautious of hazarding a second battle, and kept with his troops, like a judicious and experienced general, on eminences inaccessible to the enemy's cavalry. Antiphilus, the general of the Greeks, remained with his troops in Thessaly, and contented himself with observing the motions of Antipater.

Clitus, who commanded the Macedonian fleet, obtained, much about the same time, two victories, near the islands of Echinades, over Eetion the admiral of the Athenian navy.

(g) Craterus, who had been long expected, arrived at last in Thessaly, and halted at the river Peneus. He resigned the command to Antipater, and was contented to serve under him. The troops he had brought thither amounted, in conjunction with those of Leonatus, to above forty thousand foot, three thousand archers or slingers, and five thousand horse. The army of the allies was much inferior to these troops in number, and consisted of no more than twenty-five thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse. Military discipline had been much neglected among them, after the victories they had obtained. A considerable battle was fought near Cranon, in which the Greeks were defeated; they however lost but few troops, and even that disadvantage was occasioned by the licentious conduct of the soldiers, and the small authority of the chiefs, who were incapable of enforcing obedience to their commands.

Antiphilus and Menon, the two generals of the Grecian army, assembled a council the next day, to deliberate, whether they should wait the return of those troops who had retired into their own country, or propose terms of accommodation to the enemy. The council declared in favour of the latter; upon which deputies were immediately dispatched to the enemy's camp in the name of all the allies. Antipater replied, that he would enter into a separate treaty with each of the cities, persuading himself that he should

should facilitate the accomplishment of his designs by this proceeding; and he was not deceived in his opinion. His answer broke off the negotiation; and the moment he presented himself before the cities of the allies, they disbanded their troops, and surrendered up their liberties in the most pusillanimous manner, each city being solely attentive to its separate advantage.

This circumstance is a sufficient confirmation of what I have formerly observed with relation to the present disposition of the people of Greece. They were no longer animated with the noble zeal of those ancient asserters of liberty, who devoted their whole attention to the good of the publick, and the glory of the nation; who considered the danger of their neighbours and allies as their own, and marched with the utmost expedition to their assistance upon the first signal of their distress. Whereas now, if a formidable enemy appeared at the gates of Athens, all the republicks of Greece had neither activity nor vigour; Peloponnesus continued without motion, and Sparta was as little heard of as if she had never subsisted. Unhappy effects of the mutual jealousy which those people had conceived against each other, and of their disregard to the common liberty, in consequence of a fatal lethargy, into which they were sunk amidst the greatest dangers! These are symptoms which prognosticate and prepare the way for approaching decline and ruin.

(*b*) Antipater improved this desertion to his own advantage, and marched immediately to Athens, which saw herself abandoned by all her allies, and consequently in no condition to defend herself against a potent and victorious enemy. Before he entered the city, Demosthenes, and all those of his party, who may be considered as the last true Greeks, and the defenders of expiring liberty, retired from that place; and the people, in order to transfer upon those great men the reproach resulting from their declaration

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tion of war against Antipater, and likewise to obtain his good graces, condemned them to die by a decree which Demades prepared. The reader has not forgot, that these are the same people who had lately recalled Demosthenes by a decree so much for his honour, and had received him in triumph.

The same Demades procured a second decree for sending ambassadors to Antipater, who was then at Thebes, and that they should be invested with full powers to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. Phocion himself was at their head; and the conqueror declared, that he expected the Athenians should entirely submit the terms to his regulation, in the manner as he himself had acted, when he was besieged in the city of Lamia, and had conformed to the capitulation imposed upon him by Leosthenes their general.

Phocion returned to acquaint the Athenians with this answer, and they were compelled to acquiesce in the conditions, as rigid as they might appear. He then came back to Thebes with the rest of the ambassadors, with whom Xenocrates had been associated, in hopes that the appearance alone of so celebrated a philosopher would inspire Antipater with respect, and induce him to pay homage to his virtue. But surely they must have been little acquainted with the heart of man, and particularly with the violent and inhuman disposition of Antipater, to be capable of flattering themselves, that an enemy, with whom they had been engaged in an open war, would renounce his advantage through any inducement of respect for the virtue of a single man, or in consequence of an harangue uttered by a philosopher, who had declared against him. Antipater would not even condescend to cast his eyes upon him; and when he was preparing to enter upon the conference, for he was commissioned to be the speaker on this occasion, he interrupted him in a very abrupt manner; and perceiving that he continued his discourse, commanded him to be silent. But he did not treat Phocion in the same manner;

manner; for after he had attended to his discourse, he replied, “ That he was disposed to contract a
 “ friendship and alliance with the Athenians on the
 “ following conditions : They should deliver up De-
 “ mosthenes and Hyperides to him ; the government
 “ should be restored to its ancient plan, by which all
 “ employments in the state were to be conferred upon
 “ the rich ; that they should receive a garrison in the
 “ port of Munychia ; that they should defray all the
 “ expences of the war, and also a large sum, the
 “ amount of which should be settled.” Thus, according to Diodorus, none but those whose yearly income exceeded two thousand drachmas, were to be admitted into any share of the government for the future, or to have any right to vote. Antipater intended to make himself absolute master of Athens by this regulation, being very sensible, that the rich men who enjoyed publick employments, and had large revenues, would become his dependants much more effectually than a poor and despicable populace, who had nothing to lose, and would be only guided by their own caprice.

All the ambassadors but Xenocrates were well contented with these conditions, which they thought were very moderate, considering their present situation ; but that philosopher judged otherwise. *They are very moderate for slaves, said he, but extremely severe for free men.*

The Athenians were therefore compelled to receive into Munychia a Macedonian garrison, commanded by Menyllus, a man of probity, and by some of Phocion’s particular friends. The troops took possession of the place during the festival of the Great mysteries, and the very day on which it was usual to carry the god Iacchus in procession from the city to Eleusina. This was a melancholy conjuncture for the Athenians, and affected them with the most sensible affliction. “ Alas!” said they, when they compared past times with those they then saw, “ the
 “ gods, amidst our greatest adversities, would for-

“merly manifest themselves in our favour during
 “this sacred ceremonial, by mysttick visions and au-
 “dible voices, to the great astonishment of our ene-
 “mies, who were terrified by them. But now, when
 “we are even celebrating the same solemnities, they
 “cast an un pitying eye on the greatest calamities
 “that can happen to Greece: They behold the most
 “sacred of all days in the year, and that which is
 “most agreeable to us, polluted and distinguished
 “by the most dreadful of calamities, which will
 “even transmit its name to this sacred time through
 “all succeeding generations.”

The garrison, commanded by Menyllus, did not offer the least injury to any of the inhabitants, but there were more than twelve thousand of them excluded from employments in the state, by one of the stipulations in the treaty, in consequence of their poverty. Some of these unfortunate persons continued in Athens, and lingred out a wretched life, amidst the contemptuous treatment they had justly drawn upon themselves; for the generality of them were seditious and mercenary in their dispositions, had neither virtue nor justice, but flattered themselves with a false idea of liberty, which they were incapable of using aright, and had no knowledge of either its bounds, duties, or end. The other poor citizens departed from the city, in order to avoid that opprobrious condition, and retired into Thrace, where Antipater assigned them a city and lands for their habitation.

(i) Demetrius Phalereus was obliged to have recourse to flight, and retired to Nicanor; but Cassander, the son of Antipater, reposed much confidence in him, and made him governor of Munychia after the death of his father, as will appear immediately. This Demetrius had been not only the disciple, but the intimate friend of the celebrated Theophrastus; and, under the conduct of so learned a master, had perfected his natural genius for eloquence, and rendered

dered himself expert in philosophy, politicks, and history. (*k*) He was in great esteem at Athens, and began to enter upon the administration of affairs, when Harpalus arrived there; after he had declared against Alexander. He was obliged to quit that city, at the time we have mentioned, and was soon after condemned there, though absent, under a vain pretext of irreligion.

(*l*) The whole weight of Antipater's displeasure fell chiefly upon Demosthenes, Hyperides, and some other Athenians, who had been their adherents: And when he was informed that they had eluded his vengeance by flight, he dispatched a body of men with orders to seize them, and placed one Archias at their head, who had formerly played in tragedies. This man having found at Ægina, the orator Hyperides, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Hymereus the brother of Demetrius Phalereus, who had all three taken sanctuary in the temple of Ajax; he dragged them from their asylum, and sent them to Antipater, who was then at Cleones, where he condemned them to die. Some authors have even declared, that he caused the tongue of Hyperides to be cut out.

The same Archias having received intelligence, that Demosthenes, who had retired into the island of Calauria, was become a suppliant in the temple of Neptune, he sailed thither in a small vessel, and landed with some Thracian soldiers: After which he spared no pains to persuade Demosthenes to accompany him to Antipater, assuring him, that he should receive no injury. Demosthenes was too well acquainted with mankind to rely on his promise; and was sensible that venal souls, who have hired themselves into the service of iniquity, those infamous ministers in the execution of orders equally cruel and unjust, have as little regard to sincerity and truth as their masters. To prevent therefore his falling into the hands of a tyrant, who would have satiated his fury upon him, he swallowed poison, which he always carried

(*k*) Diog. in Laert. in Demetr. (*l*) Plat. in Demost. p. 859, 862.

carried about him, and which soon produced its effect. When he found his strength declining, he advanced a few steps, by the aid of some domesticks who supported him, and fell down dead at the foot of the altar.

The Athenians, soon after this event, erected a statue of brass to his memory, as a testimonial of their gratitude and esteem; and made a decree, that the eldest branch of his family should be brought up in the Prytaneum, at the publick expence, from generation to generation: And at the foot of the statue they engraved this inscription, which was couched in two Elegiack verses: *Demosthenes, if thy power had been equal to thy wisdom, the Macedonian Mars would never have triumphed over Greece.* What regard is to be entertained for the judgment of a people, who were capable of being hurried into such opposite extremes, and who one day passed sentence of death on a citizen; and loaded him with honours and applause the next?

What I have already said of Demosthenes, on several occasions, makes it unnecessary to enlarge upon his character in this place. He was not only a great orator, but an accomplished statesman. His views were noble and exalted; his zeal was not to be intimidated by any conjunctures, wherein the honour and interest of his country were concerned; he firmly retained an irreconcilable aversion to all measures which had any resemblance to tyranny, and his love for liberty was such as may be imagined in a republican, as implacable an enemy to all servitude and dependency as ever lived. A wonderful sagacity of mind enabled him to penetrate into future events, and presented them to his view with as much perspicuity, though remote, as if they had been actually present. He seemed as much acquainted with all the designs of Philip, as if he had been admitted into a participation of his counsels; and if the Athenians had followed his counsels, that prince would not have attained that height of power, which proved

destructive to Greece, as Demosthenes had frequently foretold.

(*m*) He was perfectly acquainted with the disposition of Philip, and was very far from praising him, like the generality of orators. Two colleagues, with whom he was associated in an embassy to that prince, were continually praising the king of Macedonia, at their return, and saying, that he was a very eloquent and amiable prince, and a most extraordinary drinker. *What strange commendations are these?* replied Demosthenes. *The first is the accomplishment of a rhetorician; the second of a woman; and the third of a sponge; but none of them the praise of a king.*

With relation to eloquence, nothing can be added to what Quintilian has observed, in the parallel he has drawn between Demosthenes and Cicero. After he has shewn, that the great and essential qualities of an orator are common to them both, he marks out the particular difference observable between them with respect to style and elocution. “The one*,” says he, “is more precise, the other more luxuriant. The one crowds all his forces into a smaller compass when he attacks his adversary, the other chuses a larger field for the assault. The one always endeavours in a manner to transfix him with the vivacity of his style, the other frequently overwhelms him with the weight of his discourse. Nothing can be retrenched from the one, and nothing can be added to the other. In Demosthenes we discover more labour and study, in Cicero more nature and genius.”

(*n*) I have elsewhere observed another difference between these two great orators, which I beg leave to insert in this place. That which characterizes Demosthenes more than any other circumstance, and in

(*m*) Plut. in Demost. p. 853.
of the bar.

(*n*) In the discourse on the eloquence

* In eloquendo est aliqua diversitas. Densior ille, hic copiosior. Ille concludit astrictius, hic latius pugnat. Ille acumine sem-

per, hic frequenter et pondere. Illi nihil detrahi potest, huic nihil adjici. Curæ plus in illo, in hoc nature. Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

in which he has never been imitated, is such an absolute oblivion of himself, and so scrupulous and constant a solicitude to suppress all ostention of wit: In a word, such a perpetual care to confine the attention of the auditor to the cause, and not to the orator, that he never suffers any one turn of thought or expression to escape him, from no other view than merely to please and shine. This reserve and moderation in so amiable a genius as Demosthenes, and in matters so susceptible of grace and eloquence, adds perfection to his merit, and renders him superior to all praises.

Cicero was sensible of all the estimation due to the eloquence of Demosthenes, and experienced all its force and beauty. But as he was persuaded, that an orator, when he is engaged in any points that are not strictly essential, ought to form his style by the taste of his audience; and did not believe, that the genius of his times was consistent with such a rigid exactness: He therefore judged it necessary to accommodate himself in some measure to the ears and delicacy of his auditors, who required more grace and elegance in his discourse. For which reason he had some regard to the agreeable, but, at the same time, never lost sight of any important point in the cause he pleaded. He even thought that this qualified him for promoting the interest of his country, and was not mistaken, as to please, is one of the most certain means of persuading: But at the same time he laboured for his own reputation, and never forgot himself.

The death of Demosthenes and Hyperides caused the Athenians to regret the reigns of Philip and Alexander, and recalled to their remembrance the magnanimity, generosity, and clemency, which those two princes retained, even amidst the emotions of their displeasure; and how inclinable they had always been to pardon offences, and treat their enemies with humanity. Whereas Antipater, under the mask of a private man in a bad cloak, with all the appear-

ances of a plain and frugal life, and without affecting any title of authority, discovered himself to be a rigid and imperious master.

Antipater was however prevailed upon, by the prayers of Phocion, to recall several persons from banishment, notwithstanding all the severity of his disposition; and there is reason to believe, that Demetrius was one of this number. At least, it is certain that he had a considerable share in the administration of the republick from that time. As for those whose recall to Athens Phocion was unable to obtain, he procured for them more commodious situations, that were not so remote as their former settlements; and took his measures so effectually, that they were not banished, according to the first sentence, beyond the Ceraunian mountains and the promontory of Ténarus; by which means they did not live sequestred from the pleasures of Greece, but obtained a settlement in Peloponnesus. Who can help admiring, on the one hand, the amiable and generous disposition of Phocion, who employed his credit with Antipater, in order to procure a set of unfortunate persons some alleviation of their calamities; and, on the other hand, a kind of humanity in a prince, who was not very desirous of distinguishing himself by that quality, but was sensible, however, that it would be extremely rigid in him to add new mortifications to the inconveniencies of banishment.

Antipater in other respects exercised his government with great justice and moderation, over those who continued in Athens; he bestowed the principal posts and employments on such persons, as he imagined were the most virtuous and honest men; and contented himself with removing from all authority, such as he thought were most likely to excite troubles. He was sensible, that this people could neither support a state of absolute servitude, nor the enjoyment of entire liberty; for which reason he thought it necessary to take from the one, whatever was too rigid;

rigid; and from the other, all that it had of excessive and licentious.

The conqueror, after so glorious a campaign, set out for Macedonia, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter Phila with Craterus, and the solemnity was performed with all imaginable grandeur. Phila was one of the most accomplished princesses of her age, and her beauty was the least part of her merit. The lustre of her charms was heightened by the sweetness and modesty that softened her aspect, and by an air of complacency, and a natural disposition to oblige, which won the hearts of all who beheld her. These engaging qualities were rendered still more amiable by the brightness of a superior genius, and a prudence uncommon in her sex, which made her capable of the greatest affairs. It is even said, that as young as she then was, her father Antipater, who was one of the most able politicians of his age, never engaged in any affair of importance without consulting her. This princess never made use of the influence she had over her two husbands, (for after the death of Craterus, she espoused Demetrius the son of Antigonus) but to procure some favour for the officers, their daughters, or sisters. If they were poor, she furnished them with portions for their marriage; and if they were so unhappy as to be calumniated, she herself was very active in their justification. So generous a liberality gave her an absolute power among the troops. All cabals were dissolved by her presence, and all revolts gave way, and were appeased by her conduct.

SECT. III. *Procession at the funeral of ALEXANDER. His body is conveyed to Alexandria. EUMENES is put into possession of Cappadocia by PERDICCAS. PTOLEMY, CRATERUS, ANTIPATER, and ANTIGONUS, confederate against each other. The death of CRATERUS. The unfortunate expedition of PERDICCAS into Egypt. He is slain there.*

A. M. 3683.
Ant. J. C. 321.
(a) **M**UCH about this time the * funeral obsequies of Alexander were performed. Ari-dæus having been deputed by all the governors and grandees of the kingdom, to take upon himself the care of that solemnity, had employed two years in preparing every thing that could possibly render it the most pompous and august funeral that had ever been seen. When all things were ready for the celebration of this mournful, but superb ceremonial, orders were given for the procession to begin. This was preceded by a great number of pioneers and other workmen, whose office was to make all the ways practicable, through which the procession was to pass.

As soon as these were levelled, that magnificent chariot, the invention and design of which raised as much admiration, as the immense riches that glittered all over it, set out from Babylon. The body of the chariot rested upon two axle-trees, that were inserted into four wheels, made after the Persian manner; the naves and spokes of which were covered with gold, and the rounds plated over with iron. The extremities of the axle-trees were made of gold, representing the muscles of lions biting a dart. The chariot had four draught beams, or poles, to each of which were harnessed four sets of mules, each set consisting of four of those animals; so that this chariot was drawn by sixty-four mules. The strongest of those creatures, and the largest, were chosen on this occasion.

(a) Diod. l. xviii. p. 608---610.

* I could have wished it had manner than I have done: But that been in my power to have explained was not possible for me to effect, several passages of this description though I had recourse to persons of in a more clear and intelligible greater capacity than myself.

occasion. They were adorned with crowns of gold, and collars enriched with precious stones and golden bells.

On this chariot was erected a pavilion of entire gold, twelve feet wide, and eighteen in length, supported by columns of the Ionick order, embellished with the leaves of acanthus. The inside was adorned with a blaze of jewels, disposed in the form of shells. The circumference was beautified with a fringe of golden net-work; the threads that composed the texture were an inch in thickness, and to those were fastened large bells, whose sound was heard to a great distance.

The external decorations were disposed into four relieves.

The first represented Alexander seated in a military chariot, with a splendid scepter in his hand, and surrounded, on one side, with a troop of Macedonians in arms; and on the other, with an equal number of Persians armed in their manner. These were preceded by the king's equerries.

In the second were seen elephants compleatly harnessed, with a band of Indians seated on the fore-part of their bodies; and on the hinder, another band of Macedonians, armed as in the day of battle.

The third exhibited to the view several squadrons of horse ranged in military array.

The fourth represented ships preparing for a battle.

At the entrance into the pavilion were golden lions, that seemed to guard the passage.

The four corners were adorned with statues of gold, representing victories, with trophies of arms in their hands.

Under the pavilion was placed a throne of gold of a square form, adorned with the heads of animals*, whose necks were encompassed with golden circles a foot and a half in breadth; to these were hung crowns, that glittered with the liveliest colours, and such as

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were

* The Greek word *τραχήλαφον* imports a kind of hart, from whose chin a beard hangs down like that of goats.

were carried in procession at the celebration of sacred solemnities.

At the foot of the throne was placed the coffin of Alexander, formed of beaten gold, and half filled with aromattick spices and perfumes, as well to exhale an agreeable odour, as for the preservation of the corpse. A pall of purple wrought with gold covered the coffin.

Between this and the throne the arms of that monarch were disposed in the manner he wore them when living.

The outside of the pavilion was likewise covered with purple flowered with gold. The top ended in a very large crown of the same metal, which seemed to be a composition of olive-branches. The rays of the sun which darted on this diadem, in conjunction with the motion of the chariot, caused it to emit a kind of rays like those of lightning.

It may easily be imagined, that, in so long a procession, the motion of a chariot, loaded like this, would be liable to great inconveniencies. In order, therefore, that the pavilion, with all its appendages, might, when the chariot moved in any uneven ways, constantly continue in the same situation, notwithstanding the inequality of the ground, and the shocks that would frequently be unavoidable, a cylinder was raised from the middle of each axle-tree, to support the pavilion; by which expedient the whole machine was preserved steady.

The chariot was followed by the royal guards, all in arms, and magnificently arrayed.

The multitude of spectators of this solemnity is hardly credible; but they were drawn together as well by their veneration for the memory of Alexander, as by the magnificence of this funeral pomp, which had never been equalled in the world.

There was a current prediction, that the place where Alexander should be interred, would be rendered the most happy and flourishing part of the whole earth. The governors contested with each other,

other, for the disposal of a body that was to be attended with such a glorious prerogative. The affection Perdiccas entertained for his country, made him desirous, that the corpse should be conveyed to Æge in Macedonia, where the remains of its kings were usually deposited. Other places were likewise proposed, but the preference was given to Egypt. Ptolemy, who had such extraordinary and recent obligations to the king of Macedonia, was determined to signalize his gratitude on this occasion. He accordingly set out with a numerous guard of his best troops, in order to meet the procession, and advanced as far as Syria. When he had joined the attendants on the funeral, he prevented them from interring the corpse in the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, as they had proposed. It was therefore deposited, first in the city of Memphis, and from thence was conveyed to Alexandria. Ptolemy raised a magnificent temple to the memory of this monarch, and rendered him all the honours which were usually paid to demi-gods and heroes by pagan antiquity.

(b) Freinshemius, in his supplement to Livy, relates, after Leo * the African, that the tomb of Alexander the Great was still to be seen in his time, and that it was revered by the Mohammedans, as the monument, not only of an illustrious king, but of a great prophet.

(c) Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, which border on the Pontick sea, were allotted to Eumenes, in consequence of the partition of the several governments of Alexander's empire; and it was expressly stipulated by the treaty, that Leonatus and Antigonus should march with a great body of troops to establish Eumenes in the government of those dominions, and dispossess king Ariarathes of the sovereignty. This general resolution of sending troops and experienced commanders into the several provinces of the empire, was formed with great judgment; and the intention of it

(b) Lib. cxxxiii. (c) Plut. in Eumen. p. 584. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599.
* This author lived in the 15th century.

it was, that all those conquered territories should continue under the dominion of the Macedonians, and that the inhabitants, being no longer governed by their own sovereigns, should have no future inclination to recover their former liberty, nor be in a condition to set each other the example of throwing off the new yoke of the Greeks.

But neither Leonatus nor Antigonus were very solicitous to execute this article of the treaty; and, as they were entirely attentive to their own particular interest and aggrandizement, they took other measures. Eumenes, seeing himself thus abandoned by those who ought to have established him in his government, set out with all his equipage, which consisted of three hundred horse and two hundred of his domesticks well armed; with all his riches, which amounted to about five thousand talents of gold; and retired to Perdiccas, who gave him a favourable reception. As he was much esteemed by that commander, he was admitted into a participation of all his counsels. Eumenes was indeed a man of great solidity and resolution, and the most able of all the captains of Alexander.

Within a short time after this event, he was conducted into Cappadocia by a great army which Perdiccas thought fit to command in person. Ariarathes had made the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence, and had raised twenty thousand foot and a great body of horse: But he was defeated and taken prisoner by Perdiccas, who destroyed his whole family, and invested Eumenes with the government of his dominions. He intended, by this instance of severity, to intimidate the people, and extinguish all seditions. And this conduct was very judicious, and absolutely necessary in the conjuncture of a new government, when the state is in a general ferment, and all things are usually disposed for commotions. Perdiccas, after this transaction, advanced with his troops to chastise Isaura and Laranda, cities of Pisidia, which had massacred their governors, and revolted from the Macedonians.

donians. The last of these cities was destroyed in a very surprising manner: For the inhabitants finding themselves in no condition to defend it, and despairing of any quarter from the conqueror, shut themselves up in their houses, with their wives, children, and parents, and all their gold and silver, set fire to their several habitations, and, after they had fought with the fury of lions, threw themselves into the flames. The city was abandoned to plunder; and the soldiers, after they had extinguished the fire, found a very great booty, for the place was filled with riches.

(d) Perdiccas, after this expedition, marched into Cilicia, where he passed the winter season. During his residence in that country, he formed a resolution to divorce Nicea, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had espoused at a time, when he thought that marriage subservient to his interest. But when the regency of the empire had given him a superior credit, and given birth to more exalted hopes, his thoughts took a different turn, and he was desirous of espousing Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great. She had been married to Alexander king of Epirus; and, having lost her husband in the wars of Italy, she had continued in a state of widowhood, and was then at Sardis in Lydia. Perdiccas dispatched Eumenes thither, to propose his marriage to that princess, and employ his endeavours to render it agreeable to her. This alliance with a lady who was the sister of Alexander by the same father and mother, and exceedingly beloved by the Macedonians, opened him a way to the empire through the favour of that people, which he might naturally expect from his marriage with Cleopatra.

A. M.
3683.
Ant. J. C.
321.

Antigonus penetrated into his design, and evidently foresaw that his own destruction was to be the foundation of the intended success. He therefore passed into Greece with the greatest expedition, in order to find Antipater and Craterus, who were then engaged

gaged in a war with the Ætolians, and disclosed to them the whole plan that Perdiccas had formed. Upon this intelligence they immediately came to an accommodation with the Ætolians, and advanced towards the Hellespont, to observe the motions of the new enemy; and, in order to strengthen their own party, they engaged Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, in their interest.

Craterus, one of the greatest of Alexander's captains, had the largest share of the affection and esteem of the Macedonians. Alexander, a little before his death, had ordered him to conduct into Macedonia the ten thousand veteran troops he intended to send thither, on account of their age, wounds, or other infirmities, which rendered them incapable of the service. The king had likewise conferred upon him at the same time the government of Macedonia in the room of Antipater, whom he recalled to Babylon. These provinces having been consigned to Craterus and Antipater after the death of Alexander, they governed them in concert, and Craterus always conducted himself like a good and faithful associate; especially in the operations of this war, in which they were unavoidably engaged by the discovery of the designs Perdiccas was forming.

Perdiccas sent Eumenes back to his province, not only to regulate the state of affairs in that country, but more particularly to keep a watchful eye on the motions of Neoptolemus his next neighbour, who was governor of Armenia, and whose conduct was suspected by Perdiccas, but not without sufficient reason, as will be evident in the sequel.

(e) This Neoptolemus was a man remarkable for his stupid pride, and the insupportable arrogance he had contracted, from the vain hopes with which he fed his imagination. Eumenes endeavoured to reduce him to reason by gentle measures; and when he saw that the troops of the Macedonian phalanx, who were commanded by Neoptolemus, were grown very insolent and audacious, he made it his care to assem-

ble

ble a body of horse strong enough to oppose their designs, and keep them within the bounds of respect and obedience. With this view he granted all sorts of immunities and exemptions from imposts to those of the inhabitants who were in a condition to appear on horseback. He likewise purchased a great number of horses, and bestowed them on those of his court in whom he confided the most; and inflamed their courage by the honours and rewards he conferred upon them. He disciplined and habituated them to labour and fatigue by reviews, exercises, and continual movements. Every body was surprized to see him assemble, in so short a time, a body of six thousand horse, capable of good service in the field.

Perdiccas, having caused all his troops to file off the next spring towards Cappadocia, held a council with his friends on the operations of the intended war. The subject of their deliberations was, whether they should march first into Macedonia against Antipater and Craterus, or into Egypt against Ptolemy. The majority of voices declared in favour of the last; and it was concluded, at the same time, that Eumenes, with part of the army, should guard the Asiatick provinces against Antipater and Craterus: And, in order to engage him more effectually to espouse the common cause, Perdiccas added the provinces of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, to his government. He likewise declared him generalissimo of all the troops in Cappadocia and Armenia, and ordered all the governors to obey him. Perdiccas, after this, advanced towards Egypt through Damascene and Palestine. He also took the two minor kings with him in this expedition, in order to cover his designs with the royal authority.

(*f*) Eumenes spared no pains, to have a good army on foot, in order to oppose Antipater and Craterus, who had already passed the Hellespont, and were marching against him. They left nothing unattempted to disengage him from the party he had espoused, and promised

(*f*) Plut. in Eumen. p. 585---587. Diod. l. xviii. p. 610---613.

promised him the addition of new provinces to those he already possessed: But he was too steady * to be shaken by those offers, in breach of his engagements to Perdiccas. They succeeded better with Alcetas and Neoptolemus, for they engaged the former to observe a neutrality, though the brother of Perdiccas, and the other declared in their favour. Eumenes attacked and defeated the latter at a narrow pass, and even took all his baggage. This victory was owing to his cavalry, whom he had formed with so much care. Neoptolemus saved himself with three hundred horse, and joined Antipater and Craterus; but the rest of his troops went over to Eumenes.

Antipater entered Cilicia with an intention to advance into Egypt, in order to assist Ptolemy, if his affairs should require his aid; and he detached Craterus and Neoptolemus with the rest of the army against Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia. A great battle was fought there, the success of which is entirely to be ascribed to the wise and vigilant precaution of Eumenes, which Plutarch justly considers as the master-piece of a great commander. The reputation of Craterus was very great, and the generality of the Macedonians were desirous of him for their leader after the death of Alexander, remembering that his affection for them, and his desire to support their interest, had caused him to incur the displeasure of that prince. Neoptolemus had flattered him, that as soon as he should appear in the field, all the Macedonians of the opposite party would lift themselves under his banners, and Eumenes himself was very apprehensive of that event. But, in order to avoid this misfortune, which would have occasioned his inevitable ruin, he caused the avenues and narrow passes to be so carefully guarded, that his army were entirely ignorant of the enemy against whom he was leading them, having caused a report to be spread, that it was
only

* Quem (Perdiccam) etsi infirmum videbat, quod unus omnibus resistere cogeretur, amicum non deseruit, neque salutis quam fidei fuit cupidior. *Cor. Nep. in Eum. c. iii.*

only Neoptolemus, who was preparing to attack him a second time. In the dispositions he made for the battle, he was careful not to oppose any Macedonian against Craterus; and issued an order, with very severe penalties, that no herald from the enemy should be received on any account whatever.

The first charge was very rude; the lances were soon shivered on both sides, and the two armies attacked sword in hand. Craterus acted nothing to the dishonour of Alexander on this last day of his life, for he killed several of the enemies with his own hand, and frequently bore down all who opposed him; till, at last, a Thracian wounded him in the flank, when he fell from his horse. All the enemy's cavalry rode over him without knowing who he was, and did not discover him till he was breathing his last.

As to the other wing, Neoptolemus and Eumenes, who personally hated each other, having met in the battle, and their horses charging with a violent shock, they seized each other; and their horses springing from under them, they both fell on the earth, where they struggled like two implacable wrestlers, and fought for a considerable time with the utmost fury and rage, till at last Neoptolemus received a mortal wound, and immediately expired.

Eumenes then remounted his horse, and pushed his left wing to that part of the field, where he believed the enemy's troops still continued unbroken. There, when he was informed that Craterus was killed, he spurred his horse to the place where he lay, and found him expiring. When he beheld this melancholy spectacle, he could not refuse his tears to the death of an ancient friend whom he had always esteemed; and he caused the last honours to be paid him with all possible magnificence. He likewise ordered his bones to be conveyed to Macedonia, in order to be given to his wife and children. Eumenes gained this second victory ten days after the first.

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(g) In the mean time Perdiccas had advanced into Egypt, and began the war with Ptolemy, though with very different success. Ptolemy, from the time he was constituted governor of that country, had conducted himself with so much justice and humanity, that he had entirely gained the hearts of all the Egyptians. An infinite number of people, charmed with the lenity of so wise an administration, came thither from Greece and other parts to enter into his service. This additional advantage rendered him extremely powerful; and even the army of Perdiccas had so much esteem for Ptolemy, that they marched with reluctance against him, and great numbers of them deserted daily to his troops. All these circumstances were fatal to the views of Perdiccas, and he lost his own life in that country. Having unfortunately taken a resolution to make his army pass an arm of the Nile, which formed an island near Memphis, in passing he lost two thousand men, half of whom were drowned, and the remainder devoured by crocodiles. The Macedonians were exasperated to such a degree of fury, when they saw themselves exposed to such unnecessary dangers, that they mutinied against him; in consequence of which, he was abandoned by a hundred of his principal officers, of whom Pithon was the most considerable, and was assassinated in his tent with most of his intimate friends.

Two days after this event, the army received intelligence of the victory obtained by Eumenes; and had this account come two days sooner, it would certainly have prevented the mutiny, and consequently the revolution that soon succeeded it, which proved so favourable to Ptolemy and Antipater, and all their adherents.

(g) Diod. l. xviii. p. 613---616. Plut. in Eumen. p. 587. Cor. Nep. c. v.

SECT. IV. *The regency is transferred to ANTIPATER.*

EUMENES besieged by ANTIGONUS in Nora. Jerusalem besieged and taken by PTOLEMY. DEMADES put to death by CASSANDER. ANTIPATER on his death-bed nominates POLYSPERCHON for his successor in the regency. The latter recalls OLYMPIAS, ANTIGONUS becomes very powerful.

(a) **P**TOLEMY passed the Nile the day after the death of Perdiccas, and entered the Macedonian camp; where he justified his own conduct so effectually, that all the troops declared in his favour. When the death of Craterus was known, he made such an artful improvement of their affliction and resentment, that he induced them to pass a decree, whereby Eumenes, and fifty other persons of the same party, were declared enemies to the Macedonian state; and this decree authorised Antipater and Antigonus to carry on a war against them. But when this prince perceived the troops had a general inclination to offer him the regency of the two kings, which became vacant by the death of Perdiccas, he had the precaution to decline that office, because he was very sensible that the royal pupils had a title without a reality; that they would never be capable of sustaining the weight of that vast empire, nor be in a condition to re-unite, under their authority, so many governments accustomed to independency; that there was an inevitable tendency to dismember the whole, as well from the inclinations and interest of the officers, as the situation of affairs; that all his acquisitions in the interim would redound to the advantage of his pupils; that while he appeared to possess the first rank, he should in reality enjoy nothing fixed and solid, or that could any way be considered as his own property; that, upon the expiration of the regency, he should be left without any government or real establishment, and that he should neither be master of an army to support him, nor of any retreat

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for his preservation: Whereas all his colleagues would enjoy the richest provinces in perfect tranquillity, and he be the only one who had not derived any advantages from the common conquests. These considerations induced him to prefer the post he already enjoyed to the new title that was offered him, as the former was less hazardous, and rendered him less obnoxious to envy; he therefore caused the choice to fall on Pithon and Aridæus.

The first of these persons had commanded with distinction in all the wars of Alexander, and had embraced the party of Perdiccas, till he was a witness of his imprudent conduct in passing the Nile, which induced him to quit his service, and go over to Ptolemy.

With respect to Aridæus, history has taken no notice of him before the death of Alexander, when the funeral solemnities of that prince were committed to his care; and we have already seen in what manner he acquitted himself of that melancholy but honourable commission, after he had employed two years in the preparations for it.

The honour of this guardianship was of no long continuance to them. Eurydice, the consort of king Aridæus, whom we shall distinguish for the future by the name of Philip, being fond of interfering in all affairs, and being supported in her pretensions by the Macedonians; the two regents were so dissatisfied with their employment, that they voluntarily resigned it, after they had sent the army back to Triparadis in Syria; and it was then conferred upon Antipater.

As soon as he was invested with his authority, he made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, in which he excluded all those who had espoused the interest of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and re-established every person of the other party, who had been dispossessed. In this new division of the empire, Seleucus, who had great authority from the command of the cavalry, as we have already intimated, had the government of Babylon, and became afterwards the most powerful of all the successors of Alexander.

Pithon

Pithon had the government of Media; but Atropates, who at that time enjoyed the government of that province, supported himself in one part of the country, and assumed the regal dignity, without acknowledging the authority of the Macedonians; and this tract of Media was afterwards called Media Atropatena. Antipater, after this regulation of affairs, sent Antigonus against Eumenes, and then returned into Macedonia; but left his son Cassander behind him, in quality of general of the cavalry, and with orders to be near the person of Antigonus, that he might the better be informed of his designs.

(b) Jaddus, the high-priest of the Jews, died this year, and was succeeded by his son Onias, whose pontificate continued for the space of twenty-one years. I make this remark, because the history of the Jews will, in the sequel of this work, be very much intermixed with that of Alexander's successors.

A. M.

3683.

Ant. J. C.

321.

(c) Antigonus appeared early in the field against Eumenes; and a battle was fought at Orcynium in Cappadocia, wherein Eumenes was defeated, and lost eight thousand men by the treachery of Apollonides, one of the principal officers of his cavalry; who was corrupted by Antigonus, and marched over to the enemy in the midst of the battle. (d) The traitor was soon punished for his perfidy, for Eumenes took him, and caused him to be hanged upon the spot.

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320.

(e) A conjuncture, which happened soon after this defeat, would have enabled Eumenes to seize the baggage of Antigonus and all his riches, with a great number of prisoners; and his little troop already cast an eager eye on so considerable a booty. But whether his apprehensions that so rich a prey would enervate the heart of his soldiers, who were then constrained to wander from place to place; or whether his regard to Antigonus, with whom he had formerly contracted a particular friendship, prevented him from improving this opportunity; it is certain, that he

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(b) Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8. (c) Diod. l. xviii. p. 618, 619.
(d) Plut. in Eumen. p. 588--590. (e) Cor. Nep. in Eum. c. v.

sent a letter to that commander, to inform him of the danger that threatened him; and when he afterwards made a feint to attack the baggage, it was all removed to a place of better security.

Eumenes, after his overthrow, was obliged, for his preservation, to employ most of his time in changing the place of his retreat; and he was highly admired for the tranquillity and steadiness of mind he discovered, in the wandering life to which he was reduced: For, as Plutarch observes, adversity alone can place greatness of soul in its full point of light, and render the real merit of mankind conspicuous; whereas prosperity frequently casts a veil of false grandeur over real meanness and imperfections. Eumenes, having at last disbanded most of his remaining troops, shut himself up with five hundred men, who were determined to share his fate, in the castle of Nora, a place of extraordinary strength on the frontiers of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, where he sustained a siege of twelve months.

He was soon sensible, that nothing incommoded his garrison so much as the small space they possessed, being shut up in little close houses, and on a tract of ground, whose whole circuit did not exceed two hundred fathoms, where they could neither walk nor perform the least exercise; and where their horses, having scarce any room for motion, became sluggish, and incapable of service. To remedy this inconvenience, he had recourse to the following expedient. He converted the largest house in the place, the extent of which did not exceed twenty-one feet, into a kind of hall for exercise. This he consigned to the men, and ordered them to walk in it very gently at first; they were afterwards to double their pace by degrees, and at last were to exert the most vigorous motions. He then took the following method for the horses. He suspended them, one after another, in strong slings, which were disposed under their breasts, and from thence inserted into rings fastened to the roofs of the stable; after which he caused them to be raised into
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the air by the aid of pullies, and in such a manner, that only their hinder feet rested on the ground, while the extreme part of the hoofs of their fore-feet could hardly touch it. In this condition, the grooms lashed them severely with their whips, which tormented the horses to such a degree, and forced them into such violent agitations, that their bodies were all covered with sweat and foam. After this exercise, which was finely calculated to strengthen and keep them in wind, and likewise to render their limbs supple and pliant, their barley was given to them very clean, and winnowed from all the chaff, that they might eat it the sooner, and with less difficulty. The abilities of a good general extend to every thing about him, and are seen in the minutest particulars.

The siege, or, more properly, the blockade of Nora, did not prevent Antigonus from undertaking a new expedition into Pisidia, against Alcetas and Attalus; the last of whom was taken prisoner in a battle, and the other slain by treachery in the place to which he retired.

A. M.
3685.
Ant. J. C.
319.

(f) During these transactions in Asia, Ptolemy seeing of what importance Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa were, as well for covering Egypt, as for making proper dispositions on that side for the invasion of Cyprus, which he had then in view, determined to make himself master of those provinces which were governed by Laomedon. With this intention he sent Nicanor into Syria with a body of land-forces, while he himself set out with a fleet to attack the coasts. Nicanor defeated Laomedon, and took him prisoner; in consequence of which he soon conquered the inland country. Ptolemy had the same advantages on the coasts; by which means he became absolute master of those provinces. The princes in alliance with him were alarmed at the rapidity of these conquests; but Antipater was at too great a distance, being then in Macedonia; and Antigonus was too much employed against Eumenes, to oppose these great accessions

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(f) Diod. l. xviii. p. 621, 622.

to the power of Ptolemy, who gave them no little jealousy.

(g) After the defeat of Laomedon, the Jews were the only people who made any resistance. They were duly sensible of the obligation they were under, by the oath they had taken to their governor, and were determined to continue faithful to him. Ptolemy advanced into Judæa, and formed the siege of Jerusalem. This city was so strong by its advantageous situation, in conjunction with the works of art, that it would have sustained a long siege, had it not been for the religious fear the Jews entertained of violating the law, by which they were prohibited to defend themselves on the sabbath. Ptolemy was not long unacquainted with this particular; and, in order to improve the great advantage it gave him, he chose that day for the general assault; and as no individual among the Jews would presume to defend himself, the city was taken without any difficulty.

Ptolemy at first treated Jerusalem and Judæa with great severity, for he carried above a hundred thousand of the inhabitants captives into Egypt: But when he afterwards considered the steadiness with which they had persisted in the fidelity they had sworn to their governors, on this, and a variety of other occasions, he was convinced, that this quality rendered them more worthy of his confidence; and he accordingly chose thirty thousand of the most distinguished among them, who were most capable of serving him, and appointed them to guard the most important places in his dominions.

(h) Much about this time Antipater fell sick in Macedonia. The Athenians were greatly dissatisfied with the garrison he had left in their city, and had frequently pressed Phocion to go to the court of that prince, and solicit him to recall those troops: But he always declined that commission, either through a despair of not succeeding, or else because he was conscious,

(g) Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. (h) Diod. l. xviii. p. 625, 626. Plut. in Phoc. p. 755.

scious, that the fear of this garrison was the best expedient for keeping them within the bounds of their duty. Demades, who was not so difficult to be prevailed upon, undertook the commission with pleasure, and immediately set out with his son for Macedonia. But his arrival in that country could not have happened at a more fatal conjuncture for himself. Antipater, as I have already intimated, was seized with a severe illness; and his son Cassander, who was absolute master of all affairs, had lately intercepted a letter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Asia, pressing him to come as soon as possible, and make himself master of Greece and Macedonia; *which, as he expressed himself, were held together only by a thread, and even an old and rotten thread*, ridiculing Antipater by those expressions. As soon as Cassander saw them appear at court, he caused them both to be arrested; and he himself seizing the son first, stabbed him before the face of his father, and at so little distance from him, that he was covered with his blood. After which he reproached him with his perfidy and ingratitude, and when he had loaded him with insults, he also killed him with his own hands on the dead body of his son. It was impossible that such a barbarous proceeding should not be detested; but mankind are not much disposed to pity such a wretch as Demades, who had dictated the decree, by which Demosthenes and Hyperides were condemned to die.

The indisposition of Antipater proved fatal to him, and his last attention was employed in filling up the two great stations which he enjoyed. His son Cassander was very desirous of them, and expected to have them conferred upon him; notwithstanding which, Antipater bestowed the regency of the kingdom, and the government of Macedonia, on Polysperchon, the most ancient of all the surviving captains of Alexander, and thought it sufficient to associate Cassander with him in those employments.

I am at a loss to determine, whether any instance of human conduct was ever greater, or more to be

admired than this which I have now related in few words; nothing certainly could be more extraordinary, and history affords us few instances of the same nature. It was necessary to appoint a governor over Macedonia, and a regent of the empire. Antipater, who knew the importance of those stations, was persuaded that his own glory and reputation, and, what was still more prevalent with him, the interest of the state, and the preservation of the Macedonian monarchy, obliged him to nominate a man of authority, and one respected for his age, experience, and past services. He had a son who was not void of merit; how rare and difficult therefore, but, at the same time, how amiable and glorious was it to select, on such an occasion, no man but the most deserving, and best qualified to serve the publick effectually; to extinguish the voice of nature; turn a deaf ear to all her remonstrances, and not suffer the judgment to be seduced by the impressions of paternal affection; in a word, to continue so much master of one's penetration, as to render justice to the merit of a stranger, and openly prefer it to that of a son, and sacrifice all the interest of one's own family to the publick welfare! History has transmitted to us an expression of the emperor Galba, which will do honour to his memory throughout all ages. *Augustus* *, said he, *chose a successor out of his own family; and I one from the whole empire.*

Cassander was extremely enraged at the affront, which, as he pretended, had been offered him by this choice; and thought in that respect, like the generality of men, who are apt to look upon the employments they possess as hereditary, and with this flattering persuasion, that the state is of no consequence in comparison with themselves: Never examining what is requisite to the posts they enjoy, or whether they have competent abilities to sustain them, and considering only whether those posts are agreeable to their

* *Augustus in domo successorem quaesivit: ego in republica. Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 15.*

their fortune. Cassander, not being able to digest his father's preferring a stranger before him, endeavoured to form a party against the new regent. He also secured to himself all the places he could in the government of that officer, as well in Greece as in Macedonia, and proposed nothing less, than to divest him of the whole.

(i) To this effect, he endeavoured to engage Ptolemy and Antigonus in his party; and they readily espoused it with the same views, and from the same motives. It was equally their interest to destroy this new regent, as well as the regency itself, which always kept them in apprehensions, and reminded them of their state of dependency. They likewise imagined, that it secretly reproached them for aspiring at sovereignty, while it cherished the rights of the two pupils; and left the governors in a situation of uncertainty, in consequence of which they were perpetually in fear of being divested of their power. Both the one and the other believed it would be easy for them to succeed in their designs, if the Macedonians were once engaged at home in a civil war.

The death of Antipater had rendered Antigonus the most powerful of all the captains of Alexander. His authority was absolute in all the provinces of Asia minor, in conjunction with the title of generalissimo, and an army of seventy thousand men, and thirty elephants, which no power in the empire was, at that time, capable of resisting. It cannot, therefore, be thought surprising, that this superiority should inspire him with the design of engrossing the whole monarchy of the Macedonians; and, in order to succeed in that attempt, he began with making a reformation in all the governments of the provinces within his jurisdiction, displacing all those persons whom he suspected, and substituting his creatures in their room. In the conduct of this scheme, he removed Aridæus from the government of lesser Phrygia, and the Hellespont, and Clytus from that of Lydia.

Polyperchon

(*k*) Polyſperchon neglected nothing, on his part, that was neceſſary to ſtrengthen his intereſt; and thought it adviſeable to recall Olympias, who had retired into Epirus under the regency of Antipater, with the offer of ſharing his authority with her. This princeſs diſpatched a courier to Eumenes, to conſult him on the propoſal ſhe had received; and he adviſed her to wait ſome time, in order to ſee what turn affairs would take: Adding, that if ſhe determined to return to Macedonia, he would recommend it to her in particular, to forget all the injuries ſhe thought ſhe had received; that it would alſo be her intereſt to govern with moderation, and to make others ſenſible of her authority by benefactions, and not by ſeverity. As to all other particulars, he promiſed an inviolable attachment to herſelf and the royal family. Olympias did not conform to theſe judicious counſels in any reſpect, but ſet out as ſoon as poſſible for Macedonia; where, upon her arrival, ſhe conſulted nothing but her paſſions, and her inſatiable deſire of dominion and revenge.

Polyſperchon, who had many enemies upon his hands, endeavoured to ſecure Greece, of which he foreſaw Caſſander would attempt to make himſelf maſter. He alſo took meaſures with relation to other parts of the empire, as will appear by the ſequel.

(*l*) In order to engage the Greeks in his intereſt, he iſſued a decree, by which he recalled the exiles, and reſtated all the cities in their ancient privileges. He acquainted the Athenians in particular by letters, that the king had re-eſtabliſhed their democracy and ancient form of government, by which the Athenians were admitted without diſtinction into publick offices. This was a ſtrain of policy calculated to enſnare Phocion; for Polyſperchon intending to make himſelf maſter of Athens, as was evident in a ſhort time, he deſpaired of ſucceeding in that deſign, unleſs he could find ſome expedient to procure the baniſhment of

(*k*) Diod. l. xviii. p. 626, & 634. Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. vi.
 (*l*) Diod. l. xviii. p. 631, 632.

of Phocion, who had favoured and introduced oligarchy under Antipater; and he was therefore certain of accomplishing this scheme, as soon as those, who had been excluded from the government, should be reinstated in their ancient rights.

SECT. V. *The Athenians condemn PHOCION to die.*

CASSANDER makes himself master of Athens, where he establishes DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS in the government of that republick. His prudent administration. EUMENES quits Nora. Various expeditions of ANTIGONUS, SELEUCUS, PTOLEMY, and other generals, against him. OLYMPIAS causes ARIDÆUS to be slain, and is murdered in her turn by the orders of CASSANDER. The war between him and POLYSPERCHON. The re-establishment of Thebes. EUMENES is betrayed by his own troops, delivered up to ANTIGONUS, and put to death.

(a) **C**ASSANDER, before the death of Antipater was known at Athens, had sent Nicanor thither, to succeed Menyllus in the government of the fortress of Munychia, soon after which he had made himself master of Piræus. Phocion, who placed too much confidence in the probity and fidelity of Nicanor, had contracted a strict intimacy, and conversed frequently with him, which caused the people to suspect him more than ever.

In this conjuncture, Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, arrived with a great body of troops, under pretext of succouring the city against Nicanor, but in reality, to seize it into his own power, if possible, in consequence of the divisions which then reigned within it. He there held a tumultuous assembly, in which Phocion was divested of his employment of general; while Demetrius Phalereus, with several other citizens, who were apprehensive of the same fate, immediately retired from the city. Phocion, who had the grief to see himself accused of treason, took sanctuary with Polyperchon, who sent him back to be tried by

by the people. An assembly was immediately convoked on that occasion, from which neither slaves, strangers, nor any infamous persons whatever, were excluded. This proceeding was contrary to all the established rules; notwithstanding which, Phocion, and the other prisoners, were presented to the people. Most persons of any merit in the assembly, cast down their eyes to the earth at this spectacle, and, covering their heads, wept abundantly. One among them having the courage to move, that the slaves and strangers might be ordered to withdraw, was immediately opposed by the populace, who cried out, that they ought rather to stone those advocates for oligarchy and enemies of the people. Phocion frequently attempted to plead his own cause, and vindicate his conduct, but was always interrupted. It was customary at Athens, for the person accused to declare, before sentence passed against him, what punishment he ought to suffer. Phocion answered aloud, that he condemned himself to die, but desired the assembly to spare the rest. Upon this the suffrages were demanded, and they were unanimously sentenced to suffer death, previous to which they were conveyed to the dungeon. Demetrius Phalereus, and some others, though absent, were included in the same condemnation. The companions of Phocion were so affected by the sorrows of their relations and friends, who came to embrace them in the streets, with the melancholy tender of the last farewell, that they proceeded on their way, lamenting their unhappy fate in a flood of tears: But Phocion still retained the same air and countenance, as he had formerly shewn, when he quitted the assembly to take upon him the command of armies, and when the Athenians attended him in crowds to his own house with the voice of praises and acclamations.

One of the populace, more insolent than the rest, advanced up to him, and spit in his face. Phocion only turned to the magistrates, and said, *Will no body binder this man from acting so unworthily?* When he arrived

arrived at the prison, one of his friends having asked him if he had any message to send to his son? *Yes, certainly*, replied he, *it is to desire, that he would never remember the injustice of the Athenians*. When he had uttered these words, he took the hemlock, and died.

On that day there was also a publick procession, and as it passed before the prison, some of the persons who composed it, took their crowns from their heads; others turned their eyes to the gates of the prison, and burst into tears; and all who had any remains of humanity and religion, and whose souls were not entirely depraved and blinded by rage or envy, acknowledged it to be an instance of unnatural barbarity, as well as a great impiety, with regard to the city, not to have abstained, on such a solemn day, from the infliction of death on a citizen so universally esteemed, and whose admirable virtues had procured him the appellation of, *The Good**.

To punish † the greatest virtues as the most flagitious crimes, and to repay the best of services with the most inhuman treatment, is a guilt condemned in all places, but especially in Athens, where ingratitude was punishable by the law. The regulations of her sage legislator still subsisted at that time, but they were wrested to the condemnation of her citizens, and only became an evidence, how much that people were degenerated in their manners.

The enemies of Phocion, not satisfied with the punishment they had caused him to suffer, and believing some particulars were still wanting to complete their triumph, obtained an order from the people, that his body should be carried out of the dominions of Attica, and that none of the Athenians should contribute

* Ob integritatem vitæ Bonus est appellatus. *Cor. Nep.*

† Quid obest quin publica dementia sit existimanda, summo consensu maximas virtutes quasi gravissima delicta punire, beneficisque injuriis rependere? Quod cum ubique, tum præcipue Athe-

nis intolerabile videri debet, in qua urbe adversus ingratos actio constituta est——Quantum ergo reprehensionem merentur, qui cum æquissima jura sed iniquissima habebant ingenia, moribus suis, quam legibus uti maluerint? *Val. Max. l. v. c. 3.*

contribute the least quantity of wood to honour his funeral pile: These last offices were therefore rendered to him in the territories of Megara. A lady of the country, who accidentally assisted at his funeral with her servants, caused a cenotaph, or vacant tomb, to be erected to his memory on the same spot; and, collecting into her robe the bones of that great man, which she had carefully gathered up, she conveyed them into her house by night, and buried them under her hearth, with these expressions: *Dear and sacred hearth, I here confide to thee, and deposit in thy bosom, these precious remains of a worthy man. Preserve them with fidelity, in order to restore them hereafter to the monument of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall become wiser than they are at present.*

Though it may possibly be thought, that a variety of irregular, tumultuous, unjust, and cruel sentences, denounced in Athens against virtuous citizens at different times, might have prepared us for this last, it will, however, be always thought surprising, that a whole people, of whom one naturally conceives a noble idea, after such a series of great actions, should be capable of such a strange perversity. But it ought to be remembered, that the dregs of a vile populace, entirely void of honour, probity, and morals, reigned then at Athens. And there is sufficient foundation for the sentiments of Plato and Plutarch, who declare, that the people, when they are either destitute of guides, or no longer listen to their admonitions; and when they have thrown off the reins by which they once were checked, and are entirely abandoned to their impetuosity and caprice; ought to be considered as a blind, intractable, and cruel monster, ready to launch in a moment into the most fatal and opposite extremes, and infinitely more formidable than the most inhuman tyrants. What can be expected from such a tribunal? When people resolve to be guided by nothing but mere passion; to have no regard to decorum, and to run headlong into an open violation of all laws; the best, the justest, and most innocent

innocent of mankind, will sink under an implacable and prevailing cabal. This Socrates experienced almost a hundred years before Phocion perished by the same fate.

This last was one of the greatest men that Greece ever produced, in whose person every kind of merit were united. He had been educated in the school of Plato and Xenocrates, and formed his manners upon the most perfect plan of Pagan virtue, to which his conduct was always conformable.

It would be difficult for any person to carry disinterest higher than this extraordinary man; which appeared from the extreme poverty in which he died, after the many great offices he had filled. How many opportunities of acquiring riches has a general always at the head of armies, who acts against rich and opulent enemies; sometimes in countries abounding with all things, and which seem to invite the plunderer! But Phocion would have thought it infamous, had he returned from his campaigns laden with any acquisition, but the glory of his exalted actions, and the grateful benedictions of the people he had spared.

This excellent person, amidst all the severity which rendered him in some measure intractable, when the interests of the republick were concerned, had so much natural softness and humanity, that his enemies themselves always found him disposed to assist them. It might even have been said, that he was a composition of two natures, whose qualities were entirely opposite to each other in appearance. When he acted as a publick man, he armed himself with fortitude, and steadiness, and zeal; he could sometimes assume even the air of a rigid indignation, and was inflexible in supporting discipline in its utmost strictness. If, on the other hand, he appeared in a private capacity, his conduct was a perpetual display of mildness and affability, condescension and patience, and was graced with all the virtues that can render the commerce of life agreeable. It was no inconsiderable merit, and
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especially in a military man, to be capable of uniting two such different characters in such a manner, that as the severity which was necessary for the preservation of good order, was never seen to degenerate into the rigour that creates aversion in others; so the gentleness and complacency of his disposition never sunk into that softness and indifference which occasions contempt.

He has been greatly applauded for reforming the modern custom of his country, which made war and policy two different professions; and also for restoring the manner of governing of Pericles and Aristides, by uniting each of those talents in himself.

As he was persuaded, that eloquence was essential to a statesman, and especially in a republican government, he applied himself to the attainment of it with great assiduity and success. His was concise, solid, full of force and sense, and close to the point in question. He thought it beneath a statesman to use a poignant and satirick style, and his only answer to those who employed such language against him, was silence and patience. (b) An orator having once interrupted him with many injurious expressions, he suffered him to continue in that strain as long as he pleased, and then resumed his own discourse with as much coolness as if he had heard nothing.

It was highly glorious for Phocion, that he was forty-five times elected a general by a people to whose caprice he was so little inclinable to accommodate his conduct, and it is remarkable that these elections always happened when he was absent, without any previous solicitations on his part. His wife was sufficiently sensible how much this was for his glory, and one day when an Ionian lady of considerable rank, who lodged in her house, shewed her, with an air of ostentation and pleasure, her ornaments of gold, with a variety of jewels and bracelets, she answered her with a modest tone, *For my part, I have no ornament*

(b) Plut. de ger. rep. p. 810.

ment but Phocion, who, for these twenty years, has always been elected general of the Athenians.

His regular and frugal life contributed not a little to the vigorous and healthy old age he enjoyed. When he was in his eightieth year, he commanded the forces, and sustained all the fatigues of war, with the vivacity of a young officer.

One of the great principles in the politicks of Phocion was, that peace ought always to be the aim of every wise government, and, with this view, he was a constant opposer of all wars that were either imprudent or unnecessary. He was even apprehensive of those that were most just and expedient; because he was sensible, that every war weakened and impoverished a state, even amidst a series of the greatest victories, and that whatever the advantage might be at the commencement of it, there was never any certainty of terminating it, without experiencing the most tragical vicissitudes of fortune.

The interest of the publick never gave way with him to any domestick views; he constantly refused to solicit, or act in favour of his son-in-law Charicles, who was summoned before the republick, to account for the sums he had received from Harpalus; and he then addressed himself to him with this admirable expression---*I have made you my son-in-law, but only for what is honest and honourable.* It must indeed be acknowledged, that men of this character seem very incommodious and insupportable in the common transactions of life: They are always starting difficulties*, when any affair is proposed to them; and never perform any good offices with entire ease and grace. We must always deliberate, whether what we request of such persons be just or not. Their friends and relations have as little ascendant over them as utter strangers; and they always oppose, either their conscience, or some particular duties to ancient friendship,

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affinity;

* Hæc prima lex in amicitia sancitur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogari. Turpis enim excusatio est, et minimè

accipienda, cùm in cæteris peccatis, tum si quis contra rempublicam se amici causa fecisse fateatur. Cic. de Amicit. n. 40.

affinity, or the advantage of their families. To this height of delicacy did Phocion carry the Pagan probity.

One may justly apply to him what Tacitus said of a celebrated Roman, I mean Helvidius Priscus*. Phocion, who had as solid a genius as that person, applied himself at first to philosophy, not to cover his indolence with the pompous title of a sage, but to qualify himself for entering upon the conduct of affairs with more vigour and resolution against all unexpected accidents. He concurred in opinion with those who acknowledged no other good or evil than virtue and vice, and who ranked all externals, as fortune, power, nobility, in the class of indifferent things. He was a firm friend, a tender husband, a good senator, a worthy citizen, and discharged all the offices of civil life with equal merit. He preserved a steadiness of mind in prosperity that resembled stiffness and severity, and despised death as much as riches.

These are part of the great qualities of Phocion, who merited an happier end; and they were placed in their most amiable light by his death. The constancy of mind, the mildness of disposition, and the forgetfulness of wrongs conspicuous in his conduct on that occasion, are above all his other praises, and infinitely enhance their lustre, especially as we shall see nothing comparable to him from henceforth in the Grecian history.

His infatuated and ungrateful country was not sensible of their unworthy proceeding till some time after his death. The Athenians then erected a statue of brass to his memory, and honourably interred his bones at the publick expence. His accusers also suffered a punishment

* Ingenium illustre altioribus studiis juvenis admodum dedit, non ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita rempublicam capesseret. Doctores sapientiæ secutus est, qui sola bona quæ honesta, mala tantum quæ tur-

pia, potentiam, nobilitatem, cæteraque extra animum, neque bonis neque malis annumerant—Civis, senator, maritus, amicus cunctis, vitæ officiis æquabilis: opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversus metus. *Tacit. Hist. l. iv. c. 5.*

punishment suitable to their desert; but did not his judges themselves deserve to be treated with greater severity than them? They punished their own crime in others, and thought themselves acquitted by a brazen statue. They were even ready to relapse into the same injustice against others who were equally innocent, whom they condemned during their lives, and had never the equity to acquit till after their death.

(c) Cassander was careful to improve the disorder that reigned in Athens, and entered the Piræus with a fleet of thirty-five vessels which he had received from Antigonus. The Athenians, when they beheld themselves destitute of all succours, unanimously resolved to send deputies to Cassander, in order to know the conditions on which they might treat of a peace; and it was mutually agreed that the Athenians should continue masters of the city, with its territories, and likewise of the revenues and ships. But they stipulated that the citadel should remain in the power of Cassander, till he had ended the war with the kings. And as to what related to the affairs of the republick, it was agreed, that those, whose income amounted to ten minæ, or a thousand drachmæ, should have a share in the government, which was a less sum by half than that which was the qualification for publick employments, when Antipater made himself master of Athens. In a word, the inhabitants of that city permitted Cassander to chuse what citizen he pleased to govern the republick, and Demetrius Phalereus was elected to that dignity about the close of the third year of the 105th Olympiad. The ten years government, therefore, which Diodorus and Diogenes have assigned Demetrius, is to be computed from the beginning of the following year.

He governed the republick in peace; he constantly treated his fellow-citizens with all imaginable mildness and humanity; and historians acknowledge that the government was never better regulated than under Cassander. This prince seemed inclinable to tyranny,

M 2

but

but the Athenians were not sensible of its effects. And though Demetrius, whom he had constituted chief of the republick, was invested with a kind of sovereign power, yet instead of abolishing the democracy, he may rather be said to have re-established it. He acted in such a manner, that the people scarce perceived that he was master. As he united in his person the politician and the man of letters, his soft and persuasive eloquence demonstrated the truth of an expression he frequently used; that discourse had as much power in a government as arms in war. His abilities in political affairs were equally conspicuous*; for he produced speculative philosophy from the shade and inactivity of the schools, exhibited her in full light, and knew how to familiarise her precepts with the most tumultuous affairs. It would have been difficult, therefore, to have found a person capable of excelling like him in the art of government, and the study of the sciences.

He acquired, during these ten years of his government, that reputation which caused him to be considered as one of the greatest men Athens has produced. He augmented the revenues of the republick, and adorned the city with noble structures; he was likewise industrious to diminish luxury, and all expences which tended to the promotion of pride. For which reason he disapproved of those that were laid out on theatres†, porticoes, and new temples; and openly censured Pericles, for having bestowed such a prodigious sum of money on the magnificent porticoes of the temple of Pallas, called (*d*) *Propylea*. But in all publick feasts which had been consecrated by

(*d*) Plut. in præcept. reip. ger. p. 818.

* Mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque, non modò in solem atque pulverem, sed in ipsum discrimen aciemque perduxit—Qui utraque re excelleret, ut et doctrinæ studiis, et regenda civitate princeps esset, quis facile præter hunc inveniri potest? *Cic. l. iii. de leg.*

† Theatra, porticus, nova templa, verecundiùs reprehendopropter Pompeium: sed doctissimi improbant—ut Phalereus Demetrius, qui Periclem, principem Græciæ, vituperabat quòd tantam pecuniam in præclara illa propylæa conjecerit. *Cic. l. ii. de Offic. n. 60.*

by antiquity, or when the people were inclinable to be expensive in the celebration of any sacred solemnities, he permitted them to use their riches as they pleased.

(e) The expence was excessive at the death of great persons, and their sepulchres were as sumptuous and magnificent as those of the Romans in the age of Cicero. Demetrius made a law to abolish this abuse which had passed into a custom, and inflicted penalties on those who disobeyed it. He also ordered the ceremonies of funerals to be performed by night, and none were permitted to place any other ornament on tombs, but a column three cubits high, or a plain table, *mensam*; and he appointed a particular magistrate to enforce the observation of this law.

(f) He likewise made laws for the regulation of manners, and commanded young persons to testify respect for their parents at home; and in the city to those whom they met in their way, and to themselves, when they were alone.

(g) The poor citizens were likewise the objects of his attention. There were at that time in Athens, some of the descendants of Aristides, that Athenian general, who after he had possessed the greatest offices in the state, and governed the affairs of the treasury for a very considerable time, died so poor, that the publick was obliged to defray the charges of his funeral. Demetrius took care of those descendants, who were poor, and assigned them a daily sum for their subsistence.

(h) Such, says Ælian, was the government of Demetrius Phalereus, till the spirit of envy, so natural to the Athenians, obliged him to quit the city, in the manner we shall soon relate.

The advantageous testimonials rendered him by ancient authors of the greatest repute, not only of his extraordinary talents and ability in the art of government, but likewise his virtue, and the wisdom of

M 3

his

(e) Cic. de Leg. l. ii. n. 63---66. (f) Diog. Laert. (g) Plut. in vit. Arist. p. 535. (h) Ælian. l. iii. c. 17.

his conduct, is a plain refutation of all that has been advanced by Athenæus, on the authority of the historian Duris, with relation to the irregularity of his deportment; and strengthens the conjecture of M. Bonamy, who supposes, that Duris, or Athenæus, have imputed that to Demetrius Phalereus, which related only to Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus, to whom Ælian ascribes the very particulars which Athenæus had cited from Duris. (i) The reader may have recourse to the dissertation of M. Bonamy, which has been very useful to me in the course of this work.

(k) During the 105th Olympiad Demetrius Phalereus caused the inhabitants of Attica to be numbered, and they amounted to twenty-one thousand (l) citizens, ten thousand (m) strangers, and * forty thousand (n) domesticks.

(o) We now return to Polyperchon. When he had received intelligence, that Cassander had made himself master of Athens, he immediately hastened to besiege him in that city; but as the siege took up a great length of time, he left part of his troops before the place, and advanced with the rest into Peloponnesus, to force the city of Megara to surrender. The inhabitants made a long and vigorous defence, which compelled Polyperchon to employ his attention and forces on those quarters to which he was called by more pressing necessities. He dispatched Clitus to the Hellespont, with orders to prevent the enemy's troops from passing out of Asia into Europe. Nicanor set sail, at the same time, from the port of Athens, in order to attack him, but was himself defeated near Byzantium. Antigonus having advanced in a very seasonable juncture, made himself

(i) Tom. VIII. des Memoires de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres.

(k) Athen. l. vi. p. 272. (l) Ἀθηναῖοι. (m) μετοίκοι. (n) οἰκέται.

(o) Diod. l. xviii. p. 642---646.

* The words in the original are evident mistake, and it undoubtedly ought to be read *τίσσεσας*, four myriads, which are equal to four myriads, which amount to forty hundred thousand, which is an thousand.

himself amends for this loss, beat Clitus, and took all his fleet, except the vessel of Clitus, which escaped with great difficulty.

(p) Antigonus was most embarrassed in his endeavours to reduce Eumenes, whose valour, wisdom, and great ability in the art of war, were more formidable to him than all the rest, though he had besieged and blocked him up, for twelve months, in the castle of Nora. He therefore made a second attempt to engage him in his interest, for he had taken measures to that effect, before he formed that siege. He accordingly consigned this commission to Jerom of Cardia, his countryman, and a famous historian of that time*, who was authorized by him to make overtures of accommodation to his adversary. Eumenes conducted this negociation with so much dexterity and address, that he extricated himself from the siege, at the very juncture wherein he was reduced to the last extremities, and without entering into any particular engagements with Antigonus. For the latter having inserted in the oath, which Eumenes was to swear in consequence of this accommodation, that he would consider all those as his friends and enemies, who should prove such to Antigonus; Eumenes changed that article, and swore that he would regard all those as his friends and enemies, who should be such to Olympias and the kings, as well as to Antigonus. He then desired the Macedonians who assisted at the siege, to determine which of these two forms was best; and as they were guided by their affection for the royal family, they declared, without the least hesitation, for the form drawn up by Eumenes; upon which he swore to it, and the siege was immediately raised.

When Antigonus was informed of the manner in which this affair was concluded, he was so dissatisfied with it, that he refused to ratify the treaty, and gave

M 4

orders

(p) Plut. in Eumen. p. 590.

* He compiled the history of those who divided the dominions of Alexander among themselves, and it likewise comprehended the history of their successors.

orders for the siege to be instantly renewed. These orders however came too late, for as soon as Eumenes saw the enemy's forces were withdrawn from before the place, he quitted it without delay, with the remains of his troops, which amounted to five hundred men, and saved himself in Cappadocia, where he immediately assembled two thousand of his veteran soldiers, and made all the necessary preparations for sustaining the war, which he foresaw would soon be revived against him.

The revolt of Antigonus from the kings, having occasioned a great alarm, Polyperchon the regent dispatched to Eumenes, in the name of the kings, a commission, by which he was constituted captain-general of Asia minor; others were likewise sent to Teutames and Antigones, colonels of the Argyraspides, to join, and serve under him, against Antigonus. The necessary orders were also transmitted to those who had the care of the kings treasures, to pay him five hundred talents, for the re-establishment of his own affairs, and likewise to furnish him with all the sums that would be necessary to defray the expence of the war. All these were accompanied with letters from Olympias.

A. M. 3686. Ant. J. C 318. (q) Eumenes was very sensible that the accumulation of all these honours on the head of a stranger, would infallibly excite a violent envy against him, and render him odious to the Macedonians: But as he was incapable of acting to any effect without them, and since the good of the service itself made it necessary for him to employ all his efforts to gain them, he began with refusing the sums which were granted him for his own use, declaring that he had no occasion for them, because he was not intent on any particular advantage of his own, nor on any enterprise of that tendency. He was studious to treat every person about him, the officers, and even the soldiers, with an obliging civility, in order to extinguish,

(q) Diod. l. xviii. p. 635, 636, & 663. Plut. in Eum. p. 591---593. Cor. Nep. c. vii.

guish, as much as possible, or at least to weaken, by an engaging conduct, the jealousy to which his condition, as a stranger, afforded a plausible pretext, though he endeavoured not to draw it upon him by any conduct of his own.

But an impediment, still more invincible in appearance, threw him under a restraint, and created him very cruel inquietudes. Antigenes and Teutames, who commanded the Argyraepides, thought it dishonourable to their nation, to submit to a stranger, and refused to attend him in council. On the other hand, he could not, without derogating from the prerogatives of his post, comply with them in that point, and consent to such a degradation. An ingenious fiction disengaged him from this perplexity, and he had recourse to the aids of religion, or rather superstition, which has always a powerful influence over the minds of men, and seldom fails to accomplish its effect. He assured them, “ That Alexander, arrayed in his royal robes, had appeared to him in his slumber, and shewn him a magnificent tent, in which a throne was erected, and that the monarch declared to him, that while they held their councils in that tent, to deliberate on their affairs, he himself would be always present, seated on that throne; from whence he would issue his orders to his captains, and that he would conduct them in the execution of all their designs and enterprises, provided they would always address themselves to him.” This discourse was sufficient, and the minds of all who heard it were wrought upon by the profound respect they entertained for the memory of that prince: In consequence of which they immediately ordered a splendid tent to be erected, and a throne placed in it, which was to be called *the throne of Alexander*; and on this were to be laid his diadem and crown, with his scepter and arms; that all the chiefs should resort thither every morning to offer sacrifices; that their consultations should be held near the throne, and that all orders should be received

ceived in the name of the king, as if he were still living, and taking care of his kingdom. Eumenes calmed the dispute by this expedient, which met with unanimous approbation. No one raised himself above the others; but each competitor continued in the enjoyment of his privileges, till new events decided them in a more positive manner.

(*q*) As Eumenes was sufficiently supplied with money, he soon raised a very considerable body of troops, and had an army of twenty thousand men, in the season of spring. These forces, with Eumenes at their head, were sufficient to spread terror among his enemies. Ptolemy sailed to the coasts of Cilicia, and employed all sorts of expedients to corrupt the Argyraspides. Antigonus, on his part, made the same attempts by the emissaries he had in his camp; but neither the one nor the other could succeed then; so much had Eumenes gained upon the minds of his soldiers, and so great was the confidence they reposed in him.

He advanced, with these affectionate troops, into Syria and Phœnicia, to recover those provinces which Ptolemy had seized with the greatest injustice. The maritime force of Phœnicia, in conjunction with the fleet which the regent had already procured, would have rendered them absolute masters by sea, and they might likewise have been capable of transmitting all necessary succours to each other. Could Eumenes have succeeded in this design, it would have been a decisive blow; but the fleet of Polysperchon having been entirely destroyed by the misconduct of Clitus, who commanded it, that misfortune rendered his project ineffectual. Antigonus, who had defeated him, marched by land, immediately after that victory, against Eumenes, with an army much more numerous than his own. Eumenes made a prudent retreat through Cœlosyria, after which he passed the Euphrates, and took up his winter-quarters at Carres in Mesopotamia.

During

(r) During his continuance in those parts, he sent to Pithon, governor of Media, and to Seleucus, governor of Babylon, to press them to join him with their forces against Antigonus, and caused the orders of the kings to be shewn them, by which they were enjoined to comply with his demand. They answered, that they were ready to assist those monarchs; but that, as to his own particular, they would have no transactions with a man who had been declared a public enemy by the Macedonians. This was only a pretext, and they were actuated by a much more prevalent motive. If they had acknowledged the authority of Eumenes, and had obeyed him by advancing to him, and subjecting their troops to his command, they must also have acknowledged the sovereign power of the regent, as well as of those who were masters of the royal pupils, and made use of their names, to render their own power more extensive. Pithon and Seleucus must therefore, by inevitable consequence, have owned, that they held their governments only from those kings, and might be divested of them, at their pleasure, and by virtue of the first order, to that effect, which would have destroyed all their ambitious pretences with a single stroke.

Most of the officers of Alexander, who had shared the governments of the empire among themselves, after his death, were solicitous to secure themselves the supreme power in their several provinces; for which reason they had chosen a person of a mean capacity, and an infant, on whom they conferred the title of sovereign, in order to have sufficient time to establish their usurpations under a weak government. But all these measures would have been disconcerted, if they had allowed Eumenes an ascendant over them, with such an air of superiority, as subjected them to his orders. He issued them, indeed, in the name of the kings; but this was a circumstance they were desirous of evading, and at the same time it created him so many enemies and obstructions. They were also apprehensive

prehensive of the merit and superior genius of Eumenes, who was capable of the greatest and most difficult enterprizes. It is certain, that of all the captains of Alexander, he had the greatest share of wisdom and bravery, and was also the most steady in his resolutions; for he never broke his engagements with any of those commanders, though they did not observe the same fidelity with respect to him.

Eumenes marched from Babylonia the following spring, and was in danger of losing his army by a stratagem of Seleucus. The troops were encamped in a plain near the Euphrates, and Seleucus, by cutting the banks from that river, laid all the neighbouring country under water. Eumenes, however, was so expeditious as to gain an eminence with his troops, and found means, the next day, to drain off the inundation so effectually, that he pursued his march almost without sustaining any loss.

(s) Seleucus was then reduced to the necessity of making a truce with him, and of granting him a peaceable passage through the territories of his province, in order to arrive at Susa, where he disposed his troops into quarters of refreshment, while he solicited all the governors of the provinces, in upper Asia, for succours. He had before notified to them the order of the kings, and those whom he had charged with that commission, found them all assembled, at the close of a war they had undertaken in concert against Pithon the governor of Media. This Pithon having pursued the very same measures in the upper Asia, which Antigonus had formed in the lower, had caused Philotas to suffer death, and made himself master of his government. He would likewise have attempted to treat the rest in the same manner, if they had not opposed him by this confederacy, which the common interest had formed against him. Peucestes, governor of the province of Persia, had the command in chief conferred upon him, and defeated Pithon, drove him out of Media, and obliged him
to

to go to Babylon to implore the protection of Seleucus. All the confederates were still in the camp after this victory, when the deputies from Eumenes arrived, and they immediately marched from Susa to join him: Not that they were really devoted to the royal party, but because they were more apprehensive, than ever, of being subjected to the victorious Antigonus, who was then at the head of a powerful army, and either divested of their employments all such governors as he suspected, or reduced them to the state of mere officers, liable to be removed and punished at his pleasure.

They joined Eumenes, therefore, with all their forces, which composed an army of above twenty thousand men. With this reinforcement, he saw himself not only in a condition to oppose Antigonus, who was then advancing to him, but still much superior in the number of his troops. The season was far advanced, when Antigonus arrived at the banks of the Tygris, and was obliged to take winter-quarters in Mesopotamia; where, with Seleucus and Pithon, A. M. 3687. who were then of his party, he concerted measures Ant. J. C. 317. for the operations of the next campaign.

(*t*) During these transactions, Macedonia was the scene of a great revolution. Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, whom Polyperchon had recalled, had made herself absolute mistress of affairs, and caused Aridæus, or Philip, who had enjoyed the title of king for six years and four months, to be put to death. Eurydice his consort sustained the same fate; for Olympias sent her a dagger, a cord, and a bowl of poison, and only allowed her the liberty of chusing her death. She accordingly gave the preference to the cord, and then strangled herself, after she had uttered a thousand imprecations against her enemy and murderers. Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, and a hundred of the principal friends of this latter, likewise suffered death.

These repeated barbarities did not long remain unpunished.

(*t*) Died. l. xix. p. 659, 660.

punished. Olympias had retired to Pydna with the young king Alexander, and his mother Roxana, with Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great, and Decidamia, the daughter of Æacides king of Epirus, and sister of Pyrrhus. Cassander did not lose any time, but advanced thither, and besieged them by sea and land. Æacides prepared to assist the princesses, and was already upon his march; but the greatest part of his forces, who were averse to that expedition, revolted from the king, and condemned him to banishment, when they returned to Epirus. They likewise massacred all his friends; and Pyrrhus, the son of Æacides, who was then but an infant, would have suffered the same fate, if a set of faithful domesticks had not happily withdrawn him from their rage. Epirus then declared in favour of Cassander, who sent Lyciscus thither to take upon him the government in his name. Olympias had then no recourse but only from Polyperchon, who was then in Perrhœbia, a small province on the confines of Ætolia, and was preparing to succour her; but Cassander sent Callas, one of his generals, against him, who corrupted the greatest part of his troops, and obliged him to retire into Naxia, a city of Perrhœbia, where he besieged him. Olympias, who had supported all the miseries of famine with an invincible courage, having now lost all hopes of relief, was compelled to surrender at discretion.

Cassander, in order to destroy her in a manner that might give the least offence, prompted the relations of the principal officers, whom Olympias had caused to be slain during her regency, to accuse her in the assembly of the Macedonians, and to sue for vengeance for the cruelties she had committed. The request of these persons was granted; and when they had all been heard, she was condemned to die, though absent, and no one interposed his good offices in her defence. After sentence of death had passed, Cassander proposed to her, by some friends, to retire to Athens, promising to accommodate her with a galley
to

to convey her thither, whenever she should be so disposed. His intention was to destroy her in her passage by sea, and to publish through all Macedonia, that the gods, amidst their displeasure at her horrible cruelties, had abandoned her to the mercy of the waves: For he was apprehensive of a retaliation from the Macedonians, and was therefore desirous of casting upon Providence all the odious circumstances of his own perfidy.

Olympias, whether she had been advertised of Cassander's design, or whether she was actuated by sentiments of grandeur, so natural to persons of her rank, imagined her presence alone would calm the storm, and answered, with an imperious air, that she was not a woman who would have recourse to flight, and insisted on pleading her own cause in the publick assembly; adding, this was the least favour that could be granted a queen, or rather, that it was an act of justice, which could not be refused to persons of the lowest rank. Cassander had no inclination to consent to this demand, having reason to be apprehensive, that the remembrance of Philip and Alexander, for whom the Macedonians retained the utmost veneration, would create a sudden change in their resolutions, he therefore sent two hundred soldiers entirely devoted to his will, with orders to destroy her: But as resolute as they were in themselves, they were incapable of supporting the air of majesty which appeared in the eyes and aspect of that princess; and retired without executing their commission. It became necessary, therefore, to employ in this murder, the relations of those whom she had caused to suffer death; and they were transported at the opportunity of gratifying their vengeance in making their court to Cassander. Thus perished the famous Olympias, the daughter, the sister, the wife, and the mother of kings, and who really merited so tragical a period of her days, in consequence of all her crimes and cruelties; but it is impossible to see her perish in this manner, without detesting the wickedness of a prince

prince who deprived her of life in so unworthy a manner.

(u) Cassander already beheld an assured passage to the Macedonian throne opened to his ambition; but he thought it incumbent on him to have recourse to other measures, in order to secure himself against the vicissitudes of time, the inconstancy of the Macedonians, and the jealousy of his competitors. Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great, being qualified by her illustrious birth, and authority in Macedonia, to conciliate to him the friendship of the grandees, and people of that kingdom, he hoped, by espousing her, to attach them in a peculiar manner to himself, in consequence of the esteem and respect they testified for the royal family.

There was still one obstacle more to be surmounted, without which Cassander would have always been deemed an usurper, and a tyrant. The young prince Alexander, the son of Alexander the Great, by Roxana, was still living, and had been acknowledged king, and the lawful heir to the throne. It became necessary therefore to remove this prince and his mother out of the way. Cassander*, emboldened by the success of his former crime, was determined to commit a second, from whence he expected to derive all the fruit of his hopes. Prudence, however, made it necessary for him to sound the disposition of the Macedonians, with respect to the death of Olympias; for if they shewed themselves insensible, at the loss of that princess, he might be certain that the death of the young king, and his mother, would affect them as little. He therefore judged it expedient to proceed with caution, and advance by moderate steps, to the execution of his scheme. In order to which, he began with causing Alexander and Roxana to be conducted to the castle of Amphipolis, by a good escort commanded by Glaucias, an officer entirely devoted

(u) Diod. l. xix. p. 695---697.

* *Haud ignarus summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum præmio. Tacit.*

devoted to his interest. When they arrived at that fortress, they were divested of all regal honours, and treated rather like private persons, whom important motives of state made it necessary to secure.

He intended, by his next step, to make it evident, that he claimed sovereign power in Macedonia. With this view, and in order to render the memory of Olympias still more odious, he gave orders for performing with great magnificence the funeral obsequies of king Philip, or Aridæus, and queen Eurydice his wife, who had been murdered by the directions of Olympias. He commanded the usage of such mourning as was customary in solemnities of that nature, and caused the royal remains to be deposited in the tombs appropriated to the sepulture of the Macedonian kings; affecting by these exteriors of dissembled sorrow, to manifest his zeal for the royal family, at the same time that he was meditating the destruction of the young king.

Polyperchon, in consequence of the information he received of the death of Olympias, and the exaltation of Cassander to the throne of Macedonia, had sheltered himself in Naxia, a city of Perrhæbia, where he had sustained a siege, and from whence he retreated with a very inconsiderable body of troops, to pass into Thessaly, in order to join some forces of Æacides; after which he advanced into Ætolia, where he was greatly respected. Cassander followed him closely, and marched his army into Bœotia, where the ancient inhabitants of Thebes were seen wandering from place to place, without any fixed habitation or retreat. He was touched with the calamitous condition of that city, which was once so powerful, and had been razed to its very foundations by the command of Alexander. After a period of twenty years, he endeavoured to re-instate it in its primitive splendor; the Athenians offered to rebuild part of the walls at their own expence, and several towns and cities of Italy, Sicily, and Greece, bestowed considerable sums on that occasion by voluntary contributions.

contributions. By which means Thebes, in a short space of time, recovered its ancient opulence, and became even richer than ever, by the care and magnificence of Cassander, who was justly considered as the father and restorer of that city.

When he had given proper orders for the re-establishment of Thebes, he advanced into Peloponnesus, against Alexander the son of Polyperchon, and marched directly to Argos, that surrendered without resistance, upon which all the cities of the Messenians, except Ithome, followed that example. Alexander, terrified at the rapidity of his conquests, endeavoured to check them by a battle; but Cassander, who was much inferior to him in troops, was unwilling to hazard a battle, and thought it more adviseable to retire into Macedonia, after he had left good garrisons in the places he had taken.

(x) As he knew the merit of Alexander, he endeavoured to disengage him from the party of Antigonus, and attach him to his own, by offering him the government of all Peloponnesus, with the command of the troops stationed in that country. An offer so advantageous, was accepted by Alexander without any hesitation; but he did not long enjoy it, having been unfortunately slain soon after, by some citizens of Sicyone, where he then resided, who had combined to destroy him. This conspiracy, however, did not produce the effects expected from it; for Cratesipolis, the wife of Alexander, whose heart was a composition of grandeur and fortitude, instead of manifesting any consternation at the sight of this fatal accident, and as she was beloved by the soldiers, and honoured by the officers, whom she had always obliged and served, repressed the insolence of the Sicyonians, and defeated them in a battle; after which she caused thirty of the most mutinous among them to be hung up; appeased all the troubles which had been excited by the seditious in the city, re-entered it in a victorious manner, and governed it with a wisdom

dom that acquired her the admiration of all those who heard any mention of her conduct.

Whilst Cassander was employing all his efforts to establish himself on the throne of Macedonia, Antigonus was concerting measures to rid himself of a dangerous enemy; and, having taken the field the ensuing spring, he advanced to Babylon, where he augmented his army with the troops he received from Pithon and Seleucus, and then passed the Tigris to attack Eumenes; who had neglected nothing on his part to give him a warm reception. He was much superior to Antigonus in the number of his troops, and yet more in the abilities of a great commander; though the other was far from being defective in those qualifications; for, next to Eumenes, he was undoubtedly the best general and ablest statesman of his time.

(y) Eumenes had this misfortune, that his army being composed of different bodies of troops, with the governors of provinces at their head, each of them pretended to the command in chief. Eumenes not being a Macedonian, but a Thracian by birth, every one of those governors thought himself, for that reason, his superior. We may add to this, that the pomp, splendor, and magnificence affected by them, seemed to leave an infinite distance between him and them who assumed the air of real Satrapæ. They imagined, in consequence of a mistaken and ill-timed ambition*, but very customary with great men, that to give sumptuous repasts, and add to them whatever may exalt pleasure and gratify sense, were part of the duties of a soldier of rank; and estimating their own merit by the largeness of their revenues and expences, they flattered themselves that they had acquired, by their means, an extraordinary credit, and a great authority over the troops, and that the army had all the consideration and esteem for them imaginable.

N 2

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(y) Diod. l. xix. p. 669---672. Plut. in Eumen. p. 591, 592.

* Non deerant qui ambitione dinum ut instrumenta belli mer-
stolida——luxoriosos apparatus carentur, Tacit.
conviviorum et irritamenta libi.

A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315. A circumstance happened at this time, which ought to have undeceived them. As the soldiers were marching in quest of the enemy, Eumenes, who was seized with a dangerous indisposition, was carried in a litter, at a considerable distance from the army, to be more remote from the noise, and that he might enjoy the refreshment of slumber, of which he had long been deprived. When they had made some advance, and began to perceive the enemy appear on the rising grounds, they halted on a sudden, and began to call for Eumenes. At the same time, they cast their bucklers on the ground, and declared to their officers, that they would not proceed on their march, till Eumenes came to command them. He accordingly came with all expedition, hastening the slaves who carried him, and opening the curtains on each side of his litter: He then stretched out his hands to the soldiers, and made them a declaration of his joy and gratitude. When the troops beheld him, they immediately saluted him in the Macedonian language, resumed their bucklers, clashed upon them with their pikes, and broke forth into loud acclamations of victory, and defiance to their enemies, as if they desired only to see their general at their head.

When Antigonus received intelligence that Eumenes was ill, and caused himself to be carried in a litter, in the rear of the army, he advanced, in hopes that his distemper would deliver his enemies into his hands; but when he came near enough to take a view of them, and beheld their chearful aspects, the disposition of their army, and particularly the litter, which was carried from rank to rank, he burst into a loud vein of laughter, in his usual manner, and addressing himself to one of his officers---*Take notice,* said he, *of yonder litter; it is that which has drawn up those troops against us, and is now preparing to attack us.* And then, without losing a moment's time, he caused a retreat to be sounded, and returned to his camp.

Plutarch remarks, that the Macedonians made it very evident, on this occasion, that they judged all
the

the other Satrapæ exceedingly well qualified to give splendid entertainments, and dispose great feasts, but that they esteemed Eumenes alone capable of commanding an army with ability. This is a solid and sensible reflection, and affords room for a variety of applications; and points out the false taste for glory, and the injudiciousness of those officers and commanders, who are only studious to distinguish themselves in the army by magnificent collations, and place their principal merit in surpassing others in luxury, and frequently in ruining themselves without thanks by those ridiculous expences. I say without thanks, because nobody thinks himself obliged to them for their profusion, and they are always the worst servants of the state.

(z) The two armies having separated without any previous engagement, encamped at the distance of three furlongs from each other, with a river and several large pools of water between them; and as they sustained great inconveniencies, because the whole country was eaten up, Antigonos sent ambassadors to the Satrapæ and Macedonians of the army of Eumenes, to prevail upon them to quit that general and join him, making them, at the same time, the most magnificent promises to induce their compliance. The Macedonians rejected his proposals, and dismissed the ambassadors, with severe menaces, in case they should presume to make any such for the future. Eumenes, after having commended them for their fidelity, related to them this very ancient fable. “ A lion entertaining a passion for a young virgin, demanded her one day in marriage of her father, whose answer was, that he esteemed this alliance a great honour to him, and was ready to present his daughter to him; but that his large nails and teeth made him apprehensive lest he should employ them a little too rudely upon her, if the least difference should arise between them with relation to their household affairs. The lion, who was passionately

N 3

“ fond

“ fond of the maid, immediately suffered his claws
 “ to be pared off, and his teeth to be drawn out.
 “ After which the father caught up a strong cudgel,
 “ and soon drove away his pretended son-in-law.
 “ This, continued Eumenes, is the aim of Antigonus.
 “ He amuses you with mighty promises, in order to
 “ make himself master of your forces; but when he
 “ has accomplished that design, he will soon make
 “ you sensible of his teeth and claws.”

(a) A few days after this event, some deserters from
 the army of Antigonus having acquainted Eumenes,
 that that general was preparing to decamp the next
 night, about the hour of nine or ten in the evening,
 Eumenes at first suspected, that his intention was to
 advance into the province of Gabene, which was a
 fertile country, capable of subsisting numerous ar-
 mies, and very commodious and secure for the troops,
 by reason of the inundations and rivers with which it
 abounded, and therefore he resolved to prevent his
 execution of that design. With this view he pre-
 vailed, by sums of money, upon some foreign sol-
 diers, to go like deserters into the camp of Antigo-
 nus, and acquaint him, that Eumenes intended to
 attack him the ensuing night. In the mean time he
 caused the baggage to be conveyed away, and or-
 dered the troops to take some refreshment, and then
 march. Antigonus, upon this false intelligence, caused
 his troops to continue under arms, while Eumenes
 in the mean time advanced on his way. Antigonus
 was soon informed by couriers, that he had decamped,
 and finding that he had been over-reached by his ene-
 my, he still persisted in his first intention; and ha-
 ving ordered his troops to strike their tents, he pro-
 ceeded with so much expedition, that his march re-
 sembled a pursuit. But when he saw that it was
 impossible to advance with his whole army up to Eu-
 menes, who had gained upon him, at least six hours,
 in his march, he left his infantry under the command
 of Pithon, and proceeded with the cavalry, on a full
 gallop,

gallop, and came up by break of day with the rear-guard of the enemy, who were descending a hill. He then halted upon the top; and Eumenes, who discovered this body of cavalry, imagined it to be the whole army; upon which he discontinued his march, and formed his troops in order of battle. By these means Antigonus played off a retaliation upon Eumenes, and amused him in his turn; for he prevented the continuance of his march, and gave his own infantry sufficient time to come up.

(b) The two armies were then drawn up; that of Eumenes consisted of thirty-five thousand foot, with above six thousand horse, and a hundred and fourteen elephants. That of Antigonus was composed of twenty-eight thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty-five elephants. The battle was fought with great obstinacy till the night was far advanced, for the moon was then in the full, but the slaughter was not very considerable on either side. Antigonus lost three thousand seven hundred of his infantry, and fifty-four of his horse, and above four thousand of his men were wounded. Eumenes lost five hundred and forty of his infantry, and a very inconsiderable number of his cavalry, and had above nine hundred wounded. The victory was really on his side; but as his troops, notwithstanding all his intreaties, would not return to the field of battle to carry off the dead bodies, which, among the ancients, was an evidence of victory, it was in consequence attributed to Antigonus, whose army appeared again in the field, and buried the dead. Eumenes sent a herald the next day, to desire leave to inter his slain: This was granted him, and he rendered them funeral honours with all possible magnificence.

