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*PERSEUS in the TENT of
PAULUS EMILIUS.*

Published Feb. 1st 1754. by J. & P. 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. VII.

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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CONTENTS to Vol. VII.

BOOK XX.

ARTICLE I.

<i>Abridgment of the history of the Jews, from Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus, who first assumed the rank of king, to the reign of Herod the Great, the Idumæan</i>	Page 1
Sect. I. Reign of Aristobulus the first, which lasted two years	ibid.
II. Reign of Alexander Jannæus, which continued twenty-seven years	4
III. Reign of Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Jannæus, which continued nine years. Hyrcanus, her eldest son, is high-priest during that time	7
IV. Reign of Aristobulus II. which continued six years	11
V. Reign of Hyrcanus II. which continued twenty-four years	17
VI. Reign of Antigonus, of only two years duration	21

ARTICLE II.

<i>Abridgment of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus, which is related at large</i>	24
--	----

ARTICLE III.

<i>Abridgment of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, from the foundation of that kingdom to the time when it became a province of the Roman empire</i>	63
--	----

CONTENTS.

BOOK XXI.

ARTICLE I.

- Sect. I. *Hiero the second chosen captain-general by the Syracusans, and soon after appointed king. He makes an alliance with the Romans in the beginning of the first Punick war* - - Page 79
- II. *Hiero's pacifick reign. He particularly favours agriculture. He applies the abilities of Archimedes, his relation, to the service of the publick, and causes him to make an infinite number of machines for the defence of a besieged place. He dies very old, and much regretted by the people* - 86

ARTICLE II.

- Sect. I. *Hieronimus, grandson of Hiero, succeeds him, and causes him to be regretted by his vices and cruelty. He is killed in a conspiracy. Barbarous murder of the princesses. Hippocrates and Epicides possess themselves of the government of Syracuse, and declare for the Carthaginians, as Hieronimus had done* - - 101
- II. *The consul Marcellus besieges Syracuse. The considerable losses of men and ships, occasioned by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, oblige Marcellus to change the siege into a blockade. He takes the city at length by means of his intelligence within it. Death of Archimedes, killed by a soldier who did not know him* - - 116

ARTICLE III.

- Sect. I. *Tomb of Archimedes discovered by Cicero* 133
- II. *Summary of the history of Syracuse* - 136
- III. *Reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, and upon Archimedes* - 139

BOOK XXII.

ARTICLE I.

- Sect. I. *Mithridates, at twelve years old, ascends the throne of Pontus. He seizes Cappadocia and Bithynia, having first expelled their kings. The Romans re-establish them. He causes all the Romans in Asia minor to be put to the sword in one day. First war of the Romans with Mithridates, who had made himself master of Asia minor, and Greece, where he had taken Athens. Sylla is charged with this war. He besieges and retakes Athens. He gains three great battles against the generals of Mithridates. He grants that prince peace in the fourth year of the war. Library of Athens, in which were the works of Aristotle. Sylla causes it to be carried to Rome* - - Page 146
- II. *Second war against Mithridates, under Murena, of only three years duration. Mithridates prepares to renew the war. He concludes a treaty with Sertorius. Third war with Mithridates. Lucullus consul sent against him. He obliges him to raise the siege of Cyzicum, and defeats his troops. He gains a compleat victory over him, and reduces him to fly into Pontus. Tragical end of the sisters and wives of Mithridates. He endeavours to retire to Tigranes his son-in-law. Lucullus regulates the affairs of Asia* - - 175
- III. *Lucullus causes war to be declared with Tigranes, and marches against him. Vanity and ridiculous self-sufficiency of that prince. He loses a great battle. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta, capital of Armenia. He gains a second victory over the joint forces of Tigranes and Mithridates. Mutiny and revolt in the army of Lucullus* - - 192
- IV. *Mithridates, taking advantage of the discord which had arose in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions.*

CONTENTS.

dominions. Pompey is chosen to succeed Lucullus. He overthrows Mithridates in several battles. The latter flies in vain to Tigranes his son-in-law for refuge, who is engaged in a war with his own son. Pompey marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes to him and surrenders himself. Weary of pursuing Mithridates to no purpose, he returns into Syria, makes himself master of that kingdom, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucides. He marches back to Pontus. Pharnaces makes the army revolt against his father Mithridates, who kills himself. That prince's character. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia and Judæa, where he takes Jerusalem. After having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph - - Page 211

BOOK XXIII.