(c) A very singular dispute arose at the performance of this ceremony. The men happened to find among the slain, the body of an Indian officer, who had brought his two wives with him, one of whom he had but lately married. The law of the country,

N 4

which

(b) Diod. l. xix. p. 673---678.

(c) Ibid. p. 678---680.

which is said to be still subsisting, would not allow a wife to survive her husband ; and if she refused to be burnt with him on the funeral pile, her character was for ever branded with infamy, and she was obliged to continue in a state of widowhood the remainder of her days. She was even condemned to a kind of excommunication, as she was rendered incapable of assisting at any sacrifice, or other religious ceremony. This law, however, extended only to one wife ; but, in the present instance, there were two ; each of whom insisted on being preferred to the other. The eldest pleaded her superiority of years ; to which the youngest replied, that the law excluded her rival, because she was then pregnant ; and the contest was accordingly determined in that manner. The first of them retired with a very dejected air, her eyes bathed in tears, and tearing her hair and habit, as if she had sustained some great calamity. The other, on the contrary, with a mien of joy and triumph, amidst a numerous retinue of her relations and friends, and arrayed in her richest ornaments, as on the day of her nuptials, advanced with a solemn pace, where the funeral ceremonies were to be performed. She there distributed all her jewels among her friends and relations ; and, having taken her last farewell, she placed herself on the funeral pile, by the assistance of her own brother, and expired amidst the praises and acclamations of most of the spectators ; but some of them, according to the historian, disapproved of this strange custom, as barbarous and inhuman. The action of this woman was undoubtedly a real murder, and might justly be considered as a violation of the most express law of nature, which prohibits all attempts on a person's own life ; and commands us not to dispose of it in compliance with the dictates of caprice, or forget that it is only a deposit, which ought to be resigned to none but that being from whom we received it. Such a sacrifice is so far from deserving to be enumerated among the instances of respect and amity due to her husband, that he is rather
treated

treated as an unrelenting and bloody idol, by the immolation of such precious victims.

(*d*) During the course of this campaign, the war was maintained with obstinacy on both sides, and Persia and Media were the theatre of its operations. The armies traversed those two great provinces by marches and counter-marches, and each party had recourse to all the art and stratagems that the greatest capacity, in conjunction with a long series of experience in the profession of war, could supply. Eumenes, though he had a mutinous and untractable army to govern, obtained however several advantages over his enemies in this campaign; and when his troops grew impatient for winter-quarters, he had still the dexterity to secure the best in all the province of Gabene, and obliged Antigonus to seek his to the north in Media, where he was incapable of arriving, till after a march of twenty-five days.

(*e*) The troops of Eumenes were so ungovernable, that he could not prevail upon them to post themselves near enough to each other, to be assembled on any emergency. They absolutely insisted on very distant quarters, which took in the whole extent of the province, under pretence of being more commodiously stationed, and of having every thing in greater abundance. In a word, they were dispersed to such a distance from each other, that it required several days for re-assembling them in a body. Antigonus, who was informed of this circumstance, marched from a very remote quarter, in the depth of winter, in hopes to surprise these different bodies so dispersed.

Eumenes, however, was not a man to be surprised in such a manner, but had the precaution to dispatch, to various parts, spies mounted on dromedaries, the swiftest of all animals, to gain timely intelligence of the enemy's motions, and he had posted them so judiciously, that he received information of this march, before Antigonus could arrive at any of his

(*d*) Diod. l. xix. p. 680---684. (*e*) Ibid. p. 684---688. Plut. in Eumen. p. 592. Cor. Nep. c. viii---xii.

his quarters; this furnished him with an expedient to save his army by a stratagem, when all the other generals looked upon it as lost. He posted the troops who were nearest to him on the mountains that rose toward the quarter from whence the enemies were advancing, and ordered them, the following night, to kindle as many fires as might cause it to be imagined all the army were encamped in that situation. Antigonus was soon informed, by his advanced guard, that those fires were seen at a great distance, upon which he concluded that Eumenes was there encamped with all his forces, and in a condition to receive him. In order, therefore, not to expose his men, who were fatigued by long marches, to an engagement with fresh troops, he caused them to halt, that they might have time to recover themselves a little; by which means Eumenes had all the opportunity that was necessary, for assembling his forces, before the enemy could advance upon him. Antigonus finding his scheme defeated, and extremely mortified at being thus over-reached, determined to come to an engagement.

The troops of Eumenes being all assembled about him, were struck with admiration at his extraordinary prudence and ability, and resolved that he should exercise the sole command. Antigones and Teutamies, the two captains who led the Argyraspides, were so exceedingly mortified at a distinction so glorious for Eumenes, that they formed a resolution to destroy him, and drew most of the Satrapæ and principal officers into their conspiracy. Envy is a malady that seldom admits of a cure, and is generally heightened by the remedies administered to it. All the precautions of prudence, moderation, and condescension, which Eumenes employed, were incapable of mollifying the hearts of those Barbarians, and extinguish their jealousy; and he must have renounced his merit and virtue, which occasioned it, to have been capable of appeasing them. He frequently lamented to himself his unhappiness in being fated to live, not with men, as his expression was, but with brute beasts. Several

Several conspiracies had already been formed against him, and he daily beheld himself exposed to the same danger. In order to frustrate their effects, if possible, he had borrowed, on various pretexts of pressing necessity, many considerable sums of those who appeared most inveterate against him, that he, at least, might restrain them, by the consideration of their own interest, and an apprehension of losing the sums they had lent him, should he happen to perish.

His enemies, however, being now determined to destroy him, held a council, in order to deliberate on the time, place, and means of accomplishing their intentions. They all agreed to protract his fall, till after the decision of the impending battle, and then to destroy him near the spot where it was fought. Eudemus, who commanded the elephants, went immediately, with Phædimus, to acquaint Eumenes with this resolution, not from any affection to his person, but only from their apprehensions of losing the money he had borrowed of them. Eumenes returned them his thanks, and highly applauded their affection and fidelity.

When he returned to his tent, he immediately made his will, and then burnt all his papers, with the letters that had been written to him, because he was unwilling that those who had favoured him with any secret intelligence, should be exposed to any accusation or prejudice after his death. When he had thus disposed of his affairs, and found himself alone, he deliberated on the conduct he ought to pursue. It was then a thousand contrary thoughts agitated his mind. Could it possibly be prudent in him, to repose any confidence in those officers and generals, who had sworn his destruction? Might he not lawfully arm against them the zeal and affection of the soldiers, who were inviolably devoted to him? On the other hand, would it not be his best expedient, to pass through Media and Armenia, and retire to Cappadocia, the place of his residence; where he might hope for a sure asylum from danger? Or, in order
to

to avenge himself on those traitors, would it not be better for him to abandon them in the crisis of the battle, and resign the victory to his enemies? For in a situation so desperate as his own, what thoughts will not rise up in the mind of a man reduced to the last extremity by a set of perfidious traitors! This last thought, however, infused a horror into his soul; and as he was determined to discharge his duty to his latest breath, and to combat, to the close of his life, for the prince who had armed him in his cause, he resigned his destiny, says Plutarch, to the will of the gods, and thought only of preparing his troops for the battle.

He had thirty-six thousand seven hundred foot, and above six thousand horse, with four hundred elephants. The army of Antigonus was composed of twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand horse, with a body of Median cavalry, and sixty-five elephants. This general posted his cavalry on the two wings, his infantry he disposed in the center, and formed his elephants into a first line, which extended along the front of the army, and he filled up the intervals between the elephants with light-armed troops. He gave the command of the left wing to Pithon; that of the right he assigned to his son Demetrius, where he was to act in person, at the head of a body of chosen troops. Eumenes drew up his army almost in the same manner; his best troops he disposed into the left wing, and placed himself in their front, in order to oppose Antigonus, and gave the command of the right to Philip.

Before the armies began the charge, he exhorted the Greeks and Barbarians to perform their duty well; for as to his phalanx, and the Argyraspides, they so little needed any animating expressions, that they were the first to encourage him with assurances, that the enemy should not wait a moment for them. They were the oldest troops, who had served under Philip and Alexander, and were all veteran champions, whom victory had crowned in a hundred combats;

bats; they had hitherto been reputed invincible, and had never been foiled in any action; for which reason, they advanced to the troops of Antigonus, and charged them fiercely with this exclamation; *Villains! you now fight with your fathers!* They then broke in upon the infantry with irresistible fury: Not one of the battalions could sustain the shock, and most of them were cut to pieces.

The event was different with respect to the cavalry, for as the engagement between them began on a sandy soil, the motion of the men and horses raised such a thick gloom of dust, as made them incapable of seeing to the distance of three paces. Antigonus, befriended by this darkness, detached from his cavalry a body of troops superior to that of the enemy, and carried off all their baggage, without their perceiving it, and at the same time broke in upon their horse. Peucestes, who commanded them, and, till then, had given a thousand proofs of true bravery, fell back, and drew all the rest after him. Eumenes employed all his efforts to rally them, but in vain; the confusion was universal in that quarter, as the advantage had been compleat in the other. The capture of the baggage was of more importance to Antigonus, than the victory could be to Eumenes; for the soldiers of this latter, finding, at their return, all their baggage carried off, with their wives and children, instead of employing their swords against the enemy, in order to recover them, which would have been very practicable at that time, and was what Eumenes had promised to accomplish, they turned all their fury against their own general.

Having chosen their time, they fell upon him, forced his sword out of his hand, and bound his hands behind him with his own belt. In this condition they led him through the Macedonian phalanx, then drawn up in lines under arms, in order to deliver him up to Antigonus, who had promised to restore them all their baggage on that condition. "Kill me, O soldiers," said Eumenes, as he passed by them,

them, “ kill me yourselves, I conjure ye in the name
 “ of all the gods! for though I perish by the com-
 “ mand of Antigonus, my death will however be
 “ as much your act as if I had fallen by your
 “ swords. If you are unwilling to do me that office
 “ with your own hands, permit me, at least, to dis-
 “ charge it by one of mine. That shall render me
 “ the service which you refuse me. On this con-
 “ dition I absolve you from all the severities you have
 “ reason to apprehend from the vengeance of the
 “ gods, for the crime you are preparing to perpe-
 “ trate on me.”

Upon this they hastened him along to prevent the repetition of such pathetick addresses, that might awaken the affection of the troops for their general.

Most of the soldiers of Antigonus went out to meet him, and left scarce a single man in his camp. When that illustrious prisoner arrived there, Antigonus had not the courage to see him, because his presence alone would have reproached him in the highest degree. As those who guarded him asked Antigonus in what manner he would have him kept: *As you would an elephant*, replied he, *or a lion*, which are two animals most to be dreaded. But within a few days he was touched with compassion, and ordered him to be eased of the weightiest of his chains; he likewise appointed one of his own domesticks to serve him, and permitted his friends to see him, and pass whole days in his company. They were also allowed to furnish him with all necessary refreshments.

Antigonus deliberated with himself for some time, in what manner he should treat his prisoner. They had been intimate friends, when they served under Alexander, and the remembrance of that amity re-kindled some tender sentiments in his favour, and combated for a while his interest. His son Demetrius also solicited strongly in his favour; passionately desiring, in mere generosity, that the life of so great a man might be saved. But Antigonus, who was well acquainted with his inflexible fidelity for the family

family of Alexander, and knew what a dangerous enemy he had in him, and how capable he was of disconcerting all his measures, should he escape from his hands, was too much afraid of him to grant him his life, and therefore ordered him to be destroyed in prison.

Such was the end of the most accomplished man of his age in every particular, and the worthiest to succeed Alexander the Great. He had not, indeed, the fortune of that monarch, but he, perhaps, was not his inferior in merit. He was truly brave without temerity; and prudent without weakness. His descent was but mean, though he was not ashamed of it, and he gradually rose to the highest stations, and might even have aspired to a throne, if he had either had more ambition or less probity. At a time when intrigues and cabals, spirited by a motive most capable of affecting a human heart, I mean the thirst of empire, knew neither sincerity nor fidelity, nor had any respect to the ties of blood, or the rights of friendship, but trampled on the most sacred laws; Eumenes always retained inviolable fidelity and attachment to the royal family, which no hopes or fears, no vicissitude of fortune, nor any elevation, had power to shake. This very character of probity rendered him insupportable to his colleagues; for it frequently happens*, that virtue creates enmities and aversions, because it seems to reproach those who think in a different manner, and places their defects in too near a view.

He possessed all the military virtues in a supreme degree; or, in other words, he was a compleat master of the art of war, as well as of fortitude, foresight, a wonderful fertility of invention for stratagems and resources in the most unexpected dangers, and most desperate conjunctures: But I place in a much nobler light, that character of probity, and those
 4 sentiments

* *Industriæ innocentiaque quasi malis artibus infensi—etiam gloria ac virtus infensos habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diversa arguens. Tacit.*

sentiments of honour, which prevailed in him, and were always inseparable from the other shining qualities I have mentioned.

A merit so illustrious and universal, and at the same time so modest, which ought to have excited the esteem and admiration of the other commanders, only gave them offence, and inflamed their envy; a defect too frequently visible in persons of high rank. These Satrapæ, full of themselves, saw with jealousy and indignation, that an officer of no birth, but much better qualified, and more brave and experienced than themselves, had ascended by degrees to the most exalted stations, which they imagined due only to those who were dignified with great names, and descended from ancient and illustrious families: As if true nobility did not consist in merit and virtue.

Antigonus and the whole army celebrated the funeral obsequies of Eumenes with great magnificence, and consented to render him the utmost honours; his death having extinguished all their envy and fear. They deposited his bones and ashes in an urn of silver, and sent it to his wife and children in Cappadocia; poor compensation for a desolate widow and her helpless orphans!

SECT. VI. SELEUCUS, PTOLEMY, LYSIMACHUS, and CASSANDER, form a confederacy against ANTIGONUS. Who deprives PTOLEMY of Syria and Phœnicia, and makes himself master of Tyre, after a long siege. DEMETRIUS, the son of ANTIGONUS, begins to make himself known in Asia minor. He loses a first battle, and gains a second. SELEUCUS takes Babylon. A treaty of peace between the princes is immediately broken. CASSANDER causes the young king ALEXANDER, and his mother ROXANA, to be put to death. HERCULES, another son of ALEXANDER the Great, is likewise slain, with his mother BARSINA, by POLYSPERCHON. ANTIGONUS causes CLEOPATRA, the sister of the same ALEXANDER, to be put to death. The revolt of OPHELLUS in Libya.

(a) **A**NTIGONUS, concluding that he should be master of the empire of Asia for the future, made a new regulation in the eastern provinces, for his better security. He discarded all the governors he suspected, and advanced to their places those persons in whom he thought he might confide. He even destroyed several who had rendered themselves formidable to him by too much merit. Pithon, governor of Media, and Antigenes, general of the Argyraspides, were among these latter. Seleucus, governor of Babylon, was likewise minuted down in his list of proscriptions, but he found means to escape the danger, and threw himself under the protection of Ptolemy king of Egypt. As for the Argyraspides, who had betrayed Eumenes, he sent them into Arachosia, the remotest province in the empire, and ordered Syburtius, who governed there, to take such measures as might destroy them all, and that not one of them might ever return to Greece. The just horror he conceived at the infamous manner in which they betrayed their general, contributed not a little to this resolution, though he enjoyed the fruit of their treason without the least scruple or remorse;

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A. M.
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Ant. J. C.
315.

but a motive, still more prevalent, determined him chiefly to this proceeding. These soldiers were mutinous, untractable, licentious, and averse to all obedience; their example, therefore, was capable of corrupting the other troops, and even of destroying him, by a new instance of treachery; he therefore was resolved to exterminate them without hesitation.

A. M. 3690.
Ant. J. C. 314. (b) Seleucus knew how to represent the formidable power of Antigonus so effectually to Ptolemy, that he engaged him in a league with Lyfimachus and Cassander, whom he had also convinced, by an express, of the danger they had reason to apprehend from the power of that prince. Antigonus was very sensible that Seleucus would not fail to solicit them into measures against his interest, for which reason he sent an embassy to each of the three, to renew the good intelligence between them, by new assurances of his friendship. But what confidence could be reposed in such assurances from a perfidious man who had lately destroyed so many governors, from no inducement but the ambition of reigning alone at the expence of all his colleagues? The answers therefore which he received, made him sufficiently sensible, that it was incumbent on him to prepare for war: Upon which he quitted the East, and advanced into Cilicia with very considerable treasures which he had drawn from Babylon and Susa. He there raised new levies, regulated several affairs in the provinces of Asia minor, and then marched into Syria and Phœnicia.

(c) His design was to divest Ptolemy of those two provinces, and make himself master of their maritime forces, which were absolutely necessary for him in the war he was preparing to undertake against the confederates. For unless he could be master at sea, and have at least the ports and vessels of the Phœnicians at his disposal, he could never expect any success against them. He, however, arrived too late to surprize the ships; for Ptolemy had already sent to

(b) Diōd. l. xix. p. 698---700.

(c) Ibid. p. 700---703-

to Egypt all that could be found in Phœnicia, and it was with difficulty that Antigonus made himself master of the ports; for Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza, opposed him with all their forces. The two last, indeed, were soon taken, but a considerable length of time was necessary for the reduction of Tyre.

However, as he was already master of all the other ports of Syria and Phœnicia, he immediately gave orders for building vessels, and a vast number of trees were cut down, for that purpose, on mount Libanus, which was covered with cedar, and cypress-trees of extraordinary beauty and height, and they were conveyed to the different ports where the ships were to be built, in which work he employed several thousand men. In a word, with these ships, and others, that joined him from Cyprus, Rhodes, and some particular cities with which he had contracted an alliance, he formed a considerable fleet, and rendered himself master of the sea.

His ardour for this work was redoubled by an affront he had received from Seleucus, who with a hundred ships, that Ptolemy had sent him, sailed up to Tyre, in sight of all the forces of Antigonus, with an intention to brave him whilst he was engaged in the siege of that city. And in reality, this insult had greatly discouraged his troops, and given his allies such an impression of his weakness, as was very injurious to him. In order, therefore, to prevent the effect of those disadvantageous opinions, he sent for the principal allies, and assured them, he would have such a fleet at sea that summer, as should be superior to the naval force of all his enemies, and he was punctual to his promise before the expiration of the year.

But when he perceived, that while he was thus employed in Phœnicia, Cassander gained upon him by land in Asia minor, he marched thither with part of his troops, and left the rest with his son Demetrius, who was then but twenty-two years of age, to defend Syria and Phœnicia against Ptolemy. This Demetrius

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will be much celebrated in the sequel of this history, and I shall soon point out his particular character.

(d) Tyre was then reduced to the last extremities; the fleet of Antigonus cut off all communication of provisions, and the city was soon obliged to capitulate. The garrison which Ptolemy had there, obtained permission to march out with all their effects, and the inhabitants were promised the enjoyment of theirs without molestation. Andronicus, who commanded at the siege, was transported with gaining a place of such importance on any conditions whatever; and especially after a siege which had harrassed his troops so exceedingly for fifteen months.

It was no longer than nineteen years before this event, that Alexander had destroyed this city, in such a manner as made it natural to believe it would require whole ages to re-establish it; and yet in so short a time it became capable of sustaining this new siege, which lasted more than as long again as that of Alexander. This circumstance discovers the great resources derived from commerce; for this was the only expedient by which Tyre rose out of its ruins, and recovered most of its former splendor. This city was then the center of all the traffick of the East and West.

(e) Demetrius, who now began to be known, and will for the future be surnamed Poliorcetes*, which signifies *taker of cities*, was the son of Antigonus. He was finely made, and of uncommon beauty. A pleasing sweetness, blended with gravity, was visible in his aspect†, and he had an air of serenity, intermixed with something which carried awe along with it. Vivacity of youth in him was tempered with a majestick mien, and an air truly royal and heroick. The same mixture was likewise observable in his manners, which were equally qualified to charm and astonish.

(d) Diod. l. xix. p. 703.

(e) Plut. in Demet. p. 889, 890.

* The word is derived from πολιορκεῖν, to besiege a city, whose root is πόλις, a city, and ἔρκος, a fence, a trench, a bulwark.

† Τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ χάριν ἢ βάρος, ἢ φρόνη ἢ ὄραν εἶχε, ἢ συνεκράτος τῶν νεαρῶν ἢ ἱταμῶν δυσμύητος ἡρώϊος τις ἐπιφάνεια, ἢ βασιλικὴ σεμνότης.

nish. When he had no affairs to transact, his intercourse with his friends was enchanting. Nothing could equal the sumptuousness inseparable from his feasts, luxury, and his whole manner of living; and it may be justly said, that he was the most voluptuous and delicate of all princes. On the other hand, as alluring as all these soft pleasures might appear to him, when he had any enterprize to undertake, he was the most active and vigilant of mankind: Nothing but his patience and assiduity in fatigue were equal to his vivacity and courage. Such is the character of the young prince who now begins to appear upon the stage of action.

Plutarch remarks in him, as a peculiarity which distinguished him from the other princes of his time, his profound respect for his parents, which neither flowed from affectation or ceremony, but was sincere and real, and the growth of the heart itself. Antigonus, on his part, had a tenderness and affection for his son, that was truly paternal, and extended even to familiarity, though without any diminution of the authority of the sovereign and the father; and this created a union and confidence between them, entirely free from all fear and suspicion. Plutarch relates an instance of it to this effect. One day, when Antigonus was engaged in giving audience to some ambassadors, Demetrius, returning from the chase, advanced into the great hall, where he saluted his father with a kiss, and then seated himself at his side, with his darts in his hand. Antigonus had just given the ambassadors their answer, but he ordered them to be introduced a second time; *You may likewise inform your masters*, said he, *of the manner in which my son and I live together*. Intimating thereby, that he was not afraid to let his son approach him with arms*, and that this good intelligence, that subsisted between him and his son, constituted the greatest strength of his dominions, at the same time that it affected him

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* Neither the Greeks nor Romans ever wore arms but in war, or when they hunted.

with the most sensible pleasure. But to return to our subject.

(f) Antigonus having passed into Asia, soon stopped the progress of Cassander's arms, and pressed him so vigorously, that he obliged him to come to an accommodation, on very honourable terms; but the treaty was hardly concluded before he repented of his accession to it, and broke it, by demanding succours of Ptolemy and Seleucus, and renewing the war. The violation of treaties were considered as nothing, by the generality of those princes whose history I am now writing. These unworthy expedients, which are justly thought dishonourable in private persons, appeared to those as so many circumstances essential to their glory. They applauded themselves for their perfidious measures, as if they had been instances of their abilities in government, and were never sensible that such proceedings would teach their troops to be wanting in their fidelity to them, and leave them destitute of any pretext of complaint against their own subjects, who, by revolting from their authority, only trod in the same paths which they themselves had already marked out. By such contagious examples, a whole age is soon corrupted, and learns to renounce, without a blush, all sentiments of honour and probity, because that which is once become common, no longer appears shameful.

The renewal of this war, detained Antigonus in those parts longer than he intended, and afforded Ptolemy an opportunity of obtaining considerable advantages over him in another quarter.

(g) He first sailed with his fleet to the isle of Cyprus, and reduced the greatest part of it to his obedience. Nicocles, king of Pathos, one of the cities of that island, submitted to him like the rest, but made a secret alliance with Antigonus, a year or two after. Ptolemy received intelligence of this proceeding, and; in order to prevent the other princes from imitating his example, he ordered some of his officers in

(f) Diod. l. xix. p. 10.

(g) Ibid. l. xx. p. 761.

in Cyprus to destroy him; but they being unwilling to execute that commission themselves, earnestly intreated Nicocles to prevent it by a voluntary death. The unhappy prince consented to the proposal, and, seeing himself utterly destitute of defence, became his own executioner. But though Ptolemy had commanded those officers to treat the queen Axithea, and the other princesses whom they found in the palace of Nicocles, with the respect due to their rank, yet they could not prevent them from following the example of the unfortunate king. The queen, after she had slain her daughters with her own hands, and exhorted the other princesses not to survive the calamity by which their unhappy brother fell, plunged her dagger into her own bosom. The death of these princesses was succeeded by that of their husbands, who, before they slew themselves, set fire to the four corners of the palace. Such was the dreadful and bloody scene which was acted at Cyprus.

Ptolemy, after he once became master of that island, made a descent into Syria, and from thence proceeded to Cilicia, where he acquired great spoils, and took a large number of prisoners, whom he carried with him into Egypt. Seleucus imparted to him, at his return, a project for regaining Syria and Phœnicia, and the execution of it was agreed to be undertaken. Ptolemy accordingly marched thither in person with a fine army, after he had happily suppressed a revolt which had been kindled among the Cyreneans, and found Demetrius at Gaza, who opposed his entrance into that place. This occasioned a sharp engagement, in which Ptolemy was at last victorious. Demetrius had five thousand of his men killed, and eight thousand more made prisoners: He likewise lost his tents, his treasure, and all his equipage, and was obliged to retreat as far as Azotus, and from thence to Tripoli, a city of Phœnicia on the frontiers of upper Syria, and to abandon all Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cœlo-syria, to Ptolemy.

Before his departure from Azotus, he desired leave to bury the dead, which Ptolemy not only granted, but also sent him back all his equipage, tents, furniture, friends and domesticks, without any ransom, and caused it to be declared to him, *That they ought not to make war against each other for riches, but for glory*; and it was impossible for a Pagan to think better. May we not likewise say, that he uttered his real sentiments? Demetrius, touched with so obliging an instance of generosity, immediately begged of the gods not to leave him long indebted to Ptolemy for so great a benefaction, but to furnish him with an opportunity of returning him one of a like nature.

Ptolemy sent the rest of the prisoners into Egypt, to serve him in his fleet, and then pursued his conquests. All the coast of Phœnicia submitted to him, except the city of Tyre; upon which he sent a secret message to Andronicus, the governor of that place, and one of the bravest officers of Antigonus, and the most attached to the service of his master; to induce him to abandon the city with a good grace, and not oblige him to besiege it in form. Andronicus, who depended on the Tyrians' fidelity to Antigonus, returned a haughty, and even an insulting and contemptuous answer to Ptolemy; but he was deceived in his expectations, for the garrison and inhabitants compelled him to surrender. He then imagined himself inevitably lost, and that nothing could make a conqueror forget the insolence with which he had treated him; but he was deceived again. The king of Egypt, instead of any reprisals upon an officer who had insulted him with so much indignity, made it a kind of duty to engage him in his service by the regard he professed for him, when he was introduced to salute him.

Demetrius was not discouraged with the loss of the battle, as a young prince who had been so unfortunate in his first enterprize, might naturally have been; but he employed all his attention in raising fresh troops and making new preparations, with all the steadiness
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and resolution of a consummate general habituated to the art of war, and to the inconstancy and vicissitudes of arms; in a word, he fortified the cities, and was continually exercising his soldiers.

Antigonus received intelligence of the loss of that battle, without any visible emotion, and he coldly said, *Ptolemy has defeated boys, but shall soon have men to deal with*; and as he was unwilling to abate the courage and ardour of his son, he complied with his request of making a second trial of his forces against Ptolemy.

(b) Some time after this event, Cilles, Ptolemy's lieutenant, arrived with a numerous army, fully persuaded that he should drive Demetrius out of Syria; for he had entertained a very contemptible opinion of him from his defeat: But Demetrius, who had known how to derive advantages from his misfortune, and was now become more circumspect and attentive, fell upon him when he least expected it, and made himself master of his camp and all his baggage, took seven thousand of his men prisoners, even seized him with his own hands, and carried off a great booty. The glory and riches Demetrius had acquired by this victory, affected him less than the pleasure of being in a condition to acquit himself with respect to his enemy, and return the obligation he had received from him. He would not, however, act in this manner by his own authority, but wrote an account of the whole affair to his father, who permitted him to act as he should judge proper. Upon which he immediately sent back Cilles, with all his friends, loaden with magnificent presents, and all the baggage he had taken. There is certainly something very noble in contending with an enemy in this generous manner; and it was a disposition still more estimable, especially in a young and victorious prince, to make it a point of glory, to depend entirely upon his father, and to take no measures in such a conjuncture without consulting him.

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(i) Seleucus, after the victory obtained over Demetrius at Gaza, had obtained a thousand foot, and three hundred horse from Ptolemy, and proceeded with this small escort to the East, with an intention to re-enter Babylon. When he arrived at Carræ, in Mesopotamia, he made the Macedonian garrison join his troops, partly by consent, and partly by compulsion. As soon as his approach to Babylon was known, his ancient subjects came in great numbers to range themselves under his ensigns, for the moderation of his government had rendered him greatly beloved in that province; whilst the severity of Antigonus was universally detested. The people were charmed at his return, and the hopes of his re-establishment. When he arrived at Babylon, he found the gates open, and was received with the general acclamations of the people. Those who favoured the party of Antigonus, retired into the castle; but as Seleucus was master of the city, and the affections of the people, he soon made himself master of that fortress, and there found his children, friends, and domesticks, whom Antigonus had detained prisoners in that place from the retreat of Seleucus into Egypt.

It was immediately judged necessary to raise a good army to defend these acquisitions, and he was hardly re-instated in Babylon, before Nicanor, the governor of Media under Antigonus, was upon his march to dislodge him. Seleucus having received intelligence of his motion, passed the Tigris, in order to confront him, and he had the good fortune to surprize him in a disadvantageous post, where he assaulted his camp by night, and entirely defeated his army. Nicanor was compelled to fly, with a small number of his friends, and to cross the deserts before he could arrive at the place where Antigonus then was. All the troops, who had escaped from the defeat, declared for Seleucus, either through a dissatisfaction in the service of Antigonus, or else from the apprehensions of the conqueror. Seleucus was now master of a
fine

fine army, which he employed in the conquest of Media and Susiana, with the other adjacent provinces, by which means he rendered himself very powerful. The lenity of his government, his justice, equity, and humanity to all his subjects, contributed principally to the establishment of his power; and he was then sensible how advantageous it is for a prince to treat his people in that manner, and to possess their affections. He arrived in his own territories with a handful of men, but the love of his people was equivalent to an army, and he not only assembled a vast body of them about him, in a short time, but they were likewise rendered invincible by their affection for him.

With this entry into Babylon, commences the famous *Æra* of the Seleucides, received by all the people of the East, as well Pagans, as Jews, Christians, and Mahommedans. The Jews called it the *Æra* of Contracts, because when they were subjected to the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were obliged to insert it into the dates of their contracts and other civil writings. The Arabians style it the *Æra* of Bicornus, intimating Seleucus thereby, according to some authors, who declare that the sculptors represented him with two horns of an ox on his head, because this prince was so strong, that he could seize that animal by the horns and stop him short in his full career. The two books of the Maccabees call it the *Æra* of the Greeks, and use it in their dates; with this difference, however, that the first of these books represents it as beginning in the spring, the other, in the autumn of the same year. The thirty-one years of the reign ascribed to Seleucus, begin at this period.

(*k*) Antigonus was at Celænæ, when he received intelligence of the victory obtained by his son Demetrius over the troops of Ptolemy; and immediately advanced to Syria, in order to secure all the advantages that were presented to him by that event. He crossed

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crossed mount Taurus, and joined his son, whom he tenderly embraced at the first interview, shedding at the same time tears of joy. Ptolemy, being sensible that he was not strong enough to oppose the united forces of the father and son, resolved to demolish the fortifications of Aca, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza; after which he retired into Egypt, with the greatest part of the riches of the country, and a numerous train of the inhabitants. In this manner was all Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cœlosyria, subjected a second time to the power of Antigonus.

(1) The inhabitants of these provinces, who were carried off by Ptolemy, followed him more out of inclination, than by any constraint; and the moderation and humanity with which he always treated those who submitted to his government, had gained their hearts so effectually, that they were more desirous of living under him in a foreign country, than to continue subject in their own to Antigonus, from whom they had no expectations of so gentle a treatment. They were likewise strengthened in this resolution by the advantageous proposals of Ptolemy; for, as he then intended to make Alexandria the capital of Egypt, it was very easy to draw the inhabitants thither, where he offered them extraordinary privileges and immunities. He therefore settled in that city most of those who followed him on this occasion, among whom was a numerous body of Jews. Alexander had formerly placed many of that nation there; but Ptolemy, in his return from one of his first expeditions, planted a much greater number in that city than Alexander himself, and they there found a fine country, and a powerful protection. The rumour of these advantages being propagated through all Judæa, rendered many more of the inhabitants desirous of establishing themselves at Alexandria, and they accomplished that design upon this occasion. Alexander had granted the Jews who settled there, under his government, the same privileges as were enjoyed by the Macedonians;

(1) Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. & contr. Appian. l. i. & ii.

Macedonians; and Ptolemy pursued the same conduct with respect to this new colony. In a word, he settled such a number of them there, that the quarter inhabited by the Jews almost formed an entire city of itself. A large body of Samaritans also established themselves there, on the same footing with the Jews, and increased exceedingly in numbers.

(*m*) Antigonus, after he had re-possessed himself of Syria and Judæa, sent Athenæus, one of his generals, against the Nabathæan Arabs, a nation of robbers, who made several inroads into the country he had newly conquered, and had lately carried off a very large booty. Their capital city was Petra, so called by the Greeks, because it was situated on a high rock, in the middle of a desert country. Athenæus made himself master of the place, and likewise of the spoils deposited in it; but the Arabs attacked him by surprize in his retreat, and defeated the greatest part of his troops; they likewise killed him on the spot, regained all the booty, and carried it back to Petra, from whence they wrote a letter to Antigonus, who was then in Syria, complaining of the injustice with which they had been treated by Athenæus. Antigonus pretended at first to disapprove his proceedings; but as soon as he had assembled his troops, he gave the command of them to his son Demetrius, with orders to chastise the insolence of those robbers: But as this prince found it impracticable to force them in their retreat, or re-take Petra, he contented himself with making the best treaty he could with this people, and then marched back with his troops.

(*n*) Antigonus, upon the intelligence he received of the success of Seleucus in the East, sent his son Demetrius thither, at the head of an army, to drive him out of Babylon, and dispossess him of that province, while he himself advanced to the coasts of Asia minor, to oppose the operations of the confederate princes, whose power daily increased. He likewise ordered

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(*m*) Diod. l. xix. p. 730...733.
in Demetr. p. 891.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 735, 736. Plut.

ordered his son to join him, after he had executed his commission in the East. Demetrius, in conformity to his father's directions, assembled the army at Damascus, and marched to Babylon; and as Seleucus was then in Media, he entered the city without any opposition. Patroclus, who had been entrusted with the government of that city by Seleucus, finding himself not strong enough to resist Demetrius, retired with his troops into the marshes, where the rivers, canals, and fens that covered him, made the approach impracticable. He had the precaution, when he left Babylon, to cause the inhabitants also to retire from thence, who all saved themselves; some on the other side of the Tigris, others in the deserts, and the rest in places of security.

Demetrius caused the castles to be attacked, of which there were two in Babylon, very large, and strengthened with good garrisons on the two opposite banks of the Euphrates. One of these he took, and placed in it a garrison of seven thousand men. The other sustained the siege till Antigonus ordered his son to join him. This prince therefore left Archælaus, one of the principal officers of the army, with a thousand horse, and five thousand foot, to continue the siege, and marched with the rest of the troops into Asia minor, to reinforce his father.

Before his departure, he caused Babylon to be plundered; but this action proved very detrimental to his father's affairs, and attached the inhabitants more than ever to Seleucus; even those who, till then, had espoused the interest of Antigonus, never imagined that the city would be treated in that manner, and looked upon this pillage as an act of desertion, and a formal declaration of his having entirely abandoned them. This induced them to turn their thoughts to an accommodation with Seleucus, and they accordingly went over to his party; by which means Seleucus, upon his return, that immediately followed the departure of Demetrius, had no difficulty to drive out the few troops that Demetrius had left

left in the city, and he retook the castle they had possessed. When this event was accomplished, he established his authority in such a solid manner, that nothing was capable of shaking it. This, therefore, is the epocha to which the Babylonians refer the foundation of his kingdom, though all the other nations of Asia place it six months sooner, and in the preceding year.

(o) Demetrius, upon his arrival in Asia minor, obliged Ptolemy to raise the siege of Halicarnassus, and this event was succeeded by a treaty of peace between the confederate princes and Antigonus; by which it was stipulated, that Cassander should have the management of the Macedonian affairs, till Alexander, the son of Roxana, was of age to reign. Lysimachus was to have Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt; and the frontiers of Libya, with Arabia, and all Asia, was allotted to Antigonus. All the cities of Greece were likewise to enjoy their liberty; but this accommodation was of no long duration: And indeed it is surprising, that princes, so well acquainted with each other, and sensible that the sacred solemnity of oaths was only employed for their mutual delusion, should expect any success from an expedient that had been practised so frequently in vain, and was then so much in disgrace. This treaty was hardly concluded, before each party complained of infractions, and hostilities were renewed. The true reason was, the extraordinary power of Antigonus, which daily increased, and became so formidable to the other three, that they were incapable of enjoying any satisfaction, till they had reduced him.

It was manifest that they were only solicitous for their own interest, and had no regard for the family of Alexander. The Macedonians began to be impatient; and declared aloud, that it was time for them to cause the young Alexander to appear upon the stage of action, as he was then fourteen years of age, and to bring him out of prison, in order to
make

(o) Diod. l. xix. p. 739. Plut. in Demet. p. 892.

make him acquainted with the state of his affairs; Cassander, who foresaw in this proceeding, the destruction of his own measures, caused the young king and his mother Roxana to be secretly put to death, in the castle of Amphipolis, where he had confined them for some years.

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(p) Polyasperchon, who governed in Peloponnesus, took this opportunity to declare openly against the conduct of Cassander, and made the people sensible of the enormous wickedness of this action, with a view of rendering him odious to the Macedonians, and entirely supplant him in their affections. As he had then no thoughts of re-entering Macedonia, from whence he had been driven by Cassander, he affected an air of great zeal for the house of Alexander, and in order to render it apparent, he caused Hercules, another son of Alexander by Barsina, the widow of Memnon, and who was then about seventeen years of age, to be brought from Pergamus, upon which he himself advanced with an army, and proposed to the Macedonians, to place him upon the throne. Cassander was terrified at this proceeding, and represented to him, at an interview between them, that he was preparing to raise himself a master; but that it would be more for his interest to remove Hercules out of the way, and secure the sovereignty of Greece to himself, offering, at the same time, his own assistance for that purpose. This discourse easily prevailed upon him to sacrifice the young prince to Cassander, as he was now persuaded that he should derive great advantages from his death. Hercules, therefore, and his mother, suffered the same fate from him the next year, as Roxana and her son had before from Cassander, and each of these wretches sacrificed, in his turn, an heir of the crown, in order to share it between themselves.

As there was now no prince of Alexander's house left, each of them retained his government with the authority of a sovereign, and were persuaded that they had effectually secured their acquisitions, by the murder

murder of those princes who alone had a lawful title to them, even congratulating themselves for having extinguished in their own minds all remains of respect for the memory of Alexander, their master and benefactor, which till then had held their hands. Who, without horror, could behold an action so perfidious, and, at the same time, so shameful and base! But such was the insensibility of them both, that they were equally forward to felicitate themselves on the success of an impious confederacy, which ended in the effusion of their master's blood. The blackest of all crimes never cost the ambitious any remorse, provided they conduce to their ends.

(*q*) Ptolemy having commenced the war anew, took several cities from Antigonus in Cilicia, and other parts; but Demetrius soon regained what his father had lost in Cilicia; and the other generals of Antigonus had the same success against those of Ptolemy, who did not command this expedition in person. Cyprus was now the only territory where Ptolemy preserved his conquests; for when he had caused Nicocles, king of Paphos, to suffer death, he entirely crushed the party of Antigonus in that island.

(*r*) In order to obtain some compensation for what he had lost in Cilicia, he invaded Pamphylia, Lycia, and some other provinces of Asia minor, where he took several places from Antigonus.

(*s*) He then sailed into the Ægean sea, and made himself master of the isle of Andros; after which he took Sicyon, Corinth, and some other cities.

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During his continuance in those parts, he formed an intimate correspondence with Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, who had espoused Alexander king of Epirus, and at whose nuptials Philip had been assassinated. This princess, after the death of her consort, who was slain in the wars of Italy, had continued in a state of widowhood, and, for several years, had resided at Sardis in Lydia; but as Antigonus,

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who

(*q*) Diod. l. xx. p. 760. (*r*) Ibid. p. 766. (*s*) Ibid. p. 774.
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who was master of that city, did not treat her with any extraordinary respect, Ptolemy made an artful improvement of her discontent, in order to gain her over to his interest. With this intention he invited her to an interview, in hopes of deriving, from her presence, some advantages against Antigonus. The princess had already set out, but the governor of Sardis caused her to be stopped, and immediately brought back, by the command of Antigonus, and then secretly destroyed her. Antigonus, soon after this event, came to Sardis, where he ordered all the women who had been instrumental in her murder, to be proceeded against.

We may here behold with admiration, how heavily the arm of the Almighty fell upon all the race of Alexander, and with what severity it pursued the small remains of his family, and all those who had the misfortune to be any way related to that famous conqueror, whose favour was ardently courted by all the world a few years before. A fatal curse consumed his whole family, and avenged upon it all the acts of violence which had been committed by that prince. God even used the ministration of his courtiers, officers, and domesticks, to render the severity of his judgments visible to all mankind, who, by these means, received some kind of reparation for the calamities they had suffered from Alexander.

Antigonus, though he was the minister of the deity, in the execution of his just decrees, was not the less criminal on that account, because he only acted from motives of ambition and cruelty, which, in the event, filled him with all imaginable horror, and which he wished he could be capable of concealing from the observation of mankind. He celebrated the funeral of Cleopatra with extraordinary magnificence, hoping, by this plausible exterior, to dazzle the eyes of the publick, and avoid the hatred due to so black a crime. But so deep a strain of hypocrisy as this, usually discovers the crime it labours to conceal, and only in-

creases the just horror the world generally entertains for those who have committed it.

This barbarous and unmanly action, was not the only one that Antigonus committed. Seleucus and Ptolemy raised the superstructure of their power on the clemency and justice with which they governed their people; and, by these expedients, established lasting empires, which continued in their families for several generations: But the character of Antigonus was of a different cast. It was a maxim with him, to remove all obstacles to his designs, without the least regard to justice or humanity; in consequence of which, when that brutal and tyrannical force, by which alone he had supported himself, came to fail him, he lost both life and empire.

Ptolemy, with all the wisdom and moderation of his government, was not secure from revolts. The treachery of Ophellas, governor of Libya and Cyrenaica, who formed an insurrection much about this time, gave him a just inquietude, but it happened very fortunately to be attended with no sinister effect. This officer had served first under Alexander, and, after the death of that prince, had embraced the interest of Ptolemy, whom he followed into Egypt. Ptolemy intrusted him with the command of the army, which was intended for the reduction of Libya and Cyrenaica, provinces that had been allotted to him, as well as Egypt and Arabia, in the partition of the empire. When those two provinces were subdued, Ptolemy conferred the government of them upon Ophellas, who, when he was sensible that this prince was too much engaged with Antigonus and Demetrius, to give him any apprehensions, had rendered himself independent, and continued, for that year, in the peaceable enjoyment of his usurpation.

Agathocles, king of Sicily, having marched into Africa to attack the Carthaginians, endeavoured to engage Ophellas in his interest, and promised to assist him in the conquest of all Africa for himself. Ophellas, won by so grateful a proposal, joined Aga-

thocles with an army of twenty thousand men in the Carthaginian territories; but he had scarce arrived there, before the perfidious wretch, who had drawn him thither, caused him to be slain, and kept his army in his own service. The history of the Carthaginians will inform the reader, in what manner this black instance of treachery succeeded. Ptolemy, upon the death of Ophellas, recovered Libya and Cyrenaica. The wife of the latter was an Athenian lady of uncommon beauty; her name was Eurydice, and she was descended from Miltiades. After the death of her husband, she returned to Athens, where Demetrius saw her the following year, and espoused her.

SECT. VII. DEMETRIUS, *the son of ANTIGONUS, besieges and takes Athens, and establishes a democracy in that city. DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS, who commanded there, retires to Thebes. He is condemned to suffer death, and his statues are thrown down. He retires into Egypt. The excessive honours rendered by the Athenians to ANTIGONUS and his son DEMETRIUS. This latter obtains a great naval victory over PTOLEMY, takes Salamina, and makes himself master of all the island of Cyprus. ANTIGONUS and DEMETRIUS assume the title of kings after this victory, and their example is followed by the other princes. ANTIGONUS forms an enterprize against Egypt, which proves unsuccessful.*

A. M.
3698.
Ant. J. C.
306.

(a) **A**NTIGONUS and Demetrius had formed a design to restore liberty to all Greece, which was kept in a kind of slavery, by Cassander, Ptolemy, and Polyperchon. These confederate princes, in order to subject the Greeks, had judged it expedient to establish aristocracy in all the cities they conquered. This is the government of the rich and powerful, and corresponds, the most of any, with regal authority. Antigonus, to engage the people in his interest, had recourse to a contrary method, by substituting a democracy, which more effectually soothed the inclination

nation of the Greeks, by lodging the power in the hands of the people. This conduct was a renovation of the policy which had been so frequently employed against the Lacedæmonians, by the Athenians and Persians, that had always succeeded; and it was impossible for it to be ineffectual in this conjuncture, if supported by a good army. Antigonus could not enter upon his measures in a better manner, than by opening the scene with the signal of democrattick liberty in Athens; which was not only the most jealous, but was likewise at the head of all the other republicks.

When the siege of Athens had been resolved upon, Antigonus was told by one of his friends, that if he should happen to take that city, he ought to keep it for himself, as the key of all Greece; but he entirely rejected that proposal, and replied, "that the best and strongest key which he knew, was the friendship of the people; and that Athens being in a manner the light by which all the world steered, would not fail to spread universally the glory of his actions." It is very surprising to see in what manner princes, who are very unjust and self-interested, can sometimes borrow the language of equity and generosity, and are solicitous of doing themselves honour by assuming the appearance of virtues, to which, in reality, they are utter strangers.

Demetrius set out for Athens with five thousand talents, and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships. Demetrius Phalereus had commanded in that city for the space of ten years, in the name, and under the authority of Cassander; and the republick, as I have already observed, never experienced a juster government, or enjoyed a series of greater tranquillity and happiness. The citizens, in gratitude to his administration, had erected as many statues to his honour, as there are days in the year, namely, three hundred and sixty, for, at that time, the year, according to Pliny*, was limited to this number of days. An

P 3

honou.

* Nondum anno hunc numerum dierum excedente. *Pliny*, l. xxxiv. c

honour like this had never been accorded to any citizen.

When the fleet of Démetrius approached, all the inhabitants prepared for its reception, believing the ships belonged to Ptolemy; but when the captains, and principal officers, were at last undeceived, they immediately had recourse to arms for their defence; every place was filled with tumult and confusion, the Athenians being reduced to a sudden and unexpected necessity of repelling an enemy, who advanced upon them without being discovered, and had already made a descent; for Demetrius had entered the port, which he found entirely open, and might easily be distinguished on the deck of his galley, where with his hand he made a signal to the people to keep themselves quiet, and afford him an audience. The tumult being then calmed, he caused them to be informed aloud by a herald, who placed himself at his side, “That his father Antigonus had sent him, “under happy auspices, to re-instate the Athenians “in the possession of their liberty, to drive the gar- “rison out of their citadel, and to re-establish their “laws, and ancient plan of government.”

The Athenians, at this proclamation, cast their bucklers down at their feet, and clapping their hands with loud acclamations of joy, pressed Demetrius to descend from his galley, and called him their preserver and benefactor. Those who were then with Demetrius Phalereus, were unanimously of opinion, that as the son of Antigonus was already master of the city, it would be better to receive him, though they should even be certain that he would not perform any one article of what he had promised: Upon which they immediately dispatched ambassadors to him with a tender of their submissions.

Demetrius received them in a gracious manner, and gave them a very favourable audience; and, in order to convince them of his good disposition toward them, he gave them Aristodemus of Miletus, one of his father's most intimate friends, as an hostage,

stage, at their dismissal. He was likewise careful to provide for the safety of Demetrius Phalereus, who, in consequence of this revolution, had more reason to be apprehensive of his citizens, than even of the enemies themselves. The reputation and virtue of this great man had inspired the young prince with the utmost respect for his person; and he sent him with a sufficient guard to Thebes, in compliance with his own request. He then told the Athenians, that he was determined not to see their city; and that as desirous as he was to visit it, he would not so much as enter within the walls, till he had entirely freed the inhabitants from subjection, by driving out the garrison that incroached upon their liberties. At the same time, he ordered a large ditch to be opened, and raised good intrenchments before the fortress of Munychia, to deprive it of all communication with the city; after which he embarked for Megara, where Cassander had placed a strong garrison.

When he arrived at that city, he was informed, that Crateispolis, the wife of Alexander, and daughter of Polyperchon, who was greatly celebrated for her beauty, then resided at Patræ, and was extremely desirous to see him, and be at his devotion. He therefore left his army in the territories of Megara, and having selected a small number of persons, most disposed to attend him, he set out for Patræ; and, when he had arrived within a small distance of that city, he secretly withdrew himself from his people, and caused a pavilion to be erected in a private place, that Crateispolis might not be seen when she came to him. A party of the enemies happening to be apprised of this imprudent proceeding, marched against him when he least expected such a visit, and he had but just time to disguise himself in a mean habit, and elude the danger by a precipitate flight; so that he was on the very point of being taken in the most ignominious manner, on account of his incontinence. The enemy seized his tent, with the riches that were in it.

The city of Megara being taken, the soldiers demanded leave to plunder the inhabitants; but the Athenians interceded for them so effectually, that the city was saved. Demetrius drove out the garrison of Cassander, and re-instated Megara in its liberties. Stilpon *, a celebrated philosopher, lived in that city, and was visited by Demetrius, who asked him if he had not lost any thing? *Nothing at all*, replied Stilpon, *for I carry all my effects about me*; meaning by that expression, his justice, probity, temperance, and wisdom; with the advantage of not ranking any thing in the class of blessings, that could be taken from him. What could all the kings of the earth do in conjunction against such a man as this, who neither desires nor dreads any thing, and who has been taught by philosophy, not to consider death itself as a calamity?

Though the city was saved from pillage, yet all the slaves in general were taken, and carried off by the conquerors. Demetrius, on the day of his return from thence, caressed Stilpon exceedingly, and told him, that he left the city to him in an entire state of freedom. *What you say, my Lord, is certainly true*, replied the philosopher, *for you have not left so much as one slave in it*.

Demetrius, when he returned to Athens, posted his troops before the port of Munychia, and carried on the siege with so much vigour, that he soon drove out the garrison, and razed the fort. The Athenians, after this event, intreated him with great importunity, to come and refresh himself in the city; upon which he accordingly entered it, and then assembled the people, to whom he restored their ancient form of government,

* Megara Demetrius ceperat, cui cognomen Poliorcetes fuit. Ab hoc Stilpon philosophus interrogatus, num quid perdidisset: Nihil, inquit; omnia namque mea mecum sunt——Habebat enim secum vera bona, in quæ non est manus injectio——Hæc sunt, justitia, virtus, temperantia,

prudencia; & hoc ipsum, nihil bonum putare quod eripi possit——Cogita nunc, an huic quicquam facere injuriam possit, cui bellum, & hostis ille egregiam artem quassandarum urbium professus, eripere nihil potuit. *Senec. de Const. sap. c. v. & Ep. IX;*

government, promising, at the same time, that his father should send them a hundred and fifty thousand measures of corn, and all necessary materials for building an hundred gallies, of three benches of oars. In this manner did the Athenians recover their democracy, about fourteen years after its abolition.

Their gratitude to their benefactors extended even to impiety and irreligion, by the excessive honours they decreed them. They first conferred the title of king on Antigonus and Demetrius, which neither these, nor any of the other princes, had ever had the presumption to take till then, though they had assumed to themselves all the power and effects of royalty. The Athenians likewise honoured them with the appellation of *tutelar deities*; and instead of the magistracy of the Archon, which gave the year its denomination, they elected a priest of these tutelary deities, in whose name all the publick acts and decrees were passed. They also ordered their pictures to be painted on the veil, which was carried in procession at their solemn festivals in honour of Minerva, called Panathenæa, and by an excess of adulation, scarce credible, they consecrated the spot of ground on which Demetrius descended from his chariot, and erected an altar upon it, which they called the *altar of Demetrius descending from his chariot*; and they added to the ten ancient tribes two more, which they stiled, *the tribe of Demetrius*, and *the tribe of Antigonus*. They likewise changed the names of two months in their favour, and published an order, that those who should be sent to Antigonus or Demetrius, by any decree of the people, instead of being distinguished by the common title of ambassadors, should be called Theoroi, which was an appellation reserved for those who were chosen to go and offer sacrifices to the gods of Delphos, or Olympia, in the name of the cities. But even all these honours were not so strange and extravagant as the decree obtained by Democlide, who proposed, “ that, in order to the more effectual
“ consecration of the bucklers that were to be dedi-
“ cated

“ cated in the temple of Apollo, at Delphos, proper
 “ persons should be dispatched to Demetrius, the tutelar deity; and that after they had offered sacrifices to him, they should enquire of this tutelar deity, in what manner they ought to conduct themselves, so as to celebrate, with the greatest promptitude, and the utmost devotion and magnificence, the dedication of those offerings; and that the people would comply with all the directions of the oracle, on that occasion.”

The extreme ingratitude the Athenians discovered, in respect to Demetrius Phalereus, was no less criminal and extravagant, than the immoderate acknowledgment they had rendered to their new master. They had always considered the former as too much devoted to oligarchy, and were offended at his suffering the Macedonian garrison to continue in their citadel, for the space of ten years, without making the least application to Cassander for their removal. In which he, however, had only pursued the conduct of Phocion, and undoubtedly considered those troops as a necessary restraint on the turbulent disposition of the Athenians. (b) They might possibly imagine likewise, that by declaring against him, they should ingratiate themselves more effectually with the conqueror. But whatever their motives might be, they first condemned him to suffer death, for contumacy; and as they were incapable of executing their resentment upon his person, because he had retired from their city, they threw down the numerous statues they had raised in honour of Demetrius Phalereus; who, when he had received intelligence of their proceedings, *At least, said he, it will not be in their power to destroy that virtue in me by which those statues were deserved.*

What estimation is to be made of those honours, which, at one time, are bestowed with so much profusion, and as suddenly revoked at another; honours that have been denied to virtue, and prostituted to vicious

(b) Diog. Laert.

tious princes, with a constant disposition to divest them of those favours, upon the first impressions of discontent, and degrade them from their divinity with as much precipitation as they conferred it upon them! What weakness and stupidity do those discover, who are either touched with strong impressions of joy when they receive such honours, or appear dejected when they happen to lose them!

The Athenians still proceeded to greater extremities. Demetrius Phalereus was accused of having acted contrary to their laws in many instances during his administration, and they omitted no endeavours to render him odious. It was necessary for them to have recourse to this injustice and calumny, as infamous as such expedients were in their own nature, to escape, if possible, the just reproach of having condemned that merit and virtue which had been universally known and experienced. The statues, while they subsisted, were so many publick testimonials, continually declaring in favour of the innocence of Demetrius, and against the injustice of the Athenians. Their own evidence then turned against them, and that they could not invalidate. The reputation of Demetrius was not obliterated by the destruction of his statues; and therefore it was absolutely necessary that he should appear criminal, that the Athenians might be able to represent themselves as innocent and just; and they imagined that a solemn and authentick condemnation would supply the defect of proofs, and the regularity of forms. They did not even spare his friends; and all those who had maintained a strict intimacy with him were exposed to insults. Menander, that celebrated poet, from whom Terence has transcribed the greatest part of his comedies, was on the point of being prosecuted, for no other reason than his having contracted a friendship with Demetrius.

There is some reason to believe, that Demetrius, after he had passed some time at Thebes, retired for refuge to Cassander, who was sensible of his merit, and testified a particular esteem for him, and that he

continued

continued under his protection as long as that prince lived. But as he had reason, after the death of Cassander, to be apprehensive of all things from the brutality of his son Antipater, who had caused his own mother to be destroyed, he retired into Egypt, to Ptolemy Soter, who had rendered himself illustrious by his liberalities, and regard to men of letters, and whose court was then the asylum of all persons in distress.

(c) His reception at that court was as favourable as possible; and the king, according to Ælian, gave him the office of superintending the observation of the laws of the state. He held the first rank among the friends of that prince; lived in affluence, and was in a condition to transmit presents to his friends at Athens. These were undoubtedly some of those real friends, of whom Demetrius himself declared, that they never came to him in his prosperity, till he first had sent for them, but that they always visited him in his adversity, without waiting for any invitation.

During his exile, he composed several treatises on government, the duties of civil life, and other subjects of the like nature. This employment was a kind of sustenance to his mind*, and cherished in it those sentiments of humanity, with which it was so largely replenished. How grateful a consolation and resource is this, either in solitude, or a state of exile, to a man solicitous of improving his hours of leisure to the advantage of himself, and the publick!

The reader, when he considers the surprising number of statues erected in honour to one man, will undoubtedly bestow some reflections on the strange difference he discovers between the glorious ages of Athens, and that we are now describing. A very judicious author (d) has a fine remark on this occasion.

(c) Ælian. l. iii. c. 17. Plut. in exil. p. 601.
in Miltiad. c. vi.

(d) Cor. Nep.

* Multa præclara in illo calamitoso exilio scripsit, non ad usum aliquem suum, quo erat orbat; sed animi cultus ille erat

ei quasi quidam humanitatis cibus. Cic. de Finib. bon. & mal. l. v. n. 54.

sion. All the recompence, says he, which the Athenians formerly granted Miltiades for preserving the state, was the privilege of being represented in a picture as the principal figure, and at the head of nine other generals, animating the troops for the battle; but the same people being afterward softened and corrupted by the flattery of their orators, decreed above three hundred statues to Demetrius Phalereus. Such a prodigality of honours are no proofs of real merit, but the effects of servile adulation; and Demetrius Phalereus was culpable to a considerable degree, in not opposing them to the utmost of his power, if he really was in a condition to prevent their taking place. (e) The conduct of Cato was much more prudent, when he declined several marks of distinction which the people were desirous of granting him; and when he was asked, one day, why no statues had been erected to him, when Rome was crowded with those of so many others, *I had much rather, said he, people should enquire why I have none, than why I have any.*

True honour and distinction, says Plutarch, in the place I last cited, consisted in the sincere esteem and affection of the people, founded on real merit and effectual services. These are sentiments which are so far from being extinguished by death, that they are perpetuated from age to age; whereas, a profusion of honours through flattery, or the apprehensions entertained of bad princes, and tyrants, are never known to survive them, and frequently die away before them. The same Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom we have lately seen consulted and adored like an oracle and a god, will soon have the mortification to behold the Athenians shutting their gates against him, for no other reason than the change of his fortune.

(f) Demetrius, while he continued at Athens, espoused Eurydice, the widow of Ophellus. He had already had several wives, and, among the rest, Phila, the daughter of Antipater, whom his father compelled him

(e) Plut. in præc. reip. ger. p. 320. (f) Plut. in Demetr. p. 894.

him to marry against his inclinations, citing to him a verse out of Euripides, which he changed into a parody by the alteration of one word. *Wherever fortune is, a person ought to marry, even against his inclination* *. As ancient as this maxim is, it has never grown obsolete hitherto, but retains its full force, how contrary soever it be to the sentiments of nature. Demetrius was severely censured at Athens, for infamous excesses.

(g) In a short time after this marriage, his father ordered him to quit Greece, and sent him with a strong fleet, and a numerous army, to conquer the isle of Cyprus from Ptolemy. Before he undertook this expedition, he sent ambassadors to the Rhodians, to invite them to an alliance with him against Ptolemy; but this attempt proved ineffectual, and they constantly insisted on the liberty of persevering in the neutrality they had embraced. Demetrius being sensible that the intelligence Ptolemy maintained in Rhodes had defeated his design, advanced to Cyprus, where he made a descent, and marched to Salamina, the capital of that island. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, who had shut himself up there with most of his troops, marched out to give him battle, but was defeated, and compelled to re-enter the place after he had lost a thousand of his men, who were slain upon the spot, and three thousand more who were taken prisoners.

Menelaus, not doubting but the prince, elate with this success, would undertake the siege of Salamina, made all the necessary preparations, on his part, for a vigorous defence; and while he was employing all his attention to that effect, he sent three couriers post to Ptolemy, to carry him the news of his defeat, and the siege with which he was threatened; they were also to solicit him to hasten the succours he demanded, and, if possible, to lead them in person.

Demetrius,

(g) Diod. l. xx. p. 783---789. Plut. in Demetr. p. 895, 896. Justin. l. xv. c. 2.

* "Οπου τὸ κέρδος, παρὰ φύσιν γαμητέον. It was δευτεῖον, a man must serve.

Demetrius, after he had obtained an exact account of the situation of the place, as also of its forces, and those of the garrison, was sensible that he had not a sufficient number of battering-rams, and other military machines for its reduction; and therefore sent to Syria for a great number of expert workmen, with an infinite quantity of iron and wood, in order to make all the necessary preparations for assaulting a city of that importance; and he then built the famous engine called Helepolis, of which I shall give an exact description.

When all the necessary dispositions were made, Demetrius carried on his approaches to the city, and began to batter the walls with his engines; and as they were judiciously worked, they had all the effect that could be expected. The besiegers, after various attacks, opened several large breaches in the wall, by which means the besieged were rendered incapable of sustaining the assault much longer, unless they could resolve on some bold attempt, to prevent the attack, which Demetrius intended to make the next day. During the night, which had suspended the hostilities on both sides, the inhabitants of Salamina piled a vast quantity of dry wood on their walls, with an intermixture of other combustible materials, and, about midnight, threw them all down at the foot of the Helepolis, battering rams, and other engines, and then kindled them with long flaming poles. The fire immediately seized them with so much violence, that they were all in flames in a very short time. The enemies ran from all quarters to extinguish the fire; but this cost them a considerable time to effect, and most of the machines were greatly damaged. Demetrius, however, was not discouraged at this disaster.

Ptolemy, upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill success in the action against Demetrius, caused a powerful fleet to be fitted out with all expedition, and advanced, as soon as possible, to his assistance. The battle, for which both parties prepared, after

after some ineffectual overtures of accommodation, created great expectations of the event, not only in the generals who were then upon the spot, but in all the absent princes and commanders. The success appeared to be uncertain; but it was very apparent, that it would eventually give one of the contending parties an intire superiority over the rest. Ptolemy, who arrived with a fleet of an hundred and fifty sail, had ordered Menelaus, who was then at Salamina, to come up with the sixty vessels under his command, in order to charge the rear-guard of Demetrius, and throw them into disorder, amidst the first heat of the battle. But Demetrius had the precaution to leave ten of his ships to oppose those sixty of Menelaus; for this small number was sufficient to guard the entrance into the port, which was very narrow, and prevent Menelaus from coming out. When this preliminary to the engagement was settled, Demetrius drew out his land-forces, and extended them along the points of land which projected into the sea, that he might be in a condition, in case any misfortune happened, to assist those who would be obliged to save themselves by swimming; after which he sailed into the open sea, with an hundred and eighty gallies, and charged the fleet of Ptolemy with so much impetuosity, that he broke the lines of battle. Ptolemy, finding his defeat inevitable, had immediately recourse to flight with eight gallies, which were all that escaped; for of the other vessels which composed his fleet, some were either shattered or sunk in the battle, and all the others, to the number of seventy, were taken with their whole complements. All the remains, therefore, of Ptolemy's train and baggage, with his domesticks, friends, and wives, provisions, arms, money, and machines of war, on board the store-ships that lay at anchor, were seized by Demetrius, who caused them to be carried to his camp.

Menelaus no longer made any opposition, after this battle at sea, but surrendered himself to Demetrius,

trius, with the city, and all his ships and land-forces, which last consisted of twelve hundred horse, and twelve thousand foot.

Demetrius exalted the glory of this victory, by his humanity and generous conduct after it. He caused the slain to be interred in a magnificent manner, and generously restored liberty to Menelaus and Lentiscus, one the brother, and the other the son of Ptolemy, who were found among the prisoners: He also dismissed them, with their friends and domesticks, and all their baggage, without any ransom; that he might once more return the civilities he had formerly experienced from Ptolemy, on a like occasion, after the battle of Gaza. * With so much more generosity, disinterest and politeness did enemies make war against each other in those days, than we now find between friends in the ordinary commerce of life. He likewise selected out of the spoils, twelve hundred compleat suits of armour, and gave them to the Athenians; the rest of the prisoners, whose number amounted to seventeen thousand men, without including the marines taken with the fleet, were incorporated by him into his troops; by which means he greatly reinforced his army.

Antigonus, who continued in Syria, waited with the utmost anxiety and impatience for an account of a battle, by the event of which the fate of himself and his son was to be decided. When the courier brought him intelligence, that Demetrius had obtained a compleat victory, his joy rose in proportion; and all the people, at the same instant, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus immediately transmitted to his son the diadem which had glittered on his own brows, and gave him the regal title in the letter he wrote to him. The Egyptians, when they were informed of this proceeding, were also no less industrious in proclaiming Ptolemy king, that they might not seem to be dejected at their de-

VOL. V.

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f at,

* Tanto honestius tunc bella gerebantur, quam nunc amicitia coluntur. *Justin.*

feat, or be thought to entertain the less esteem and affection for their prince. Lyfimachus and Seleucus soon followed their example, the one in Thrace, and the other in Babylon, and the provinces of the East; and assumed the title of king, in their several dominions, after they had for so many years usurped the supreme authority there, without presuming to take this title upon them till that time, which was about eighteen years after the death of Alexander. Cassander alone, though he was treated as a king by the others, in their discourse and letters to him, continued to write his in his usual manner, and without affixing any addition to his name.

Plutarch observes, that this new title not only occasioned these princes to augment their train, and pompous appearance, but also caused them to assume airs of pomp and loftiness, and inspired them with such haughty impressions as they had never manifested till then; as if this appellation had suddenly exalted them into a species of beings different from the rest of mankind.

A. M. 3699. Ant. J. C. 305. (b) Seleucus had greatly increased his power in the oriental provinces, during the transactions we have been describing; for after he had killed Nicanor in a battle, whom Antigonus had sent against him, he not only established himself in the possession of Media, Assyria, and Babylon, but reduced Persia, Bactriana, Hyrcania, and all the provinces on this side the Indus, which had formerly been conquered by Alexander.

(i) Antigonus, on his side, to improve the victory his son had obtained in Cyprus, assembled an army of an hundred thousand men in Syria, with an intention to invade Egypt. He flattered himself, that conquest would infallibly attend his arms, and that he should divest Ptolemy of that kingdom, with as much ease as he had taken Cyprus from him. Whilst he was conducting this great army by land, Demetrius followed him with his fleet, which coasted along the shores

(b) Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Justin. l. xv. c. 4. (i) Diod. l. xx. p. 304-806. Plut. in Demetr. p. 896, 897.

shores to Gaza, where the father and son concerted the measures each of them were to pursue. The pilots advised them to wait till the setting of the Pleiades, and defer their departure only for eight days, because the sea was then very tempestuous; but the impatience of Antigonus to surprize Ptolemy, before his preparations were compleated, caused him to disregard that salutary advice. Demetrius was ordered to make a descent in one of the mouths of the Nile, whilst Antigonus was to endeavour to open a passage by land, into the heart of the country; but neither the one nor the other succeeded in his expedition. The fleet of Demetrius sustained great damage by violent storms; and Ptolemy had taken such effectual precautions to secure the mouths of the Nile, as rendered it impracticable to Demetrius to land his troops. Antigonus, on the other hand, having employed all his efforts to cross the desarts that lay between Palestine and Egypt, had much greater difficulties still to surmount, and found it impossible to pass the first arm of the Nile in his march, such judicious orders had been given by Ptolemy, and so advantageously were his troops posted at all the passes and avenues; but, what was still more afflictive to Antigonus than all the rest, his soldiers daily deserted from him in great numbers.

Ptolemy had sent out boats on several parts of the river where the enemies resorted for water, and caused it to be proclaimed on his part, from those vessels, that every deserter from their troops should receive from him two minæ, and every officer a talent. So considerable a recompence soon allured great numbers to receive it, especially the troops in the pay of Antigonus; nor were they prevailed upon by money alone, as their inclinations to serve Ptolemy were much stronger than their motives to continue under Antigonus, whom they considered as an old man difficult to be pleased, imperious, morose, and severe; whereas Ptolemy rendered himself amiable, by his

gentle disposition and engaging behaviour to all who approached him.

Antigonus, after he had hovered to no effect on the frontiers of Egypt, and even till his provisions began to fail him, became sensible of his inability to enter Egypt; that his army decreased every day by sickness and desertion; and that it was impossible for him to subsist his remaining troops any longer in that country; was obliged to return into Syria, in a very shameful manner, after having lost in this unfortunate expedition, a great number of his land-forces, and abundance of his ships.

Ptolemy, having offered a sacrifice to the gods, in gratitude for the protection they had granted him, sent to acquaint Lyfimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, with the happy event of that campaign, and to renew the alliance between them, against the common enemy. This was the last attack he had to sustain for the crown of Egypt, and it greatly contributed to fix it upon his head, in consequence of the prudent measures he pursued. Ptolemy, the astronomer, therefore fixed the commencement of his reign at this period, and afterwards points out the several years of its duration, in his chronological canon. He begins the Epocha on the seventh of November, and nineteen years after the death of Alexander the Great.

SECT. VIII. DEMETRIUS *forms the siege of Rhodes, which he raises a year after, by concluding a treaty to the honour of the city. Helepolis, a famous machine. The Colossus of Rhodes. PROTEGENES, a celebrated painter, spared during the siege.*

A. M. (a) ANTIGONUS was almost fourscore years of
 3700.
 Ant. J. C. age at that time, and as he had then contracted a gross habit of body, and consequently was but little qualified for the activity of a military life, he made use of his son's services, who, by the experience he had already acquired, and the success which attended

(a) Diod. l. xx. p. 819---885, & 817---825. Plut. in Demetr. p. 297, & 298.

attended him, transacted the most important affairs with great ability. The father, for this reason, was not offended at his expensive luxury and intemperance; for Demetrius, during peace, abandoned himself to the greatest excesses of all kinds, without the least regard to decorum. In times of war, indeed, he acted a very different part; he was then a quite different man, vigilant, active, laborious, and invincible to fatigues. Whether he gave into pleasure, or applied to serious affairs, he entirely devoted himself to the one or the other; and for the time he engaged in either, was incapable of moderation. He had an inventive genius; and it may be justly said, that curiosity, and a fine turn of mind for the sciences, were inseparable from him. He never employed his natural industry in frivolous and insignificant amusements, like many other kings, some of whom, as Plutarch observes, valued themselves for their expertness in playing on instruments, others in painting, and some in their dexterity in the turner's art, with an hundred other qualities of private men, but not one of a prince. His application to the mechanick arts had something great and truly royal in it; his gallies, with five benches of oars, were the admiration of his enemies, who beheld them sailing along their coasts; and his engines, called *belepoles*, were a surprising spectacle to those whom he besieged. They were exceedingly useful to him in the war with Rhodes, with the conduct of which his father had charged him at the time we are now speaking of.

Among the islands called Sporades, Rhodes held the first rank, as well for the fertility of its soil, as the safety of its ports and roads, which, on that account, were resorted to by great numbers of trading ships from all parts. It then formed a small, but very powerful state, whose friendship was courted by all princes, and who was studious, on its own part, to oblige them, by observing an exact neutrality, and carefully declining any declaration in favour of one against another, in the wars that arose in those times.

As the inhabitants were limited to a little island, all their power flowed from their riches, and their riches from their commerce, which it was their capital interest to preserve as free as possible with the Mediterranean states, which all contributed to their prosperity. The Rhodians, by persisting in so prudent a conduct, had rendered their city very flourishing; and as they enjoyed continual peace, they became extremely opulent. Notwithstanding the seeming neutrality they maintained, their inclination, as well as interest, secretly attached them to Ptolemy, because the principal and most advantageous branches of their commerce flowed from Egypt. When Antigonus, therefore, demanded succours of them in his war with Cyprus, they intreated him not to compel them to declare against Ptolemy, their ancient friend and ally; but this answer, as prudent and well-concerted as it really was, drew upon them the displeasure of Antigonus, which he expressed in the severest menaces; and, when he returned from his expedition to Egypt, he sent his son Demetrius, with a fleet and army, to chastise their insolent temerity, as he termed it, and likewise to reduce them to his obedience.

The Rhodians, who foresaw the impending storm, had sent to all the princes their allies, and to Ptolemy in particular, to implore their assistance, and caused it to be represented to the latter, that their attachment to his interest had drawn upon them the danger to which they were then exposed.

The preparations on each side were immense. Demetrius arrived before Rhodes with a very numerous fleet, for he had two hundred ships of war of different dimensions; and more than a hundred and seventy transports, that carried about forty thousand men, without including the cavalry, and the succours he received from pirates. He had likewise near a thousand small vessels laden with provisions, and all other necessary accommodations for an army. The expectation of the vast booty to be acquired by the cap-

ture of so rich a city as Rhodes, had allured great numbers of soldiers to join Demetrius in this expedition. This prince, who had the most fertile and inventive genius that ever was, for attacking places, and forming machines of war, had brought with him an infinite number of the latter. He was sensible that he had to deal with a brave people, and very able commanders, who had acquired great experience in maritime affairs; and that the besieged had above a hundred military machines almost as formidable as his own.

Demetrius, upon his arrival at the island, landed in order to take a view of the most commodious situation for assaulting the place. He likewise sent out parties to lay the country waste on all sides, and, at the same time, caused another body of his troops to cut down the trees, and demolish the houses in the parts adjacent to Rhodes, and then employed them as materials to fortify his camp with a triple palisade.

The Rhodians, on their part, prepared for a vigorous defence. All persons of merit, and reputation for military affairs, in the countries in alliance with the Rhodians, threw themselves into the city, as much for the honour of serving a republick, equally celebrated for its gratitude and the courage of its citizens, as to manifest their own fortitude and abilities in the defence of that place, against one of the greatest captains, and the most expert in the conduct of sieges, that antiquity ever produced.

They began with dismissing from the city all such persons as were useless; and the number of those who were capable of bearing arms, amounted to six thousand citizens, and a thousand strangers. Liberty, and the right of denisons, were promised to such slaves as should distinguish themselves by their bravery, and the publick engaged to pay the masters the full price for each of them. It was likewise publicly declared, that the citizens would bestow an honourable interment on those who should lose their lives in any engagement, and would also provide for the subsistence

of their parents, wives, and children, and portion the daughters in marriage; and that when the sons should be of age capable of bearing arms, they should be presented with a compleat suit of armour, on the publick theatre, at the great solemnity of the Bacchanalians.

This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crowds with money to defray the expence of the siege, and the soldiers pay. The workmen redoubled their industry in making arms, that were excellent, as well for the promptitude of execution, as the beauty of work. Some were employed in making catapultas and balistas; others formed different machines equally necessary; a third class repaired the breaches of the walls; while several others supplied them with stone. In a word, every thing was in motion throughout the city; each striving with emulation to distinguish himself on that occasion; so that a zeal so ardent and universal was never known before.

The besieged first set out three good sailors against a small fleet of sutlers and merchants, who supplied the enemy with provisions: They sunk a great number of their vessels, burnt several, and carried into the city such of the prisoners who were in a condition to pay their ransom. The Rhodians gained a considerable sum of money by this expedition; for it was mutually agreed, that a thousand drachmas (about five-and-twenty pounds) should be paid for every person that was a freeman, and half the sum for a slave.

The siege of Rhodes has been represented as the master-piece of Demetrius, and the greatest instance of the fertility of his genius in resources and inventions. He began the attack from the sea, in order to make himself master of the port, and the towers which defended the entrance.

In order to accomplish this design, he caused two tortoises to be erected on two flat prahms or barks joined together, to facilitate his approach to the places
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he intended to batter. One of these was stronger and more solid than the other, in order to cover the men from those enormous masses which the besieged discharged from the towers and walls, with the catapultas planted upon them; the other was of a lighter structure, and designed to shelter the soldiers from flights of darts and arrows. Two towers of four stories were erected at the same time, which exceeded in height the towers that defended the entrance into the port, and which were intended to be used in battering the latter with volleys of stones and darts. Each of these towers were placed upon two ships strongly bound together.

Demetrius, beside these tortoises and towers, caused a kind of floating barricado to be erected on a long beam of timber, four feet thick, through which stakes armed at the end with large points of iron were driven. These stakes were disposed horizontally, with their spikes projecting forward, in order to prevent the vessels of the port from shattering the work with their beaks.

He likewise selected out of his fleet the largest vessels, on the side of which he erected a rampart of planks with little windows, easy to be opened. He there placed the best Cretan archers and slingers in all his army, and furnished them with an infinite number of bows, small balistas, or cross-bows, and catapultas, with other engines for shooting; in order to gall the workmen of the city employed in raising and repairing the walls of the port.

The Rhodians, seeing the besiegers turn all their efforts against that quarter, were no less industrious to defend it; in order to accomplish that design, they raised two machines upon an adjoining eminence, and formed three others, which they placed on large ships of burden, at the mouth of the little haven. A body of archers and slingers was likewise posted on each of these situations, with a prodigious quantity of stones, darts, and arrows of all kinds. The same orders were

were also given, with respect to the ships of burden in the great port.

When Demetrius advanced with his ships and all their armament, to begin the attack on the ports, such a violent tempest arose, as rendered it impossible for him to accomplish any of his operations that day; but the sea growing calm about night, he took the advantage of the darkness, and advanced, without being perceived by the enemy, to the grand port, where he made himself master of a neighbouring eminence, about five hundred paces from the wall, where he posted four hundred soldiers, who fortified themselves immediately with good palisades.

The next morning, Demetrius caused his batteries to advance with the sound of trumpets, and the shouts of his whole army; and they at first produced all the effect he proposed from them. A great number of the besieged were slain in this attack, and several breaches were opened in the mole which covered the port: But they were not very advantageous to the besiegers, who were always repulsed by the Rhodians; and the loss being almost equal on both sides, Demetrius was obliged to retire from the port with his ships and machines, to be out of the reach of the enemy's arrows.

The besieged, who had been instructed at their own expence in what manner the night was capable of being improved, caused several fire-ships to sail out of the port, during the darkness, in order to burn the tortoises and wooden towers which the enemy had erected; but as they had the misfortune to be incapable of forcing the floating barricado, they were obliged to return into the port. The Rhodians lost some of their fire-ships in this expedition, but the mariners saved themselves by swimming.

The next day, the prince ordered a general attack to be made against the port, and the walls of the place, with the sound of trumpets, and the shouts of his whole army, thinking by those means to spread terror among the besieged: But they were so far from
being

being intimidated, that they sustained the attack with incredible vigour, and discovered the same intrepidity for the space of eight days that it continued; and actions of astonishing bravery were performed on both sides during that long period.

Demetrius, taking advantage of the eminence which his troops had seized, gave orders for erecting upon it a battery of several engines, which discharged great stones of an hundred and fifty pounds in weight, against the walls and towers, the latter of which tottered with the repeated shocks, and several breaches were soon made in the walls. The besiegers then made a furious advance to seize the moles which defended the entrance into the port; but as this post was of the last importance to the Rhodians, they spared no pains to repulse the besiegers, who had already made a considerable progress. This they at last effected, by a shower of stones and arrows, which they discharged upon their enemies with so much rapidity, and for such a length of time, that they were obliged to retire in confusion, after losing a great number of their men.

The ardour of the besiegers was not diminished by this repulse, and they rather appeared more animated than ever against the Rhodians. They began the scalade by land and sea at the same time, and employed the besiegers so effectually, that they scarce knew whither to run for the defence of the place. The attack was carried on with the utmost fury on all sides, and the besiegers defended themselves with the greatest intrepidity. Great numbers were thrown from the ladders to the earth, and miserably bruised; several, even of the principal officers, got to the top of the wall, where they were covered with wounds, and taken prisoners by the enemy; so that Demetrius, notwithstanding all his valour, thought it necessary to retreat, in order to repair his engines, which were almost entirely destroyed by so many attacks, as well as the vessels that carried them.

After

After the prince had retreated from Rhodes, immediate care was taken to bury the dead; the beaks also of the ships, with the other spoils that had been taken from the enemy, were carried to the temple, and the workmen were indefatigable in repairing the breaches of the walls.

Demetrius having employed seven days in re-fitting his ships, and repairing his engines, set sail again, with a fleet as formidable as the former, and steered, with a fair wind, directly for the port, which employed his attention most, as he conceived it impracticable to reduce the place till he had first made himself master of that. Upon his arrival, he caused a vast quantity of lighted torches, flaming straw, and arrows to be discharged, in order to set fire to the vessels that were riding there, while his engines battered the mole without intermission. The besieged, who expected attacks of this nature, exerted themselves with so much vigour and activity, that they soon extinguished the flames, which had seized the vessels of the port.

At the same time they caused three of their largest ships to sail out of the port, under the command of Exacestes, one of their bravest officers, with orders to attack the enemy, and use all possible means to join the vessels that carried the tortoises and wooden towers, and to charge them in such a manner with the beaks of theirs, as might either sink them, or render them entirely useless. These orders were executed with a surprising expedition and address; and the three gallies, after they had shattered and broke through the floating barricado already mentioned, drove their beaks with so much violence into the sides of the enemy's barks, on which the machines were erected, that the water was immediately seen to flow into them through several openings. Two of them were already sunk, but the third was towed along by the gallies, and joined the main fleet; and as dangerous as it was to attack them in that situation, the Rhodians, through a blind and precipitate ardour, had the courage to attempt it. But as the inequality

was

was too great to admit them to come off with success, Exacestes, with the officer who commanded under him, and some others, after having fought with all the bravery imaginable, were taken with the galley in which they were; the other two regained the port, after sustaining many dangers, and most of the men also arrived there by swimming.

As unfortunate as this last attack had proved to Demetrius, he was determined to undertake another himself; and, in order to succeed in that design, he ordered a machine of a new invention to be built, of thrice the height and breadth of those he had lately lost. When this was compleated, he caused it to be placed near the port which he was resolved to force; but at the instant they were preparing to work it, a dreadful tempest arose at sea, and sunk it to the bottom, with the vessels on which it had been raised.

The besieged, who were attentive to improve all favourable conjunctures, employed the time afforded them by the continuance of the tempest, in regaining the eminence near the port, which the enemy had carried in the first assault, and where they afterwards fortified themselves. The Rhodians attacked it, and were repulsed several times; but the forces of Demetrius, who defended it, perceiving fresh troops continually pouring upon them, and that it was in vain for them to expect any relief, were obliged, at last, to surrender themselves prisoners, to the number of four hundred men.

This series of fortunate events was succeeded by the arrival of five hundred men from Cnossus, a city of Crete, to the assistance of the Rhodians, and also of five hundred more whom Ptolemy sent from Egypt, most of them being Rhodians, who had listed themselves among the troops of that prince.

Demetrius being extremely mortified to see all his batteries at the port rendered ineffectual, resolved to employ them by land, in order to carry the place by assault, or reduce it to the necessity of capitulating. He therefore prepared materials of every kind, and
formed

formed them into a machine called *helepolis*, and which was larger than any that had ever been invented before. The basis on which it stood was square, and each of its sides had an extent of seventy-five feet. The machine itself was an assemblage of large square beams, rivetted together with iron, and the whole mass rested upon eight wheels that were made proportionable to the superstructure. The jaunts of these wheels were three feet thick, and strengthened with large iron plates.

In order to facilitate and vary the movements of the *helepolis*, care had been taken to place casters * under it, whose volubility rendered the machine moveable any way.

From each of the four angles a large column of wood was carried up to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet, and mutually inclining to each other. The machine was composed of nine stories, whose dimensions gradually lessened in the ascent. The first story was supported by forty-three beams, and the last by no more than nine.

Three sides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fires that were launched from the city.

In the front of each story were little windows, whose form and dimensions corresponded with the nature of the arrows that were to be shot from the machine. Over each window was a kind of curtain made with leather, stuffed with wool: This was let down by a machine for that purpose, and the intention of it was to break the force of whatever should be discharged by the enemy against it.

Each

* *Monf. Rollin informs us in a note, that he was obliged to retain the Greek term (Antistrepta) for want of a proper French word to render it by; but as the English language is not so defective in that particular, the translator has expressed the Greek by the word* *caster, which, as well as the original word, signifies a wheel placed under a piece of work, in such a manner as to render it convertible on all sides, like those little wheels affixed under the feet of beds, by which they move with ease to any part of a room.*

Each story had two large stair-cases, one for the ascent of the men, and the other for their descent.

This machine was moved forwards by three thousand of the strongest and most vigorous men in the whole army, but the art with which it was built greatly facilitated the motion.

Demetrius also gave directions for building a great number of other machines, of different magnitudes, and for various uses; he also employed his seamen in levelling the ground over which the machines were to move, which was an hundred fathoms. The number of artisans and others, employed on these works, amounted to near thirty thousand men, by which means they were finished with incredible expedition.

The Rhodians were not indolent during these formidable preparations, but employed their time in raising a counter-wall, on the tract of ground where Demetrius intended to batter the walls of the city with the helepolis; and, in order to accomplish this work, they demolished the wall which surrounded the theatre, as also several neighbouring houses, and even some temples, having solemnly promised the gods to build more magnificent structures for the celebration of their worship, after the siege should be raised.

When they knew that the enemy had quitted the sea, they sent out nine of their best ships of war, divided into three squadrons, the command of which they gave to three of their bravest sea-officers, who returned with a very rich booty, some galleys, and several smaller vessels, which they had taken, as also a great number of prisoners. They had likewise seized a galley richly laden, and in which were large quantities of tapestry, with other furniture, and a variety of rich robes, intended by Phila as a present to her husband Demetrius, and accompanied with letters which she herself had written to him. The Rhodians sent the whole, and even the letters, to Ptolemy, which exceedingly exasperated Demetrius. In this proceeding, says Plutarch, they did not imitate the polite conduct of the Athenians, who having once
seized

seized some of the couriers of Philip, with whom they were then at war, opened all the packets but those of Olympias, which they sent to Philip sealed as they were. There are some rules of decency and honour which ought to be inviolably observed, even with enemies.

While the ships of the republick were employed in taking the prizes already mentioned, a great commotion happened at Rhodes, with respect to the statues of Antigonus and Demetrius, which had been erected in honour to them, and till then were held in the utmost veneration. Some of the principal citizens were solicitous, in a publick assembly, for an order to destroy the statues of those princes who then harrassed them with such a cruel war; but the people, who were more discreet and moderate on this occasion than their chiefs, would not suffer that proposal to be executed. So wise and equitable a conduct, exclusively of all events, did the Rhodians no small honour; but should their city have been taken, it could not have failed to inspire the conqueror with impressions in their favour.

Demetrius having tried several mines without success, from their being all discovered, and rendered ineffectual by the vigilant conduct and activity of the besieged, gave orders, and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault: In order to which the helepolis was moved to a situation from whence the city might be battered with the best effect. Each story of this formidable engine was furnished with catapultas and balistas proportioned in their size to the dimensions of the place. It was likewise supported and fortified on two of its sides, by four small machines called tortoises, each of which had a covered galley, to secure those who should either enter the helepolis, or issue out of it, to execute different orders. On each side was a battering-ram of a prodigious size, consisting of a piece of timber thirty fathoms in length, armed with iron terminating in a point, and as strong as the beak of a galley. These engines were mounted

on wheels, and were made to batter the walls during the attack with incredible force, by near a thousand men.

When every thing was ready, Demetrius ordered the trumpets to sound, and the general assault to be given on all sides, both by sea and land. In the heat of the attack, and when the walls were already shaken by the battering rams, ambassadors arrived from the Cnicians, and earnestly solicited Demetrius to suspend the assault, giving him hopes, at the same time, that they should prevail upon the besieged to submit to an honourable capitulation. A suspension of arms was accordingly granted; but the Rhodians refusing to capitulate on the conditions proposed to them, the attack was renewed with so much fury, and all the machines co-operated so effectually, that a large tower built with square stones, and the wall that flanked it, were battered down. The besieged fought like lions in the breach, and repulsed their enemies.

In this conjuncture the vessels which Ptolemy had freighted with three hundred thousand measures of corn, and different kinds of pulse for the Rhodians, arrived very seasonably in the port, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemies ships which cruised in the neighbourhood to intercept them. A few days after this relief, two other small fleets sailed into the port; one was sent by Cassander, with one hundred thousand bushels of barley; the other came from Lysimachus, with four hundred thousand bushels of corn, and as much barley. This seasonable and abundant supply, which was received when the city began to be in want of provisions, inspired the besiegers with new courage, and they resolved not to surrender till the last extremity.

While they were animated in this manner, they attempted to fire the enemies machines, and with this view, ordered a body of soldiers to march out of the city, that following midnight, with torches, and all kinds of kindled wood. These troops advanced to the batteries, and set them on fire, and at

the same time innumerable arrows were shot from the wall, to support the detachment against those who should endeavour to extinguish the flames. The besiegers lost great numbers of their men on this occasion, because they were incapable, amidst the obscurity of the night, either to see, or avoid the volleys of arrows discharged upon them. Several plates of iron happening to fall from the helepolis, during the conflagration, the Rhodians advanced with impetuosity, in order to set it on fire: But as the troops within that moving tower quenched it with water as fast as the flames were kindled, they could not effect their design. However, Demetrius was apprehensive that all his machines would be consumed; to prevent which, he caused them to be removed with all possible expedition.

Demetrius being curious to know what number of machines the besieged had employed in casting arrows, caused all those which had been shot from the place in the attack that night, to be gathered up; and when these were counted, and a proper computation made, he became sensible that the inhabitants must have more than eight hundred engines of different dimensions, for discharging fires, and about fifteen hundred for arrows. The prince was struck with consternation at this number, as he did not imagine the city could have made such formidable preparations. He caused his dead to be interred, gave directions for curing those who were wounded, and was as expeditious as possible in repairing the machines which had been dismounted and rendered useless.

The besieged, in order to improve the relaxation they enjoyed by the removal of the machines, were industrious to fortify themselves against the new assault, for which the enemies were then preparing. To this purpose they began with opening a large and deep ditch behind the breach, to obstruct the passage of the enemy into the city; after which they raised a substantial wall, in the form of a crescent, along the
ditch;

ditch; and which would cost the enemies a new attack.

As their attention was devoted, at the same time, to every other emergency, they detached a squadron of the nimblest ships in their port, which took a great number of vessels laden with provision and ammunition for Demetrius, and brought them into the port. These were soon followed by a numerous fleet of small vessels freighted with corn, and other necessities sent them by Ptolemy, with fifteen hundred men commanded by Antigonus of Macedonia.

Demetrius having reinstated his machines, caused them all to advance near the city, when a second embassy arrived at the camp, from the Athenians, and some other states of Greece, on the same subject as the former, but with as little success. The king, whose imagination was fruitful of expedients for succeeding in his projects, detached fifteen hundred of his troops, under the command of Alcimus and Mancius, with orders to enter the breach at midnight, and force the intrenchments behind it. They were then to possess themselves of the parts adjacent to the theatre, where they would be in a condition to maintain their ground, if they could but once make themselves masters of it. In order to facilitate the execution of so important and dangerous an expedition, and amuse the enemies with false attacks, he at the same time caused the signal to be sounded by all the trumpets, and the city to be attacked on all sides, both by sea and land, that the besieged finding sufficient employment in all parts, the fifteen hundred men might have an opportunity of forcing the intrenchments which covered the breach, and afterwards of seizing all the advantageous posts about the theatre. This feint had all the success the prince expected from it. The troops having shouted from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general assault, the detachment commanded by Alcimus entered the breach, and made such a vigorous attack upon those who defended the ditch, and the crescent which cover-

ed it, that after they had killed a great number of their enemies, and put the rest into confusion, they seized the posts adjacent to the theatre, where they maintained themselves.

The alarm was very great in the city, and all the chiefs who commanded there, dispatched orders to their officers and soldiers, not to quit their posts, nor make the least movement whatever. After which they placed themselves at the head of a chosen body of their own troops, and of those who were newly arrived from Egypt, and with them poured upon the detachment which had advanced as far as the theatre: But the obscurity of the night rendered it impracticable to dislodge them from the posts they had seized, and the day no sooner appeared, than an universal cry of the besiegers was heard from all quarters, by which they endeavoured to animate those who had entered the place, and inspire them with a resolution to maintain their ground, where they might soon expect succours. This terrible cry drew floods of tears and dismal groans from the populace, women and children, who continued in the city, and then concluded themselves inevitably lost. The battle, however, continued with great vigour at the theatre, and the Macedonians defended their posts with an intrepidity that astonished their enemies, till at last the Rhodians prevailing by their numbers, and perpetual supplies of fresh troops, the detachment, after having seen Alcimus and Mancius slain on the spot, were obliged to submit to superior force, and abandon a post it was no longer possible to maintain. Great numbers of them fell on the spot, and the rest were taken prisoners.

The ardour of Demetrius was rather augmented than abated by this check, and he was making the necessary dispositions for a new assault, when he received letters from his father Antigonus, by which he was directed to take all possible measures for the conclusion of a peace with the Rhodians. He then wanted some plausible pretext for discontinuing the

siege,

siege, and chance supplied him with it. At that very instant deputies from Ætolia arrived at his camp, to solicit him anew to grant a peace to the Rhodians, to which they found him not so averse as before.

(b) If what Vegetius relates of the helepolis be true, and indeed Vitruvius seems to confirm it, with a small variation of circumstances, it might possibly be another motive that contributed not a little to dispose Demetrius to a peace. That prince was preparing to advance his helepolis against the city, when a Rhodian engineer contrived an expedient to render it entirely useless; he opened a mine under the walls of the city, and continued it to the way over which the tower was to pass the ensuing day in order to approach the walls. The besiegers not suspecting any stratagem of that nature, moved on the tower to the place undermined; which being incapable of supporting so enormous a load, sunk in under the machine, which buried itself so deep in the earth, that it was impossible to draw it out again. This was one inconvenience to which these formidable engines were obnoxious; and the two authors whom I have cited declare, that this accident determined Demetrius to raise the siege, and it is, at least, very probable, that it contributed not a little to his taking that resolution.

The Rhodians, on their part, were as desirous of an accommodation as himself, provided it could be effected upon reasonable terms. Ptolemy, in promising them fresh succours, much more considerable than the former, had earnestly exhorted them not to lose so favourable an occasion, if it should offer itself. Besides which, they were sensible of the extreme necessity they were under of putting an end to the siege, which could not but prove fatal to them at last. This consideration induced them to listen with pleasure to the proposals made them, and the treaty was concluded soon after upon the following terms. The republick of Rhodes, and all its citizens, should retain the enjoyment of their rights, privileges, and liberty,

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without

(b) Veget. de re milit. c. iv.

without being subjected to any power whatsoever. The alliance they had always had with Antigonus, was to be confirmed and renewed, with an obligation to take up arms for him in all future wars, provided it was not against Ptolemy. The city was also to deliver an hundred hostages, to be chosen by Demetrius, for the effectual performance of the articles stipulated between them. When these hostages were given, the army decamped from before Rhodes, after having besieged it a year.

(c) Demetrius, who was then reconciled with the Rhodians, was desirous, before his departure, to give them a proof of that disposition; and accordingly presented them with all the machines of war he had employed in that siege. These they afterwards sold for three hundred talents, (about three hundred thousand crowns) which they employed, with an additional sum of their own, in making the famous Colossus, which was reputed one of the seven wonders of the world. It was a statue of the sun, of so stupendous a size, that ships in full sail passed between its legs; the height of it was seventy cubits, or one hundred and five feet, and few men could clasp its thumb with their arms. It was the work of Chares of Lindus, and employed him for the space of twelve years. Sixty-six years after its erection, it was thrown down by an earthquake; of which we shall speak in the sequel of this history.

The Rhodians, to testify their gratitude to Ptolemy for the assistance he had given them in so dangerous a conjuncture, consecrated a grove to that prince, after they had consulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, to give the action an air of solemnity; and to honour him the more, erected a magnificent work within it. They built a sumptuous portico, and continued it along each side of the square which encompassed it, and contained a space of four hundred fathoms. This portico was called the Ptolemæon; and, out of a flattery, as customary in those days as
impious

impious in itself, divine honours were rendered to him in that place: And, in order to perpetuate their deliverer in this war by another method, they gave him the appellation of Soter, which signifies a saviour, and is used by the historians to distinguish him from the other Ptolemies, who were his successors on the throne of Egypt.

I was unwilling to interrupt the series of events that occurred at this siege, and therefore reserved for this place one that greatly redounds to the honour of Demetrius. It relates to his taste for the arts, and the esteem he entertained for those who were distinguished by peculiar merit in them; a circumstance not a little for the glory of a prince.

Rhodes was at that time the residence of a celebrated painter, named Protogenes, who was a native of Caunus, a city of Caria, which was then subject to the Rhodians. The apartment where he painted was in the suburbs, without the city, when Demetrius first besieged it; but neither the presence of the enemies who then surrounded him, nor the noise of arms that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation, or discontinue his work. The king was surprised at his conduct; and as he one day asked him his reasons for such a proceeding, *It is, replied he, because I am sensible you have declared war against the Rhodians, and not against the sciences.* Nor was he deceived in that opinion, for Demetrius actually shewed himself their protector. He planted a guard round his house, that the artist might enjoy tranquillity, or, at least, be secure from danger amidst the tumult and ravages of war. He frequently went to see him work, and never sufficiently admired the application of that master to his art, and his surprising excellency in it.

The master-piece of this painter was the *Falysus*, an historical picture of a person of that name, whom the Rhodians acknowledged as their founder, though only a * fabulous hero. Protogenes had employed se-

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* He was the son of Orchimus, Rhoda, from whom the city and whose parents were the Sun and island derived their name.

ven years in finishing this piece; and when Apelles first saw it, he was transported with so much admiration, that his speech failed him for some time; and when he at last began to recover from his astonishment, he cried out, *Prodigious work indeed! Admirable performance! It has not, however, the graces I give my works, and which have raised their reputation to the skies.* If we may credit Pliny, Protogenes, during the whole time he applied himself to this work, condemned himself to a very rigid and abstemious life*, that the delicacy of his taste and imagination might not be affected by his diet. This picture was carried to Rome, and consecrated in the temple of Peace, where it remained to the time of Pliny; but it was at last destroyed by fire.

The same Pliny pretends, that Rhodes was saved by this picture; because, as it hung in the only quarter by which it was possible for Demetrius to take the city, he rather chose to abandon his conquest†, than expose so precious a monument of art to the danger of being consumed in the flames. This, indeed, would have been carrying his taste and value for painting into a surprising extreme; but we have already seen the true reasons which obliged Demetrius to raise the siege.

One of the figures in this picture was a dog‡, that was admired by all good judges, and had cost the painter great application, without his being able to express his idea to his own satisfaction, though he was sufficiently

* He subsisted himself on boiled lupines, a kind of pulse which satisfied his hunger and thirst at the same time.

† Parcentem picturæ fugit occasio victoriæ.

‡ Est in ea canis mirè factus, ut quem pariter casus & ars pinxerint. Non judicabat se exprimere in eo spumam anhelantis posse, cum in reliqua omni parte (quod difficillimum erat) sibi ipsi satisfecisset. Displicebat autem ars ipsa, nec minui poterat, &

videbatur nimia, ac longius à veritate discedere, spumaque illa pingi non ex ore nasci, anxio animi cruciatu cum in pictura verum esse, non verisimile, vellet. Absterserat sæpius mutaveratque penicillum, nullo modo sibi approbans. Postremò iratus arti quòd intelligeretur, spongiam eam impegit in visco loco tabulæ, & illa reposuit ablatis colores, qualiter cura optabat: fecitque in pictura fortuna naturam. *Plin. lib. xxxv. cap. 10.*

sufficiently pleased with all the rest of the work. He endeavoured to represent the dog panting, and with his mouth foaming as after a long chace; and employed all the skill he was capable of exerting on that occasion, without being able to content himself. Art, in his opinion, was more visible than it ought to have been; a mere resemblance would not suffice, and almost nothing but reality itself would satisfy him. He was desirous that the foam should not seem painted, but actually flowing out of the mouth of the dog. He frequently retouched it, and suffered a degree of torture from his anxiety to express those simple traces of nature, of which he had formed the ideas in his mind. All his attempts were however ineffectual, till at last, in a violent emotion of rage and despair, he darted at the picture the very sponge with which he used to wipe out his colours, and chance accomplished that which art had not been able to effect.

This painter is censured for being too difficult to be pleased, and for retouching his pictures too frequently. It is certain, that though Apelles * almost regarded him as his master, and allowed him a number of excellent qualities, yet he condemned in him the defect of not being able to quit the pencil and finish his works; a defect highly pernicious in eloquence as well as painting. *We ought, says Cicero †, to know how far we should go; and Apelles justly censured some painters for not knowing when to have done.*

* Et aliam gloriam usurpavit Apelles, cum Protogenis opus immensi laboris ac curæ supra modum anxie miraretur. Dixit enim omnia sibi cum illo paria esse, aut illi meliora, sed uno se præstare, quod manum ille de tabula nesciret tollere memorabili præcepto, nocere sæpe nimiam diligentiam. *Plin. ibid.*

† In omnibus rebus videndum est quatenus——In quo Apelles pictores quoque eos peccare dicebat, qui non sentirent quid esset satis. *Orat. n. 73.*

SECT. IX. *The expedition of SELEUCUS into India. DEMETRIUS compels CASSANDER to raise the siege of Athens. The excessive honours paid him in that city. A league between PTOLEMY, SELEUCUS, CASSANDER, and LYSIMACHUS, against ANTIGONUS and DEMETRIUS. The battle of Ipsus, a city of Phrygia, wherein ANTIGONUS is slain, and DEMETRIUS put to flight.*

THE farther we advance into the history of Alexander's successors, the more easily may we discover the spirit by which they were constantly actuated hitherto; and by which they will still appear to be influenced. They at first concealed their real dispositions, by nominating children, or persons of weak capacities, to the regal dignity, in order to disguise their own ambitious views. But as soon as all the family of Alexander was destroyed, they threw off the mask, and discovered themselves in their proper colours, and such as, in reality, they had always been. They were all equally solicitous to support themselves in their several governments; to become entirely independent; to assume an absolute sovereignty, and enlarge the limits of their provinces and kingdoms at the expence of those other governors, who were weaker or less successful than themselves. To this effect they employed the force of their arms, and entered into alliances, which they were always ready to violate, when they could derive more advantages from others, and they renewed them with the same facility from the same motives. They considered the vast conquests of Alexander as an inheritance destitute of a master, and which prudence obliged them to secure for themselves, in as large portion as possible, without any apprehensions of being reproached as usurpers, for the acquisition of countries gained by the victories of the Macedonians, but not the property of any particular person. This was the great motive of all the enterprises in which they engaged.

Seleucus,

Seleucus, as we formerly observed, was master of all the countries between Euphrates and Indus, and was desirous of acquiring those that lay beyond the latter of those rivers. In order, therefore, to improve the favourable conjuncture of his union in point of interest with Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lyfimachus, and at a time when the forces of Antigonus were divided, and Demetrius was employed in the siege of Rhodes, and in awing the republicks of Greece; in a word, while Antigonus himself was only intent upon becoming master of Syria and Phœnicia, and attacking Ptolemy even in Egypt itself: Seleucus therefore thought it incumbent on him to improve this diversion, which weakened the only enemy he had to fear; for carrying his arms against the people of India, who were included in his lot by the general partition, and whom he hoped it would be very practicable for him to subdue by a sudden irruption, altogether unexpected by king Sandrocutta. This person was an Indian of very mean extraction, who, under the specious pretext of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raised an army, and augmented it so well by degrees, that he found means to drive the Macedonians out of all the provinces of India which Alexander had conquered, and to establish himself in them, while the successors of that monarch were engaged in mutual wars with each other. Seleucus passed the Indus in order to regain those provinces; but when he found that Sandrocutta had rendered himself absolute master of all India, and had likewise an army of six hundred thousand men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did not judge it prudent to attack so potent a prince; but entered into a treaty with him, by which he agreed to renounce all his pretensions to that country, provided Sandrocutta would furnish him with five hundred elephants; upon which terms a peace was concluded. This was the final result of Alexander's Indian conquests! This the fruit of so much blood shed to gratify the frantick ambition of one prince! Seleucus shortly after led his

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his troops into the west against Antigonus, as I shall soon observe. The absolute necessity he was under of engaging in this war, was one of his strongest inducements for concluding so sudden a peace with the Indian prince.

(a) The Athenians, at the same time, called in Demetrius to assist them against Cassander, who besieged their city. He accordingly set sail with three hundred and thirty gallies, and a great body of foot; and not only drove Cassander out of Attica, but pursued him as far as Thermopylæ, where he defeated him, and made himself master of Heraclea, which surrendered voluntarily. He also admitted into his service six thousand Macedonians, who came over to his side.

When he returned to Athens, the inhabitants of that city, though they had always lavished upon him all the honours they were able to invent, had recourse to new flatteries that outdid the former. They lodged him in the back part of the temple of Minerva, called Partheon; but even this place, which had so much sanctity ascribed to it by the people, and was the mansion of a virgin goddess, he did not scruple to profane by the most infamous and crying debaucheries. His courtesans were there treated with more honour than the goddess herself, and were the only divinities he adored. (b) He even caused altars to be erected to them by the Athenians, whom he called abject wretches, for their mean compliance, and creatures born only for slavery; so much was even this prince shocked at such despicable adulation, as Tacitus observed with respect to Tiberius*.

Democles, surnamed *the Fair*, and of a very tender age, threw himself, in order to elude the violence of Demetrius, into a vessel of boiling water prepared for a bath, and there lost his life, chusing rather to die than

(a) Diod. l. xx. p. 825—828. Plut. in Demetr. p. 899.

(b) Athen. l. vi. p. 253.

* *Memoriæ proditur, Tiberium, quoties curia egrederetur, Græcis verbis in hunc modum eloqui solitum: O homines ad servitutem paratos! Scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nolle, tam projectæ servientium patientiæ tædebat. Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 65.*

than violate his modesty. The Athenians, to appease the resentment of Demetrius, who was extremely offended at a decree they had published with relation to him, issued a new one, importing, *That it was ordered and adjudged by the people of Athens, that whatever Demetrius might think fit to command, should be considered as sacred in regard to the gods, and just with regard to men.* Is it possible to believe, that flattery and servitude could be carried to such an excess of baseness, extravagance, and irreligion!

Demetrius, after these proceedings, retired into Peloponnesus, and took from Ptolemy, who had rendered himself powerful in that country, the cities of Sicyone, Corinth, and several others, where he had garrisons. And as he happened to be at Argos, at the grand festival in honour of Juno, he was desirous of celebrating it, by proposing prizes, and presiding in person among the Greeks. In order to solemnize it more effectually, he espoused, on that day, Deidamia, the daughter of Æacides, king of the Molossians, and sister of Pyrrhus.

(c) The states of Greece being assembled in the Isthmus, and curiosity having drawn a vast number of people from all parts, Demetrius was proclaimed general of all the Greeks, as Philip and Alexander had been before him; to whom he thought himself abundantly superior, so much was he intoxicated with the success of his arms, and the flattery lavished upon him.

When he was upon his departure from Peloponnesus for Athens, he wrote to the inhabitants of that city, that he intended, upon his arrival among them, to be initiated in the great and lesser mysteries at the same time. This had never been permitted before; for it was necessary to observe certain intervals; it being lawful to celebrate the lesser mysteries only in the month of March*, and the greater in that of October. In order therefore to obviate this inconvenience,

(c) Plut. in Demetr. p. 900.

* There are various opinions with relation to the months in which these mysteries were celebrated.

venience, and satisfy so religious a prince, it was ordered, that the then present month of May should be deemed the month of March, and afterwards that of October; and Demetrius, by this rare invention, was duly initiated, without infringing the customs and ceremonies prescribed by the law.

But of all the abuses committed at Athens, that which most afflicted and mortified the inhabitants, was an order issued by Demetrius, for immediately furnishing the sum of two hundred and fifty talents; and when this money had been collected without the least delay or abatement, the prince, the moment he saw it amassed together, ordered it to be given to Lamia, and the other courtesans in her company, for washes and paint. The Athenians were more offended at the indignity than the loss, and resented the application of that sum to a greater degree than their contribution to it.

Lamia, as if this terrible expence had not been sufficient, being desirous to regale Demetrius at a feast, extorted money from several of the richest Athenians by her own private authority. The entertainment cost immense sums, and gave birth to a very ingenious pleasantry of a comick poet, who said, that Lamia was a true helepolis. We have already shewn, that the helepolis was a machine invented by Demetrius, for attacking towns.

A. M. (d) Cassander finding himself vigorously pressed by
 3702. Demetrius, and not being able to obtain a peace,
 Ant. J. C. without submitting entirely to the discretion of An-
 302. tigonus, agreed with Lyfimachus to send ambassadors to Seleucus and Ptolemy, to represent to them the situation to which they were reduced. The conduct of Antigonus made it evident, that he had no less in view than to dispossess all the other successors of Alexander, and usurp the whole empire to himself; and that it was time to form a strict alliance with each other, to humble this exorbitant power. They were likewise

(d) Diod. l. xx. p. 830—836. Plut. in Demet. p. 899. Justin. l. xv. c. 4.

likewise offended, and Lyfimachus in particular, at the contemptible manner in which Demetrius permitted people to treat the other kings in their conversation at his table, appropriating the regal title to himself and his father; whereas Ptolemy, according to his flatterers, was no more than the captain of a ship, Seleucus a commander of elephants, and Lyfimachus a treasurer. A confederacy was therefore formed by these four kings, after which they hastened into Assyria, to make preparations for this new war.

The first operations of it were commenced at the Hellespont; Cassander and Lyfimachus having judged it expedient, that the former should continue in Europe, to defend it against Demetrius; and that the latter should invade the provinces of Antigonus, in Asia, with as many troops as could be drawn out of their two kingdoms, without leaving them too destitute of forces. Lyfimachus executed his part conformably to the agreement; passed the Hellespont with a fine army, and, either by treaty or force, reduced Phrygia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and most of the territories between the Propontis and the river Mæander.

Antigonus was then at Antigonía, which he had lately built in Upper Syria, and where he was employed in celebrating the solemn games he had there established. This news, with that of several other revolts, transmitted to him at the same time, caused him immediately to quit his games. He accordingly dismissed the assembly upon the spot, and made preparations for advancing against the enemy. When all his troops were drawn together, he marched with the utmost expedition over mount Taurus, and entered Cilicia, where he took out of the publick treasury of Synada, a city of that province, as much money as he wanted, and then augmented his troops to the number he thought necessary. After which he advanced directly towards the enemy, and retook several places in his march. Lyfimachus thought proper to be upon the defensive, till the arrival of the

2 succours

succours upon their march to join him from Seleucus and Ptolemy. The remaining part of the year, therefore, elapsed without any action, and each party retired into winter-quarters.

A. M. Seleucus, at the beginning of the next season, formed
3703. his army at Babylon, and marched into Cappa-
Ant. J. C. docia, to act against Antigonus. This latter sent im-
301. mediately for Demetrius, who left Greece with great expedition, marched to Ephesus, and retook that city, with several others that had declared for Lyfimachus upon his arrival in Asia.

Ptolemy improved the opportunity in Syria, of the absence of Antigonus, and recovered all Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cœlosyria, except the cities of Tyre and Sidon, where Antigonus had left good garrisons. He, indeed, formed the siege of Sidon; but whilst his troops were employed in battering the walls, he received intelligence that Antigonus had defeated Seleucus and Lyfimachus, and was advancing to relieve the place. Upon this information he made a truce for five months with the Sidonians, raised the siege, and returned to Egypt.

Here ends what remains of the history of Diodorus Siculus, in a period of the greatest importance, and on the very point of a battle, by which the fate of Alexander's successors is to be decided.

(e) The confederate army, commanded by Seleucus and Lyfimachus, and the troops of Antigonus and Demetrius, arrived at Phrygia almost at the same time, but did not long confront each other without coming to blows. Antigonus had above sixty thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants. The enemies forces consisted of sixty-four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred elephants, with a hundred and twenty chariots armed with scythes. The battle was fought near Iplius, a city of Phrygia.

As soon as the signal was given, Demetrius, at the head of his best cavalry, fell upon Antiochus, the son
of

of Seleucus, and behaved with so much bravery, that he broke the enemy's ranks, and put them to flight: But a rash and inconsiderate thirst of glory, which generals can never suspect too much, and has been fatal to many, prompted Demetrius to pursue the fugitives with too much ardour, and without any consideration for the rest of the army; by which means he lost the victory he might easily have secured, had he improved his first advantage aright. For when he returned from the pursuit, he found it impracticable for him to rejoin his infantry, the enemy's elephants having filled up all the intermediate space. When Seleucus saw the infantry of Antigonus separated from their cavalry, he only made several feint attacks upon them, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on another, in order to intimidate and afford them sufficient time to quit the army of Antigonus, and come over to his own; and this was at last the expedient on which they resolved. The greatest part of the infantry detached themselves from the rest, and surrendered in a voluntary manner to Seleucus, and the other were all put to flight. At the same instant a large body of the army of Seleucus drew off by his order, and made a furious attack upon Antigonus, who sustained their efforts for some time, but being at last overwhelmed with darts, and having received many wounds, he fell dead on the earth, having defended himself valiantly to his last gasp. Demetrius seeing his father dead, rallied all the troops he was able to draw together; and retired to Ephesus, with five thousand foot, and four thousand horse; which were all that remained of more than sixty thousand men, whom his father and himself commanded at the beginning of the engagement. (b) The great Pyrrhus, as young as he then was, was inseparable from Demetrius, overthrew all that opposed him, and gave an essay, in this first action, of what might be expected one day from his valour and bravery.

(b) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 384.

CHAP. II.

SECT. I. *The four victorious princes divide the empire of ALEXANDER the Great into as many kingdoms. SELEUCUS builds several cities. Athens shuts her gates against DEMETRIUS. He reconciles himself with SELEUCUS, and afterwards with PTOLEMY. The death of CASSANDER. The first actions of PYRRHUS. Athens taken by DEMETRIUS. He loses all he possessed almost at the same time.*

(a) **A**FTER the battle of Ipsus, the four confederate princes divided the dominions of Antigonus among themselves, and added them to those they already possessed. The empire of Alexander was thus divided into four kingdoms, of which Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Cœlosyria, and Palestine: Cassander had Macedonia, and Greece: Lysimachus Thrace, Bithynia, and some other provinces beyond the Hellespont, with the Bosphorus: And Seleucus all the rest of Asia, to the other side of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus. The dominions of this last prince are usually called the kingdom of Syria, because Seleucus, who afterwards built Antioch in that province, made it the chief seat of his residence, in which he was followed by his successors, who from his name were called Seleucidæ. This kingdom, however, not only included Syria, but those vast and fertile provinces of upper Asia, which constituted the Persian empire. The reign of twenty years, which I have assigned to Seleucus Nicator, commences at this period, because he was not acknowledged as king, till after the battle of Ipsus; and if we add to these the twelve years, during which he exercised the regal authority without the title, they will make out the reign of thirty-one years assigned him by Usher.

These

(a) Plut. in Demetr. p. 902. Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Polyb. l. xv. p. 572.

These four kings * are the four horns of the he-goat in the prophecy of Daniel, who succeeded in the place of the first horn that was broken. The first horn was Alexander, king of Greece, who destroyed the empire of the Medes and Persians, designed by the ram with two horns; and the other four horns, are those four kings who rose up after him, and divided his empire among them, but they were not of his posterity.

They are likewise shadowed out by the four heads of the leopard, which are introduced in another part of the same prophecy †.

These prophecies of Daniel were exactly accomplished by this last partition of Alexander's empire; other divisions had, indeed, been made before this, but they were only of provinces, which were consigned to governors; under the brother and son of Alexander, and none but the last was the regal partition. Those prophecies, therefore, are to be understood of this alone, for they evidently represent these four successors of Alexander, in the quality of four kings, *four stood up for it*. But not one of Alexander's successors obtained the regal dignity, till about three years before the last division of the em-

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pire.

* *And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the West on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns; which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: And there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken:*

And from it came up four notable horns, toward the four winds of heaven. Dan. chap. viii. ver. 5, 6, 7, 8. God afterwards explains to his prophet what he had seen: *The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia, and the rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.* Ibid. ver. 20, 21, 22.

† *After this I beheld, and lo, another like a leopard, which had, upon the back of it four wings of a fowl, the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it.* Dan. vii. 6.

pire. And even this dignity was at first precarious, as being assumed by each of the several parties, merely by his own authority, and not acknowledged by any of the rest. Whereas, after the battle of Ipsus, the treaty made between the four confederates, when they had defeated their adversary, and divested him of his dominions, assigned each of them their dominions under the appellation of so many kingdoms, and authorized and acknowledged them as kings and sovereigns, independent of any superior power. These four kings are, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lyfimachus.

We can never sufficiently admire, in this and the other places, wherein the completion of the prophecies of Daniel will be observed, the strong light with which the prophet penetrates the thick gloom of futurity, at a time when there was not the least appearance of all he foretels. With how much certainty and exactness, even amidst the variety of these revolutions and a chaos of singular events, does he determine each particular circumstance, and fix the number of the several successors! How expressly has he pointed out the nation, that was to be the Grecian; described the countries they were to possess; measured the duration of their empires, and the extent of their power, inferior to that of Alexander; in a word, with what lively colours has he drawn the characters of those princes, and specified their alliances, treaties, treachery, marriages, and success! Can any one possibly ascribe to chance, or human foresight, so many circumstantial predictions, which, at the time of their being denounced, were so remote from probability; and may we not evidently discover in them the character and traces of the Divinity, to whom all ages are present in one view, and who alone determines at his will the fate of all the kingdoms and empires of the world? But it is now time for us to resume the thread of our history.

(k) Onias, the first of that name, and high-priest of

of the Jews, died about this time, and was succeeded by his son Simon, who, for the sanctity of his life, and the equity of all his actions, was surnamed *the Just*. He enjoyed the pontificate for the space of nine years.

(l) Seleucus, after the defeat of Antigonus, made himself master of upper Syria, where he built Antioch on the Orontes, and gave it that name, either from his father, or his son, for they were both called Antiochus. This city, where the Syrian kings afterwards resided, was the capital of the East for a long time, and still preserved that privilege under the Roman emperors. Antigonus had lately built a city at a small distance from this, and called it Antigonia; but Seleucus had entirely demolished it, and employed the materials in the construction of his own city, to which he afterwards transplanted the inhabitants of the former.

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(m) Among several other cities built by Seleucus in this country, there were three more remarkable than the rest: The first was called Seleucia, from his own name; the second, Apamea, from his consort of that name, who was the daughter of Artabazus the Persian; the third was Laodicea, so denominated from his mother. Apamea and Seleucia were situated on the same river on which Antioch was built, and Laodicea was in the southern part of the same quarter. He allowed the Jews the same privileges and immunities on each of these new cities, as were enjoyed by the Greeks and Macedonians, and especially at Antioch in Syria, where that people settled in such numbers, that they possessed as considerable a part of that city as their other countrymen enjoyed at Alexandria.

Demetrius had withdrawn himself to Ephesus, after the battle of Ipsus, and, from thence, embarked for Greece, his whole resource being limited to the affection of the Athenians, with whom he had left his fleet, money, and wife Deidemia. But he was strangely

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surprized

(l) Strab. l. xvi. p. 749, 750. Appian. in Syr. p. 124. Justin. l. xv. c. 4.

(m) Strab. l. xvi. p. 750.

surprized and offended, when he was met in his way, by ambassadors from the Athenians, who came to acquaint him that he could not be admitted into their city, because the people had, by a decree, prohibited the reception of any of the kings: They also informed him, that his consort Deidamia had been conducted to Magara, with all the honours and attendance due to her dignity. Demetrius was then sensible of the value of honours and homages extorted by fear, and which did not proceed from the will. The posture of his affairs not permitting him to revenge the perfidy of that people, he contented himself with intimating his complaints to them in a moderate manner, and demanded his gallies, among which was that prodigious galley of sixteen benches of oars. As soon as he had received them, he sailed towards the Chersonesus; and having committed some devastations in the territories of Lyfimachus, he enriched his army with the spoils, and by that expedient prevented the desertion of his troops, who now began to recover their vigour, and render themselves formidable anew.

Lyfimachus, king of Thrace, in order to strengthen himself in his dominions, entered into a particular treaty with Ptolemy, and strengthened the alliance between them, by espousing one of his daughters named Arsinoe; shortly after which, his son Agathocles married another.

A. M. 3705. Ant. J. C. 299. (n) This double alliance between Lyfimachus and Ptolemy gave umbrage to Seleucus, who thereupon entered into a treaty with Demetrius; and espoused Stratonice, the daughter of that prince, by Phila the sister of Cassander. The beauty of that princess had induced Seleucus to demand her in marriage; and as the affairs of Demetrius were at that time in a very bad condition, so honourable an alliance with so powerful a prince was exceedingly agreeable to him. In consequence of which he immediately conducted his daughter with all his fleet into Syria from Greece, where he was still in possession of some places. During his

his passage he made a descent on Cilicia, which then belonged to Plistarchus the brother of Cassander, to whom it had been assigned by the four kings, who divided the dominions of Alexander the Great after the death of Antigonus. Plistarchus went to complain of this proceeding to Seleucus, and to reproach him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy without the consent of the other kings, which he considered as an infraction of the treaty. Demetrius receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of Synada, where the treasures of the province, amounting to twelve hundred talents*, were deposited. These he carried off with all expedition to his fleet, and then set sail for Syria, where he found Seleucus, and gave him the princess Stratonice in marriage. Demetrius, after some days passed in rejoicings for the nuptials and the entertainments given on each side, returned to Cilicia, and made himself master of the whole province. He then sent his wife Phila to Cassander, in order to excuse this proceeding. These kings imitated the princes of the East, with whom it is customary to have several wives at the same time.

During these transactions of Demetrius, Deidamia, another of his wives, who had taken a journey to meet him in Greece, and had passed some time with him in that country, was seized with an indisposition that ended her days. Demetrius having reconciled himself with Ptolemy, by the mediation of Seleucus, espoused Ptolemaida, the daughter of Ptolemy; by which means his affairs began to assume a better aspect; for he had all the island of Cyprus, and the two rich and powerful cities of Tyre and Sidon, beside his new conquests in Cilicia.

It was very imprudent in Seleucus to permit so dangerous an enemy to establish himself at so small a distance from him, and to usurp from one of his allies a province so near his own dominions as Cilicia. All this shews that these princes had no established rules

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and

* Twelve hundred thousand crowns.

A. M.
3706.
Ant. J. C.
298.

and principles of conduct, and were even ignorant of the true interests of their ambition. For as to faith of treaty, equity, and gratitude, they had long since renounced them all, and only reigned for the unhappiness of their people, as the author of the first book of Maccabees has observed *.

The eyes of Seleucus were however open at last, and in order to prevent his having a neighbour of such abilities on each side of his dominions, he required Demetrius to surrender Cilicia to him for a very considerable sum of money; but that prince not being disposed to comply with such a proposal, Seleucus insisted upon his restoring him the cities of Tyre and Sidon that depended on Syria, of which he was king. Demetrius, enraged at this demand, replied very abruptly, that though he should lose several other battles as fatal to him as that of Ipsus, he should never resolve to purchase the friendship of Seleucus at so high a price. At the same time he sailed to those two cities, where he reinforced their garrisons, and furnished them with all things necessary for a vigorous defence; by which means the intention of Seleucus to take them from him was rendered ineffectual at that time. This proceeding of Seleucus was very conformable to the rules of political interest, but had such an odious aspect, with reference to the maxims of honour, that it shocked all mankind, and was universally condemned: For as his dominions were of such a vast extent as to include all the countries between India and the Mediterranean, how insatiable was that rigour and avidity which would not permit him to leave his father-in-law the peaceable enjoyment of the shattered remains of his fortune!

A. M. Cassander died, about this time, of a dropsy, after
 3707.
 Ant. J. C. having governed Macedonia for the space of nine
 297. years, from the death of his father, and six or seven
 from the last partition. He left three sons by Thessalonica, one of the sisters of Alexander the Great.

Philip, who succeeded him, and died soon after, left his crown to be contested by his two brothers.

(o) Pyrrhus, the famous king of Epirus, had espoused Antigona, a relation of Ptolemy, in Egypt. This young prince was the son of Æacides, whom the Molossians, in a revolt, had expelled from the throne; and it was with great difficulty, that Pyrrhus himself, then an infant at the breast, was preserved from the fury of the revolters, who pursued him with intent to destroy him. After various adventures, he was conducted to the court of king Glaucias in Illyria, where he was taken into the protection of that prince. Cassander, the mortal enemy of Æacides, solicited the king to deliver the young prince into his hands, and offered him two hundred talents on that occasion: Glaucias, however, was struck with horror at such a proposal, and when the infant had attained the twelfth year of his age, he conducted him in person to Epirus with a powerful army, and reinstated him in his dominions; by which means the Molossians were compelled to submit to force. Justin tells us, that their hatred being softened into compassion, they themselves recalled him, and assigned him guardians to govern the kingdom till he should be of age himself; but there seems to be no great probability in his account.

When he had attained his seventeenth year, he began to think himself sufficiently established on the throne; and set out from his capital city for Illyria, in order to be present at the nuptials of one of the sons of Glaucias, with whom he had been brought up. The Molossians taking advantage of his absence, revolted a second time, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, seized all his treasures, and conferred the crown on Neoptolemus his great uncle. Pyrrhus being thus divested of his dominions, and finding himself destitute of all succours, retired to his brother-in-law Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who had espoused his sister Deidamia.

This

This young prince distinguished himself among the bravest, in the battle that was fought on the plains of Ipsus, and would not forsake Demetrius, even after he was defeated. He also preserved for him those Grecian cities which that prince had confided to him; and when a treaty of peace was concluded between Ptolemy and Demetrius, by the mediation of Seleucus, Pyrrhus went into Egypt as an hostage for his brother-in-law.

During his continuance at the court of Ptolemy, he gave sufficient proofs of his strength, address, and extraordinary patience, in hunting-exercises, and all other labours. Observing, that of all the wives of Ptolemy, Berenice had the greatest ascendant over him, and that she surpassed the others in prudence, as well as beauty, he attached himself to her in particular; for as he was already an able politician, he neglected no opportunity of making his court to those on whom his fortune depended, and was studious to ingratiate himself with such persons as were capable of being useful to him. His noble and engaging demeanour procured him such a share in Ptolemy's esteem, that he gave him Antigone, the daughter of Berenice his favourite consort, in preference of several young princes who demanded her in marriage. This lady was the daughter of Berenice, by Philip her first husband, who was a Macedonian lord, little known with respect to any other particular. When Pyrrhus had espoused Antigone, the queen had so much influence over her consort, as to induce him to grant his son-in-law a fleet, with a supply of money, which enabled him to repossess himself of his dominions. Here began the fortune of an exiled prince, who was afterwards esteemed the greatest general of his age; and it must be acknowledged, that every instance of his early conduct denoted extraordinary merit, and raised great expectations of his future glory.

A. M. 3708. Ant. J. C. 296. (p) Athens, as we have already observed, revolted from Demetrius, and shut her gates against him. But

(p) Plut. in Demetr. p. 904, 905.

But when that prince thought he had sufficiently provided for the security of his territories in Asia, he marched against that rebellious and ungrateful city, with a resolution to punish her as she deserved. The first year was employed in the reduction of the Mæsenians, and the conquest of some other cities who had quitted his party; but he returned the next season to Athens, which he closely blocked up, and reduced to the last extremity, by cutting off all communication of provisions. A fleet of an hundred and fifty sail, sent by king Ptolemy, to succour the Athenians, and which appeared on the coasts of Ægina, afforded them but a transient joy; for when this naval force saw a strong fleet arrive from Peloponnesus to the assistance of Demetrius, beside a great number of other vessels from Cyprus, and that the whole amounted to three hundred, they weighed anchor, and fled.

A. M.
3709.
Ant. J. C.
295.

Although the Athenians had issued a decree, by which they made it capital for any person even to mention a peace with Demetrius, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, obliged them to open their gates to him. When he entered the city, he commanded the inhabitants to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with armed troops, and posted his guards on each side of the stage where the dramatick pieces were performed; and then descending from the upper part of the theatre, in the manner usual with the actors, he shewed himself to that multitude, who seemed rather dead than living, and waited for the event in inexpressible terror, expecting it would prove the sentence for their destruction: But he dissipated their apprehensions by the first expressions he uttered; for he did not raise his voice like a man affected with the emotions of rage, nor deliver himself in any passionate or insulting language, but softened the tone of his voice, and only addressed himself to them in gentle complaints and amicable expostulations. He pardoned their offence, and restored them to his favour; presenting them, at the same time,

with an hundred thousand measures of corn, and re-instituting such magistrates as were most agreeable to them. The joy of this people may be easily conceived from the terrors with which they were before affected; and how glorious must such a prince be, who could always support so glorious, so admirable a character!

When he had regulated the state of affairs in Athens, he determined to reduce the Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, their king, advanced as far as Mantinæa to meet him; but Demetrius defeated him in a great battle, and obliged him to have recourse to flight: After which he advanced into Laconia, and fought another battle in the very sight of Sparta. He was again victorious; five hundred of the enemies were made prisoners, and two hundred killed upon the spot, so that he was already considered as master of the city, which had never been taken before.

In that important moment he received two pieces of intelligence, which affected him in a quite different manner. The first was, that Lyfimachus had lately divested him of all his territories in Asia; and the other, that Ptolemy had made a descent on Cyprus, and conquered all the island, except Salamina, where the mother of Demetrius, with his wife and children, had retired; and that the king of Egypt carried on the siege of that city with great vigour. Demetrius left all to fly to their assistance, but was soon informed that the place had surrendered. Ptolemy had the generosity to give the mother, wife and children of his enemy, their liberty without any ransom; and to dismiss them with all their attendants, and effects. He even made them magnificent presents at their departure, which he accompanied with all imaginable marks of honour.

The loss of Cyprus was soon succeeded by that of Tyre and Sidon; and Seleucus dispossessed him of Cilicia on another side. Thus, in a very short time, he saw himself divested of all his dominions, without any resource or hopes for the future.

SECT. II. *Dispute between the two sons of CASSANDER for the crown of Macedonia. DEMETRIUS being invited to the assistance of ALEXANDER, finds means to destroy him, and is proclaimed king of the Macedonians. He makes great preparations for the conquest of Asia. A powerful confederacy is formed against him. PYRRHUS and LYSIMACHUS deprive him of Macedonia, and divide it between themselves. PYRRHUS is soon obliged to quit those territories. Sad end of DEMETRIUS, who dies in prison.*

NO prince was ever obnoxious to greater vicissitudes of fortune, or ever experienced more sudden changes, than Demetrius. He exposed himself to these events by his imprudence, amusing himself with inconsiderable conquests, while he abandoned his provinces to the first invader. His greatest successes were immediately followed by his being dispossessed of all his dominions, and almost reduced to despair, when suddenly an unexpected resource offered itself from a quarter he had not the least room to expect it.

(a) In the quarrel between the two sons of Cassander for the crown, Thessalonica, their mother, favoured Alexander, who was the youngest; which so enraged Antipater, the eldest son, that he killed her with his own hands, though she conjured him, by the breasts which had nourished him, to spare her life. Alexander, in order to avenge this unnatural barbarity, solicited the assistance of Pyrrhus and Demetrius. Pyrrhus arrived the first, and made himself master of several cities in Macedonia, part of which he retained as a compensation for the aid he had given Alexander; and he returned to his own dominions, after he had reconciled the two brothers. Demetrius made his approach at the same instant, upon which Alexander advanced to meet him; and testified, at the interview between them, all imaginable gratitude and friendship; but represented to him, at the same time, that the state of his affairs was changed, and that he no longer had

A. M.

3710.

Ant. J. C.

294.

(a) Plut. in Demetr. p. 905. in Pyrrh. p. 386. Justin. l. xvi. c. 1.

had any need of his assistance. Demetrius was displeased with this compliment; whilst Alexander, who dreaded the greatness of his power, was apprehensive of subjecting himself to a master, should he admit him into his dominions. They, however, conversed together with an external air of friendship, and entertained each other with reciprocal feasts, till at last Demetrius, upon some intelligence, either true or contrived, that Alexander intended to destroy him, prevented the execution of that design; and killed him. This murder armed the Macedonians against him at first, but when he had acquainted them with all the particulars that occasioned his conduct, the aversion they entertained for Antipater, the infamous murderer of his own mother; induced them to declare for Demetrius; and they accordingly proclaimed him king of Macedonia. Demetrius possessed this crown for the space of seven years, and Antipater fled into Thrace, where he did not long survive the loss of his kingdom.

One of the branches of the royal family of Philip, king of Macedonia, became entirely extinct by the death of Theffalonica, and her two sons; as the other branch from Alexander the Great had before by the death of the young Alexander and Hercules, his two sons. Thus these two princes, who by their unjust wars had spread desolation through so many provinces, and destroyed such a number of royal families, experienced, by a just decree of Providence, the same calamities in their own families, as they had occasioned to others. Philip and Alexander, with their wives, and all their descendants, perished by violent deaths.

A. M. 3711. Ant. J. C. 293. (b) Much about this time Seleucus built the city of Seleucia on the banks of the Tygris, and at the distance of forty miles from Babylon. It became very populous in a short time, and Pliny tells us it was inhabited by six hundred thousand persons. The dikes of the Euphrates being broken down, spread such

such an inundation over the country, and the branch of that river which passed through Babylon, was sunk so low by this evacuation, as to be rendered unnavigable, by which means that city became so inconvenient, that as soon as Seleucia was built, all its inhabitants withdrew thither. This circumstance prepared the way for the accomplishment of that celebrated prophecy of Isaiah, who at a time, when this city was in the most flourishing condition, had foretold, that it should one day become entirely desert and uninhabited. (c) I have observed elsewhere by what manner and degrees this prediction was fully accomplished.

(d) Simon, surnamed the Just, and high-priest of the Jews, died at the close of the ninth year of his pontificate, and left a young son, named Onias. As he was of too tender an age to take upon himself the exercise of that dignity, it was consigned to Eleazar the brother of Simon, who discharged the function of it for the space of fifteen years.

A. M.
3712.
Ant. J. C.
292.

(e) I here pass over some events of small importance, and proceed to Demetrius, who believing himself sufficiently settled in Greece and Macedonia, began to make great preparations, for regaining the empire of his father in Asia. With this view he raised an army of above an hundred thousand men, and fitted out a fleet of five hundred sail; in a word, so great an armament had never been seen, since the time of Alexander the Great. Demetrius animated the workmen by his presence and instructions, visited them in person, directed them how to act, and even assisted them in their labours. The number of his galleys, and their extraordinary dimensions, created an universal astonishment; for ships of six, and even five benches of oars, had never been seen till then; and Ptolemy Philopator did not build one of forty benches till

A. M.
3716.
Ant. J. C.
288.

(c) Vol. II. *At the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.* (d) Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2. (e) Plut. in Demetr. p. 909, & in Pyrrh. p. 386. Justin. l. xvi. c. 2.

till many years after this period *; but then it was only for pomp and ostentation, whereas those which Demetrius built were extremely useful in battle, and more admirable for their lightness and agility than their grandeur and magnificence.

A. M. 3717.
Ant. J. C. 287.
Ptolemy, Lyfimachus, and Seleucus, receiving intelligence of these formidable preparations of Demetrius, immediately caught the alarm; and in order to frustrate their effect, renewed their alliance, in which they likewise engaged Pyrrhus, king of Epirus; in consequence of which, when Lyfimachus began to invade Macedonia on one side, Pyrrhus was carrying on the same operations on the other. Demetrius, who was then making preparations in Greece for his intended expedition into Asia, advanced with all speed to defend his own dominions; but before he was able to arrive there, Pyrrhus had taken Beræa, one of the most considerable cities in Macedonia, where he found the wives, children, and effects of a great number of soldiers belonging to Demetrius. This news caused so great a disorder in the army of that prince, that a considerable part of his troops absolutely refused to follow him, and declared, with an air of mutiny and sedition, that they would return to defend their families and effects. In a word, things were carried to such an extremity, that Demetrius perceiving he no longer had any influence over them, fled to Greece in the disguise of a common soldier, and his troops went over to Pyrrhus, whom they proclaimed king of Macedonia.

The different characters of these two princes greatly contributed to this sudden revolution. Demetrius, who considered vain pomp, and superb magnificence, as true grandeur, rendered himself contemptible to the Macedonians, in the very circumstance by which he

* This galley was two hundred and eighty cubits (about four hundred and twenty feet) in length, and twenty-eight cubits (seventy-two feet) from the keel to the top of the poop. It carried four hundred sailors, beside four thousand rowers, and near three thousand soldiers, who were disposed in the spaces between the rowers, and on the lower deck. Plut. in the life of Demetrius.

he thought to obtain their esteem. He ambitiously loaded his head with a double diadem, like a theatrical monarch, and wore purple robes enriched with a profusion of gold. The ornaments of his feet were altogether extraordinary; and he had long employed artists to make him a mantle, on which the system of the world, with all the stars visible in the firmament, were to be embroidered in gold. The change of his fortune prevented the finishing of this work, and no future king would presume to wear it.

But that which rendered him still more odious, was his being so difficult of approach. He was either so impious and disdainful, as not to allow those who had any affairs to transact with him the liberty of speech; or else he treated them with so much rudeness, as obliged them to quit his presence with disgust. One day, when he came out of his palace, and walked through the streets with a mien of more affability than it was usual for him to assume, some persons were encouraged to present a few petitions to him. He received them with a gracious air, and placed them in one of the folds of his robe; but as he was passing over a bridge on the river Axius*, he threw all those petitions into the stream. A prince must certainly know very little of mankind, not to be sensible that such a contemptuous behaviour is sufficient to provoke his subjects to revolt from his authority. On this occasion, an action of the great Philip was recollected, and which has been related among the events of his reign. That prince had several times refused audience to a poor woman, under pretext that he wanted leisure to hear her. *Be no longer king then,* replied she with some emotion; and Philip, from thenceforth, made it a maxim with himself to grant his subjects long and frequent audiences. For, as Plutarch observes on that occasion, THE MOST INDISPENSIBLE DUTY OF A KING, IS TO EXERT HIMSELF IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE*.

VOL. V.

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* A river of upper Macedonia.

† Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλος τῷ βασιλεὶ προσήκον, ὥς τὸ τῆς δίκης ἔργον.

The Macedonians had formed a very different idea of Pyrrhus. They had heard it reported, and were sensible by their own experience, that affability was natural to him, and that he was always mild and accessible; they were convinced of his promptitude to recompence the services rendered him, and that he was slow to anger and severity. Some young officers, over their liquor, had vented several offensive pleasantries against him. The particulars of their conversation were related to Pyrrhus himself, who ordered them to be brought into his presence, and then asked them, if they had expressed themselves in the manner he had heard? *Yes, my Lord,* replied one of the company, *and we should have added a great deal more, if we had had more wine.* Pyrrhus could not forbear laughing at this facetious and sprightly turn, and dismissed them from his presence without further notice.

The Macedonians thought him much superior to Demetrius, even in military merit. He had beat them on several occasions, but their admiration of his bravery was greater than their resentment for their defeat. It was a common expression with them, that other princes imitated Alexander in nothing but their purple robes, the number of their guards, the affectation of inclining their heads like his, and their imperious manner of speaking; but that Pyrrhus was the only one who represented that monarch in his great and laudable qualities. Pyrrhus himself was not altogether free from vanity, with respect to the resemblance of his own features to those of Alexander*, but a good matron of Larissa, in whose house he once lodged, had undeceived him in that particular, by an answer, perhaps, not at all agreeable to him. The Macedonians,

* A set of flatterers had really persuaded Pyrrhus, that he resembled Alexander in the features of his face. With this belief he sent for the pictures of Philip, Perdiccas, Alexander, Cassander, and some other princes, and then desired a woman of Larissa, with whom he then lodged, to tell him, which of those princes he most resembled. She refused to answer him for a considerable time, till at last he pressed her very earnestly to satisfy his curiosity; upon which she replied, that she thought him very like Bactrachion, who was a noted cook in that city. Lucian. advers. indoct. p. 552, 553.

Macedonians, however, thought they discovered in him the aspect of that prince; with all the fire of his eyes, and the vivacity, promptitude, and impetuosity with which he charged his enemies, and bore down all who presumed to oppose him: But with respect to the art military, and ability in drawing up an army in battle, they thought none comparable to Pyrrhus.

It cannot, therefore, be thought surprising, that the Macedonians, who entertained such prejudices in his favour, and so disadvantageous to the other, should easily quit the party of Demetrius, to espouse that of Pyrrhus: And one may see by this instance, and a thousand others, how necessary it is for princes to attach their people to their interests by the gentle ties of affection, and gratitude; and by entertaining a real love for them, which is the only means of acquiring their love, that is the most solid glory, their most essential obligation, and at the same time their greatest security.

(g) As Lyfimachus happened to arrive immediately after Pyrrhus had been declared king of Macedonia, he pretended that he had contributed as much as that prince, to the flight of Demetrius, and that he consequently ought to have a share in that kingdom. Pyrrhus, who, in this conjuncture, was not entirely certain of the fidelity of the Macedonians, readily acquiesced in the pretensions of Lyfimachus, and the cities and provinces were accordingly shared between them: But this agreement was so far from uniting them with each other, that it rather led them into a constant train of animosities and divisions: For, as Plutarch observes, when neither seas nor mountains, nor uninhabitable deserts, could suffice as barriers to the avarice and ambition of these princes; and when their desires were not to be bounded by those limits which separate Europe from Asia, how could they possibly continue in a state of tranquillity, and refrain from the injustice of invading domains so near, and

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which

which might prove so commodious to them? This was a moderation not to be expected; and a perpetual war between them became inevitable from the malignant seeds of envy and usurpation that had taken root in their minds. The names of peace and war were considered by them as two species of coin; to which they themselves had given currency, merely for their own interest, and without the least regard to justice. Again, continues the same author, do they act more laudably, when they engage in an open war, than when they use the sacred names of justice, friendship, and peace, for what, in reality, is no more than a truce, or transient suspension of their unjust views?

The whole history of Alexander's successors justifies these reflections of Plutarch. Never were more treaties and alliances made, and never were they violated with less disguise, and more impunity. May heaven grant that those complaints be never applicable to any princes or times but those we are treating of at present!

Pyrrhus, finding the Macedonians more tractable and submissive, when he led them to war, than they were when he permitted them to enjoy a state of repose; and being himself not much addicted to tranquillity, nor capable of satisfaction in the calm of a long peace, was daily forming new enterprizes, without much regard to sparing either his subjects or allies. Lyfimachus took advantage of the army's disgust of Pyrrhus, and enflamed them still more by his emissaries, who artfully insinuated that they had acted most shamefully in chusing a stranger for their master, whom interest, and not affection, had attached to Macedonia. These reproaches drew in the greatest part of the soldiers; upon which Pyrrhus, who feared the consequences of this alienation, retired with his Epirots, and the troops of his allies, and lost Macedonia in the same manner he had gained it.

He greatly complained of the inconstancy of this people, and their disaffection to his person; but, as

Plutarch

Plutarch again observes, kings have no reason to blame other persons, for sometimes changing their party according to their interest, as in acting so, they only imitate their own example, and practise the lessons of infidelity and treason, which they have learnt from their whole conduct, which upon all occasions demonstrates an utter disregard for justice, veracity, and faith, in the observance of engagements.

(b) With respect to the affairs of Demetrius, that prince, when he found himself deserted by his troops, retired to the city of Cassandria *, where his consort Phila resided: This lady was so afflicted at the calamitous state in which she beheld her husband, and was so terrified at the misfortunes to which she herself was exposed by the declension of his affairs, that she had recourse to a draught of poison, by which she ended a life that was become more insupportable to her than death itself.

Demetrius, thinking to gather up some remains of his shattered fortune, returned to Greece, where several cities still continued devoted to him; and when he had disposed his affairs in the best order he was able, he left the government of those places to his son Antigonus; and assembling all the troops he could raise in that country, which amounted to about eleven thousand men, he embarked for Asia, with a resolution to try whether despair would not bring forth good fortune. Eurydice, the sister of his late wife Phila, received him at Miletus, where she lived with the princess Ptolemaida, her daughter by Ptolemy, whose marriage with Demetrius had been agreed upon by the mediation of Seleucus. Eurydice accordingly presented the princess to him, and this alliance gave birth to Demetrius, who afterwards reigned in Cyrene.

(i) Demetrius, soon after the celebration of his nuptials, entered Caria and Lydia, where he took several places from Lysimachus, and considerably augmented

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his

(b) Plut. in Demetr. p. 910, 911. (i) Ibid. 912—915.

* A city on the frontiers of Thrace, and in upper Macedonia.

his forces; by which means he at last made himself master of Sardis: But, as soon as Agathocles, the son of Lyfimachus, appeared at the head of an army, he abandoned all his conquests, and marched into the East. His design in taking this route, was to surprise Armenia, and Media; but Agathocles, who followed him close, cut off his provisions and forage so effectually, that a sickness spread through his army, and weakened it extremely; and when he at last made an attempt to march over mount Taurus, with the small remains of his troops, he found all the passes guarded by the enemies, which obliged him to march for Tarsus in Cilicia.

From thence he represented to Seleucus, to whom that city belonged, the melancholy situation of his affairs, and intreated him, in a very moving manner, to afford him the necessary subsistence for himself and the remainder of his troops. Seleucus was touched with compassion at first, and dispatched orders to his lieutenants, to furnish him with all he should want. But when remonstrances were afterwards made to him upon the valour and abilities of Demetrius, his genius for resource and stratagem, and intrepidity in the execution of his designs, whenever the least opportunity for acting presented itself; he thought it impossible to reinstate a prince of that character, without incurring many disadvantages himself. For which reason, instead of continuing to support him, he resolved upon his destruction, and immediately placed himself at the head of a numerous army, with an intention to attack him. Demetrius, who had received intelligence of these measures, posted his troops in those parts of mount Taurus, where he imagined it would be very difficult to force them, and sent to Seleucus a second time, to implore his permission to pass into the East, in order to establish himself in some country belonging to the Barbarians, where he might end his days in tranquillity: But if he should not be inclinable to grant him that favour, he intreated his consent to take up his winter-quarters in his dominions; and begged that
prince

prince not to expose him to famine, and the rigours of the season; as that would be delivering him up defenceless to the discretion of his enemies.

Seleucus was so prejudiced against the design he had formed against the East, that this proposal only tended to increase his diffidence; and he consented to nothing more, than his taking winter-quarters in Cataonia, a province adjacent to Cappadocia, during the two severest months of that season; after which he was immediately to evacuate that country. Seleucus, during this negotiation, had placed strong guards at all the passes from Cilicia into Syria, which obliged Demetrius to have recourse to arms, in order to disengage himself. He accordingly made such a vigorous attack on the troops who guarded the passes in the mountains, that he dislodged them from thence, and opened himself a passage into Syria, which he immediately entered.

His own courage, and the hopes of his soldiers, reviving from this success, he took all possible measures for making a last effort for the re-establishment of his affairs; but he had the misfortune to be suddenly seized with a severe distemper, which disconcerted all his measures. During the forty days that he continued sick, most of his soldiers deserted; and when he at last recovered his health, so as to be capable of action, he found himself reduced to the desperate necessity of attempting to surprise Seleucus in his camp by night, with the handful of men who still continued in his service. A deserter gave Seleucus intelligence of this design, time enough to prevent its effect; and the desertion of Demetrius's troops increased upon this disappointment. He then endeavoured, as his last resource, to regain the mountains, and join his fleet; but he found the passes so well-guarded, that he was obliged to conceal himself in the woods; from whence he was soon dislodged by hunger, and compelled to surrender himself to Seleucus, who caused him to be conducted under a strong guard to the Chersonesus of Syria near Laodicea,

cea, where he was detained prisoner. He, however, was allowed the liberty of a park for hunting, and all the conveniencies of life in abundance.

When Antigonus received intelligence of his father's captivity, he was affected with the utmost sorrow; and wrote to all the kings, and even to Seleucus himself, to obtain his release, offering, at the same time, his own person as an hostage for him, and consenting to part with all his remaining dominions, as the price of his liberty. Several cities, and a great number of princes, joined their solicitations in favour of the captive prince; but Lyfimachus offered a large sum of money to Seleucus, provided he would cause his prisoner to be put to death. The king of Syria was struck with horror at so barbarous and inhuman a proposal; and, in order to grant a favour solicited from so many different quarters, he seemed only to wait the arrival of his son Antigonus and Stratonice, that Demetrius might owe the obligation of his liberty to them.

In the mean time that unhappy prince supported his misfortunes with patience and magnanimity; and became at last so habituated to them, that they no longer seemed to affect him. He exercised himself in racing, walking, and hunting; and might have been infinitely more happy, had he made a true estimate of his condition, than whilst hurried over lands and seas by the phrenzy of ambition. For what other fruit do these pretended heroes, who are called conquerors, derive from all their labours and wars, and from all the dangers to which they expose themselves, but the fatality of tormenting themselves, by rendering others miserable; and constantly turning their backs on tranquillity and happiness, which, if they may be believed, are the sole ends of all their motions? Demetrius was gradually seized with melancholy; and no longer amused himself with his former exercises: He grew corpulent, and entirely abandoned himself to drinking and gaming at dice, to which he devoted whole days, undoubtedly with design to banish the melancholy

thoughts of his condition. When he had continued in his captivity for the space of three years, he was seized with a severe distemper, occasioned by his inactivity, and intemperance in eating and drinking, and died at the age of fifty-four years. His son Antigonus, to whom the urn, which inclosed the ashes of that prince, was transmitted, celebrated his funeral with great magnificence. We shall see, in the sequel of the present history, that this Antigonus, who was surnamed Gonatas, continued peaceable possessor of the kingdom of Macedonia; and the race of this prince enjoyed the crown for several generations, in a direct line from father to son, till the reign of Perseus, the last of that family, who was divested of Macedonia by the Romans.

SECT. III. PTOLEMY SOTER *resigns his kingdom to his son PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS. The tower of Pharos built. The image of Serapis conveyed to Alexandria. The celebrated library founded in that city, with an academy of learned men. DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS presides over both.*

(a) **P**TOLEMY Soter, the son of Lagus, after a reign of twenty years in Egypt, with the style of king, and of near thirty-nine from the death of Alexander, was desirous of transmitting the throne to Ptolemy Philadelphus*, one of his sons by Berenice. He had likewise several children by his other wives, and among those, Ptolemy, surnamed *Ceraunus*, or *The Thunderer*; who being the son of Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and the eldest of the male issue, considered the crown as his right, after the death of his father. But Berenice, who came into Egypt, merely to accompany Eurydice, at the time of her espousals with Ptolemy, so exceedingly charmed that prince with her beauty, that he married her; and so great

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(a) Justin. l. xvi.

* The word signifies, a lover of his brethren; but Ptolemy received this surname, agreeably to a figure of speech called antiphrasis, because he charged two of his brothers with forming designs against his life, and then caused them to be destroyed. Pausan. l. i. p. 12.

great was her ascendant over him, that she caused him to prefer her son to all his issue by the other queens. In order, therefore, to prevent all disputes and wars that might ensue after his death, which he was sensible could not be very remote, as he was then fourscore years of age; he resolved to have him crowned in his own life-time, intending, at the same time, to resign all his dominions to him; declaring, that to create a king was more glorious than to be so one's self. The coronation of Philadelphus was celebrated with the most splendid festival that had ever been seen; but I reserve the description of it to the end of this action.

Ptolemy Ceraunus quitted the court, and retired to Lyfimachus, whose son Agathocles had espoused Lyfandra, the sister of Ceraunus, both by father and mother; and, after the death of Agathocles, he removed to the court of Seleucus, who received him with a goodness entirely uncommon, for which he was afterwards repaid with the blackest ingratitude, as will appear in the sequel of this history.

(b) In the first year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which was also the first year of the cxxivth Olympiad, the famous watch-tower in the isle of Pharos was compleated. It was usually called the tower of Pharos, and has been reputed one of the seven wonders of antiquity. It was a large square structure, built of white marble, on the top of which a fire was constantly kept burning, in order to guide ships in their course. It cost eight hundred talents, which, estimated by the Athenian money, are equal to two hundred thousand pounds, but amount to almost double that sum, if computed by the coin of Alexandria. The architect of the edifice was Sostratus of Cnidus, who, to perpetuate the whole honour of it to himself, had recourse to the artifice I have mentioned before*. Pharos was originally a real island, at the distance of seven furlongs from the continent; but was afterwards joined to it by a causeway like that of Tyre. Much

(b) Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12. Strab. l. xvii. p. 791. Suid. in $\phi\alpha\rho\acute{o}$.
* Vol. I. in the history of Egypt.

(c) Much about this time, the image of the god Serapis was brought from Pontus to Alexandria. Ptolemy had been induced by a dream to demand it, by an embassy, of the king of Sinope, a city of Pontus, where it was kept. It was, however, refused him for the space of two years, till at last the inhabitants of Sinope suffered such extremities from a famine, that they consented to resign this idol to Ptolemy for a supply of corn, which he transmitted to them; and the statue was then conveyed to Alexandria, and placed in one of the suburbs, called Rhacotis, where it was adored by the name of Serapis, and a famous temple, called the Serapion, was afterward erected for it in that place. This structure, according to Ammianus Marcellinus (*d*), surpassed, in beauty and magnificence, all the temples in the world, except the Capitol at Rome. This temple had also a library, which became famous in all succeeding ages, for the number and value of the books it contained.

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(e) Ptolemy Soter had been careful to improve himself in polite literature, as was evident by his compiling the life of Alexander, which was greatly esteemed by the ancients, but is now entirely lost. In order to cultivate the sciences, which he much admired, he founded an academy at Alexandria, called the Musæum, where a society of learned men devoted themselves to philosophick studies, and the improvement of all other sciences, almost in the same manner as those of London and Paris. To this effect, he began by giving them a library, which was prodigiously increased by his successors. (*f*) His son Philadelphus left a hundred thousand volumes in it at the time of his death, and the succeeding princes of that race enlarged it still more, till at last it consisted of seven hundred thousand volumes.

(g) This library was formed by the following method.

(c) Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 83, & 84. Plut. de Isid. & Osir. p. 361. Clem. Alex. in Protrept. p. 31. (*d*) Amm. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16. (*e*) Arrian. in præf. Plut. in Alex. p. 691. Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 8. Strab. l. xvii. p. 793. Plut. in Moral. p. 1095. (*f*) Euseb. in Chron. (*g*) Galen.

thod. All the Greek and other books that were brought into Egypt were seized, and sent to the Musæum, where they were transcribed by persons employed for that purpose. The copies were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals were deposited in the library. Ptolemy Evergetes, for instance, borrowed the works of Sophocles, Euripides, and Æschylus; of the Athenians, and only returned them the copies, which he caused to be transcribed in as beautiful a manner as possible; and he likewise presented them with fifteen talents (equal to fifteen thousand crowns) for the originals which he kept.

As the Musæum was at first in that quarter of the city which was called Bruchion, and near the royal palace, the library was founded in the same place, and it soon drew vast numbers thither; but when it was so much augmented, as to contain four hundred thousand volumes, they began to deposit the additional books in the Serapion. This last library was a supplement to the former, for which reason it received the appellation of its Daughter, and in process of time had in it three hundred thousand volumes.

(b) In Cæsar's war with the inhabitants of Alexandria, a fire, occasioned by those hostilities, consumed the library of Bruchion, with its four hundred thousand volumes. Seneca seems to me to have been much displeased *, when speaking of the conflagration, he bestows his censures, both on the library itself, and the eulogium made on it by Livy, who styles it an illustrious monument of the opulence of the Egyptian kings, and of their wise attention for the improvement of the sciences. Seneca, instead of allowing it to be such, would only have it considered as a work

(b) Plut. in Cæsar. p. 732. in Anton. p. 943. Amm. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16. Dion. Cass. l. xlii. p. 202.

* *Quadringenta millia librorum Alexandriæ arserunt, pulcherrimum regię opulentię monumentam. Alius laudaverit, sicut Livius, qui elegantię regum curęque egregium id opus ait fuisse. Non fuit elegantia illud, aut cura, sed studiosa luxuria: imò, ne studiosa quidem, quoniam non in studium, sed in spectaculum comparaverant—Paretur itaque librorum quantum sit, nihil in apparatus. Senec. de tranquill. anim. c. ix.*

work resulting from the pride and vanity of those monarchs, who had amassed such a number of books, not for their own use, but merely for pomp and ostentation. This reflection, however, seems to discover very little sagacity; for is it not evident beyond contradiction, that none but kings are capable of founding these magnificent libraries, which become a necessary treasure to the learned, and do infinite honour to those states in which they are established?

The library of Serapion did not sustain any damage, and it was undoubtedly there, that Cleopatra deposited those two hundred thousand volumes of that of Pergamus, which were presented to her by Anthony. This addition, with other enlargements that were made from time to time, rendered the new library of Alexandria more numerous and considerable than the first; and though it was ransacked more than once, during the troubles and revolutions which happened in the Roman empire, it always retrieved its losses, and recovered its number of volumes. In this condition it subsisted for many ages, affording its treasures to the learned and curious, till the seventh century, when it suffered the same fate with its parent, and was burnt by the Saracens, when they took that city in the year of our Lord 642. The manner by which this misfortune happened, is too singular to be passed over in silence.

(i) John, surnamed the Grammarian, and a famous follower of Aristotle, happened to be at Alexandria, when it was taken: And as he was much esteemed by Amri-Ebnol-As, the general of the Saracen troops, he intreated that commander to bestow upon him the Alexandrian library. Amri replied, that it was not in his power to grant such a request; but that he would write to the Khalif, or emperor of the Saracens, for his orders on that head, without which he could not presume to dispose of the library. He accordingly writ to Omar, the then Khalif, whose answer was, That if those books contained the same doctrine

(i) Abul-Pharagius, in hist. Dynast. IX.

doctrine with the Koran, they could not be of any use, because the Koran was sufficient in itself, and comprehended all necessary truths; but if they contained any particulars contrary to that book, they ought to be destroyed. In consequence of this answer, they were all condemned to the flames, without any further examination; and, to that effect, were distributed into the publick bagnioes, where, for the space of six months, they were used for fuel instead of wood. We may from hence form a just idea of the prodigious number of books contained in that library; and thus was this inestimable treasure of learning destroyed.

The Musæum of Bruchion was not burnt with its library. (*k*) Strabo acquaints us, in his description of it, that it was a very large structure near the palace, and fronting the port; and that it was surrounded with a portico, in which the philosophers walked. He adds, that the members of this society were governed by a president, whose station was so honourable and important, that, in the time of the Ptolemies, he was always chosen by the king himself, and afterward by the Roman emperor; and that they had a hall where the whole society met together at the expence of the publick, by whom they were supported in a very plentiful manner.

Alexandria was undoubtedly indebted to this Musæum, for the advantage she long enjoyed of being the greatest school in all that part of the world, and of having trained up a vast number of excellent men in literature. It is from thence, in particular, that the church has received some of its most illustrious doctors; as Clemens Alexandrinus, Ammonius, Origen, Anatoilus, Athanasius, and many others; for all these studied in that seminary.

Demetrius Phalereus was probably the first president of this seat of learning; but it is certain that he had the superintendency of the library. Plutarch informs us, that his first proposal to Ptolemy was the establishment of a library of such authors as treated of
civil

(*k*) Strab. l. xvii. p. 793.

civil polity and government, assuring him, that they would always supply him with such counsels as none of his friends would presume to offer him. This was almost the only expedient for introducing truth to princes, and shewing them, under borrowed names, their duties, as well as their defects. When the king had relished this excellent advice, and measures were taken to procure all such books as were requisite in this first view, it may easily be imagined that Demetrius carried the affair to a much greater length, and prevailed upon the king to collect all sorts of other books for the library we have mentioned. Who could better assist that prince in the accomplishment of so noble and magnificent a plan, than Demetrius Phalereus, who was himself a learned man of the first rank, as well as a very able politician?

(1) We have formerly seen what inducements brought Demetrius to the court of this prince. He was received with open arms by Ptolemy Soter, who heaped a profusion of honours upon him, and made him his confidant. He consulted him, preferably to all his other counsellors, in the most important affairs, and particularly those which related to the succession to the crown. This prince, two years before his death, had formed a resolution to abdicate his crown in favour of one of his children. Demetrius endeavoured to dissuade him from that design, by representing to him, that he must no longer expect to enjoy any authority, if he divested himself of his dignity in such a manner, and that it would be dangerous to create him a master. But when he found him absolutely determined on this abdication, he advised him to regulate his choice by the order prescribed by nature, and which was generally followed by all nations: In consequence of which it would be incumbent on him to prefer his eldest son by Eurydice his first wife. But the credit of Berenice prevailed over this equitable and prudent advice, which in a short time proved fatal to its author.

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Toward

(1) Plut. in Demetr. p. 892. Diog. Laert. in Demetr. Phal.

A. M. Toward the close of this year died Ptolemy Soter,
 3721.
 Ant. J. C. king of Egypt, in the eighty-fourth year of his age;
 283. and two years after his resignation of the empire to his son. He was the most able and worthy man of all his race, and left behind him such examples of prudence, justice, and clemency, as very few of his successors were industrious to imitate. During the space of near forty years, in which he governed Egypt, after the death of Alexander, he raised it to such an height of grandeur and power, as rendered it superior to the other kingdoms. He retained upon the throne the same fondness of simplicity of manners, and the same aversion for ostentatious pomp, as he discovered when he first ascended it. He was accessible to his subjects, even to a degree of familiarity. He frequently sat with them at their own houses; and, when he gave any entertainment himself, he thought it no disgrace to borrow their richest plate, because he had but very little of his own, and no more than was necessary for his common use. (m) And when some persons represented to him, that the regal dignity seemed to require an air of greater opulence, his answer was, *That the true grandeur of a king consisted in enriching others, not himself.*

SECT. IV. *The magnificent solemnity, at the inauguration of PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS king of Egypt.*

PTOLEMY Philadelphus, after his father had abdicated the crown in his favour, entertained the people, when he ascended the throne, with the most splendid festival mentioned by antiquity. Athenæus has left us a long description of it, transcribed from Callixenes the Rhodian, who compiled a history of Alexandria, and Montfaucon relates it in his antiquities. I shall insert the particulars of it in this place, because they will give us a very proper idea of the riches and opulence of Egypt. I may add too, that as ancient authors speak very often of sacred pomp, processions, and solemn festivals, in honour of their gods,

(m) Plut. in Apoph. p. 181.

gods, I thought it incumbent on me to give some idea of them for once, by describing one of the most celebrated solemnities that was ever known. Plutarch, who is perpetually mentioning triumphs among the Romans, has the approbation of his readers, for his particular description of that of Paulus Æmilius, which was one of the most magnificent. But if the account I shall now give should appear unseasonable, or too prolix, it may be passed over, without interrupting the series of this history; for I declare before-hand, that the relation will be something tedious.

(a) This pompous solemnity continued a whole day, and was conducted through the Circus of Alexandria. It was divided into several parts, and formed a variety of separate processions. Beside those of the king's father and mother, the gods had, each of them, a distinct cavalcade, adorned with the ornaments relating to their history.

Athenæus has only related the particulars of that of Bacchus, by which a judgment may be formed of the magnificence of the rest.

The procession began with a troop of Sileni, some habited in purple, others in robes of a deep red; their employment was to keep off the crowd, and make way.

Next the Sileni, came a band of satyrs, composed of twenty in two ranks, each carrying a gilded lamp.

These were succeeded by the victories, with golden wings, carrying vases nine feet high, steaming with kindled perfumes, partly gilt, and partly adorned with the leaves of ivy. Their habits were embroidered with the figures of animals, and every part of them glittered with gold.

After these came a double altar, nine feet in height, and covered with a luxuriant foliage of ivy, intermixed with ornaments of gold. It was also beautified with a golden crown, composed of vine leaves, and adorned on all sides with certain white fillets.

An hundred and twenty youths advanced next, cloathed in purple vests; each of them supporting a golden vase of incense, myrrh, and saffron.

They were followed by forty satyrs, wearing crowns of gold which represented the leaves of ivy; and in the right-hand of each was another crown of the same metal, adorned with vine leaves. Their habits were diversified with a variety of colours.

In the rear of these marched two Sileni, arrayed in purple mantles, and white drawers; one of them wore a kind of hat, and carried a golden caduceus in his hand; the other had a trumpet. Between these two was a man, six feet in height, masked and habited like a tragedian. He also carried a golden cornucopia, and was distinguished by the appellation of The Year.

This person preceded a very amiable woman, as tall as himself, dressed in a magnificent manner, and glittering all over with gold. She held, in one hand, a crown composed of the leaves of the peach-tree, and in the other a branch of palm. She was called Pen-teteris*.

The next in the procession were the Genii of the four seasons, wearing ornaments by which they were distinguished, and supporting two golden vases of odours, adorned with ivy leaves. In the midst of them was a square altar of gold.

A band of satyrs then appeared, wearing golden crowns, fashioned like the leaves of ivy, and arrayed in red habits. Some bore vessels filled with wine, others carried drinking-cups.

Immediately after these were seen Philiscus, the poet and priest of Bacchus, attended by comedians, musicians, dancers, and other persons of that class.

Two tripods were carried next, as prizes for the victors at the Athletick combats and exercises. One of these tripods, being thirteen feet and a half in height, was

* This word signifies the space *space* feast of Bacchus was celebrated at of five years, because, at the expi- the beginning of the next, which ration of every fourth year, the was the fifth.

was intended for the youths; the other, which was eighteen feet high, was designed for the men.

An extraordinary large chariot followed these. It had four wheels*, was twenty-one feet in length, and twelve in breadth, and was drawn by one hundred and eighty men. In this chariot was a figure representing Bacchus, fifteen feet in height, and in the attitude of performing libations with a large cup of gold. He was arrayed in a robe of brocaded purple, which flowed down to his feet. Over this was a transparent vest of a saffron-colour, and above that a large purple mantle embroidered with gold. Before him was a great vessel of gold, formed in the Laconick manner, and containing fifteen measures, called *metretes*†. This was accompanied with a golden tripod, on which were placed a golden vase of odours, with two cups of the same metal full of cinnamon and saffron. Bacchus was seated in a shade of ivy and vine leaves, intermixed with the foliage of fruit-trees; and from these hung several crowns, fillets, and thyrsi, with timbrels, ribbands, and a variety of satirick, comick, and tragick masks. In the same chariot were the priests and priestesses of that deity, with the other ministers, and interpreters of mysteries, dancers of all classes, and women bearing vases‡.

These were followed by the Bacchantes, who marched with their hair dishevelled, and wore crowns composed, some of serpents, others of branches of the yew, the vine, or the ivy. Some of these women carried knives in their hands, others grasped serpents.

After these advanced another chariot, twelve feet in breadth, and drawn by sixty men. In this was the statue of Nyssa, or Nyssa, sitting§, twelve feet
 U 2 high,

* All chariots in general, of which mention will be made in the sequel of this relation, had also four wheels. corresponds most with the Roman amphora, but was somewhat larger. It contained nine gallons.

† *Mystica Vannus Iacchi.*
 ‡ This word is frequently used in the present description; it is the name of a Greek measure, which

Virg. § She is thought to have been the nurse of Bacchus.

high, and cloathed with a yellow vest embroidered with gold, over which was another Laconick habit. The statue rose by the aid of some machines that were not touched by any person, and after it had poured milk out of a golden cup, it resumed its former seat. Its left-hand held a thyrsus adorned with ribbands, and wore a golden crown, on the top of which were represented various leaves of ivy, with clusters of grapes, composed of gems. It was covered with a deep shade, formed by a blended foliage, and a gilded lamp hung at each corner of the chariot.

After this came another chariot, thirty-six feet in length, and twenty-four in breadth, and drawn by three hundred men. On this was placed a wine-press, also thirty-six feet long, and twenty-two and a half broad; this was full of the produce of the vintage. Sixty satyrs trod the grapes, to the sound of the flute, and sung such airs as corresponded with the action in which they were employed. Silenus was the chief of the band, and streams of wine flowed from the chariot, throughout the whole progress.

Another chariot, of the same magnitude, was drawn by six hundred men. This carried a vat of a prodigious size, made of leopards skins sewed together. The vessel contained three thousand measures, and shed a constant effusion of wine, during the procession.

This chariot was followed by an hundred and twenty crowned satyrs and Sileni, carrying pots, flag-gons, and large cups, all of gold.

This troop was immediately succeeded by a silver vat, containing six hundred metretes, and placed on a chariot drawn by the same number of men. The vessel was adorned with chased work, and the rim, together with the two handles and the base, were embellished with the figures of animals. The middle part of it was encompassed with a golden crown adorned with jewels.

Next appeared two silver bowls, eighteen feet in diameter, and nine in height. The upper part of
their

their circumference was adorned with studs, and the bottom with several animals, three of which were a foot and a half high, and many more of a lesser size.

These were followed by ten great fats, and sixteen other vessels, the largest of which contained thirty metretes, and the least five: There were likewise ten cauldrons, twenty-four vases with two handles, and disposed on five salvers; two silver wine-presses, on which were placed twenty-four goblets; a table of massy silver, eighteen feet in length, and thirty more of six; four tripods, one of which was of massy silver, and had a circumference of twenty-four feet; the other three, that were smaller, were adorned with precious stones in the middle.

Then came twenty Delphick tripods, all of silver; and something less than the preceding. They were likewise accompanied with twenty-six beakers, sixteen flaggons, and an hundred and sixty other vessels, the largest of which contained six metretes, and the smallest two. All these vessels were of silver.

After these came the golden vessels; four of which, called Laconicks, were crowned with vine leaves: There were likewise two Corinthian vases, whose rims and middle circumference were embellished with the figures of animals; these contained eight metretes: A wine-press, on which ten goblets were placed: Two other vases, each of which contained five metretes; and two more that held a couple of measures: Twenty-two vessels for preserving liquors cool, the largest of which contained thirty metretes, and the least one: Four golden tripods of an extraordinary size: A kind of a golden basket, intended as a repository for vessels of the same metal; this was enriched with jewels, and was five feet in length; it was likewise divided into six partitions, one above another, and adorned with various figures of animals, above three feet in height; two goblets, and two glass bowls with golden ornaments: Two salvers of gold, four cubits in diameter, and three others of less dimen-

sions: Ten beakers: An altar four feet and a half high; and twenty-five dishes.

After this rich equipage, marched sixteen hundred youths habited in white vests, and crowned, some of them with ivy, others with branches of the pine. Two hundred and fifty of this band carried golden vases, and four hundred of them vases of silver. Three hundred more carried silver vessels, made to keep liquors cool.

After these appeared another troop bearing large drinking vessels, some of which were of gold, fifty of silver, and three hundred diversified with various colours.

There were likewise several tables, six feet in length, and supporting a variety of remarkable objects. On one was represented the bed of Semele, on which were disposed several vests, some of golden brocade, others adorned with precious stones.

We must not omit a chariot thirty-three feet in length, and twenty-one in breadth, drawn by five hundred men. In this was the representation of a deep cavern, shrouded with ivy and vine leaves: Several pigeons, ring-doves and turtles issued out of the aperture, and flew about. Little bands were fastened to their feet, that they might be caught by the people around them. Two fountains likewise, one of milk, and the other of wine, flowed out of the cavern. All the nymphs who stood round it wore crowns of gold. Mercury was also seen, with a golden caduceus in his hand, and cloathed in a splendid manner.

The expedition of Bacchus into the Indies was exhibited in another chariot, where the god was represented by a statue, eight feet in height, and mounted upon an elephant. He was arrayed in purple, and wore a golden crown, intermixed with twining ivy and vine-leaves. A long thyrsus of gold was in his hand, and his sandals were of the same metal. On the neck of the elephant was seated a satyr above seven feet high, with a crown of gold on his head, formed in imitation of pine-branches, and blowing a kind

of trumpet made of a goat's horn. The trappings of the elephant were of gold, and his neck was adorned with a crown of that metal shaped like the foliage of ivy.

This chariot was followed by five hundred young virgins, adorned with purple vests and golden zones. An hundred and twenty of them, who commanded the rest, wore crowns of gold that seemed to be composed of the branches of pine.

Next to these came an hundred and twenty satyrs, armed at all points, some in silver, and others in copper arms.

To these succeeded five troops of Sileni, and crowned satyrs, mounted on asses, some of whom were entirely harnessed with gold, the rest with silver.

After this troop appeared a long train of chariots, twenty-four of which were drawn by elephants; sixty by he-goats; twelve by lions; six by *oryxes*, a species of goats; fifteen by buffaloes; four by wild asses; eight by ostriches; and seven by stags. In these chariots were little youths habited like charioteers, and wearing hats with broad brims. They were accompanied by others of a less stature, cloathed in mantles embroidered with gold. The boys who performed the office of charioteers, were crowned with branches of pine; and the lesser youths with ivy.

On each side of these were three chariots drawn by camels, and followed by others drawn by mules. In these chariots were several tents, resembling those of the Barbarians, with Indian women, and those of other nations, habited like slaves. Some of these camels carried three hundred pounds weight of incense; others two hundred of saffron, cinnamon, iris, and other odoriferous spices.

At a little distance from these, marched a band of Ethiopians, armed with pikes. One body of these carried six hundred elephants teeth; another, two thousand branches of ebony; a third, cups of gold and silver, with a large quantity of gold-dust.

After these came two hunters carrying gilded darts, and marching at the head of two thousand four hundred dogs, of the Indian, Hyrcanian, and Molossian breed, beside a variety of other species.

They were succeeded by one hundred and fifty men supporting trees, to which were fastened several species of birds and deer. Cages were also carried, in which were parrots, peacocks, turkey hens, pheasants, and a great number of Ethiopian birds. After these appeared a hundred and thirty sheep of that country; three hundred of the Arabian breed; twenty of the island of Eubœa; twenty-six white Indian oxen, eight of the Ethiopian species; also a large white bear; fourteen leopards; sixteen panthers; four lynxes; three small bears; a camelopard*, and an Ethiopian rhinoceros.

Bacchus advanced next, seated in a chariot, and wearing a golden crown embellished with ivy-leaves. He was represented as taking sanctuary at the altar of Rhea, from the persecution of Juno. Priapus was placed near him, with a crown of gold formed like the leaves of ivy. The statue of Juno was crowned with a golden diadem; and those of Alexander and Ptolemy wore crowns of fine gold, representing ivy-leaves. The image of Virtue was placed near that of Ptolemy, and on her head was a crown of gold made in imitation of olive-branches. Another statue, representing the city of Corinth, was also near Ptolemy with a golden diadem on its head. At a little distance from each of these, was a great vase filled with golden cups, and a large bowl of the same metal, which contained five metretes.

This chariot was followed by several women richly arrayed, and bearing the names of the Ionian, and other Greek cities in Asia; with the islands which had formerly been conquered by the Persians. All this train wore crowns of gold.

In another chariot was a golden thyrsus, a hundred and

* This animal, whether real or fabulous, is mentioned by Horace. *Diversum consula genus panthera camelo.*

and thirty-five feet in length, and a silver lance eighty feet long.

In this part of the procession were a variety of wild beasts and horses, and twenty-four lions of a prodigious size; and also a great number of chariots, in which were not only the statues of kings, but those of several deities.

After these, came a chorus of six hundred men, among whom were three hundred who played on gilded harps, and wore golden crowns. At a small distance from this band, marched two thousand bulls, all of the same colour, and adorned with golden frontlets, in the middle of which rose a crown of the same metal. They were also adorned with a collar, and an ægis * hung on the breast of each. All these habiliments were of gold.

The procession of Jupiter, and a great number of other deities, advanced next, and, after all the rest, that of Alexander, whose statue of massy gold was placed in a chariot drawn by elephants; on one side of this statue stood Victory, and on the other Minerva.

The procession was graced with several thrones of gold and ivory, on one of which was a large diadem of gold, and on another a horn of the same metal. A third supported a crown; and a fourth a horn of solid gold. On the throne of Ptolemy Soter, the father of the reigning prince, was a golden crown, which weighed ten thousand pieces of gold †, each containing four drachmas.

In this procession were likewise three hundred golden vases, in which perfumes were to be burnt; fifty gilded altars, encompassed with golden crowns. Four torches of gold, fifteen feet in height, were fastened to one of these altars. There were likewise twelve gilded hearths, one of which was eighteen feet in circumference,

* A kind of buckler which covered the breast.

† The Attick Stater, usually called χρυσός, was equal to ten livres of French money; the value there-

fore of this single crown amounted to a hundred thousand French livres, which are about five thousand pounds sterling.

ference, and sixty in height; and another was only twelve feet and a half high. Nine Delphick tripods of gold appeared next, having six feet in their altitude; and there were six others, nine feet in height. The largest of all was forty-five feet high; several animals in gold were placed upon it, and its upper part was encompassed with a golden crown, formed of a foliage of vine-leaves.

After these were seen several gilded palms, twelve feet in length, together with a caduceus, gilt also, sixty-six feet long; a gilded thunder-bolt, in length sixty feet; a gilded temple, sixty feet in circumference; a double horn, twelve feet long; a vast number of gilded animals, several of which were eighteen feet in height. To these were added several deer of a stupendous size, and a set of eagles thirty feet high.

Three thousand and two hundred crowns of gold were likewise carried in this procession; together with a consecrated crown, containing a hundred and twenty feet, undoubtedly in its circumference; it was likewise adorned with a profusion of gems, and surrounded the entrance into the temple of Berenice. Several large crowns of gold were also supported by young virgins richly habited. One of these crowns was three feet in height, with a circumference of twenty-four.

These ornaments of the procession were accompanied with a golden cuirass, eighteen feet in height; and another of silver, twenty-seven feet high. On this latter was the representation of two thunder-bolts of gold, eighteen feet in length; with an oaken crown embellished with jewels; twenty golden bucklers; sixty-four compleat suits of golden armour; two boots of the same metal, four feet and a half in length; twelve basons; a great number of flaggons; ten large vases of perfumes for the baths; twelve beakers; fifty dishes, and a large number of tables: All these were of gold. There were likewise five tables covered with golden goblets; and a horn of solid

solid gold; forty-four feet in length. All these golden vessels and other ornaments, were in a separate procession from that of Bacchus, which has been already described.

There were likewise four hundred chariots loaded with vessels, and other works of silver; twenty others filled with golden vessels, and eight hundred more appropriated to the carriage of aromattick spices.

The troops that guarded this procession were composed of fifty-seven thousand and six hundred foot, and twenty-three thousand horse, all dressed and armed in a magnificent manner.

During the games and publick combats, which continued for some days, after this pompous solemnity, Ptolemy Soter presented the victors with twenty crowns of gold, and they received twenty-three from his consort Berenice. It appeared, by the registers of the palace, that these last crowns were valued at two thousand two hundred and thirty talents, and fifty minæ, about three hundred and thirty-four thousand four hundred pounds sterling: From whence some judgment may be formed of the immense sums to which all the gold and silver employed in this splendid ceremonial amounted.

Such was the magnificence (shall I call it religious, or rather theatrical and of the comick strain?) exhibited by Ptolemy Philadelphus, at his coronation. If Fabricius, the famous Roman, whom I have formerly mentioned, and who had rendered himself so remarkable for his contempt of gold and silver, had been a spectator of this procession, I am persuaded that the sight of it in all its parts, would have proved insupportable to him; and am inclined to think he would have thought and spoken like the emperor Vespasian, upon an occasion which had some resemblance to this. He and his son Titus made a triumphant entry into Rome, after the destruction of Jerusalem; but finding himself fatigued with the excessive length of that pompous procession, he could not conceal his displeasure, and declared, that he was justly punished by

by that tedious ceremony, for his weakness in desiring a triumph at his advanced age*.

In this festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus, no part of it was conducted with any elegance, or had the least air of taste and genius. An amazing prodigality of gold and silver was displayed, which makes me recollect a passage in Sallust, the beauty and force of which I have the mortification not to be able to render in our language. Cataline intended to represent the immoderate luxury of the Romans his contemporaries, who lavished immense sums in the purchase of pictures, statues, wrought plate, and superb buildings. "They draw out (says he) and torment their gold and silver by all imaginable methods," (I must intreat the reader's excuse for this literal translation) "and yet this excess of prodigality is incapable of exhausting and overcoming their riches." *Omnibus modis pecuniam trabunt, vexant* †; *tamen summa luidine divitias suas vincere nequeunt*. In such profusions as these, did the whole merit of Philadelphus consist on this occasion.

What could there be truly great or admirable in this vain ostentation of riches, and a waste of such immense treasure in a bottomless abyss, after they had cost the people so many fatiguing labours, and perhaps had been amassed by a long series of violent exactions? The spoils of whole provinces and cities were sacrificed to the curiosity of a single day, and displayed to publick view, only to raise the frivolous admiration of a stupid populace, without conducing to the least real advantage or utility. Nothing ever argued a more

* Adeo nihil ornamentorum extrinsecus cupidè appetivit, ut triumpho die fatigatus tarditate & tædio pompæ, non reticuerit meritò se plecti, qui triumphum—tam ineptè senex concupisset. Sueton. in Vespas. c. xii.

† These metaphorical terms, *trahunt, vexant, vincere nequeunt*, may possibly be derived from the combats of the *Athletæ*, wherein, after one of them has thrown his

adversary, and imagines himself victorious, he drags him along the *Arena*, in sight of the spectators, twists, shakes, and torments him, without being able to extort a confession from him of his defeat. In this contest, therefore, wherein the Roman author represents luxury and riches to be engaged, all the profusions of the former were incapable of exhausting and overcoming her riches.

more profound ignorance of the true use of riches and solid glory, and of whatever else has any just pretensions to the esteem of mankind.

But what can we say, when we behold a sacred procession, and a solemnity of religion converted into a publick school of intemperance and licentiousness, such as are only proper to excite the most shameful passions in the spectators, and induce an utter depravity of manners; by presenting to their view all the utensils of excess and debauch, with the most powerful allurements to indulge them, and that under pretext of paying adoration to the gods! What divinities must those be, that would exact, or so much as suffer so scandalous a pomp in their worship!

SECT. V. *The commencement of the reign of PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS. The death of DEMETRIUS PHALERUS. SELEUCUS resigns his queen, and part of his empire, to his son ANTIOCHUS. The war between SELEUCUS and LYSIMACHUS; the latter of whom is slain in a battle. SELEUCUS is assassinated by PTOLEMY CERAUNUS, on whom he had conferred a multitude of obligations. The two sons of ARSINOE are murdered by their brother CERAUNUS, who also banishes that princess. CERAUNUS is soon punished for those crimes by the irruption of the Gauls, by whom he is slain in a battle. The attempt of that people against the temple of DELPHOS. ANTIGONUS establishes himself in Macedonia.*

(a) **P**TOLEMY Philadelphus, after the death of his father, became sole master of all his dominions, which were composed of Egypt, and many provinces dependent on it, that is to say, Phœnicia, Cœlosyria, Arabia, Lybia, Ethiopia, the island of Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the isles called the Cyclades.

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During the life of Ptolemy Soter, Philadelphus had concealed his resentment against Demetrius Phalereus, for the advice he gave that prince, when he was liberating

liberating on the choice of a successor. But when the sovereign power entirely devolved upon him, he caused that philosopher to be seized, and sent with a strong guard to a remote fortress, where he ordered him to be confined, till he should determine in what manner to treat him. (b) But at last the bite of an asp put a period to the life of that great man, who merited a better fate.

The testimonies in his favour of Cicero, Strabo; Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and many others, leave no room to doubt of the probity and wisdom of his government; we therefore shall only consider what has been observed with respect to his eloquence.

The characters of his writings, as Cicero observes in several places *, were sweetness, elegance, beauty, numbers and ornament, so that it was easy to distinguish in them the disciple of Theophrastus. He excelled in that species of eloquence, which is called the temperate and florid. His style, in other respects gentle and calm, was adorned and ennobled with bold and shining metaphors, that exalted and enlivened his discourse, otherwise not dignified to any great degree with rich sentiments, and those beauties that constitute the great and the sublime. He was rather to be considered as a wrestler, formed in the shade and tranquillity, for publick games and spectacles, than as a soldier inured to arms by exercise, and quitting his tent to attack an enemy. His discourse had, indeed, the faculty of affecting his hearers with something grateful and

(b) Diog. Laert. in Demetr. Cic. in orat. pro Rabir. Post. n. 23.

* Demetrius Phalereus in hoc numero haberi potest: disputator subtilis, orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen, ut Theophrasti discipulum possis agnoscere. *Offic.* l. i. n. 3.

Demetrius Phalereus, eruditissimus ille quidem, sed non tam armis institutus, quam palæstra. Itaque delectabat magis Athenienses, quam inflammabat. Procefferat enim in solem & pulverem, non ut è militari taberna-

culo, sed ut è Theophrasti, doctissimi hominis, umbraculis—Suavis videri maluit, quam gravis; sed suavitæ ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret: & tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis suæ, non (quem admodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis) cum delectatione cuculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum à quibus esset auditus. *De clar. Orat.* n. 37, & 38.

and tender, but it wanted energy to inspire the force and ardour that inflame the mind, and only left in it at most an agreeable remembrance of some transient sweetness and graces, not unlike that we retain after hearing the most harmonious concerts.

It must be confessed, this species of eloquence has its merit, when limited to just bounds; but as it is very difficult and unusual to preserve the due mediocrity in this particular, and to suppress the fallies of a rich and lively imagination, not always guided by the judgment; this kind of eloquence is apt, therefore, to degenerate, and become, even from its own beauties, a pernicious delicacy, which at length vitiate and deprave the taste. This was the effect, according to Cicero and Quintilian, who were good judges in this point, of the florid and studied graces peculiar to the style of Demetrius. Athens, till his time*, had been accustomed to a noble and majestick eloquence, whose character was a natural beauty, without paint and glitter. Demetrius was the first that revolted against this manly and solid eloquence, to which he substituted a soft and languishing species, that abated the vigour of the mind, and at length rendered false taste predominant.