- Sect. I. Ptolomæus Auletes had been placed upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Alexander. He is declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey, which he purchases at a very great price. In consequence he loads his subjects with imposts. He is expelled the throne. The Alexandrians make his daughter Berenice queen. He goes to Rome, and by money obtains the voices of the heads of the commonwealth for his re-establishment. He is opposed by an oracle of the Sibyl's; notwithstanding which, Gabinius sets him upon the throne by force of arms, where he remains till his death. The famous Cleopatra and her brother, very young, succeed him* - - 236
- II. Potbinus and Achillas, ministers of the young king, expel Cleopatra. She raises troops to re-establish herself. Pompey, after having been overthrown at Pharsalia, retires into Egypt. He is assassinated there.*

CONTENTS.

there. Cæsar, who pursued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he seems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and sister, and for that purpose sends for Cleopatra, of whom he soon becomes enamoured. Great commotions arise at Alexandria, and several battles are fought between the Egyptians and Cæsar's troops, wherein the latter have almost always the advantage. The king, having been drowned in flying after a sea-fight, all Egypt submits to Cæsar. He sets Cleopatra, with her younger brother, upon the throne, and returns to Rome - Page 249

III. Cleopatra causes her young brother to be put to death, and reigns alone. The death of Julius Cæsar having made way for the Triumvirate formed between Anthony, Lepidus, and young Cæsar, called also Octavius, Cleopatra declares herself for the Triumvirs. She goes to Anthony at Tarsus, gains an absolute ascendant over him, and brings him with her to Alexandria. Anthony goes to Rome, where he espouses Octavia. He abandons himself again to Cleopatra, and after some expeditions returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph. He there celebrates the coronation of Cleopatra and her children. Open rupture between Cæsar and Anthony. The latter repudiates Octavia. The two fleets put to sea. Cleopatra determines to follow Anthony. Battle of Actium. Cleopatra flies, and draws Anthony after her. Cæsar's victory is compleat. He advances some time after against Alexandria, which makes no long resistance. Tragical death of Anthony and Cleopatra. Egypt is reduced into a province of the Roman empire	- 263
Conclusion of the Ancient History	- 295
Chronological Table	- 299
General Index	- 381

BOOK THE TWENTIETH.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Successors of ALEXANDER
CONTINUED.

ARTICLE I.

Abridgment of the history of the Jews, from ARISTOBULUS, son of HYRCANUS, who first assumed the rank of king, to the reign of HEROD the Great, the Idumæan.

AS the history of the Jews is often intermixed with that of the kings of Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occasion offered, to relate of it what was most necessary and suitable to my subject. I shall add here what remains of that history to the reign of Herod the Great. The historian Josephus, who is in every one's hands, will satisfy the curiosity of such as are desirous of being more fully informed in it. Dean Prideaux, whom I have used here, may be also consulted to the same effect.

SECT. I. *Reign of ARISTOBULUS the first, which lasted two years.*

HYRCANUS, high-priest and prince of the Jews (a), had left five sons at his death. The first was Aristobulus, the second Antigonus, the third Alexander.
A. M. 3898.
Ant. J. C. 106.

VOL. VII.

B

Alexander

(a) Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19, &c. Id. de bell. Jud. 1. 3.

Alexander Jannæus, the fourth's name is unknown. The fifth was called Absalom.

Aristobulus, as the eldest, succeeded his father in the high-priesthood and temporal sovereignty. As soon as he saw himself well established, he assumed the diadem and title of king, which none of those who had governed Judæa from the Babylonish captivity, had done besides himself. The conjuncture seemed favourable for that design. The kings of Syria and Egypt, who were alone capable of opposing it, were weak princes, involved in domestick troubles and civil wars, little secure upon the throne, and not maintaining themselves long in the possession of it. He knew the Romans were much inclined to authorize the dismembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken and keep them low in comparison with themselves. Besides, it was natural for Aristobulus to take the advantage of the victories and acquisitions made by his ancestors, who had given an assured and uninterrupted establishment to the Jewish nation, and enabled it to support the dignity of a king amongst its neighbours.

Aristobulus's mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus's will, pretended to the government; but Aristobulus was the strongest, and put her in prison, where he caused her to be starved to death. For his brothers, as he very much loved Antigonus the eldest of them, he gave him at first a share in the government; but some small time after, upon a false accusation, put him to death. He confined the other three in a prison during his life.

A. M. 3898.
Ant. J. C. 106. When Aristobulus had fully possessed himself of the authority his father had enjoyed, (b) he entered into a war with the Ituræans, and after having subjected the greatest part of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaism, as Hyrcanus had the Idumæans some years before. He gave them the alternative, either to be circumcised and profess the Jewish religion, or to quit their country and seek a settlement elsewhere.