Two of Alexander's captains survived Ptolemy, Lyfimachus and Seleucus, who, till then, had always been united by interest and friendship, and were engaged to each other by treaties and confederations: And as they were now advancing to the period of their days, (for each of them had exceeded fourscore years of age) one would have thought they should have been desirous of ending their lives in the union which had so long subsisted between them; instead of which, their mutual destruction by war, became the whole object of their thoughts, on the following occasion.

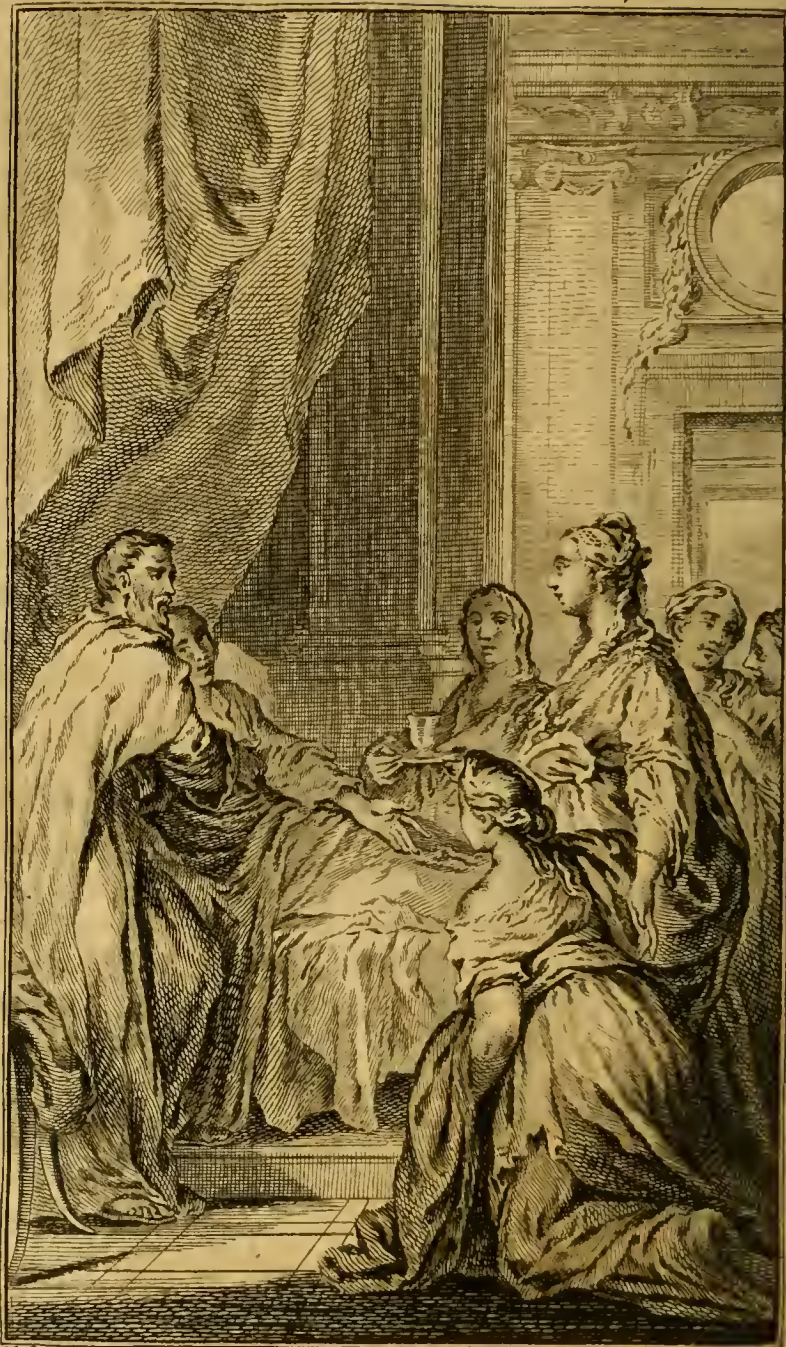
Lyfimachus,

* Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam; & ut opinio mea fert, fucus ille & sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis inesset, non fucatus, nitor—Hic (Phalereus) primus inflexit orationem, & eam mollem teneramque reddidit. *De clar. Orat.* n. 36—38.

Lyfimachus, after the marriage of his son Agathocles with Lyfandra, one of the daughters of Ptolemy, espoused another himself, whose name was Arsinoe, and had several children by her. (c) The different interests of these two sisters led them into all sorts of intrigues, to form a powerful party in their favour, upon the death of Lyfimachus. What are ambitious wives and mothers not capable of attempting! Their opposition to each other was not the mere effect of personal interest, but was chiefly fomented by the differences of their mothers. Lyfandra was the daughter of Eurydice, and Berenice of Arsinoe. The arrival of Ptolemy Ceraunus, the brother of Philadelphus, at this court, made Arsinoe apprehensive that his interest would strengthen too much the party of Lyfandra, who was his sister by the same mother; and that they would accomplish the destruction of herself, and her own children, at the death of Lyfimachus. This calamity she was determined to prevent, by sacrificing Agathocles to her suspicions; and she succeeded in her design, by representing him to her husband, as one who had formed a conspiracy against his life and crown, by which she so much incensed him against his own son, that he caused him to be imprisoned and put to death. Lyfandra and her children, with her brother Ceraunus, and Alexander, another son of Lyfimachus, took sanctuary in the court of Seleucus, and prevailed upon him to declare war against Lyfimachus. Several of the principal officers of this prince, and even those who had been most devoted to his interest, were struck with so much horror at the murder of his son, that they entirely abandoned him, and retired to the court of Seleucus, where they strengthened the remonstrances of Lyfandra by their own complaints. Seleucus was easily induced to undertake this war, for which he was already sufficiently disposed, by views of interest.

(d) Before he engaged in this enterprize, he resigned

(c) Justin. l. xvii. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. Pausan. in Attic. p. 18.
 (d) Plut. in Demetr. p. 906, 907. Appian, in Syr. p. 126—128.



H. Gravelot inv. et delin.

J. P. Le Bas Sculp.

ANTIOCHUS and STRATONICE.

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ed his queen Stratonice to his son Antiochus, for a reason I shall soon relate; and consigned to him, at the same time, a considerable part of his empire, reserving to himself no other territories but the provinces between the Euphrates and the sea.

Antiochus was seized with a lingering distemper, of which the physicians were incapable of discovering the cause; for which reason his condition was thought entirely desperate. It is easy to conceive the inquietude of a father who beheld himself on the point of losing his son in the flower of his age; whom he had intended for his successor in his vast dominions, and in whom all the happiness of his life consisted. Erasistratus, the most attentive and skilful of all the physicians, having carefully considered every symptom with which the indisposition of the young prince was attended; believed at last that he had discovered its true cause, and that it proceeded from a passion he had entertained for some lady; in which conjecture he was not deceived. It, however, was more difficult to discover the object of a passion, the more violent from the secrecy in which it remained. The physician, therefore, to assure himself fully of what he surmised, passed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and when he saw any lady enter, he carefully observed the countenance of the prince, and never discovered the least emotion in him, except when Stratonice came into the chamber, either alone, or with her consort; at which times the young prince was, as Plutarch observes, always affected with the symptoms described by Sappho, as so many indications of a violent passion. Such, for instance, as a suppression of voice; burning blushes; suffusion of sight; cold sweat; a sensible inequality and disorder of pulse; with a variety of the like symptoms. When the physician was afterward alone with his patient, he managed his enquiries with so much dexterity, as at last drew the secret from him. Antiochus confessed his passion for queen Stratonice his mother-in-law, and declared that he had in vain employed all his efforts to vanquish it: He

added, that he had a thousand times had recourse to every consideration that could be represented to his thoughts, in such a conjuncture; particularly the respect due from him to a father and sovereign, by whom he was tenderly beloved; the shameful circumstance of indulging a passion altogether unjustifiable, and contrary to all the rules of decency and honour; the folly of harbouring a design he ought never to be desirous of gratifying; but that his reason, in its present state of distraction, entirely engrossed by one object, would hearken to nothing. And he concluded with declaring, that to punish himself, for desires involuntary in one sense, but criminal in every other, he had resolved to languish to death, by discontinuing all care of his health, and abstaining from every kind of food.

The physician gained a very considerable point, by penetrating into the source of his patient's disorder; but the application of the proper remedy was much more difficult to be accomplished; and how could a proposal of this nature be made to a parent and king! When Seleucus made the next enquiry after his son's health, Erasistratus replied, that his distemper was incurable, because it arose from a secret passion which could never be gratified, as the lady he loved was not to be obtained. The father, surprised and afflicted at this answer, desired to know why the lady was not to be obtained? "Because she is my wife," replied the physician, "and I am not disposed to yield her up to the embraces of another." "And will you not part with her then," replied the king, "to preserve the life of a son I so tenderly love! Is this the friendship you profess for me!" "Let me intreat you, my lord," said Erasistratus, "to imagine yourself for one moment in my place, would you resign your Stratonice to his arms? If you, therefore, who are a father, would not consent to such a sacrifice for the welfare of a son so dear to you, how can you expect another should do it?" "I would resign Stratonice, and my empire to him, with all my soul," interrupted the king.

king. "Your majesty then," replied the physician, "has the remedy in your own hands; for he loves Stratonice." The father did not hesitate a moment after this declaration, and easily obtained the consent of his consort: After which his son and that princess were crowned king and queen of Upper Asia. (d) Julian the apostate relates, in a fragment of his writings still extant, that Antiochus could not espouse Stratonice, till after the death of his father.

Whatever traces of reserve, moderation, and even modesty, appear in the conduct of this young prince, his example shews us the misfortune of giving the least entrance into the heart of an unlawful passion, capable of discomposing all the happiness and tranquillity of life.

(e) Seleucus being now eased of his inquietude, thought of nothing but marching against Lyfimachus. He therefore put himself at the head of a fine army, and advanced into Asia minor. All the country submitted to him, as far as Sardis, which he besieged and took; by which means he became master of all the treasures of Lyfimachus.

This last, having passed the Hellespont, in order to check the progress of Seleucus, gave him battle in Phrygia*, but was defeated and slain; in consequence of which Seleucus rendered himself master of all his dominions. His greatest pleasure † on this occasion resulted from his being the only survivor of all the captains of Alexander, and; by the event of this battle, victorious over conquerors themselves, for that was the expression he thought fit to use, and this ad-

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(d) In Misop. (e) Justin. l. xvii. c. 1, 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 178. Memnon. Excerpta apud Phot. c. ix. Pausan. in Attic. p. 18. Oros. 3---23. Polyæn. 4, 9.

* Porphyry is the only author who has pointed out the real place where this battle was fought, and which Eusebius, by an evident mistake, calls Κορυμνίδιον instead of Κυρηνίδιον, the field of Cyrus; mentioned by Strabo, l. xiii. p. 629.

† Lætus ea victoria Seleucus, & quod majus ea victoria puta-

bat, solum se de cohorte Alexandri remansisse, victoremque victorum extitisse, non humanum esse opus, sed divinum munus, gloriabatur: ignarum prorsus, non multo post fragilitatis humanæ se ipsum exemplum futurum. Justin, l. xvii. c. 2.

vantage was considered by him as the effect of a peculiar providence in his favour. This last victory was undoubtedly the best justification of the title of Nicator, or the conqueror, which he had already assumed, and which is usually given him by the historians, in order to distinguish him from the other princes who reigned after him in Syria of the name of Seleucus.

His triumph, on this occasion, was of no long continuance, for when he went, seven months after his victory, to take possession of Macedonia, where he proposed to pass the remainder of his days in the bosom of his native country, he was basely assassinated by Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred innumerable honours and obligations: For he had received him into his court, when he fled from his own country, and had treated him suitably to his rank. He had also carried that prince with him in that expedition; intending, when it should be compleated, to employ the same forces, for his establishment on the throne of his father in Egypt. But as this wretch was insensible of all the favours he had received, he had the villainy to conspire against his benefactor; whom he assassinated, as we have already mentioned.

He had reigned twenty years, from the battle of Ipsus, when the title of king was secured to him; and thirty-one, if the commencement of his reign be fixed twelve years after the death of Alexander, when he became master of Asia; from which time the æra of the Seleucidæ commences.

(f) A late dissertation of Monsieur de la Nauze gives him a reign of more than fifty years, by adding to it the nineteen years of his son Antiochus Soter. The author pretends, that Seleucus Nicator did not entirely divest himself of the government; but began with making a partition of his dominions; and that he afterwards re-united them, even in the life-time of his son. He has produced probable reasons in favour of his

(f) Tom. VII, des Mem. de l'Academie des Inscript. & Belles Lettres.

his opinion; but as I never engage in contests of this nature, I shall confine myself to the chronology of Usher, which has been my usual guide, and which assigns, with Father Petau and Monsieur Vaillant, thirty-one years to the reign of Seleucus Nicator.

This prince had extraordinary qualities; and, without mentioning his military accomplishments, it may be justly said, that he distinguished himself among the other kings, by his great love of justice, a benevolence, clemency, and a peculiar regard to religion, that endeared him to the people. He had likewise a taste for polite literature, and made it a circumstance of pleasure and glory to himself, to send back to the Athenians the library of which Xerxes had dispossessed them, and which he found in Persia. He also accompanied that present with the statues of Harmodius, and Aristogiton, whom the Athenians honoured as their deliverers.

The friends of Lyfimachus, with those who had served under that prince, at first considered Ceraunus as the avenger of his death; and acknowledged him for their king, but his conduct soon caused them to change their sentiments.

(g) He did not expect to possess the dominions of Lyfimachus in peace, while his sister Arsinoe and the children she had by Lyfimachus were living; for which reason he determined to rid himself at once of them and the apprehensions they gave him. The greatest crimes cost the ambitious no remorse. Ceraunus feigned a passion for his sister, and seemed desirous of espousing her; and as these incestuous marriages were frequent and allowable in Egypt, Arsinoe, who was well acquainted with the natural disposition of her brother, protracted, as much as possible, the conclusion of that affair, the consequences of which she feared would be fatal to herself and children. But the more she delayed, and concealed her repugnance by plausible pretexts, the more warmly he pressed her to gratify his passion; and in order to remove all sus-

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picion,

picion, he repaired to that temple, which the Macedonians held in the greatest veneration, and there, in the presence of one of her intimate friends, whom she had sent to him, he called the tutelar gods of the country to witness, embracing their statues at the same time; and protesting, with the most dreadful oaths and imprecations, that his views, with respect to the marriage he solicited, were perfectly pure and innocent.

Arfinoe placed but little confidence in these promises, though they were uttered before the altars, and had been ratified with the awful seal of religion; but she was apprehensive, at the same time, that persisting in an obstinate refusal, would be fatal to her children, for whose welfare she was more solicitous than her own. She, therefore, consented at last, and the nuptials were celebrated with the greatest magnificence, and with all the indications of the most unaffected joy and tenderness. Ceraunus placed the diadem on the head of his sister, and declared her queen, in the presence of the whole army. Arfinoe felt a real joy, when she beheld herself so gloriously re-established, in the privileges of which she had been divested by the death of Lyfimachus, her first husband; and she invited her new spouse to reside with her in her own city of Cassandria, to which she first repaired herself, in order to make the necessary preparations for his arrival. The temples, on that occasion, with all the publick places and private houses, were magnificently adorned, and nothing was to be seen, but altars and victims ready for sacrifice. The two sons of Arfinoe, Lyfimachus, who was then sixteen years of age, and Philip, who was thirteen, both princes of admirable beauty, and majestick mien, advanced to meet the king, with crowns on their heads, it being a day of so much solemnity and joy. Ceraunus threw his arms round their necks, and embraced them with as much tenderness as could well be expressed by the fondest of fathers.

The

The comick part ended here, and was presently succeeded by a bloody tragedy. As soon as he entered the city, he seized the citadel, and ordered the two brothers to be murdered. Those unfortunate princes fled for refuge to the queen, who clasped them in her arms, and vainly endeavoured, by covering them with her body, to save them from the daggers of their murderers, who killed them in the bosom of their mother. Instead of being allowed the sad consolation of rendering them the last offices, she was first dragged out of the city, with her robes all rent, and her hair dishevelled, and then banished into Samothrace, with only two female servants to attend her, mournfully considering her surviving the princes her sons, as the completion of all her calamities.

(b) Providence would not suffer such crimes to go unpunished, but called forth a distant people to be the ministers of its vengeance.

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The Gauls, finding their own country too populous, sent out a prodigious number of people to seek a new settlement in some other land. This swarm of foreigners came from the extremity of the ocean, and after they had proceeded along the Danube, arrived at the outlet of the Save, and then divided themselves into three bodies. The first, commanded by Brennus and Acichorius, entered Pannonia, now known by the name of Hungary; the second marched into Thrace, under Cerethrius; and Belgius led the third into Illyrium and Macedonia.

All the nations near whose territories this people approached, were struck with so much terror, that instead of waiting till they were subdued, they dispatched ambassadors to the Gauls, and thought themselves exceeding happy in purchasing their liberty with money. Ptolemy Ceraunus *, king of Macedonia, was

X. 4

the

(b) Justin. l. xxiv, & xxv. Pausan. l. x. p. 643---645. Memn. Exc. apud Photium. Eclogæ Diod. Sic. l. xxii. Callim. hymn. in Delum, & schol. ad eundem. Suidas in Γαλδται.

* Solus rex Macedoniae Ptolemæus adventum Gallorum intrepidus audivit; hisque cum paucis & incompotis, quasi bella non difficilius quam scelera patrarentur, parricidiorum furis agitatus, occurrit. Justin.

the only prince who was unaffected at the tidings of this formidable irruption; and running headlong of himself on the punishment the divine vengeance was preparing to inflict upon him for the murders he had perpetrated, he advanced to meet the Gauls with a small body of undisciplined troops, as if it had been as easy for him to fight battles, as it was to commit crimes. He had even the imprudence to refuse a supply of twenty thousand men, which the Dardanians, a neighbouring people to Macedonia, offered him; and answered with an insulting air, that Macedonia would be much to be pitied, if, after it had conquered all the East, it could need the aid of the Dardanians to defend its frontiers; to which he added with a haughty tone of triumph, that he would face the enemy with the children of those who had subdued the universe under the ensigns of Alexander.

He expressed himself in the same imperious strain to the Gauls, who first offered him peace by a deputation, in case he would purchase it: But, conceiving this offer the result of fear, he replied, that he would never enter into any treaty of peace with them, unless they would deliver up some of the principal persons of their nation to him as hostages; and that they must likewise send him their arms, before he would place any confidence in their promises. This answer was received with contempt by the Gauls: And we may from hence observe, the methods usually employed by the Deity, in chastising the pride and injustice of princes; he first deprives them of reason and counsel, and then abandons them to their vain imaginations.

A few days after this event, a battle was fought, wherein the Macedonians were entirely defeated, and cut to pieces; Ptolemy, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner by the Gauls, who after they had cut off his head, fixed it on a lance, and shewed it to the army in derision. A very inconsiderable number of Macedonians saved themselves by flight, but all the rest were either slain or made prisoners. The Gauls dispersed

dispersed themselves, after this victory, in order to pillage the adjacent country; upon which Softhenes, one of the principal persons among the Macedonians, improving the disorder in which they then were, destroyed a great number of their men, and obliged the rest to quit the country.

Brennus then advanced into Macedonia with his troop: But this leader is not to be confounded with that other Brennus who took the city of Rome, about a century before. Upon this intelligence he had received of the first success of Belgius, and the great booty he had acquired, he envied him the spoils of so rich a country, and immediately formed a resolution to have a part. And when he received the news of that general's defeat, that only served as a new motive to hasten his march; his impatience to avenge his countrymen uniting with his desire to enrich himself. Authors have not informed us what became of Belgius and his troop, but, in all probability, he was killed in the second engagement, after which the remains of his army were incorporated into that of Brennus. But however that were, Brennus and Acichorius quitted Pannonia, with an army of an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, and entered Illyrium, in order to pass into Macedonia and Greece.

During a sedition which happened in their march, a body of twenty thousand men drew off from the main army, and marched, under Leonor and Lutatarius, into Thrace, where they joined those whom Cerethrius had already marched into that country; after which they made themselves masters of Byzantium, and the western coasts of the Propontis, and then laid the adjacent country under contribution.

This desertion did not prevent Brennus and Acichorius from continuing their march; and they drew, either from Illyrium, or their countrymen the Gauls, such numerous reinforcements, as increased their army to a hundred and fifty-two thousand foot, and sixty-one thousand two hundred horse. The hopes of
booty,

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booty, and some advantageous settlement, caused a vast number of soldiers to join them in this expedition, and with this army they marched directly to Macedonia, where they overpowered Sostrhenes with their multitudes, and ravaged all the country. It will soon appear by the sequel, that Antigonus reigned in Macedonia, after the death of Sostrhenes.

The Gauls, after their conquests in that country, advanced to the streights of Thermopylæ, with an intention to enter Greece; but were stopped for some time by the troops who had been posted there, to defend that important pass: Till at last they discovered the way which the army of Xerxes had formerly taken in their passage over these mountains; and the Greeks, to avoid being surrounded by the troops detached against them by the Gauls for that purpose, were obliged to retire and leave them a free passage.

Brennus advanced with the main body of the army toward Delphos, in order to pillage the immense riches of the temple of Apollo, and ordered Acichorius to follow him with the troops under his command; declaring to him, at the same time, with an air of raillery, that *the gods ought in reason to impart some of their riches to men, who had more occasion for them than themselves, and employed them in a better manner.* (i) Authors have here taken an opportunity to relate very astonishing events: For they tell us, that when Brennus approached the temple of Delphos, the skies were blackened with a dreadful tempest, and that great numbers of his men were destroyed by hail and thunder. To which they add, that this storm was attended with an earthquake, that rent the mountains, and threw down the rocks, which crushed the Gauls by hundreds at a time; and that the remaining troops were seized with such a panick * the ensuing night, as caused them to mistake their own men for the enemies, in consequence of which they destroyed themselves

(i) Justin. l. xxiv. c. 6—8. Pausan. l. x. p. 652—654.

* The ancients thought these reasons are likewise assigned for kinds of terrors were infused into that name. Other the mind by the god Pan. Other

selves in such a manner, that before the day grew light enough for them to distinguish each other, above half of the army perished in that manner.

The Greeks, whom the danger of a temple so revered among them had drawn from all parts to preserve it from being plundered, were animated by an event in which heaven itself seemed to declare in their favour, and charged the Gauls with so much impetuosity, that though Acichorius had joined Brennus, they were unable to sustain the shock, and were slaughtered in vast numbers. Brennus was wounded in several parts of his body, but not mortally: When he saw that all was lost, and that the design he had formed ended in the destruction of his army, he was seized with such despair, as made him resolve not to survive his losses. He accordingly sent for all the officers that could be assembled, amidst the confusion which reigned among them, and advised them to kill all the wounded men, and make the best retreat in their power. At the close of those expressions he drank as much wine as he could, plunged his dagger into his own bosom, and expired upon the spot.

Acichorius took the command in chief upon himself, and endeavoured to regain the streights of Thermopylæ, in order to march out of Greece, and conduct the sad remains of that army into their own country. But as he was obliged to pass through a large extent of the enemy's territories, and to hazard a battle, every time he wanted provisions for his troops; and as these were always reduced to the necessity of lying on the ground, though it was then the winter season; in a word, as they were constantly harrassed from every quarter, by the inhabitants of the countries through which they marched, they were all destroyed, either by famine, cold, distempers, or the sword; and of all that prodigious number of men who engaged in this expedition, not one escaped with life.

Some fabulous exaggerations may possibly be blended with the other circumstances of this event; and chiefly

chiefly with relation to the sudden tempest that arose, when the Gauls approached Delphos, and the miraculous fall of the rocks on the sacrilegious troops. Perhaps the whole might be no more than a thick flight of arrows, shot by the enemies, who might likewise roll down upon the Gauls huge stones from the tops of the mountains. Such events are entirely natural, and customary in attacks like this, which the priests, whose interest it was to magnify the power of their god, might represent with an air of prodigy, and as a miraculous interposition: It is certain that any account of this nature might be easily imposed upon the credulity of the people, who are always fond of giving in to the marvellous, and seldom scrupulously examine the truth of such things.

On the other hand, we have no sufficient reason to disbelieve any thing history relates of this event. The enterprize of Brennus was undoubtedly a sacrilegious impiety; and injurious to religion, as well as to the Deity himself; for he spoke and acted in the manner already represented, not from any conviction that those gods were the mere offspring of fable, (for he did not think better on that article than the Greeks themselves) but from an absolute contempt of a divinity in general. The idea of a God is impressed on the hearts of all men, and they have through all ages, and in all countries, believed it to be their duty to render certain honours to him. The Pagans were deceived in their application of this principle, but all acknowledged the necessity of it. The Deity, therefore, in mere goodness to mankind, may have caused his vengeance to be displayed against those, even among the heathens, who testified an open contempt of a Supreme Being, in order to preserve the traces and principles of religion in their minds, by some extraordinary indications of his anger, till it pleased him to afford them clearer lights by the ministration of the Mediator, at the appointed time, reserved for the instruction of mankind, in that pure worship which the only true God required from them. We likewise see

that the Divine Being, in order to preserve among men a due respect for his providence, and a belief of his peculiar attention to all their actions, has been careful, from time to time, to punish perjuries and other crying offences in a singular manner, and even among the Pagans themselves. By which means the belief of that capital point, the first tie of man with God, was maintained amidst all the darkness of Paganism, and the dissolution of manners which then prevailed. But it is now time to return to the Gauls.

(*k*) Leonor and Lutarius, who had established themselves on the Propontis, advanced to the Hellespont, and surprized Lysimachia, after which they made themselves masters of all the Thracian Chersoneses; but a difference arising between the two chiefs, they separated from each other. Lutarius continued his march along the Hellespont, and Leonor returned to Byzantium with the greatest part of the army.

The latter having afterward passed the Bosphorus, and the other the Hellespont, met again in Asia, where a reconciliation being effected between them, they rejoined their forces, and entered into the service of Nicomedes king of Bithynia: Who, after he had reduced his brother Zipetes by their assistance, and acquired the possession of all his father's dominions, assigned to them, for their settlement, that part of Asia minor, which took from them the denomination of Gallo-Græcia, or Galatia. The canonical epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians was written to the descendants of this people, and St. Jerom, above six hundred years after the time we now speak of, declared, that they continued to speak the same language he had heard at Treves.

The remainder of those who continued in Thrace, engaged afterward in a war with Antigonus Gonatas, who reigned in Macedonia, and most of them were then destroyed. Those few who escaped, either passed into Asia, and rejoined their countrymen in Galatia;

latia; or dispersed themselves into other regions, where no farther mention is made of them. In this manner ended that terrible inundation of Barbarians, after they had threatened Macedonia, and all Greece, with entire destruction.

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(l) After the death of Sosthenes, who defeated the Gauls, and reigned for some time in Macedonia, Antiochus, the son of Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, formed pretensions to that crown, which their fathers had enjoyed, one after the other. Antigonus, who, after the fatal expedition of his father into Asia, had reigned ten years in Greece, finding the state of his affairs more favourable than those of his competitor, was the first who ascended the throne, but each of them raised great armies, and contracted powerful alliances; the one to support himself in his new conquest, and the other to dispossess him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having espoused the party of Antigonus in this conjuncture, Antiochus, when he was preparing to enter Macedonia, was unwilling to leave so powerful an enemy in his rear. Instead, therefore, of passing the Hellespont, he suddenly poured his troops into Bithynia, which then became the theatre of the war. The forces were at first so equal, that neither party would presume to attack the other, and continued for some time in that state of inaction; during which a treaty was concerted, and in consequence Antigonus espoused Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus, and Antigonus resigned to him his pretensions to the throne of Macedonia. In this manner he remained peaceable possessor, and transmitted it to his posterity, who enjoyed it for several generations, to the time of Perseus, the last of this race, who was defeated by Paulus Emilius, and divested of his dominions, which the Romans, in a few years after, formed into a province of the empire.

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Antiochus, having thus disengaged himself from this war, marched against the Gauls, who, after settling

ting in the land granted them by Nicomedes, were continually making incursions on all sides, by which they extremely incommoded their neighbours. Antigonus defeated them with great slaughter, and delivered the country from their oppressors. This action acquired him the title of Soter, which signifies a deliverer.

SECT. IV. PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS *causes the books of the holy scripture, preserved by the Jews with the utmost care, to be translated into the Greek language, as an ornament to his library. This is called the Version of the Septuagint.*

THE tumult of the wars which diversity of interest had kindled among the successors of Alexander, throughout the whole extent of their territories, did not prevent Ptolemy Philadelphus from devoting his utmost attention to the noble library he had founded in Alexandria, and wherein he deposited the most valuable and curious books he was capable of collecting from all parts of the world. This prince being informed, that the Jews were masters of a work which contained the laws of Moses, and the history of that people, was desirous of having it translated out of the Hebrew language into the Greek, in order to enrich his library with that performance. To accomplish this design, it became necessary for him to address himself to the high-priest of the Jewish nation; but the affair happened to be attended with great difficulty. A very considerable number of Jews had been actually reduced to a state of slavery in Egypt, by Ptolemy Soter, during the invasions of Judæa in his time; and it was represented to the king, that there would be no probability of obtaining from that people either a copy, or a faithful translation of their law, while he suffered such a number of their countrymen to continue in their present servitude. Ptolemy, who always acted with the utmost generosity, and was extremely solicitous to enlarge his library, did not hesitate a moment, but issued a decree for restoring

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storing all the Jewish slaves in his dominions to their full liberty; with orders to his treasurer to pay twenty drachmas * a head to their masters, for their ransom. The sum expended on this occasion amounted to four hundred talents †; which make it evident that an hundred and twenty thousand Jews recovered their freedom, by this bounteous proceeding. The king then gave orders for discharging the children born in slavery, with their mothers, and the sum employed for this purpose amounted to above half the former.

These advantageous preliminaries gave Ptolemy hopes that he should easily obtain his request from the high-priest, whose name was Eleazar. He had sent ambassadors to that pontiff, with a very obliging letter on his part, accompanied with magnificent presents. The ambassadors were received at Jerusalem, with all imaginable honours, and the king's request was granted with the greatest joy. Upon which they returned to Alexandria with an authentick copy of the Mosaick law, written in letters of gold, and given them by the high-priest himself, with six elders of each tribe, that is to say, seventy-two in the whole; and they were authorized to translate that copy into the Greek language.

The king was desirous of seeing these deputies, and proposed to each of them a different question, in order to make a trial of their capacity. He was satisfied with their answers, in which great wisdom appeared, and loaded them with presents, and other marks of his friendship. The elders were then conducted to the isle of Pharos, and lodged in a house prepared for their reception, where they were plentifully supplied with all necessary accommodations. They applied themselves to their work without losing time, and in seventy-two days compleated the volume which is commonly called the Septuagint Version ‡. The whole was afterward read, and approved in the presence of the king, who admired, in a peculiar manner,

* About ten shillings.

† About sixty thousand pounds.

‡ It is called the Septuagint, for

the sake of the round number 70,
but the sacred books were translated by seventy-two persons.

manner, the wisdom of the laws of Moses, and dismissed the seventy-two deputies with extremely magnificent presents; part of which were for themselves, others for the high-priest, and the remainder for the temple. Expences of this nature, though very considerable, never ruin a state, and do a prince great honour.

The author from whom these facts are extracted is Aristæus, who represents himself as one of the officers of the guard to Ptolemy Philadelphus. He adds a number of other circumstances, which I have omitted, because they seem more improbable than those I have inserted. It is pretended, that the writers, whether Jews, as Aristobulus, Philo, and Josephus; or Christians, as Justin, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Hilary, Austin, and some others; who have employed their pens on the subject of the Septuagint version, have founded all their relations on the mere veracity of Aristæus, when the work that bears his name is thought to be a spurious piece. Some of these authors have added circumstances which are generally disbelieved, because they have too much of the marvellous in them. (a) Philo declares, that though their translations were made in separate apartments, yet the least difference in the sense, or style in which they were couched, was so far from appearing, that, on the contrary, the expressions were every where the same, even to a single word; from whence he concludes, that these persons were not mere translators, but men inspired by the spirit of God, who conducted them on that occasion, and dictated the whole to them, even to the minutest word. Justin, and, after him, the other fathers already mentioned, suppose that each of the seventy-two interpreters performed his version in a separate cell, without the least correspondence with each other, and yet that all their translations were perfectly conformable to each other in every particular.

I have frequently declared my resolution not to enter into any historical disquisitions of this nature, which require much time and learning; and would

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(a) Philo de vita Mosis, l. ii. p. 658.

therefore call off my attention too long from my principal object. The reader may consult the learned Prideaux, who has treated this subject at large. All that can be depended upon, and which no one has thought fit to contest, is, that a translation of the sacred books from the Hebrew into the Greek, was made in Egypt, in the time of the Ptolemies; that we have this translation still extant, and that it is the same which was used in the time of our blessed Saviour, as most of the passages cited by the sacred writers of the New Testament, from the original Greek of the Old, are to be found *verbatim* in this version. It still subsists, and continues to be used in the Oriental churches; as it also was by those in the primitive ages, among whom it passed for a canonical translation.

This version, therefore, which renders the scripture of the Old Testament intelligible to a vast number of people, became one of the most considerable fruits of the Grecian conquests; and was evidently comprehended in the design God had in view, when he delivered up all the East to the Greeks; and supported them in those regions, notwithstanding their divisions and jealousies, their wars, and the frequent revolutions that happened among them. In this manner did God prepare the way for the preaching of the gospel, which was then approaching, and facilitate the union of so many nations, of different languages and manners, into one society, and the same worship and doctrines, by the instrumentality of the finest, most copious and correct language that was ever spoken in the world, and which became common to all the countries that were conquered by Alexander.

SECT. VII. *The various expeditions of PYRRHUS: First, into Italy; where he fights two battles with the Romans. The character and conduct of CINEAS. Secondly, into Sicily; and then into Italy again. His third engagement with the Romans; wherein he is defeated. His expedition into Macedonia; of which he makes himself master for some time, after he had overthrown ANTIGONUS. His expedition into Peloponnesus. He forms the siege of Sparta, but without success. Is slain at that of Argos. The deputation from PHILADELPHUS to the Romans, and from the Romans to PHILADELPHUS.*

(a) **P**YRRHUS, when he returned into Epirus, after he had entirely abandoned Macedonia, might have passed his days in tranquillity among his subjects, and enjoyed the sweets of peace, by governing his people agreeably to the rules of justice. But a disposition so active and impetuous as his own, in conjunction with a restless and ardent ambition, was incapable of being at rest itself, or suffering others to be so. This indisposition of mind was, in reality, a raging fever, which knew no intermission. In a word, he grew insupportable to himself, and was continually flying himself in pursuit of foreign objects, and in following, from country to country, a felicity no where to be found. He therefore seized, with joy, the first opportunity that offered for plunging himself into new affairs.

The inhabitants of Tarentum were then at war with the Romans, and their own country not furnishing them with generals of sufficient abilities to oppose such formidable enemies, they turned their eyes toward Epirus, and dispatched ambassadors thither, not only from themselves, but from all the Greeks in Italy, with magnificent presents for Pyrrhus. They had orders to tell him, that they wanted a leader of experience and reputation; that they had a competent num-

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(a) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 396---397. Pausan. l. i. p. 21, 22. Justin. l. xviii. c. 1, 2.

ber of good troops, and by only assembling the forces of the Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and Tarentines, were in a condition to bring an army of twenty thousand horse, and thirty-five thousand foot into the field. The joy with which Pyrrhus received a proposal so agreeable to his disposition, and so conformable to his character, may be easily imagined. The Epirots, by his example, conceived a warm desire and violent passion for this war.

A Thessalian, named Cineas, was then at the court of Pyrrhus. He was a man of great capacity, and having been the disciple of Demosthenes, was distinguished from all the orators of that time, not only for coming the nearest to the force and eloquence of that great master, but for having been most successful in deriving, from so excellent a school, the solid principles, and best maxims of true politicks. This person was much attached to Pyrrhus, who had employed him on embassies to several cities with whom he had negotiations to transact. Cineas, through the whole course of these employments, confirmed, by his conduct, the truth of this expression of Euripides, that *the eloquence of an enemy is no less prevalent than his sword*. And Pyrrhus accordingly declared, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence of Cineas, than he could possibly have conquered by the force of arms. For this reason he entertained the greatest esteem for his person, conferred many honours upon him, and employed him in the most important affairs. A man of this character is always an inestimable treasure, and would constitute the happiness of a prince and his people, were his counsels admitted to take place.

Cineas perceiving that Pyrrhus was preparing to pass into Italy, and finding him one day disengaged from affairs, and in a temper not to be offended with innocent liberties, entered into a free conversation with that prince. *Your Majesty intends, said he, to march against the Romans; should the gods be so gracious as to render you victorious, what advantage would*
you

you derive from your conquest? Were the Romans once subdued by my arms, replied Pyrrhus, all Italy would then be ours. Supposing ourselves masters of that country, continued Cineas, how should we proceed next? Pyrrhus, who did not yet perceive his drift, continued, Sicily will then present itself to us, and you know the importance of that island. But will our expeditions, added Cineas, end with the conquest of Sicily? No, certainly, replied Pyrrhus, with an air of emotion; can we stop short in so glorious a career? If the gods are pleased to crown us with success, these would be only preludes to more glorious enterprizes? Carthage, with all Africa, Macedonia, my ancient domain, every province in Greece, shall be part of our future conquests. And when we have conquered all we can, how shall we dispose of ourselves? Dispose of ourselves? We will live at our ease. We will pass whole days in feasts and agreeable conversation, and think of nothing but enjoying ourselves. Ah! my Lord, interrupted Cineas, and what prevents us now from living at ease, making of feasts, celebrating festivals, and enjoying all your Majesty has mentioned? Why should we go so far in search of an happiness already in our power, and pay so dear for what we may now enjoy without the least trouble?

This discourse of Cineas affected, but not corrected Pyrrhus. He could make no reasonable objection to what he had heard; but his natural ardour, more affecting, more durable, urged him on in pursuit of a phantom of glory, that was always presenting a delusive and shining outside to his view, and would not permit him to enjoy the least repose, either by night or day.

Monsieur Paschal has considered this reflection of Cineas, in the 26th chapter of *his thoughts*; wherein he has explained, in an admirable manner, the origin of the tumultuous employments of mankind, and of all the world calls diversion or pastime. "The soul," says that great man, "discovers nothing in herself that can furnish her with contentment. Whatever she beholds there, afflicts her when she considers it sedately.

“ This obliges her to have recourse to external enjoyments, that she may lose in them the remembrance of her real state. In this oblivion consists her joy; and, to render her miserable, it suffices to oblige her to enter into, and converse with herself.”

He then proceeds to justify the truth of this reflection, by a variety of examples; after which he adds the following remarks. “ When Cineas told Pyrrhus, who proposed to live at ease when he had conquered a large part of the world, that it would be better for him to hasten his intended happiness, by enjoying the repose in his power, without going in quest of it through such a number of fatigues; he gave him a counsel that admitted of many difficulties, and which seemed almost as irrational as the design of that ambitious youth. Each of them supposed, that man was capable of being satisfied with himself, and his present enjoyments, without filling up the void of his heart with imaginary hopes, which is certainly false. Pyrrhus could not be happy, either before, or after he had conquered the world; and perhaps the life of ease recommended to him by his minister would have proved less satisfactory to him, than the hurry of all the wars and expeditions he meditated.”

It is certain, however, that neither the philosopher, nor the conqueror, were in a condition to know the heart of man to the bottom. Pyrrhus, therefore, immediately dispatched Cineas to the Tarentines, with a band of three thousand foot; soon after which a large number of flat-bottomed vessels, gallies, and all sorts of transport-ships arriving from Tarentum, he embarked on board that fleet twenty elephants, three thousand horse, twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, two thousand archers, and five hundred slingers.

All being ready, he set sail; but as soon as he advanced into the open sea, a violent tempest arose from the north, and drove him out of his course. The vessel in which he was, yielded at first to the fury of the storm; but the care of the pilot and mariners was employed so effectually, that he at last gained the coast
of

of Italy, after a voyage of infinite fatigue and danger. The other ships were incapable of holding the same course. At last a strong gale sprung up from the land, and the waves beat so violently against the head of the king's ship, that they expected it to found immediately. Pyrrhus did not hesitate a moment in this extremity, but threw himself into the sea, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards, who were emulous to save him at the hazard of their own lives; but the night, which happened to be extremely dark, and the impetuous bursting of the waves upon the coast, from whence they were repelled with a loud roar, made it very difficult for them to assist him; till at last the king, after he had struggled with the winds and waves for a considerable part of the night, was cast, the next morning, on the shore, the wind being then considerably abated. The long fatigue he had sustained, weakened him to such a degree, that nothing but his courage, always great and invincible, prevented him from sinking under it.

In the mean time the Messapians, on whose coast the waves had cast him, hastened to him with the utmost speed, to tender him all the assistance in their power. They also went to meet some of his ships that escaped the storm; but the cavalry they found on board were very inconsiderable in number; the infantry, however, amounted to two thousand men, and had two elephants with them. Pyrrhus, after he had drawn them up in a body, led them directly to Tarentum.

Cineas, as soon as he received intelligence of his approach, advanced to him with his troops. Pyrrhus, when he arrived at Tarentum, was extremely surprised to find the inhabitants solely employed in pleasures, which it was their usual custom to indulge, without the least prudence or interruption. And they now took it for granted, that whilst Pyrrhus fought for them, they might quietly continue in their own houses, solely employed in bathing, using exquisite perfumes, feasting and recreations. Pyrrhus did not intend to lay them under any constraint, till he had

received intelligence that his ships were safe, and till the greatest part of his army had joined him. He then treated them like one determined to be their master. He began with shutting up all the publick gardens, and places of exercise, where the inhabitants usually entertained themselves with news, and regulated military affairs as they walked together. He also suspended their feasts and publick shews, and was altogether as severe upon the assemblies of news-mongers. In a word, he compelled them to take arms, and behaved at all musters and reviews with very inexorable severity to those who failed in their duty. In consequence of which several, who had never been accustomed to so rigorous a discipline, withdrew from the city; thinking it an insupportable servitude, to be debarred from the full enjoyment of their effeminate pleasures.

Pyrrhus, about this time, received information that Levinus the consul was advancing against him with a powerful army, and that he was then in Lucania, where he burnt and destroyed all the country around him. Though the allies of Pyrrhus had not sent him any succours at that time, yet as he thought it very dishonourable to permit the enemy to approach nearer him, and commit their ravages in his view, he took the field with the few troops he had. But before he entered upon any hostilities, he dispatched a herald to demand of the Romans, whether they would consent, before the commencement of the war, to an amicable accommodation of the differences between them and the Greeks of Italy, by referring the whole affair to his judgment and decision? To which Levinus the consul made this reply, *That the Romans neither took Pyrrhus for an arbiter, nor feared him as an enemy.*

Pyrrhus, upon receiving this answer, advanced with his troops; and encamped in a plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea; and when he heard that the Romans were very near him, and encamped on the other side of the river Siris, he mounted his horse, and

and approached the bank, to take a view of their situation. When he saw the appearance of their troops, their advanced guards, the fine order observed universally, and the commodious situation of their camp, he was astonished at what he saw; and addressing himself to one of his friends who was then near him.---*Megacles*, said he, *the disposition of these Barbarians is by no means barbarous; we shall see whether the rest will correspond with this appearance* *. And already anxious for the success of the future, he resolved to wait the arrival of his allies; thinking it sufficient, at that time, to post a body of troops on the bank of the river, to oppose the Romans, if they should attempt to pass; but this precaution was then too late, for the Roman infantry had already forded the stream, and the cavalry passed it where they found it practicable. The advanced troops of Pyrrhus, therefore, not finding themselves sufficiently strong, and fearing to be surrounded by their enemies, were obliged to join the main army with great precipitation; so that Pyrrhus, who arrived there a few moments before, with the rest of his troops, had not time to dispute the passage with the enemy.

As soon as he saw a great number of Roman bucklers, glittering on this side of the river, and their cavalry advancing toward him in fine order, he closed his rank, and began the attack. The lustre and beauty of his arms, which were very magnificent, distinguished him in a conspicuous manner; and his actions made it evident, that the reputation he had acquired did not exceed his merit. For while he engaged in the battle, without sparing his own person, and bore down all before him; he was attentive to the functions of a general; and amidst the greatest dangers was perfectly cool, dispatched his commands with as much tranquillity as if he had been in his palace; and sprung from place to place, to reinstate what was amiss, and sustain those who suffered most.

During

* The Greeks considered all other nations as Barbarians, and treated them accordingly.

During the heat of the engagement, one of the Italian horse, with a lance in his hand, singled out Pyrrhus from all the rest of the troops, and followed him with the utmost ardour wherever he went, directing all his own motions by those of the king. And having at last found a favourable opportunity, he aimed a furious stroke at him, but wounded only his horse. At the same time Leonatus of Macedon killed the Italian's horse. Both horses being down, Pyrrhus was immediately surrounded by a troop of his friends, who carried him off, and killed the Italian, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught Pyrrhus more precaution than he had practised before, and obliged him to be more careful of himself; which is an indispensable duty in a general, on whose welfare that of a whole army depends. When he beheld his cavalry give way, he ordered his infantry to advance, and immediately drew it up. Then giving his mantle and arms to Megacles, one of his friends, he put on those of the latter, and vigorously charged the Romans, who received him with great intrepidity. The battle was obstinately disputed on both sides, and the victory long continued doubtful. Authors say, that each army gave way seven times, and as often returned to the charge.

Pyrrhus, by changing his arms, took a proper method for the preservation of his life; though, in the event, it almost proved fatal to him, and was on the point of wresting the victory out of his hands. The enemies threw themselves in throngs about Megacles, whom they took to be the king; and he was at last wounded by an horseman, who left him upon the spot, after he had torn off his arms and mantle, which he carried full speed to Levinus the consul; and as he shewed them to him, cried out aloud, that he had slain Pyrrhus. These spoils being borne in triumph through all the ranks, filled the whole Roman army with inexpressible joy. All the field resounded with acclamations of victory, while the Grecian

cian troops were struck with universal consternation and discouragement.

Pyrrhus, who perceived the terrible effect of this mistake, flew bare-headed through all the lines, holding out at the same time his hand to the soldiers, and making himself known to them by his voice and gestures. The battle was then renewed, and the elephants were chiefly instrumental in deciding the victory. For when Pyrrhus saw the Romans broke by those animals, and that the horse, instead of approaching them, were so terrified, that they ran away with their riders, he immediately led up the Thessalian cavalry against them, while they were in confusion, and put them to flight, after having made a great slaughter of them.

Dionysius Halicarnassensius writes, that near fifteen thousand Romans were killed in this battle, and that Pyrrhus lost thirteen thousand of his men. But other historians make the loss less on both sides.

Pyrrhus immediately made himself master of the enemies camp, which they had abandoned, brought over several cities from their alliance, ravaged all the country around him, and advanced within fifteen leagues of Rome.

The Lucanians and Samnites having joined him, after the battle, he severely reproached them for their delay. But his air and aspect made it evident, that he was exceedingly delighted at bottom, that his troops, in conjunction with the Tarentines alone, had defeated so well-disciplined and numerous an army of the Romans, without the assistance of his allies.

The Romans, however, were not dejected at the great loss they had sustained; and, instead of recalling Levinus, were solely intent on preparations for a second battle. This exalted turn of soul, which manifested so much steadiness and intrepidity, surprized, and even terrified Pyrrhus. He therefore thought it prudent to dispatch a second embassy, in order to sound their dispositions, and to see if they would not incline to some expedient for an amicable accommodation;
and

and in the mean time returned to Tarentum. Cineas, therefore, being sent to Rome, had several conferences with the principal citizens, and sent presents, in the name of the king, to them and their wives: But not one Roman would receive them. They all replied, and even their wives, That when Rome had made a publick treaty with the king, it would be time enough to express his satisfaction with regard to them.

When Cineas was introduced to the senate, he acquainted them with the proposals of his master, who offered to deliver up his prisoners to the Romans without any ransom, and to aid them in the conquest of all Italy; requiring, at the same time, no other return but their friendship, and a sufficient security for the Tarentines. Several of the senators seemed inclinable to a peace; and this was no unreasonable disposition. They had lately been defeated in a great battle, and were on the point of hazarding another of much more importance. They had likewise reason to be apprehensive of many fatal events; the forces of Pyrrhus having been considerably augmented by the junction of several of his Italian allies.

The Roman courage, in this conjuncture, seemed to want the animating spirit of the celebrated Appius Claudius, an illustrious senator, whose great age and loss of sight had obliged him to confine himself to his family, and retire from publick affairs. But when he understood, by the confused report which was then dispersed through the city, that the senators were disposed to accept the offers of Pyrrhus, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly, which kept a profound silence, the moment he appeared. There the venerable old man, whose zeal for the honour of his country seemed to have inspired him with all his ancient vigour, made it evident, by reasons equally solid and affecting, that they were on the point of destroying, by an infamous treaty, all the glory which Rome had ever acquired. "Where," said he, with a warmth of noble indignation, "where is the spirit that suggested the bold language you once uttered, and whose ac-

“ cents rung through all the world ; when you de-
 “ clared, that if the great Alexander himself had in-
 “ vaded Italy, when we were young, and our fathers
 “ in the vigour of their age, he would never have
 “ gained the reputation of being invincible, but have
 “ added new lustre to the glòry of Rome, either by
 “ his flight or death ! Is it possible then, that you
 “ should now tremble at the mere name of a Pyrrhus,
 “ who has passed his days in cringing to one of the
 “ guards of that Alexander, and who now wanders,
 “ like a wretched adventurer, from country to coun-
 “ try, to avoid the enemies he has at home, and who
 “ has the insolence to promise you the conquest of
 “ Italy, with those very troops who have not been
 “ able to secure him a small tract of Macedonia !”

He added many other things of the same nature, which awakened the Roman bravery, and dispelled the apprehensions of the senators ; who unanimously returned this answer to Cineas---*That Pyrrhus should first retire from Italy ; after which, if he should find himself disposed for peace, he might send an embassy to solicit it : But that, as long as he continued in arms in their country, the Romans would maintain the war against him with all their forces, though he should even vanquish ten thousand such leaders as Levinus.*

It is said, that Cineas, during his continuance at Rome, in order to negotiate a peace, took all the methods of a man of wisdom and address, to inform himself of the manners and customs of the Romans ; their publick as well as private conduct, with the form and constitution of their government ; and that he was industrious to obtain as exact an account as possible of the forces and revenues of the republick. When he returned to Tarentum, he gave the king a faithful relation of all the discoveries he had made in his conferences with the principal men of Rome, and told him, among other particulars, *That the senate seemed to him an assembly of kings.* A just and noble idea of that august body ! And with respect to the numerous inhabitants who filled the streets, and all parts of
 the

the country, he added, *I greatly fear we are fighting with an hydra*. Cineas, indeed, had some reason for this remark, for the consul Levinus had at that time an army in the field, twice as numerous as the first, and Rome had still an infinite number of men capable of bearing arms, and forming many armies as powerful as that which had been newly levied.

The return of Cineas to Tarentum was immediately succeeded by the arrival of ambassadors to Pyrrhus from the Romans, among whom was Fabricius, who, as Cineas informed the king, was highly esteemed at Rome as a very virtuous man, and well experienced in military affairs, but that his fortune was extremely low. Pyrrhus received them with extraordinary marks of distinction, and treated them with all the honours possible. The ambassadors, at their audience, said every thing necessary in the present conjuncture; and as they imagined his thoughts were elate by the victory he had obtained over their troops, they represented to him the vicissitudes and inconstancy of fortune, which no prudence of man could foresee; that the greatest overthrows in the field were incapable of sinking the Roman fortitude, and consequently it could never be alarmed at any little disadvantage; that the examples of so many enemies as they had defeated, should teach Pyrrhus to reflect on the enterprise he was forming; that he would find, at worst, that they were enemies prepared to receive him, and in a capacity to defend themselves. They concluded their remonstrances with leaving it to his choice, either to receive a ransom for their soldiers who were then his prisoners of war, or to exchange them for such of his troops as the Romans had taken from him.

(b) Pyrrhus, after a consultation with his friends, answered the ambassadors to this effect. “ Romans, “ it is with an ill grace you demand the prisoners I “ have taken from you, as you intend to employ “ them against me, after your refusal of the peace I “ proposed.

“ proposed. If our mutual interest had been the subject of your attention, you never would have had recourse to such evasions. Be it your care to end, by an amicable treaty, the war you are maintaining against me and my allies, and I promise to restore you all my prisoners, as well your citizens as your confederates, without the ransom you offer me. If you reject this condition, it is in vain for you to imagine, that Pyrrhus will ever be prevailed upon to release so great a number of soldiers.”

When he had returned this answer to the ambassadors, he took Fabricius aside, and addressed him in the following manner. “ As for you, Fabricius, I am sensible of your merit. I am likewise informed that you are an excellent general, and perfectly qualified for the command of an army; that justice and temperance are united in your character, and that you pass for a person of consummate virtue. But I am likewise as certain of your poverty; and must confess, that fortune, in this particular alone, has treated you with injustice, by misplacing you in the class of indigent senators. In order, therefore, to supply that sole deficiency, I am ready to give you as much gold and silver as will raise you above the richest citizen of Rome; being fully persuaded, *That no expence can be more honourable to a prince than that which is employed in the relief of great men, who are compelled by their poverty to lead a life unworthy of their virtue; and that this is the noblest purpose to which a king can possibly devote his treasures.* At the same time, I must desire you to believe, that I have no intention to exact any unjust or dishonourable service from you, as a return of gratitude. I expect nothing from you, but what is perfectly consistent with your honour, and what will add to your authority and importance in your own country. Let me therefore conjure you to assist me with your credit in the Roman senate, which has hitherto assumed an air of too much inflexibility, with relation to the treaty I proposed,

“ and has never consulted the rules of moderation in
 “ any respect. Make them sensible, I intreat you,
 “ that I have given my solemn word to assist the Ta-
 “ rentines, and other Greeks, who are settled in this
 “ part of Italy; and that I cannot in honour abandon
 “ them on any account, and especially as I am now
 “ at the head of a potent army that has already gained
 “ me a battle. I must, however, acquaint you, that I
 “ am called, by some pressing affairs, to my own do-
 “ minions; and this is the circumstance which makes
 “ me wish for peace with the greater solicitude. As
 “ to any other particulars, if my quality as a king
 “ causes me to be suspected by the senate, because a
 “ number of other princes have openly violated the
 “ faith of treaties and alliances, without the least
 “ hesitation; become my security yourself on this
 “ occasion; assist me with your counsels in all my
 “ proceedings, and command my armies under me.
 “ I want a virtuous man, and a faithful friend; and
 “ you as much need a prince, whose liberalities may
 “ enable you to be more useful, and to do more good
 “ to mankind. Let us, therefore, consent to render
 “ mutual assistance to each other, in all the future
 “ conjunctures of our lives.”

Pyrrhus having expressed himself in this manner,
 Fabricius, after a few moments silence, replied to
 him in these terms. “ It is needless for me to make
 “ any mention of the experience I may possibly have
 “ in the conduct of publick or private affairs, since
 “ you have been informed of that from others. With
 “ respect also to my poverty, you seem to be so well
 “ acquainted with it, that it would be unnecessary
 “ for me to assure you, I have no money to improve,
 “ nor any slaves from whom I derive the least revenue:
 “ That my whole fortune consists in a house of no
 “ considerable appearance; and in a little spot of
 “ ground that furnishes me with my support. But if
 “ you believe my poverty renders my condition in-
 “ ferior to that of every other Roman, and that,
 “ while I am discharging the duties of an honest man,
 “ I am

“ I am the less considered, because I happen not to
 “ be of the number of the rich; permit me to acquaint
 “ you, that the idea you conceive of me, is not just,
 “ and that whoever may have inspired you with that
 “ opinion, or you only suppose so yourself, you are
 “ deceived to entertain it. Though I do not possess
 “ riches, I never did imagine my indigence a prejudice
 “ to me, whether I consider myself as a publick or
 “ private person. Did my necessitous circumstances
 “ ever induce my country to exclude me from those
 “ glorious employments, that are the noblest objects
 “ of the emulation of great souls? I am invested with
 “ the highest dignities, and see myself placed at the
 “ head of the most illustrious embassies. I assist also
 “ at the most august assemblies, and even the most sa-
 “ cred functions of divine worship are confided to
 “ my care. Whenever the most important affairs
 “ are the subject of deliberation, I hold my rank in
 “ councils, and offer my opinion with as much free-
 “ dom as another. I preserve a parity with the rich-
 “ est and most powerful persons in the republick; and,
 “ if any circumstance causes me to complain, it is my
 “ receiving too much honour and applause from my
 “ fellow-citizens. The employments I discharge cost
 “ me nothing of mine, no more than any other Ro-
 “ man. Rome never reduces her citizens to a ruinous
 “ condition, by raising them to the magistracy. She
 “ gives all necessary supplies to those she employs in
 “ publick stations, and bestows them with liberality
 “ and magnificence. Rome, in this particular, differs
 “ from many other cities, where the publick is extreme-
 “ ly poor, and private persons immensely rich. We are
 “ all in a state of affluence, as long as the republick is
 “ so, because we consider her treasures as our own.
 “ The rich and the poor are equally admitted to her
 “ employments, as she judges them worthy of trust,
 “ and she knows no distinction between her citizens,
 “ but those of merit and virtue. As to my particular
 “ affairs, I am so far from repining at my fortune,
 “ that I think I am the happiest of men when I com-

“ pare myself with the rich, and find a certain satis-
 “ faction, and even pride, in that fortune. My lit-
 “ tle field, poor and infertile as it is, supplies me with
 “ whatever I want, when I am careful to cultivate
 “ it as I ought, and to lay up the fruits it produces.
 “ What can I want more? Every kind of food is
 “ agreeable to my palate, when seasoned by hunger :
 “ I drink with delight when I thirst, and I enjoy all
 “ the sweetness of sleep when fatigued with toil. I
 “ content myself with an hábit that covers me from
 “ the rigours of winter ; and of all the various kinds
 “ of furniture necessary for the same uses, the meanest
 “ is, in my sense, the most commodious. I should be
 “ unreasonable, unjust, should I complain of fortune,
 “ whilst she supplies me with all that nature requires.
 “ As to superfluities, I confess she has not furnished
 “ me with any ; but then she has not formed me with
 “ the least desire to enjoy them. Why should I then
 “ complain? It is true, the want of this abundance
 “ renders me incapable of relieving the necessitous,
 “ which is the only advantage the rich may be en-
 “ vied for enjoying. But when I impart to the re-
 “ publick, and my friends, some portion of the little
 “ I possess, and render my country all the services I
 “ am capable of performing ; in a word, when I dis-
 “ charge all the duties incumbent on me, to the best
 “ of my ability, wherein can my conscience condemn
 “ me? If riches had ever been the least part of my
 “ ambition, I have so long been employed in the ad-
 “ ministration of the republick, that I have had a
 “ thousand opportunities of amassing great sums, and
 “ even by irreproachable methods. Could any man
 “ desire one more favourable than that which occurred
 “ to me a few years ago? The consular dignity was
 “ conferred upon me, and I was sent against the Sam-
 “ nites, the Brutii, and the Lucanians, at the head
 “ of a numerous army. We ravaged a large tract of
 “ land, and defeated the enemy in several battles :
 “ We took many flourishing and opulent cities by
 “ assault ; I enriched the whole army with their
 “ spoils ;

“ spoils; I returned every citizen the money he had
 “ contributed to the expence of the war; and after I
 “ had received the honours of a triumph, I brought
 “ four hundred talents into the publick treasury. After
 “ having neglected so considerable a booty, of which
 “ I had full power to appropriate any part to myself;
 “ after having despised such immense riches so justly
 “ acquired, and sacrificed the spoils of the enemy to
 “ the love of glory, in imitation of Valerius Publi-
 “ cola, and many other great men, whose disinterest-
 “ ed generosity of mind has raised the glory of Rome
 “ to so illustrious an height; would it now become
 “ me to accept of the gold and silver you offer me?
 “ What idea would the world entertain of me? And
 “ what an example should I set Rome's citizens?
 “ How could I bear their reproaches? how even their
 “ looks at my return? Those awful magistrates,
 “ our censors, who are appointed to inspect our dis-
 “ cipline and manners with a vigilant eye, would they
 “ not compel me to be accountable, in the view of all
 “ the world, for the presents you solicit me to ac-
 “ cept? You shall keep then, if you please, your
 “ riches to yourself, and I my poverty, and my re-
 “ putation.”

I take it for granted, that the historian furnished
 Pyrrhus and Fabricius with these speeches, but he has
 only painted their sentiments, especially those of the
 latter, in strong colours. For such was the character
 of the Romans in those glorious ages of the republick.
 Fabricius was really persuaded, there was more glory
 and grandeur in being able to despise all the gold of
 a king, than there was in reigning over an empire *.

(c) Pyrrhus being desirous the next day to surprise
 the Roman ambassador, who had never seen an ele-
 phant, ordered the captain of those animals to arm
 the largest of them, and lead him to the place where
 he intended to converse with Fabricius; the officer was

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then

(c) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 395—397.

* Fabricius Pyrrhi regis aurum regias opes posse continere. Se-
 repulit, majusque regno judicavit nec. *Epist.* 129.

then to place him behind a large hanging of tapestry, that he might be ready to make his appearance at a certain signal. This was accordingly executed; and the sign being given, the tapestry was drawn aside, and presented to view the enormous animal, who stretched out his trunk over the head of Fabricius, and shook the apartment with a most terrible cry. Fabricius, instead of discovering the least surprise or consternation, turned very calmly to Pyrrhus, and said to him with a smile, *Neither your gold yesterday, nor your elephant to-day, alter me.*

Whilst they were sitting at table in the evening, the conversation turned upon a variety of subjects; and after some conference on the affairs of Greece, and the several philosophers of note, Cineas introduced the opinions of Epicurus, and related the particular opinions of his disciples, with reference to the gods, and the government of the world: Declaring, that they represented pleasure as the end and sovereign good of man, and declined all dignities and employments, as destructive to happiness. To this he added, that they never ascribed to the divinity, either love, or hatred, or wrath; but maintained, that he was entirely regardless of mankind; and that they consigned him to a life of tranquillity, in which he passed all ages void of occupation, and plunged in an endless variety of delights and pleasures. The soft and voluptuous lives of the Tarentines might probably occasion this discourse. Whilst Cineas was going on with this subject, Fabricius, to whom such a doctrine was altogether new, cried out as loud as he was able, *Great Hercules, may Pyrrhus and the Samnites follow this doctrine, as long as they shall make war with the Romans!*

Who of us moderns, were we to judge of the manners of the ancients by those which prevail in our age, would expect to hear the conversation between great warriors, at table, turn, not only on political systems, but points of erudition; for, at that time, philosophical enquiries were considered as the principal part of learning?

ing? Are not such discourses as these seasoned with improving reflections, and enlivened with sprightly replies, equal at least to those table-conversations, which frequently continue as long as the entertainment, and are passed, without much expence of genius, in exclamations, worthy of Epicureans, on the delicacy of the provisions, and the admirable flavour of the wines and other liquors?

Pyrrhus was struck with so much admiration at the greatness of soul which he discovered in the Roman ambassador, and was so charmed with his manners and his wisdom, that he became more impatient than ever to contract an alliance with his city. He therefore took him apart, and conjured him, a second time, to mediate an accommodation between the two states, and consent to reside at his court, where he should hold the first rank among all his friends and captains. *I would not advise you to persist in that request*, replied Fabricius, *whispering in his ear with a smile, and you seem to be but little acquainted with your own interest; for if those who now honour and admire you, should once happen to know me, perhaps they might be more desirous of having me for their king than yourself.*

The prince, instead of being offended at this reply, esteemed him the more for making it, and would intrust the prisoners with none but him, that he might be certain they would be sent back to him, after they had embraced their relations and friends, and celebrated the Saturnalia, in case the senate should continue averse to a peace. They were accordingly sent to him at the expiration of the festival, the senate having ordered every prisoner to return to Pyrrhus, upon pain of death.

The command of the army being conferred on Fabricius the following year, an unknown person came into his camp, with a letter from the king's physician, who offered to take Pyrrhus off by poison, if the Romans would promise him a recompence proportionable to the service he should render them, by putting an end to so destructive a war without any danger to

themselves. Fabricius, who always retained the same probity and justice*, even in time of war, which furnishes so many pretexts for departing from them, and as he knew there were some rights, which ought to be preserved inviolable, even with enemies themselves, was struck with a just horror at such a proposal: And as he would not suffer the king to conquer him with gold, he thought it would be infamous in himself to conquer the king by poison. After some conference, therefore, with his colleague Emilius, he wrote a letter to Pyrrhus, to caution him against that black treachery. His letter was conceived in these terms:

CAIUS FABRICIUS and QUINTUS EMILIUS, consuls;
to king PYRRHUS; Health.

YOU seem to form a wrong judgment both of friends and enemies; and this will be your own opinion, when you have read the letter which has been written to us. For you will then be sensible, that you are carrying on a war against people of virtue and honour, at the same time that you repose entire confidence in the worst of men. The information we now send you, results more from our affection for ourselves, than for you; for we were unwilling that your death should give the world occasion to defame us; and would not have it imagined, that we had recourse to treachery, through despair of terminating this war happily by our valour.

Pyrrhus having received this letter, and finding it to be a true representation of the fact, caused his physician to be punished, and sent back all his prisoners to the consul without ransom, as a testimonial of his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans. He likewise deputed Cineas to negotiate a peace; but the Romans, who would never accept either a favour from

* Eiusdem animi fuit, auro in bello innocentem; qui ali- non vinci, veneno non vincere: quod esse crederet etiam in hoste Admirati sumus ingentem virum, nefas; qui in summa paupertate, quem non regis, non contra regem quam sibi decus fecerat, non aliter promissa flexissent; boni exempli ter refugit divitias quam venetenacem; quod difficillimum est, num. Senec. Epist. 120.

from their enemy, or a recompence for not committing the most execrable piece of injustice, were not averſe to receiving the priſoners: They however returned an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites, as an equivalent; but as to the treaty of pacification, they would not permit Cineas to mention it, till Pyrrhus had returned to Epirus in the ſame fleet that landed him and his troops in Italy. But as his affairs made a ſecond battle neceſſary, he aſſembled his army, and attacked the Romans near the city of Aſculum.

The troops fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides, and the victory continued doubtful till the cloſe of the battle. Pyrrhus, at the beginning of the action, having been driven into places impracticable to the cavalry, and againſt a river very difficult, as well in regard to its banks, as marſhes on the ſides of it, was treated very rudely by the enemy, and loſt a great number of his men. But having at laſt diſengaged himſelf from that diſadvantageous ſituation, and regained the plain, where he could make uſe of his elephants, he advanced againſt the Romans with the greateſt impetuofity, his ranks being all in good order and well cloſed; and as he met with a vigorous reſiſtance, the ſlaughter became very great, and he himſelf was wounded. He, however, had diſpoſed his elephants ſo judiciously, that they broke through the Roman infantry, in ſeveral quarters, notwithſtanding which, they ſtill maintained their ground. The two armies, fired with implacable rage, exerted the utmoſt efforts that bravery could inſpire, and did not ceaſe fighting till night parted them. The loſs was almoſt equal on both ſides, and amounted to fifteen thouſand men in the whole. The Romans were the firſt who retreated, and gained their camp, which was near the field of battle. The advantage, therefore, ſeemed to remain with Pyrrhus, who continued longeſt in the field; but when one of his officers came to congratulate him on his victory, *If we gain ſuch another,* replied he, *we are inevitably ruined.* And as he had really loſt his beſt troops and braveſt officers, he was

very sensible of his inability to bring another army into the field, against the Romans, whose very defeat inspired them with new vigour and ardour to continue the war*.

(b) While he was revolving these melancholy thoughts in his mind, and had the mortification to see himself in a manner destitute of all resource, and incapable of recurring to any honourable expedient, to disengage himself from an enterprize he had undertaken too inconsiderately, a dawn of hope and good fortune inspired him with new resolution. A deputation was sent to him, at that critical juncture, from Sicily, with a commission to deliver Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines, into his possession; and to implore the assistance of his arms to drive the Carthaginians from their island, and deliver them from their tyrants. Several couriers from Greece also arrived at his camp at the same time, to inform him that Ceraunus had been killed in a battle with the Gauls, in Macedonia, and that this kingdom seemed to invite him to ascend to the throne.

A. M.
3726.
Ant. J. C.
278.

Pyrrhus then found himself in a new perplexity. A moment before he was destitute of all hope, and now it flowed so fast upon him, that he was at a loss to determine which offer he ought to prefer. But after a long deliberation, and when he had maturely weighed the reasons that offered themselves on both sides, he resolved for Sicily, which would open him a passage into Africa, and conduct him to a more ample harvest of glory. In consequence of this resolution, he immediately dispatched Cineas, to treat with the cities, and gave them assurances of his speedy arrival; he then embarked for Sicily, after he had left a strong garrison in Tarentum, notwithstanding the repugnance of the inhabitants, who had the mortification to see themselves abandoned by Pyrrhus, and reduced

(b) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 397, 398. Pausan. l. i. p. 22. Justin. l. xviii. c. 2. & l. xxiii. c. 3.

* Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro. *Herat.*

reduced at the same time to a state of slavery by his troops.

When he arrived in Sicily, he immediately became master of Syracuse, which was delivered up to him by Sostratus*, who then governed that city, and by Thenon, who commanded in the citadel. He also received money from them, out of the publick treasury, and about two hundred ships, which facilitated his conquest of all Sicily. His insinuating and affable behaviour at his first arrival, gained him the hearts of all the people; and as he had then an army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, with a fleet of two hundred sail, he dispossessed the Carthaginians of their settlements in that island, and obliged them to evacuate the city of Eryx, which was the strongest of all their places there, and the best furnished with people for its defence: He also defeated, in a great battle, the inhabitants of Messina, who were called *Mamertines*†, and whose frequent irruptions infested all Sicily, and entirely demolished all their fortresses.

The rapid progress of his arms terrified the Carthaginians, who were now divested of all their acquisitions in Sicily, except the single city of Lilybæum; and they sent to purchase peace and his friendship with money and ships. But as he aspired to much greater things, he answered them, that the only method to obtain what they desired, would be to abandon Sicily, and consent to let the Libyan sea be the boundary between them and the Greeks. He intended to bestow Sicily on his son Helenus, as a kingdom to which he had a right by birth, this prince being his son by the daughter of Agathocles; and he proposed to give his son Alexander the kingdom of Italy, which he looked upon as a certain conquest.

A continued series of prosperity, and the numerous

* He is called *Sesistratus* by *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*. Italy, and having made themselves masters of Messina, into which they

† The word signifies martial, because they were a very warlike people. They originally came from their own name there, though that of the city was not changed.

rous forces under his command, had raised his hopes so high at that time, that he thought of nothing but accomplishing the great views that had drawn him into Sicily; the first and principal of which was the conquest of Africa. He had a sufficient number of vessels for that great expedition, but wanted mariners; in order, therefore, to obtain that supply, he obliged the cities to furnish him with men; and severely punished those that neglected to obey his orders.

In consequence of these proceedings, his power was soon changed into an insolent and tyrannical sway, which first drew upon him the hatred of the family and friends of Agathocles, whom he deprived of all the fortunes they had received from that prince, and bestowed them upon his own creatures. (c) In contempt of the customs of that country, he also conferred the first dignities, and the government of cities, on his guards and centurions, whom he continued in the magistracy as long as he thought proper, and without any regard to the time prescribed by the laws. And as to all judicial proceedings, with respect to private property, and other affairs of that nature, he either decided them by his own arbitrary sentence, or left them to the determination of his courtiers, whose sole views were to enrich themselves by sordid gain, and live in all manner of luxury, profusion, and debauchery.

A conduct so oppressive and different from that, by which he at first had so well succeeded, could not fail to alienate the affection of the people from him; and when he became sensible that he was universally hated, and that the Sicilians, exasperated at his odious government, were solicitous to shake off the yoke, he placed in most of the cities such garrisons as he knew were at his devotion, under pretext that the Carthaginians were preparing to invade him. He also seized the most illustrious citizens of each city, and caused them to be put to death, after he had charged them with treasonable conspiracies. Of this number was
Thenon,

Thenon, the commander of the citadel; and all the important services he had rendered the king of Epirus, did not suffice to exempt him from so cruel a policy; though it was allowed that he had contributed more than any other person to reduce Sicily under Pyrrhus. He also resolved to have Sostratus seized; but as he had some suspicion of what was intended against him, he found means to quit the city. A prince hazards all things when he loses the affection of his people, which is the strongest tie that unites them to their sovereign. The same barbarous and unjust treatment of the principal citizens of Syracuse, who had conducted most to the progress of his power in that island, rendered him entirely odious and insupportable to the Sicilians. Such was the character of Pyrrhus: His vigorous conduct in the enterprizes he undertook, facilitated his conquest of kingdoms and provinces, but he wanted art to preserve them*. The aversion which the cities conceived against him was so great, that some of them entered into a league with the Carthaginians; and others with the Mamertines, in order to destroy him.

At this juncture, when he beheld nothing but new insurrections and revolts kindling all round, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, which informed him that they had been dispossessed of all their lands, and were then shut up in their cities, where it would be impossible for them to sustain the war, unless he would hasten to their assistance. These letters arrived at a proper time, for affording him an honourable pretext for his departure, and preventing it from appearing a flight from Sicily, as if he despaired of succeeding any longer in that island.

As he was embarking at Syracuse, the Carthaginians attacked him in such a manner, as obliged him to fight, in the very port, against those Barbarians, where he lost several of his ships. This, however; did not prevent him from sailing to Italy with those
that

* Ut ad devincenda regna invictus habebatur, ita devictis acquisitisque celeriter carebat: tanto melius studebat acquirere imperia, quam retinere. *Justin.* l. xxv. c. 4.

that remained; but upon his arrival there, he found a great body of Mamertines, who had passed thither before him, to the number of near ten thousand men, and greatly incommoded his march, by frequently harassing his troops, and making repeated attacks upon his rear guard.

(*d*) Livy, and Dionysius of Halicarnasseus, tell us one circumstance not very much to the honour of Pyrrhus's memory. In Locris was a celebrated temple, consecrated to Proserpine, and held in the greatest veneration by all the inhabitants of that country, as well as by strangers, and no one had ever presumed to violate it, though it was certain that immense treasures were deposited within it. (*e*) Pyrrhus, who then wanted money extremely, was not so scrupulous, but carried off all the riches of the goddess, and lodged them in his ship. The next day, if history may be credited, his fleet was shattered by a violent tempest, and all the vessels that were loaded with these rich and sacred spoils were cast upon the coast of Locris. This proud prince, says Livy, being convinced by this cruel disaster, that the gods were not imaginary beings, caused all the treasures to be replaced in the temple with the utmost devotion. The goddess, however, was not appeased by this involuntary restitution; and the author who relates this event, represents this impious sacrilege as the cause of all the future calamities which happened to Pyrrhus, and particularly of the unfortunate death which put an end to his enterprises.

A. M. 3730.
Ant. J. C. 274. Pyrrhus, after he had suffered by this tempest, arrived at Tarentum with twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and when he had reinforced them with the best troops he could find in that city, he advanced, by long marches, against the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

This people retained a secret resentment against Pyrrhus, for deserting them, when he undertook his expedition

(*d*) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 399. Pausan. l. i. p. 22. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 3. (*e*) Liv. l. xxix. n. 18. Dionys. Halicarn. in Excerpt. p. 542.

expedition into Sicily; for which reason he was joined by very few of their troops. This, however, did not prevent him from dividing his army into two bodies; one of which he sent into Lucania, to oppose the consul who was there at that time, and to render him incapable of assisting his colleague: The other he led himself against Manius Curius, the other consul, who had intrenched himself in a very advantageous post, near the city of Beneventum, where he waited for the succours that were advancing to him from Lucania.

Pyrrhus hastened, as much as possible, to attack this last, before the other had joined him; and with this view he selected his best troops, with such of his elephants as were strongest, and of most service in the field; after which he began his march about the close of the evening, in order to surprize the consul in his camp. The enemy, however, discovered him the next morning, as he was descending the mountains; and Manius having marched out of his intrenchments with a body of troops, fell upon the first he met. These he soon put into confusion, and obliged them to have recourse to flight, which spread universal terror among the rest, great numbers of whom were slain, and even some of the elephants taken.

This success emboldened Manius to draw all his troops out of their entrenchments, in order to combat in the open plain. One of his wings had the advantage, at the beginning of the battle, and pushed their enemies with great vigour; but the other was overthrown by the elephants, and driven back to their camp. In this emergency, he sent for the troops he had left behind him, to guard the intrenchments, and who were all fresh and under arms. These forces advanced in the critical moment, and with their pikes and darts compelled the elephants to turn their backs, and fall upon their own battalions; which created such a general confusion, that the Romans at last obtained a compleat victory, which, in some sense, was of no less value to them than their future conquest of all nations.

nations. For the intrepidity they discovered in this engagement, and the gallant actions they performed in all the battles they fought with such an enemy as Pyrrhus, increased their reputation, as well as their fortitude and confidence in their own bravery, and caused them to be considered as invincible. This victory over Pyrrhus, rendered them indisputable masters of all Italy between the two seas; and this acquisition was soon succeeded by the wars with Carthage, in which, having at last subdued that potent rival, they no longer beheld any power in a condition to oppose them.

In this manner did Pyrrhus find himself fallen from all the high hopes he had received, with relation to Italy and Sicily, after he had consumed six whole years in those wars, and entirely ruined his own affairs. It must be acknowledged, however, that he preserved an invincible fortitude of mind, amidst all these disgraces; and his experience in military affairs, with his valour and intrepidity, caused him always to pass for the first of all the kings and generals of his time. But whatever he acquired by his great exploits, he soon lost by his vain hopes; for his impatience to pursue what he had not yet attained, rendered him incapable of preserving what was already in his possession. This disposition of his made Antigonus compare him to a man who threw good casts at tables, but played them very ill.

(f) He at length returned to Epirus, with eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse; but as his revenues were not sufficient for the subsistence of these troops, he was industrious to find out some new war for their support; and having received a reinforcement of some Gauls who joined him, he threw himself into Macedonia, where Antigonus then reigned. His intention was only to ravage the country, and carry off a great booty; but when he had once made himself master of several cities, without any difficulty, and had also seduced two thousand of Antigonus's soldiers,

(f) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400. Pausan. l. i. c. 23. Justin. l. xxv. c. 3.

diers over to his party, he indulged the most exalted hopes, marched against Antigonus himself, attacked him in the defiles, and put his whole army into disorder. A large body of other Gauls, who formed the rear guard of Antigonus, courageously sustained his efforts for some time, and the encounter grew very warm; but most of them were at last cut to pieces; and those who commanded the elephants, being surrounded by his troops, surrendered themselves prisoners, and delivered up the elephants. The Macedonian phalanx was all that now remained; but the troops who composed this corps were struck with terror and confusion at the defeat of their rear guard. Pyrrhus perceiving that they seemed to refuse fighting him, stretched out his hand to the commanders, and other officers, and called each of them by his name. This expedient gained him all the infantry of Antigonus, who was obliged to have recourse to flight, in order to preserve some of the maritime places in their obedience to him.

Pyrrhus was exceedingly animated by this victory, as may be judged by the following inscription on the spoils which he consecrated to the Itonian * Minerva. *Pyrrhus, king of the Molossians, consecrates to the Itonian Minerva these bucklers of the fierce Gauls, after he had defeated the whole army of Antigonus. Let no one be surprized at this event. The descendants of Æacus are still as they originally were, perfectly brave and valiant.*

Pyrrhus, after this victory, made himself master of all the cities of Macedonia, and particularly of Æge †, whose inhabitants he treated with great severity, and garrisoned their city with part of his Gauls, a people as insatiable and rapacious after money, as any nation that was ever in the world. The moment they took possession of the city, they began with plundering the tombs of the Macedonian kings, whose remains were deposited

* Minerva was called Itonia, which was the same with that from Itonus, the son of Amphic-
tyon, and she had two temples de-
dicated to her, under this name; † A city of Macedonia, on the
one in Thessaly, near Larissa, river Haliacmon.

deposited there. They also carried off all the riches inclosed in those monuments, and, with sacrilegious insolence, scattered the ashes of those princes in the air. Pyrrhus lightly passed over this infamous action, either because the important affairs he then had upon his hands engaged his whole attention, or that his pressing occasion for the service of these Barbarians, rendered him unwilling to alienate their affection from him, by too strict an enquiry into this proceeding, which would make it necessary for him to punish the delinquents: So criminal a connivance sunk him very much in the opinion of the Macedonians.

A. M. 3733.
Ant. J. C. 271.

(g) Though his affairs were not established on so secure a foundation as to give him just reasons to be void of apprehension, he conceived new hopes, and engaged in new enterprizes. Cleonymus, the Spartan, came to solicit him to march his army against Lacedæmonia, and Pyrrhus lent a willing ear to that proposal. This Cleonymus was of the royal race. Cleomenes, his father, who was king of Sparta, had two sons; Acrotates, and Cleonymus. The former, who was the eldest, died before his father, and left a son named Areus. After the death of the old king, a dispute, with relation to the sovereignty, arose between Areus and Cleonymus; and as this latter seemed to be a man of a violent and despotick disposition, the contest was decided in favour of Areus. Cleonymus, when he was much advanced in age, espoused a very beautiful woman, whose name was Chelidonida, the daughter of Leotychidas. This young lady conceived a violent passion for Acrotates, the son of king Areus, who was very amiable, finely shaped, and in the flower of his youth. This circumstance rendered her marriage not only a very melancholy, but dishonourable affair, to her husband Cleonymus, who was equally transported with love and jealousy; for his disgrace was publick, and every Spartan acquainted with the contempt his wife entertained

(g) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400—403. Pausan. l. i. p. 23, 24. & l. iii. p. 168. Justin. l. xxv. c. 4.

tained for him. Animated, therefore, with a burning impatience to avenge himself at once, on his partial citizens, and his faithless wife, he prevailed with Pyrrhus to march against Sparta, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants.

These great preparations for war made it immediately evident, that Pyrrhus was more intent to conquer Peloponnesus for himself, than to make Cleonymus master of Sparta. This, indeed, he strongly disavowed in all his discourse; for when the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors to him, during his residence at Megalopolis, he assured them that no hostilities were intended by him against Sparta, and that he only came to restore liberty to those cities which Antigonus possessed in that country. He even declared to them, that he designed to send his youngest children to Sparta, if they would permit him so to do, that they might be educated in the manners and discipline of that city, and have the advantage, above all other kings and princes, of being trained up in so excellent a school.

With these flattering promises he amused all such as presented themselves to him in his march; but those persons must be very thoughtless and imprudent, who place any confidence in the language of politicians, with whom artifice and deceit pass for wisdom, and faith for weakness and want of judgment. Pyrrhus had no sooner advanced into the territories of Sparta, than he began to ravage and plunder all the country around him.

He arrived, in the evening, before Lacedæmon, which Cleonymus desired him to attack without a moment's delay, that they might take advantage of the confusion of the inhabitants, who had no suspicion of a siege, and of the absence of king Areus, who was gone to Crete to assist the Gortynians. The helots, and friends of Cleonymus, were so confident of success, that they were then actually preparing his house for his reception; firmly persuaded he would

sup there that very night with Pyrrhus. But this prince, who looked upon the conquest of the city as inevitable, deferred the assault till the next morning. That delay saved Sparta, and shewed that there are favourable and decisive moments which must be seized immediately, and which, once neglected, never return.

When night came, the Lacedæmonians deliberated on the expediency of sending their wives to Crete, but were opposed by them in that point: One among them, in particular, whose name was Archidamia, rushed into the senate with a drawn sword, and after she had uttered her complaints, in the name of the rest, demanded of the men who were there assembled, *What could be their inducement to entertain so bad an opinion of them, as to imagine they would consent to live after the destruction of Sparta?*

The same council gave directions for opening a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, in order to oppose their approaches to the city, by placing troops along that work: But, as the absence of their king, and the surprize with which they were then seized, prevented them from raising a sufficient number of men, to form a front equal to that of the enemy, and engage them in the open field, they resolved to shut themselves up as securely as possible, by adding to each extremity of the ditch a kind of intrenchment, formed by a barricade of carriages, sunk in the earth, up to the axle-trees of the wheels, that by these means they might check the impetuosity of the elephants, and prevent the cavalry from assaulting them in flank.

While the men were employed in this work, their wives and daughters came to join them, and after they had exhorted those who were appointed for the encounter to take some repose, while the night lasted, they proceeded to measure the length of the trench, and took in the third part of it for their own share in the work, which they compleated before day. The
trench

trench was nine feet in breadth, six in depth, and nine hundred in length.

When day appeared, and the enemies began to be in motion, those women presented arms to all the young men, and as they were retiring from the trench they had made, they exhorted them to behave in a gallant manner; intreating them, at the same time, to consider how glorious it would be for them to conquer in the fight of their country, and breathe their last in the arms of their mothers and wives, after they had proved themselves worthy of Sparta by their valour. When Chelidonida, in particular, retired with the rest, she prepared a cord, which she intended should be the fatal instrument of her death, to prevent her from falling into the hands of her husband, if the city should happen to be taken.

Pyrrhus, in the mean time, advanced at the head of his infantry, to attack the Spartan front, who waited for him on the other side of the trench, with their bucklers closely joined together. The trench was not only very difficult to be passed, but the soldiers of Pyrrhus could not even approach the edge of it, nor maintain a good footing, because the earth, which had been newly thrown up, easily gave way under them. When his son Ptolemy saw this inconvenience, he drew out two thousand Gauls, with a select band of Chaonians, and filed off along the trench to the place where the carriages were disposed, in order to open a passage for the rest of the troops. But these were ranged so thick, and sunk to such a depth in the earth, as rendered his design impracticable. Upon which the Gauls endeavoured to surmount this difficulty, by disengaging the wheels, in order to draw the carriages into the adjoining river.

The young Acrotates was the first who saw the danger, and immediately shot through the city with three hundred soldiers. Having taken a large compass, he poured upon the rear of Ptolemy's troops, without being discovered in his approach, because he advanced through hollow ways. Upon this sudden attack, as

their ranks were broken, and their troops thrown into disorder, they crowded and pressed upon each other, and most of them rolled into the ditch, and fell around the chariots. In a word, after a long encounter, which cost them a vast quantity of blood, they were repulsed, and obliged to have recourse to flight. The old men, and most of the women, stood on the other side of the trench, and beheld with admiration the undaunted bravery of Acrotates. As for him, covered with blood, and exulting from his victory, he returned to his post amidst the universal applause of the Spartan women, who extolled his valour, and envied, at the same time, the glory and happiness of Chelidonida: An evident proof that the Spartan ladies were not extremely delicate in point of conjugal chastity.

The battle was still hotter, along the edge of the ditch, where Pyrrhus commanded, and which was defended by the Lacedæmonian infantry: The Spartans fought with great intrepidity, and several among them distinguished themselves very much; particularly Phyllius, who, after having opposed the enemy for a considerable time, and killed, with his own hand, all those who attempted to force a passage where he fought; finding himself, at last, faint with the many wounds he had received, and the large quantity of blood he had lost, he called to one of the officers who commanded at that post, and after having resigned his place to him, he retired a few paces, and fell down dead amidst his countrymen, that the enemies might not be masters of his body.

Night obliged both parties to discontinue the engagement: But the next morning it was renewed by break of day. The Lacedæmonians defended themselves with new efforts of ardour and bravery, and even the women would not forsake them, but were always at hand to furnish arms and refreshments to such as wanted them, and also to assist in carrying off the wounded. The Macedonians were indefatigable in their endeavours to fill up the ditch with vast

quantities of wood, and other materials, which they threw upon the arms and dead bodies; and the Lacedæmonians redoubled their ardour to prevent their effecting that design.

But while the latter were thus employed, Pyrrhus had forced himself a passage at the place where the chariots had been disposed, and pushed forwards full speed to the city. Those who defended this post, sent up loud cries, which were answered by dismal shrieks from the women, who ran from place to place in the utmost consternation. Pyrrhus still advanced, and bore down all who opposed him. He was now within a small distance of that city, when a shaft from a Cretan bow pierced his horse, and made him so furious, that he ran with his master into the very midst of the enemies; and fell dead with him to the ground. Whilst his friends crowded about him, to extricate him from the danger he was in, the Spartans advanced in great numbers, and, with their arrows, repulsed the Macedonians beyond the trench.

Pyrrhus then caused a general retreat to be sounded, in expectation that the Lacedæmonians, who had lost a great number of men, and were most of them wounded, would be inclined to surrender the city, which was then reduced to the last extremity, and seemed incapable of sustaining a new attack. But at the very instant when every thing seemed desperate, one of the generals of Antigonus arrived from Corinth, with a very considerable body of foreign troops; which had scarce entered the city before king Areus appeared with two thousand foot, which he had brought from Crete.

These two reinforcements, which the Lacedæmonians received the same day, did but animate Pyrrhus, and add new ardour to his ambition. He was sensible, that it would be more glorious for him to take the city in spite of its new defenders, and in the very sight of its king; but, after he had made some attempts to that effect, and was convinced that he should gain nothing but wounds, he desisted from his enter-

prize, and began to ravage the country, with an intention to pass the winter there; but he was diverted from this design by a new ray of hope, which soon drew him off to another quarter.

A. M.

3733.

Ant. J. C.
273.

(b) Aristæas, and Aristippus, two of the principal citizens of Argos, had excited a great sedition in that city. The latter of these was desirous of supporting himself, by the favour and protection of Antigonus; and Aristæas, in order to frustrate his design, immediately invited Pyrrhus to espouse his party. The king of Epirus, always fond of new motions, considered his victories as so many steps to greater advantages; and thought his defeats furnished him with indispensable reasons for entering upon a new war, to repair his losses. Neither good nor ill success, therefore, could inspire him with a disposition for tranquillity; for which reason he had no sooner given audience to the courier of Aristæas, than he began his march to Argos. King Areus formed several ambuscades to destroy him by the way, and having possessed himself of the most difficult passes, cut to pieces the Gauls and Molossians, who formed his rear guard. Ptolemy, who had been detached by Pyrrhus, his father, to succour that guard, was killed in the engagement, upon which his troops disbanded and fled. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, commanded by Evalcus, an officer of great reputation, pursued them with so much ardour, that he insensibly advanced to a great distance from his infantry, who were incapable of keeping up with him.

Pyrrhus being informed of his son's death, which affected him with the sharpest sorrow, immediately led up the Molossian cavalry against the pursuers; and throwing himself among their thickest troops, made such a slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, as in a moment covered him with blood. He was always intrepid and terrible in battles; but on this occasion, when grief and revenge gave a new edge to his courage, he even

(b) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 403---406. Pausan. l. i. p. 24. Justin. l. xxv. c. 5.

even surpassed himself, and effaced the lustre of his conduct in all former battles, by the superior valour and intrepidity which he now displayed. He continually fought Evalcus in the throng, and having at last singled him out, he spurred his horse against him, and struck him through with his javelin, after having been in great danger himself. He then sprung from his horse, and made a terrible slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, whom he overthrew in heaps upon the dead body of Evalcus. This loss of the bravest officers and troops of Sparta, proceeded altogether from the temerity of those, who, after they had gained a complete victory, suffered it to be wrested out of their hands, by pursuing those that fled with a blind and imprudent eagerness.

Pyrrhus having thus celebrated the funeral solemnities of Ptolemy by this great battle, and mitigated his affliction in some measure, by satiating his rage and vengeance in the blood of those who had slain his son, continued his march to Argos, and upon his arrival there, was informed that Antigonus possessed the heights upon the borders of the plain. He then formed his camp near the city of Nauplia, and sent a herald the next morning, to Antigonus, with an offer to decide their quarrel by a single combat; but Antigonus contented himself with replying, *That if Pyrrhus was grown weary of life, there were abundance of methods for putting an end to it.*

The inhabitants of Argos dispatched ambassadors at the same time to both these princes, to intreat them to withdraw their troops, and not reduce their city into subjection to either of them, but allow it to continue in a state of friendship with both. Antigonus readily consented to this proposal, and sent his son as an hostage to the Argives. Pyrrhus also promised to retire; but as he offered no security for the performance of his word, they began to suspect his sincerity, and indeed with sufficient reason.

As soon as night appeared, he advanced to the walls, and having found a door left open by Aristæas,

he had time to pour his Gauls into the city, and to seize it without being perceived. But when he would have introduced his elephants, he found the gate too low; which obliged him to cause the towers to be taken down from their backs, and replaced there, when those animals had entered the city. All this could not be effected, amidst the darkness, without much trouble, noise, and confusion, and without a considerable loss of time, which caused them to be discovered. The Argives, when they beheld the enemy in the city, fled to the citadel, and to those places that were most advantageous for their defence, and sent a deputation to Antigonus, to press his speedy advance to their assistance. He accordingly marched that moment, and caused his son, with the other officers, to enter the city at the head of his best troops.

In this very juncture of time, king Areus also arrived at Argos, with a thousand Cretans, and as many Spartans as were capable of coming. These troops, when they had all joined each other, charged the Gauls with the utmost fury, and put them into disorder. Pyrrhus hastened, on his part, to sustain them, but the darkness and confusion were then so great, that it was impossible for him to be either heard or obeyed. When day appeared, he was not a little surprized to see the citadel filled with enemies; and as he then imagined all was lost, he thought of nothing but a timely retreat. But as he had some apprehensions, with respect to the city gates, which were much too narrow, he sent orders to his son Helenus, whom he had left without with the greatest part of the army, to demolish part of the wall, that his troops might have a free passage out of the city. The person to whom Pyrrhus gave this order in great haste, having misunderstood his meaning, delivered a quite contrary message, in consequence of which Helenus immediately drew out his best infantry, with all the elephants he had left, and then advanced into the city to assist his father,

father, who was preparing to retire the moment the other entered the place.

Pyrrhus, as long as the place afforded him a sufficient extent of ground, appeared with a resolute mien, and frequently faced about, and repulsed those who pursued him; but when he found himself engaged in a narrow street, which ended at the gate, the confusion, which already was very great, became infinitely increased, by the arrival of the troops his son brought to his assistance. He frequently called aloud to them to withdraw, in order to clear the street, but in vain, for as it was impossible for his voice to be heard, they still continued to advance: And to compleat the calamity in which they were involved, one of the largest elephants sunk down in the middle of the gate, and filled up the whole extent in such a manner, that the troops could neither advance, nor retire. The confusion occasioned by this accident became then inexpressible.

Pyrrhus observing the disorder of his men, who broke forward and were drove back, like the waves of the sea, took off the glittering crest which distinguished his helmet, and caused him to be known, and then, confiding in the goodness of his horse, he sprung into the throng of the enemies who pursued him; and while he was fighting with an air of desperation, one of the adverse party advanced up to him, and pierced his cuirass with a javelin. The wound, however, was neither great nor dangerous, and Pyrrhus immediately turned upon the man from whom he received it, and who happened to be only a private soldier, the son of a poor woman of Argos. The mother beheld the combat from the top of a house, where she stood with several other women.

The moment she saw her son engaged with Pyrrhus, she almost lost her senses, and was chilled with horror at the danger to which she beheld him exposed. Amidst the impressions of her agony, she caught up a large tile, and threw it down upon Pyrrhus. The mass fell directly upon his head, and his helmet being

too weak to ward off the blow, his eyes were immediately covered with darkness, his hands dropped the reins, and he sunk down from his horse without being then observed. But he was soon discovered by a soldier, who put an end to his life, by cutting off his head.

The noise of this accident was immediately spread in all parts. Alcyonæus, the son of Antigonus, took the head from the soldier, and rid away with it full speed to his father, at whose feet he threw it; but met with a very ill reception for acting in a manner so unbecoming his rank. Antigonus, recollecting the fate of his grandfather Antigonus, and that of Demetrius his father, could not refrain from tears at so mournful a spectacle, and caused magnificent honours to be rendered to the remains of Pyrrhus. After having made himself master of his camp and army, he treated his son Helenus, and the rest of his friends, with great generosity, and sent them back to Epirus.

The title of a great captain is justly due to Pyrrhus, as he was so particularly esteemed by the Romans themselves; and especially if we consider the glorious testimony given in his favour, by a person the most worthy of belief, with regard to the merit of a warrior, and the best qualified to form a competent judgment in that particular. (i) Livy reports, from an historian whom he cites as his voucher, that Hannibal, when he was asked by Scipio, whom he thought the most able and consummate general, placed Alexander in the first rank, Pyrrhus in the second, and himself in the third.

The same general also characterised Pyrrhus, by adding, “ That he was the first who taught the art
“ of encamping; that no one was more skilful in
“ choosing his posts, and drawing up his troops;
“ that he had a peculiar art in conciliating affection,
“ and attaching people to his interest; and this to
“ such a degree, that the people of Italy were more
“ desirous of having him for their master, though a
“ stranger,

(i) Liv. l. xxxv. n. 14.

“stranger, than to be governed by the Romans themselves, who, for so many years, had held the first rank in that country.”

Pyrrhus might possibly be master of all these great qualities; but I cannot comprehend, why Hannibal should represent him as the first who taught the art of encamping. Were not several Grecian kings and generals masters of this art before him? The Romans, indeed, learnt it from him, and Hannibal's evidence extends no further. However, these extraordinary qualities alone, are not sufficient to constitute a great commander; and even proved ineffectual to him on several occasions. He was defeated by the Romans near Asculum, merely from having chosen his ground ill. He failed in his attempt on Sparta, by deferring the attack for a few hours. He lost Sicily, by his injudicious treatment of the people; and was himself killed at Argos, for venturing too rashly into an enemy's city. We might also enumerate a variety of other errors committed by him, with reference even to military affairs.

Is it not entirely inconsistent with the rank and duty of a great general, and especially of a king, to be always exposing his person, without the least precaution, like a common soldier; to charge in the foremost ranks, like a common adventurer; to be more vain of a personal action, which only shews strength and intrepidity, than a wise and attentive conduct, so essential to a general vigilant for the general safety, who never confounds his own merit and functions with those of a private soldier? We may even observe the same defects to have been very apparent, in the kings and generals of this age, who undoubtedly were led into it by the false lustre of Alexander's successful temerity.

May it not be also said, that Pyrrhus was deficient, in not observing any rule in his military enterprizes, and in plunging blindly into wars, without reflection, without cause, through temperament, passion, habit, and mere incapacity to continue in a state of tranquillity,

tranquillity, or pass any part of his time to his satisfaction, unless he was tilting with all the world? The reader will, I hope, forgive me the oddness of that expression, since a character of this nature seems, in my opinion, very much to resemble that of the heroes and knights errant of romances.

But no fault is more obvious in Pyrrhus's character, nor must have shocked my readers more, than his forming his enterprizes without the least maturity of thought, and abandoning himself, without examination, to the least appearances of success; frequently changing his views, on such slender occasions, as discover no consistency of design, and even little judgment; in a word, beginning every thing, and ending nothing. His whole life was a continued series of uncertainty, and variation; and while he suffered his restless and impetuous ambition to hurry him, at different times, into Sicily, Italy, Macedonia, and Greece, his cares and attention were employed nowhere so little as in Epirus, the land of his nativity, and his hereditary dominions. Let us then allow him the title of a great captain, if valour and intrepidity alone are sufficient to deserve it; for in these qualities, no man was ever his superior. When we behold him in his battles, we think ourselves spectators of the vivacity, intrepidity, and martial ardour of Alexander; but he certainly had not the qualities of a good king, who, when he really loves his people, makes his valour consist in their defence, his happiness in making them happy, and his glory in their peace and security.

A. M. 3730.
Ant. J. C. 274.
The reputation of the Romans beginning now to spread through foreign nations, by the war they had maintained for six years against Pyrrhus, whom at length they compelled to retire from Italy, and return ignominiously to Epirus, (k) Ptolemy Philadelphus sent ambassadors to desire their friendship; and the Romans were charmed to find it solicited by so great a king.

An

(k) Liv. Epit. l. iv. Eutrop. l. ii.

(1) An embassy was also sent from Rome to Egypt the following year, in return to the civilities of Ptolemy. The ambassadors were Q. Fabius Gurgēs, Cn. Fabius Pictor, with Numerius, his brother, and Q. Ogulnius. The disinterested air with which they appeared, sufficiently indicated the greatness of their souls. Ptolemy gave them a splendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to present each of them with a crown of gold; which they received, because they were unwilling to disoblige him by declining the honour he intended them; but they went the next morning, and placed them on the head of the king's statues erected in the publick parts of the city. The king having likewise tendered them very considerable presents, at their audience of leave, they received them as they before accepted of the crowns; but before they went to the senate, to give an account of their embassy, after their arrival at Rome, they deposited all those presents in the publick treasury, and made it evident, by so noble a conduct, that persons of honour ought, when they serve the publick, to propose no other advantage to themselves, than the honour of acquitting themselves well of their duty. The republick, however, would not suffer itself to be exceeded in generosity of sentiments. The senate and people came to a resolution, that the ambassadors, in consideration of the services they had rendered the state, should receive a sum of money equivalent to that they had deposited in the publick treasury. This, indeed, was an amiable contest between generosity and glory, and one is at a loss to know, to which of the antagonists to ascribe the victory. Where shall we now find men, who devote themselves, in such a manner, to the publick good, without any interested expectations of a return; and who enter upon employments in the state, without the least view of enriching themselves? But let me add too, where shall we find states and princes, who know how to esteem and recompence merit in this manner?

(1) Liv. Epit. l. iv. Eutrop. l. ii. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Dion. in Excerpt.

A. M.
3731.
Ant. J. C.
273.

manner? We may observe here, says an historian ^(m); three fine models set before us, in the noble liberality of Ptolemy, the disinterested spirit of the ambassadors, and the grateful equity of the Romans.

SECT. VIII. *Athens besieged and taken by ANTIGONUS.*

The just punishment inflicted on SOTADES, a satyrick

poet. The revolt of MAGUS from PHILADELPHUS.

The death of PHILATERES, founder of the kingdom of

Pergamus. The death of ANTIOCHUS SOTER. He

is succeeded by his son ANTIOCHUS, surnamed THEUS.

The wise measures taken by PTOLEMY for the im-

provement of commerce. An accommodation effected

between MAGUS and PHILADELPHUS. The death of

the former. The war between ANTIOCHUS and PTO-

LEMY. The revolt of the East against ANTIOCHUS.

Peace restored between the two kings. The death of

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.

THE Greeks, after they had been subjected by the Macedonians, and rendered dependent on their authority, seemed, by losing their liberty, to have been also divested of that courage, and greatness of soul, by which they had been till then so eminently distinguished from other people. They appeared entirely changed, and to have lost all similitude to their ancient character. Sparta, that was once so bold and imperious, and in a manner possessed of the sovereignty of all Greece, patiently bowed down her neck, at last, beneath a foreign yoke; and we shall soon behold her subjected to domestick tyrants, who will treat her with the utmost cruelty. We shall see Athens, once so jealous of her liberty, and so formidable to the most powerful kings, running headlong into slavery, and, as she changes her masters, successively paying them the homage of the basest and most abject adulation. Each of these cities will, from time to time, make some efforts to reinstate themselves in their ancient liberties, but impetuously, and without success.

Antigonus

(m) Valerius Maximus,

(a) Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia, became very powerful, some years after the death of Pyrrhus, and thereby formidable to the states of Greece: The Lacedæmonians, therefore, entered into a league with the Athenians against him, and engaged Ptolemy Philadelphus to accede to it. Antigonus, in order to frustrate the confederacy which these two states had formed against him, and to prevent the consequences that might result from it, immediately began hostilities with the siege of Athens; but Ptolemy soon sent a fleet thither, under the command of Patroclus, one of his generals; while Areus, king of Lacedæmon, put himself at the head of an army to succour that city by land. Patroclus, as soon as he arrived before the place, advised Areus to attack the enemy, and promised to make a descent, at the same time, in order to assault them in the rear. This counsel was very judicious, and could not have failed of success, had it been carried into execution; but Areus, who wanted provisions for his troops, thought it more adviseable to return to Sparta. The fleet, therefore, being incapable of acting alone, sailed back to Egypt, without doing any thing. This is the usual inconvenience to which troops of different nations are exposed, when they are commanded by chiefs who have neither any subordination, nor good intelligence, between them. Athens, thus abandoned by her allies, became a prey to Antigonus, who put a garrison into it.

(b) Patroclus happened, in his return, to stop at Caunus, a maritime city of Caria, where he met with Sotades, a poet universally decried for the unbounded licence, both of his muse, and his manners. His satirick poetry never spared either his best friends, or the most worthy persons; and even the sacred characters of kings were not exempted from his malignity. When he was at the court of Lyfimachus, he affected to blacken the reputation of Ptolemy by atrocious calumny;

(a) Justin. l. xxvi. c. 2. Pausan. in Lacon. p. 168. & in Attic. p. 1.

(b) Athen. l. xiv. p. 620, 621.

A. M.
3736.
Ant. J. C.
268.

A. M.
3737.
Ant. J. C.
267.

calumny; and when he was entertained by this latter, he traduced Lyfimachus in the same manner. He had composed a virulent satyr against Ptolemy; wherein he inserted many cutting reflections on his marriage with Arsinoë, his own sister; he afterwards fled from Alexandria, to save himself from the resentment of that prince. Patroclus thought it his duty to make an example of a wretch who had affronted his master in such an insolent manner; he accordingly caused a weight of lead to be fastened to his body, and then ordered him to be thrown into the sea. The generality of poets who profess satyr, are a dangerous and detestable race of men, who have renounced all probity and shame, and whose quill, dipped in the bitterest gall, respects neither rank, nor virtue.

A. M.

3739.

Ant. J. C.

265.

(c) The affairs of Ptolemy were greatly perplexed by a revolt excited in Egypt, by a prince from whom he never suspected any such treatment. Magas, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, having set up the standard of rebellion against Ptolemy, his master and benefactor, caused himself to be proclaimed king of those provinces. Ptolemy and he were brothers by the same mother; for the latter was the son of Berenice and Philip, a Macedonian officer, who was her husband before she was espoused to Ptolemy Soter. Her solicitations, therefore, obtained for him this government, when she was advanced to the honours of a crown, upon the death of Ophellas, as I have formerly observed. Magas had so well established himself in his government, by long possession, and by his marriage with Apamia, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, that he endeavoured to render himself independent; and as ambition is a boundless passion, his pretensions rose still higher. He was not contented with wresting from his brother the two provinces he governed, but formed a resolution to dethrone him. With this view he advanced into Egypt, at the head of a great army, and, in his march towards

wards Alexandria, made himself master of Paretonion, a city of Marmorica.

The intelligence he received of the revolt of the Marmarides in Libya, prevented him from proceeding any farther in this expedition; and he immediately returned to regulate the disorders in his provinces. Ptolemy, who had marched an army to the frontiers, had now a favourable opportunity of attacking him in his retreat, and entirely defeating his troops; but a new danger called him to another quarter. He detected a conspiracy which had been formed against him, by four thousand Gauls, whom he had taken into his pay, and who intended no less than to drive him out of Egypt, and seize it for themselves. In order, therefore, to frustrate their design, he found himself obliged to return to Egypt, where he drew the conspirators into an island in the Nile, and shut them up so effectually there, that they all perished by famine, except those who chose rather to destroy one another, than languish out their lives in that miserable manner.

Magas, as soon as he had calmed the troubles which occasioned his return, renewed his designs on Egypt, and, in order to succeed more effectually, engaged his father-in-law, Antiochus Soter, to enter into his plan: It was then resolved, that Antiochus should attack Ptolemy on one side, while Magas invaded him on the other; but Ptolemy, who had secret intelligence of his treaty, prevented Antiochus in his design; and gave him so much employment in all his maritime provinces, by repeated descents, and the devastations made by the troops he sent into those parts, that this prince was obliged to continue in his own dominions, to concert measures for their defence; and Magas, who expected a diversion to be made in his favour by Antiochus, thought it not adviseable to enter upon any action, when he perceived his ally had not made the effort on which he depended.

A. M.
3740.
Ant. J. C.
264.

A. M. (d) Phileteres, who founded the kingdom of Pergamus, died the following year, at the age of four-score. He was an eunuch, and originally a servant of Docimus, an officer in the army of Antigonus; who having quitted that prince, to enter into the service of Lyfimachus, was soon followed by Phileteres. Lyfimachus finding him a person of great capacity, made him his treasurer, and entrusted him with the government of the city of Pergamus, in which his treasures were deposited. He served Lyfimachus very faithfully in this post for several years: But his attachment to the interest of Agathocles, the eldest son of Lyfimachus, who was destroyed by the intrigues of Arsinoe the younger, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, as I have formerly related; and the affliction he testified at the tragical death of that prince, caused him to be suspected by the young queen; and she accordingly took measures to destroy him. Phileteres, who was sensible of her intentions, resolved upon a revolt, and succeeded in his design, by the protection of Seleucus; after which he supported himself in the possession of the city and treasures of Lyfimachus; favoured in his views by the troubles which arose upon the death of that prince, and that of Seleucus, which happened seven months after. He conducted his affairs with so much art and capacity, amidst all the divisions of the successors of those two princes, that he preserved the city, with all the country around it, for the space of twenty years, and formed it into a state, which subsisted for several generations in his family, and became one of the most potent states of Asia. He had two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, the former of whom, who was the eldest, had a son named also Eumenes, who succeeded his uncle, and reigned twenty-two years.

In this year began the first Punick war, which continued for the space of twenty-four years, between the Romans and the Carthaginians.

Nicomedes,

(d) Strab. l. xiii. p. 623, 624. Pausan. in Att. p. 13, & 18.

(e) Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having built a city near the place where Aftacus, which Lyfimachus destroyed, had formerly stood, called it Nicomedia, from his own name. Great mention is made of it in the history of the Lower Empire, because several of the Roman emperors resided there.

A. M.
3742.
Ant. J. C.
262.

Antiochus Soter was desirous to improve the death of Phileteres to his own advantage, and take that opportunity to seize his dominions; but Eumenes, his nephew and successor, raised a fine army for his defence, and obtained such a compleat victory over him near Sardis, as not only secured him the possession of what he already enjoyed, but enabled him to enlarge his dominions considerably.

(f) Antiochus returned to Antioch after this defeat, where he ordered * one of his sons to be put to death, for raising a commotion in his absence, and caused the other, whose name was the same as his own, to be proclaimed king; shortly after which he died, and left him all his dominions. This young prince was his son by Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius, who, from his mother-in-law, became his consort, as I have formerly observed.

A. M.
3743.
Ant. J. C.
261.

(g) Antiochus the son, when he came to the crown, was espoused to Laodice, his sister by the father. He afterward assumed the surname of Theos, which signifies God, and distinguishes him, at this day, from the other kings of Syria, who were called by the name of Antiochus. The Milesians were the first who conferred it upon him, to testify their gratitude for his delivering them from the tyranny of Timarchus, governor of Caria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was not only master of Egypt, but of Cœlo-syria, and Palestine, with the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia,

A. M.
3744.
Ant. J. C.
260.

B b 2

(e) Pausan. Eliac. I. p. 405. Euseb. in Chron. Trebell. Pollio in Gallien. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 9. Memn. c. xxi. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. (f) Trog. in Prologo. l. xxvi. (g) Polyæn. Stratag. l. viii. c. 50. Appian. in Syriac. p. 230. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1.

* Mr. La Nauze affirms, that may consult Tome VII. of the there is an error in this abridgment Memoirs of the Academy of In- of Trogus Pompeius. The reader scriptions.

Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, in Asia minor. Timarchus revolted from his sovereign, and chose Miletus for the seat of his residence. The Milesians, in order to free themselves from this tyrant, had recourse to Antiochus, who defeated and killed him. In acknowledgment for which they rendered him divine honours, and even conferred upon him the title of *God*. With such impious flattery was it usual to treat the reigning princes of those ages! (b) The Lemnians had likewise bestowed the same title on his father and grandfather, and did not scruple to erect temples to their honour; and the people of Smyrna were altogether as obsequious to his mother Stratonice.

(i) Berofus, the famous historian of Babylon, flourished in the beginning of this prince's reign, and dedicated his history to him. Pliny informs us, that it contained the astronomical observations of four hundred and eighty years. When the Macedonians were masters of Babylon, Berofus made himself acquainted with their language, and went first to Cos, which had been rendered famous by the birth of Hippocrates, and there established a school, in which he taught astronomy and astrology. From Cos he proceeded to Athens, where, notwithstanding the vanity of his art, he acquired so much reputation by his astrological predictions, that the citizens erected a statue to him, with a tongue of gold (k), in the Gymnasium, where the youths performed all their exercise. Josephus and Eusebius have transmitted to us some excellent fragments of this history, that illustrate several passages in the Old Testament, and without which it would be impossible to trace any exact succession of the kings of Babylon.

A. M. 3745. Ant. J. C. 259. Ptolemy being solicitous to enrich his kingdom, conceived an expedient to draw into it all the maritime commerce of the East; which, till then, had been in the possession of the Tyrians, who transacted it by sea, as far as Elath; and from thence, by land, to Rhinocorura,

(b) Athen. l. vi. p. 255. (i) Tatian. in Orat. con. Græc. p. 171, Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Vitruv. 9. 7. (k) Plin. 737.

Rhinocorura, and from this last place, by sea again, to the city of Tyre. Elath and Rhinocorura were two sea-ports; the first on the eastern shore of the Red-sea, and the second on the extremity of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Palestine, and near the mouths of the river of Egypt.

(1) Ptolemy, in order to draw this commerce into his own kingdom, thought it necessary to found a city on the western shore of the Red-sea, from whence the ships were to set out. He accordingly built it, almost on the frontiers of Ethiopia, and gave it the name of his mother Berenice; but the port not being very commodious, that of Myos-Hormos was preferred, as being very near, and much better; and all the commodities of Arabia, India, Persia, and Ethiopia, were conveyed thither. From thence they were transported on camels to Coptus, where they were again shipped, and brought down the Nile to Alexandria, which transmitted them to all the West, in exchange for its merchandize, which was afterward exported to the East. But as the passage from Coptus to the Red-sea lay cross the desarts, where no water could be procured, and which had neither cities nor houses to lodge the caravans; Ptolemy, in order to remedy this inconvenience, caused a canal to be opened along the great road, and to communicate with the Nile that supplied it with water. On the edge of this canal houses were erected, at proper distances, for the reception of passengers, and to supply them and their beasts of burden with all necessary accommodations.

As useful as all these labours were, Ptolemy did not think them sufficient; for, as he intended to engross all the traffick between the East and West into his dominions, he thought his plan would be imperfect, unless he could protect what he had facilitated in other respects. With this view, he caused two fleets to be fitted out, one for the Red-sea, and the

B b 3

other

(1) Strab. xxvii. p. 815. Plin. l. vi. c. 23.

other for the Mediterranean. (*m*) This last was extremely fine, and some of the vessels which composed it, much exceeded the common size. Two of them, in particular, had thirty benches of oars; one twenty; four rowed with fourteen; two with twelve; fourteen with eleven; thirty with nine; thirty-seven with seven; five with six, and seventeen with five. The number of the whole amounted to a hundred and twelve vessels. He had as many more, with four and three benches of oars, beside a prodigious number of small vessels. With this formidable fleet he not only protected his commerce from all insults; but kept in subjection, as long as he lived, most of the maritime provinces of Asia minor, as Cilicia, for instance, with Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, as far as the Cyclades.

A. M. 3746.
Ant. J. C. 258. Magas, king of Cyrene and Libya, growing very aged and infirm, caused overtures of accommodation to be tendered to his brother Ptolemy, with the proposal of a marriage between Berenice, his only daughter, and the eldest son of the king of Egypt; and a promise to give her all his dominions for her dowry. The negotiation succeeded, and a peace was concluded on those terms.

A. M. 3747.
Ant. J. C. 257. (*n*) Magas, however, died before the execution of the treaty, having continued in the government of Libya, and Cyrenaica, for the space of fifty years. Toward the close of his days, he abandoned himself to pleasure, and particularly to excess at his table, which greatly impaired his health. His widow Apamia, whom Justin calls Arsinoe, resolved, after his death, to break off her daughter's marriage with the son of Ptolemy, as it had been concluded without her consent. With this view, she employed persons in Macedonia to invite Demetrius, the uncle of king Antigonus Gonatus, to come to her court, assuring him, at the same time, that her daughter and crown should be his. Demetrius arrived there in a short time,

(*m*) Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. Athen. l. v. p. 203. (*n*) Athen. l. xii. p. 550. Justin. l. xxvi. c. 3.

time, but as soon as Apamia beheld him, she contracted a violent passion for him, and resolved to espouse him herself. From that moment he neglected the daughter, to engage himself to the mother; and as he imagined that her favour raised him above all things, he began to treat the young princess, as well as the ministers and officers of the army, in such an insolent and imperious manner, that they formed a resolution to destroy him. Berenice herself conducted the conspirators to the door of her mother's apartment, where they stabbed him in his bed, though Apamia employed all her efforts to save him, and even covered him with her own body. Berenice, after this, went to Egypt, where her marriage with Ptolemy was consummated, and Apamia was sent to her brother Antiochus Theos, in Syria.

(o) The princess had the art to exasperate her brother so effectually against Ptolemy, that she at last spirited him up to a war, which continued for a long space of time, and was productive of fatal consequences to Antiochus, as will be evident in the sequel. A. M. 3748.
Ant. J. C. 256.

(p) Ptolemy did not place himself at the head of his army, his declining state of health not permitting him to expose himself to the fatigues of a campaign, and the inconveniencies of a camp; for which reason he left the war to the conduct of his generals. Antiochus, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field at the head of all the forces of Babylon and the East, and with a resolution to carry on the war with the utmost vigour. History has not preserved the particulars of what passed in that campaign, or perhaps the advantages obtained on either side were not very considerable. A. M. 3749.
Ant. J. C. 255.

(q) Ptolemy did not forget to improve his library, notwithstanding the war, and continually enriched it with new books. He was exceedingly curious in pictures and designs by great masters. Aratus, the famous Sicyonian, was one of those who collected for A. M. 3750.
Ant. J. C. 254.

B b 4

him

(o) Hieron. in Daniel. (p) Strab. l. xvii. p. 789. Hieron. in Daniel. (q) Plut. in Arat. p. 1031.

him in Greece; and he had the good fortune to gratify the taste of that prince for those works of art to such a degree, that Ptolemy entertained a friendship for him, and presented him with twenty-five talents, which he expended in the relief of the necessitous Sicyonians, and in the redemption of such of them as were detained in captivity.

A. M. While Antiochus was employed in his war with
 3754. Egypt, a great insurrection was fomented in the East,
 Ant. J. C. and which his remoteness at that time rendered him
 250. incapable of preventing with the necessary expedition. The revolt, therefore, daily gathered strength, till it at last became incapable of remedy. These troubles gave birth to the Parthian empire.

(r) The cause of these commotions proceeded from Agathocles, governor of the Parthian dominions for Antiochus. This officer attempted to offer violence to a youth of the country, whose name was Tiridates; upon which Arsaces, the brother of the boy, a person of low extraction, but great courage and honour, assembled some of his friends, in order to deliver his brother from the brutality intended him. They accordingly fell upon the governor, killed him on the spot, and then fled for safety with several persons whom they had drawn together for their defence against the pursuit to which such a bold proceeding would inevitably expose them. Their party grew so numerous, by the negligence of Antiochus, that Arsaces soon found himself strong enough to drive the Macedonians out of that province, and assume the government himself. The Macedonians had always continued masters of it, from the death of Alexander; first, under Eumenes, then under Antigonus, next under Seleucus Nicator, and lastly under Antiochus.

(s) Much about the same time, Theodotus also revolted in Bactriana, and, from a governor, became king of that province; after which he subjected the thousand cities it contained, while Antiochus was
 amusing

(r) Arrian. in Parth. apud Phot. Cod. 58. Syncell. p. 284. Justin. l. xli. c. 4. Strab. l. xi. p. 515. (s) Justin. & Strab. ibid.

amusing himself with the Egyptian war; and strengthened himself so effectually in his new acquisitions, that it became impossible to reduce him afterwards. This example was followed by all the other nations in those parts, each of whom threw off the yoke at the same time; by which means Antiochus lost all the eastern provinces of his empire beyond the Tigris. This event happened, according to Justin, when L. Manlius Vulso, and * M. Atilius Regulus, were consuls at Rome; that is to say, the fourteenth year of the first Punick war.

(t) The troubles and revolts in the East, made Antiochus at last desirous to disengage himself from the war with Ptolemy. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded between them; and the conditions of it were, that Antiochus should divorce Laodice, and espouse Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy; that he should also disinherit his issue by the first marriage, and secure the crown to his children by the second. Antiochus, after the ratification of the treaty, repudiated Laodice, though she was his sister by the father's side, and had brought him two sons: Ptolemy then embarked at Pelusium, and conducted his daughter to Seleucia, a maritime city, near the mouth of the Orontes, a river of Syria. Antiochus came thither to receive his bride, and the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence. Ptolemy had a tender affection for his daughter, and gave orders to have regular supplies of water from the Nile transmitted to her; believing it better for her health than any other water whatever, and therefore he was desirous she should drink none but that. When marriages are contracted from no other motives than political views, and are founded on such unjust conditions, they are generally attended with calamitous and fatal events.

These particulars of the marriage of Antiochus with the daughter of Ptolemy, were evidently foretold by

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(t) Hieron. in Dan. x. Polyæn. Strab. l. viii. c. 50. Athen. l. ii. p. 45.

* In all facts he is called G. Atilius.

by the prophet Daniel. I shall here repeat the beginning of this prophecy, which has already been explained elsewhere, that the reader may at once behold and admire the prediction of the greatest events in history, and their literal accomplishment at the appointed time.

(u) *I will now shew thee the truth.* These words were spoken to Daniel, on the part of God, by the man cloathed in linen. *Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia*; namely, Cyrus, who was then upon the throne; his son Cambyfes; and Darius, the son of Hystaspes. *And the fourth shall be far richer than they all: And by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Greece.* The monarch here meant was Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a very formidable army.

(x) *And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will.* In this part of the prophecy we may easily trace Alexander the Great.

(y) *And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken (by his death) and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: For his kingdom shall be pluckt up, even for others beside those; namely, beside the four greater princes.* We have already seen the vast empire of Alexander * parcelled out into four great kingdoms; without including those foreign princes who founded other kingdoms in Cappadocia, Armenia, Bithynia, Heraclea, and on the Bosphorus. All this was present to Daniel.

The prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and the marriage we have already mentioned.

(z) *The king of the South shall be strong, and one of his princes, and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion: His dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for*
the

(u) Dan. xi. 2. (x) Ver. 3. (y) Ver. 4. (z) Ver. 5, 6.

* Tum maximum in terris in multa regna, dum ad se quis Macedonum regnum nomenque, que opes rapiunt lacerantes viri inde morte Alexandri distractum bus. Liv. l. xlv. n. 9.

the king's daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement: But he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times.

It will be necessary to observe, that Daniel, in this passage, and through all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himself to the kings of Egypt and Syria, because they were the only princes who engaged in wars against the people of God.

(a) *The king of the South shall be strong.* This king of the South was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, king of Egypt; and *the king of the North* was Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria. And, indeed, such was their exact situation with respect to Judæa, which has Syria to the North, and Egypt to the South.

According to Daniel, the king of Egypt, who first reigned in that country after the death of Alexander, was Ptolemy Soter, whom he calls *the king of the South*, and declares, that *he shall be strong*. The exactness of this character is fully justified by what we have seen in his history: For he was master of Egypt, Libya, Cyrenaica, Arabia, Palæstine, Cœlo-syria, and most of the maritime provinces of Asia minor; with the island of Cyprus; as also several isles in the Ægean sea, which is now called the Archipelago; and even some cities of Greece, as Sicyon and Corinth.

(b) The prophet, after this, mentions another of the four successors to this empire, whom he calls *Princes, or Governors*. This was Seleucus Nicator, *the king of the North*; of whom he declares, that *he shall be more powerful than the king of the South, and his dominion more extensive*: For this is the import of the prophet's expression, *he shall be strong above him, and have dominion*. It is easy to prove, that his territories were of greater extent than those of the king of Egypt; for he was master of all the East, from mount Taurus to

to the river Indus; and also of several provinces in Asia minor, between mount Taurus and the Ægean sea; to which he added Thrace and Macedonia, a little before his death.

(c) Daniel then informs us, *that the daughter of the king of the South came to the king of the North, and mentions the treaty of peace, which was concluded on this occasion between the two kings.* This evidently points out the marriage of Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, with Antigonus Theos, king of Syria, and the peace concluded between them in consideration of this alliance; every circumstance of which exactly happened according to the prediction before us. The sequel of this history will shew us the fatal event of this marriage, which was also foretold by the prophet.

In the remaining part of the chapter, he relates the most remarkable events of future times, under these two races of kings, to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the great persecutor of the Jewish nation. I shall be careful, as these events occur in the series of this history, to apply the prophecy of Daniel to them, that the reader may observe the exact accomplishment of each prediction.

In the mean time, I cannot but acknowledge in this place, with admiration, the divinity so visible in the scriptures, which have related, in so particular a manner, a variety of singular and extraordinary facts, above three hundred years before they were transacted. What an immense chain of events extends from the prophecy to the time of its accomplishment; by the breaking of any single link, the whole would be disconcerted! With respect to the marriage alone, what hand, but that of the Almighty, could have conducted so many different views, intrigues, and passions, to the same point? What knowledge but this could, with so much certainty, have foreseen such a number of distinct circumstances, subject not only to the freedom of will, but even to the irregular impressions

pressions of caprice? And what man but must adore that sovereign power which God exercises, in a secret certain manner, over kings and princes, whose very crimes he renders subservient to the execution of his sacred will, and the accomplishment of his eternal decrees; in which all events, both general and particular, have their appointed time and place fixed beyond the possibility of failing, even those which depend the most on the choice and liberty of mankind?

(d) As Ptolemy was curious, to an uncommon degree, in the statues, designs, and pictures, of excellent masters, as he also was in books; he saw, during the time he continued in Syria, a statue of Diana, in one of the temples, which suited his taste exceedingly. Antigonus made him a present of it, at his request, and he carried it into Egypt. Some time after his return, Arsinoe was seized with an indisposition, and dreamt that Diana appeared to her, and acquainted her, that Ptolemy was the occasion of her illness, by his having taken her statue out of the temple where it was consecrated to her divinity. Upon this, the statue was sent back, as soon as possible, to Syria, in order to be replaced in the proper temple. It was also accompanied with rich presents to the goddess, and a variety of sacrifices were offered up to appease her displeasure; but they were not succeeded by any favourable effect. The queen's distemper was so far from abating, that she died in a short time, and left Ptolemy inconsolable at her loss; and more so, because he imputed her death to his own indiscretion, in removing the statue of Diana out of the temple.

This passion for statues, pictures, and other excellent curiosities of art, may be very commendable in a prince, and other great men, when indulged to a certain degree; but when a person abandons himself to it entirely, it degenerates into a dangerous temptation, and frequently prompts him to notorious injustice and violence. This is evident by what Cicero relates of

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of Verres, who practised a kind of piracy in Sicily; where he was prætor, by stripping private houses and temples, of all their finest and most valuable curiosities. But though a person should have no recourse to such base extremities, it is still very shocking and offensive, says Cicero, to say to a person of distinction, worth and fortune, *Sell me this picture, or that statue**, since it is, in effect, declaring, *you are unworthy to have such an admirable piece in your possession, which suits only a person of my rank and taste.* I mention nothing of the enormous expences into which a man is drawn by this passion; for these exquisite pieces have no price but what the desire of possessing them sets upon them, and that we know has no bounds†.

Though Arsinoe was older than Ptolemy, and too infirm to have any children, when he espoused her; he however retained a constant and tender passion for her at the last, and rendered all imaginable honours to her memory, after her death. He gave her name to several cities, which he caused to be built, and performed a number of other remarkable things, to testify how well he loved her.

(e) Nothing could be more extraordinary than the design he formed of erecting a temple to her, at Alexandria, with a dome rising above it, the concave part of which was to be lined with adamant, in order to keep an iron statue of that queen suspended in the air. This plan of building was invented by Dinocrates, a famous architect in those times; and the moment he proposed it to Ptolemy, that prince gave orders for beginning the work without delay. The experiment, however, remained imperfect, for want of sufficient time; for Ptolemy and the architect dying within a very short time after this resolution, the project was entirely

(e) Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 14.

* Superbum est & non ferendum, dicere prætorem in provincia homini honesto, locupleti, splendido; vende mihi vasa cœlata. Hoc est enim dicere: non es dignus tu, qui habeas quæ tam bene facta sunt. Mæx dig-

nitatis ista sunt. Cic. orat. de signis, n. 45.

† Etenim, qui modus est cupiditatis, idem est æstimationis. Difficile est enim finem facere pretio, nisi libidini feceris. Id. n. 24.

entirely discontinued. It has long been said, and even believed, that the body of Mahomet was suspended in this manner, in an iron coffin, by a loadstone fixed in the vaulted roof of the chamber where his corpse was deposited after his death; but this is a mere vulgar error, without the least foundation.

(f) Ptolemy Philadelphus survived his beloved Arsinoe but a short time. He was naturally of a tender constitution, and the soft manner of life he led, contributed to the decay of his health. The infirmities of old age, and his affliction for the loss of a consort whom he loved to adoration, brought upon him a languishing disorder, which ended his days, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign. (g) He left two sons and a daughter, whom he had by his first wife Arsinoe, the daughter of Lyfimachus, a different person from the last-mentioned queen of that name. His eldest son, Ptolemy Evergetes, succeeded him in the throne; the second bore the name of Lyfimachus his grandfather by the mother, and was put to death by his brother for engaging in a rebellion against him. The name of the daughter was Berenice, whose marriage with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, has already been related.

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SECT. IX. *Character and qualities of* PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.

PTOLEMY Philadelphus had certainly great and excellent qualities; and yet we cannot propose him as a perfect model of a good king, because those qualities were counterpoised by defects altogether as considerable. He dishonoured the first period of his reign, by his resentment against a man of uncommon merit, I mean Demetrius Phalereus, because he had given some advice to his father, contrary to the interest of Philadelphus, but entirely conformable to equity and natural right. His immense riches soon drew after them a train of luxury and effeminate pleasures, the usual concomitants of such high fortunes, which

(f) Athen. l. xii. p. 10. (g) Canon. Ptolem. Astron.

which contributed not a little to emasculate his mind. He was not very industrious in cultivating the military virtues; but we must acknowledge, at the same time, that a remissness of this nature is not always a misfortune to a people.

He, however, made an ample compensation for this neglect, by his love of the arts and sciences, and his generosity to learned men. The fame of his liberalities invited several illustrious poets to his court, particularly Callimachus, Lycophron, and Theocritus; the last of whom gives him very lofty praises in some of his *Idyllia*. We have already seen his extraordinary taste for books; and it is certain, that he spared no expence in the augmentation and embellishment of the library founded by his father, and from whence both those princes have derived as much glory, as could have redounded to them from the greatest conquests. As Philadelphus had abundance of wit, and his happy genius had been carefully cultivated by great masters, he always retained a peculiar taste for the sciences, but in such a manner, as suited the dignity of a prince; as he never suffered them to engross his whole attention, but regulated his propensity to those grateful amusements, by prudence and moderation. In order to perpetuate this taste in his dominions, he erected publick schools and academies at Alexandria, where they long flourished in great reputation. He loved to converse with men of learning; and as the greatest masters in every kind of science were emulous to obtain his favour, he extracted from each of them, if I may use that expression, the flower and quintessence of the sciences in which they excelled. This is the inestimable advantage which princes and great men possess; and happy are they when they know how to use the opportunity of acquiring, in agreeable conversations, a thousand things, not only curious, but useful and important, with respect to government.

This intercourse of Philadelphus with learned men, and his care to place the arts in honour, may be considered as the source of those measures he pursued,

through the course of his long reign, to make commerce flourish in his dominions; and in which attempt no prince ever succeeded more effectually than himself. The greatest expences, in this particular, could never discourage him from persisting in what he proposed to accomplish. We have already observed, that he built whole cities, in order to protect and facilitate his intended traffick; that he opened a very long canal through deserts destitute of water; and maintained a very numerous and compleat navy in each of the two seas, merely for the defence of his merchants. His principal point in view was to secure to strangers all imaginable safety and freedom in his ports, without any impositions on trade, or the least intention of turning it from its proper channel, in order to make it subservient to his own particular interest; as he was persuaded, that commerce was like some springs, that soon cease to flow, when diverted from their natural course.

These were views worthy of a great prince, and a consummate politician, and their lasting effects were infinitely beneficial to his kingdom. They have even continued to our days, strengthened by the principles of their first establishment, after a duration of above two thousand years; opening a perpetual flow of new riches, and new commodities of every kind, into all nations; drawing continually from them a return of voluntary contributions; uniting the East and West by the mutual supply of their respective wants; and establishing on this basis a commerce that has constantly supported itself from age to age without interruption. Those great conquerors and celebrated heroes, whose merit has been so highly extolled, not to mention the ravages and desolation they have occasioned to mankind, have scarce left behind them any traces of the conquests and acquisitions they have made for aggrandizing their empires; or at least those traces have not been durable, and the revolutions to which the most potent states are obnoxious, divest them of their conquests in a short time, and transfer them to

others. On the contrary, the commerce of Egypt, established thus by Philadelphus, instead of being shaken by time, has rather increased through a long succession of ages, and become daily more useful and indispensable to all nations. So that, when we trace it up to its source, we shall be sensible that this prince ought to be considered not only as the benefactor of Egypt, but of all mankind in general, to the latest posterity.

What we have already observed, in the history of Philadelphus, with respect to the inclination of the neighbouring people to transplant themselves in crowds into Egypt, preferring a residence in a foreign land to the natural affection of mankind for their native soil, is another glorious panegyrick on this prince; as the most essential duty of kings, and the most grateful pleasure they can possibly enjoy, amidst the splendors of a throne, is to gain the love of mankind, and to make their government desirable. Ptolemy was sensible, as an able politician, that the only sure expedient for extending his dominions, without any act of violence, was to multiply his subjects, and attach them to his government, by their interest and inclination; to cause the land to be cultivated in a better manner; to make arts and manufactures flourish; and to augment, by a thousand judicious measures, the power of a prince and his kingdom, whose real strength consists in the multitude of his subjects.

C H A P. III.

SECT. I. ANTIOCHUS THEOS *is poisoned by his queen LAODICE, who causes SELEUCUS CALLINICUS to be declared king. She also destroys BERENICE and her son. PTOLEMY EVERGETES avenges their death, by that of LAODICE, and seizes part of Asia. ANTIOCHUS HIERAX, and SELEUCUS his brother, unite against PTOLEMY. The death of ANTIGONUS GONATAS, king of Macedonia. He is succeeded by his son DEMETRIUS. The war between the two brothers, ANTIOCHUS and SELEUCUS. The death of EUMENES, king of Pergamus. ATTALUS succeeds him. The establishment of the Parthian empire by ARSACES. ANTIOCHUS is slain by robbers. SELEUCUS is taken prisoner by the Parthians. Credit of JOSEPH, the nephew of ONIAS, with PTOLEMY. The death of DEMETRIUS, king of Macedonia. ANTIGONUS seizes the throne of that prince. The death of SELEUCUS.*

(a) **A**S soon as Antiochus Theos had received intelligence of the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, his father-in-law, he divorced Berenice, and recalled Laodice and her children. This lady, who knew the variable disposition and inconstancy of Antiochus, and was apprehensive that the same levity of mind would induce him to supplant her, by receiving Berenice again, resolved to improve the present opportunity to secure the crown for her son. Her own children were disinherited by the treaty made with Ptolemy; by which it was also stipulated, that the issue Berenice might have by Antiochus, should succeed to the throne, and she then had a son. Laodice, therefore, caused Antiochus to be poisoned; and when she saw him expiring, she placed in his bed a person, named Artemon, who very much resembled him both in his features and the tone of his voice. He was there to act the part she had occasion for, and acquit-

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(a) Hieron. in Daniel. Plin. l. vii. c. 12. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 14. Solin. c. i. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1.

ted himself with great dexterity ; taking great care, in the few visits that were rendered him, to recommend his dear Laodice and her children to the lords and people. In his name were issued orders, by which his eldest son Seleucus Callinicus was appointed his successor. His death was then declared, upon which Seleucus peaceably ascended the throne, and enjoyed it for the space of twenty years. It appears by the sequel, that his brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, had the government of the provinces of Asia minor, where he commanded a very considerable body of troops.

Laodice, not believing herself safe as long as Berenice and her son lived, concerted measures with Seleucus to destroy them also ; but that princess being informed of their design, escaped the danger for some time, by retiring with her son to Daphne, where she shut herself up in the asylum built by Seleucus Nicator : But being at last betrayed by the perfidy of those who besieged her there by the order of Laodice, first her son, and then herself, with all the Egyptians who had accompanied her to that retreat, were murdered in the blackest and most inhuman manner.

This event was an exact accomplishment of what the prophet Daniel had foretold, with relation to this marriage. *(b) The king's daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement : But he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm ; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times.* I am not surprised that Porphyry, who was a professed enemy to Christianity, should represent these prophecies of Daniel, as predictions made after the several events to which they refer ; for could they possibly be clearer, if he had even been a spectator of the acts he foretold ?

What probability was there that Egypt and Syria, which, in the time of Daniel, constituted part of the Babylonian empire, as tributary provinces, should

each of them be governed by kings who originally sprung from Greece? And yet the prophet saw them established in those dominions above three hundred years before that happened. He beheld these two kings in a state of war, and saw them afterward reconciled by a treaty of peace ratified by a marriage. He also observed, that it was the king of Egypt, and not the king of Syria, who cemented the union between them by the gift of his daughter. He saw her conducted from Egypt to Syria, in a pompous and magnificent manner; but was sensible that this event would be succeeded by a strange catastrophe. In a word, he discovered that the issue of this princess, notwithstanding all the express precautions in the treaty for securing their succession to the crown, in exclusion of the children by a former marriage, were so far from ascending the throne, that they were entirely exterminated; and that the new queen herself was delivered up to her rival, who caused her to be destroyed, with all the officers who conducted her out of Egypt into Syria, and, till then, had been her strength and support. "Great God! how worthy
 "are thy oracles to be believed and revered!"

Testimonia tua credibile facta sunt nimis.

Whilst Berenice was besieged and blocked up in Daphne, the cities of Asia minor, who had received intelligence of her treatment, were touched with compassion at her misfortune: In consequence of which they formed a confederacy, and sent a body of troops to Antioch for her relief. Her brother Ptolemy Evergetes was also as expeditious as possible to advance thither with a formidable army; but the unhappy Berenice and her children were dead before any of these auxiliary troops could arrive at the place where the siege had been carried on against her. When they therefore saw that all their endeavours to save the queen and her children were rendered ineffectual, they immediately determined to revenge her death in a remarkable manner. The troops of Asia joined those of Egypt, and Ptolemy, who commanded them, was as

successful as he could desire in the satisfaction of his just resentment. The criminal proceeding of Laodice, and of the king her son, who had made himself an accomplice in her barbarity, soon alienated the affection of the people from them; and Ptolemy not only caused Laodice to suffer death, but made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia; after which he passed the Euphrates, and conquered all the country as far as Babylon and the Tigris: And if the progress of his arms had not been interrupted by a sedition which obliged him to return to Egypt, he would certainly have subdued all the provinces of the Syrian empire. He, however, left Antiochus, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had gained on this side of mount Taurus; and Xantippus was entrusted with those that lay beyond it: Ptolemy then marched back to Egypt, loaded with the spoils he had acquired by his conquests.

This prince carried off forty thousand * talents of silver, with a prodigious quantity of gold and silver vessels, and two thousand five hundred statues, part of which were those Egyptian idols, that Cambyſes, after his conquest of this kingdom, had sent into Persia. Ptolemy gained the hearts of his subjects by replacing those idols in their ancient temples, when he returned from this expedition: For the Egyptians, who were more devoted to their superstitious idolatry than all the rest of mankind, thought they could not sufficiently express their veneration and gratitude to a king, who had restored their gods to them in such a manner. Ptolemy derived from this action the title of *Evergetes*, which signifies a *Benefactor*, and is infinitely preferable to all appellations which conquerors have assumed from a false idea of glory. An epithet of this nature is the true characteristick of kings, whose solid greatness consists in the inclination and ability to improve the welfare of their subjects; and it were to be wished, that Ptolemy had merited this title by actions more worthy of it.

All

* About six millions sterling.

All this was also accomplished exactly as the prophet Daniel had foretold, and we need only cite the text, to prove what we advance. (c) *But out of a branch of her root* (intimating the king of the South, who was Ptolemy Evergetes, the son of Ptolemy Philadelphus) *shall one stand up in his estate, which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the North, (Seleucus Callinicus) and shall deal against them, and shall prevail. And shall also carry captives into Egypt, their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold, and he shall continue more years than the king of the North. So the king of the South shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land; namely, into that of Egypt.*

(d) When Ptolemy Evergetes first set out on this expedition, his queen Berenice, who tenderly loved him, being apprehensive of the dangers to which he would be exposed in the war, made a vow to consecrate her hair, if he should happen to return in safety. This was undoubtedly a sacrifice of the ornament she most esteemed; and when she at last saw him return with so much glory, the accomplishment of her promise was her immediate care; in order to which she caused her hair to be cut off, and then dedicated it to the gods, in the temple which Ptolemy Philadelphus had founded in honour to his beloved Arsinoe on Zephyrium, a promontory in Cyprus, under the name of the Zephyrian Venus. This consecrated hair being lost soon after by some unknown accident, Ptolemy was extremely offended with the priests for their negligence; upon which Conon of Samos, an artful courtier, and also a mathematician, being then at Alexandria, took upon him to affirm, that the locks of the queen's hair had been conveyed to heaven, and he pointed out seven stars near the lion's tail, which till then had never been part of any constellation; declaring, at the same time, that those were the hair of

C c 4

Berenice.

(c) Dan. xi. 7-9. (d) Hygini. Poet. Astron. l. ii. Nonnus in Hist. Synag. Catullus de coma Beren.

Berenice. Several other astronomers, either to make their court as well as Conon, or that they might not draw upon themselves the displeasure of Ptolemy, gave those stars the same name, which is still used to this day. Callimachus, who had been at the court of Philadelphus, composed a short poem on the hair of Berenice, which Catullus afterward translated into Latin, which version is come down to us.

(e) Ptolemy, in his return from this expedition, passed through Jerusalem, where he offered a great number of sacrifices to the God of Israel, in order to render homage to him, for the victories he had obtained over the king of Syria; by which action he evidently discovered his preference of the true God to all the idols of Egypt. Perhaps the prophecies of Daniel were shewn to that prince, and he might conclude, from what they contained, that all his conquests and successes were owing to that God who had caused them to be foretold so exactly by his prophets.

A. M.

3759.

Ant. J. C.

245.

(f) Seleucus had been detained for some time in his kingdom, by the apprehension of domestick troubles; but when he received intelligence that Ptolemy was returning to Egypt, he set sail with a considerable fleet, to reduce the revolted cities. His enterprize was, however, ineffectual; for, as soon as he advanced into the open sea, his whole navy was destroyed by a violent tempest; as if heaven itself, says * Justin, had made the winds and waves the ministers of his vengeance on this parricide. Seleucus, and some of his attendants, were almost the only persons who were saved, and it was with great difficulty that they escaped naked from the wreck. But this dreadful stroke, which seemed intended to overwhelm him, contributed, on the contrary, to the re-establishment of his affairs. The cities of Asia which had revolted, through the horror they conceived against him, after the murder of Berenice and her children, no sooner received intelligence of the great

(e) Joseph. contr. Appian. l. ii.

(f) Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2.

* Velut diis ipsis parricidium vindicantibus.

great loss he had now sustained, than they imagined him sufficiently punished, and as their hatred was then changed into compassion, they all declared for him anew.

This unexpected change having reinstated him in the greatest part of his dominions, he was industrious to raise another army to recover the rest. This effort, however, proved as unsuccessful as the former; his army was defeated by the forces of Ptolemy, who cut off the greatest part of his troops. He saved himself at Antioch, with the small number of men who were left him when he escaped from the shipwreck at sea: As if, says a certain historian, he had recovered his former power, only to lose it a second time with the greater mortification, by a fatal vicissitude of fortune*.

After this second frustration of his affairs, the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia, in Asia minor, were induced, by mere affection to Seleucus, to form a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually stipulated to support him. They were greatly attached to his family, from whom they undoubtedly had received many extraordinary favours: They had even rendered divine honours to his father, Antiochus Theos, and also to Stratonice, the mother of this latter. Callinicus retained a grateful remembrance of the regard these cities had testified for his interest, and afterwards granted them several advantageous privileges. They caused the treaty we have mentioned to be engraven on a large column of marble, which still subsists, and is now in the area before the theatre at Oxford. This column was brought out of Asia, by Thomas Earl of Arundel, at the beginning of the reign of Charles the First, and, with several other antique marbles, were presented to the university of Oxford by his grandson, Henry Duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Charles the Second. All the learned world ought to think themselves indebted to noblemen

* *Quasi ad ludibrium tantum fortunæ natus esset, nec propter aliud opes regni recepisset, quam ut amitteret. Justin.*

men who are emulous to adorn and enrich universities in such a generous manner; and I wish the same zeal had been ever testified for that of Paris, the mother of all the rest, and whose antiquity and reputation, in conjunction with the abilities of her professors, and her attachment to the sacred persons of kings, have rendered her worthy of being favoured in a peculiar manner by princes and great men. The establishment of a library in this illustrious seminary, would be an immortal honour to the person who should lay the foundation of such a work.

Seleucus, in the extremities to which he was reduced, had made application to his brother Antiochus, whom he promised to invest with the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia minor, provided he would join him with his troops, and act in concert with him. The young prince was then at the head of an army in those provinces; and though he was but fourteen years of age *, yet, as he had all the ambition and malignity of mind that appear in men of an advanced age, he immediately accepted the offers made him, and advanced in quest of his brother, not with any intention to secure him the enjoyment of his dominions, but to seize them for himself. His avidity was so great, and he was always so ready to seize for himself whatever came in his way, without the least regard to justice, that he acquired the surname of † Hierax, which signifies a bird that preys on all things he finds, and thinks every thing good, upon which he lays his talons.

A. M. 3761. When Ptolemy received intelligence, that Antiochus was preparing to act in concert with Seleucus against him, he reconciled himself with the latter, and concluded a truce with him for ten years, that he might

Ant. J. C. 243.

* Antiochus, cum esset annos quatuordecim natus, supra aetatem regni avidus, occasionem non tam pio animo, quam offerebatur, arripuit: sed, latronis more, totum fratri eripere cupiens, puer sceleratam virilemque su-

mit audaciam. Unde Hierax ex cognominatus: quia, non hominis sed accipitris ritu, in alienis eripiendis vitam sectaretur. *Justit.*

† *A. Kite.*

might not have both those princes for his enemies at the same time.

Antigonus Gonatas died much about this period, at the age of eighty, or eighty-three years; after he had reigned thirty-four years in Macedonia, and forty-four in Greece. He was succeeded by his son Demetrius, who reigned ten years, and made himself master of Cyrenaica and all Libya. (g) Demetrius first married the sister of Antiochus Hierax; but Olympias, the daughter of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, engaged him, after the death of her husband Alexander, who was likewise her brother, to espouse her daughter Phthia. The first wife being unable to support this injurious proceeding, retired to her brother Antiochus, and earnestly pressed him to declare war against her faithless husband: But his attention was then taken up with other views and employments.

A. M.
3762.
Ant. J. C.
242.

This prince still continued his military preparations, as if he designed to assist his brother, in pursuance of the treaty between them*; but his real intention was to dethrone him, and he concealed the virulent disposition of an enemy under the name of a brother. Seleucus penetrated his scheme, and immediately passed mount Taurus, in order to check his progress. (h) Antiochus founded his pretext on the promise which had been made him of the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia minor, as a compensation for assisting his brother against Ptolemy; but Seleucus, who then saw himself disengaged from that war without the aid of his brother, did not conceive himself obliged to perform that promise. Antiochus resolving to persist in his pretensions, and Seleucus refusing to allow them, it became necessary to decide the difference by arms. A battle was accordingly fought near Ancyra, in Galatia, wherein Seleucus was defeated, and escaped with the utmost difficulty from the enemy. Antiochus was also exposed to great dangers, notwithstanding his victory.

5

(g) Polyb. l. ii. p. 131. Justin. l. xxviii. c. 1.
l. xxvii. c. 2.

(h) Justin.

* Pro auxilio bellum, pro fratre hostem, imploratus exhibuit.

tory. The troops on whose valour he chiefly relied, were a body of Gauls whom he had taken into his pay, and they were undoubtedly some of those who had settled in Galatia. These traitors, upon a confused report that Seleucus had been killed in the action, had formed a resolution to destroy Antiochus, persuading themselves that they should be absolute masters of Asia, after the death of those two princes. Antiochus therefore was obliged, for his own preservation, to distribute all the money of the army amongst them.

(i) Eumenes, prince of Pergamus, being desirous of improving this conjuncture, advanced with all his forces against Antiochus and the Gauls, in full expectation to ruin them both, in consequence of their division. The imminent danger to which Antiochus was then reduced, obliged him to make a new treaty with the Gauls, wherein he stipulated to renounce the title of their master, which he had before assumed, for that of their ally; and he also entered into a league offensive and defensive with that people. This treaty, however, did not prevent Eumenes from attacking them; and as he came upon them in such a sudden and unexpected manner as did not allow them any time to recover after their fatigues, or to furnish themselves with new recruits, he obtained a victory over them, which cost him but little, and laid all Asia minor open to him.

A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. (k) Eumenes, upon this fortunate event, abandoned himself to intemperance and excess at his table, and died after a reign of twenty years. As he left no children, he was succeeded by Attalus, his cousin-german, who was the son of Attalus, his father's younger brother. This prince was wise and valiant, and perfectly qualified to preserve the conquests that he inherited. He entirely reduced the Gauls, and then established himself so effectually in his dominions, that he took upon himself the title of king; for though his predecessors

(i) Justin. l. xxvii. c. 3. (k) Athen. l. x. p. 445. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Valer. Excerpt. ex Polyb.

predecessors had enjoyed all the power, they had never ventured to assume the stile, of sovereigns. Attalus, therefore, was the first of his house who took it upon him, and transmitted it, with his dominions, to his posterity, who enjoyed it to the third generation.

Whilst Eumenes, and, after him, Attalus, were seizing the provinces of the Syrian empire in the West, Theodotus and Arsaces were proceeding by their example in the East. (1) The latter hearing that Seleucus had been slain in the battle of Ancyra, turned his arms against Hyrcania, and annexed it to Parthia, which he had dismembered from the empire. He then erected these two provinces into a kingdom, which, in process of time, became very formidable to the empire of the Romans. Theodotus dying soon after, Arsaces made a league offensive and defensive with his son, who bore the same name, and succeeded his father in Bactria; and they mutually supported themselves in their dominions by this union. The two brothers, notwithstanding these transactions, continued the war against each other, with the most implacable warmth, not considering, that while they contended with each other for the empire their father had left them, the whole would be gradually wrested from them by their common enemies.

The treasure and forces of Antiochus being exhausted by the several overthrows and losses he had sustained, he was obliged to wander from one retreat to another, with the shattered remains of his party, till he was at last entirely driven out of Mesopotamia: Finding, therefore, that there was no place in all the empire of Syria, where he could possibly continue in safety, he retired for refuge to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, whose daughter he had espoused. Ariarathes, notwithstanding this alliance, was soon weary of entertaining a son-in-law who became a burden to him; for which reason he determined to destroy him. Antiochus being informed of his design, avoided the dan-

A. M.
3774.
Ant. J. C.
230.

ger

(1) Justin. l. xli. c. 4.

ger by a speedy retreat into Egypt; where he rather chose to deliver himself up to the power of Ptolemy, the professed enemy of his house, than to trust a brother whom he had so highly offended. He however had reason to repent of this proceeding, for immediately after his arrival in Egypt, Ptolemy caused him to be seized and imprisoned; he also placed a strong guard over him, and detained him several years in that confinement, till at last he found means to escape by the assistance of a courtesan; but as he was quitting that kingdom, he had the misfortune to be assassinated by a band of robbers.

A. M.
3778.
Ant. J. C.
226.

A. M.
3765.
Ant. J. C.
239.

Ptolemy, in the mean time, devoted the sweets of peace to the cultivation of the sciences in his dominions, and the enlargement of his father's library at Alexandria with all sorts of books: But as a proper collection could not well be made without an able librarian, to whose care it would be likewise necessary to consign them, (*m*) Evergetes, upon the death of Zenodotus, who had exercised that function from the time of Ptolemy Soter, the grandfather of that prince, sent to Athens for Eratosthenes the Cyrenian, who was then in great reputation, and had been educated by Callimachus, a native of the same country. (*n*) He was a man of universal learning, but none of his works have been transmitted to us, except his catalogue of the kings of Thebes in Egypt, with the years of their respective reigns, from Menes, or Misraim, who first peopled Egypt after the deluge, to the Trojan war. This catalogue contains a succession of thirty-eight kings, and is still to be seen in Syncellus.

A. M.
3768.
Ant. J. C.
236.

When Seleucus saw himself extricated from the troubles his brother had occasioned, his first cares were employed in the re-establishment of order and tranquillity in the dominions he possessed; and when he had accomplished this, he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the oriental provinces which had revolted from

(*m*) Suid. in voc. Ζηνόδοτος. (*n*) Ibid. in voc. Ἀπολλώνιος & Ἐρατοσθένης.

from him. This last attempt, however, was not attended with success; for Arsaces had been allowed too much time to strengthen himself in his usurpation. Seleucus therefore, after many ineffectual endeavours to recover those territories, was obliged to discontinue his enterprize in a dishonourable manner. He, perhaps, might have succeeded better in time, if new commotions, which had been excited in his dominions during his absence, had not compelled him to make a speedy return, in order to suppress them. This furnished Arsaces with a new opportunity of establishing his power so effectually, that all future efforts were incapable of reducing it.

(o) Seleucus, however, made a new attempt, as soon as his affairs would admit: But this second expedition proved more unfortunate than the first; for he was not only defeated, but taken prisoner by Arsaces, in a great battle. The Parthians celebrated, for many succeeding years, the anniversary of this victory, which they considered as the first day of their liberty, though in reality it was the first æra of their slavery; for the world never produced greater tyrants than those Parthian kings to whom they were subjected. The Macedonian yoke would have been much more supportable than their oppressive government, if they had persevered to submit to it. Arsaces now began to assume the title of king, and firmly established this empire of the East, which, in process of time, counterpoised the Roman power, and became a barrier, which all the armies of that people were incapable of forcing. All the kings who succeeded Arsaces made it an indispensable law, and counted it an honour, to be called by his name; in the same manner as the kings of Egypt retained that of Ptolemy, as long as the race of Ptolemy Soter governed that kingdom. Arsaces raised himself to a throne from the lowest condition of life, and became as memorable among the Parthians, as Cyrus had been among the Persians, or Alexander among the Macedonians, or Romulus among the

A. M.
3774.
Ant. J. C.
230.

the Romans*. This verifies that passage in holy scripture, which declares, *(p)* *That the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.*

A. M. 3771.
Ant. J. C. 233.
(q) Onias, the sovereign pontiff of the Jews, had neglected to send Ptolemy the usual tribute of twenty talents, which his predecessors had always paid to the kings of Egypt, as a testimonial of the homage they rendered to that crown. The king sent Athenion, one of his courtiers, to Jerusalem, to demand the payment of the arrears, which then amounted to a great sum; and to threaten the Jews, in case of refusal, with a body of troops, who should be commissioned to expel them from their country, and divide it among themselves. The alarm was very great at Jerusalem on this occasion, and it was thought necessary to send a deputation to the king, in the person of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, who, though in the prime of his youth, was universally esteemed for his prudence, probity, and justice. Athenion, during his continuance at Jerusalem, had conceived a great regard for his character, and as he set out for Egypt before him, he promised to render him all the good offices in his power with the king. Joseph followed him in a short time, and on his way met with several considerable persons of Cœlosyria and Palestine, who were also going to Egypt, with an intention to offer terms for farming the great revenues of those provinces. As the equipage of Joseph was far from being so magnificent as theirs, they treated him with little respect, and considered him as a person of no great capacity. Joseph concealed his dissatisfaction at their behaviour, but drew, from the conversation that passed between them, all the circumstances he could desire, with relation to the affair that brought them to court, and without seeming to have any particular view in the curiosity he expressed.

When

(p) Dan. iv. 17.

* Arsaces, quæsto simul con-
stitutoque regno, non minus, me-
morabilis [Parthis fuit] quàm
(q) Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3 & 4.
Perfis Cyrus, Macedonibus Alex-
ander, Romanis Romulus. *Jus-
tin.*

When they arrived at Alexandria, they were informed that the king had taken a progress to Memphis, and Joseph was the only person among them who set out from thence, in order to wait upon that monarch, without losing a moment's time. He had the good fortune to meet him, as he was returning from Memphis, with the queen and Athenion in his chariot. The king, who had received impressions in his favour from Athenion, was extremely delighted at his presence, and invited him into his chariot. Joseph, to excuse his uncle, represented the infirmities of his great age, and the natural tardiness of his disposition, in such an engaging manner, as satisfied Ptolemy, and created in him an extraordinary esteem for the advocate who had so effectually pleaded the cause of that pontiff. He also ordered him an apartment in the royal palace of Alexandria, and allowed him a place at his table.

When the appointed day came for purchasing, by auction, the privilege of farming the revenues of the provinces, the companions of Joseph in his journey to Egypt offered no more than eight thousand talents for the provinces of Coelosyria, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Samaria. Upon which Joseph, who had discovered, in the conversation that passed between them in his presence, that this purchase was worth double the sum they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues in that manner, and offered twice as much as they had done. Ptolemy was well satisfied to see his revenues so considerably increased; but being apprehensive that the person who proffered so large a sum would be in no condition to pay it, he asked Joseph what security he would give him for the performance of his agreement? The Jewish deputy replied, with a calm air, that he had such persons to offer for his security on that occasion, as he was certain his majesty could have no objections to. Upon being ordered to mention them, he named the king and queen themselves; and added, that they would be his securities to each other. The king could not

avoid smiling at this little pleasantry, which put him into so good an humour, that he allowed him to farm the revenues without any other security than his verbal promise for payment. Joseph acted in that station for the space of ten years, to the mutual satisfaction of the court and provinces. His rich competitors, who had farmed those revenues before, returned home in the utmost confusion, and had reason to be sensible, that a magnificent equipage is a very inconsiderable indication of merit.

A. M. 3772.
Ant. J. C. 232. (r) King Demetrius died, about this time, in Macedonia, and left a son, named Philip, in an early state of minority; for which reason his guardianship was consigned to Antigonus, who, having espoused the mother of his pupil, ascended the throne, and reigned for the space of twelve years. He was magnificent in promises, but extremely frugal in performance, which occasioned his being surnamed * *Dofon*.

A. M. 3778.
Ant. J. C. 226. (s) Five or six years after this period, Seleucus Calinicus, who for some time had continued in a state of captivity in Parthia, died in that country by a fall from his horse. Arsaces had always treated him as a king during his confinement. His wife was Laodice, the sister of Andromachus, one of his generals, and he had two sons and a daughter by that marriage. He espoused his daughter to Mithridates king of Pontus, and consigned Phrygia to her for her dowry. His sons were Seleucus and Antiochus; the former of whom, surnamed Ceraunus, succeeded him in the throne.

We are now arrived at the period wherein the republick of the Achæans begins to appear with lustre in history, and was in a condition to sustain wars, particularly against that of the Lacedæmonians. It will therefore be necessary for me to represent the present state

(r) Justin. l. xxviii. c. 3. Dexipp. Porphyr. Euseb. (s) Justin. l. vii. c. 3. Athen. p. 153.

* This name signifies, in the promises to give, but never gives Greek language, One who will what he promises. give, that is to say, a person who

state of those two republicks; and I shall begin with that of the Achæans.

SECT. II. *The establishment of the republick of the Achæans. ARATUS delivers SICYON from tyranny. The character of that young Grecian. He is enabled, by the liberalities of PTOLEMY EVERGETES, to extinguish a sedition ready to break out in Sicyon. Takes Corinth from ANTIGONUS king of Macedonia. Prevails on the cities of Megara, Træzene, Epidaurus, and Megalopolis, to accede to the Achæan league; but is not so successful with respect to Argos.*

(a) **T**HE republick of the Achæans was not considerable at first, either for the number of its troops, the immensity of its riches, or the extent of its territory, but derived its power from the great reputation it acquired for the virtues of probity, justice, love of liberty; and this reputation was very ancient. The Crotoniats and Sybarites adopted the laws and customs of the Achæans, for the re-establishment of good order in their cities. The Lacedæmonians and Thebans had such an esteem for their virtue, that they chose them, after the celebrated battle of Leuctra, to arbitrate the differences which subsisted between them.

The government of this republick was democratical, that is to say, in the hands of the people. It likewise preserved its liberty to the times of Philip and Alexander; but under those princes, and in the reigns of those who succeeded them, it was either in subjection to the Macedonians, who had made themselves masters of Greece, or else was oppressed by cruel tyrants.

It was composed of twelve * cities, all in Peloponnesus, but together not equal to a single one of considerable rank. This republick did not signalize herself immediately by any thing great and remarkable, because, amongst all her citizens, she produced none of

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any

(a) Polyb. l. viii. p. 125---130.

* These twelve cities were, Pa-
72, Dyma, Phara, Tritaa, Le-
Bura, Ceraunia, Olenus, Helice.

any distinguished merit. The sequel will discover the extraordinary change a single man was capable of introducing among them, by his great qualities. After the death of Alexander, this little state was involved in all the calamities inseparable from discord. The spirit of patriotism no longer prevailed among them, and each city was solely attentive to its particular interest. Their state had lost its former solidity, because they changed their master as often as Macedonia became subject to new sovereigns. They first submitted to Demetrius; after him, to Cassander; and last of all to Antigonus Gonatus, who left them in subjection to tyrants of his own establishing, that they might not withdraw themselves from his authority.

A. M. Toward the beginning of the CXXIVth Olympiad, very near the death of Ptolemy Soter, the father of Philadelphus, and the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy, the republick of the Achæans resumed their former customs, and renewed their ancient concord. The inhabitants of Patræ and Dyma laid the foundations of this happy change. The tyrants were expelled from the cities, which then united, and constituted one body of a republick anew: All affairs were decided by a publick council: The registers were committed to a common secretary: The assembly had two presidents, who were nominated by the cities in their respective turns; but it was soon thought advisable to reduce them to one.

^{3724.}
Ant. J. C. 280.

The good order which reigned in this little republick, where freedom and equality, with a love of justice and the publick good, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew into their community several neighbouring cities, who received their laws, and associated themselves into their privileges. Sicyon was one of the first that acceded in this manner; by which means Aratus, one of its citizens, had an opportunity of acting a very great part, and became very illustrious.

(b) Sicyon, which had long groaned under the yoke of

of her tyrants, attempted to shake it off, by placing Clinias, one of her first and bravest citizens, at her head; and the government already began to flourish and assume a new form, when Abantidas found means to disconcert this amiable plan, in order to seize the tyranny into his own hands. Some of his relations and friends he expelled from the city, and took off others by death: He also searched for Aratus, the son of Clinias, who was then but seven years of age, in order to destroy him; but the infant escaped, with some other persons, amidst the disorder that filled the house when his father was killed; and as he was wandering about the city, in the utmost consternation and distress, he accidentally entered unseen into a house which belonged to the tyrant's sister. This lady was naturally generous, and as she also believed that this destitute infant had taken refuge under her roof, by the impulse of some deity, she carefully concealed him; and when night came, caused him to be secretly conveyed to Argos.

Aratus being thus preserved from so imminent a danger, conceived in his soul from thenceforth an implacable aversion to tyrants, which always increased with his age. He was educated with the utmost care, by some hospitable friends of his father's, at Argos.

The new tyranny in Sicyon had passed through several hands in a short time, when Aratus, who began to arrive at a state of manhood, was solicitous to deliver his country entirely from oppression. He was greatly respected, as well for his birth as his courage, which was accompanied with a gravity superior to his age, and a strong and clear understanding. These qualities, which were well known at that time, caused the exiles from Sicyon to cast their eyes upon him in a peculiar manner, and to consider him as a person destined to be their future deliverer; in which conjecture they were not deceived.

Aratus, who was then in the twentieth year of his age, formed a confederacy against Nicocles, who was tyrant at that time; and though the spies he sent

A. M.

3752.

Ant. J. C.

252.

D d 3

to

to Argos kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he pursued his measures with so much prudence and secrecy, that he scaled the walls of Sicyon, and entered the city by night. The tyrant was fortunate enough to secure himself a retreat, through subterranean passages, and when the people assembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been transacted, a herald cried with a loud voice, that *Aratus, the son of Clinias, invited the citizens to resume their liberty*. Upon which the crowd immediately flocked to the palace of the tyrant, and burnt it to ashes in a few moments; but not a single man was killed or wounded on either side; the good genius of Aratus not suffering an action of this nature to be polluted with the blood of his citizens; and in which circumstance he made his joy and triumph consist. He then recalled all those who had been banished, to the number of five hundred.

Sicyon then began to enjoy some repose, but Aratus was not fully relieved from inquietude and perplexity. With respect to the situation of affairs without, he was sensible that Antigonus cast a jealous eye on the city, and had meditated expedients for making himself master of it, from its having recovered its liberty. He beheld the seeds of sedition and discord sown within, by those who had been banished, and was extremely apprehensive of their effects. He imagined, therefore, that the safest and most prudent conduct in this delicate juncture, would be to unite Sicyon in the Achæan league, in which he easily succeeded; and this was one of the greatest services he was capable of rendering his country.

The power of the Achæans was indeed but inconsiderable; for, as I have already observed, they were only masters of three very small cities. Their country was neither good nor rich, and they inhabited a coast which had neither ports, nor any other maritime stations of security. But, with all this mediocrity and seeming weakness, they of all people made it most evident, that the forces of the Greeks could be always invincible, when under good order and discipline,

pline, and with a prudent and experienced general at the head of them. Thus did those Achæans, (who were so inconsiderable in comparison of the ancient power of Greece) by constantly adhering to good counsels, and continuing strictly united together, without blasting the merit of their fellow-citizens with the malignant breath of envy; thus, I say, did these Achæans not only maintain their liberties, amidst so many potent cities, and such a number of tyrants, but restored freedom and safety to most of the Grecian states.

Aratus, after he had engaged his city in the Achæan league, entered himself among the cavalry, for the service of that state, and was not a little esteemed by the generals, for the promptitude and vivacity he discovered in the execution of their orders: For though he had infinitely contributed to the power and credit of the league, by strengthening it with his own reputation, and all the forces of his country, he yet appeared as submissive as the meanest soldier to the general of the Achæans, notwithstanding the obscurity of the city from whence that officer was selected for such an employment. This is certainly an excellent example for young princes and noblemen, when they serve in armies, which will teach them to forget their birth on those occasions, and pay an exact submission to the orders of their commanders.

(d) The conduct and character of Aratus are undoubtedly worthy of admiration. He was naturally polite and obliging; his sentiments were great and noble; and he entirely devoted himself to the good of the state, without any interested views. He was an implacable enemy to tyrants, and regulated his friendship and enmity by the publick utility. He was qualified, in many particulars, to appear at the head of affairs: His expressions in discourse were always proper: His thoughts just; and even his silence judicious. He conducted himself with a complacency of temper, in all differences that arose in any deliberations of moment, and had no superior in the happy art of contract-

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ing friendships and alliances. He had a wonderful facility in forming enterprizes against an enemy; in making his designs impenetrable secrets, and in executing them happily by his patience and intrepidity. It must however be acknowledged, that this celebrated Aratus did not seem to be the same man, at the head of an army: Nothing could then be discovered in him, but protraction, irresolution, and timidity; whilst every prospect of danger was insupportable to him. Not that he really wanted courage and boldness, but these qualities seemed to be struck languid by the greatness of the execution, and he was only timorous on certain occasions, and at intervals. It was from this disposition of his, that all Peloponnesus was filled with the trophies of his conquerors, and the monuments of his own defeats. In this manner, says Polybius, his nature compounded different and contrary qualities together, not only in the bodies of men, but even in their minds; and hence it is that we are to account for the surprising diversity we frequently perceive in the same persons. On some occasions they appear lively, heroick, and undaunted; and at others, all their vigour, vivacity, and resolution, entirely abandon them.

A. M. (e) I have already observed, that those citizens who
 3753.
 Ant. J. C. had been banished, gave Aratus great perplexity. His
 251. disquiet was occasioned by their pretensions to the
 lands and houses they possessed before their exile; the
 greatest part of which had been consigned to other
 persons, who afterwards sold them, and disappeared upon
 the expulsion of the tyrant. It was reasonable that
 these exiles should be reinstated in their former possessions,
 after their recall from banishment, and they made application
 to that effect with all imaginable importunity. On the other
 hand, the greatest part of what they claimed had been alienated
 to fair purchasers, who consequently expected to be reimbursed,
 before they delivered up such houses and lands to the claimants.
 The pretensions and complaints on this occasion were vigorously urged on both sides, and Si-
 cyon

cyon was in the utmost danger of being ruined by a civil war, which seemed inevitable. Never was any affair more difficult than this. Aratus was incapable of reconciling the two parties, whose demands were equally equitable, and it was impossible to satisfy them both at the same time, without expending very considerable sums, which the state was in no condition to furnish. In this emergency he could think of no resource but the goodness and liberality of Ptolemy king of Egypt, which he himself had experienced, on the following occasion.

That prince was extremely curious in portraits and other paintings : Aratus, therefore, who was an excellent judge of such performances, collected all the works of the greatest masters which he could possibly procure, especially those of Pamphilus and Melanthus, and sent them to the king. Sicyon was still in great reputation for the arts, and painting in particular; the true taste of which was preserved there in all its ancient purity. It is even said, that Apelles, who was then admired by all the world, had been at Sicyon, where he frequented the schools of two painters, to whom he gave a talent, (equal to a thousand crowns) not for acquiring a perfection in the art from them, but in order to obtain a share in their great reputation. When Aratus had reinstated his city in its former liberties, he destroyed all the pictures of the tyrants; but when he came to that of Aristratus, who reigned in the time of Philip, and whom the painter had represented in the attitude of standing in a triumphant chariot, he hesitated a long time whether he should deface it or not; for all the capital disciples of Melanthus had contributed to the completion of that piece, and it had even been touched by the pencil of Apelles. This work was so inimitable in its kind, that Aratus was enchanted with its beauties; but his aversion for tyrants prevailed over his admiration of the picture, and he accordingly ordered it to be destroyed.

The fine taste of Aratus for painting, had recommended him to the good graces of Ptolemy; and he therefore

therefore thought he might take the liberty to implore the generosity of that prince, in the melancholy situation to which he was then reduced. With this view he embarked for Egypt; but was exposed to many dangers and disappointments, before he could arrive in that kingdom. He had a long audience of Ptolemy, who esteemed him the better, the more he knew him; and presented him with a hundred and fifty talents for the benefit of his city. Aratus carried away forty talents when he set out for Peloponnesus, and the king remitted him the remainder in separate payments.

His fortunate return occasioned universal joy in Sicyon, and he was invested with full power to decide the pretensions of the exiles, and regulate the partitions to be made in their favour. But as a wise politician, who is not for engrossing the decision of all affairs to himself, is not afraid of diminishing his reputation by admitting others to share it with him, he firmly refused the honours designed him, and nominated for his coadjutors fifteen citizens of the greatest repute, in conjunction with whom he at last restored harmony and peace among the inhabitants, and refunded to the several purchasers all the sums they had expended for the lands and houses they had actually bought. It has always been observed, that glory pursues those who are industrious to decline it. Aratus, therefore, who thought himself in need of good counsels, to assist him in the determination of this important affair, (and persons of the greatest merit always entertain the same diffidence of themselves) had all the honour of this affair. His conduct was infinitely applauded; statues were erected to him, and the people, by publick inscriptions, declared him the father of the people, and the deliverer of his country. These are qualities that infinitely transcend those of the most celebrated conquerors.

A success so illustrious gave Antigonus jealousy, and even fear; in consequence of which, at a publick entertainment, he artfully enhanced the merit and capacity

city of this young man by extraordinary praises, possibly with an intention either to gain him over to his own interest, or to render him suspected to Ptolemy. He insinuated, in terms sufficiently intelligible, that Aratus having discovered, by his own experience, the vanity of the Egyptian pride, intended to attach himself to his service; and that he therefore was resolved to employ him in his affairs: He concluded this strain of artifice with intreating all the lords of his court, who were then present, to regard him for the future as their friend. The particulars of this discourse were soon repeated to Ptolemy, who was not a little surprised and afflicted when he heard them; and he complained to Aratus of this injurious change, but the latter easily justified himself to that monarch.

Aratus having been elected general of the Achæans, for the first time, ravaged Locris, and all the territory of Calydon, and advanced with a body of ten thousand men to succour the Bœotians; but was so unfortunate as not to arrive among them till after the battle of Chæronea*, in which they were defeated by the Ætolians.

Eight years after this transaction, he was elected general of the Achæans a second time, and rendered great service to all Greece, by an action which, according to Plutarch, was equal to any of the most illustrious enterprizes of the Grecian leaders.

The Isthmus of Corinth, which separates the two seas, unites the continent of Greece with that of Peloponnesus; the citadel also of Corinth, distinguished by the name of Acro-Corinthus, is situated on a high mountain, exactly in the middle of those two continents, that are there divided from each other by a very narrow neck of land; by which means this fortress, when furnished with a good garrison, cuts off all communication, by land and sea, from the inner part of the Isthmus, and renders the person who possesses it, with

* Philip, above forty years before this event, had obtained a celebrated victory over the Athenians and Thebans, near the same place.

A. M.
3760.
Ant. J. C.
244.

with a good body of troops, absolute master of all Greece. Philip called this citadel *the shackles of Greece*, and as it was capable of being rendered such, it created jealousy in all the neighbouring states, and especially in kings and princes, who consequently were desirous of seizing it for their own use.

Antigonus, after a long impatience to render himself master of this place, was so fortunate as to carry it by surprize, and made no scruple to congratulate himself as much on this success, as on a real triumph. Aratus, on the other hand, entertained hopes of wresting this fortress from him, in his turn; and while all his thoughts were employed to that effect, an accidental circumstance furnished him with an opportunity of accomplishing his design.

Erginus, an inhabitant of Corinth, had taken a journey to Sicyon, in order to transact some affairs in that city; and had there contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker, who was a particular friend of Aratus. As the citadel happened to be the subject of one of their conversations, Erginus told his friend, that, when he went to visit his brother, who was a soldier of the garrison, he had observed a narrow track hewn in the rock, which led to that part of the summit where the wall of the citadel was very low. The banker was very attentive to this account, and, with a smile, desired his friend to tell him, whether he and his brother would be inclinable to gain a large sum of money, and make their fortunes? Erginus immediately comprehended the bent of this question, and promised to sound his brother Diocles on that head. Some few days after this conversation he returned to the banker, and engaged to conduct Aratus to that part of the mountain where the height of the wall did not exceed fifteen feet, adding, at the same time, that himself and his brother would assist him in executing the rest of his enterprize. Aratus promised, on his part, to give them sixty talents, if the affair should happen to succeed; but as it became requisite to deposit that sum in the hands of the banker, for the

the security of the two brothers, and as Aratus was neither master of so many talents, nor had any inclination to borrow them, for fear of giving suspicion by that proceeding, which would have entirely defeated his enterprize, he pledged all his gold and silver plate, with his wife's jewels, to the banker, as a security for the promised sum.

Aratus had so great a soul, says Plutarch, and such an ardour for great actions, that when he considered with himself, how universally the famous Epaminondas and Phocion had been reputed the most worthy and just men in all Greece, for refusing the presents that had been offered to them; and preferring virtue to all the riches in the world, he was solicitous to refine upon their generosity and disinterested spirit. There is certainly a wide difference between the mere refusal of presents, and the sacrifice of a person's self and fortune for the service of the publick. Aratus parted with all his fortune, and that too without its being known, for an enterprize, wherein he alone was exposed to all the danger. Where is the man, cries Plutarch, amidst the enthusiasm into which this amiable action had wrought him, who can possibly be incapable of admiring so uncommon and surprising an instance of magnanimity! Who, even at this time, can forbear to interest himself in this great exploit, and to combat in imagination by the side of so great a man, who paid so dearly for so extraordinary a danger, and pledged the most valuable part of his fortune, only to procure an opportunity of advancing into the midst of his enemies in the dead of night, when he knew he should be compelled to engage for his own life, without any other security than the hopes of performing a noble action!

It may justly be remarked on this occasion, that the taste for glory, disinterestedness, and the publick good, were perpetuated among the Greeks, by the remembrance of those great men who distinguished themselves in past ages by such glorious sentiments. This is the great advantage which attends history

written like that of the Greeks, and the principal advantage derived from it.

The preparations for the enterprize were disconcerted by a variety of obstructions, any one of which seemed sufficient to have rendered it ineffectual ; but when all these were at last surmounted, Aratus ordered his troops to pass the night under arms. He then selected four hundred men, most of whom were unacquainted with the design he intended to execute : They were all furnished with scaling-ladders, and he led them directly to the gates of the city by the walls of Juno's temple. The sky was then unclouded, and the moon shone extremely bright, which filled the adventurers with just apprehensions of being discovered. But in a little time a dark fog rose very fortunately from the sea, and shed a thick gloom over all the adjacent parts of the city. All the troops then seated themselves on the ground, to take off their shoes, as well to lessen the noise, as to facilitate their ascent by the scaling-ladders, from which they would not then be so liable to slip. In the mean time, Erginus, with seven resolute young men, habited like travellers, passed through the gate without being perceived, and killed the centinel and guards who were there upon duty. The ladders were then fixed on the wall, and Aratus ascended with a hundred of his boldest troops, giving orders to the rest to follow him as fast as they were able ; and when they had all mounted the walls, he descended into the city with the utmost joy, as having already succeeded, by passing undiscovered.

As they were proceeding in their march, they saw a small guard of four men with lights in their hands, by whom they were not perceived, because the darkness of the night shrowded them from their view. Aratus and his men shrunk back into a line, against some walls and ruins that were near, where they disposed themselves into an ambuscade, from whence they started as the four men were passing by, and killed three of their number. The fourth, who received a deep wound on his head, fled from the place, and
cried

cried out as loud as he was able, that the enemies were entered the city. The trumpets in a moment sounded the alarm, and all the inhabitants crowded together at the noise. The streets were already filled with people, who flocked from all quarters by the blaze of innumerable lights that were immediately set up in the city, and also on the ramparts of the castle, whilst every place resounded with undistinguished cries.

Aratus still continued his progress, notwithstanding the alarm, and endeavoured to climb the steep rocks, which at first were very difficult of ascent, because he had missed the path that led to the wall through numberless windings, which it was almost impracticable to trace out. While he was thus perplexed, the clouds dispersed, as if a miracle had interposed in his favour; the moon then appeared in its former brightness, and discovered all the intricacies of the path, till he arrived on the spot of ground at the foot of the wall, which had been formerly described to him. The skies were then happily covered with clouds again, and the moon was once more immersed in darkness.

The three hundred soldiers whom Aratus had left without, near the temple of Juno, having entered the city, which was then filled with confusion and tumult, and also illuminated with a prodigious number of lights; and not being able to find the path which Aratus had taken, drew up into a close body, under a bending rock which shaded them at the bottom of the precipice, and where they waited in the utmost anxiety and distress. Aratus was then skirmishing on the ramparts of the citadel, and the noise of the combatants might easily be heard: But as the sound was repeated by the echoes of the neighbouring mountains, it was impossible to distinguish the place from whence it proceeded. Those soldiers, therefore, not knowing which way to bend their course, Archelaus, who commanded the troops of king Antigonus, having drawn out a considerable number of troops, mounted the ascent with loud shouts, and a great blast of trumpets, with an intention to assault Aratus in his rear, and passed

fed by thofe three hundred men without perceiving them: But when he had advanced a little beyond them, they started from the place of their concealment, as if they had been planted exprefsly in ambufcade, and fell upon him with great refolution, killing all who firft came in their way. The reft of the troops, and even Archelaus himfelf, were then feized with fuch a confternation, that they fled from their enemies, who continued to attack them in their retreat, till they had all difperfed themfelves in the city.

This defeat was immediately fucceeded by the arrival of Erginus, who had been fent by thofe that were fighting on the walls of the citadel, to acquaint them that Aratus was engaged with the enemies, who made a very vigorous defence, and was in great need of immediate affiftance. The troops then defired him to be their conductor that moment, and as they mounted the rocks, they proclaimed their approach by loud cries, to animate their friends, and redouble their ardour. The beams of the moon, which was then in the full, played upon their armour, and, in conjunction with the length of the way by which they afcended, made them appear more numerous, while the midnight filence rendered the echoes much more ftrong and audible; by which means their shouts feemed thofe of a much greater body of men than they really were. In a word, when they at laft had joined their companions, they charged their enemies with a vigour that foon difperfed them, upon which they pofted themfelves on the wall, and became abfolute mafters of the citadel by break of day; fo that the fun's firft rays faw them victorious. The reft of their troops arrived at the fame time from Sicyon; and the Corinthians, after they had willingly thrown open the city gates to receive them, affifted them in making the troops of Antigonus prifoners of war.

Aratus, when he had effectually fecured his victory, defcended from the citadel into the theatre, which was then crowded with a vaft concourfe of people, drawn thither by their curiofity to fee him, and to hear him
fpeak.

peak. After he had posted his Achæans in two lines, in the avenues of the theatre, he advanced from the bottom of the stage compleatly armed, with a countenance extremely changed by his want of rest, and the long fatigue he had sustained. The bold and manly joy with which this extraordinary success had inspired him, was obscured by the languor his extreme weakness and decay of spirits had occasioned. The moment he appeared in the theatre, all the people were emulous to testify their profound respect and gratitude, by repeated applauses and acclamations. Aratus, in the mean time, shifted his lance from his left to his right hand; and then rested upon it, with his body bent a little toward the audience, in which posture he continued for some time.

When the whole theatre was at last silent, he exerted all the vigour he had left, and acquainted them, in a long discourse, with the particulars of the Achæan league; after which he exhorted them to accede to it. He likewise delivered to them the keys of their city, which, till then, had never been in their power from the time of Philip. As to the captains of Antigonos, he restored Archelaus, whom he had taken prisoner, to his liberty, but caused Theophrastus to suffer death, for refusing to quit the city.

Aratus made himself master of the temple of Juno, and of the port, where he seized twenty-five of the king's ships. He also took five hundred war-horses, and four hundred Syrians, whom he afterward sold. The Achæans kept the citadel, in which they placed a garrison of four hundred men.

An action so bold and successful as this, must undoubtedly be productive of very fortunate events. The inhabitants of Megera quitted the party of Antigonos, and joined Aratus. Their example was soon followed by the people of Træzene and Epidaurus, who acceded to the Achæan league.

Aratus also brought Ptolemy, king of Egypt, into the confederacy, by assigning the superintendency of the war to him, and electing him generalissimo of

their troops by land and sea. This event acquired him so much credit and reputation, that though the nomination of any man to the post of captain-general for a succession of years, was expressly prohibited by the laws, Aratus was however elected every other year, and he, either by his counsels or personal conduct, enjoyed that command without any discontinuation: For it was evident to all mankind, that neither riches, nor the friendship of kings, no nor even the particular advantages of Sicyon, his native place, nor any other consideration whatever, had the least competition in his mind, with the welfare and aggrandizement of the Achæans. He was persuaded, that all weak cities resemble those parts of the body which only thrive and exist by their mutual union; and must infallibly perish, when once they are separated; as the sustenance by which they subsist will be discontinued from that moment. Cities soon sink into ruin, when the social bands which connect them are once dissolved; but they are always seen to flourish, and improve in power and prosperity, when they become parts of a large body, and are associated by a unity of interest. A common precaution then reigns through the whole, and is the happy source of life, from whence all the vigour that supports them is derived.

(f) All the views of Aratus, while he continued in his employment, tended entirely to the expulsion of the Macedonians out of Peloponnesus, and the abolition of all kinds of tyranny; the re-establishment of the cities in their ancient liberty, and the exercise of their laws. These were the only motives which prompted him to oppose the enterprizes of Antigonus Gonatas, during the life of that prince.

A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242. (g) He also pursued the same conduct with respect to Demetrius, who succeeded Antigonus, and reigned for the space of ten years. The Ætolians had at first joined Antigonus Gonatas, with an intention to destroy the Achæan league; but embroiled themselves with

(f) Polyb. l. ii. p. 130.
Appian. de bellis Illyr. p. 760.

(g) Polyb. l. ii. p. 91---102.

with Demetrius his successor, who declared war against them. The Achæans, forgetting on this occasion the ill treatment they had received from that people, marched to their assistance, by which means a strict union was re-established between them, and became very advantageous to all the neighbouring cities.

A. M.

3770.

Ant. J. C.

234.

Illyrium was then governed by several petty kings, who subsisted chiefly by rapine, and exercised a sort of piracy against all the neighbouring countries.

A. M.

3772.

Ant. J. C.

232.

Agron, the son of Pleurates, Scerdiledes, Demetrius of Pharus, so called from a city of Illyrium, subject to him, were the petty princes who infested all the neighbouring parts; and attacked Corcyra, and the Acarnanians in particular. Teuta reigned after the death of her husband Agron, who ended his days by intemperance, and left a young son, named Pinæus. These people, harrassed in the manner I have mentioned, had recourse to the Ætolians and Achæans, who readily undertook their defence; and their good services were not repaid with ingratitude. The people of Corcyra made an alliance with the Illyrians, soon after this event, and received Demetrius of Pharus, with his garrison, into their city.

A. M.

3776.

Ant. J. C.

228.

The Romans were so offended at the piracies with which this people infested their citizens and merchants, that they sent an embassy to Teuta, to complain of those injurious proceedings. That princess caused one of the ambassadors to be slain, and the other to be thrown into prison, which provoked the Romans to declare war against her, in revenge for so outrageous an insult. The two consuls, L. Posthumus Albinus, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, set out with a commission to invade Illyrium by land and sea. The people of Corcyra, in concert with Demetrius of Pharus, delivered up to the consul Fulvius the garrison they had received into their city; and the Romans, after they had reinstated Corcyra in its former liberties, advanced into Illyrium, and conquered great part of the country; but consigned several cities to

A. M.

3778.

Ant. J. C.

226.

Demetrius, as a compensation for his treacherous conduct in their favour.

A. M. Teuta, reduced to the utmost extremity, implored
 3779.
 Ant. J. C. peace of the Romans, and obtained it, on her en-
 225. gagement to pay a yearly tribute, and deliver up all
 Illyrium, except a few places which she was permitted
 to enjoy; but the most beneficial article for the Greeks
 was, her being restrained from sailing beyond the city
 of Lissus with more than two small vessels, and even
 those were not to carry any arms. The other petty
 kings, who seemed to have been subordinate to Teu-
 ta, were comprehended in this treaty, though it ex-
 pressly mentioned none but that princess.

The Romans then caused themselves to be respected
 in Greece by a solemn embassy, and this was the first
 time that their power was known in that country.
 They also sent ambassadors to the Ætolians and Achæ-
 ans, to communicate to them the treaty they had
 lately concluded with the Illyrians. Others were also
 dispatched to Corinth and Athens, and the Corinthians
 then declared for the first time, by a publick decree,
 that the Romans should be admitted to celebrate the
 Isthmian games, with the same privileges as the
 Greeks. The freedom of the city was also granted
 them at Athens, and they were permitted to be initi-
 ated into their solemn mysteries.

Aratus, after the death of Demetrius, who reigned
 only ten years, found the dispositions of the people
 very favourable to his designs. Several tyrants, whom
 that prince had supported with all his credit, and to
 whom he paid large pensions, having lost their support
 by his death, made a voluntary resignation of the au-
 thority they had usurped over their citizens; others of
 them, either intimidated by the menaces of Aratus,
 or prevailed upon by his promises, followed their ex-
 ample; and he procured several advantages for them
 all, that they might have no temptation to repent
 their conduct.

(b) Aratus, who beheld with regret the subjection
 of

of the people of Argos to the tyrant Aristomachus, undertook their deliverance; and made it a point of honour, to restore liberty to that city, as a recompence for the education he had received there; and he also considered the accession of so potent a city to the Achæan league, as highly advantageous to the common cause: But his measures to this effect were rendered unsuccessful at that time. Aristomachus was soon after slain by his domesticks; and before there could be any opportunity to regulate affairs, Aristippus, a tyrant more detestable than his predecessor, seized the supreme power into his own hands, and had the dexterity to maintain himself in that usurpation, even with the consent of the Argives; but as he beheld a mortal enemy in Aratus, during whose life he imagined his own would always be in danger, he resolved to destroy him by the assistance of king Antigonus Doseon, who agreed to be the minister of his vengeance. He had already prepared assassins in all parts, who watched an opportunity for executing their bloody commission. No prince or commander can ever have a more effectual guard, than the firm and sincere affection of those they govern: For when once the nobility and people have been accustomed not to fear their prince, but to fear for him, innumerable eyes and ears are attentive to all that passes. This Aratus was so happy as to experience in the present conjuncture.

Plutarch, on this occasion, draws a fine contrast between the troubles and anxieties of Aristippus, and the peace and tranquillity of Aratus. That tyrant, says he, who maintained such a body of troops for the security of his person, and who had shed the blood of all those of whom he entertained any dread, was incapable of enjoying a moment's repose, either by night or day. Every circumstance alarmed him; his soul was the seat of terror and anxiety, that knew no intermission; and he even trembled at his own shadow. A dreadful guard continually watched round his house with drawn swords; and as his life was perpetually in their power, he feared them more than all the rest of

mankind. He never permitted them to enter his palace, but ordered them to be stationed in the porticoes, which entirely surrounded that structure. He drove away all his domesticks the moment he had supped; after which he shut the gate of his court with his own hands, and then retired with his concubine into an upper apartment, which he entered by a trap-door. When this was let down, he placed his bed upon it, and slept, as we may suppose a man to sleep in his condition, whose soul is a perpetual prey to trouble, terror, and apprehension. The mother of his concubine removed, each night, the ladder by which he ascended into his chamber, and replaced it in its former situation the next morning. Aratus, on the other hand, who had acquired perpetual power, not by the force of arms, but merely by his virtue and in effect of the laws, appeared in publick with a plain robe and a mind void of fear: And whereas all those who possess fortresses, and maintain guards, with the additional precaution of arms, gates, and traps, as so many ramparts for their safety, seldom escape a violent death; Aratus, on the contrary, who always shewed himself an implacable enemy to tyrants, left behind him a posterity which subsists, says Plutarch, to this day, and is still honoured and respected by all the world*.

Aratus attacked the tyrant with open force, but acted with no extraordinary resolution in the first engagement, when even one of the wings of his army had defeated the enemy; for he caused a retreat to be founded very unseasonably, and resigned the victory to the foe, which drew upon him a number of severe reproaches. He however made amends for his fault in a second battle, wherein Aristippus, and above fifteen hundred of his men, lost their lives. Aratus, though he had obtained so signal a victory, and without losing one man, was however unable to make himself master of the city of Argos, and was equally incapable of restoring

* Polycrates, to whom Plutarch alludes the life of Aratus, was one of his descendants, and had two sons, by whom the race was still continued, three hundred and fifty years after the death of Aratus.

storing liberty to the inhabitants; as Agias, and the young Aristomachus, had thrown a body of the king's troops into the place.

He succeeded better with respect to the city of Megalopolis, where Lysiades had usurped the supreme power. This person had nothing in his character of the violent and inhuman qualities of tyrants, and had seized the sovereignty from no other inducement, than a false idea of the happiness and glory which he imagined inseparable from supreme power; but he resigned the tyranny, either through fear, or a conviction of his error, upon the remonstrances of Aratus, and caused his city to accede to the Achæan league. That league was affected to such a degree by so generous an action, that they immediately chose him for their general; and as he at first was emulous of surpassing Aratus, he engaged in several enterprizes which seemed necessary at that juncture, and, among the rest, declared war against the Lacedæmonians. Aratus employed his utmost credit to oppose him in those measures, but his endeavours were misinterpreted as the effects of envy. Lysiades was elected general a second time, and then a third, and each of them commanded alternately. But when he was observed to act in opposition to his rival on all occasions, and without the least regard to decency, was continually repeating his injurious treatment of a virtue so solid and sincere as that of Aratus, it became evident that the zeal he affected was no more than a plausible outside, which concealed a dangerous ambition; and they deprived him of the command.

As the Lacedæmonians will, for the future, have a considerable share in the war sustained by the Achæans, it seems necessary to give a brief account of the condition of that people in this place.

SECT. III. AGIS king of Sparta attempts to reform the state, and endeavours to revive the ancient institutions of LYCURGUS; in which he partly succeeds: But finds an entire change in Sparta, at his return from a campaign in which he had joined ARATUS against the Etolians. He is at last condemned to die, and executed accordingly.

(a) **W**HEN the love of wealth had crept into the city of Sparta, and had afterward introduced luxury, avarice, sloth, effeminacy, profusion, and all those pleasures which are generally the inseparable attendants of riches, and when these had broken down all the barriers which the wisdom of Lycurgus had formed, with the view of excluding them for ever; Sparta beheld herself fallen from her ancient glory and power, and was reduced to an abject and humble state, which continued to the reign of Agis and Leonidas, of whom we are now to treat.

Agis, the son of Eudamidas, was of the house of the Eurytionidæ, and the sixteenth descendant from Agefilaus, who made an expedition into Asia. Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, was of the family of the Agidæ, and the eighth prince that reigned in Sparta, after Pausanias, who defeated Mardonius in the battle of Platææ.

I have already related the divisions which arose in Sparta, between Cleonymus* and Areus, in regard to the sovereignty, which was obtained by the latter; and he afterward caused Pyrrhus to raise the siege of Lacedæmon. He was succeeded by his son Acrotates, who reigned seven or eight years, and left a young son, named Areus, from his grandfather. This prince was under the tuition of Leonidas, but died in a short time;

(a) Plut. in Agid. p. 796---801.

* Josephus relates, that Areus Lacedæmonians. The original of king of Lacedæmon sent letters to this relation is not easily to be Onias the high-priest of the Jews, distinguished, nor is it less difficult in which he acknowledged an affinity to reconcile the time of Areus with that of Onias.

time; upon which Leonidas rose from the regency to the throne.

Though all the Spartans had been depraved and perverted by the general corruption into which the government was fallen, this depravity, and remoteness from the ancient manners of that people, was most conspicuous in the conduct of Leonidas; who had resided for several years in the palaces of the Satrapæ, and had for many years made his court to Seleucus: He had even espoused a wife in Asia, contrary to the laws of his country, and had afterward employed his utmost endeavours to introduce all the pomp and pride of princes into a free country, and a government founded on moderation and justice.

Agis was the reverse of this character. He was then in the twentieth year of his age, and though he had been educated amidst riches*, and the luxury of a house remarkable for being equally voluptuous and haughty, he, from the first, renounced all those ensnaring pleasures; and instead of testifying the least regard for the splendid vanities of dress, he made it his glory to appear in a plain habit, and to re-establish the ancient form of publick meals, baths, and all the ancient discipline of Sparta. He even declared openly, *That he should not value being king, if it were not for the hopes of reviving the ancient laws and discipline of Sparta.* These noble sentiments were a demonstration, that Agis had formed a solid judgment of regal power; the most essential duty and true glory of which are derived from the establishment of good order in all the branches of a state, by giving due force to customs established by wise laws.

This discipline began to be disregarded, the moment Sparta had ruined the Athenian government, and began to abound in gold. The same partition, however, of lands, which had been made by Lycurgus, and the number of hereditary possessions established by him, having

* Plutarch informs us, that his mother Agesistrate, and his grandmother Archidamia, possessed more gold and silver than all the other Lacedæmonians together.

having been preserved through all successions of descent, and each father transmitting his part in the same manner as he had received it himself; this order and equality, which had been preserved without interruption, suspended, in some measure, the ill effects of those abuses which then prevailed. But as soon as this prudent institution began to be struck at, by a law which permitted every man to dispose of his house and patrimony, in his own life-time, or to make a testamentary donation of them to whom he pleased; this new law effectually sapped the best foundation of the Spartan polity. Epitades, one of the Ephori, introduced this law, to avenge himself on one of his sons, whose conduct had displeased him.

It is indeed surprising, that a whole state should so easily be induced to change such an ancient and fundamental custom as this, merely to gratify the passion of one man. The pretext for this change was undoubtedly the augmentation of paternal authority, in their several families; since it was not then possessed of any motives for filial respect; the children of that community having nothing to hope or fear, as they received alike all the fortune they could expect, immediately from the state, and with an absolute independency on their parents. This domestick inconvenience, in which every father thought himself concerned, and which seemed to regard all good order in families, created strong impressions in those who had the greatest share in the administration, and rendered them incapable of considering the much greater inconveniencies, which would inevitably result from this change, and whose pernicious effects would be soon felt by the state.

This proceeding is sufficient to convince us, how dangerous it is to change the ancient laws *, on which basis a state, or community, has long subsisted; and what precautions ought to be taken against bad impressions which may arise through particular inconveniencies, from which the wisest institutions cannot be exempted.

* Adeo nihil motum ex antiquo probabile est: veteribus, nisi quæ usus evidentur arguit, stari malunt. *Liv.* l. xxxiv. n. 54.

exempted. What a depth of prudence, penetration into future events, and experience, are necessary to those who take upon them to balance and compare the advantages and defects of ancient customs, with any new regulations which are proposed to be substituted in their stead.

It may be justly affirmed, that the ruin of Sparta was occasioned by the new law, which authorized the alienation of hereditary estates. The great men were daily enlarging their fortunes, by dispossessing the heirs to whom they belonged; in consequence of which, all patrimonial possessions were soon engrossed by a very inconsiderable number of persons; the poverty which then prevailed through the whole city, sunk the people into a mean indolence of mind; by extinguishing those ardours for virtue and glory, which, till then, had rendered the Spartans superior to all the other states of Greece, and by infusing into the hearts of the people an implacable envy and aversion for those who had unjustly divested them of all their possessions.

The number of native Spartans in that city, was reduced to about seven hundred; and not many more than a hundred of these had preserved their family estates. All the rest were a starving populace, destitute of revenues, and excluded from a participation in honours and dignities: These acted with reluctance and indifference in wars against a foreign enemy, because they were sensible the rich would be the only gainers by their victories; in a word, they were constantly waiting for an opportunity to change the present situation of affairs, and withdraw themselves from the oppressions they sustained.

Such was the state of Sparta, when Agis entertained the design of redressing the abuses which then prevailed; at the same time that Aratus was employing his endeavours for the deliverance of his country. The enterprize was noble, but extremely hazardous. He observed, contrary to his expectation, that all the young men were disposed to enter into his views,

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while the generality of those in years, in whose minds corruption had taken the deepest root, trembled at the very name of Lycurgus, and Reformation. He began by conciliating his uncle Agesilaus, a man of great eloquence and reputation, but strongly possessed with a passion for riches; which was the very circumstance that rendered him the more favourable to the designs of Agis. He was ready to sink under a load of debts, and hoped to discharge them without any expence to himself, by changing the form of government.

Agis then endeavoured, by his means, to bring over his own mother, who was the sister of Agesilaus. Her power was very great in the city, by a large party of friends, and the vast number of her slaves and debtors; and her credit gave her an extraordinary influence in the most important affairs: When Agis had opened his design to her, she was struck with consternation, on the first ideas it presented to her mind, and employed all the arguments she could invent, to dissuade him from it: But when Agesilaus joined his own reflections with those of the king, and had made his sister comprehend the advantages that would accrue to Sparta from the execution of such a design, and represented to her the glory which her family would for ever derive from it, this lady, as well as those of her sex with whom she was most intimate, being then animated by the noble ambition of the young prince, immediately changed their sentiments, and were so affected with the beauty of the project, that they themselves pressed Agis to enter upon the execution of it as soon as possible. They likewise sent to all their friends, and exhorted them to concur with him in that affair.

Application was also made by them to the other ladies of that city, as they were very sensible that the Lacedæmonians had always expressed the greatest deference to their wives, whom they allowed to exercise more authority in all transactions of state, than they themselves assumed in their private and domestick affairs.

fairs. Most of the riches of Sparta were at that time in the hands of women, which proved a great obstruction to the designs of Agis. They unanimously opposed his scheme, rightly foreseeing, that the plain manner of life he was endeavouring to re-establish, and on which so many commendations were bestowed, would not only be destructive to all their luxurious pleasures, but divest them of all the honours and power they derived from their riches.

Amidst the consternation this proposal gave them, they addressed themselves to Leonidas, and conjured him, as his age gave him an ascendant over Agis, to employ his whole authority in dissuading his colleague from the accomplishment of his plan. Leonidas was very inclinable to support the rich, but as he dreaded the indignation of the people, who were desirous of this change, he could not presume to oppose Agis in an open manner, but contented himself with crossing his designs by indirect measures. He had a private conference with the magistrates, wherein he took the liberty to calumniate Agis, as a person who was offering to the poor the properties of the rich, with a partition of lands, and a general abolition of debts, as a compensation to them for the tyranny he was preparing to usurp; in consequence of which proceedings, instead of forming citizens for Sparta, he was only raising a body of guards for the security of his own person.

Agis, in the mean time, having succeeded so far as to cause Lyfander, who concurred with him in his views, to be elected one of the Ephori, brought into the council a decree which he himself had drawn up, the principal articles of which were these. 1. All debtors were to be discharged from their debts. 2. All the lands which extended from the valley of Pellene to mount Taygetus, and the promontory of Malea, and likewise to Selasia, should be parcelled out into four thousand five hundred lots. 3. The lands which lay beyond those limits should be comprehended in fifteen thousand lots. 4. The last portions were to be distributed

distributed to those inhabitants of the adjacent parts, who were in a condition to bear arms. 5. Those lands, which lay within the limits already mentioned, should be reserved for the Spartans, whose due number, which was then considerably diminished, should be recruited out of such of the neighbouring people, and strangers, as had received an honest and generous education, and were then in the flower of their age, and not disqualified for that class by any bodily defect. 6. All these should, at the times of repast, be disposed into fifty halls, distinguished by the name of *Phidicies*; the least of which should contain two hundred, and the largest four hundred: And, lastly, they were all to observe the same manner of life and discipline as their ancestors.

This decree being opposed, by the senators whose sentiments differed from those of Agis, Lyfander caused the people to be assembled, and in the strongest terms exhorted the citizens to consent to it. He was seconded by Mandroclides, a young Spartan, whose heart glowed with zeal for the publick welfare; and he represented to the people, with all the energy he could possibly express, every motive that could most affect them. Particularly, the respect they owed to the memory of their illustrious legislator Lycurgus; the oath their ancestors had taken, in the names of themselves and all their posterity, to preserve those sacred institutions in the most inviolable manner; the glory and honour Sparta had enjoyed, during the time she strictly adhered to them; and the infamous degeneracy into which she had sunk, ever since they had been disregarded by her: He then set forth the miserable condition of the Spartans, those ancient masters of Greece, those triumphant conquerors of Asia, those mighty sovereigns by sea and land, who once could make the Great King * tremble on his throne, but were now divested of their cities and houses, by the insatiable avarice of their own citizens, who had reduced them to the lowest extremes of poverty and shameful indigence;

* This was the usual appellation of the Persian monarchs.

gence; which might be considered as the completion of all their calamities, as, by these means, they were exposed to the insult and contempt of those to whom it was their right to prescribe laws. He then concluded, with intreating them not to be so far influenced by their obsequiousness to a handful of men, who even trampled them under their feet like so many despicable slaves, as to behold, with eyes of indifference, the dignity of their city entirely degraded and lost, but that they would recall to their remembrance those ancient oracles, which had more than once declared, that the love of riches would prove fatal to Sparta, and occasion its total ruin.

King Agis then advanced into the middle of the assembly, and declared, after a concise discourse, (for he thought his example would have more efficacy than any words he could utter) that he was determined to deliver up, for the common welfare, all his effects and estate, which were very considerable; consisting of large tracks of arable and pasture lands, beside six hundred talents of current money*; and that his mother and grandmother, together with the rest of his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta, would do the same.

The magnanimity of their young prince astonished all the people, who, at the same time, were transported with joy that they at last were so happy as to behold a king worthy of Sparta. Leonidas then took off the mask, and opposed him to the utmost of his power: For as he knew that it would otherwise be necessary for him to make the same offer they had heard from Agis, so he was sensible, that his citizens would not think themselves under the same obligations to him, as they were to his colleague, who, when each of their estates should be appropriated to the publick, would engross all the honour of that action, by rendering it the effect of his own example. He therefore demanded aloud of Agis, whether he did not think that Lycurgus was a just and able man, and one who had

* Equal to six hundred thousand French crowns.

had zealously consulted the welfare of his country? Agis then replied, that he had always considered him as such. "Where do you find then," retorted Leonidas, "that Lycurgus ever ordained an abolition of debts, or gave the freedom of Sparta to strangers? Since, on the contrary, it was his firm persuasion, that the city would never be safe till all strangers were expelled from its walls." Agis answered, "That he was not surprized that such a person as Leonidas, who had been brought up in foreign countries, and had married into the house of a Persian grandee, should be so little acquainted with Lycurgus, as not to know that he had swept away all actual and possible debts, by banishing gold and silver from the city. That, with respect to strangers, his precautions were intended against none but those who could not accommodate themselves to the manners and discipline he had established: That these were the only persons he expelled from the city, not by any hostilities against their persons, but from a mere apprehension, that their method of life, and corruption of manners, might insensibly inspire the Spartans with the love of luxury and softness, and an immoderate passion for riches."

He then produced several examples of poets and philosophers, particularly Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes, who had been highly esteemed and honoured at Sparta, because they taught the same maxims as Lycurgus had established.

This discourse won all the common people over to the party of Agis, but the rich men ranged themselves under Leonidas, and intreated him not to abandon them: They likewise addressed themselves to the senators, who had the principal power in this affair, as they alone were qualified to examine all proposals, before they could be received and confirmed by the people; and their solicitations were so effectual, that those who had opposed the decree of Agis, carried their point by an unanimous concurrence of voices:

Upon

Upon which Lyfander, who ftill continued in his employment; immediately determined to proceed againft Leonidas, in virtue of an ancient law, by which “ each descendant from Hercules was prohibited from
 “ efpoufing any foreign woman; and which made it
 “ death for any Spartan to settle among ftangers.” Sufficient proofs of delinquency in thefe particulars were produced againft Leonidas, and Cleombrotus was prevailed upon, at the fame time, to affift in the profecution, and demand the crown, as being himfelf of the royal race, and the fon-in-law of Leonidas.

Leonidas was fo confounded at this proceeding, and fo apprehenfive of the event, that he took fanctuary in the temple of Minerva, called *Chalcioicos*; upon which the wife of Cleombrotus feparated herfelf from her hufband, and became a fupplicant for her father. Leonidas was fummoned to appear; but as he refufed to render obedience in that particular, he was divefted of his royalty, and it was then transferred to his fon-in-law Cleombrotus.

Lyfander quitted his employment about the clofe of thefe tranfactions, the ufual time for holding it being then expired. The new Ephori took this opportunity to commence a profecution againft him, and Mandroclides, for having voted for the abolition of debts, and a new diftribution of lands, contrary to the laws. Lyfander and Mandroclides, finding themfelves in danger of being condemned, perfuaded the two kings, that if they would only be united with each other, they would have no caufe to be difquieted by any decrees of the Ephori, who were privileged indeed to decide between them, when they were divided in their fentiments, but had no right to interpoze in their affairs, when they concurred in the fame opinions.

The two kings, in order to improve this remonftrance, entered the afsembly, where they compelled the Ephori to quit their feats, and fubftituted others in their ftead, one of whom was Agefilaus. They then caufed a band of young men to arm themfelves, and gave orders for the releafing the prifoners; in a word,

they rendered themselves very formidable to their enemies, who now expected to be put to the sword: But not one person was killed on this occasion; and when Agis even knew that Agefilaus intended to cause Leonidas to be assassinated, in his retreat to Tegæa, he ordered him to be safely conducted thither by a sufficient guard.

When the affair was on the point of being absolutely concluded without any opposition, so great was the terror which then prevailed, it was suddenly obstructed by a single man. Agefilaus had one of the largest and best estates in the whole country, and at the same time was deeply involved in debt: But as he was incapable of paying his creditors, and had no inclination to incorporate his estate into the common property, he represented to Agis, that the change would be too great and violent, and even too dangerous, should they attempt to carry their two points at the same time; namely, the abolition of debts, and the distribution of lands; whereas, if they began with gaining over the landed proprietors, by the annihilation of debts, it would be easy for them to accomplish the partition of lands. The specious turn of this reasoning ensnared Agis, and even Lyfander himself was won over to this expedient by the artifice of Agefilaus: In consequence of which all contracts and obligations were taken from the several creditors, and carried into the publick place, where they were piled into a large heap, and burnt to ashes. As soon as the flames mounted into the air, the rich men and bankers, who had lent their money, returned home extremely dejected, and Agefilaus cried with an insulting air, *That he had never seen so fine and clear a fire before.*

The people, immediately after this transaction, demanded a distribution of the lands, and each of the kings gave orders for its accomplishment; but Agefilaus still continued to start fresh difficulties, and found out a variety of new pretexts, to prevent the execution of that affair; by which means he gained time, till

Agis was obliged to take the field at the head of an army. For the Achæans, who were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, had sent to demand their assistance against the Ætolians, who threatened an irruption into the territories of the Megareans in Peloponnesus.

Aratus, who was then general of the Achæans, had already assembled his troops to oppose the enemy, and had also written to the Ephori, who, upon the receipt of his letters, immediately sent Agis to their assistance. This prince set out with all possible expedition, and the soldiers testified an incredible joy, at their marching under his command. The generality of them were young men, in very low circumstances of life, who now saw themselves discharged from all their debts, and free, and also in expectation of sharing the lands, at their return from this expedition; for which reasons they testified the utmost affection for Agis. The cities were charmed to see these troops pass through Peloponnesus, without committing the least disorder; and so quietly, that the sound of their march was hardly to be distinguished. The Greeks were entirely surprized, and made the following reflection: *What admirable discipline and order must formerly have been observed by the armies of Lacedæmon, when they were commanded by Agesilaus, Lysander, or the ancient Leonidas; as they even discover at this time so much awe and respect for their general, though younger than any soldier in his camp!*

Agis joined Aratus, near Corinth, at the very time when he was deliberating in a council of war, whether he should hazard a battle, and in what manner he should dispose his troops. Agis declared for a battle, and thought it not adviseable to allow the enemies a passage into Peloponnesus; but added, at the same time, that he intended to act as Aratus should judge proper, as he was the older officer of the two, and general of the Achæans, whereas he himself was only general of the auxiliary troops; and was not come thither to exercise any command over the league, but

only to engage the enemy in conjunction with them; for whose assistance he had been sent. The officers of Aratus, instead of treating him with so much deference as Agis had expressed, took the liberty to reproach him in sharp terms, for his disinclination to a battle; ascribing that to timidity, which, in reality, was the effect of prudence. But the vain fear of false infamy did not make him abandon his wise view for the publick good. He justified his conduct by the memoirs he writ on that occasion; wherein he observes, that as the husbandmen had already carried in their harvest, and gathered in all the fruits of the season, he judged it more adviseable to let the enemy advance into the country, than to hazard an unnecessary battle at that juncture, when the welfare of the whole league lay at stake. When he had determined not to enter upon action, he dismissed his allies, after he had bestowed the greatest commendations upon them; and Agis, who was astonished at his conduct, set out for Sparta with his troops.

(b) The Ætolians entered Peloponnesus without any obstruction, and in their march seized the city of Pelene, where their troops, who were intent on nothing but plunder, immediately dispersed themselves up and down, without the least order, and began to contend with each other for the spoils. Aratus, informed of these proceedings, would not suffer so favourable an opportunity to escape him. He then ceased to be the same man, and, without losing a moment's time, or waiting till all his troops had joined him, advanced with those he then had against the enemies, who were become weak even by their victory: He attacked them in the very place they had so lately taken, and forced them to abandon it, after having lost seven hundred men. This action did him great honour, and changed the injurious reproaches he had patiently suffered into the highest applauses and panegyrick.

Several states and princes having now entered into a confederacy against the Achæans, Aratus endeavoured

ed to contract a friendship and alliance with the Ætolians, in which he easily succeeded; for a peace was not only concluded between them, but he also effectually negotiated an offensive and defensive league, between the two nations of Ætolia and Achæa.

(c) Agis, when he arrived at Sparta, found a great change in the state of affairs. Agefilas, who was one of the Ephori, being no longer restrained by fear as formerly, and entirely intent upon the gratification of his avarice, committed the greatest violence and injustice; when he found himself universally detested, he raised and maintained a body of troops, who served him as a guard when he went to the senate; and caused a report to be spread, that he intended to continue in his office the succeeding year. His enemies, in order to elude the calamities with which they were threatened, caused Leonidas to be sent for in the most publick manner from Tegæa, and replaced him upon the throne, to the general satisfaction of the people, who were greatly irritated, to see themselves abused in the hopes they had entertained of the partition, which had never been carried into execution.

Agefilas saved himself by the assistance of his son, who was universally beloved; and the two kings took sanctuary; Agis in the temple of Minerva, called Chalcioicos, and Cleombrotus in that of Neptune. As Leonidas seemed to be most exasperated against the latter, he left Agis, and advanced at the head of a band of soldiers into the temple, where Cleombrotus had fled for refuge. He then reproached him with great warmth for assuming the regal power, in violation of the ties of affinity between them, and for expelling him from his own country in so ignominious a manner. Cleombrotus, who had nothing to answer to these reproaches, continued seated in a profound silence, and with an aspect that sufficiently testified his confusion. His wife Cheonida stood near, with her two children at her feet. She had been equally unfortunate, as a wife and daughter, but was equally faithful in each

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of

of those capacities, and had always adhered to the unfortunate. She had accompanied her father Leonidas during his exile, and now returned to her husband, whom she tenderly embraced, and at the same time became a suppliant for him with her father.

All those who were then present, melted into tears at so moving a sight, and were struck with admiration at the virtue and tenderness of Chelonida, and the amiable force of conjugal love. This unfortunate princess pointing to her mourning habit and dishevelled tresses, *Believe me, O my father, said she, this habit of woe which I now wear, this dejection which appears in my countenance, and these sorrows into which you see me sunk, are not the effects of that compassion I entertain for Cleombrotus; but the sad remains of my affliction for the calamities you have sustained, in your flight from Sparta. On what, alas! shall I now resolve! While you reign for the future in Sparta, and triumph over the enemies who opposed you, shall I continue to live in the desolate state to which you now see me reduced? Or is it my duty to array myself in robes of royalty and magnificence, when I behold the husband I received from you in the flower of my youth, on the point of perishing by your dagger? Should he be unable to disarm your resentment, and move your soul to compassion, by the tears of his wife and children, permit me to assure you, that he will be punished with more severity for his imprudence, than was even intended by yourself, when he shall see a wife who is so dear to him expiring at his feet; for you are not to think, that in my present condition, I will ever consent to survive him. What appearance shall I make among the Spartan ladies, after my inability to inspire my husband with compassion for my father, and to soften my father into pity for my husband! What indeed shall I appear to them, but a daughter and a wife, always afflicted and condemned by her nearest relations!* Chelonida, at the conclusion of these expressions, reclined her cheek on that of Cleombrotus, while with her eyes, that spoke her sorrow in their tears, she cast a languid look on those who were present.

Leonidas,

Leonidas, after a few moments discourse with his friends, ordered Cleombrotus to rise, and immediately quit Sparta; but earnestly importuned his daughter to continue there, and not forsake a father, who gave her such a peculiar proof of tenderness, as to spare the life of her husband. His solicitations were however ineffectual, and the moment Cleombrotus rose from his seat, she placed one of her children in his arms, and clasped the other in her own; and when she had offered up her prayers to the goddesses, and kissed her altar, she became a voluntary exile with her husband. How extremely affecting was this spectacle; and how worthy the admiration of all ages is such a model of conjugal love! If the heart of Cleombrotus, says Plutarch, had not been entirely depraved by vain-glory, and a boundless ambition to reign, he would have been sensible, that even banishment itself with so virtuous a companion, was a felicity preferable to the condition of a sovereign.

When Leonidas had expelled Cleombrotus from Sparta, and substituted new Ephori instead of the former, whom he had deposed, he bent all his endeavours to ensnare Agis; and began with persuading him to quit the asylum to which he had retired, and reign in conjunction with himself. In order to which he assured him, that his citizens had pardoned all past proceedings, because they were sensible that his youth and inexperience, with his predominant passion for glory, had lain him open to the insinuations of Agesilaus. But as Agis suspected the sincerity of those expressions, and persisted in his resolution to continue in the temple, Leonidas no longer attempted to deceive him with plausible pretences. Amphares, Demochares, and Arcesilaus, who had frequently visited the young prince, continued their assiduities to him, and sometimes conducted him from the temple to the baths, and from thence conveyed him in safety to the temple; for each of them was his intimate friend.

This fidelity, however, was of no long continuance. Amphares had lately borrowed of Agesistrata, the mo-

ther of Agis, several rich suits of tapestry, and a magnificent set of silver plate. These costly ornaments tempted him to betray the king, with his mother and grandmother. It was even said, that he was much more inclinable, than either of his two companions, to listen to the suggestions of Leonidas; and that no one was so industrious as himself to spirit up the Ephori (of whose number he was one) against Agis. As this prince went sometimes from the temple to the bath, they resolved to take that opportunity to surprize him; and when he was one day returning from thence, they advanced up to him, and after they had embraced him with an air of affection, they attended him in his way, and entertained him with their usual familiarity of conversation. One of the streets, through which they past, turned off, in one quarter, to the prison, and as soon as they arrived at that passage, Amphares seized Agis with an air of authority, and cried, *Agis, I must conduct you to the Ephori, to whom you are to be accountable for your behaviour.* At the same instant, Demochares, who was tall and strong, threw his mantle round his neck, and dragged him along, while the others pushed him forward, as they had previously agreed: And as no person came to assist him, because there was nobody in the street at that time, they accomplished their design, and threw him into prison.

Leonidas arrived at the same time with a great number of foreign soldiers, and surrounded the prison; the Ephori likewise came thither, and when they had sent for such of the senators as concurred with their opinion, they proceeded to examine Agis, as if he had been arraigned at a competent tribunal, and ordered him to justify himself, with respect to his intended innovations in the republick. One of the Ephori, pretending to have discovered an expedient for disengaging him from this criminal affair, asked him, whether Lyfander and Agesilaus had not compelled him to have recourse to those measures? To which Agis replied, That he had not acted in consequence of any compulsion; but that his admiration of Lycurgus, and a sincere desire to imitate

imitate his conduct, were his only motives for attempting to restore the city to the same condition in which that legislator had left it. The same officer then demanding of him, if he repented of that proceeding? The young prince answered with an air of steadiness, *That he never should repent of so virtuous, so noble, and glorious an undertaking, though death itself were presented to his view in all its terrors.* His pretended judges then condemned him to die, and immediately commanded the publick officers to carry him to that part of the prison, where those, on whom the sentence of condemnation had passed, were usually strangled.

When Demochares saw that the officers of justice did not dare to lay their hands on Agis, and that even the foreign soldiers turned their eyes from such a spectacle of horror, and refused to be assistant at so inhuman an execution, he loaded them with threats and reproaches, and with his own hands dragged Agis to the dungeon. The people, who, by this time, were informed of the manner in which he had been seized, crowded to the gates of the prison, and began to be very tumultuous. The whole street was already illuminated with innumerable tapers; and the mother and grandmother of Agis ran from place to place, filling the air with their cries, and intreating the people that the king of Sparta might at least have an opportunity to defend himself, and be judged by his own citizens. The zeal of the people did but animate the murderers the more to hasten the execution of Agis, lest he should be released by force that very night, if the people should have sufficient time allowed them for assembling together.

As the executioners were leading him to the place where they intended to strangle him, he beheld tears flowing from the eyes of one of them, who was touched with his misfortune; upon which he turned to him, and said, *Weep not for me, my friend, for, as I am cut off in this manner contrary to all laws and justice, I am much happier, and more to be envied, than those who have condemned me.* When he had said these words, he
I offered

offered his neck to the fatal cord, without the least air of reluctance.

As Amphares came from the prison, at the close of this tragick scene, the first object he beheld was the desolate mother of Agis, who threw herself at his feet: He raised her from the earth, and assured her, that Agis had nothing to fear; intreating her, at the same time, as a proof of his sincerity, to enter the prison, and see her son. She then desired him to permit her aged mother to attend her in that mournful visit. *Your request*, said he, *is reasonable*; and he immediately conducted them into the prison, but ordered the door to be shut the moment they entered it. He then commanded the executioner to seize Archidamia, the grandmother of Agis, who had lived to a venerable old age among her citizens, with as much dignity and reputation as any lady of her time. When the executioner had performed his fatal office, the inhuman Amphares ordered the mother of Agis to enter the dungeon. This unhappy princess was obliged to obey him, and the moment she came into that dismal place, she beheld her son lying dead on the ground, and, at a little distance from him, her dead mother, with the fatal cord still twisted about her neck. She assisted the executioners in disengaging her parent from that instrument of cruelty, after which she laid the corpse by her son, and decently covered it with linen. When this pious office was compleated, she cast herself upon the body of Agis, and after she had tenderly kissed his cold lips, *O my son*, said she, *the excess of thy humanity and sweet disposition, and thy too great circumspection and lenity, have undone thee, and been fatal to us!*

Amphares, who from the door had beheld and heard all that passed, entered that moment, and addressing himself with a savage air to the mother of Agis, *Since you knew*, said he, *and approved the designs of your son, you shall share in his punishment*. Agesistrata rose at those words, and running at the fatal cord, *May this*, cried she, *at least be useful to Sparta*.

When

When the report of these executions was dispersed through the city, and the inhabitants beheld the bodies brought out of the prison, the indignation occasioned by this barbarity was universal, and every one declared, that from the time the Dorians had first established themselves in Peloponnesus, so horrible an action had never been committed. It must indeed be acknowledged, that all the blackest crimes in nature united in the circumstances which aggravated this; and we may even add too, that the murder of the king included and surpassed them all: So barbarous an execution, in opposition to that respect with which nature inspires the most savage people for the sacred person of their sovereign, is such a blemish on a nation, as all succeeding ages can never obliterate.

(*d*) Agis having been destroyed in this manner, Leonidas was not expeditious enough in seizing his brother Archidamus, who saved himself by flight; but he secured Agiatis, the consort of that unhappy king, forcing her to reside in his own house, with the young child she had by him, and then compelled her to espouse his son Cleomenes, who was not marriageable at that time; but Leonidas was determined that the widow of Agis should not be disposed of to any other person, as she inherited a very large estate from her father Gylippus, and likewise excelled all the Grecian ladies in beauty, as well as wisdom and virtue. She endeavoured to avoid this marriage by all means in her power, but to no effect. And when she at last was obliged to consent to her nuptials with Cleomenes, she always retained a mortal aversion for Leonidas, but behaved with the utmost complacency and softness to her young spouse, who, from the first day of his marriage, conceived a most sincere and passionate esteem and affection for her; and even sympathized with her in the tenderness she preserved for Agis, and the regard she expressed for his memory, and that too in such a degree, that he would frequently listen to her with the greatest attention, while she related to him

him the great designs he had formed for the regulation of the government.

SECT. IV, *CLEOMENES ascends the throne of Sparta, and engages in a war against the Achæans, over whom he obtains several advantages. He reforms the government of Sparta, and re-establishes the ancient discipline. Acquires new advantages over ARATUS and the Achæans. ARATUS applies for succour to ANTI-CONUS king of Macedonia, by whose aid the Achæans obtain repeated victories, and take several places from the enemy.*

(a) **C**LEOMENES had a noble soul, and an ardent passion for glory, joined with the same inclination for temperance and simplicity of manners as Agis had always expressed; but had not that excessive sweetness of disposition, attended with the timidity and precaution of that prince. Nature, on the contrary, had infused into him a vigour and vivacity of mind, which ardently prompted him on to whatever appeared great and noble. Nothing seemed so amiable to him, as the government of his citizens agreeably to their own inclinations; but, at the same time, he did not think it inconsistent with the glory of a wise administration, to employ some violence in reducing to the publick utility an inconsiderable number of obstinate and unjust persons, who opposed it merely from the view of private interest.

He was far from being satisfied with the state of affairs which then prevailed in Sparta. All the citizens had long been softened by indolence and a voluptuous life; and the king himself, who was fond of tranquillity, had entirely neglected publick affairs. No person whatever had testified any regard for the publick good, every individual being solely intent upon his particular interest, and the aggrandizement of his family at the publick expence. Instead of any care in disciplining the young people, and forming their temperance, patience, and the equality of freemen, it was even

even dangerous to mention any thing of that nature, as Agis himself had perished by attempting to introduce it among them.

It is also said, that Cleomenes, who was still very young, had heard some philosophical lectures at the time when Spherus, who came from the banks of the Boristhenes, settled in Lacedæmon, and applied himself, in a very successful manner, to the instruction of youth. This person was one of the principal disciples of Zeno the Citian *. The stoick philosophy which he then professed, was exceedingly proper to infuse courage and noble sentiments in the mind; but, at the same time, was capable of dangerous effects in a disposition naturally warm and impetuous; and, on the other hand, might be rendered very beneficial, by being grafted on a mild and moderate character.

After the death of Leonidas, who did not long survive the condemnation and murder of Agis, his son Cleomenes succeeded him in the throne; and though he was then very young, it gave him pain to consider that he had only the empty title of king, while the whole authority was engrossed by the Ephori, who shamefully abused their power. He then grew solicitous to change the form of government; and as he was sensible that few persons were disposed to concur with him in that view, he imagined the accomplishment of it would be facilitated by a war, and therefore endeavoured to embroil his city with the Achæans, who, very fortunately for his purpose, had given Sparta some occasions of complaint against them.

Aratus, from the first moments of his administration, had been industrious to negotiate a league between all the states of Peloponnesus, through a persuasion, that if he succeeded in that attempt, they would have nothing to fear for the future from a foreign enemy; and this was the only point to which all his measures tended. All the other states, except the Lacedæmonians, the people of Elis, and those of Arcadia, who had espoused the party of the Lacedæmonians,

A. M.
3762.
Ant. J. C.
242.

* So called from Citium, a city of Cyprus.

nians, had acceded to this league. Aratus, soon after the death of Leonidas, began to harraßs the Arcadians, in order to make an experiment of the Spartan courage, and at the same time to make it evident, that he despised Cleomenes, as a young man without the least experience.

When the Ephori received intelligence of this act of hostility, they caused their troops to take the field, under the command of Cleomenes ; they indeed were not numerous, but the consideration of the general by whom they were commanded, inspired them with all imaginable ardours for the war. The Achæans marched against him with twenty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes came up with them near Pallantium, a city of Arcadia, and offered them battle ; but Aratus was so intimidated with the bravery of this proceeding, that he prevailed upon the general not to hazard an engagement, and then made a retreat ; which drew upon him very severe reproaches from his own troops, and sharp railery from the enemy, whose numbers did not amount to five thousand men in the whole. The courage of Cleomenes was so much raised by this retreat, that he assumed a loftier air amongst his citizens, and reminded them of an expression used by one of their ancient kings, who said, *That the Lacedæmonians never inquired after the numbers of their enemies, but where they were.* He afterwards defeated the Achæans in a second encounter ; but Aratus, taking the advantage even of his defeat, like an experienced general, turned his arms immediately against Mantinæa, and before the enemy could have any suspicion of his design, made himself master of that city, and put a garrison into it.

Cleomenes, after his return to Sparta, began to think seriously on the execution of his former design, and had credit enough to cause Archidamus, the brother of Agis, to be recalled from Messene. As that prince was descended from the other royal house of Sparta, he had an incontestable right to the crown ;
and

and Cleomenes was persuaded, that the authority of the Ephori would receive a much greater diminution, when the throne of Sparta should be filled by its two kings, whose union would enable them to counterballance their power. But, unhappily for his purpose, the same persons who had been guilty of the death of Agis, found means to assassinate his brother Archidamus *.

Cleomenes, soon after this event, gained a new advantage over the Achæans, in an action near Megalopolis, wherein Lysicles was slain, in consequence of engaging too far in the pursuit of the Lacedæmonians, who had been repulsed when the encounter first began. This victory was very honourable to the young king, and increased his reputation to a great degree. He then imparted his design to a small number of select and faithful friends, who served him in a very seasonable manner. When he returned to Sparta, he concerted his march so as to enter the city when the Ephori were at supper; at which time, a set of persons who had been chosen for that action entered the hall with their drawn swords, and killed four of these magistrates †, with ten of those who had taken arms for their defence. Agesilaus, who had been left for dead on the spot, found means to save himself; after which no other person whatever sustained any violence; and, indeed, what had been already committed was sufficient.

The next day, Cleomenes caused the names of fourscore citizens, whom he intended to banish, to be fixed up in places of publick resort. He also removed from the hall of audience all the seats of the Ephori, except one, where he determined to place himself, in order to render justice; and after he had convoked an assembly of the people, he explained to them his reasons for the conduct he had pursued; representing to them, in what an enormous manner the Ephori

* Polybius declares, that Cleomenes himself caused him to be assassinated, l. v. p. 383. & l. viii. p. 511.

† This magistracy was composed of five Ephori.

Ephori had abused their power, by suppressing all lawful authority, and not only banishing their kings; but even in causing them to be destroyed without the least form of justice; and menacing those who were desirous of beholding Sparta happy in the most excellent and most divine form of government. He then added, that the conduct he pursued, rendered it sufficiently evident, that, instead of consulting his own particular interest, his whole endeavours were employed to promote that of the citizens, and revive among them the discipline and equality which the wise Lycurgus had formerly established, and from whence Sparta had derived all her glory and reputation.

When he had expressed himself in this manner, he immediately consigned his whole estate to the people as their common property, and was seconded in that action by Megistones, his father-in-law, who was very rich. The rest of his friends, in conjunction with all the other citizens, then complied with this example, and the lands were distributed agreeably to the intended plan. He even assigned a portion to each of those who had been banished, and promised to recall them as soon as affairs could be settled in a state of tranquillity. He then filled up the proper number of citizens with persons of the best character in all the adjacent parts, and raised four thousand foot, whom he taught to use lances instead of javelins, and to wear bucklers with good handles, and not with leather straps buckled on, as had before been the custom.

His next cares were devoted to the education of children; in order to which he endeavoured to re-establish the Laconick discipline, wherein the philosopher Spherus was very assistant to him. The exercises and publick meals soon resumed their ancient order and gravity; most of the citizens voluntarily embracing this wise, noble, and regular method of life, to which the rest, whose number was very inconsiderable, were soon obliged to conform. In order also

to soften the name of monarch, and to avoid exasperating the citizens, he appointed his brother Euclidas king with him; which is the first instance of the administration of the Spartan government by two kings of the same house at one time.

Cleomenes, believing that Aratus and the Achæans were persuaded he would not presume to quit Sparta, amidst the dissatisfactions occasioned by the novelties he had introduced in the government, thought nothing could be more honourable and advantageous to him, than to let them see how much he was esteemed by his troops, and beloved by his citizens, and what confidence he entertained, that the new changes had not alienated the minds of the people from him. He first advanced into the territories of Megalopolis; where his troops committed great devastations, and gained a very considerable booty. To these ravages he added insults, causing publick games and shews to be exhibited for the space of a whole day, in the sight of the enemy; not that he had any real satisfaction in such a conduct, but only intended to convince them, by this contemptuous bravado, how much he assured himself of being victorious over them.

Though it was very customary, in those times, to see troops of comedians and dancers in the train of other armies, his camp was perfectly free from all such dissolute proceedings. The youths of his army passed the greatest part of their time in exercising themselves, and the old men were industrious to form and instruct them. Their very relaxations from those employments were devoted to instructive and familiar conversations, seasoned with fine and delicate raileries, that were always modest, and never rendered offensive by injurious reflections. In a word, they were entirely conformable to the laws by which the wise legislator of Sparta had been careful to regulate conversations.

Cleomenes himself appeared like the master who thus formed the citizens, not so much by his discourse, as his example in leading a frugal life, which had nothing in it superior to that of the meanest of his sub-

jects, an affecting model of wisdom and abstinence, which facilitated beyond expression his accomplishment of the great things he performed in Greece. For those whose affairs carried them to the courts of other kings, did not admire their riches and magnificence, so much as they detested their imperious pride, and the haughtiness with which they treated those who approached them. On the contrary, no such offensive manners were ever experienced in the court of Cleomenes. He appeared in a very plain habit, and almost without officers: The audiences he gave were as long as the people who applied to him could desire: He gave all manner of persons a very agreeable reception, without treating any body with an air of austerity. This affable and engaging behaviour gained him the universal love and veneration of his people, in which the true grandeur and merit of a king undoubtedly consist.

His table was extremely simple and frugal, and truly laconick. No musick was ever introduced there; nor did any one desire it, as his conversation well supplied its place; and it is certain that those who are capable of discoursing well, may pass their time very agreeably without hearing songs. Cleomenes never failed to enliven those repasts, either by proposing curious and important questions, or relating some useful and agreeable piece of history; seasoning the whole with a delicate vein of wit and gaiety. He thought it neither an argument of a prince's merit or glory to attach men to his interest by the attractions of riches, and splendid tables; whereas the ability of gaining their hearts by the amiable power of discourse, and the charms of a commerce, in which freedom of thought, and sincerity of manners, always prevailed, was considered by him as a truly royal quality.

A. M. This affable and engaging disposition of Cleo-
 3776.
 Ant. J. C. menes secured him the affection of all the troops,
 228. and inspired them with such an ardour for his service,
 as seemed to have rendered them invincible. He took
 several places from the Achæans, ravaged the territo-

ries

ries of their allies, and advanced almost as far as Phæra, with intention either to give them battle, or discredit Aratus as a pusillanimous leader, who had fled from his enemy, and abandoned all their flat country to be plundered. The Achæans having taken the field with all their troops, and encamped in the territories of Dymæ, Cleomenes followed them thither, and harraßed them perpetually with so much intrepidity, as at last compelled them to come to a battle, wherein he obtained a compleat victory; for he put their army to flight, killed abundance of men, and took a great number of prisoners.

(b) The Achæans were extremely dejected at these severe losses, and began to be apprehensive of the greatest calamities from Sparta, especially if she should happen to be supported by the Ætolians, according to the rumour which then prevailed. Aratus, who had usually been elected general every other year, refused to charge himself with that commission when he was chosen again, and Timoxenes was substituted in his stead. The Achæans severely censured the conduct of Aratus on this occasion, and with great justice, as he, who was considered by them as their pilot, had now abandoned the helm of his vessel amidst a threatening tempest, wherein it would have been proper and glorious for him to have seized it into his own hands, even by force, in imitation of several great examples related in history, and when he ought to have been solely solicitous to save the state at the expence of his own life. If he had even despaired of retrieving the affairs of the Achæans, he ought rather to have submitted to Cleomenes, who was a Grecian by birth, and king of Sparta, than to call in the assistance of foreigners, and make them masters of Peloponnesus, as will soon appear to have been the event: Jealousy, however, extinguishes all prudent reflections, and is a malady not to be cured by reason alone.

The Achæans, being reduced to the last extremities,

G g 2

(b) Plut. in Cleom. p. 811. Idem, in Arat. p. 1044.

A. M. ties, and especially after the loss of the first battle,
 3777. sent ambassadors to Cleomenes to negotiate a peace.
 Ant. J. C. The king seemed at first determined to impose very
 227. rigid terms upon them; but afterward dispatched an
 embassy on his part, and only demanded to be ap-
 pointed general of the Achæan league, promising on
 that condition to accommodate all differences between
 them, and restore the prisoners and places he had taken
 from them. The Achæans, who were very inclin-
 able to accept of peace on those terms, desired Cleo-
 menes to be present at Lerna, where they were to
 hold a general assembly, in order to conclude the
 treaty. The king set out accordingly for that place,
 but an unexpected accident, which happened to him,
 prevented the interview; and Aratus endeavoured to
 improve it in such a manner as to hinder the nego-
 tiation from being renewed. He imagined, that as he
 had possessed the chief authority in the Achæan league
 for the space of thirty-three years, it would be very
 dishonourable in him to suffer a young man to graft
 himself upon him, and divest him of all his glory and
 power, by supplanting him in a command he had ac-
 quired, augmented, and retained for so many years.
 These considerations induced him to use all his ef-
 forts to dissuade the Achæans from the conditions
 proposed to them by Cleomenes: But as he had the
 mortification to find himself incapable of conciliating
 them with this view, because they dreaded the bravery
 and uncommon success of Cleomenes, and likewise
 thought the Lacedæmonians were very reasonable
 in their intentions to restore Peloponnesus to its an-
 cient state, he had recourse to an expedient which no
 Grecian ought to have approved, and was extremely
 dishonourable in a man of his rank and character.
 His design was to call in the assistance of Antigonus
 king of Macedonia, and by inevitable consequence
 make him master of Greece.

(c) He had not forgotten that Antigonus had great
 cause to be dissatisfied with his former proceedings:

But

But he was sensible, that princes may be properly said to have neither friends nor enemies, and that they form their sentiments of things by the standard of their own interest. He, however, would not openly enter into a negotiation of this nature, nor propose it as from himself; because he knew that if it should happen to prove unsuccessful, he must inevitably incur all the odium; and beside, it would be making a plain declaration to the Achæans, that if he had not absolutely despaired of retrieving their affairs, he would not advise them to have recourse to their professed enemy. He therefore concealed his real views, like an artful and experienced politician, and proceeded by indirect and secret methods. As the city of Megalopolis was nearest in situation to Sparta, it lay most exposed to the incursions of the enemy, and the inhabitants began to think themselves sufficient sufferers by the war, as the Achæans were so far from being in a condition to support them, that they were unable to defend themselves. Nicophanes and Cercides, two citizens of Megalopolis, whom Aratus had brought over to his scheme, made a proposal in the council of that city, for demanding permission of the Achæans, to implore the assistance of Antigonus. This motion was immediately assented to, and the Achæans granted them the permission they desired. These two citizens were then deputed to be the messengers of that proposal, and Aratus had been careful to furnish them with sufficient instructions beforehand. When they received audience of Antigonus, they lightly touched upon the particulars which related to their city, and then strongly insisted, in conformity to their instructions, on the imminent danger to which the king himself would be exposed, should the alliance, which was then talked of between the Ætolians and Cleomenes, take effect. They then represented to him, that if the united forces of those two states should have those advantages over the Achæans, which they expected to obtain, the towering ambition of Cleomenes would never be satisfied with the mere conquest of Pelopon-

nefus, as it was evident that he aspired at the empire of all Greece, which it would be impossible for him to seize, without entirely destroying the authority of the Macedonians. To these remonstrances they added, that if the Ætolians should not happen to join Cleomenes, the Achæans would be capable of supporting themselves with their own forces, and should have no cause to trouble the king with their importunities for his assistance; but if, on the other hand, fortune should prove adverse to them, and permit the confederacy between those two states to take effect, they must then intreat him not to be an unconcerned spectator of the ruin of Peloponnesus, which might even be attended with fatal consequences to himself. They also took care to insinuate to the king, that Aratus would enter into all his measures, and give him, in due time, sufficient security for his own fidelity and good intentions.

Antigonus highly approved all these representations, and seized with pleasure the opportunity that was now offered him, for engaging in the affairs of Greece. This had always been the policy of the successors of Alexander, who, by declaring themselves kings, had converted the frame of their respective governments into monarchy. They were sensible that it nearly concerned them to oppose all such states as had any inclination to retain their liberty, and the form of popular government; and where-ever they found themselves in no condition to extinguish these, they attempted to weaken them at least, and to render the people incapable of forming any considerable enterprises, by sowing the seeds of division between republicks and free states, and engaging them in wars against each other, in order to render themselves necessary to them, and prevent their shaking off the Macedonian yoke, by uniting their forces. (d) Polybius, speaking of one of these princes, declares in express terms, that he paid large pensions to several ty-

rants

rants in Greece, who were professed enemies to liberty*.

It cannot therefore be thought surprising, that Antigonus should prove so tractable to the solicitations and demands of the Megalopolitans. He wrote then an obliging letter, wherein he promised to assist them, provided the Achæans would consent to that proceeding. The inhabitants of Megalopolis were transported at the happy result of their negotiation, and immediately dispatched the same deputies to the general assembly of the Achæans, in order to inform that people of the good intentions of Antigonus, and to press them to put their interests immediately into his hands.

Aratus did not fail to congratulate himself in private, for the masterly stroke by which he had succeeded in his intrigue, and to find Antigonus not possessed with any impressions to his prejudice, as he had reason to apprehend. He wished, indeed, to have had no occasion for his assistance; and though necessity obliged him to have recourse to that prince, he was willing to guard against the imputation of those measures, and for having them seem to have been concerted by the Achæans, without any privity of his.

When the deputies from Megalopolis were introduced into the assembly, they read the letter of Antigonus, and related all the particulars of the obliging reception he had given them; with the affection and esteem he had expressed for the Achæans, and the advantageous offers he made them. They concluded with desiring, in the name of their city, that the Achæans would invite Antigonus to be present as soon as possible in their assembly; and every one seemed to approve of that motion. Aratus then rose up, and after he had represented the voluntary goodness of the king in the strongest light, and commended the sentiments that prevailed in the assembly, he intimated to them, that there was no necessity for precipitating any thing; that it would be very honourable

* *Ἀντιγόνης ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς (μεγαλοπολῖται) οἰκιστὴς καὶ μακροβιώτης.*

for the republick to endeavour to terminate her wars by her own forces; and that if any calamitous accident should render her incapable of doing so, it would then be time enough to have recourse to her friends. This advice was generally approved; and it was concluded, that the Achæans should employ only their own forces in supporting the present war.

A. M. 3778.
Ant. J. C. 226.
A. M. 3779.
Ant. J. C. 225.

(e) The events of it were, however, very unfavourable to them; for Cleomenes made himself master of several cities * of Peloponnesus, of which Argos was the most considerable, and at last seized Corinth, but not the citadel. The Achæans had then no longer time for deliberation; Antigonus was called in to their assistance, and they came to a resolution to deliver up the citadel to him, without which he would never have engaged in that expedition; for he wanted a place of strength, and there was none which suited him so effectually as that, as well on account of its advantageous situation between two seas, as its fortifications, which rendered it almost impregnable. Aratus sent his son to Antigonus among the other hostages. That prince advanced by long marches with an army of twenty thousand foot, and fourteen hundred horse. Aratus set out by sea with the principal officers of the league, to meet Antigonus at the city of Pegæ, unknown to the enemy; and when that prince was informed of his arrival in person, he advanced to him, and rendered him all the honours due to a general of distinguished rank and merit.

Cleomenes, instead of attempting to defend the passage of the Isthmus, thought it more adviseable to throw up trenches, and raise strong walls to fortify the passes of the Onian mountains †, and to harass the enemy by frequent attacks, rather than hazard a battle with such well-disciplined and warlike troops. This conduct of the king of Sparta reduced Antigonus to great

(e) Plut. in Cleom. p. 814, 815. Plut. in Arat. p. 1047.

* Caphyes, Pellene, Pheneus, Pbli-
onte, Cleonæ, Epidaurus, Hermione, Fræzene.

† These were a ridge of moun-
mount Citheron. Strab. l. viii.

tains which extended from the
rocks of Sciron, in the road to
Attica, as far as Bæotia, and

great extremities, for he had not provided himself with any considerable quantity of provisions, and found it not very practicable to force the passes defended by Cleomenes: The only expedient, therefore, to which Antigonus could have recourse in this perplexity, was to advance to the promontory of Heræa, and from thence to transport his army by sea to Sicyon, which would require a considerable space of time, as well as great preparations, which could not easily be made.

While Antigonus was embarrassed in this manner, some friends of Aratus arrived at his camp, one night, by sea, and informed him, that the people of Argos had revolted against Cleomenes, and were then besieging the citadel. Aratus having likewise received fifteen hundred men from Antigonus, set out by sea and arrived at Epidaurus.

A. M.

3780.

Ant. J. C.

224.

Cleomenes, receiving intelligence of these proceedings about nine or ten in the evening, immediately detached Megistones with two thousand men, to succour his party at Argos as soon as possible; after which he industriously watched the motions of Antigonus; and to animate the Corinthians, assured them, that the disorders, which had lately happened at Argos, were no more than a slight commotion, excited by a few mutinous persons, which would easily be suppressed. In this however he was deceived, for Megistones having been slain in a skirmish, as soon as he entered Argos, the Lacedæmonian garrison was reduced to the last extremity, and several couriers had been sent from those troops to demand immediate assistance from the Spartan army. Cleomenes being then apprehensive that the enemies, if they should happen to make themselves masters of Argos, would shut up all the passes against him; by which means they would be in a condition to ravage all Laconia with impunity, and even to form the siege of Sparta, which would then be without defence; he therefore thought it advisable to decamp, and marched with all his army from Corinth.

Antigonus,

Antigonus, soon after this retreat of the Lacedæmonians, entered the place, and secured it to himself with a good garrison. Cleomenes in the mean time arrived at Argos, before the revolvers had any suspicion of his approach, and at first succeeded so far, as to scale several parts of the town, where he forced some of the enemies troops to save themselves by flight; but Aratus having entered the city on one side, and king Antigonus appearing with all his troops on the other, Cleomenes retired to Mantinea.

During the continuance of his march, he received advice in the evening from couriers at Tegea, which affected him as much as all his former misfortunes. They acquainted him with the death of his consort Agiatis, from whom he had never been able to absent himself a whole campaign, even when his expeditions were most successful; and such was his tenderness and esteem for her, that it had always been customary for him to make frequent returns to Sparta to enjoy the pleasure of her company. The next morning he renewed his march by dawn, and arrived early at Sparta, where, after he had devoted some moments in pouring out his sorrows to his mother and children in his own house, he resumed the management of publick affairs.

Much about the same time, Ptolemy, who had promised to assist him in the war, sent to him to demand his mother and children as hostages. It was a long time before Cleomenes could presume to acquaint his parent with the king of Egypt's demand, and though he frequently went to visit her, with an intention to explain himself to her, he never had resolution enough to enter upon the subject. His mother observing the perplexity in which he appeared, began to entertain some suspicion of the cause: For mothers have usually a great share of penetration, with reference to their children. She inquired of those who were most intimate with him, whether her son did not desire something from her, which he could not prevail upon himself to communicate to her? And

when

when Cleomenes had at last the resolution to open the affair to her; *How, my son, said she with a smile, is this the secret you wanted courage to disclose to me? Why, in the name of heaven, did you not immediately cause me to be put on board some vessel, and sent, without a moment's delay, to any part of the world, where my person may be useful to Sparta, before old age consumes and destroys it in languor and inaction!*

When the preparations for her voyage were completed, Crateficlea (for so the mother of Cleomenes was called) took her son apart, a few moments before she entered the vessel, and led him into the temple of Neptune. There she held him a great while clasped in her arms, and after she had bathed his face with a tender flow of tears, she recommended the liberty and honour of his country to his care. When she saw him weep in the excess of his anguish at that melancholy parting; *King of Lacedæmon, said she, let us dry our tears, that no person, when we quit the temple, may see us weep, or do any thing unworthy of Sparta. For this is in our power; events are in the hands of God.* When she had expressed herself to this effect, she composed her countenance, led her infant grandson to the ship, and commanded the pilot to sail that moment from the port.

As soon as she arrived at Egypt, she was informed that Ptolemy, having received an embassy from Antigonus, was satisfied with the proposals made by that prince; and she had likewise intelligence, that her son Cleomenes was solicited by the Achæans to conclude a treaty between them and Sparta, but that he durst not put an end to the war, without the consent of Ptolemy, because he was apprehensive for his mother, who was then in the power of that king. When she had been fully instructed in these particulars, she sent express orders to her son, to transact, without the least fear or hesitation, whatever he imagined would prove beneficial and glorious to Sparta, and not to suffer himself to be disconcerted by his apprehensions of the treatment an ancient woman and a little infant might

might sustain from Ptolemy. Such were the sentiments which even the women of Sparta thought it their glory to cherish.

A. M. 3781.
Ant. J. C. 223. (f) Antigonus, in the mean time, having made himself master of Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomene, and several other cities; Cleomenes, who was then reduced to the necessity of defending Laconia, permitted all the Helots who were capable of paying five minæ (about ten pounds sterling) to purchase their freedom. From this contribution he raised five hundred talents (about one hundred twenty-five thousand pounds sterling) and armed two thousand of these Helots after the Macedonian manner, in order to oppose them to the Leucaspides of Antigonus; he then formed an enterprize, which certainly no one could have expected from him. The city of Megalopolis was very considerable at that time, and even not inferior to Sparta in power and extent. Cleomenes concerted measures for surprising this city, and to take it without any opposition; and as Antigonus had sent most of his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia, while he himself continued at Egium, to assist in the assembly of the Achæans, the king of Sparta justly supposed, that the garrison of the city could not be very strong at that time, nor their guards very strict in their duty, as they were not apprehensive of any insult from an enemy so weak as himself; and, consequently, that if he proceeded with expedition in his design, Antigonus, who was then at the distance of three days march from the place, would be incapable of affording it any assistance. The event succeeded according to the plan he had projected; for as he arrived at the city by night, he scaled the walls, and made himself master of the place without any opposition. Most of the inhabitants retired to Messene, with their wives and children, before their enemies had any thoughts of pursuing them; and Antigonus was not

(f) Polyb. l. ii. p. 149. Plut. in Cleom. p. 315...317. Id. in Arato. p. 1048.

not informed of this accident, till it was too late to retrieve it.

Cleomenes, out of a generosity of mind which has few examples in history, sent a herald to acquaint the people of Megalopolis, that he would restore them the possession of their city, provided they would renounce the Achæan league, and enter into a friendship and confederacy with Sparta; but as advantageous as this offer seemed, they could not prevail on themselves to accept it, but rather chose to be deprived of their estates, as well as of the monuments of their ancestors, and the temples of their gods; in a word, to see themselves divested of all that was most dear and valuable to them, than to violate the faith they had sworn to their allies. The famous Philopœmen, whom we shall frequently have occasion to mention in the sequel of this history, and who was then at Messene, contributed not a little to this generous resolution. Who could ever expect to discover so much greatness of soul, and such a noble cast of thought, from the very dregs of Greece, for by that name the times of which we now treat may justly be described, when we compare them with the glorious ages of Greece united and triumphant, when even the lustre of its victories was lost in the splendor of its virtues!

This refusal of the Megalopolitans highly enraged Cleomenes, who, till the moment he received their answer, had not only spared the city, but had even been careful to prevent the soldiers from committing the least disorder; but his anger was then inflamed to such a degree, that he abandoned the place to pillage, and sent all the statues and pictures to his own city. He also demolished the greatest part of the walls, with the strongest quarters, and then marched his troops back to Sparta. The desolation of the city extremely afflicted the Achæans, who considered their inability to assist such faithful allies, as a crime for which they ought to reproach themselves.

This people were soon sensible, that by imploring the aid of Antigonus, they had subjected themselves

to

to an imperious master, who made their liberties the price of his aid. He compelled them to pass a decree, which prohibited them from writing to any king, or sending an embassy without his permission; and he obliged them to furnish provisions and pay for the garrison he had put into the citadel of Corinth, which, in reality, was making them pay for their own chains, for this citadel was the very place which kept them in subjection. They had abandoned themselves to slavery in so abject a manner, as even to offer sacrifices and libations, and exhibit publick games in honour of Antigonus; and Aratus was no longer regarded by them. Antigonus set up in Argos all the statues of those tyrants which Aratus had thrown down, and destroyed all those which had been erected in honour of the persons who surprized the citadel of Corinth, except one, which was that of Aratus himself; and all the intreaties of this general could not prevail upon the king to desist from such a proceeding. The sight of these transactions gave him the utmost anxiety; but he was no longer master of affairs, and suffered a just punishment for subjecting himself and his country to a foreign yoke. Antigonus also took the city of Mantinea, and when he had most inhumanly murdered a great number of the citizens, and sold the rest into captivity, he abandoned the place to the Argives, in order to its being repeopled by them, and even charged Aratus with that commission, who had the meanness to call this new inhabited city * by the name of him who had shewn himself its most cruel enemy. A sad, and, at the same time, a salutary example, which shews that when once a person has consented to stoop to a state of servitude, he sees himself daily compelled to descend lower, without knowing where or how to stop.

Aratus, by employing his own endeavours to load his republick with shackles, was guilty of an unpardonable crime, the enormity of which no great quality, nor any shining action, can ever extenuate. He
acted

* Antigonis,

acted thus merely through jealousy of his rival Cleomenes, whose glory, and the superiority that young prince had obtained over him by the success of his arms, were insupportable to him. What, says Plutarch, did Cleomenes demand of the Achæans, as the sole preliminary to the peace he offered them? Was it not their election of him for their general? And did he not demand that, with a view to compleat the welfare of their cities, and secure to them the enjoyment of their liberties, as a testimony of his gratitude for so signal an honour, and so glorious a title? If, therefore, continues Plutarch, it had been absolutely necessary for them to have chosen either Cleomenes or Antigonus, or, in other words, a Greek or a Barbarian, for the Macedonians were considered as such; in a word, if they were obliged to have a master, would not the meanest citizen of Sparta have been preferable to the greatest of the Macedonians; at least, in the opinion of those who had any regard to the honour and reputation of Greece? Jealousy, however, extinguished all those sentiments in the mind of Aratus; so difficult is it to behold superior merit with an eye of satisfaction and tranquillity.

Aratus, therefore, that he might not seem to submit to Cleomenes, nor consent that a king of Sparta, descended from Hercules, and a king who had lately re-established the ancient discipline of that city, should add to his other titles, that of captain-general of the Achæans, called in a stranger, to whom he had formerly professed himself a mortal enemy; in consequence of which he filled Peloponnesus with those very Macedonians, whom he had made it his glory to expel from thence in his youth. He even threw himself at their feet, and all Achaia, by his example, fell prostrate before them, as an indication of their promptitude to accomplish the commands of their imperious masters. In a word, from a man accustomed to liberty, he became an abject and servile flatterer; he had the baseness to offer sacrifices to Antigonus, and placed himself at the head of a procession crown-

ed with chaplets of flowers, joining at the same time in hymns to the honour of that prince, and rendering by these low adulations that homage to a mortal man, which none but the divinity can claim, and even to a man who then carried death in his bosom, and was ready to sink into putrefaction; for he at that time was reduced to the last extremity by a slow consumption. Aratus was, however, a man of great merit in other respects, and had shewn himself to be an extraordinary person, altogether worthy of Greece. In him, says Plutarch, we see a deplorable instance of human frailty; which, amidst the lustre of so many rare and excellent qualities, could not form the plan of a virtue exempt from blame.

(g) We have already observed, that Antigonus had sent his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia. Cleomenes, at the return of spring, formed an enterprize, which, in the opinion of the vulgar, was the result of temerity and folly; but, according to Polybius, a competent judge in affairs of that nature, it was concerted with all imaginable prudence and sagacity. As he was sensible that the Macedonians were dispersed in their quarters, and that Antigonus passed the winter season with his friends at Argos, without any other guard than an inconsiderable number of foreign troops; he made an irruption into the territories of Argos, in order to lay them waste. He conceived, at the same time, that if Antigonus should be so much affected with the apprehensions of ignominy as to hazard a battle, he would certainly be defeated; and that, on the other hand, if he should decline fighting, he would lose all his reputation with the Achæans, while the Spartans, on the contrary, would be rendered more daring and intrepid. The event succeeded according to his expectations; for as the whole country was ruined by the devastations of his troops, the people of Argos, in their rage and impatience, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace gate, and with a murmuring tone pressed the
king

king either to give their enemies battle, or resign the command of his troops to those who were less timorous than himself. Antigonus, on the other hand, who had so much of the prudence and presence of mind essential to a great general, as to be sensible that the dishonourable part of one in his station, did not consist in hearing himself reproached, but in exposing himself rashly, and without reason, and in quitting certainties for chance, refused to take the field, and persisted in his resolution not to fight. Cleomenes therefore led up his troops to the walls of Argos, and when he had laid the flat country waste, marched his army back to Sparta.

This expedition redounded very much to his honour, and even obliged his enemies to confess that he was an excellent general, and a person of the highest merit and capacity in the conduct of the most arduous affairs. In a word, they could never sufficiently admire his manner of opposing the forces of a single city to the whole power of the Macedonians, united with that of Peloponnesus, notwithstanding the immense supplies which had been furnished by the king; and especially when they considered that he had not only preserved Laconia free from all insults, but had even penetrated into the territories of his enemies, where he ravaged the country, and made himself master of several great cities. This they were persuaded could not be the effect of any ordinary abilities in the art of war, nor of any common magnanimity of soul. A misfortune however unhappily prevented him from reinstating Sparta in her ancient power, as will be evident in the sequel.

SECT. V. *The celebrated battle of Selasia, wherein ANTIGONUS defeats CLEOMENES, who retires into Egypt. ANTIGONUS makes himself master of Sparta, and treats that city with great humanity. The death of that prince, who is succeeded by PHILIP, the son of DEMETRIUS. The death of PTOLEMY EVERGETES, to whose throne PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR succeeds. A great earthquake at Rhodes. The noble generosity of those princes and cities who contributed to the reparation of the losses the Rhodians had sustained by that calamity. The fate of the famous Colossus.*

A. M.
3781.
Ant. J. C.
223.

(a) **T**HE Macedonians and Achæans having quitted their quarters in the summer season, Antigonus put himself at the head of them, and advanced into Laconia. His army was composed of twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse; but that of Cleomenes did not amount to more than twenty thousand men. As the latter of these two princes expected an irruption from the enemy, he had fortified all the passes, by posting detachments of his troops in them, and by throwing up intrenchments, and cutting down trees, after which he formed his camp at Selasia. He imagined, and with good reason too, that the enemies would endeavour to force a passage into that country through this avenue, in which he was not deceived. This defile was formed by two mountains, one of which had the name of Eva, and the other that of Olympias. The river Oeneus ran between them, on the banks of which was the road to Sparta. Cleomenes, having thrown up a good intrenchment at the foot of these mountains, posted his brother Euclidas on the eminence of Eva, at the head of the allies, and planted himself on Olympus, with the Lacedæmonians, and a party of the foreign troops, placing, at the same time, along each bank of the river, a detachment of the cavalry, and foreign auxiliaries.

Antigonus,

(a) Polyb. l. ii. p. 150...154. Plut. in Cleom. p. 818, 819. Ibid. in Philop. p. 358.

Antigonus, when he arrived there, saw all the passes fortified, and was sensible, by the manner in which Cleomenes had posted his troops, that he had neglected no precaution for defending himself and attacking his enemies, and that he had formed his camp into such an advantageous disposition, as rendered all approaches to it extremely difficult. All this abated his ardour for a battle, and caused him to encamp at a small distance, where he had an opportunity of covering his troops with a rivulet. He continued there for several days, in order to view the situation of the different posts, and found the disposition of the people who composed the enemy's army. Sometimes he seemed to be forming designs, which kept the enemy in suspense how to act. They however were always upon their guard, and the situation of each army equally secured them from insults. At last both sides resolved upon a decisive battle.

It is not easy to comprehend why Cleomenes, who was posted so advantageously at that time, and whose troops were inferior to those of the enemy by one third, but were secure of a free communication in their rear with Sparta, from whence they might easily be supplied with provisions, should resolve, without the least apparent necessity, to hazard a battle; the event of which was to decide the fate of Lacedæmon.

Polybius indeed seems to intimate the cause of this proceeding, when he observes, that Ptolemy caused Cleomenes to be acquainted, that he no longer would supply him with money, and exhorted him at the same time to come to an accommodation with Antigonus. As Cleomenes therefore was incapable of defraying the expence of this war, and was not only in arrear with his foreign troops to the amount of a very considerable sum, but found it extremely difficult to maintain his Spartan forces, we may consequently suppose that this situation of his affairs was his inducement to venture a battle.

When the signals were given on each side, Antigonus detached a body of troops, consisting of Mace-

donian and Illyrian battalions alternately disposed, against those of the enemy, posted on mount Eva. His second line consisted of Acarnanians and Cretans, and in the rear of these, two thousand Achæans were drawn up as a body of reserve. He drew up his cavalry along the bank of the river, in order to confront those of the enemy, and caused them to be supported by a thousand of the Achæan foot, and the same number of Megalopolitans. He then placed himself at the head of the Macedonians, and the light-armed foreign troops, and advanced to mount Olympus to attack Cleomenes. The foreigners were disposed into the first line; and marched immediately before the Macedonian phalanx, which was divided into two bodies, the one in the rear of the other, because the ground would not admit their forming a larger front.

The action began at mount Eva, when the light-armed troops, who had been posted with an intention to cover and support the cavalry of Cleomenes, observing that the remotest cohorts of the Achæan forces were uncovered, immediately wheeled about and attacked them in the rear. Those who endeavoured to gain the summit of the mountain, found themselves vigorously pressed by the enemy, and in great danger, being threatened in front by Euclidas, who was in a higher situation, at the same time that they were charged in their rear by the foreign troops, who assailed them with the utmost impetuosity. Philopœmen and his citizens were posted among the cavalry of Antigonus, who were supported by the Illyrians, and had orders not to move from that post till a particular signal should be given. Philopœmen observing that it would not be difficult to fall upon this light infantry of Euclidas, and rout them entirely, and that this was the critical moment for the charge, immediately communicated his opinion to such of the king's officers as commanded the cavalry. They, however, would not so much as hear him, merely because he had never commanded, and was then very young; and even
treated

treated what he said as a chimæra. Philopœmen was not diverted from his purpose by that usage, but at the head of his own citizens, whom he prevailed upon to follow him, he attacked and repulsed that body of infantry with great slaughter.

The Macedonians and Illyrians, being disengaged by this operation from what before had retarded their motions, boldly marched up the hill to their enemies. Euclidas was then to engage with a phalanx, whose whole force consisted in the strict union of its parts, the closeness of its ranks, the steady and equal force of its numerous and pointed spears, and the uniform impetuosity of that heavy body, that by its weight overthrew and bore down all before it.

In order to prevent this inconvenience, an able officer would have marched down the mountain with such of his troops as were lightest armed and most active, to have met the phalanx. He might easily have attacked those troops as soon as they began to ascend, and would then have harrassed them on every side: The inequalities of the mountain, with the difficulty of ascending it entirely uncovered, would have enabled him to have opened a passage through this body of men, and to have interrupted their march, by putting their ranks into confusion, and breaking their order of battle; he might also have fallen back by degrees, in order to regain the summit of the mountain, as the enemy advanced upon him, and after he had deprived them of the only advantage they could expect from the quality of their arms, and the disposition of their troops, he might have improved the advantage of his post in such a manner, as to have easily put them to flight.

Euclidas, instead of acting in this manner, continued on the top of the mountain, flattering himself, that victory would infallibly attend his arms: He imagined, in all probability, that the higher he permitted the enemy to advance, the easier it would be for him to precipitate their troops down the steep declivity: But as he had not reserved for his own forces a

sufficient extent of ground for any retreat that might happen to be necessary for avoiding the formidable charge of the phalanx, which advanced upon him in good order, his troops were crowded together in such a manner, as obliged them to fight on the summit of the mountain, where they could not long sustain the weight of the Illyrian arms, and the order of battle into which that infantry formed themselves on the eminence; and as his men could neither retreat nor change their ground, they were soon defeated by their enemies.

During this action, the cavalry of each army had also engaged. That of the Achæans behaved themselves with great bravery, and Philopœmen in particular; because they were sensible that the liberties of their republick would be decided by this battle. Philopœmen, in the heat of the action, had his horse killed under him, and while he fought on foot, his armour was pierced through with a javelin; the wound, however, was not mortal, nor attended with any ill consequences.

The two kings began the engagement on mount Olympus, with their light-armed troops and foreign foldiers, of whom each of them had about five thousand. As this action was performed in the sight of each sovereign and his army, the troops emulated each other in signalizing themselves, as well in parties, as when the battle became general. Man and man, and rank to rank, all fought with the utmost vigour and obstinacy. Cleomenes, when he saw his brother defeated, and his cavalry losing ground in the plain, was apprehensive that the enemy would pour upon him from all quarters; and therefore thought it adviseable to level all the intrenchments around his camp, and cause his whole army to march out in front. The trumpets having sounded a signal for the light-armed troops to retreat from the tract between the two camps, each phalanx advanced with loud shouts, shifting their lances at the same time, and began the charge. The action was very hot. One while the

Macedonians

Macedonians fell back before the valour of the Spartans; and these, in their turn, were unable to sustain the weight of the Macedonian phalanx; till at last the troops of Antigonius advancing with their lances lowered and closed, charged the Lacedæmonians with all the impetuosity of a phalanx that had doubled its ranks, and drove them from their intrenchments. The defeat then became general; the Lacedæmonians fell in great numbers, and those who survived, fled from the field of battle in the greatest disorder. Cleomenes, with only a few horse, retreated to Sparta. Plutarch assures us, that most of the foreign troops perished in this battle, and that no more than two hundred Lacedæmonians escaped out of six thousand.

It may justly be said, that Antigonius derived his success, in some measure, from the prudence and bravery of the young Philopœmen. His bold resolution to attack the light infantry of the enemy with so few forces as those of his own troop, contributed to the overthrow of the wing commanded by Euclidas, and that drew on the general defeat. This action, undertaken by a private captain of horse, not only without orders, but in opposition to the superior officers, and even contrary to the command of the general, seems to be a transgression of military discipline; but it ought to be remembered, that the welfare of an army is a circumstance superior to all other considerations. Had the general been present, he himself would have given directions for that motion, and the delay even of a single moment, might occasion the impossibility of its success. It is evident that Antigonius judged of the action in this manner; for when the battle was over, he assumed an air of seeming displeasure, and demanded of Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, what his reason could be for beginning the attack before the signal, contrary to the orders he had issued? Alexander then replying, that it was not himself, but a young officer of Megalopolis, who had transgressed his commands in that manner: *That young man*, said Antigonius, *in seizing*
H h 4 *the*

the occasion, behaved like a great general, but you the general like a young man.

Sparta, on this disaster, shewed that ancient steadiness and intrepidity, which seemed to have something of a savage air, and had distinguished her citizens on all occasions. No married woman was seen to mourn for the loss of her husband. The old men celebrated the death of their children; and the children congratulated their fathers who had fallen in battle. Every one deplored the fate which had prevented them from sacrificing their lives to the liberty of their country. They opened their hospitable doors to those who returned covered with wounds from the army; they attended them with peculiar care, and supplied them with all the accommodations they needed. No trouble or confusion was seen through the whole city, and every individual lamented more the publick calamity, than any particular loss of their own.

Cleomenes, upon his arrival at Sparta, advised his citizens to receive Antigonus; assuring them, at the same time, that whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country, with the utmost pleasure, whenever it should happen to be in his power. He then retired into his own house, but would neither drink, though very thirsty, nor sit down, though extremely fatigued. Charged as he then was with the weight of his armour, he leaned against a column, with his head reclined on his arm; and after he had deliberated with himself for some time on the different measures in his power to take, he suddenly quitted the house, and went with his friends to the port of Gythium, where he embarked in a vessel he had prepared for that purpose, and sailed for Egypt.

A Spartan having made a lively representation to him of the melancholy consequences that might attend his intended voyage to Egypt, and the indignity a king of Sparta would sustain by crouching in a servile manner to a foreign prince, took that opportunity to exhort him in the strongest manner, to prevent
those

those just reproaches by a voluntary and glorious death, and to vindicate, by that action, those who had sacrificed their lives in the fields of Salamis, for the liberty of Sparta. *You are deceived*, cried Cleomenes, *if you imagine there is any bravery in confronting death, merely through the apprehension of false shame, or the desire of empty applause: Say rather, that such an action is mean and pusillanimous. The death we may be induced to covet, instead of being the evasion of an action, ought to be an action itself**, since nothing can be more dishonourable than either to live or die, merely for one's self. For my part, I shall endeavour to be useful to my country, to my latest breath; and whenever this hope happens to fail us, it will be easy for us to have recourse to death, if such should be then our inclination.

(a) Cleomenes had scarce set sail, before Antigon-
nus arrived at Sparta, and made himself master of the
city. He seemed to treat the inhabitants more like a
friend than a conqueror; and declared to them, that
he had not engaged in a war against the Spartans,
but against Cleomenes, whose flight had satisfied and
disarmed his resentment. He likewise added, that it
would be glorious to his memory, to have it said by
posterity, that Sparta had been preserved by the prince
who alone had the good fortune to take it. He reckon-
ed he had saved that city, by abolishing all that the
zeal of Cleomenes had accomplished, for the re-esta-
blishment of the ancient laws of Lycurgus; though
that conduct was the real cause of its ruin. Sparta
lost all that was valuable to her, by the overthrow,
and involuntary retreat of Cleomenes. One fatal bat-
tle blotted out that happy dawn of power and glory,
and for ever deprived him of the hopes of reinstating
his city in her ancient splendor, and original authority,
which were incapable of subsisting after the abolition
of

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(a) Plut. in Cleom. p. 819. Polyb. l. ii. p. 155. Justin. l. xxviii.

c. 4.
* The ancients maintained it as
a principle, that the death of per-
sons employed in the administration
of a state ought neither to be useless
or inactive, with respect to the

publick; but a natural consequence
of their ministry, and one of their
most important actions. Plut. in
Lycurg. p. 57.

of those ancient laws and customs on which her welfare was founded. Corruption then resumed her former course, and daily gathered strength, till Sparta sunk to her last declension in a very short space of time. It may therefore be justly said, that the bold views and enterprizes of Cleomenes were the last struggles of its expiring liberty.

Antigonus left Sparta three days after he had entered it; and his departure was occasioned by the intelligence he had received, that a war had broke out in Macedonia, where the Barbarians committed dreadful ravages. If this news had arrived three days sooner, Cleomenes might have been saved. Antigonus was already afflicted with a severe indisposition, which at last ended in a consumption and total defluxion of humours, that carried him off two or three years after. He however would not suffer himself to be dejected by his ill state of health, and had even spirit enough to engage in new battles in his own kingdom. It was said, that after he had been victorious over the Illyrians, he was so transported with joy, that he frequently repeated these expressions, *O the glorious happy battle!* And that he uttered this exclamation with so much ardour, that he burst a vein, and lost a large quantity of blood; this symptom was succeeded by a violent fever, which ended his days. Some time before his death, he settled the succession to his dominions in favour of Philip, the son of Demetrius, who was then fourteen years of age; or it may be rather said, that he returned him the scepter, which had only been deposited in his hand.

Cleomenes, in the mean time, arrived at Alexandria, where he met with a very cold reception from the king, when he was first introduced into his presence. But after he had given that monarch proofs of his admirable sense, and shewn in his common conversation the generous freedom, openness, and simplicity of the Spartan manners, attended with a graceful politeness, in which there was nothing mean, and even a noble pride that became his birth and dignity; Ptolemy was then

then sensible of his merit, and esteemed him infinitely more than all those courtiers who were only solicitous to please him by abject flatteries. He was even struck with confusion and remorse for his neglect of so great a man, and for his having abandoned him to Antigonus, who had raised his own reputation, and enlarged his power to an infinite degree, by his victory over that prince. The king of Egypt then endeavoured to comfort and relieve Cleomenes, by treating him with the utmost honour, and giving him repeated assurances that he would send him into Greece with such a fleet and a supply of money, as, with his other good offices, should be sufficient to re-establish him on the throne. He also assigned him a yearly pension of twenty-four talents, (about twenty thousand pounds sterling) with which he supported himself and his friends with the utmost frugality, reserving all the remainder of that allowance for the relief of those who retired into Egypt from Greece. Ptolemy however died before he could accomplish his promise to Cleomenes. This prince had reigned twenty-five years, and was the last of that race in whom any true virtue and moderation was conspicuous; (b) for the generality of his successors were monsters of debauchery and wickedness. The prince, whose character we are now describing, had made it his principal * care to extend his dominions to the South, from concluding the peace with Syria. Accordingly he had extended it the whole length of the Red Sea, as well along the Arabian as the Ethiopian coasts, and even to the Straights †, which form a communication with the southern ocean. He was succeeded on the throne of Egypt by his son Ptolemy, surnamed Philopator.

(c) Some time before this period, Rhodes suffered very considerable damages from a great earthquake. The walls of the city, with the arsenals, and the narrow passes in the haven, where the ships of that island were laid up, were reduced to a very ruinous condition;

A. M.

3782.

Ant. J. C.

222.

A. M.

3783.

Ant. J. C.

221.

A. M.

3782.

Ant. J. C.

222.

(b) Strab. l. xvii. p. 796. (c) Polyb. l. v. p. 428, 431.
 * Monum. Adulit. † Straights of Babelmandel.

condition; and the famous Colossus, which was esteemed one of the wonders of the world, was thrown down, and entirely destroyed. It is natural to think, that this earthquake spared neither private houses nor publick structures, nor even the temples of the gods. The loss sustained by it amounted to immense sums; and the Rhodians, reduced to the utmost distress, sent deputations to all the neighbouring princes, to implore their relief in that melancholy conjuncture. An emulation worthy of praise, and not to be paralleled in history, prevailed in favour of that deplorable city; and Hiero and Gelon in Sicily, and Ptolemy in Egypt, signalized themselves in a peculiar manner on that occasion. The two former of these princes contributed above a hundred talents, and erected two statues in the publick place; one of which represented the people of Rhodes, and the other those of Syracuse; the former was crowned by the latter, to testify, as Polybius observes, that the Syracusans thought the opportunity of relieving the Rhodians a favour and obligation to themselves. Ptolemy, beside his other expences, which amounted to a very considerable sum, supplied that people with three hundred talents, a million of bushels of corn, and a sufficient quantity of timber for building ten galleys of ten benches of oars, and as many more of three benches, beside an infinite quantity of wood for other buildings; all which donations were accompanied with three thousand talents for erecting the Colossus anew. Antigonus, Seleucus, Prusias, Mithridates, and all the princes, as well as cities, signalized their liberality on this occasion. Even private persons emulated each other in sharing in this glorious act of humanity; and historians have recorded, that a lady, whose name was Chryseis*, and who truly merited that appellation, furnished from her own substance an hundred thousand bushels of corn. "Let the princes of these times," says Polybius, "who imagine they have done gloriously in giving four or five thousand crowns, only consider
" how

* *Chryseis signifies golden.*

“how inferior their generosity is to that we have now “described.” Rhodes, in consequence of these liberalities, was re-established in a few years, in a more opulent and splendid state than she had ever experienced before, if we only except the Colossus.

This Colossus was a brazen statue of a prodigious size, as I have formerly observed; and some authors have affirmed, that the money arising from the contributions already mentioned, amounted to five times as much as the loss which the Rhodians had sustained. (d) This people, instead of employing the sums they had received, in replacing that statue according to the intention of the donors, pretended that the oracle of Delphos had forbid it, and given them a command to preserve that money for other purposes, by which they enriched themselves. The Colossus lay neglected on the ground, for the space of eight hundred ninety-four years; at the expiration of which (that is to say, in the six hundred and fifty-third year of our Lord) Moawyas *, the sixth Caliph or Emperor of the Saracens, made himself master of Rhodes, and sold this statue to a Jewish merchant, who loaded nine hundred camels with the metal; which, computed by eight quintals for each load, after a deduction of the diminution the statue had sustained by rust, and very probably by theft, amounted to more than thirty-six thousand pounds sterling, or seven thousand two hundred quintals.

(d) Strab. l. xiv. p. 652.

* Zonar. sub regno Constantis Imperat. & Cedrenus.

 BOOK THE SEVENTEENTH.

 SEQUEL OF THE
 HISTORY
 OF
 Alexander's Successors.

SECT. I. PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR *reigns in Egypt.*
The short reign of SELEUCUS CERAUNUS. He is suc-
ceeded by his brother ANTIOCHUS, surnamed the
GREAT. ACHÆUS's fidelity to him. HERMIAS, his
chief minister, first removes EPIGENES, the ablest of
all his generals, and afterwards puts him to death.
ANTIOCHUS subdues the rebels in the East. He rids
himself of HERMIAS. He attempts to recover Cælo-
syria from PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR, and possesses him-
self of the strongest cities in it. After a short truce, a
war breaks out again in Syria. Battle of Raphia, in
which ANTIOCHUS is entirely defeated. The anger
and revenge of PHILOPATOR against the Jews, for
refusing to let him enter the sanctuary. ANTIOCHUS
concludes a peace with PTOLEMY. He turns his arms
against ACHÆUS, who had rebelled. He at last seizes
him treacherously, and puts him to death.

A. M. 3778.
 Ant. J. C. 226. (a) **I** OBSERVED in the preceding book, that
 Ptolemy Philopator had succeeded Ptolemy
 Evergetes, his father, in Egypt. On the other side,
 Seleucus Callinicus was dead in Parthia. He had left
 two

(a) Polyb. l. iv. p. 315. & l. v. p. 386. Hieron. in Daniel.
 Appian. in Syriac. p. 131. Justin. l. xix. c. 1.

two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus; and the first, who was the elder, succeeded to his father's throne, and assumed the surname of ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟΣ (Ceraunus) or the *Thunder*, which no way suited his character; for he was a very weak prince both in body and mind, and never did any actions that corresponded with the idea of that name. His reign was short, and his authority but ill established, either in the army or the provinces. What prevented his losing it entirely was, that Achæus, his cousin, son to Andromachus, his mother's brother, a man of courage and abilities, assumed the management of his affairs, which his father's ill conduct had reduced to a very low ebb. As for Andromachus, he was taken by Ptolemy, in a war with Callinicus; and kept prisoner in Alexandria during all his reign, and part of the following.

Attalus king of Pergamus having seized upon all Asia minor, from mount Taurus as far as the Hellespont, Seleucus marched against him, and left Her-
A. M. 3780.
Ant. J. C. 224.
 mias the Carian regent of Syria. Achæus accompanied him in that expedition, and did him all the good services the ill state of his affairs would admit.

Having no money to pay the forces, and the king being despised by the soldiers for his weakness, Nic-
A. M. 3781.
Ant. J. C. 223.
 nor and Apaturius, two of the chief officers, formed a conspiracy against him during his absence in Phrygia, and poisoned him. However, Achæus revenged that horrid action, by putting to death the two ring-leaders, and all who had engaged in their plot. He acted afterwards with so much prudence and valour, with regard to the army, that he kept the soldiers in their obedience; and prevented Attalus from taking advantage of this accident, which, but for his excellent conduct, would have lost the Syrian empire all it still possessed on that side.

Seleucus dying without children, the army offered the crown to Achæus, and several of the provinces did the same. However, he had the generosity to refuse it at that time, though he afterwards thought himself obliged to act in a different manner. In the
 present

present conjuncture, he not only refused the crown, but preserved it carefully for the lawful heir, Antiochus, brother of the deceased king, who was but in his fifteenth year. Seleucus, at his setting out for Asia minor, had sent him into Babylonia*, where he was when his brother died. He was now brought from thence to Antioch, where he ascended the throne, and enjoyed it thirty-six years. For his illustrious actions he has been surnamed the Great. Achæus, to secure the succession in his favour, sent a detachment of the army to him in Syria, with Epigenes, one of the late king's most experienced generals. The rest of the forces he kept for the service of the state, in that part of the country where he himself was.

A. M. 3782.
Ant. J. C. 222. (b) As soon as Antiochus was possessed of the crown, he sent Molo and Alexander, two brothers, into the East; the former as governor of Media, and the latter of Persia. Achæus was appointed to preside over the provinces of Asia minor. Epigenes had the command of the troops which were kept about the king's person; and Hermias the Carian was declared his prime minister, as he had been under his brother. Achæus soon recovered all the territories which Attalus had taken from the empire of Syria; and forced him to confine himself within his kingdom of Pergamus. Alexander and Molo despising the king's youth, were no sooner fixed in their governments, but they refused to acknowledge him; and each declared himself sovereign in the province over which he had been appointed lieutenant. Hermias, by his ill treatment of them, had very much contributed to their revolt.

This minister was of a cruel disposition. The most inconsiderable faults were by him made crimes, and punished with the utmost rigour. He was a man of very little genius, but haughty, full of himself, tenacious of his own opinion, and would have thought it a dis-

(b) Polyb. l. v. p. 386.

* To Seleucia, which was in that province, and the capital of the East, instead of Babylon, which was no longer in being, or at least was uninhabited.



62

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MINOR

NIXIN SEA.

ent History

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D'ANVILLE

to y^e French King

1740.

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a dishonour to have either asked or followed another man's advice. He could not bear that any person should share with him in credit and authority. Merit of every kind was suspected by, or rather odious to him. But the chief object of his hatred was Epigenes, who had the reputation of being one of the ablest generals of his time, and in whom the troops reposed an entire confidence. It was this reputation gave the prime minister umbrage; and it was not in his power to conceal the ill-will he bore him.

(c) News being brought of Molo's revolt, Antiochus assembled his council, in order to consider what was to be done in the present posture of affairs; and whether it would be adviseable for him to march in person against that rebel, or turn towards Cœlosyria, to check the enterprises of Ptolemy. Epigenes was the first who spoke, and declared, that they had no time to lose: That it was absolutely necessary the king should go in person into the East, in order to take advantage of the most favourable times and occasions for acting against the rebels: That when he should be on the spot, either Molo would not dare to attempt any thing in sight of the prince, and of an army; or, in case he should persist in his design, the people, struck with the presence of their sovereign, in the return of their zeal and affection for him, would not fail to deliver him up; but that the most important point of all was, not to give him time to fortify himself. Hermias could not forbear interrupting him; and cried, in an angry and self-sufficient tone of voice, that to advise the king to march in person against Molo, with so inconsiderable a body of forces, would be to deliver him up to the rebels. The real motive of his speaking in this manner was, his being afraid of sharing in the dangers of that expedition. Ptolemy was to him a much less formidable enemy. There was little to be feared from invading a prince entirely devoted to trivial pleasures. The advice of Hermias prevailed; upon which the command of part of the

A. M.

3783.

Ant. J. C.

221.

VOL. V.

I i

troops

(c) Polyb. l. v. p. 386—395.

troops was given to Xenon and Theodotus, with orders to carry on the war against Molo; and the king himself marched with the rest of the army towards Cœlosyria.

Being come to Seleucia near Zeugma, he there found Laodice, daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, who was brought thither to espouse him. He made some stay there to solemnize his nuptials, the joy of which was soon interrupted by the news brought from the East, *viz.* that his generals, unable to make head against Molo and Alexander, who had united their forces, had been forced to retire, and leave them masters of the field of battle. Antiochus then saw the error he had committed, in not following Epigenes's advice; and thereupon was for laying aside the enterprize against Cœlosyria, in order to march with all his troops to suppress that revolt. But Hermias persisted as obstinately as ever in his first opinion. He fancied he spoke wonders, in declaring, in an emphatick, sententious manner, *That it became kings to march in person against kings, and to send their lieutenants against rebels.* Antiochus was so weak as to acquiesce again in Hermias's opinion.

It is scarce possible to conceive, how useless experience of every kind is to an indolent prince, who lives without reflection. This artful, insinuating, and deceitful minister, who knew how to adapt himself to all the desires and inclinations of his master; inventive and industrious in finding out new methods to please and amuse, he had the cunning to make himself necessary, by easing his prince of the weight of affairs; so that Antiochus imagined he could not do without him. And though he perceived several things in his conduct and counsels which gave him disgust, he would not give himself the trouble to examine strictly into them; nor had resolution enough to resume the authority he had in a manner abandoned to him. So that acquiescing again in his opinion on this occasion, (not from conviction but weakness and indolence) he contented himself with sending a general, and a body
of

of troops, into the East; and himself resumed the expedition of Cœlosyria.

The general he sent on that occasion was Xenetas the Achæan, in whose commission it was ordered, that the two first generals should resign to him the command of their forces, and serve under him. He had never commanded in chief before, and his only merit was, his being the prime minister's friend and creature. Raised to an employment, which his vanity and presumption could never have hoped, he behaved with haughtiness to the other officers, and with boldness and temerity to the enemy. The success was such as might be expected from so ill a choice. In passing the Tigris, he fell into an ambuscade, into which the enemy drew him by stratagem, and himself and all his army were cut to pieces. This victory opened to the rebels the province of Babylonia and all Mesopotamia, of which they, by this means, possessed themselves without any opposition.

Antiochus, in the mean time, was advanced into Cœlosyria, as far as the valley lying between the two ridges of the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus. He found the passes of these mountains so strongly fortified, and so well defended by Theodotus the Ætolian, to whom Ptolemy had confided the government of this province, that he was obliged to march back, finding it not possible for him to advance farther. There is no doubt but the news of the defeat of his troops in the East hastened also his retreat. He assembled his council, and again debated on the rebellion. Epigenes, after saying, in a modest tone, that it would have been most adviseable to march immediately against them, to prevent their having time to fortify themselves as they had done, added, that the same reason ought to make them more expeditious now, and devote their whole care and study to a war, which, if neglected, might terminate in the ruin of the empire. Hermias, who thought himself injured by this discourse, began to exclaim against Epigenes in the most opprobrious terms on this occasion. He conjured the

A. M.
3784.
Ant. J. C.
220.

king not to lay aside the enterprize of Cœloſyria, affirming, that he could not abandon it, without inſtancing a levity and inconfancy, entirely inconfiſtent with the glory of a prince of his wiſdom and knowledge. The whole council hung down their heads through ſhame; and Antiochus himſelf was much diſſatisfied. It was unanimouſly reſolved to march with the utmoſt ſpeed againſt the rebels: And Hermias, finding that all reſiſtance would be in vain, grew immediately quite another man. He came over with great zeal to the general opinion, and ſeemed more ardent than any body for haſtening its execution. Accordingly the troops ſet out towards Apamea, where the rendezvous was fixed.

They had ſcarce ſet out, when a ſedition aroſe in the army, on account of the ſoldiers arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmoſt conſternation and anxiety; and indeed the danger was imminent. Hermias ſeeing the king in ſuch perplexity, comforted him, and promiſed to pay immediately the whole arrears due to the army: But at the ſame time earneſtly beſought Antiochus not to take Epigenes with him in this expedition, becauſe, after the noiſe their quarrels had made, it would no longer be poſſible for them to act in concert in the operations of the war, as the good of the ſervice might require. His view in this was, to begin by leſſening Antiochus's eſteem and affection for Epigenes by abſence, well knowing, that princes ſoon forget the virtue and ſervices of a man removed from their ſight.

This propoſal perplexed the king very much, who was perfectly ſenſible how neceſſary the preſence of a general of Epigenes's experience and ability was in ſo important an expedition. But, * as Hermias had induſtriouſly contrived to beſiege, and in a manner poſſeſs him by all manner of methods, ſuch as ſuggeſting

to

* Περιεχόμενος δὲ ἡ προκαταλημμένη οἰκονομία, ἡ φιλονικία, ἡ διεξαπείλαι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑρμίου κακότητος, ἢ ἢ αὐτῷ κίβητος. Circumventus & præoccupatus œcono-

miis, & cuſtodiis, & obſequiis, Hermie malignitate, ſui non erat dominus. *This is a literal tranſlation.*

to him pretended views of œconomy, watching his every action, keeping a kind of guard over him, and bribing his affection by the most abandoned complacency and adulation, that unhappy prince was no longer his own master. The king therefore consented, though with the utmost reluctance, to what he required; and Epigenes was accordingly ordered to retire to Apamea. This event surprised and terrified all the courtiers, who were apprehensive of the same fate: But the soldiers having received all their arrears, were very easy; and thought themselves highly obliged to the prime minister, by whose means they had been paid. Having in this manner made himself master of the nobles by fear, and of the army by their pay, he marched with the king.

As Epigenes's disgrace extended only to his removal, it was far from satiating his vengeance; and as it did not calm his uneasiness with regard to the future, he was apprehensive that he might obtain leave to return, to prevent which he employed effectual means. Alexis, governor of the citadel of Apamea, was entirely at his devotion; and, indeed, how few would be otherwise with regard to an all-powerful minister, the sole dispenser of his master's graces! Hermias orders this man to dispatch Epigenes, and prescribes him the manner. In consequence of this, Alexis bribes one of Epigenes's domesticks; and by gifts and promises, engages him to slide a letter he gave him among his master's papers. This letter seemed to have been written and subscribed by Molo, one of the chiefs of the rebels, who thanked Epigenes for having formed a conspiracy against the king, and communicated to him the methods by which he might safely put it in execution. Some days after, Alexis went to him, and asked whether he had not received a letter from Molo? Epigenes, surprised at this question, expressed his astonishment, and at the same time the highest indignation. The other replied, that he was ordered to inspect his papers. Accordingly, a search being made, the forged letter was

found; and Epigenes, without being called to a trial, or otherwise examined, was put to death. The king, at the bare sight of the letter, imagined that the charge had been fully proved against him. However, the courtiers thought otherwise; but fear kept them all tongue-tied, and dumb. How unhappy, and how much to be pitied, are princes!

Although the season was now very far advanced, Antiochus passed the Euphrates, assembled all his forces; and that he might be nearer at hand, to open the campaign very early the next spring, he in the mean time sent them into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood.

A. M. 3784.
Ant. J. C. 220. Upon the return of the season he marched them towards the Tigris, passed that river, forced Molo to come to an engagement, and gained so compleat a victory over him, that the rebel seeing all lost, laid violent hands on himself. His brother Alexander was at that time in Persia, where Neolas, another of their brothers who escaped out of this battle, brought him that mournful news. Finding their affairs desperate, they first killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and at last dispatched themselves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who engaged in it. A just reward for all those who dare to take up arms against their sovereign.

After this victory, the remains of the vanquished army submitted to the king, who only reprimanded them in very severe terms, and afterwards pardoned them. He then sent them into Media, under the command of those to whose care he had committed the government of that province; and returning from thence to Seleucia over the Tigris, he spent some time there in giving the orders necessary for re-establishing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and for settling all things on their former foot.

This

This being done by persons whom he appointed for that purpose, he marched against the Atropatians, who inhabited the country situated to the west of Media, and which is now called Georgia. Their king, Artabazanes by name, was a decrepid old man, who being greatly terrified at Antiochus's approach at the head of a victorious army, sent and made his submission, and concluded a peace on such conditions as Antiochus thought proper to prescribe.

(d) News came at this time, that the queen was delivered of a son, which proved a subject of joy to the court as well as the army. Hermias, from that moment, revolved in his mind how he might dispatch Antiochus; in hopes that, after his death, he should certainly be appointed guardian of the young prince; and that, in his name, he might reign with unlimited power. His pride and insolence had made him odious to all men. The people groaned under a government, which the avarice and cruelty of a prime minister had rendered insupportable. The complaints did not reach the throne, whose avenues were all closed against them. No one dared to inform the king of the oppression under which his people groaned. It was well known that he apprehended inspecting the truth; and that he abandoned to Hermias's cruelty, all who dared to speak against him. Till now he had been an utter stranger to the injustice and violence which Hermias exercised under his name. At last, however, he began to open his eyes; but was himself afraid of his minister, whose dependant he had made himself, and who had assumed an absolute authority over him, by taking advantage of the indolence of his disposition, who, at first, was well pleased with discharging the burden of affairs on Hermias.

Apollonphanes, his physician, in whom the king reposed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free access to him, took a proper time to represent the general discontent of his subjects, and the danger to which himself was exposed, by the ill conduct

of his prime minister. He therefore advised Antiochus to take care of himself, lest the same fate should attend him as his brother had experienced in Phrygia; who fell a victim to the ambition of those on whom he most relied: That it was plain Hermias was hatching some ill design; and that to prevent it, not a moment was to be lost. These were real services, which an officer, who is attached to the person of his king, and who has a sincere affection for him, may and ought to perform. Such is the use he ought to make of the free access which his sovereign vouchsafes, and the confidence with which he honours him.

Antiochus was surrounded by courtiers whom he had loaded with his favours, of whom not one had the courage to hazard his fortune, by telling him the truth. It has been very justly said, that one of the greatest blessings which God can bestow on kings, is to deliver them from the tongues of flatterers, and the silence of good men.

This prince, as was already observed, had begun to entertain some suspicions of his chief minister, but did not reveal his thoughts to any person, not knowing whom to trust. He was extremely well pleased that his physician had given him this advice; and concerted measures with him to rid himself of a minister so universally detested, and so dangerous. Accordingly, he removed to some small distance from the army, upon pretence of being indisposed, and carried Hermias with him to bear him company; here taking him to walk in a solitary place, where none of his creatures could come to his assistance, he caused him to be assassinated. His death caused an universal joy throughout the whole empire. This haughty and cruel man had governed, on all occasions, with great cruelty and violence; and whoever dared to oppose either his opinions or designs, was sure to fall a victim to his resentments. Accordingly, he was universally hated; and this hatred displayed itself more strongly in Apamea than in any other place: For the instant the news was brought of his death, all the
citizens

citizens rose with the utmost fury, and stoned his wife and children.

(e) Antiochus, having so happily re-established his affairs in the East, and raised to the government of the several provinces persons of merit, in whom he could repose the greatest confidence, marched back his army into Syria, and put it into winter-quarters. He spent the remainder of the year in Antioch, in holding frequent councils with his ministers, on the operations of the ensuing campaign.

This prince had two other very dangerous enterprises to put in execution, for re-establishing entirely the safety and glory of the empire of Syria: One was against Ptolemy, to recover Cœlosyria; and the other against Achæus, who had usurped the sovereignty of Asia minor.

Ptolemy Evergetes having seized upon all Cœlosyria, in the beginning of Seleucus Callinicus's reign, as was before related, the king of Egypt was still possessed of a great part of that province, and Antiochus not a little incommoded by such a neighbour.

With respect to Achæus, we have already seen in what manner he refused the crown which was offered him after the death of Seleucus Ceraunus; and had placed it on the head of Antiochus the lawful monarch, who, to reward his fidelity and services, had appointed him governor of all the provinces of Asia minor. By his valour and good conduct he had recovered them all from Attalus king of Pergamus, who had seized upon those countries, and fortified himself strongly in them. Such a series of success drew upon him the envy of such as had the ears of Antiochus. Upon this a report was spread, that he intended to usurp the crown; and with that view held a secret correspondence with Ptolemy. Whether these suspicions were well or ill grounded, he thought it adviseable to prevent the evil designs of his enemies; and, therefore, taking the crown which he had refused before, he caused himself to be declared king.

He

He soon became one of the most powerful monarchs of Asia, and all princes solicited very earnestly his alliance. (f) This was evident in a war which then broke out between the Rhodians and the Byzantines, on occasion of a tribute which the latter had imposed on all the ships that passed through the Straights; a tribute which was very grievous to the Rhodians, because of the great trade they carried on in the Black sea. Achæus, at the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants of Byzantium, had promised to assist them; the report of which threw the Rhodians into the utmost consternation, as well as Prusias king of Bithynia, whom they had engaged in their party. In the extreme perplexity they were under, they thought of an expedient to disengage Achæus from the Byzantines, and to bring him over to their interest. Andromachus, his father, brother to Laodice, whom Seleucus had married, was actually prisoner in Alexandria. These sent a deputation to Ptolemy, requesting that he might be set at liberty. The king, who was also very glad to oblige Achæus, as it was in his power to furnish him with considerable succours against Antiochus, with whom he was engaged in war, readily granted the Rhodians their request, and put Andromachus into their hands. This was a very agreeable present to Achæus, and made the Byzantines lose all hopes. They thereupon consented to reinstate things upon the ancient foot, and take off the new tribute which had occasioned the war. Thus a peace was concluded between the two states, and Achæus had all the honour of it.

A. M.
3785.
Ant. J. C.
219.

(g) It was against this prince and Ptolemy that Antiochus was resolved to turn his arms. These were the two dangerous wars he had to sustain; and were the subject of the deliberations of his council, to consider which of them he should undertake first. After weighing all things maturely, it was resolved to march first against Ptolemy, before they attacked Achæus, whom they then only menaced in the strongest terms:

And

(f) Polyb. l. iv. p. 314—319. (g) Ibid. l. v. p. 492—499.

And accordingly all the forces were ordered to assemble in Apamea, and afterwards to march into Cœlosyria.

In a council that was held before the army set out, Apollophanes, the king's physician, represented to him, that it would be a great oversight, should they march into Cœlosyria, and leave behind them Seleucia in the hands of the enemy, and so near the capital of the empire. His opinion brought over the whole council, by the evident strength of the reasons which supported it; for this city stands on the same river as Antioch, and is but five leagues below, near the mouth of it. When Ptolemy Evergetes undertook the invasion already mentioned, to support the rights of his sister Berenice, he seized that city, and put a strong Egyptian garrison into it, which had kept possession of that important place full twenty-seven years. Among many prejudices it did to the inhabitants of Antioch, one was, its cutting off entirely their communication with the sea, and ruining all their trade; for Seleucia being situated near the mouth of the Orontes, was the harbour of Antioch, which suffered grievously by that means. All these reasons being clearly and strongly urged by Apollophanes, determined the king and council to follow his plan, and to open the campaign with the siege of Seleucia. Accordingly the whole army marched thither, invested it, took it by storm, and drove the Egyptians out of it.

This being done, Antiochus marched with diligence into Cœlosyria, where Theodotus the Ætolian, governor of it under Ptolemy, promised to put him in possession of the whole country. We have seen how vigorously he had repulsed him the year before; nevertheless, the court of Egypt had not been satisfied with his services on that occasion. Those who governed the king, expected greater things from his valour; and were persuaded, that it was in his power to have done something more. Accordingly he was sent for to Alexandria, to give an account of his conduct;

conduct; and was threatened with no less than losing his head. Indeed, after his reasons had been heard, he was acquitted, and sent back to his government. However, he could not forgive the groundless injury they had done him; and was so exasperated at the affront, that he resolved to revenge it.

The luxury and effeminacy of the whole court, to which he had been an eye-witness, heightened his indignation and resentment. It was intolerable to him, to depend on the caprice of so base and contemptible a set of people. And, indeed, it would be impossible for fancy to conceive more abominable excesses than those in which Philopator plunged himself during his whole reign; and the court imitated but too exactly the example he set them. It was thought that he had poisoned his father, whence he was, by antiphrasis, surnamed * *Philopator*. He publicly caused Berenice his mother, and Magas his only brother, to be put to death. After he had got rid of all those who could either give him good counsel, or excite his jealousy, he abandoned himself to the most infamous pleasures; and was solely intent on gratifying his luxury, brutality, and the most shameful passions. His prime minister was Sosibes, a man every way qualified for the service of such a master as Philopator; and one whose sole view was to support himself in power by any means whatsoever. The reader will naturally imagine, that, in such a court, the power of women had no bounds.

Theodotus, who was a man of honour, could not bear to depend on such people, and therefore resolved to find a sovereign more worthy of his services. Accordingly, he was no sooner returned to his government, but he seized upon the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais, declared for king Antiochus, and immediately dispatched the courier above mentioned to invite him thither.

Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, though he was of the same country with Theodotus, however

* This word signifies, a lover of his father.

would not desert Ptolemy, but preserved his fidelity to that prince. The instant therefore that Theodotus had taken Ptolemais, he besieged him in it; possessed himself of the passes of mount Libanus to stop Antiochus, who was advancing to the aid of Theodotus, and defended them to the last extremity. However, he was afterwards forced to abandon them, by which means Antiochus took possession of Tyre and Ptolemais, whose gates were opened to him by Theodotus.

In these two cities were the magazines which Ptolemy had laid up for the use of his army, with a fleet of forty sail. He gave the command of these ships to Diognetus, his admiral, who was ordered to sail to Pelusium, whither the king intended to march by land, with the view of invading Egypt on that side: However, being informed that this was the season in which the inhabitants used to lay the country under water, by opening the dykes of the Nile, and consequently, that it would be impossible for him to advance into Egypt at that time, he abandoned that project, and employed the whole force of his arms to reduce the rest of Cœlosyria. He seized upon some fortresses, and others submitted to him; (*b*) and at last he possessed himself of Damascus, the capital of that province, after having deceived Dinon the governor of it by a stratagem.

The last action of this campaign was the siege of Dora, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of mount Carmel. This place, which was strongly situated, had been so well fortified by Nicolaus, that it was impossible for Antiochus to take it. He therefore was forced to agree to a four month's truce, proposed to him in the name of Ptolemy; and this served him as an honourable pretence for marching back his army to Seleucia on the Orontes, where he put it into winter-quarters. Antiochus appointed Theodotus the Ætolian governor of all the places he had conquered in this country.

(*i*) During the interval of this truce, a treaty was negotiated

(*b*) Polyæn. l. iv. c. 15. (*i*) Polyb. l. v. p. 409---415.

negociated between the two crowns, in which, however, the only view of both parties was to gain time. Ptolemy had occasion for it, in order to making the necessary preparations for carrying on the war; and Antiochus for reducing Achæus. The latter was not satisfied with Asia minor, of which he was already master; but had no less in view than to dethrone Antiochus, and to dispossess him of all his dominions. To check his ambitious views, it was necessary for Antiochus not to be employed on the frontiers, or engaged in remote conquests.

In this treaty, the main point was to know to whom Cœlosyria, Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judæa, had been given, in the partition of Alexander the Great's empire, between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, after the death of Antigonus, in the battle of Ipsus. Ptolemy laid claim to them, by virtue of their having been assigned by this treaty to Ptolemy Soter, his great-grandfather. On the other side, Antiochus pretended that they had been given to Seleucus Nicátor; and therefore that they were his right, being heir and successor of that king in the empire of Syria. Another difficulty embarrassed the commissioners. Ptolemy would have Achæus included in the treaty, which Antiochus opposed absolutely, alledging, that it was a shameful and unheard-of thing, for a king like Ptolemy to espouse the party of rebels, and countenance revolt.

During these contests, in which neither side would yield to the other, the time of the truce elapsed; and nothing being concluded, it became necessary to have recourse again to arms. Nicolaus, the Ætolian, had given so many proofs of valour and fidelity in the last campaign, that Ptolemy gave him the command in chief of his army, and charged him with every thing relating to the service of the king, in those provinces which occasioned the war. Perigenes, the admiral, put to sea with the fleet, in order to act against the enemy on that side. Nicolaus appointed Gaza for the rendezvous of all his forces, whither all the necessary

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necessary provisions had been sent from Egypt. From thence he marched to mount Libanus, where he seized all the passes between that chain of mountains and the sea, by which Antiochus was obliged to pass; firmly resolved to wait for him there, and to stop his march, by the superiority which the advantageous posts he was master of gave him.

In the mean time, Antiochus was not unactive, but prepared all things both by sea and land for a vigorous invasion. He gave the command of his fleet to Diognetus, his admiral, and put himself at the head of his land-forces. The fleets coasted the armies on both sides; so that their naval as well as land-forces met at the passes which Nicolaus had seized. Whilst Antiochus attacked Nicolaus by land, the fleets began to engage; so that the battle began both by sea and land at the same time. At sea neither party had the superiority; but on land Antiochus had the advantage, and forced Nicolaus to retire to Sidon, after losing four thousand of his soldiers, who were either killed or taken prisoners. Perigenes followed him thither with the Egyptian fleet; and Antiochus pursued them to that city both by sea and land, with the design of besieging them in it. He nevertheless found that conquest would be attended with too many difficulties, because of the great number of troops in the city, where they had a great abundance of provisions, and other necessaries; and he was not willing to besiege it in form. He therefore sent his fleet to Tyre, and marched into Galilee. After having subjected it by the taking of several cities, he passed the river Jordan, entered Gilead, and possessed himself of all that country, formerly the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh.

The season was now too far advanced to prolong the campaign, for which reason he returned back by the river Jordan, left the government of Samaria to Hippolochus and Kereas, who had deserted Ptolemy's service, and come over to him; and he gave them five thousand men to keep it in subjection. He
marched

marched the rest of the forces back to Ptolemais, where he put them into winter-quarters.

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(k) The campaign was again opened in spring. Ptolemy caused seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and sixty-three elephants to advance towards Pelusium. He was at the head of these forces, and marched them through the deserts which divide Egypt from Palestine, and encamped at Raphia, between Rhinocerura and Gaza, at the latter of which cities the two armies met. That of Antiochus was something more numerous than the other. His forces consisted of seventy-two thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and an hundred and two elephants. He first encamped within * ten furlongs, and soon after within five of the enemy. All the time they lay so near one another, they were perpetually skirmishing, either when they went to fetch fresh water, or in foraging; particulars also distinguishing themselves upon these occasions.

Theodotus, the Ætolian, who had served many years under the Egyptians, favoured by the darkness of the night, entered their camp, accompanied only by two persons. He was taken for an Egyptian; so that he advanced as far as Ptolemy's tent, with a design to kill him, and by that bold action to put an end to the war; but the king happening not to be in his tent, he killed his first physician, having mistaken him for Ptolemy. He also wounded two other persons; and during the alarm and noise which this attempt occasioned, he escaped to his camp.

But at last the two kings resolving to decide their quarrel, drew up their armies in battle-array. They rode from one body to another, at the head of their lines, to animate their troops. Arsinoe, the sister and wife of Ptolemy, not only exhorted the soldiers to behave manfully before the battle, but did not leave her husband even during the heat of the engagement. The issue of it was: Antiochus, being at the head of his

(k) Polyb. l. v. p. 241---428.

* *Half a French league.*

his right wing, defeated the enemy's left. But whilst hurried on by an inconsiderate ardour, he engaged too warmly in the pursuit, Ptolemy, who had been as successful in the other wing, charged Antiochus's center in flank, which was then uncovered, and broke it before it was possible for that prince to come to its relief. An old officer, who saw which way the dust flew, concluded that the center was defeated, and accordingly made Antiochus observe it. But though he faced about that instant, he came too late to amend his fault; and found the rest of his army broke and put to flight. He himself was now obliged to provide for his retreat, and retired to Raphia, and afterwards to Gaza, with the loss of ten thousand men killed, and four thousand taken prisoners. Finding it would now be impossible for him to continue the campaign against Ptolemy, he abandoned all his conquests, and retreated to Antioch with the remains of his army. This battle of Raphia was fought at the same time with that in which Hannibal defeated Flaminus the consul on the banks of the late Thrasymene in Hetruria.

After Antiochus's retreat, all Cœlosyria and Palestine submitted with great cheerfulness to Ptolemy. Having been long subject to the Egyptians, they were more inclined to them than Antiochus. The conqueror's court was soon crowded with ambassadors from all the cities, (and from Judæa among the rest) to pay homage to, and offer him presents; and all met with a gracious reception.

(1) Ptolemy was desirous of making a progress through the conquered provinces, and, among other cities, he visited Jerusalem. He saw the * temple there, and even offered sacrifices to the God of Israel; making at the same time oblations, and bestowing

VOL. V.

K k

considerable

(1) Maccab. l. iii. c. 1.

* The third book of Maccabees, time, to the two first. Dr. Privence this story is extracted, is deaux, speaking of the third book, not admitted by the church among says, that the ground-work of the the canonical books of scripture, any story is true, though the author more than the fourth. They are changed some circumstances of it, by prior, with regard to the order of intermixing fabulous incidents.

considerable gifts. However, not being satisfied with viewing it from the outward court, beyond which no Gentile was allowed to go, he was determined to enter the sanctuary, and even as far as the Holy of Holies; to which no one was allowed access but the high-priest, and that but once every year, on the day of the great expiation. The report of this being soon spread, occasioned a great tumult. The high-priest informed him of the holiness of the place; and the express law of God, by which he was forbid to enter it. The priests and Levites drew together in a body to oppose his rash design, which the people also conjured him to lay aside. And now, all places echoed with the lamentations which were made, on account of the profanation to which their temple would be exposed; and in all places the people were lifting up their hands, to implore heaven not to suffer it. However, all this opposition, instead of prevailing with the king, only inflamed his curiosity the more. He forced in as far as the second court; but as he was preparing to enter the temple itself, God struck him with a sudden terror, which threw him into such prodigious disorder, that he was carried off half dead. After this he left the city, highly exasperated against the Jewish nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and highly threatened it with his revenge. He accordingly kept his word; and the following year raised a cruel persecution, especially against the Jews of Alexandria, whom he endeavoured to reduce by force to worship false deities.

(*m*) The instant that Antiochus, after the battle of Raphia, arrived in Antioch, he sent an embassy to Ptolemy, to sue for peace. The circumstance which prompted him to this was, his suspecting the fidelity of his people; for he could not but perceive that his credit and authority were very much lessened since his last defeat. Besides, it was high time for him to turn his arms towards Achæus, and check the progress he made,

(*m*) Polyb. l. v. p. 428. Justin. l. xxx. c. 1. Hieron. in Daniel. c. 11.

made, which increased daily. To obviate the danger which threatened him on that side, he concluded that it would be safest for him to make a peace upon any terms with Ptolemy; to avoid being opposed by two such powerful enemies, who, invading him on both sides, would certainly overpower him at last. He therefore invested his ambassadors with full powers to give up to Ptolemy all those provinces which were the subject of their contest, *i. e.* Cœlosyria and Palestine. Cœlosyria included that part of Syria which lies between the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus; and Palestine, all the country which anciently was the inheritance of the children of Israel; and the coast of these two provinces was what the Greeks called Phœnicia. Antiochus consented to resign up all this country to the king of Egypt, to purchase a peace at this juncture; chusing rather to give up this part of his dominions, than hazard the losing them all. A truce was therefore agreed for twelve months; and before the expiration of that time, a peace was concluded on the same terms. Ptolemy, who might have taken advantage of this victory for conquering all Syria, was desirous of putting an end to the war, that he might have an opportunity of devoting himself entirely to his pleasures. His subjects, knowing his want of spirit and effeminacy, could not conceive how it had been possible for him to have been so successful; and at the same time they were displeased at his having concluded a peace, by which he had tied up his hands. The discontent they conceived on this account, was the chief source of the disorders in Egypt, which at last rose to an open rebellion: So that Ptolemy, by endeavouring to avoid a foreign war, drew one upon himself in the center of his own dominions.

(n) Antiochus, after having concluded a peace with Ptolemy, devoted his whole attention to the war against Achæus, and made all the preparations necessary for taking the field. At last he passed mount

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Taurus,

(n) Polyb. l. v. p. 444.

Taurus, and entered Asia minor with an intention to subdue it. Here he concluded a treaty with Attalus king of Pergamus, by virtue of which they united their forces against their common enemy. They attacked him with so much vigour, that he abandoned the open country to them, and shut himself up in Sardis, to which Antiochus laying siege, Achæus held it out above a year. He often made sallies, and a great many battles were fought under the walls of the city. At last, by a stratagem of Ligoras, one of Antiochus's commanders, Sardis was taken. Achæus retired into the citadel, where he defended himself, till he was delivered up by two traiterous Cretans. This fact confirms the truth of the proverb, which said, that the * *Cretans were liars and knaves*.

(o) Ptolemy Philopator had made a treaty with Achæus, and was very sorry for his being so closely blocked up in the castle of Sardis; and therefore commanded Sosibes to relieve him at any price whatsoever. There was then in Ptolemy's court a very cunning Cretan, Bolis by name, who had lived a considerable time at Sardis. Sosibes consulted this man, and asked whether he could not think of some method for Achæus's escape. The Cretan desired time to consider of it; and returning to Sosibes, offered to undertake it, and explained to him the manner in which he intended to proceed. He told him, that he had an intimate friend, who was also his near relation, Cambylus by name, a captain in the Cretan troops in Antiochus's service: That he commanded at that time in a fort behind the castle of Sardis, and that he would prevail with him to let Achæus escape that way. His project being approved, he was sent with the utmost speed to Sardis to put it in execution, and ten † talents were given him to defray his expences, &c. and a much more considerable sum promised him in case he succeeded. After his arrival, he communicates the affair

(o) Polyb. l. viii. p. 522---531.

* Κρήτες ἀσὶ ψευδᾶ, κατὰ Σενία. S. Paul. Epist. ad Tit. i. 12.
† Ten thousand French crowns.

affair to Cambylus, when those two miscreants agree (for their greater advantage) to go and reveal their design to Antiochus. They offered that prince, as they themselves had determined, to play their parts so well, that instead of procuring Achæus's escape, they would bring him to him, upon condition of receiving a considerable reward, to be divided among them, as well as the ten talents which Bolis had already received.

Antiochus was overjoyed at what he had heard, and promised them a reward that sufficed to engage them to do him that important service. Upon this Bolis, by Cambylus's assistance, easily got admission into the castle, where the credentials he produced from Sosibes, and some other of Achæus's friends, gained him the entire confidence of that ill-fated prince. Accordingly he trusted himself to those two wretches, who, the instant he was out of the castle, seized and delivered him to Antiochus. This king caused him to be immediately beheaded, and thereby put an end to that war of Asia; for the moment those who still sustained the siege heard of Achæus's death, they surrendered; and a little after, all the other places in the provinces of Asia did the same.

Rebels very seldom come to a good end; and though the perfidy of such traitors strikes us with horror, and raises our indignation, we are not inclined to pity the unhappy fate of Achæus, who had made himself worthy of it, by his infidelity to his sovereign.

(p) It was about this time that the discontent of the Egyptians against Philopator began to break out. According to Polybius, it occasioned a civil war; but neither himself nor any other author gives us the particulars of it.

(q) We also read in Livy, that the Romans some time after sent deputies to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, (doubtless the same queen who before was called Arsinoë) to renew their ancient friendship and alliance

K k 3

with

(p) Polyb. l. v. p. 444. (q) Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4.

A. M.

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Ant. J. C.

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A. M.

3794.

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with Egypt. These carried, as a present to the king, a robe and purple tunick, with an ivory * chair; and to the queen an embroidered robe, and a purple scarf. Such kind of presents shew the happy simplicity which in those ages prevailed among the Romans.

A. M. (r) Philopator had at this time by † Arsinoe, his
 3795. wife and sister, a son called Ptolemy Epiphanes, who
 Ant. J. C. succeeded him at five years of age.
 209.

A. M. (s) Philopator, from the signal victory he had ob-
 3797. tained over Antiochus, had abandoned himself to plea-
 Ant. J. C. sures and excesses of every kind. Agathoclea his con-
 207. cubine, Agathocles the brother of that woman, and their mother, governed him entirely. He spent all his time in gaming, drinking, and the most infamous irregularities. His nights were passed in debauches, and his days in feasts and dissolute revels. Forgetting entirely the king, instead of applying himself to the affairs of state, he valued himself upon presiding in concerts, and playing upon instruments. The ‡ women disposed of every thing. They conferred all employments and governments; and no one had less authority in the kingdom than the prince himself. Sosibes, an old, artful minister, who had served during three reigns, was at the helm, and his great experience had made him very capable of the administration; not indeed entirely in the manner he desired, but as the favourites would permit him to act; and he was so wicked, as to pay a blind obedience to the most unjust

(r) Justin. l. xxx. c. 4. (s) Ibid. c. 1 & 2. Polyb. in Excerpt. Valef. l. xv. xvi.

* This was allowed in Rome to none but the highest officers in the state.

† Justin calls her Eurydice. In case he is not mistaken, this queen had three names, Arsinoe, Cleopatra, and Eurydice. But Cleopatra was a name common to the queens of Egypt, as that of Ptolemy was to the kings. As archbishop Usher places the adventure of Hyrcanus the Jew at the birth of Ptolemy Epiphanes, I had insert-

ed it there in the first edition of this work. But as Josephus, from whom it is taken, says, that it happened in the reign of Seleucus the son of Antiochus the Great, I have transferred it to that time, as Dean Prideaux does also; that is to say, to the birth of Ptolemy Philometor, 187 years before Jesus Christ.

‡ Tribunatus, præfecturas, & ducatus mulieres ordinabant; nec quisquam in regno suo minùs, quàm ipse rex, poterat. Justin.

unjust commands of a corrupt prince, and his unworthy favourites.

(*t*) Arsinoë, the king's sister and wife, had no power or authority at court; the favourites and the prime minister did not shew her the least respect. On the other side, the queen was not patient enough to suffer every thing without murmuring; and they at last grew weary of her complaints. The king, and those who governed him, commanded Sosibes to rid them of her. He obeyed, and employed for that purpose one Philammon, who, without doubt, did not want experience in such cruel and barbarous assassinations.

This last action, added to so many more of the most flagrant nature, displeased the people so much, that Sosibes was obliged, before the king's death, to quit his employment. He was succeeded by Tlepolemus, a young man of quality, who had signalized himself in the army by his valour and conduct. He had all the voices in a grand council held for the choosing a prime minister. Sosibes resigned to him the king's seal, which was the badge of his office. Tlepolemus performed the several functions of it, and governed all the affairs of the kingdom during the king's life. But though this was not long, he discovered but too plainly that he had not all the qualities necessary for supporting so great an employment. He had neither the experience, ability, nor application of his predecessor. As he had the administration of all the finances, and disposed of all the honours and dignities of the state, and all payments passed through his hands, every body, as is usual, was assiduous in making their court to him. He was extremely liberal; but then his bounty was bestowed without choice or discernment, and almost solely on those who shared in his parties of pleasure. The extravagant flatteries of those who were for ever crowding about his person, made him fancy his talents superior to those of all other men. He assumed haughty airs, gave into

K k 4

luxury

(*t*) Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4.

luxury and profusion, and at last grew insupportable to all the world.

The wars of the East have made me suspend the relation of the affairs that happened in Greece during their continuance: We now return to them.

SECT. II. *The Ætolians declare against the Achæans. Battle of Caphyia lost by ARATUS. The Achæans address PHILIP, who undertakes their defence. Troubles break out in Lacedæmonia. The unhappy death of CLEOMENES in Egypt. Two kings are elected in Lacedæmonia. That republick joins with the Ætolians.*

(a) **T**HE Ætolians, particularly in the time we are now speaking of, were become a very powerful people in Greece. Originally their territories extended from the river Achelous, to the streight of the gulph of Corinth, and to the country of the Locrians, furnamed Ozolæ. But in process of time, they had possessed themselves of several cities in Acarnania, Thessaly, and other neighbouring countries. They led much the same life upon land as pirates do at sea, that is, they exercised themselves perpetually in plunder and rapine. Wholly bent on lucre, they did not consider any gain as infamous or unlawful; and were entire strangers to the laws of peace or war. They were very much inured to toils, and intrepid in battle. They signalized themselves particularly in the war against the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece; and shewed themselves zealous defenders of the publick liberty against the Macedonians. The increase of their power had made them haughty and insolent. That haughtiness appeared in the answer they gave the Romans, when they sent ambassadors to order them not to infest Acarnania. They expressed, if we may believe Trogus Pompeius, or (b) Justin his epitomizer, the highest contempt for Rome, which they termed only in its origin a shameful receptacle of thieves and robbers, founded and built

(a) Strab. l. x. p. 450. Polyb. p. 331. & 746. Pausan. l. x. p. 659.
 (b) Justin. l. xxviii. c. 2.

built by fratricide, and formed by an assemblage of women ravished from the arms of their parents. They added, that the Ætolians had always distinguished themselves in Greece, as much by their valour as their virtue and descent; that neither Philip nor Alexander his son had been formidable to them; and that at a time when the latter made the whole earth tremble, they had not been afraid to reject his edicts and injunctions. That therefore the Romans would not do well, to rouse the Ætolians against them; a people whose arms had extirpated the Gauls, and despised the Macedonians. The reader may, from this speech, form a judgment of the Ætolians, of whom much will be said in the sequel.

(c) From the time that Cleomenes of Sparta had lost his kingdom; and Antigonus, by his victory at Selasia, had in some measure restored the peace of Greece, the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, who were tired by the first wars, and imagined that affairs would always continue on the same foot, had laid their arms aside, and totally neglected military discipline. The Ætolians meditated taking advantage of this indolence. Peace was insupportable to them, as it obliged them to subsist at their own expence, accustomed as they were to support themselves wholly by rapine. Antigonus had kept them in awe, and prevented them from infesting their neighbours; but, after his death, despising Philip, because of his youth, they marched into Peloponnesus sword in hand, and laid waste the territories of the Messenians. Aratus, exasperated at this perfidy and insolence, and seeing that Timoxenes, at that time captain-general of the Achæans, endeavoured to gain time, because his year was near expiring; as he was nominated to succeed him the following year, he took upon him the command five days before the due time, in order to march the sooner to the aid of the Messenians. Accordingly, having as-

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had

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had suffered by repose and inactivity, he was defeated near Caphyia, in a great battle fought there.

Aratus was charged with being the cause of this defeat, and not without some foundation. He endeavoured to prove that the loss of the battle imputed to him was not his fault. He declared, that, however this might be, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he asked pardon; and intreated that his actions might be examined with less rigour than indulgence. His humility, on this occasion, changed the minds of the whole assembly, whose fury now turned against his accusers, and nothing was afterwards undertaken but by his counsel. However, the remembrance of his defeat had exceedingly damped his courage; so that he behaved as a wise citizen, rather than as an able warrior; and though the Ætolians often gave him opportunities to distress them, he took no advantage of them, but suffered that people to lay waste the whole country almost with impunity.

The Achæans were therefore forced to apply to Macedonia again, and to call in king Philip to their assistance, in hopes that the affection he bore Aratus, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to favour them. And indeed Antigonus, at his last moments, had, above all things, intreated Philip to keep well with Aratus; and to follow his counsel, in treating with the Achæans. Some time before, he had sent him into Peloponnesus, to form himself under his eye, and by his counsels. Aratus gave him the best reception in his power; treated him with the distinction due to his rank; and endeavoured to instill into him such principles and sentiments, as might enable him to govern with wisdom the great kingdom to which he was heir. Accordingly, that young prince returned into Macedonia with the highest sentiments of esteem for Aratus, and the most favourable disposition with regard to the welfare of Greece.

But the courtiers, whose interest it was to remove a person of Aratus's known probity, in order to have
the

the sole ascendant over their young prince, made that monarch suspect his conduct; and prevailed so far, as to make him declare openly against Aratus. Nevertheless, finding soon after that he had been imposed upon, he punished the informers with great severity, the sole means to banish for ever from princes that calumny, which impunity, and sometimes money, raise up and arm against persons of the most consummate virtue. Philip afterwards reposed the same confidence in Aratus as he had formerly done, and resolved to be guided by his counsels only; which was manifest on several occasions, and particularly in the affair of Lacedæmonia. (d) That unhappy city was perpetually torn by seditions, in one of which, one of the Ephori, and a great many other citizens, were killed, because they had declared for king Philip. When that prince arrived from Macedonia, he gave audience to the ambassadors of Sparta at Tegea, whither he had sent for them. In the council he held there, several were of opinion, that he should treat that city as Alexander had treated Thebes. But the king rejected that proposal with horror, and contented himself with punishing the principal authors of the insurrection. Such an instance of moderation and wisdom in a king, who was but seventeen years of age, was greatly admired; and every one was persuaded, that it was owing to the good counsels of Aratus. However, he did not always make the same use of them.

(e) Being arrived at Corinth, complaints were made to him by many cities against the Ætolians; and accordingly war was unanimously declared against them. This was called the war of the allies, which began much about the same time that Hannibal was meditating the siege of Saguntum. This decree was sent to all the cities, and ratified in the general assembly of the Achæans. The Ætolians, on the other side, prepared for war, and elected Scopas their general, the principal contriver of the broils they had raised, and the havock they had made. Philip now
marched

(d) Polyb. p. 292---294.

(e) Polyb. l. iv. p. 294---299.

marched back his forces into Macedonia; and, whilst they were in winter-quarters, was very diligent in making the necessary military preparations. He endeavoured to strengthen himself by the aid of his allies, few of whom answered his views; colouring their delays with false and specious pretences. He also sent to king Ptolemy, to intreat him not to aid the Ætolians either with men or money.

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(f) Cleomenes was at that time in Egypt; but as an horrid licentiousness prevailed in that court, and the king regarded nothing but pleasures and excesses of every kind, Cleomenes led a very melancholy life there. Nevertheless Ptolemy, in the beginning of his reign, had made use of Cleomenes: For, as he was afraid of his brother Magas, who, on his mother's account, had great authority and power over the soldiery, he contracted a stricter amity with Cleomenes, and admitted him into his most secret councils, in which means for getting rid of his brother were consulted. Cleomenes was the only person who opposed it; he declaring, that a king cannot have any ministers more zealous for his service, or more obliged to aid him in sustaining the weighty burthen of government, than his brothers. This advice prevailed for that time: But Ptolemy's fears and suspicions returning, he imagined there would be no way to get rid of them, but by taking away the life of him that occasioned them. (g) After this he thought himself secure; fondly concluding, that he had no enemies to fear, either at home or abroad; because Antigonus and Seleucus, at their death, had left no other successors but Philip and Antiochus, both whom he despised on account of their minority. In this security he devoted himself entirely to all sorts of pleasures, which were never interrupted by cares or applications of any kind. Neither his courtiers, nor those who had employments in the state, dared to approach him; and he would scarce deign to bestow the least attention to what

(f) Plut. in Cleom. p. 820---823. (g) Polyb. l. v. p. 380---385.

what passed in the neighbouring kingdoms. That, however, was what employed the attention of his predecessors, even more than the affairs of their own dominions. Being possessed of Cœlosyria and Cyprus, they awed the kings of Syria both by sea and land. As the most considerable cities, the ports and harbours which lie along the coast from Pamphylia to the Hellespont, and the places in the neighbourhood of Lyfimachia, were subject to them; from thence they had an eye on the princes of Asia, and even on the islands. How would it have been possible for any one to move in Thrace and Macedonia, whilst they had the command of Ene, or Maronea, and of cities that lay at a still greater distance? With so extensive a dominion, and so many strong places, which served them as barriers, their own kingdom was secure. They therefore had always great reason to keep a watchful eye over what was transacting without doors. Ptolemy, on the contrary, disdained to give himself that trouble; wine and women being his only pleasure and employment.

With such dispositions, the reader will easily suppose that he could have no great esteem for Cleomenes. The instant the latter had news of Antigonus's death, that the Achæans were engaged in a great war with the Ætolians, that the Lacedæmonians were united with the latter against the Achæans and Macedonians, and that all things seemed to recall him to his native country, he solicited earnestly to leave Alexandria. He therefore implored the king to favour him with troops and munitions of war sufficient for his return. Finding he could not obtain his request, he desired that he at least might be suffered to depart with his family, and be allowed to embrace the favourable opportunity for repossessing himself of his kingdom. But Ptolemy was too much employed in his pleasures, to lend an ear to Cleomenes's intreaties.

Sofibes, who at that time had great authority in the kingdom, assembled his friends; and in this council

cil a resolution was formed, not to furnish Cleomenes either with a fleet or provisions. They believed that a needless expence; for, from the death of Antigonus, all affairs without doors had seemed to them of no importance. Besides, this council were apprehensive, that as Antigonus was dead, and as there was none to oppose Cleomenes, that prince, after having made an expeditious conquest of Greece, would become a very formidable enemy to Egypt: What increased their fears was, his having thoroughly studied the state of the kingdom, his knowing its strong and weak side, his having the king in the utmost contempt, and seeing a great many parts of the kingdom separated and at a great distance, which an enemy might have a thousand opportunities of invading. For these reasons, it was not thought proper to grant Cleomenes the fleet and other succours he desired. On the other side, to give so bold and enterprising a prince leave to depart, after having refused him in so contemptuous a manner, would be making an enemy of him, who would certainly, one time or other, remember the affront which had been put upon him. Sosibes was therefore of opinion, that it was not even safe to allow him his liberty in Alexandria. A word which Cleomenes had let drop, came then into his mind. In a council, where Magas was the subject of the debate, that prime minister was afraid lest this prince should prevail with the foreign soldiers to make an insurrection: *I answer for them*, says Cleomenes, speaking of those of Peloponnesus; *and you may depend, that upon the first signal I give, they all will take up arms in your favour.* This made Sosibes hesitate no longer: On a fictitious accusation, and which he corroborated by a letter he himself had forged in that unhappy prince's name, he prevailed with the king to seize his person, and to imprison him in a secure place, and maintain him always in the manner he had hitherto done, with the liberty of seeing his friends, but not of going abroad.

This treatment threw Cleomenes into the deepest affliction and melancholy. As he did not perceive any end of his calamities, he formed such a resolution, in concert with those friends who used to visit him, as despair only could suggest; and this was, to return the injustice of Ptolemy by force of arms; to stir up his subjects against him; to die a death worthy of Sparta; and not to wait, as stalled victims, till it was thought proper to sacrifice them.

His friends having found means to get him out of the prison, they all ran in a body, with drawn swords, into all the streets; exhorting and calling upon the populace to recover their liberty; but not a man joined them. They killed the governor of the city, and some other noblemen who came to oppose them; and afterwards ran to the citadel, with intention to force the gates of it, and set all the prisoners at liberty; but they found these shut and strongly barricadoed. Cleomenes, now lost to all hopes, ran up and down the city, during which not a soul either followed or opposed him; but all fled through fear. But seeing it would be impossible for them to succeed in their enterprize, they terminated it in a tragical and bloody manner, by running upon each other's swords, to avoid the infamy of punishment. Thus died Cleomenes, after reigning sixteen years over Sparta. The king caused his body to be hanged on a cross, and ordered his mother, children, and all the women who attended them, to be put to death. When that unhappy princess was brought to the place of execution, the only favour she asked was, that she might die before her children. But they began with them; a torment more grievous to a mother than death itself; after which she presented her neck to the executioner, saying only these words, *Ab! my dear children, to what a place did you come?*

The design of Agis and Cleomenes to reform Sparta, and revive its ancient discipline, was certainly very laudable in itself: And both had reason to think, that in a state wholly infected and corrupted as that of Sparta

Sparta then was, to pretend to reform abuses one after another, and remedy disorders by degrees, was only cutting off the heads of an Hydra; and therefore, that it would be absolutely necessary to root up the evil at one blow. However, I cannot say whether Plato's maxim * should not take place here, *viz.* that nothing should be attempted in a state, but what the citizens might be prevailed on to admit by gentle means; and that violence should never be employed. Are there not some diseases in which medicines would only hasten death? And have not † some disorders gained so great an ascendant in a state, that to attempt a reformation at such a time, would only discover the impotency of the magistrates and laws? But, a circumstance which admits of no excuse in Cleomenes, is, his having, against all the laws of reason and justice, murdered the Ephori, in order to get success to his enterprize; a conduct absolutely tyrannical, unworthy of a Spartan, and more unworthy of a king: And which at the same time seemed to give a sanction to those tyrants, who afterwards made such wild havoc in Lacedæmonia. And, indeed, Cleomenes himself has been called a tyrant by some historians, with whom they even began ‡ the succession of tyrants.

(b) During the three years that Cleomenes had left Sparta, the citizens had not thought of nominating kings, from the hopes they entertained, that he would return again; and had always preserved the highest esteem and veneration for him. But, as soon as news was brought of his death, they proceeded to the election of kings. They first nominated Agesipolis, a child, descended from one of the royal families, and appointed his uncle Cleomenes his governor. Afterwards

(b) Polyb. l. iv. p. 301.

* Jubes Plato, quem ego auctorem vehementer sequor, Tantum contendere in republica, quantum probare civibus tuis possis: vim neque parenti neque patriæ afferre oportere. Cic. l. i. *Epist.* 9. *ad Famil.*

† Decebat omittere potius præ-

valida & adulta vitia, quam hoc adsequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares essemus. Tacit. *Annal.* l. iii. c. 53.

‡ Post mortem Cleomenis, qui primus Tyrannus Lacedæmone fuit. Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 26.

wards they chose Lycurgus, none of whose ancestors had reigned, but who had bribed the Ephori, by giving each of them a * talent, which was putting the crown to sale at a very low price. They soon had reason to repent their choice, which was in direct opposition to all laws, and never had example. The factious party, which opposed Philip openly, and committed the most enormous violences in the city, had presided in this election; and immediately after, they caused Sparta to declare in favour of the Ætolians.

SECT. III. *Various expeditions of PHILIP against the enemies of the Achæans. APELLES, his prime minister, abuses his confidence in an extraordinary manner. PHILIP makes an inroad into Ætolia. Thermæ taken at the first assault. Excesses of PHILIP's soldiers in that city. Prudent retreat of that prince. Tumults in the camp. Punishment of those who had occasioned them. Inroad of PHILIP into Laconia. The conspirators form new cabals. Punishment inflicted on them. A peace is proposed between PHILIP and the Achæans on one side, and the Ætolians on the other, which at last is concluded.*

(a) **W**E have already related, that Philip king of Macedon, being called in by the Achæans to their aid, was come to Corinth where their general assembly was held, and that there war had been unanimously declared against the Ætolians. The king returned afterwards to Macedonia, to make the necessary preparations for carrying on the war.

Philip brought over Scerdiledes to the alliance with the Achæans. He was, as has been observed, a petty king of Illyria. The Ætolians, whose ally he was, had broke their engagements with him, by refusing to give him a certain share of the spoils they had made at the taking of Cynethium, according to the articles agreed upon between them. Philip embraced with joy this opportunity of revenging their perfidy.

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Demetrius

(a) Polyb. l. iv. p. 294—306.

* A thousand crowns.

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(b) Demetrius of Pharos joined also with Philip. We have already seen that the Romans, in whose favour he had declared at first, had bestowed on him several of the cities they had conquered in Illyria. As the chief revenue of those petty princes had consisted hitherto in the spoils they got from their neighbours; when the Romans were removed, he could not forbear plundering the cities and territories subject to them. Besides, Demetrius, as well as Scerdiledes, had failed, on the same design, beyond the city of Issus; which was a direct infraction of the chief article of the treaty, concluded with queen Teuta. For these reasons the Romans declared war against Demetrius. Accordingly Æmilius attacked him with great vigour, dispossessed him of his strongest fortresses, and besieged him in Pharos, from whence he escaped with the utmost difficulty. The city surrendered to the Romans. (c) Demetrius being dispossessed of all his dominions, fled to Philip, who received him with open arms. This offended the Romans very much, who thereupon sent ambassadors to him, demanding Demetrius to be delivered up. However Philip, who revolved at that time the design which broke out soon after, paid no regard to their demand; and Demetrius spent the remainder of his days with that monarch. He was a valiant and bold man, but at the same time rash and inconsiderate in his enterprizes; and his courage was entirely void of prudence and judgment.

The Achæans, being on the point of engaging in a considerable war, sent to their allies. The Acarnanians joined them very cheerfully, though at their great danger, as they lay nearest the Ætolians, and consequently were most exposed to the inroads of that people. Polybius praises their fidelity exceedingly.

The people of Epirus did not shew so much good will, and seemed desirous of continuing neuter: Nevertheless, they engaged in the war a little after.

Deputies

(b) Polyb. l. iii. p. 171—174. Lib. iv. p. 285—305—330.
(c) Liv. l. xxiii. p. 33.

Deputies were also sent to king Ptolemy to desire him not to assist the Ætolians either with troops or money.

The Messenians, for whose sake that war had been first begun, no way answered the hopes which had been naturally entertained, *viz.* of their employing their whole force to carry it on.

The Lacedæmonians had declared at first for the Achæans: But the contrary faction caused the decree to be reversed, and they joined the Ætolians. It was on this occasion, as I have said before; that Agefipolis and Lycurgus were elected kings of Sparta.

Aratus the younger, son of the great Aratus, was at that time supreme magistrate of the Achæans, and Scopas was the same over the Ætolians.

(d) Philip marched from Macedonia with fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. Having crossed Thessaly, he arrived in Epirus. Had he marched directly to the Ætolians, he would have come upon them unawares, and have defeated them: but, at the request of the Epirots, he laid siege to Ambracia, which employed him forty days, and gave the enemy time to prepare for, and wait his coming up. They did more. Scopas, at the head of a body of Ætolians, advanced into Macedonia, made dreadful havock, and returned in a very short time laden with spoils, which did him prodigious honour, and greatly animated his forces. However, this did not hinder Philip from entering Ætolia, and seizing on a great number of important fortresses. He would have entirely conquered it, had not the news he received, that the Dardanians * intended to make an inroad into his kingdom, obliged him to return thither. At his departure, he promised the ambassadors of the Achæans to return soon to their assistance. His sudden arrival disconcerted the Dardanians, and put a

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stop

(d) Polyb. l. iv. p. 325---330.

* These people were neighbours of Macedonia, on the north of that kingdom.

stop to their enterprize. He then returned to Thesfaly, with an intention to pass the rest of the summer in Lariffa.

(e) In the mean time Dorimachus, whom the Ætolians had just before nominated their general, entered Epirus, laid waste all the open country, and did not spare even the temple of Dodona.

Philip, though it was now the depth of winter, having left Lariffa, arrived at Corinth, without any one's having had the least notice of his march. He there ordered the elder Aratus to attend him, and by a letter to his son, who commanded the forces this year, gave him orders whither to march them. Caphyia was to be the rendezvous. Euripidas, who knew nothing of Philip's arrival, was then marching a detachment of above two thousand natives of Elis, to lay waste the territory of Sicyone. They fell into the hands of Philip, and all except an hundred were either killed or taken prisoners.

The king, having joined Aratus the younger with his forces, at the rendezvous appointed, marched towards Psophis * in order to besiege it. This was a very daring attempt; for the city was thought almost impregnable, as well from its natural situation, as from the fortifications which had been added to it. It being the depth of winter, the inhabitants were of opinion that no one would, or even could, attack them: Philip, however, did it with success; for, first the city, and afterwards the citadel, surrendered after making some resistance. As they were very far from expecting to be besieged, the want of ammunition and provisions very much facilitated the taking of that city. Philip gave it very generously to the Achæans, to whom it was of the most signal service; assuring them that there was nothing he desired more than to oblige them; and to give them the strongest proofs of his zeal and affection for their interest. A prince who acts in this manner is truly great, and does honour to the royal dignity.

From

(e) Polyb. l. iv. p. 330---336.

* A city of Arcadia.

From thence, after possessing himself of some other cities, which he also gave to his allies, he marched to Elis, in order to lay it waste. It was very rich and populous, and the inhabitants of the country were in a flourishing condition. Formerly this territory had been accounted sacred, on account of the Olympick games solemnized there every four years; and all the nations of Greece had agreed to infest or carry war into it. But the Eleans had themselves been the occasion of their losing that privilege, because, like other states, they had engaged in the wars of Greece. Here Philip got a very considerable booty, with which he enriched his troops, after which he retired to Olympia.

(f) Among the several courtiers of king Philip, Apelles held the chief rank, and had a great ascendant over his sovereign, whose governor he had been: But, as generally happens on these occasions, he very much abused his power, which he employed wholly in oppressing particular persons and states. He had taken it into his head, to reduce the Achæans to the same condition in which Theffaly was at that time; that is, to subject them absolutely to the commands of the ministers of Macedonia, by leaving them only the name and a vain shadow of liberty: And to accustom them to the yoke, he spared them no kind of injurious treatment. Aratus complained of this to Philip, who was highly exasperated upon that account; and accordingly assured him, he would give such orders, that nothing of that kind should happen for the future. Accordingly, he enjoined Apelles never to lay any commands on the Achæans, but in concert with their general. This was behaving with an indolent tenderness towards a statesman, who having so shamefully abused his master's confidence, had therefore deserved to be entirely disgraced. The Achæans, overjoyed at the favour which Philip shewed them, and with the orders he had given for their peace and security, were continually bestowing the highest en-

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comiums

comiums on that prince, and extolling his exalted qualities. And, indeed, he possessed all those which can endear a king to his people; such as a lively genius, an happy memory, easy elocution, and an unaffected grace in all his actions; a beautiful aspect, heightened by a noble and majestick air, which struck the beholders with awe and respect; a sweetness of temper, affability, and a desire to please universally; to finish the picture, a valour, an intrepidity, and an experience in war, which far exceeded his years: So that one can hardly conceive the strange alteration that afterwards appeared in his morals and behaviour.

(g) Philip having possessed himself of Aliphera, a very strong city, the greatest part of the people of that country, astonished at the rapidity of his conquest, and weary of the Ætolian tyranny, submitted to his arms. Thus he soon made himself master of all Triphylia.

(h) At this time, Chilo the Lacedæmonian, pretending he had a better right to the crown than Lycurgus, on whose head they had placed it, resolved to dispossess him of it, and set it on his own. Having engaged in his party about two hundred citizens, he entered the city in a forcible manner, killed the Ephori who were at table together, and marched directly towards Lycurgus's house, intending to kill him; but hearing the tumult, he had made his escape. Chilo then went into the great square of the city, exhorted the citizens to recover their liberty; making them, at the same time, the greatest promises. Seeing, however, that he could make no impression on them, and that he had failed of his blow, he sentenced himself to banishment, and retired to Achaia. It is surprising to see Sparta, formerly so jealous of its liberty, and mistress of all Greece till the battle of Leuctra, now filled with tumults and insurrections, and ignominiously subjected to a kind of tyrants, that before could not so much as suffer the name. Such were the effects of their having violated Lycurgus's laws; and

and especially their introducing gold and silver into Sparta; which drew after them, by insensible degrees, the lust of power, avarice, pride, luxury, effeminacy, immorality, and all those vices which are generally inseparable from riches.

(i) Philip being arrived at Argos, spent the rest of the winter there. Apelles had not yet laid aside the design he meditated, of enslaving the Achæans. But Aratus, for whom the king had a very particular regard, and in whom he reposed the highest confidence, was an invincible obstacle to his project. He therefore resolved, if possible, to get rid of him; for this purpose he sent privately for all those who were his secret enemies, and used his utmost endeavours to gain them the prince's favour. After this, in all his discourses with him, he hinted, that so long as Aratus should enjoy any authority in the republick of the Achæans, he (Philip) would have no power; and would be as much subject to their laws and usages, as the meanest of their citizens; whereas, were he to raise to the chief administration of affairs some person who might be entirely dependent on him, he then might act as sovereign, and govern others, instead of being himself governed. The new friends enforced these reflections, and refined on the arguments of Apelles. This idea of despotick power pleased the young king; and indeed it is the strongest temptation that can be laid in the way of princes. Accordingly he went for that purpose to Ægium, where the assembly of the states was held for the election of a new general; and prevailed so far by his promises and menaces, that he got Philoxenus, whom Aratus had declared duly elected, excluded; and obliged them to make choice of Eperatus, who was his direct enemy. Implicitly devoted to the will of his prime minister, he did not perceive that he degraded himself in the most ignominious manner; nothing being more abhorrent to free assemblies, such as those of Greece,

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than,

than to make the least attempt in violation of the freedom of elections.

A person being chosen entirely unworthy of the post, as is commonly the case in all forced elections, Eperatus, having neither merit nor experience, was universally despised. As Aratus intermeddled no longer in publick affairs, nothing was well done, and all things were hastening to their ruin. Philip, who was blamed for all miscarriages, became sensible that very pernicious counsels had been given him. Upon this, he again had recourse to Aratus, and reinstated him entirely in his friendship and confidence; and perceiving that after this step his affairs flourished visibly, and that his reputation and power increased daily, he would not make use of any counsel, but that of Aratus, as the only man to whom he owed all his grandeur and glory. Who would not imagine, after such evident and repeated proofs, on one side of Aratus's innocence, and on the other of Apelles's black malice, that Philip would have been undeceived for ever; and have been fully sensible which of the two had the most sincere zeal to his service? The sequel, however, will shew, that jealousy never dies but with the object that excited it; and that princes seldom overcome prejudices grateful to their authority.

A new proof of this soon appeared. As the inhabitants of Elis refused the advantageous conditions, which Philip offered them by one Amphidamus, Apelles hinted to him, that so unreasonable a refusal was owing to the ill services which Aratus did him clandestinely, though outwardly he pretended to have his interest very much at heart: That he alone had kept Amphidamus from enforcing as he ought to have done, and as he had engaged to do, to the inhabitants of Elis, the offers which the king made them: And on this foundation he invented a long story, and named several witnesses. The king, however, was so just, as to insist upon his prime minister's repeating these accusations, in presence of the man
whom

whom he charged with them: And this Apelles did not scruple to do, and that with such an air of assurance, or rather impudence, as might have disconcerted the most virtuous man. He even added, that the king would lay this affair before the council of the Achæans, and leave to them the decision of it. This was what he wanted; firmly persuaded, that by the authority he had there, he should not fail to get him condemned. Aratus, in making his defence, began by beseeching the king, not to give too much credit to the several things laid to his charge. That a justice which a king, more than any other man, owed to a person accused, was to command that a strict enquiry be made into the several articles of the accusation, and till then to suspend his judgment. In consequence of this he required, that Apelles should be obliged to produce his witnesses; him especially, from whom he pretended to have heard the several particulars laid to his charge; and that they should omit none of the methods used and prescribed in stating a fact before it was laid before the publick council. The king thought Aratus's demand very just and reasonable, and promised it should be complied with. However, the time passed on, and Apelles did not prepare to give in his proofs: But how would it have been possible for him to do that? An unforeseen accident brought Amphidamus, by a kind of chance, to the city of Dyma, whither Philip was come to settle some affairs. Aratus snatched the opportunity; and begged the king himself to take cognizance of this matter. He complied with Aratus's request, and found that there was not the least grounds for the charge. Accordingly Aratus was pronounced innocent, but without any punishment being inflicted on the calumniator.

This impunity emboldened him the more; so that he continued his secret intrigues, in order to remove those who gave him the least umbrage. Besides Apelles, there were four other persons who divided the chief offices of the crown among them, and at the

same time enjoyed the king's confidence. Antigonus had appointed them by his will, and assigned each of them his employment. His principal view in this choice was, to prevent those cabals which are almost inseparable from the minority of an infant prince. Two of these noblemen, Leontius and Megaleas, were entirely at the devotion of Apelles; but as to the two other, Taurion and Alexander, he had not the same ascendant over them; the former of the two last presided over the affairs of Peloponnesus, and the second had the command of the guards. Now the prime minister wanted to give their employments to noblemen on whom he could entirely rely, and who would be as much devoted to his views as he could wish them. However, he behaved in a different manner towards them: For, says Polybius, courtiers have the art of moulding themselves into all shapes, and employ either praise or slander to gain their ends. Whenever Taurion was mentioned, Apelles would applaud his merit, his courage, his experience; and speak of him as a man worthy of the king's more intimate confidence: He did this in the view of detaining him at court, and procuring the government of Peloponnesus (a place of great importance, and which required the presence of the person invested with it) for one of his creatures. Whenever Alexander was the subject of the discourse, he represented him in the most odious colours to the king, and even endeavoured to render his fidelity suspected; in order to remove him from court, that his post might be given to some person who might depend entirely on him. Polybius will shew hereafter, what was the result of all these secret machinations. He only hints in this place, that Apelles was at last taken in his own snare, and met with the treatment he was preparing for others. But we shall first see him commit the blackest and most abominable injustice in the person of Aratus, and even extend his criminal designs to the king himself.

I be,

(k) I before observed, that Philip having discovered that he had been more than once imposed upon, had restored Aratus to his favour and confidence. Supported by his credit and counsels he went to the assembly of the Achæans, appointed, on his account, at Sicyon. On the report he made of the state of his exchequer, and of the urgent necessity he was in of money to maintain his forces, a resolution was made to furnish him with fifty * talents, the instant his troops should set out upon their march; with three months pay for his soldiers, and ten thousand measures of wheat: And, that afterwards, as long as he should carry on the war in person in Peloponnesus, they should furnish him with seventeen † talents a month.

When the troops returned from their winter-quarters and were assembled, the king debated in council on the operations of the ensuing campaign. It was resolved to act by sea, because they thereby should infallibly divide the enemy's forces, from the uncertainty they must be under, with regard to the side on which they should be attacked. Philip was to make war on the inhabitants of Ætolia, Lacedæmonia, and Elis.

Whilst the king, who was now returned to Corinth, was forming his Macedonians for naval affairs, and employing them in the several exercises of the sea-service, Apelles, who found his credit diminish, and was exasperated to see the counsels of Aratus followed, and not his, took secret measures to defeat all the king's designs. His view was to make himself necessary to his sovereign; and to force him, by the ill posture of his affairs, to throw himself into the arms of a minister, who was best acquainted with, and then actually in the administration of them. How villanous was this! Apelles prevailed with Leontius and Megaleas, his two confidants, to behave with negligence in the employments with which they should be

(k) Polyb. l. iv. p. 350---365.

* Fifty thousand crowns.

† Seventeen thousand crowns.

be intrusted. As for himself, he went to Chalcis, upon pretence of having some affairs to transact there; as his orders were punctually obeyed by every one, he stopt the convoys of money which were sending to the king; and thereby reduced him to such necessity, that he was forced to pawn his plate to subsist himself and his household.

Philip having put to sea, arrived the second day at Patræ; and sailing from thence to * Cephalenia, laid siege to Paleis, a city whose situation would be of great advantage to him, as a place of arms; and enable him to infest the territories of his enemies. He caused the machines of war to be advanced, and mines to be run. One of the ways of making breaches was, to dig up the earth under the very foundation of the walls. When they were got to these, they propped and supported the walls with great wooden beams, to which the miners afterwards set fire, and then retired; when presently great part of the wall would fall down. As the Macedonians had worked with incredible ardour, they very soon made a breach of six hundred fathoms wide. Leontius was commanded to mount this breach with his troops. Had he exerted himself ever so little, the city would certainly have been taken: But he attacked the enemy very faintly, so that he was repulled, lost a great number of his men, and Philip was obliged to raise the siege.

The moment he began it, the enemy had sent Lycurgus with some troops into Messenia, and Dorimachus with half of the army into Theffaly, to oblige Philip, by this double diversion, to lay aside his enterprize. Deputies had arrived soon from the Acarnanians and Messenians. Philip, having raised the siege, assembled his council, to debate on which side he should turn his arms. The Messenians represented, that in one day the forces might march from Cephalenia into their country, and at once overpower Lycurgus, who did not expect to be so suddenly attacked. Leontius enforced this advice very strongly. His se-

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* *An island in the Ionian sea.*

cret reason was, that as it would be impossible for Philip to return, as the winds would be directly contrary at that time, he therefore would be forced to stay there, by which means the campaign would be spent, and nothing done. The Acarnanians, on the contrary, were for marching directly into Ætolia, which was then unprovided with troops: Declaring, that the whole country might be laid waste without the least resistance; and that Dorimachus would be prevented from making an irruption into Macedonia. Aratus did not fail to declare in favour of the latter opinion; and the king, who from the cowardly attack at Paleis began to suspect Leontius, went thither also.

Having provided for the urgent necessities of the Messenians, he went from Cephallenia, arrived the second day at Leucadia, from thence entered the gulph of Ambracia, and came a little before day-break to Limnæa. Immediately he commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment, to rid themselves of the greatest part of their baggage, and be ready for marching. In the afternoon, Philip having left the baggage under a strong guard, set out from Limnæa; and marching about sixty furlongs he halted, to give his army some refreshment and rest. He then marched all night, and arrived at day-break at the river Achelous, intending to fall suddenly and unexpectedly upon Thermæ. Leontius advised the king to halt for some time, giving for his reason, that as the soldiers had been fatigued with the length of their march, it would be proper for them to take breath, but, in reality, to give the Ætolians time to prepare for their defence. Aratus on the contrary, knowing that opportunity is swift-winged, and that Leontius's advice was manifestly traiterous, conjured Philip to seize the favourable moment, and march out that instant.

The king, who was already offended at Leontius, and began to suspect him, sets out that instant, crosses the Achelous, and marches directly to Thermæ, through a very rugged and almost impervious road cut
between

between very steep rocks. This was the capital city of the country, in which the Ætolians every year held their fairs and solemn assemblies; as well for the worship of the gods, as for the election of magistrates. As this city was thought impregnable, because of the advantage of its situation, and that no enemy had ever dared to approach it; the Ætolians used to leave their richest effects and all their wealth there, imagining they were very safe. But, how great must be their surprize, when, at the close of the day, they saw Philip enter it with his army!

After having taken immense spoils in the night, the Macedonians pitched their camp. The next morning it was resolved that the most valuable effects should be carried away; and making a heap of the rest, at the head of the camp, they set fire to that pile. They did the same with regard to the arms which hung on the galleries of the temple; the best were laid by for service, and the remainder, amounting to upwards of fifteen thousand, were burnt to ashes. Hitherto every thing which had been transacted was just, and agreeable to the laws of war.

But the Macedonians did not stop here. Transported with fury at the remembrance of the wild havoc which the Ætolians had made in Dium and Dodona, they set fire to the galleries of the temple, tore down all the offerings which hung on them, among which were some of exceeding beauty and prodigious value. Not satisfied with burning the roofs, they razed the temple. The statues, of which there were at least two thousand, were thrown down. A great number of them were broke to pieces; and those only spared which were known, by their form or inscriptions, to represent gods. They wrote the following verse on the walls;

Remember Dium; Dium sends you this.

Doubtless, the horror with which the sacrileges committed by the Ætolians at Dium inspired Philip,
and

and his allies, convinced them that they might revenge it by the commission of the like crimes, and that they were then making just reprisals. However, says Polybius, the reader will allow me to think otherwise. To support his opinion, he cites three great examples, taken even from the family of the prince whose conduct he here censures. Antigonus, after having defeated Cleomenes king of the Lacedæmonians, and possessed himself of Sparta, so far from extending his rage to the temples and sacred things, did not even make those he had conquered feel the effects of it; on the contrary, he restored to them the form of government which they had received from their ancestors, and treated them with the highest testimonies of kindness and friendship. Philip, to whom the royal family owed all its splendor, and who defeated the Athenians at Chæronea, made them sensible of his power and victory by no other marks than his beneficence; restoring their prisoners without ransom; himself taking care even of the dead, ordering Antipater to convey their bones to Athens, and giving clothes to such of the prisoners as were most in want of them. In fine, Alexander the Great, in the height of his fury against Thebes, which he razed to the ground, so far from being forgetful of the veneration due to the gods, took care not to suffer his soldiers, (even through imprudence) to do the least injury to the temples, and other sacred places: And a circumstance still more worthy our admiration; in his war with the Persians, who had plundered and burnt most of the temples in Greece, Alexander spared and revered all places dedicated to the worship of the gods.

It would have been better, continues Polybius, if Philip, mindful of the examples his ancestors set him, had strove to shew himself their successor more in moderation and magnanimity, than their empire and power. The laws of war, indeed, frequently oblige a conqueror to demolish cities and citadels; to fill up harbours, to take men and ships, to carry off the
fruits

fruits of the earth, and to act things of a like nature, in order to lessen the strength of the enemy and increase his own: But to destroy what either cannot do him any prejudice, or will not contribute to the defeat of the enemy; to burn temples, to break statues and such ornaments of a city in pieces; certainly nothing but the wildest and most extravagant fury can be capable of such violence. It is not merely to ruin and destroy those who have done us injury, that we ought to declare war, in case we desire to be thought just and equitable; but only to oblige such people to acknowledge, and make amends for their faults. The true end of war is not to involve in the same ruin the innocent and the guilty, but rather to save both. These are the sentiments of a soldier and an heathen.

Though Philip, on this occasion, shewed no great regard for religion, he acted like an excellent captain. His view in putting to sea, was to go and surprize the city of Thermæ, during the absence of part of the Ætolian forces. To conceal his design, he took so large a tour, as left the enemy in doubt with regard to the place he intended to attack; and which prevented their seizing some passes of mountains and defiles in which he might have been stopt short. Some rivers were to be passed: It was necessary for them to make the utmost haste, and turn short upon Ætolia, by a swift counter-march. This Philip does without listening to the advice of traitors. To lighten his army, he leaves his baggage. He goes through the streights without meeting the least obstacle, and enters Thermæ as if he had dropped from the skies; so well he had concealed and hastened his march, of which the enemy do not seem to have had the least suspicion.

His retreat was full as extraordinary. To secure it, he had seized upon several important posts; expecting that at his coming down, his rear-guard particularly would be attacked. It was accordingly charged at two different times; however, the prudent precau-
tions

tions he had taken, entirely baffled all the efforts of the enemy.

An enterprize so well concerted, so secretly carried on, and executed with so much wisdom and dispatch, surpasses the abilities of so young a prince as Philip; and seems to bear the character of a veteran warrior, long exercised in all the arts and stratagems of war. We can scarce doubt, (and Polybius seems to insinuate it evidently enough) but that Aratus, as he had been the first contriver of so noble a project, was also the soul, as it were, and chief agent in it afterwards. I have already observed, that his talents lay more in conducting a warlike stratagem, in forming extraordinary enterprizes, and in giving success to them by his bold counsels, than in executing them himself. How happy is it for a young prince to possess a general of this character; prudent, able, versed by long experience, and habituated to all the parts of the art of war; to be able to know the merit of these qualities; to be perfectly sensible of their high value; to be docile to his advice, though frequently contrary to his own taste and opinion; and to let himself be guided by such wise counsels. After the happy success of an action, the person whose advice directed it vanishes, and all the glory of it reflects upon the monarch. (1) Plutarch, who advances what I have now said, thinks it equally glorious in Philip to suffer himself to be guided by such good counsels, and to Aratus for having ability to suggest them.

When Philip, who had marched back the same way he came, was arrived at Limnæa, finding himself in repose and security, he offered sacrifices to the gods by way of thanksgiving, for the success they had given to his arms; and made a splendid banquet for his officers, who were as strongly affected as himself with the glory he had acquired. Leontius and Megaleas were the only persons who heartily repined at the good fortune of their sovereign. Every one soon perceived that they did not share with the rest of

the company in the joy which so successful an expedition must naturally create. During the whole entertainment, they discovered their animosity against Aratus by the most injurious and most shocking raileries. But words were not all; for, at their rising from the banquet, heated with the fumes of wine and fired with anger, they threw stones at him all the way, till he was got into his tent. The whole army was in an uproar; and the noise reaching the king, he caused an exact enquiry to be made into the affair; and laying a fine of twenty * talents on Megaleas, he afterwards threw him into prison. Leontius, hearing of what had happened, ran with a crowd of soldiers to the king's tent; persuaded that he would be frightened at seeing so great a body of men, and for that reason be prompted to change his resolution. Being come into the king's presence, *Who has been so bold, says he, as to lay hands on Megaleas, and throw him into prison? It is I,* answered the king, in a lofty tone. This terrified Leontius; so that, after venting a deep sigh, he left the king's tent in a rage. Some days after, he was bound for the fine laid on Megaleas, who was then set at liberty.

(m) During Philip's expedition against Ætolia, Lycurgus, the Spartan king, had engaged in an enterprize against the Messenians, but it proved abortive. Dorimachus, who had led a considerable body of Ætolians into Thessaly, with an intention to lay waste the country, and to oblige Philip to raise the siege of Paleis, in order to go and succour his allies, found troops there ready prepared to give him a warm reception. He did not venture to attack them. The news of Philip's inroad into Ætolia, forced him to hasten thither, to defend his own country. But though he made the utmost expedition, he arrived too late; the Macedonians having already quitted it.

Philip marched his army with almost incredible diligence. Having left Leucadia with his fleet, and being arrived at Corinth, he laid up his ships in the

harbour of Lechæum, landed his troops, began his march, and passing through Argos, arrived on the twelfth day at Tegea, which he had fixed for the rendezvous with his allies. The Spartans having heard from rumour what had passed at Thermæ, were truly alarmed when they saw that young victor in their territories, where he was not expected so suddenly. Some actions passed, in which Philip had always the advantage; but I shall omit the particulars to avoid prolixity. Philip displayed, on all occasions, a bravery and prudence far above his years; and this expedition was almost as glorious to him as that of Ætolia. After laying waste the whole country, and taking abundance of spoils, he returned by the way of Argos to Corinth.

Here he found ambassadors of Rhodes and Chio, who came to offer him their mediation, and to incline both parties to peace. The king, dissembling his real intentions, told them that he had always wished, and still did so, to be at peace with the Ætolians; and therefore charged them, at their going away, to dispose their masters to it. He afterwards landed at Lechæum, in order to go from thence to Phocis, where he intended to engage in some more important enterprize.

The faction formed by Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, who also was one of Philip's principal officers, having employed all the clandestine methods possible, to remove and destroy all those who either opposed, or were suspected by them; and seeing with grief, that those secret practices had not been as successful as they had flattered themselves, they therefore resolved to make themselves formidable even to their sovereign, by employing the authority they had over the forces, to draw off their affections from him, and to attach them to their interest. The greatest part of their army had staid in Corinth: And they imagined, that the absence of the king gave them a favourable opportunity for executing their designs. They represented to the light-armed troops, and to the guards,

that for the sake of the publick welfare they exposed themselves to the greatest toils and dangers of war; that nevertheless justice had not been done them, nor the ancient law relating to the distribution of plunder been observed with regard to them. The young people, fired by these seditious discourses, divide themselves into bands, plunder the houses of the greatest courtiers, and carry their fury to that excess, as to force the gates of the king's palace, and break to pieces the tiles which covered it. Immediately a great tumult broke out in the city, of which Philip having notice, he left Lechæum in great diligence. He then assembles the Macedonians in the theatre, where, in a speech intermixed with gentleness and severity, he makes them sensible of their fault. In the trouble and confusion which reigned at that time, some declared that it would be necessary to seize and punish the promoters of this insurrection; and others, that it would be more prudent to appease them by gentle methods, and forget all that was past.

The king was still young; so that his authority was not entirely confirmed in the minds of the people and soldiery. Those against him enjoyed the greatest posts in the kingdom; had governed it during his minority; had filled all employments with their creatures; had acquired a kind of unlimited power over all orders of the state; had the command of the forces, and during a long time had employed the most insinuating arts to gain their affection, dividing the whole administration among themselves. In so delicate a conjuncture, he did not think it adviseable to come to an open rupture, lest he should inflame the minds of the people, by employing chastisements at an unseasonable time. For this reason he stifled his resentments, pretending to be very well satisfied; and having exhorted his forces to union and peace, he went back to Lechæum. But after this insurrection, it was not easy for him to execute in Phocis the schemes he had projected.

Leontius having now lost all hopes, after so many fruitless attempts, had recourse to Apelles. He sent
courier

courier upon courier, to give him notice of the danger he was in, and to urge his presence immediately. That minister, during his stay in Chalcis, disposed all things in the most despotick manner, and by that means was universally odious. According to him, the king being still young, had no manner of power, but obeyed implicitly the dictates of his (Apelles's) will. It is certain that he arrogated to himself the management of all affairs, as having full power to act in every thing as he should think fit. The magistrates of Macedonia and Thessaly, and the officers who enjoyed any employment, had recourse to him only. In all the cities of Greece, scarce the least mention was made of the king: For whether any resolutions were to be taken, affairs to be regulated, judgments passed, or honours or preferments to be bestowed, Apelles engrossed and transacted all things.

Philip had long before been apprized of this conduct of Apelles, which gave him very great uneasiness. Aratus was frequently urgent with him to exert himself on this occasion, and endeavoured to make him throw off his irresolution and servitude: But the king concealed his thoughts, and did not discover his resolutions to any body. Apelles, not knowing how the king was disposed in regard to him, but persuaded, on the contrary, that the instant he appeared before his sovereign, he would not fail of taking his opinion in all things, flew from Chalcis to the support of Leontius.

When he arrived in Corinth, Leontius, Ptolemy, and Megaleas, who commanded the flower of the troops, engaged all the young men to go and meet him. Apelles, thus received with pomp and splendor, and attended by a large body of officers and soldiers, advances directly to the king's palace, which he was going to enter as usual. However, the officer who attended at the gate (having been instructed before) stopt him short, and told him that his majesty was busy. Astonished at so uncommon a reception, which he no ways expected, he considered for some

time how he ought to behave, and at last withdrew in the utmost confusion. * Nothing is so transient and frail as a borrowed power, not supported by foundations or strength of its own. The shining train he had caused to follow him, vanished in an instant; and he arrived at his own house, followed only by his domesticks. A lively image, says Polybius, of what happens in the courts of kings; a fate which the most powerful courtiers ought to dread. A few days suffice to shew their most exalted state and fall. Like counters, which one moment are of the highest, and the next of the most inconsiderable value: As princes please to extend or withdraw their favours, to-day they enjoy the greatest credit, and the next are reduced to the extremes of misery, and universal disgrace. Megaleas, sensible of the storm he himself might expect now the prime minister was disgraced, thought of nothing but how he might best secure himself by flight, and accordingly withdrew to Thebes, leaving Leontius bound for twenty talents, which he had engaged to see his accomplices pay.

The king, whether he was unwilling to drive Apelles to despair; whether he did not think his power strong enough to exert it in an extraordinary manner; or from some remains of esteem and gratitude for a guardian and governor; still allowed him the honour of his conversation sometimes, and left him some other honours of that kind; but he excluded him from the council, and from the number of those he used to invite to supper with him. Going to Sicyon, the magistrates offered him a house; but he preferred that of Aratus, whom he never quitted, and spent whole days in his company. As for Apelles, he ordered him to retire to Corinth.

Having removed Leontius from his command of the guards, which were ordered to march elsewhere, upon pretence of their being employed upon some extraordinary occasion, he caused him to be thrown into prison;

* Nihil rerum mortalium tam potentiae non sua vi nixæ. Tacit: instabile ac fluxum est, quam fama *Annal.* l. xiii. c. 19.

prison; the pretended reason of which was, to oblige him to pay the twenty talents for which he had engaged for Megaleas; but in reality to secure his person, and to sound the disposition of the troops. Leontius sent word of this to the infantry over which he had commanded, who that moment sent a petition to the king, importing, that if Leontius were charged with some new crime for which he deserved to be imprisoned, they insisted that nothing might be decreed against him but in their presence: That if he refused them that favour, they should look upon this refusal as a contempt and the highest injury, (such was the liberty the Macedonians had the privilege of using with their king;) but that in case Leontius was imprisoned but for the twenty talents, they offered to pay that sum among them. This testimony of their affection did but inflame the king's anger, and hasten the death of Leontius.

During this interval, there arrived from Ætolia ambassadors from Rhodes and Chio, after having prevailed with the Ætolians to consent to a thirty days truce. These assured the king, that the Ætolians were inclined to peace. Philip accepted of the truce, and wrote to the allies, desiring them to send their plenipotentiaries to Patræ, to negotiate a peace with the Ætolians. He himself set out immediately from Lechæum, in order to assist at it, and arrived there after two days sail.

He then received letters, directed by Megaleas, from Phocis to the Ætolians, in which that traitor exhorted the Ætolians not to entertain the least fears, but to continue the war; that Philip was in the utmost distress for want of ammunition and provisions; to which he added expressions highly injurious to the king. Philip, upon reading these letters, judging Apelles the chief author of them, seized both him and his son; at the same time he sent to Thebes, with orders for Megaleas to be proceeded against there; however, he did not stay for his trial, but laid violent hands

hands on himself. A little after, Apelles and his son were also put to death.

I do not know whether history can furnish us with a more remarkable example of the ascendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of a young sovereign, in order to satiate with impunity his avarice and ambition. Apelles had been Philip's guardian, and in that quality was intrusted with the care of his education. He had been at the head of the regency established by the late king. This double title of guardian and governor had, on one side, inspired the young prince (as it naturally should) with sentiments of regard, esteem; respect and confidence for Apelles; and, on the other, had made Apelles assume an air of authority and command over his pupil, which he never laid aside. Philip did not want wit, judgment, or penetration. When he was arrived to more mature years, he perceived the hands he was fallen into, but at the same time was blind to all his master's faults. He had discovered, more than once, the mean jealousy which Apelles entertained of conspicuous merit of every kind; and his declared hatred of all such of the king's subjects as were most capable of serving him. Proofs of his taxations and oppressions were daily renewed, and the repeated complaints of them rendered the government odious and insupportable. However, all this made no impression, or but a very slight one, on the mind of the young king, over which the prime minister had gained such an influence, that he even stood in fear of him. The reader has seen how extremely difficult it was for the king to break this charm.

(n) In the mean time, the Ætolians wished earnestly that the peace might be concluded; and were quite weary of a war, in which all their expectations had been frustrated. They had flattered themselves, that they had to do with a young unexperienced king, and accordingly believed that they might amuse him as a child; but Philip, on the contrary, had proved to them,

them, that in wisdom and resolution he was a man; and that they had behaved like children in all their enterprizes. But having heard of the insurrection of the troops, and the conspiracy of Apelles and Leontius, they postponed the day on which they were to meet at Patræ, in hopes that some sedition would break out at court, to perplex and embroil the king's affairs. Philip, who wished for nothing more ardently, than to break off the conferences upon the peace, joyfully seized the opportunity with which the enemies themselves furnished him; and engaged the allies, who were come to the rendezvous, to continue the war. He afterwards set sail on his return to Corinth. He gave the Macedonians leave to go by the way of Thessaly, in order that they might quarter, during the winter, in their own country: Then coasting Attica along the Euripus, he went from Cenchreæ to * Demetrias, where he found Ptolemy, the only conspirator that survived; and caused sentence of death to be passed upon him, in an assembly of Macedonians.

All these incidents happened, at the time that Hannibal was encamped on the banks of the river Po in Italy; and Antiochus, after having subdued the greatest part of Cœlosyria, had sent his troops into winter-quarters. It was also then that Lycurgus, king of Lacedæmonia, fled from Ætolia, in order to secure himself from the anger of the Ephori, who, on a false report that this king designed to embroil the state, had assembled in the night, and invested his house, in order to seize his person. But Lycurgus, having some notion of this, fled with his whole family. However, he was recalled a little after, as soon as it was known that the suspicions raised against him were all groundless. It being now winter, Philip returned to Macedonia.

Eperatus was by this time universally despised by the Achæans; no body obeyed his orders; and the country being open and defenceless, dreadful havoc was

* A city of maritime Thessaly.

was made in it. The cities being abandoned, and receiving no succours, were reduced to the last extremity, and consequently could scarce furnish their quota. The auxiliary troops, the payment of whose arrears was put off from day to day, served as they were paid, and great numbers of them deserted. All this was owing to the incapacity of the general; and the reader has seen in what manner he was elected. Happily for the Achæans, the time of his command was almost expired. He quitted it in the beginning of the spring, and the elder Aratus was appointed to succeed him.

(o) Philip, in his journey to Macedonia, had taken Bylazora, the greatest city in Peonia, and the most advantageously situated for making incursions from Dardania into Macedonia; so that having possessed himself of it, he had very little to fear from the Dardanians.

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After taking that city, he again marched towards Greece. He judged it would be proper to lay siege to Thebes of Phthiotis, from whence the Ætolians used to make continual inroads, and at the same time commit great waste in the territories of Demetrias, Pharsalia, and even Larissa. The attack was carried on with great bravery, and the defence was equally vigorous; but at last, the besieged, fearing they should be taken by storm, surrendered the city. By this conquest, Philip secured Magnesia and Thessaly, and carried off a great booty from the Ætolians.

Here ambassadors came again to him from Chio, Rhodes, and Byzantium, and also from Ptolemy, to propose the concluding of a peace. Philip made the same answer as before, that it was what he very much desired; and that they had only to enquire of the Ætolians, whether they also were inclined to it. Philip, in reality, was not very desirous of peace, but he did not care to declare himself.

He afterwards set out, with his favourites, for the Nemean games at Argos. Whilst he was viewing,
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one of the combats, a courier arrived from Macedonia, with advice that the Romans had lost a great battle in Tuscany, near the lake Thrasymene, and that Hannibal was master of the open country. The king shewed this letter to none but Demetrius of Pharos, giving him a strict charge not to speak of it. The latter took this opportunity to represent to him, that he ought to disengage himself as soon as possible from the Ætolian war, in order to invade Illyria, and afterwards cross into Italy. He added, that Greece, already subjected in all respects, would obey him no less afterwards: That the Achæans had joined voluntarily, and with the utmost cheerfulness, in his cause: That the Ætolians, quite depressed and discouraged by their ill success in the present war, would not fail to follow their example: That if he was desirous of the sovereignty of the world, a noble ambition, which suited no prince better than himself, he must begin by conquering Italy: That after the defeat of the Romans, the news of which he had then received, the time was come for executing so noble a project, and that he ought not to delay a moment. Such counsel could not but charm a king in the flower of his youth, successful in his exploits, bold, enterprising, and who besides was sprung from a family which had always flattered itself with the hopes of universal empire.

Nevertheless, as he was master of his temper, and governed his thoughts in such a manner, as to discover only such of them as promoted his interest, (a very rare and valuable quality in so young a prince) he did not express too great an inclination for peace, though he now earnestly desired it. He therefore only caused the allied states to be told to send their plenipotentiaries to Naupactum, in order to negotiate a peace: And at the earnest instances of the Ætolians, soon arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, at the head of his troops. All parties were so weary of the war, that there was no occasion for long conferences. The first article which the king caused to be proposed to the Ætolians,

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Ætolians, by the ambassadors of the confederate powers, was, that every one should continue in possession of his conquests. The rest of the articles were soon agreed upon; so that the treaty was ratified, and all retired to their respective countries. This peace concluded by Philip and the Achæans with the Ætolians; the battle lost by the Romans near the lake Thrasymene; and the defeat of Antiochus near Raphia; all these events happened in the third year of the 140th Olympiad.

In the first separate conference held in presence of the king and the ambassadors of the confederate powers, Agelas of Naupactum, who was one of them, enforced his opinion by arguments that deserve a place here, and which Polybius thought worthy of relating at length in his history. He says it were to be wished, that the Greeks would never make war upon one another; that it would be a great blessing from the gods, if, breathing only the same sentiments, they should all in a manner join hand, and unite their whole force, to secure themselves from the insults of the Barbarians. But if this was not possible, that at least, in the present juncture, they ought to unite together, and consult for the preservation of all Greece. That, to be sensible of the necessity of such an union, they need but turn their eyes to the formidable armies of the two powerful states actually engaged in war. That it was evident to every one who was ever so little versed in maxims of policy, that the conquerors, whether Carthaginians or Romans, would not confine themselves to the empire of Italy and Sicily; but would doubtless extend their projects much farther. That all the Greeks in general, and especially Philip, ought to keep a strict eye on the dangers with which they were threatened. That this prince would have nothing to fear, if, instead of his attempting to ruin the Greeks, and to give the enemy an easier opportunity of defeating them, as he had hitherto done, he should labour as much for their welfare as his own, and exert himself as vigorously in the defence of all Greece, as if

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it was his own kingdom. That by this means he would acquire the love and affection of the Greeks, who would be inviolably attached to him in all his enterprizes; and, by their fidelity to him, disconcert all the projects which foreigners might form against his kingdom. That if, instead of barely acting defensively, he were desirous of taking the field, and executing some great enterprize; he need but turn his arms towards the west, and keep an eye on the events of the war in Italy. That, provided he would only put himself into a condition for seizing successfully the first opportunity that should present itself, all things would smooth the way for the universal empire. That, in case he had any difference with the Greeks, he should leave the decision of it to another season. That he ought especially to be careful to preserve to himself the liberty of making war or peace with them, whenever he might think proper. That, in case he should suffer the storm which was gathering in the west to burst upon Greece, it was very much to be feared, that it would then be no longer in their power to take up arms, to treat of peace, nor to determine in their affairs according to their own sense, or the manner they might judge most expedient.

Nothing can be more judicious than this speech; which is a clear prediction of what was to happen afterwards to Greece, of which the Romans will soon render themselves absolute masters. This is the first time that the affairs of Italy and Africa influence those of Greece, and direct their motions. After this, neither Philip, nor the other powers of Greece, regulated their conduct, when they were to make peace or war, from the state of their respective countries, but directed all their views and attention towards Italy. The Asiatics, and the inhabitants of the islands, did the same soon after. All those who, from that time, had reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Philip or Attalus, no longer addressed Antiochus or Ptolemy for protection; they no longer turned their eyes to the south or east, but fixed them upon the

the west. Sometimes ambassadors were sent to the Carthaginians, and at other times to the Romans. Some also came to Philip, at different intervals, from the Romans, who, knowing the enterprizing genius of that prince, were afraid he should come and add to the confusion and perplexity of their affairs: Which is what the sequel of this history is upon the point of shewing us.

SECT. IV. PHILIP concludes a treaty with HANNIBAL. The Romans gain a considerable victory over him in Apollonia. He changes his conduct. His breach of faith and irregularities. He causes ARATUS to be poisoned. The Ætolians conclude an alliance with the Romans. ATTALUS king of Pergamus, and the Lacedæmonians, accede to it. MACHANIDAS usurps a tyrannical power at Sparta. Various expeditions of PHILIP and SULPITIUS the Roman prætor, in one of which PHILOPOEMEN signalizes himself.

(a) **T**HE war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, who were the two greatest powers at that time, drew the attention of all the kings and nations in the world. Philip, king of Macedon, imagined that this affected him the more, as his dominions were separated from Italy only by the Adriatick sea, now called the gulph of Venice. When he heard, by the rumours which were spread, that Hannibal had marched over the Alps, he was indeed very well pleased to see the Romans and Carthaginians at war; but, the success of it being doubtful, he did not perceive clearly enough, which of those powers it would be his interest to join. But after Hannibal had gained three victories successively, all his doubts were removed. He sent ambassadors to that general, but unhappily they fell into the hands of the Romans. They were carried to Valerius Levinus the prætor, who was then encamped near Luceria. The principal of the ambassadors, Xenophanes by name, without being in the least disconcerted, answered with a resolute

resolute tone of voice; that he had been dispatched by Philip to conclude an alliance and friendship with the Romans; and that he had orders to execute with the consuls, as well as the senate and people of Rome. Levinus, overjoyed to find, in this revolt of their ancient allies, so powerful a monarch desirous of making an alliance with the Romans, treated the ambassadors with all possible respect, and gave them a convoy for their safety. Being arrived in Campania, they escaped, and fled to Hannibal's camp, where they concluded a treaty, the purport of which was as follows: "That king Philip should cross into Italy with a fleet of two hundred sail, and lay waste the sea-coasts; and should assist the Carthaginians both by sea and land. That the latter, at the conclusion of the war, should possess all Italy and Rome; and that Hannibal should have all the spoils. That after the conquest of Italy, they should cross into Greece, and there make war against any power the king should nominate; and that both the cities of the continent, and the islands lying towards Macedonia, should be enjoyed by Philip, and annexed to his dominion." Hannibal, on the other side, sent ambassadors to Philip, for his ratification of it; and they set out with those of Macedonia. I observed elsewhere, that in this treaty, the whole of which is preserved by (b) Polybius, express mention is made of a great number of deities of the two nations, as present at this treaty, and witnesses to the oaths with which the ceremony was attended. Polybius omits a great number of particulars, which, according to Livy, were stipulated by this treaty.

The ambassadors, who set out together, were unhappily discovered and intercepted by the Romans. Xenophanes's lie would not do him the same service as before. The Carthaginians were known by their air, their dress, and still more by their language. Upon them were found letters from Hannibal to Philip, and a copy of the treaty. The ambassadors were

carried

(b) Polyb. l. vii. p. 502---507.

carried to Rome. The condition in which the affairs of the Romans (attacked so vigorously by Hannibal) then were, and their discovering a new enemy, so very powerful as Philip, must necessarily alarm them prodigiously. But it is on such occasions that the Roman grandeur was chiefly conspicuous. For without expressing the least perplexity or discouragement, they took all the measures necessary for carrying on this new war. Philip, informed of what had befallen his ambassadors, sent a second embassy to Hannibal, which was more successful than the former, and brought back the treaty. But these disappointments prevented their forming any enterprize that year, and still kept matters in suspense.

(c) Philip was now wholly employed on his great design of carrying the war into Italy. Demetrius of Pharos being with him, was continually urging him to that enterprize; not so much out of zeal for the interest of that prince, as out of hatred to the Romans, who had dispossessed him of his territories, which he thought it would be impossible for him to recover by any other means. It was by his counsel that he had concluded a peace with most of his enemies, in order that he might devote his whole care and attention to this war, the thoughts of which haunted him day and night; so that even in his dreams he spoke of nothing but of war and battles with the Romans; and he would start from his sleep, in the highest agitation of mind, and covered with sweat. This prince, who was still young, was naturally lively and ardent in all his enterprizes. The success of his arms, the hopes Demetrius gave him, and the remembrance of the great actions of his predecessors, kindled an ardour in him, which increased daily.

(d) During the winter season, he thought of manning a fleet; not with the view of venturing a battle with the Romans, for this he was not in a condition to do; but to transport his forces into Italy with the greater expedition, and by that means surprize the enemies

enemies when they should least expect it. Accordingly he made the Illyrians build an hundred, or an hundred and twenty vessels for him; and after having exercised his Macedonians for some time in the naval discipline, he put to sea. He first seized upon the city of Oricum, situate on the western coast of Epirus. Valerius, commander of the fleet that lay before Brundisium, having advice of it, set sail immediately with all the ships in readiness for sailing; retook, the next day, Oricum, in which Philip had but a slender garrison, and sent a large reinforcement to the aid of Apollonia, to which Philip had laid siege. Nevius, an able and experienced officer, who commanded this reinforcement, having landed his troops at the mouth of the river Aous, upon which Apollonia stands, marched through a by-way; and entered the city in the night, unperceived by the enemy. The Macedonians imagining they were very secure, because the sea lay between them and the enemy, had neglected all the precautions which the rules of war prescribe, and the exactness of military discipline requires. Nevius, being informed of this, marched silently out of the city in the night, and arrived in the camp, where he found all the soldiers asleep. And now the cries of those who were first attacked awaking the rest, they all endeavoured to save themselves by flight. The king himself, who was but half awake and almost naked, found it very difficult for him to escape to his ships. The soldiers crowded after him, and three thousand of them were either killed or taken prisoners. Valerius, who staid at Oricum, the instant he heard this news, had sent his fleet towards the mouth of the river, to shut up Philip. This prince, finding it impossible for him to advance forward; after setting fire to his ships, returned by land to Macedonia; carrying with him the sorrowful remains of his troops, who seemed more like prisoners disarmed and plundered, than the body of an army.

(e) For some time Philip, who till then had been
 VOL. V. N n admired

(e) Plut. in Arat. p. 1049---1052. Polyb. l. viii. p. 518, 519.

admired for many of those qualities which form the great prince, had begun to change his conduct and character; and this change was ascribed to the evil counsels of those about him, who, to please him, were perpetually lavishing their encomiums on him, fomenting all his passions, and suggesting to him, that the grandeur of a king consisted in reigning with unlimited power, and in making his subjects pay a blind implicit obedience to his will. Instead of the gentleness, moderation, and wisdom, he till then had displayed, he treated cities and states, not only with pride and haughtiness, but with cruelty and injustice; and having no longer as formerly his glory in view, he abandoned himself entirely to riot and excesses of every kind: The too common effect of flattery, whose subtle poison generally corrupts the best princes, and sooner or later destroys the great hopes which had been entertained of them.

One would have imagined that the defeat before Apollonia, in covering him with shame, would have abated his pride, and softened his temper. But this only soured it; and one would have concluded, that this prince was resolved to revenge, on his subjects and allies, the affront he had received from his enemies.

Being arrived in Peloponnesus, a little after his defeat, he employed all the stratagems possible to overreach and surprize the Messenians. But his artifices being discovered, he pulled off the mask, and laid waste the whole country. Aratus, who was a man of the greatest honour and probity, was exceedingly shocked at so flagrant an injustice, and made loud complaints against it. He had before begun to retire insensibly from court; but now he thought it high time to break entirely with a prince, who no longer valued his people, and led the most dissolute life: For he was not ignorant of his impure commerce with his daughter-in-law (a subject of the greatest grief to him) and which, however, he had not once hinted to his son; from the consideration, that it would not be of service to him to inform him of

his ignominy, as it was not in his power to revenge it.

As it was impossible but this rupture must make some noise, Philip, whom the greatest crimes now cost nothing, resolved to rid himself of a troublesome censor, whose very absence reproached all his irregularities. Aratus's great reputation, and the respect paid to his virtue, would not suffer Philip to employ open force and violence; and therefore he charged Taurion, one of his confidants, to dispatch him secretly during his absence. His horrid command was obeyed; for Taurion having insinuated himself into Aratus's familiarity and friendship, invited him several times to dinner, and at one of them poisoned him; not with a violent and immediate poison, but with one of those which lights up a slow fire in the body, consumes it by insensible degrees, and is the more dangerous, as it gives less notice.

Aratus knew very well the cause of his illness; but as complaints would not be of any service to him, he bore it patiently without once murmuring, as a common and natural disease. One day only, happening to spit blood before a friend who was in the room with him, and seeing that his friend was surprized, he said, *Behold, my dear Cephalon, the fruits of royal friendship.* He died in this manner at Ægium, being then captain-general for the seventeenth time.

The Achæans would have him buried in the place where he died, and were preparing such a magnificent mausolæum to his memory as might be worthy his great services. But the Sicyonians obtained that honour for their city, where Aratus was born; and changing their mourning to festivity, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and cloathed in white robes, they went and fetched the corpse from Ægium, and carried it in pomp to Sicyon, dancing before it, and singing hymns and odes in honour of the deceased. They made choice of the highest part of the city, where they buried him as the founder and preserver of it,

which place was afterwards called *Aratium*. In Plutarch's time, that is, about three hundred years after, two solemn sacrifices were offered him annually: The first, on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny; which sacrifice was called *Soteria*; and the other on his birth-day. During the sacrifice, choirs of musick sung odes to the lyre; and the chief chorister, at the head of the young men and children, walked in procession round the altar. The senate, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and a great part of the inhabitants, followed this procession.

It must be owned that Aratus was one of the greatest men of his time, and may be considered, in some measure, as one of the founders of the commonwealth of Achaia: It was he at least who brought it to the form and splendor it preserved so long afterwards, and by which it became one of the most powerful states of Greece. However, he committed a considerable error, in calling in to the assistance of that commonwealth the kings of Macedonia, who made themselves masters and tyrants of it; and this, as we have before observed, was an effect of his jealousy of the great Cleomenes king of Sparta.

But he was fully punished for it, by the manner in which Philip treated him. Aratus his son met with a still more deplorable fate: For that prince being become compleatly wicked, says Plutarch, and who affected to add outrage to cruelty, got rid of him, not by mortal poisons, but by those which destroy reason, and craze the brain; and by that means made him commit such abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal infamy on him, had they been done voluntarily, and when he was in his senses: Inasmuch that, though he was at that time very young and in the bloom of life, his death was considered, not as a misfortune with regard to himself, but as the remedy and period of his miseries.

(f) About this time Philip engaged in a successful expedition against the Illyrians. He had long desired

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to

to possess himself of Lissus; but believed it would be impossible for him ever to take the castle, which was so happily situated and so strongly fortified, that it was thought impregnable. Finding that force would not prevail, he had recourse to stratagem. The city was separated from the castle by a little valley; in that he observed a spot covered with trees; and very fit to conceal an ambuscade. Here he posted the flower of his troops. The next day he assaulted another part of the city. The inhabitants, who were very numerous, defended themselves with great bravery; and, for some time, the success was equal on both sides. At last they made a furious sally, and charged the besiegers with great vigour. The garrison of the castle, seeing Philip retire fighting, imagined they should infallibly defeat him; and being desirous of sharing in the plunder, most of them came out, and joined the inhabitants. In the mean time, the soldiers who lay in ambuscade attacked the castle, and carried it without great resistance. And now, the signal agreed upon being made, the fugitives faced about, and pursued the inhabitants as far as the city, which surrendered a few days after.

(g) M. Valerius Levinus, as prætor, had been allotted Greece and Macedonia for his province. He was very sensible that, in order to lessen the forces of Philip, it would be absolutely necessary to bring over some of his allies (of whom the Ætolians were the most powerful) from his interest. He therefore began by founding, in private conferences, the disposition of the chiefs of the latter people; and, after having assured himself of them, he went to the general assembly. There, after expatiating on the flourishing state of the Romans, and proved it by their taking of Syracuse in Sicily, and Capua in Italy, he extolled the great generosity with which the Romans behaved towards their allies, and their constant fidelity. He added, that the Ætolians might expect to meet with so much the better treatment from the Romans, as they

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would

(g) Liv. l. xxvi. n. 24---25.

would be the first people in that part of the world who should have concluded an alliance with them. That Philip and the Macedonians were dangerous neighbours, whose power would, in all probability, be of the most fatal consequence to them. That the Romans had already humbled their pride; and would oblige them, not only to give up such fortresses as they had taken from the Ætolians, but even give them cause to fear for their own countries. That with regard to the Acarnanians, who had broke with the Ætolians, the Romans would force them to return to their alliance, on the same conditions which had been prescribed to them when they were admitted into it; or, in case of their refusal, would make them submit to the Ætolians by force of arms.

Scopas, who was at that time chief magistrate of the Ætolian state; and Dorimachus, who, of all the citizens, had the greatest credit and authority; strongly enforced the arguments and promises of the prætor, and said many more advantageous things of the grandeur and power of the Romans, because they were not obliged to speak as modestly on those topicks as Valerius Levinus; and the people would be more inclined to believe them than a foreigner, who spoke for the interests of his country. The circumstance which affected them most was, the hopes of their possessing themselves of Acarnania. Accordingly the treaty was concluded between the Romans and the Ætolians. The people of Elis, of Lacedæmonia, Attalus king of Pergamus, Pleuratus king of Thrace, and Scerdiledes of Illyria, were left at liberty to accede to this treaty, on the same conditions, if they thought proper. The conditions were, “ That the Ætolians should declare
 “ war as soon as possible against Philip: That the
 “ Romans should furnish them, at least, twenty-five
 “ gallies, *quinqueremes*, or of five benches of oars;
 “ That such cities as should be taken from Ætolia, as
 “ far as the island of * Corcyra, should be possessed
 “ by the Ætolians, and all the spoils and captives by
 “ the

“ the Romans: That the Romans should aid the
“ Ætolians in making themselves masters of Acarna-
“ nia: That the Ætolians should not be allowed to
“ conclude a peace with Philip, but upon condition
“ that he should be obliged to withdraw his troops
“ out of the territories of the Romans and those of
“ their allies; nor the Romans with Philip; but on
“ the same terms.” Immediately hostilities com-
menced. Philip was dispossessed of some cities, after
which Levinus retired to Corcyra; fully persuaded
that the king had so much business, and so many ene-
mies, upon his hands, that he would have no time to
think of Italy or Hannibal.

Philip was now in winter-quarters at Pella, when
advice was brought him of the new treaty of the Æto-
lians. To be the sooner able to march out against
them, he endeavoured to settle the affairs of Mace-
donia, and to secure it from any invasions of its neigh-
bours. Scopas, on the other side, makes preparations
for carrying on the war against the Acarnanians, who,
though they saw it would be absolutely impossible for
them to oppose, at one and the same time, two such
powerful states as the Ætolians and Romans, yet they
took up arms out of despair, rather than from pruden-
tial motives, and resolved to sell their lives as dear as
possible. Accordingly, having sent into Epirus,
which lay very near them, their wives, children, and
the old men who were upwards of sixty, all those who
remained, from the age of fifteen to threescore, en-
gaged themselves by oath never to return except victo-
rious; uttered the most dreadful imprecations against
such among them as should break their oaths; and
only desired the Epirots to bury, in the same grave,
all who should fall in the battle, with the following
inscription over them: HERE LIE THE ACARNA-
NIANS, WHO DIED FIGHTING FOR THEIR COUNTRY,
AGAINST THE VIOLENCE AND INJUSTICE OF THE
ÆTOLIANS. Full of courage they set out directly,
and advanced to meet the enemy to the very frontiers
of their country. Their great resolution and bravery
terrified

terrified the Ætolians, who also received advice that Philip was already upon his march, to the aid of his allies. Upon this, they returned home, and Philip did the same.

In the very beginning of the spring, Levinus besieged Anticyra*, which surrendered a little after. He gave this city to the Ætolians, keeping only the plunder for himself. Here news was brought him, that he had been nominated consul in his absence; and that P. Sulpitius was coming to succeed him as prætor.

(b) In the treaty concluded between the Romans and Ætolians, several other powers had been invited to accede to it; and we find that Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdiledes, accepted of the invitation. The Ætolians exhorted the Spartans to imitate those princes. Chleneas, their representative or deputy, put the Lacedæmonians in mind of all the evils which the Macedonians had brought upon them; the design they had always harboured, and still entertained, of enslaving all Greece; particularly the sacrilegious impiety of Philip, in plundering a temple in the city of Thermæ; and his horrid treachery and cruelty to the Messenians. He added, that they had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Achæans, who, after all the losses they had sustained in the last campaign, would think it a great happiness to be able to defend their own country; that with respect to Philip, when he should find the Ætolians invade him by land and the Romans and Attalus by sea, he would not think of carrying his arms into Greece. He concluded, with desiring the Lacedæmonians to persist in their alliance with Ætolia, or at least to stand neuter.

Lyciscus, the representative of the Acarnanians, spoke next, and declared immediately in favour of the Macedonians. He expatiated on the services which Philip, and afterwards Alexander the Great, had done Greece; by invading and ruining the Persians, its most ancient and most cruel enemies. He put the

(b) Polyb. l. ix. p. 561—571.

* A city of Achaia in Phocis.

Lacedæmonians in mind of the gentleness and clemency with which Antigonus had treated them, when he took Sparta. He insisted, that it would be ignominious, as well as dangerous, to suffer Barbarians, for so he called the Romans, to enter Greece. He said, that it was worthy of the Spartan wisdom, to foresee from far the storm already gathering in the West; and which would certainly break, first upon Macedonia, and afterwards all Greece, whom it would involve in ruin. “From what motive did your ancestors,” continued he, “throw into a well the man who came, in Xerxes’s name, to invite them to submit themselves to, and join with that monarch? Wherefore did Leonidas your king, with his three hundred Spartans, brave and defy death? Was it not merely to defend the common liberties of Greece? And now you are advised to give them up to other Barbarians, who, the more moderate they appear, are so much the more dangerous. As to the Ætolians,” says he, “(if it be possible for them to stoop so low) they may dishonour themselves by so shameful a prevarication: This, indeed, would be natural for them to do, as they are utter strangers to glory, and affected with nothing but sordid views of interest. But as to you, O Spartans, who are born defenders of the liberty and honour of Greece, you will sustain that glorious title to the end.”

The fragment of Polybius, where these two speeches are repeated, goes no farther; and does not inform us what was the result of them. However, the sequel of the history shews, that Sparta joined with the Ætolians, and entered into the general treaty. It was at that time divided into two factions, whose intrigues and disputes, being carried to the utmost height, occasioned great disturbances in the city. One faction was warm for Philip, and the other declared openly against him, which latter prevailed. We find it was headed by Machanidas, who taking advantage of the feuds which infested the commonwealth, seized upon the

the government, and made himself tyrant of his country.

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(i) P. Sulpitius and king Attalus being arrived with their fleet to succour the Ætolians, the latter were flushed with the most sanguine hopes, and the opposite party filled with terror; especially as Machanidas, the tyrant of Sparta, was already invading the territories of the Achæans, whose near neighbour he was. Immediately the latter people and their allies sent a deputation to king Philip, and solicited him to come into Greece, to defend and support them. Philip lost no time. The Ætolians, under Pyrrhias, who that year had been appointed their general in conjunction with king Attalus, advanced to meet him as far as Lamia*. Pyrrhias had been joined by the troops which Attalus and Sulpitius had sent him. Philip defeated him twice; and the Ætolians were forced to shut themselves up in Lamia. As to Philip, he retired to † Phalara with his army.

During his stay there, ambassadors came from Ptolemy king of Egypt, from the Rhodians, the Athenians, and the inhabitants of Chio; all with instructions to use their utmost endeavours for re-establishing a lasting peace between Philip and the Ætolians. It was not so much out of good-will for the latter, as from the uneasiness they were under in seeing Philip engage so strenuously in the affairs of Greece, which might render him more powerful than suited their interests. For his conquests over the Ætolians, and their confederates, paved the way for his subjecting all Greece, to which his predecessors had always aspired, and even gave him access to those cities (out of Egypt) which Ptolemy possessed. Philip, however, suspended the debates on the peace, till the next assembly of the Achæans; and in the mean time granted the Ætolians a truce for thirty days. Being come into the assembly, the Ætolians made such very unreasonable proposals, as took away all hopes of an accommodation.

(*) Liv. l. xxvii. n. 29—33. Polyb. l. x. p. 612.
† A city of Thessaly in Phthiotis.

tion. Philip, offended that the vanquished should take upon them to prescribe laws to him, declared, that at his coming into the assembly, he had not depended in any manner on the justice and sincerity of the Ætolians; but that he was very glad to convince his allies, he himself was sincerely desirous of peace; and that the Ætolians were the only people who opposed it. He set out from thence, after having left four thousand troops to defend the Achæans, and went to Argos, where the Nemæan games were going to be exhibited, the splendor of which he was desirous of augmenting by his presence.

While he was busied in solemnizing these games, Sulpitius having set out from Naupactum, and landed between Sicyon and Corinth, laid waste all the open country. Philip upon this news left the games, marched with speed against the enemy, and meeting them laden with spoils, put them to flight, and pursued them to their ships. Being returned to the games, he was received with universal applause; and particularly, because he had laid down his diadem and robes of state, and mixed indiscriminately with the rest of the spectators; a very pleasing as well as soothing sight to the inhabitants of free cities. But as his unaffected and popular behaviour had gained him the love of all, so his enormous excesses soon made him odious. It was now his custom to go at night into people's houses in a plebeian dress, and there practise every kind of licentiousness. It was not safe for fathers and husbands to oppose him on these occasions, for fear of being murdered.

Some days after the solemnization of the games, Philip, with the Achæans, whose captain-general was Cycliadus, having crossed the river of Larissa, advances as far as the city of Elis, which had received an Ætolian garrison. The first day he laid waste the neighbouring lands; afterwards he drew near the city in battle array, and caused some bodies of horse to advance to the gates, to force the Ætolians to make a sally. Accordingly they came out; but Philip was

greatly surprized to find some Roman soldiers among them. Sulpitius having left Naupactum with fifteen gallies, and landed four thousand men, had entered the city of Elis in the night. (*k*) The fight was very bloody. Demophantes, general of the cavalry of Elis, seeing Philopœmen, who commanded that of the Achæans, advanced out of the ranks, and spurred towards him with great impetuosity. The latter waited for him with the utmost resolution; and, preventing his blow, laid him dead, with a thrust of his pike, at his horse's feet. Demophantes being thus fallen, his cavalry fled. I mentioned Philopœmen before, and shall have occasion to speak more particularly of him hereafter. On the other side, the infantry of Elis had fought with advantage. And now the king, perceiving that his troops began to give way, spurred his horse into the midst of the Roman foot. His horse being wounded with a javelin, threw him. It was then the battle grew furious, both sides making extraordinary efforts; the Romans to take Philip prisoner, and the Macedonians to save him. The king signalized his courage on this occasion, having been obliged to fight a long time on foot, in the midst of the cavalry, and a great slaughter was made in this engagement. At last, being carried off by his soldiers, and remounted on another horse, he retired. The king incamped about five miles from that place; and the next day, having attacked a castle, in which a great number of peasants, with all their flocks, were retired, he took four thousand prisoners, and twenty thousand head of cattle of all sorts: An advantage, which might console him for the affront he had lately received at Elis.

That instant, advice was brought him that the Barbarians had made an incursion into Macedonia; upon which he immediately set out, to defend his country, having left with the allies a detachment from his army of two thousand five hundred men. Sulpitius retired with his fleet to Ægina, where he joined
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king Attalus, and passed the winter. Some time after the Achæans gave the Ætolians and the people of Elis battle near Messene, in which they had the advantage.

SECT. V. *Education and great qualities of PHILOPOEMEN.*

(a) **P**HILOPOEMEN, of whom large mention will be made hereafter, was of Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia in Peloponnesus. He was nobly educated by Cassander of Mantinea, who, after his father's death, out of gratitude for the important services he had received from him, undertook to be guardian and governor to his son Philopœmen.

Being come to years of discretion, he was put under the care of Ecdemus and Demophanes, citizens of Megalopolis, who had been scholars to Arcefilaus, founder of the new academy. The scope of philosophy in those days was, to prompt mankind to serve their country; and, by its precepts, to enable them to govern republicks, and transact the greatest affairs of state. This was the inestimable advantage the two philosophers in question procured Philopœmen, and rendered him the common blessing of Greece. And, indeed, as it is said that mothers love those children best which they bring forth when advanced in years, Greece, as having given birth to Philopœmen in old age, and after so many illustrious personages, had a singular affection for, and took a pleasure in enlarging his power, in proportion as his fame increased. He was called *the last of the Greeks*, as Brutus was afterwards called *the last of the Romans*: Undoubtedly to imply, that Greece, after Philopœmen, had produced no great man worthy of her ancient glory.

Having formed himself upon the model of Epaminondas, he copied admirably his prudence in debating and resolving upon affairs; his activity and boldness in executing; and his perfect disinterestedness; but as to his gentleness, patience, and moderation, with re-
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(a) Plut. in Philop. p. 356—361.

gard to the feuds and divisions which usually break out in a state, these he could never imitate. A certain spirit of contention, which resulted naturally from his head-strong and fiery temper, had qualified him better for the military than political virtue.

And, indeed, from his infancy, the only class of people he loved was soldiers; and he took a delight only in such exercises as were necessary to qualify him for the profession of arms; such as fighting in armour, riding, and throwing the javelin. And as he seemed, by his muscles and stature, to be very well made for wrestling, and some particular friends advising him to apply himself to it, he asked them, whether this exercise of the *athletæ* contributed to the making a man the better soldier? His friends could not help answering, that the life of the *athletæ*, who were obliged to observe a fixed and regular regimen; to eat a certain food, and that always at stated hours; and to devote a certain number of hours to sleep, in order to preserve their robustness, in which the greatest part of their merit consisted; that this way of life, I say, differed entirely from that of soldiers, who frequently are obliged to submit to hunger and thirst, cold and heat; and have not always fixed hours either for eating or sleeping. From thenceforth he conceived the highest contempt for the *athletick* exercises; looking upon them as of no service to the publick, and considering them, from that instant, as unworthy a man of any elevation of soul, happiness of talents, or love for his country.

The moment he quitted his governors and masters, he entered among the troops which the city of Megalopolis sent to make incursions into Laconia, in order to plunder and bring off from thence cattle and slaves. And in all these inroads, he was ever the first that marched out, and the last who came in.

During the intervals in which there were no troops in the field, he used to employ his leisure in hunting, to make himself robust and nimble; or else used to spend his hours in throwing up and cultivating the ground,

ground, having a fine estate three miles from the city, whither he used to retire very frequently after dinner or supper. At night he would throw himself on a bed of straw, like one of his slaves, and sleep so till next day. The next morning, by day-break, he used to go with his vine-dressers, and work in the vineyard, or follow the plough with his peasants. After this, it was his custom to return to the city, and employ himself in publick affairs with his friends and the magistrates.

Whatever he got in wars, he expended either in horses and arms, or employed it in ransoming the citizens who had been taken prisoners. He endeavoured to increase his estate, by improving his lands, which of all profits is the most lawful; and was not satisfied with barely visiting it now and then, and merely for diversion-sake, but devoted his whole care to it; persuaded that nothing is more worthy of a man of probity and honour, than to improve his own fortune, provided he does not injure that of his neighbour.

I must intreat my readers, in order for them to form a right judgment of Philopœmen, to convey themselves in imagination back to the ages I am speaking of, and to call to mind with what industry all well-governed nations, as Hebrews, Persians, Greeks and Romans, applied themselves to the tilling of land and manual labour; and the high esteem in which such exercises were had in those ages. It is universally known that the Romans, after having gained signal victories, and alighted from the triumphal car crowned with laurels and glory, returned immediately to their farms, whence they had been elected to command armies; and went to guide the plough and oxen, with the same hands which had just before vanquished and defeated their enemies. According to our customs and way of thinking, the exercises above mentioned are very low and contemptible; but it is an unhappiness they should be thought so. Luxury, by corrupting our manners, has vitiated our judgments. It makes

us consider as great and valuable, what really in itself deserves nothing but contempt; and it affixes, on the contrary, an idea of contempt and meanness, to things of solid beauty and real greatness.

Philopœmen was very fond of the commerce of philosophers, and read their works with the greatest satisfaction; however, he did not read them all without distinction, but such only as could contribute to his improvement in virtue. Of all the great ideas in Homer, he sought and retained such only as exalt the courage, and excite to great exploits; and that poet abounds with ideas of this kind; no writer having ever painted valour in such strong and lively colours. But the other works in which Philopœmen delighted most, were those of Evangelus, called *the Tactics*, that is, the art of drawing up troops in battle-array; and the histories of Alexander the Great: For it was his opinion, that words should always be made relative to actions, and theory to practice; having very little regard for those books that are written merely to satisfy a vain curiosity, or furnish a rapid and transient amusement.

After he had read the precepts and rules of the *Tactics*, he did not value the seeing demonstrations of them in plans drawn upon paper, but used to make the application on the spot, in the several places he came to: For in his marches, he used to observe exactly the position of the hills as well as vallies; all the irregularities of the ground; the several different forms and figures battalions and squadrons are obliged to take by rivulets, floods, and defiles in their way, which oblige them to close or extend themselves: And after having reflected seriously on these particulars, he would discourse on them with those in his company.

He was in his thirtieth year when Cleomenes, king of Sparta, attacked Megalopolis. We have seen what courage and greatness of soul he displayed on that occasion. He signalized himself no less, some months after, in the battle of Selasia, where Antigonus gained
a famous

a famous victory over the same Cleomenes. That king of Macedon, charmed with such exalted merit, to which he himself had been witness, made him very advantageous offers, to attach him to his service. However, so great was his love for his country, that he refused them; not to mention that he had naturally an aversion to a court-life, which not only requires great subjection in the man who devotes himself to it, but deprives him of his liberty. However, as it was impossible for him to pass his life in indolence and inaction, he went into Crete, which was engaged in war, to improve himself in the art of war. Crete served him as an excellent school; so that he made a great progress in it, and acquired a perfect knowledge in that science. He there found men of a very war-like disposition, expert in combats of every kind, extremely temperate, and inured to a most severe discipline.

After having served for some time in the troops of that island, he returned among the Achæans, who had heard such great things of him, that immediately upon his arrival he was appointed general of the horse. The first thing he did, was to enquire into the state of his forces, among whom he did not find the least order or discipline. But he could neither dissemble or suffer such a degeneracy. He himself therefore went from city to city, exhorting particularly all the young men, inspiring them with sentiments of honour, animating them with promises of reward, and sometimes employing severity and punishment when he found them rebellious and ungovernable. He exercised and reviewed them often; or made them engage in tournaments, on such spots as would admit of the greatest number of spectators. By this practice he soon made all his soldiers so robust, expert, and courageous, and at the same time so ready and nimble, that the several evolutions and motions, to the right, to the left, or from the top to the bottom, either of all the squadrons together, or of each trooper singly, was performed with so much skill and ease, that a

spectator would almost have concluded, that this cavalry, like one individual body, moved itself spontaneously, at the impression of one and the same will.

In the battle fought near the city of Elis, the last we mentioned, and in which he commanded the horse, he gained great honour; and it was said universally, that he was not inferior to any of the private soldiers, with regard to the strength and ardour of his attacks; nor shewed less wisdom and prudence than the oldest and most experienced generals; and that therefore he was equally capable either of fighting or commanding.

Aratus, indeed, was the first who raised the Achæan league to the exalted pitch of glory and power it attained. Till he rose, they were weak and greatly despised, because divided, and every city among them was studious of nothing but its private interest. But Aratus made them formidable, by uniting and allying them together; and his design was, to form one body and one power of all Peloponnesus, which, by this union, would have become invincible. The success of his enterprizes was not owing so much to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence, address, affability, benevolence; and, which was considered as a defect in his politicks, to the friendship he contracted with foreign princes, and which indeed subjected his state to them. But, the instant Philopœmen assumed the reins of government, as he was a great captain, and had come off victorious in all his former battles, he roused the courage of the Achæans; and finding they were able to make head alone against their enemies, he obliged them to shake off the yoke of foreign powers.

He made a great number of improvements in the discipline of the Achæan troops, and changed the manner of their exercise, and their arms, which had a great many defects. He obliged them to use large and ponderous shields; gave them strong lances, helmets, and armour for the breast and thigh; and thereby accustomed them to fight vigorously and gain ground.

ground, instead of hovering and flying about like light-armed troops, who rather skirmish than fight in line of battle.

He afterwards endeavoured at another improvement, which was much more difficult as well as more important in one sense, and this was to curb and restrain their luxury, and excessive profusion and expence. I say, to restrain; imagining that it would not be possible for him to eradicate their violent fondness for dress and outward ornaments. He began by substituting a different object in their place, by inspiring them with a love for another kind of magnificence, *viz.* to distinguish themselves by their horses, their arms, and other things relating to war. This ardour had an effect even on their women, who now spent their whole time in working for their husbands or children. The only things now seen in their hands were helmets, which they adorned with plumes of feathers tinged with the brightest dyes; coats of mail for horsemen, and cloaks for the soldiers; all which they embroidered. The bare sight of these habits inflamed their courage, breathed in them a strong desire to defy the greatest dangers, and a kind of impatience to fly in quest of glory. Pomp in all other things, which attract the eye, (says Plutarch) infallibly induces luxury; and inspires all those, who take a pleasure in gazing upon it, with a secret effeminacy and indolence: The senses, enchanted and dazzled by these deceitful charms, conspiring to seduce the mind itself, and to enervate it by their soft insinuations. But, on the contrary, that magnificence, whose object is arms, animates and exalts courage.

Philopœmen is not the only great man who had this way of thinking. (b) Plutarch observes, that Brutus, who had accustomed his officers not to be superfluous on any other occasion, was persuaded that the richness and splendor of the armour and weapons which soldiers have always in their hands, or on their bodies, exalt the courage of men who are naturally

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brave

(b) Plut. in Brut. p. 1001a.

brave and ambitious; and engages such as are of a covetous temper, to exert themselves the more in fight, in order to defend their arms, which they look upon as a precious and honourable profession. The author in question tells us, that the circumstance which gained Sertorius the affection of the Spaniards, was, his bestowing on them, with a very liberal hand, gold and silver to adorn their helmets, and enrich their shields. This was also the opinion of * Cæsar, who always gave his soldiers arms that glittered with gold and silver; and this he did not only for pomp and splendor, but that they might act with greater courage in battle, for the defence of arms of so great a value.

However, I must not omit observing, that generals, no less renowned than those we have mentioned, differed in opinion from them. (c) Mithridates, taught by his misfortunes of the little advantage which splendor is to an army, would not allow such arms as were gilded and enriched with precious stones; and began to consider them, as the riches of the conqueror, and not the strength of those who wore them. Papirius, the famous dictator, who, by defeating the Samnites, repaid the affront which the Romans had received at the Furcæ Caudinæ, said † to his troops, that it was proper for a soldier to appear with a rough and stern aspect; that ornaments of gold and silver ill became him; and that steel and bravery ought to form his glory and pride. And indeed, adds he, gold and silver are rather spoils than arms. These ornaments dazzle the eye before the battle; but make a most hideous appearance in the midst of blood and slaughter. The soldier's ornament is his valour; the rest is always consequential of victory. A rich enemy falls

(c) Plat. in Lucullo, p. 496.

* Habebat tam cultos milites, ut argento & auro politis armis ornaret, simul & ad speciem, & quo tenaciores eorum in prælio essent metu damni. Sueton. in Jul. Cæsar. c. 67.

† Horridum militem esse debere, non cœlatum auro argentoque,

sed ferro & animis fretum. Quippe illa prædam veriùs quàm arma esse; nitentia ante rem, deformia inter sanguinem & vulnera. Virtutem esse militis decus, & omnia illa victoriam sequi: & ditem hostem quàmvis pauperis victoris præmium esse. Liv. l. ix. n. 40.

falls a prey to the conqueror, how poor soever he may be. It is well known, that * Alexander the Great entertained the same idea of the richness and magnificence of the arms of the Persians.

In this opposition of opinions, it does not become me to pronounce, which of those great men had the most just way of thinking. But however this be, we cannot but admire the judgment of Philopœmen, who seeing luxury prevalent and established in his country, did not think it adviseable to banish it entirely; but contented himself with directing it to an object more laudable in itself, and more worthy of brave men.

After Philopœmen had accustomed the young men to make their splendor consist in that of their arms, he himself exercised and formed them very carefully in all the parts of military discipline. On the other side, the youths were very attentive to the instructions he gave them concerning military evolutions; whence there arose a kind of emulation among them, which should execute them with the greatest ease and diligence. They were prodigiously pleased with the manner of drawing up in order of battle, which he taught them; because they conceived, that where the ranks were so very close, they would be the more difficult to break; and their arms, though much more ponderous than before, felt much lighter, because they took greater delight in carrying them, from their splendor and beauty; and for this reason they panted to try them, and to see them imbrued in the blood of their enemies.

It must be confessed that Philopœmen, in what light soever we view him, is a great captain, and a noble pattern for the imitation of all who embrace a military life. I cannot too strongly exhort young officers and noblemen to study diligently so perfect a model, and to imitate him in all those things in which he is imitable by them. Our young noblemen are

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full

* *Acies hostium auro purpurea fulgentem intueri jubebat, rum viri eriperent. & Curt. prædam non arma gestantem.* l. iii. c. 10.

full of courage, sentiments of honour, love of their country, and zeal for their prince: The war which broke out so suddenly in Europe, and to which they fly with incredible ardour, is a convincing proof of this, and especially their behaviour in Italy and on the Rhine. They have fire, vivacity, genius; and do not want talents and qualities capable of raising them to whatever is greatest: But then, they sometimes want a manly and vigorous education, which alone can form great men in every kind. Our manners being unhappily turned, through a taste which prevails almost universally, towards effeminacy, pleasures, and luxury, the admiration of things trifling in themselves, and a fondness for false splendor, enervate our courage in our most tender years, and blunt the edge of that valour of ancient Gaul, which was once natural to us.

Were the youth among our nobility educated like Philopœmen, so far, I mean, as is consistent with our manners; were they to imbibe in their early years an inclination for studies of a solid kind, such as philosophy, history, and polity; were they to propose as models for their imitation, the many illustrious generals which the last age produced; were they to put themselves under the discipline of those who are now the ornament and glory of our nation; and would they once duly consider, that true greatness does not consist in surpassing others merely in pomp and profusion, but in distinguishing themselves by solid merit; in fine, were they to make it their delight and glory to perfect themselves in the military knowledge, to study it in all its parts, and acquire the true scope and design of it, without omitting any of the means which conduce to their perfection in it; how illustrious a set of officers, commanders, and heroes, would France produce! One single man inspired the breast of the Achæans with this ardour and emulation. How much were it to be wished (and why should we not wish it?) that some one of our princes, great in all things, in valour as well as birth, would
-revive

revive in our armies this taste of the ancients, for simplicity, frugality, and generosity; and direct the taste of the French nation, to things truly beautiful, solid, and just! All conquests would be infinitely short of such a glory.

SECT. VI. *Various expeditions of PHILIP and SULPITIUS. A digression of POLYBIUS upon signals made by fire.*

(a) **W**E have already said, that Sulpitius the pro-consul, and king Attalus, had continued in winter-quarters at Ægina. As soon as spring appeared they had quitted them, and sailed to Lemnos with their fleets, which together amounted to sixty gallies. Philip, on the other side, that he might be able to oppose the enemy either by sea or land, advanced towards Demetrias, whither the ambassadors of the allies came from all parts, to implore his aid in the imminent danger to which they were exposed. Philip gave them a favourable reception; and promised to furnish them with such succours as the present juncture, and the necessity of their affairs, might require. He kept his promise, and sent bodies of soldiers into different places, to secure them from the attacks of the enemy. He repaired to Scotusa, and made his troops march thither from Larissa, which lies very near it; and then returned to Demetrias. And in order to give seasonable succour to such of his allies as should be attacked, he fixed signals in Phocis, Eubœa, and in the little island of Peparethos; and placed, in that part where he lay, on Tisæum, a very lofty mountain of Thessaly, men to observe them, that he might have speedy notice of the enemy's march, and of the places he might design to attack. I shall explain these signals hereafter.

The proconsul and king Attalus advanced towards Eubœa, and laid siege to Oræa, one of its chief cities. It was defended by two castles strongly fortified, and was able to hold out a long time; but Plator, who

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(a) Polyb. l. x. p. 612---614. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 5---8.

A. M.
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commanded it under Philip, surrendered it treacherously to the besiegers. He had purposely made the signals too late, that Philip might not have an opportunity of succouring it. But the same did not happen to Chalcis, which Sulpitius besieged immediately after the taking of Oræa. The signals were made very seasonably there; and the commander, deaf and inaccessible to the offers of the proconsul, prepared for a stout defence. Sulpitius perceived that he had made an imprudent attempt, and was so wise as to desist immediately from it. The city was strongly fortified in itself; and besides, situated on the Euripus, that famous streight, * in which the sea does not ebb and flow seven times every day, at fixed and stated hours, as (says Livy) is commonly reported, but irregularly, whilst the waves roll on all sides with so much impetuosity, that they seem like torrents falling precipitately from the mountains; so that ships can never ride there in safety.

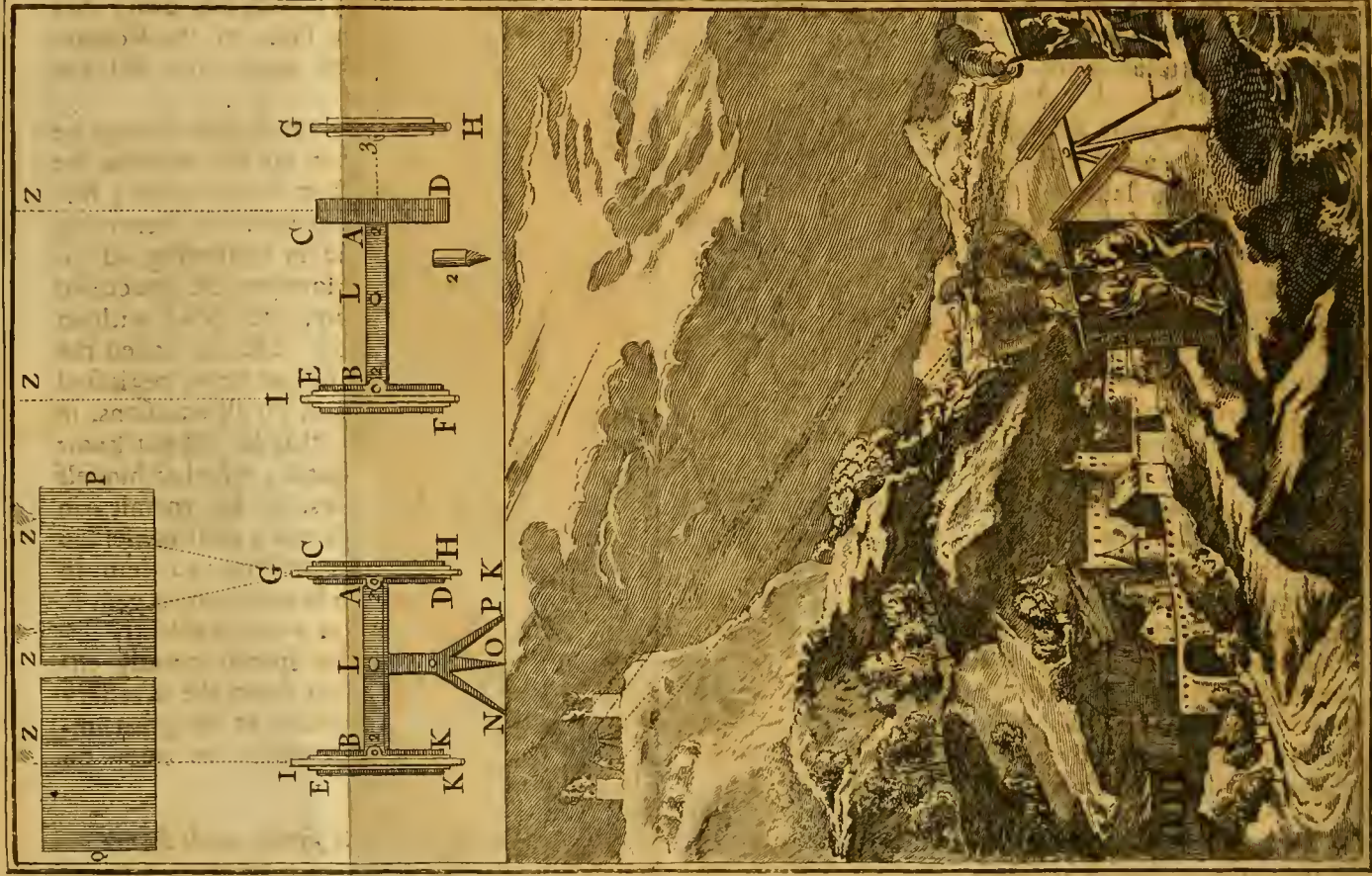
Attalus besieged Opuntus, a city situated not far from the sea-side, among the Locrians, in Achaia. Philip advanced with incredible diligence to its aid, having marched upwards of † sixty miles in one day. The city had been just taken before he arrived at it; and he might have surprized Attalus, who was employed in plundering the place, had not the latter, the instant he heard of his approach, retired with great precipitation. However, Philip pursued him to the sea-side.

Attalus having retired to Oræa, and received advice there, that Prusias king of Bithynia had entered his territories, he returned towards Asia, and Sulpitius to the island of Ægina. Philip, after having taken some small cities, and frustrated the project of Machanidas,

* *Haud alia infestior classi statio est. Nam & venti ab utriusque terræ præaltis montibus subiti ac procellosi se dejiciunt, & fretum ipsum Euripi, non septies die, sicut fama fert, temporibus statim reciprocatur; sed temere, in modum venti nunc huc nunc il-*

luc verso mari, velut monte præcipiti devolutus torrens rapitur. Ita nec nocte, nec die, quies navibus datur. Liv.

† *So Livy has it; which is certainly a prodigious day's march for an army.*



Machanidas, the Spartan tyrant, who designed to attack the people of Elis, that were employed in preparing for the solemnization of the Olympick games, he repaired to the assembly of the Achæans, which was held at Ægium, where he expected to find the Carthaginian fleet, and to join it with his own; but advice being brought, that the ships of the Romans and king Attalus were sailed away, he did the same.

Philip * was truly grieved to find, that though he employed the utmost diligence in all his projects, he always came too late to put them in execution; fortune, would he say, taking a pleasure in bereaving him of every opportunity, and in frustrating all his incursions and expeditions. However, he concealed his uneasiness from the assembly, and spoke with an air of confidence and resolution. Having called the gods and men to witness, that he had never neglected any opportunity of marching out, on all occasions, in quest of an enemy; he added, that he did not know which side used the greatest dispatch; whether himself in flying to the aid of his allies, or his enemies in escaping his pursuits: That this was a tacit confession that they thought themselves inferior to him in strength; nevertheless, that he hoped soon to gain so compleat a victory over them, as would evidently demonstrate his superiority. This speech greatly encouraged the allies: After having given the necessary orders, and made some expeditions of no great importance, he returned into Macedonia, to carry on the war against the Dardanians.

Digression of POLYBIUS, on the signals made by fire.

The subject which Polybius here treats is curious enough in itself; and besides, it bears so near a relation to the facts I am now relating, as to excuse my introducing a digression, that will not be of a great length,

* Philippus mœrebat & angustatur, cum ad omnia ipse raptim esset, nulli tamen se rei in tempore occurrisset; & sapientem omnia ex oculis elusisse celeritatem suam fortunam. *Liv.*

length, and which the reader may pass over if he finds it tedious. I shall repeat it almost literally as I find it in Polybius. Livy, in his account of the particulars above related, and which he copied almost verbatim from Polybius, * mentions the same signals made by fire: But then he only hints at them, because as they were not invented by the Romans, consequently this was a subject which did not relate so immediately to the history he was writing. But this artifice of the signals, which is a part of the art of war, belongs properly to the history of the Greeks, and shews to how great a perfection they had carried all the parts of that noble art, the judicious reflexions they had formed in all things relative to it, and the astonishing progress they had made (*b*), in respect to the construction of machines of war, different kinds of armour, and military signals.

As the making of signals by fire, says Polybius, though of great use in war, has hitherto not been treated with any accuracy, I believe it will not be proper to pass over them superficially, but to dwell a little upon that head, in order to give my readers a more perfect idea of it.

It is a truth universally acknowledged, that opportunity is of great advantage in all things, but especially in war. Now, among the several things which have been invented to enable men to seize it, nothing can be more conducive to that end than signals made by fire. Whether transactions have happened but a little before, or are then transacting, they may, by this method, be very easily made known, at places distant three or four days journey from where they happened, and sometimes at a still greater distance; and by this help, the necessary aids may be obtained in time.

Formerly

(*b*) Polyb. l. x. p. 614—618.

* Philippus, ut ad omnes hostium motus posset occurrere, in Phocidem atque Eubœam, & Peparethum mittit; qui loca alta eligerent, unde editi ignes apparerent: ipse in Tisæo (mons est in

altitudinem ingentem cacuminis editi) speculam posuit, ut ignibus procul sublati, signum, ubi quid molirentur hostes, momento temporis acciperet. *Liv.* l. xxviii. n. 5.

Formerly this method of giving notice, was of very little advantage, because of its too great simplicity. For, in order to the making use of it, it was necessary that certain signals should be agreed upon: And, as events are infinitely various, it was impossible to communicate the greatest part of them by this method. As for instance, not to depart from the present history, it was very easy to make known, at a distance, that a fleet was arrived at Oræa, at Peparethos, or at Chalcis; because the parties whom it concerned had foreseen this, and accordingly had agreed upon such signals as might denote it. But an unexpected insurrection, a treason, an horrid murder committed in a city, and such like accidents as happen but too often, and which cannot be foreseen; this kind of events, which require immediate consideration and remedy, cannot be signified by a beacon. For it is not possible to agree upon a signal for such events as it is impossible to foresee.

Æneas*, who wrote a treatise on the duties of a general, endeavoured to compleat what was wanting on this occasion; but he was far from succeeding so well as could have been wished, or as he himself had proposed, of which the reader may now judge.

Those, says he, who would give signals to one another, upon affairs of importance, must first prepare two vessels of earth, exactly equal in breadth and depth: And they need be but four feet and a half deep, and a foot and a half wide. They then must take pieces of cork, proportioned to the mouth of these vessels, but not quite so wide, that they may be let down with ease to the bottom of these vessels. They next fix, in the middle of this cork, a stick, which must be of equal size in both these vessels. This stick must be divided exactly and distinctly by spaces

* Æneas was cotemporary with Aristotle. He wrote a treatise on the art of war. Cineas, one of Pyrrhus's counsellors, made an abridgement of it. Pyrrhus also writ on the same subject. Ælian. Lib. ix. Epist. 25. ad Papir. Poetam. Summum me ducem literæ tuæ reddiderunt. Plane nesciebam te tam peritum esse rei militaris. Pyrrhi te libros et Cineæ video lectitasse.

spaces of three inches each, in order that such events as generally happen in war may be writ on them. For example, in one of these intervals the following words may be writ. A BODY OF HORSE ARE MARCHED INTO THE COUNTRY. On another: A BODY OF INFANTRY, HEAVILY ARMED, ARE ARRIVED HITHER. On a third: INFANTRY LIGHTLY ARMED. On a fourth: HORSE AND FOOT. On another: SHIPS. Then PROVISIONS; and so on, till all the events, which may probably happen in the war that is carrying on, are writ down in these intervals.

This being done, each of the two vessels must have a little tube or cock of equal bigness, to let out the water in equal proportion. Then, the two vessels must be filled with water; the pieces of cork, with their sticks thrust through them, must be laid upon them, and the cocks must be opened. Now it is plain, that as these vessels are equal, the corks will sink, and the sticks descend lower in the vessels, in proportion as they empty themselves. But to be more certain of this exactness, it will be proper to make the experiment first, and to examine whether all things correspond and agree together, by an uniform execution on both sides.

When they are well assured of this, the two vessels must be carried to the two places where the signals are to be made and observed: Water is poured in, and the corks and sticks are put in the vessels. In proportion as any of the events which are written on the sticks shall happen, a torch, or other light, is raised, which must be held aloft, till such time as another is raised by the party to whom it is directed. (This first signal is only to give notice that both parties are ready and attentive.) Then the torch or other light must be taken away, and the cocks set open. When the interval, that is, that part of the stick where the event of which notice is to be given is written, shall be fallen to a level with the vessels, then the man who gives the signal lifts up his torch; and on the other side, the correspondent signal-maker immediately turns

turns the cock of his vessel, and looks at what is writ on that part of the stick which touches the mouth of the vessel; on which occasion, if every thing has been executed exactly and equally on both sides, both will read the same thing.

Although this method differs from that which was practised in early ages, in which men agreed only upon a single signal which was to denote the event the other party desired to be informed of, and which had been agreed upon, it nevertheless was too vague and indeterminate. For it is impossible to foresee all the accidents that may happen in a war; and though they could be foreseen, there would be no possibility of writing them all on a piece of stick. Besides, when any unexpected accident should happen, how could notice be given of it according to this method? To this I may add, that the inscription on the stick is no ways exact and circumstantial. We are not told how many horse and foot are come; what part of the country they are in; how many ships are arrived; nor the quantity of provisions we have. For before these several particulars could be written on the stick, they must have been foreseen, which was altogether impossible, though most essential; and how can succours be sent, when it is not known how many enemies are to be opposed, nor in what part of the country they are? How must a party either confide in or doubt their own strength? In a word, how will they know what to do, when they are told how many ships, or what quantity of provisions are come from the enemy?

The last method was invented by Cleoxenus, which others ascribe to Democlitus; however, we have improved it, says Polybius, who continues the sole speaker upon this head. This fixes every circumstance, and enables us to give notice of whatsoever happens. The only thing required, is great care and exactness. This method is as follows.

The twenty-four letters of the alphabet must be taken and divided into five parts; and these must be

fixed on a board, from top to bottom, in their natural order on five columns; five letters in each column, the last excepted, which is to have but four.

The alphabet being disposed in this manner, the man who is to make the signal must begin by shewing two torches or lights; and these he must hold aloft till the other party has also shewn two lights. This first signal is only to shew that both sides are ready, after which the lights must be removed.

The affair now is, to make the other party read, in this alphabet, the advices we want to acquaint them with. The person who gives the signal, shall hold up torches to his left, in order to denote to the correspondent party, from which of the columns he must take letters, to write them down in proportion as they shall be pointed out to him; so that if it is the first column, he only holds up one torch; if the second, he shews two, and so on, and always to the left. He must do the same to the right hand, to point out to the person who receives the signal, which letter in the column he must observe and write down. This both parties must agree upon between them.

These several things being fixed, and each of them got to his post, the man who gives the signal must have a * geometrical instrument with two tubes, in order that he may know by one of them the right, and by the other the left of him who is to answer. The board must be set up near to this instrument; and to the right and left a solid must be raised ten feet broad, and about the height of a man; in order that the torches, which shall be lifted up over it, may spread a strong, clear light; and that when they are to be lowered, they may be entirely hid behind them.

All things being thus disposed on each side, I will suppose, for instance, that advice is to be given, that *An hundred Cretans, or Kretans, are gone over to the enemy.* First, he must make choice of such words as will express what is here said in the fewest letters possible,

* The figure of it is annexed at the end of this little treatise.

sible, as *Cretans*, or *Kretans* *, *an hundred have deserted*, which expresses the very same idea in much fewer letters.

The first letter is a K, which is in the second column. Two torches must therefore be lifted to the left, to inform the person who receives the signal, that he must look into the second column. He then must lift up five torches to the right, to denote that the letter sought for is the fifth of the second column, that is, a K.

Afterwards four torches must be held up to the left, to point out the P † which is in the fourth column; then two to the right, to denote that this letter is the second of the fourth column. The same must be observed with respect to the rest of the letters.

By this method, every event that comes to pass may be denoted in a fixed and determinate manner. The reason why two sets of lights are used, is, because every letter must be pointed out twice; the first, to denote the column to which it belongs; and the second, to shew its place in order in the columns pointed out. If the persons employed on these occasions observe the rules here laid down, they will give exact notice: But it must be practised a long time, before they will be able to be very quick and exact in the operation.

This is what is proposed by Polybius, who, it is well known, was a great soldier and politician, and for this reason his hints ought to be valued. They might be improved and put in practice on a great many occasions. These signals were employed in a mountainous country.

A pamphlet was lent me, printed in 1702, and entitled, *The art of making signals both by sea and land*. The pamphlet was dedicated to the king, by the Sieur Marcel, commissioner of the navy at Arles. This author affirms, that he communicated several times, at the distance of two leagues (in as short a space of time

* The words are disposed in this manner in the Greek.

† This is the capital letter R in the Greek tongue.

time as a man could write down, and form exactly the letters contained in the advice he would communicate) an unexpected piece of news that took up a page in writing.

I cannot say what this new invention was, nor what success it met with; but in my opinion such discoveries as these ought not to be neglected. In all ages and nations, men have been very desirous of finding out and employing methods for receiving or communicating speedy advices; and of these, signals by fire are one of the principal.

(c) In the fabulous times, when the fifty daughters of Danaus murdered all their husbands in one night, Hypermnestra excepted, who spared Lynceus, it is related that both flying, and each being arrived at a place of safety, they informed one another of it by signals made by fire; and that this circumstance gave rise to the festival of torches established in Argos.

Agamemnon, at his setting out for the Trojan expedition, had promised Clytemnestra, that the very day the city should be taken, he would give notice of the victory by fires kindled for that purpose. He kept his word, as appears from the tragedy of Æschylus, which takes its name from that prince: Where the she-centinel, appointed to watch this signal, declares she had spent many tedious nights in that uncomfortable post.

We also find * by the writings of Julius Cæsar, that he himself used the same method.

Cæsar gives us an account of another method in use amongst the Gauls. Whenever any extraordinary event happened in their country, or they stood in need of immediate succour, they gave notice to one another by repeated shouts, which were caught from place to place; so that the massacre of the Romans in Orleans, at sun-rise, was known by eight or nine o'clock in the evening in Auvergne, forty leagues from the other city.

We

(c) Pausan. l. ii. p. 130.

* Celeriter, ut antè Cæsar facta, ex proximis castellis eò concurrerant, ignibus significatione cursum est. *Cæs. Bell. Gall. l. ii.*

(d) We are told of a much shorter method. It is pretended that the king of Persia, when he carried the war into Greece, had posted a kind of centinels at proper distances, who communicated to one another, by their voices, such news as it was necessary to transmit to a great distance; and that advice could be communicated from Athens to Susa (upwards of an hundred and fifty leagues) in forty-eight hours.

It is also related, that a * Sidonian proposed to Alexander the Great an infallible method for establishing a speedy and safe communication between all the countries subject to him. He required but five days for giving notice, from so great a distance as between his hereditary kingdom, and his most remote conquest in India: But the king, looking upon this offer as a mere chimera, rejected it with contempt: However, he soon repented it, and very justly; for the experiment might have been made with little trouble to himself.

(e) Pliny relates another method, which is not altogether improbable. Decimus Brutus defended the city of Modena besieged by Anthony, who prevented his sending the least advice to the consuls, by drawing lines round the city, and laying nets in the river. However, Brutus employed pigeons, to whose feet he fastened letters, which arrived in safety wherever he thought proper to send them. Of what use, says † Pliny, were Anthony's intrenchments and centinels to him? Of what service were all the nets he spread, when the new courier took his rout through the air?

Travellers relate, that to carry advices from Alexandria to Aleppo, when ships arrive in that harbour, they make use of pigeons, who have young ones at Aleppo. Letters, containing the advices to be communicated, are fastened about the pigeons necks, or feet; this being done, the pigeons take wing, soar

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to

(d) Coel. Rhodig. l. xviii. c. 8.

(e) Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

* *Vigenere, in his remarks on the seventh book of Caesar's wars in Gaul, relates this without citing directly the author.*

† *Quid vallum, & vigil obfidio, atque etiam retia amne prætexta profuere Antonio, per cælum eunte nuntio?*

to a great height, and fly to Aleppo, where the letters are taken from them. The same method is used in many other places.

Description of the instrument employed in signals made by fire.

Mr. Chevalier, mathematical professor in the royal college, a fellow member with me, and my particular friend, has been so good as to delineate, at my request, the figure of the instrument mentioned by Polybius, and to add the following explication of it.

In this manner I conceive the idea I have of the instrument described by Polybius, for communicating advices at a great distance, by signals made by fire.

AB is a beam about four or five feet long, five or six inches broad, and two or three inches thick. At the extremities of it are, well dove-tailed and fixed exactly perpendicular in the middle, two cross pieces of wood, CD, EF, of equal breadth and thickness with the beam, and three or four feet long. The sides of these cross pieces of timber must be exactly parallel, and their upper superficies very smooth. In the middle of the surface of each of these pieces, a right line must be drawn parallel to their sides; and consequently these lines will be parallel to one another. At an inch and a half or two inches distance from these lines, and exactly in the middle of the length of each cross piece, there must be drove in very strongly, and exactly perpendicular, an iron or brass screw, (2) whose upper part, which must be cylindrical, and five or six * lines in diameter, shall project seven or eight lines above the superficies of these cross pieces.

On these pieces must be placed two hollow tubes or cylinders GH, IK, through which the observations are made. These tubes must be exactly cylindrical, and formed of some hard, solid metal, in order that they may not shrink or warp. They must be a foot longer than the cross pieces on which they are fixed,

and

* Twelfth part of an inch.

and thereby will extend six inches beyond it at each end. These two tubes must be fixed on two plates of the same metal, in the middle of whose length shall be a small convexity, (3) of about an inch round. In the middle of this part (3) must be a hole exactly round, about half an inch in diameter; so that applying the plates on which these tubes are fixed, upon the cross pieces of wood CD, EF, this hole must be exactly filled by the projecting and cylindrical part of the screw, (2) which was fixed in it, and in such a manner as to prevent its play. The head of the screw may extend some lines beyond the superficies of the plates, and in such a manner as that those tubes may turn, with their plates about these screws, in order to direct them on the boards or screens P, Q, behind which the signals by fire are made, according to the different distances of the places where the signals shall be given.

The tubes must be blacked within, in order that, when the eye is applied to one of their ends, it may not receive any reflected rays. There must also be placed about the end, on the side of the observer, a perforated ring, the aperture of which must be of three or four lines; and place at the other end two threads, the one vertical, and the other horizontal, crossing one another in the axis of the tube.

In the middle of the beam AB must be made a round hole, two inches in diameter, in which must be fixed the foot LMNOP, which supports the whole machine, and round which it turns as on its axis. This machine may be called a rule and sights, though it differs from that which is applied to circumferencers, theodolites, and even geometrical squares, which are used to draw maps, take plans, and survey, &c. but it has the same uses, which is to direct the sight.

The person who makes the signal, and he who receives it, must have the like instrument; otherwise, the man who receives the signal could not distinguish whether the signals made are to the right or left of

him who makes them, which is an essential circumstance, according to the method proposed by Polybius.

The two boards or screens PQ, which are to denote the right and left hand of the man who gives the signals, or to display or hide the fires, according to the circumstance of the observation, ought to be greater or less, and nearer or farther distant from one another, according as the distance between the places where the signals must be given and received is greater or less.

In my description of the preceding machine, all I endeavoured was, to explain the manner how Polybius's idea might be put in execution, in making signals by fire; but I do not pretend to say, that it is of use, for giving signals at a considerable distance; for it is certain, that, how large soever this machine be, signals made by 2, 3, 4, and 5 torches, will not be seen at 5, 6, or more leagues distance, as he supposes. To make them visible at a greater distance, such torches must not be made use of, as can be lifted up and down with the hand, but large wide spreading fires, of whole loads of straw or wood; and consequently, boards or screens of a prodigious size must be employed, to hide or eclipse them.

Telescopes were not known in Polybius's time; they were not discovered or improved till the last century. Those instruments might have made the signals in question visible at a much greater distance than bare tubes could have done: But I still doubt, whether they could be employed to the use mentioned by Polybius, at a greater distance than two or three leagues. However, I am of opinion, that a city besieged might communicate advice to an army sent to succour it, or give notice how long time it could hold out a siege, in order to taking proper measures; and that, on the other side, the army sent to its aid might communicate its designs to the city besieged, especially by the assistance of telescopes.

SECT. VII. PHILOPOEMEN gains a famous victory near Mantinea, over MACHANIDAS tyrant of Sparta. The high regard paid to that general. NABIS succeeds MACHANIDAS. Some instances of his avarice and cruelty. A general peace concluded between PHILIP and the Romans, in which the allies on both sides are included.

THE Romans, wholly employed in the war with Hannibal, which they resolved to terminate, intermeddled very little with that of the Greeks, and did not molest them during the two following years.

A. M.
3798.
Ant. J. C.
206.

(a) In the first, Philopœmen was appointed captain-general of the Achæans. As soon as he was invested with this employment, which was the highest in the state, he assembled his allies before he took the field, and exhorted them to second his zeal with courage and warmth, and support with honour both their fame and his. He insisted strongly on the care they ought to take, not of the beauty and magnificence of the dress, which became women only, and those too of little merit; but of the neatness and splendor of their arms, an object worthy of men, intent upon their own glory and the good of their country.

His speech was received with universal applause, in so much that, at the breaking up of the assembly, all those who were magnificently dressed were pointed at; so great an influence have the words of an illustrious person, not only in dissuading men from vice, but in inclining them to virtue; especially when his actions correspond with his words, for then it is scarce possible to resist his exhortations. This was the character of Philopœmen. Plain in his dress, and frugal in his diet, he took very little care of his body. In conversation he suffered patiently the ill temper of others, even when they used contemptuous expressions: And, for himself, he was sure never to give the least offence to any one. It was his study, during his life, to

P p 3

speak

(a) Polyb. l. xi. p. 629—631.

He speak nothing but the truth: And, indeed, the slightest expressions of his were heard with respect, and immediately believed. And he was not obliged to employ a great many words to persuade, his conduct being a rule of what every body else ought to do.

The assembly being dismissed, every body returned to their respective cities, in the highest admiration of Philopœmen, whose words as well as actions had charmed them; and fully persuaded, that as long as he should preside in the government, it could not but flourish. He immediately visited the several cities, and gave the necessary orders in them. He assembled the people in every place, acquainted them with every thing that was necessary to be done, and raised troops. After spending near eight months in making the various preparations, he took the field.

(b) Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmonia, was watching, at the head of a powerful army, for an opportunity to subject all Peloponnesus. The moment advice was brought of his arrival in the territories of Mantinea, Philopœmen prepared to give him battle.

The tyrant of Sparta set out upon his march at day-break, at the head of the heavy-armed infantry, and posted to the right and left on the same line, but a little more advanced, the light infantry composed of foreigners; and behind them chariots loaded with * catapultæ, and darts to sustain them. It appears by the sequel, that before him lay a ditch, that run along part of the plain, beyond which his troops extended at each end.

At the same time Philopœmen marched his army in three bodies out of the city. The first, consisting of Achæan horse, was posted to the right. The second, composed of heavy-armed foot, was in the center, and advanced to the ditch. The third, composed of Illyrians, cuirassiers, foreigners, light-armed troops, and some † Tarentine horse, were at the left, with Philopœmen at their head.

(b) Polyb. l. xi. p. 631—637. Plut. in Philop. p. 391.

* Engines to discharge darts or stones, &c. † The Tarentine horsemen had each two horses. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 28.

The time for beginning the battle approaching, and the enemy in view, that general, flying up and down the ranks of the infantry, encouraged his men in few, but very strong expressions. Most of them were even not heard; but he was so dear to his soldiers, and they reposed such confidence in him, that they wanted no exhortations to fight with incredible ardour. In a kind of transport they animated their general, and pressed him to lead them on to battle. All he endeavoured to make them understand, was, that the time was come in which their enemies would be reduced to an ignominious captivity, and themselves restored to a glorious and immortal liberty.

Machanidas marched his infantry in a kind of column, as if he intended to begin the battle by charging the right wing: But when he was advanced to a proper distance, he on a sudden made his infantry wheel about, in order that it might extend to his right, and make a front equal to the left of the Achæans; and, to cover it, he caused all the chariots loaded with catapultæ to advance forward. Philopœmen plainly saw that his design was to break his infantry, by overwhelming it with darts and stones: However, he did not give him time for it, but caused the Tarentine horse to begin the battle with great vigour, on a spot where they had room enough to engage in. Machanidas was forced to do the same, and to lead on his Tarentines. The first charge was very furious. The light-armed soldiers advancing a little after to sustain them, in a moment the foreign troops were universally engaged on both sides; and, as in this attack they fought man to man, the battle was a long time doubtful. At last, the foreigners in the tyrant's army had the advantage; their numbers and dexterity, acquired by experience, giving them the superiority. The Illyrians and cuirassiers, who sustained the foreign soldiers in Philopœmen's army, could not withstand so furious a charge. They were entirely broke, and fled with the utmost precipitation towards

the city of Mantinea, about a mile from the field of battle.

Philopœmen seemed now lost to all hopes. On this occasion, says Polybius, appeared the truth of a maxim, which cannot reasonably be contested, That the events of war are generally successful or unfortunate, only in proportion to the skill or ignorance of the generals who command in them. Philopœmen, so far from desponding at the ill success of the first charge, or being in confusion, was solely intent upon taking advantage of the errors which the enemy might commit. Accordingly they were guilty of a great one, which indeed is but too frequent on these occasions, and for that reason cannot be too strongly guarded against. Machanidas, after the left wing was routed, instead of improving that advantage, by charging in front that instant with his infantry the center of that of the enemies, and taking it at the same time in flank with his victorious wing, and thereby terminating the whole affair, suffers himself, like a young man, to be hurried away by the fire and impetuosity of his soldiers, and pursues, without order or discipline, those who were flying; as if, after having given way, fear would not have carried them to the gates of the city.

Philopœmen, who upon this defeat had retired to his infantry in the center, takes the first cohorts, commands them to wheel to the left, and at their head marches and seizes the post which Machanidas had abandoned. By this movement he divided the center of the enemy's infantry from his right wing. He then commanded these cohorts to stay in the post they had just seized, till farther orders; and at the same time directed * Polybius, the Megalopolitan, to rally all the Illyrians, cuirassiers, and foreigners, who, without quitting their ranks, and flying as the rest had done,

* The late translator of Polybius mistakes this officer for our historian, and here introduces him speaking; which is otherwise in the original. Polybius the historian was not born at that time. It is true indeed that this person had the same name, and was a native of the same city, which makes the error more excusable.

done, had drawn off, to avoid the fury of the conqueror; and, with these forces, to post himself on the flank of the infantry in his center, to check the enemy in their return from the pursuit.

But now the Lacedæmonian infantry, elate with the first success of their wing, without waiting for the signal, advance with their pikes lowered towards the Achæans, as far as the brink of the ditch. When they came up to it, whether from being so near the enemy, they were ashamed not to go on, or that they did not value the ditch, because it was dry and had no hedge; and besides, being no longer able to retire, because the advanced ranks were pushed forward by those in the rear, they rushed into the ditch at once. This was the decisive point of time which Philopœmen had long waited, and thereupon he orders the charge to be sounded. His troops levelling their pikes, fell with dreadful shouts on the Lacedæmonians. These, who at their descending into the ditch, had broke their ranks, no sooner saw the enemy above them, but they immediately fled; nevertheless, great numbers of them were left in the ditch, having been killed either by the Achæans, or their own soldiers.

To compleat the glory of this action, the business now was to prevent the tyrant from escaping the conqueror. This was Philopœmen's only object. Machanidas, on his return, perceived that his army fled; when being sensible of his error, he endeavoured, but in vain, to force his way through the Achæans. His troops, perceiving that the enemy were masters of the bridge which lay over the ditch, were quite dispirited, and endeavoured to save themselves as well as they could. Machanidas himself, finding it impossible to pass the bridge, hurried along the side of the ditch, in order to find a place for getting over it. Philopœmen knew him by his purple mantle, and the trappings of his horse: So that, after giving the necessary orders to his officers, he passed the ditch, in order to stop the tyrant. The latter having found a part of the ditch which might easily be crossed, claps spurs to his horse,

2 and

and springs forward in order to leap over. That very instant Philopœmen threw his javelin at him, which laid him dead in the ditch. The tyrant's head being struck off, and carried from rank to rank, gave new courage to the victorious Achæans. They pursued the fugitives, with incredible ardour, as far as Tegea, entered the city with them, and, being now masters of the field, the very next day they encamped on the banks of the Eurotas.

The Achæans did not lose many men in this battle, but the Lacedæmonians lost four thousand, without including the prisoners, who were still more numerous. The baggage and arms were also taken by the Achæans.

The conquerors, struck with admiration at the conduct of their general, to whom the victory was entirely owing, erected a brazen statue to him in the same attitude in which he had killed the tyrant; which statue they afterwards placed in the temple of Apollo at Delphos.

Polybius justly observes, that this signal victory must not be ascribed either to chance or a concurrence of circumstances, but entirely to the abilities of the general, who had foreseen and disposed all things necessary for this great event. And, indeed, from the beginning (it is Polybius who still speaks, and continues his reflexions) Philopœmen had covered himself with the ditch; not to avoid coming to a battle, as some have imagined, but because, like a judicious man and a great soldier, he had reflected, that should Machanidas attempt to make his army pass the ditch, before he was aware of it, his troops would certainly be cut to pieces, and entirely defeated; or if, being stopt by the ditch, he should change his resolution, and break his order of battle through fear, that he would be thought the most unskilful of generals, in abandoning his victory to the enemy, without daring to come to a battle, and in carrying off no other marks of his enterprize, than the ignominy of having renounced it. Polybius also highly applauds the presence

sence of mind and resolution of Philopœmen, in his not desponding or losing courage when his left wing was routed; but in having made that very defeat an occasion of his gaining a glorious victory.

Methinks these small battles, where there are not many combatants on either side, and in which, by that means, one may follow, as it were with the eye, the several steps of the commanding officers, observe the several orders they give, the precautions they take, and the errors they commit; that these, I say, may be of great service to those who are one day to command armies; and this is one of the chief advantages from the study of history.

It is related that in the assembly of the Nemæan games, which were solemnized the year after this famous battle of Mantinea, Philopœmen being elected general of the Achæans a second time, and having then no employment for his forces, upon account of the festival, he caused his phalanx, very splendidly cloathed, to pass in review before all the Greeks, and made them perform their usual exercises, to show with what dexterity, strength, and agility, they performed the several military movements, without breaking or disordering their ranks in the least. He afterwards went into the theatre in which the musicians were disputing for the prize in their art, accompanied by those youths in their coats of arms, all of a graceful stature, and in the flower of their age; all filled with the highest veneration for their general, and fired at the same time with a martial intrepidity; sentiments with which their glorious battles and success, under this illustrious general, had inspired them.

The very instant that flourishing troop of youths entered with Philopœmen, Pylades the musician, who was singing to his lyre the *Persians* of * Timotheus, happened accidentally to repeat the following verse,

The

* This was a dithyrambick poet, who lived about the XCVth Olympiad, i. e. 298 years before Christ. One of his pieces was entitled the *Persians*.

A. M.
3799.
Ant. J. C.
205.

*The wreaths of liberty to me you owe,
The brightest crown the gods bestow.*

These lofty verses being finely expressed by the singer, who had an exquisite voice, struck the whole assembly. At the same time all the Greeks cast their eyes upon Philopœmen; and clapping their hands, and raising shouts of joy, they called to mind the glorious ages of triumphant Greece; soothing themselves with the pleasing hopes, that they should revive those ancient times, and their pristine glory; so greatly did a general, like Philopœmen, increase their confidence, and inflame their courage.

And indeed, says Plutarch, as we find young colts are always fond of those they are used to, and that in case any other person attempts to mount them, they are displeased, and prance about with their new rider; the same disposition appeared in the Achæan league. The instant they were to embark in a new war, and a battle was to be fought, if any other general was appointed, immediately the deputies of the confederate powers would be discouraged, and turn their eyes in quest of Philopœmen; and the moment he appeared, the whole league revived and were ready for action; so strongly were they persuaded of his great valour and abilities; well knowing that he was the only general whose presence the enemy dreaded, and whose name alone made them tremble.

Can there, humanly speaking, be a more pleasing, more affecting, or more solid glory for a general or a prince, than to see himself esteemed, beloved, and revered, by the army and people, in the manner Philopœmen was? Is it possible for any man to be so tasteless and void of sense, as to prefer, or even compare, to the honour which the exalted qualities of Philopœmen acquired him, the pretended glory which so many persons of quality imagine they derive from their equipages, buildings, furniture, and the ridiculous expence of their tables. Philopœmen affected magnificence more than they do; but then he placed
it

it in what it really consists; the cloathing his troops splendidly; providing them good horses and shining arms; supplying, with a generous hand, all their wants both publick and private; distributing money seasonably to encourage the officers, and even private men: In acting thus, Philopœmen, though dressed in a very plain habit, was looked upon as the greatest and most magnificent general of his time.

Sparta did not recover its ancient liberty by the death of Machanidas, the only consequence of which was its changing one oppressor for another. The tyrant had been extirpated, but not the tyranny. That unhappy city, formerly so jealous of its liberty and independence, and now abandoned to slavery, seemed by its indolence studious of nothing but to make itself new chains, or to support its old ones. Machanidas was succeeded by Nabis, who, though a worse tyrant, yet the Spartans did not shew the least spirit, or make the least effort to shake off the yoke of slavery.

(c) Nabis, in the beginning of his government, was not desirous to undertake any foreign expedition; but employed his whole endeavours to lay the solid foundations of a lasting and cruel tyranny. For that purpose, he made it his particular care to destroy all the remaining Spartans in that republick. He banished from it all such as were most distinguished for their quality and wealth, and gave their estates and wives to his creatures. We shall speak of these persons hereafter under the name of the *Exiles*. He had taken into his pay a great number of foreigners, all plunderers and assassins, and capable of perpetrating the blackest crimes for gain. This kind of people, who had been banished their country for their crimes, flocked round the tyrant, who lived in the midst of them as their protector and king; employing them as his attendants and guards, to strengthen his tyranny, and confirm his power. He was not satisfied with banishing the citizens; he acted in such a manner, that they could not find any secure asylum, even in foreign

foreign countries: Some were butchered in their journey by his emissaries; and he recalled others from banishment; with no other view but to murder them.

Besides these barbarities, he invented a machine which may be called an infernal one, representing a woman magnificently dressed, and exactly resembling his wife. Every time that he sent for any person, to extort money from him, he would first declare, in the kindest and most gentle terms, the danger to which the whole country, and Sparta in particular, was exposed by the menaces of the Achæans; the number of foreigners he was obliged to keep in pay for the security of his government; the great sums he expended for the worship of the gods, and for the good of the publick: In case the person spoke to was wrought upon by his words, he proceeded no farther, this being all he wanted: But, if he was refractory, and refused to give him money, he would say, "Probably the talent of persuasion is not mine; but I hope that Apega will have some effect upon you." This Apega was his wife. He no sooner had uttered these words, but his machine appeared. Nabis, taking her by the hand, raised her from her chair, and led her to his man. The hands, the arms and breast of this machine, were stuck with sharp iron points, concealed under her cloaths. The pretended Apega embraced the unhappy wretch, folded him in her arms; and laying hers round his waste, clasped him into her bosom, whilst he vented the most lamentable cries. The machine was made to perform these several motions by secret springs. In this manner did the tyrant put many to death, from whom he could not otherwise extort the sums he demanded.

Would one believe that a man could be so completely wicked, as to contrive, in cold blood, such a machine, merely to torture his fellow-creatures, and to feed his eyes and ears with the cruel pleasure of seeing their agonies, and hearing their groans? It is astonishing that in such a city as Sparta, where tyranny

was

was had in the utmost detestation; where men thought it glorious to confront death; where religion and the laws, so far from restraining men as among us, seemed to arm them against all who were enemies to liberty; it is astonishing, I say, that so horrid a monster should be suffered to live one day.

(d) I have already observed that the Romans, employed in a more important war, had intermeddled very little with the affairs of Greece. The Ætolians, finding themselves neglected by that powerful people, who were their only refuge, made a peace with Philip. Scarce was the treaty concluded, but P. Sempronius the proconsul arrived with considerable aids; ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty-five ships of war. He was very much offended at them for making this peace, without having first obtained the consent of the Romans, contrary to the express words of the treaty of alliance. The Epirots also, tired with the length of the war, sent deputies (with the proconsul's leave) to Philip, who now was returned to Macedonia, to exhort him to agree to a general peace; hinting to him, that they were almost sure, if he consented to have an interview with Sempronius, they would easily agree upon the conditions. The king was greatly pleased with these overtures, and went to Epirus. As both parties were desirous of peace; Philip, that he might have leisure to settle the affairs of his kingdom; and the Romans, that they might be able to carry on the war against Carthage with greater vigour; a treaty was soon concluded. The king caused Prusias, king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots to be included in it; and the Romans included the people of Ilium, king Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis the Spartan tyrant, successor to Machanidas, the people of Elis, the Messenians, and the Athenians. In this manner the war of the confederates terminated in a peace of no long continuance.

A. M.
3800.
Ant. J. C.
204.

(d) Liv. l. xxix. n. 12.

S A C T,

SECT. VIII. *The glorious expeditions of ANTIOCHUS into Media, Parthia, Hyrcania, and as far as India. At his return to Antioch, he receives advice of PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR's death.*

THE history of the wars in Greece obliged us to interrupt the relation of the transactions in Asia, and therefore we now return to them.

A. M. 3792.
Ant. J. C. 212. (a) Antiochus, after the death of Achæus, having employed some time in settling his affairs in Asia minor, marched towards the East, to reduce those provinces which had revolted from the empire of Syria. He began by Media, of which the Parthians had just before dispossessed him. Arsaces, son to him who founded that empire, was their king: He had taken advantage of the troubles in which the wars of Antiochus with Ptolemy and Achæus had involved him, and had conquered Media.

This country, says Polybius, is the most powerful in all Asia, as well for its extent, as for the number and strength of the men, and the great quantity of horses it produces. Media furnishes all Asia with those beasts; and its pastures are so good, that the neighbouring monarchs send their studs thither: Ecbatana is its capital city. The edifices of this city are the finest in the world, and the king's palace is seven hundred fathoms round. Though all the timber-work is of cedar and cyprus, yet not the least piece of timber was visible; the joists, the beams, the cielings, and columns, which sustained the porticoes and piazzas, being covered with silver or gold plates. All the tiles were of silver. The greatest part of these rich materials had been carried off by the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, and the rest plundered by Antigonus and Seleucus Nicator. Nevertheless, when Antiochus entered this kingdom, the temple of Æna was still surrounded with gilt columns, and the soldiers found in it a great number of silver tiles, a few golden bricks, and a great many of silver.

All

All this was converted into specie, and stamped with Antiochus's image; the whole amounting to four thousand talents, or about six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Arfaces expected that Antiochus would advance as far as this temple; but he never imagined that he would venture to cross, with his numerous army, a country so barren as that which lies near it; and especially as no water can be found in those parts, none appearing on the surface of the earth. There are indeed rivulets and springs under ground, but no one, except those who know the country, can find them. On this occasion, a true story is related by the inhabitants of the country, that the Persians, when they conquered Asia, gave to those who should raise water in places where none had been before, the profits arising from such places, to the fifth generation inclusively. The inhabitants, animated by these promises, spared neither labour or expence to convey water under ground from mount Taurus, whence a great quantity flows, as far as these deserts; insomuch that at this time, says Polybius, those who make use of these waters, do not know from what springs the subterraneous rivulets flow that supply them with it.

It were to be wished that Polybius, who generally is diffusive enough, had been more prolix here, and explained to us in what manner these subterraneous canals (for such were the wells here spoken of) were built, and the methods employed by Arfaces to stop them. From the account he gives of the prodigious labour employed, and the vast sums expended to complete this work, we may suppose that water had been conveyed into every part of this vast desert, by stone aqueducts built under ground, with openings at proper distances, that Polybius calls wells.

When Arfaces saw that Antiochus crossed the deserts, in spite of the difficulties which he imagined would stop his march, he gave orders for stopping up the wells. But Antiochus, having foreseen this, sent a detachment of horse, which posted itself near these

A. M.

3793.

Ant. J. C.

211.

wells, and beat the party that came to stop them. The army passed the deserts, entered Media, drove Arsaces out of it, and recovered all that province. Antiochus stayed there the rest of the year, in order to re-establish his affairs, and to make the preparations necessary for carrying on the war.

A. M. 3794.
Ant. J. C. 210. The year following he entered very early into Parthia, where he was as successful as he had been the year before in Media: Arsaces was forced to retire into Hyrcania, where he imagined that in securing some passes of the mountains which separate it from Parthia, it would be impossible for the Syrian army to approach him.

A. M. 3795.
Ant. J. C. 209. However, he was mistaken: For, as soon as the season would permit, Antiochus took the field; and, after incredible difficulties, attacked all those posts at the same time with his whole army, which he divided into as many bodies as there were attacks, and soon forced them all. He afterwards assembled them in the plains, and marched to besiege Seringis, which was the capital of Hyrcania. Having besieged it for some time, he at last made a great breach, and took the city by storm, upon which the inhabitants surrendered at discretion.

(b) In the mean time Arsaces was very busy. As he retired, he re-assembled troops, which at last formed an army of an hundred-and-twenty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. He then took the field against the enemy, and put a stop to their progress with the utmost bravery. His resistance protracted the war, which seemed almost at an end. After many engagements, Antiochus perceiving he gained no advantage, judged that it would be extremely difficult to reduce so valiant an enemy, and drive him entirely out of the provinces, where by length of time he had so strongly established himself. For this reason, he began to listen to the overtures which were made him, for terminating so tedious a war.

At last a treaty was concluded, in which it was stipulated,

lated, that Arsaces should continue in possession of Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist Antiochus in recovering the rest of the revolted provinces.

A. M.

3796.

Ant. J. C.
208.

Antiochus, after this peace, turned his arms against Euthydemus, king of Bactria. We have already shewn, in what manner Theodotus had disunited Bactria from the empire of Syria, and left it to his son of the same name with himself. This son had been defeated and dispossessed by Euthydemus, a brave and prudent man, who engaged in a long war against Antiochus. (c) The latter used his utmost endeavours to recover Bactria; but they all were rendered ineffectual by the valour and vigilance of Euthydemus. During the course of this war, Antiochus displayed his bravery in the most extraordinary manner. In one of these battles his horse was killed under him, and he himself received a wound in the mouth, which however was not dangerous, being attended with only the loss of some of his teeth.

A. M.

3797.

Ant. J. C.
207.

At last he grew weary of a war, when he plainly perceived that it would be impossible for him to dethrone this prince. He therefore gave audience to Euthydemus's ambassadors, who represented to him, that the war he was carrying on against their sovereign was not just; that he had never been his subject, and consequently that he ought not to avenge himself on their king, because others had rebelled against him; that Bactria had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire under other monarchs long before him; that he possessed this kingdom by right of conquest over the descendants of those chiefs of the rebellion, and preserved it as the reward of a just victory. They also insinuated to him that the Scythians, observing both parties had weakened themselves by this war, were preparing to invade Bactria with great fury; and that should they persist obstinately in disputing it, those Barbarians might very possibly dispossess both of it. This reflexion made an impression on Antiochus, who, by this time, was grown quite weary of

A. M.

3798.

Ant. J. C.
206.

so unprofitable and tedious a war; and for this reason he granted them such conditions as ended in a peace. To confirm and ratify it, Euthydemus sent his son to Antiochus. He gave him a gracious reception; and judging, by his agreeable mien, his conversation, and the air of majesty conspicuous in his whole person, that he was worthy of a throne, he promised him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of king. The other articles of the treaty were put into writing, and the alliance was confirmed by the usual oaths.

Having received all Euthydemus's elephants, which was one of the articles of peace, he passed mount Caucasus, and entered India, and then renewed his alliance with the king of that country. He also received elephants from him, which, with those Euthydemus had given him, amounted to an hundred and fifty. He marched from thence into Arachosia, afterwards into Drangiana, thence into Carmania, establishing his authority and good order in all those provinces.

A. M. 3799.
Ant. J. C. 205. He passed the winter in the last country. From thence he returned by Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia, and at last arrived at Antioch, after having spent seven years in this expedition. The vigour of his enterprizes, and the prudence with which he had conducted the whole war, acquired him the character of a wise and valiant prince, and made him formidable to Europe as well as Asia.

A. M. 3800.
Ant. J. C. 204. A little after his arrival at Antioch, advice was brought him of the death of Ptolemy Philopator. That prince, by his intemperance and excesses, had quite ruined his constitution, which was naturally strong and vigorous. He died, as generally happens to those who abandon themselves to pleasure, before he had run half his course. He was scarce above twenty years old when he ascended the throne, and reigned but seventeen years. He was succeeded by Ptolemy Epiphanes his son, then five years old.