(b) Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19., Id. de bel. Jud. 1. 3.

where. They chose to stay, and comply with what was required of them, and were incorporated with the Jews, both as to spirituals and temporals. This practice became a fundamental maxim with the Asmoneans. It shews, that they had not a just idea of religion at that time, which does not impose itself by force, and which ought not to be received but voluntarily and by persuasion. Ituræa, inhabited by the people in question, was a part of Coelosyria, on the north-east frontier of Israel, between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manasseh on the other side of the Jordan, and the territory of Damascus.

A distemper obliged Aristobulus to return from Ituræa to Jerusalem, and to leave the command of the army to his brother Antigonus, to make an end of the war he had begun. The queen and her cabal, who envied Antigonus the king's favour, took the advantage of this illness, to alienate the king against him by false reports and vile calumnies. Antigonus soon returned to Jerusalem after the successes by which he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. The feast of the tabernacles was then celebrating. He went directly to the temple with his guards, completely armed as he had entered the city, without giving himself time to change any part of his equipage. This was made a crime with the king; who, otherwise prejudiced against him, sent him orders to disarm himself, and come to him as soon as possible; conceiving, if he refused to obey, it was a proof of some bad design; in that case he gave orders that he should be killed. The person sent by Aristobulus, was gained by the queen and her cabal, and told him the order quite differently; that the king desired to see him completely armed as he was. Antigonus went directly to wait on him; and the guards who saw him come in his arms, obeyed their orders, and killed him.

Aristobulus, having discovered all that had passed, was violently affected with it, and inconsolable for his death.

death, Tormented with remorse of conscience for this murder, and that of his mother, he led a miserable life, and expired at last in the highest grief and despair.

SECT. II. *Reign of ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, which continued twenty-seven years.*

A. M.
3899.
Ant. J. C.
105.

SALOME, the wife of Aristobulus (*a*), immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the prison, into which they had been put by her husband. Alexander Jannæus, the eldest of the three, was crowned. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. As for the third, named Absalom, who was of a peaceable disposition, and who had no thoughts but of living in tranquillity as a private person (*b*), he granted him his favour, and protected him during his whole life. No more is said of him, than that he gave his daughter in marriage to the youngest son of his brother Alexander, and that he served him against the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem, in which he was made prisoner forty-two years after, when the temple was taken by Pompey.

Whilst all this passed, the two kings of Syria, of whom Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzicum at Damascus, made a cruel war upon each other, although they were brothers. Cleopatra and Alexander the youngest of her sons reigned in Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus the eldest in Cyprus.

Alexander Jannæus, some time after he returned to Jerusalem, and had taken possession of the throne, had set a good army on foot, which passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara. At the end of ten months, having made himself master of that city, he took several other very strong places, situated also on the other side of the Jordan. But not being sufficiently upon his guard in his return, he was beat by the enemy, and lost ten thousand men, with all the spoils he

(*a*) Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 20. Id. de bel. Jud. 1. 3.
Antiq. xiv. 8.

(*b*) Id.

he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned to Jerusalem in the highest affliction for this loss, and the shame with which it was attended. He had even the mortification to see, that many people, instead of lamenting his misfortune, took a malignant joy in it. For from the quarrel of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees, they had always been the enemies of his house, and especially of this Alexander. And as they had drawn almost the whole people into their party, they had so strongly prejudiced and inflamed them against him, that all the disorders and commotions, with which his whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this source.

This loss, great as it was, did not prevent his going to seize Raphia and Anthedon, when he saw the coast of Gaza without defence, after the departure of Lathyrus. Those two posts, that were only a few miles from Gaza, kept it in a manner blocked up, which was what he proposed when he attacked them. He had never forgiven the inhabitants of Gaza for calling in Lathyrus against him, and giving him troops, which had contributed to his gaining the fatal battle of Jordan, and he earnestly sought all occasions to avenge himself upon them.

A. M.
3904.
Ant. J. C.
100.

As soon as his affairs would permit, he came with a numerous army to besiege their city. Apollodorus, the governor of it, defended the place a whole year with a valour and prudence that acquired him great reputation. His own brother Lyfimachus could not see his glory without envy; and that base passion induced him to assassinate the governor. That wretch afterwards associated with some others as bad as himself, and surrendered the city to Alexander. Upon his entrance, it was thought by his behaviour and the orders he gave, that he intended to use his victory with clemency and moderation. But as soon as he saw himself master of all the posts, and that there was nothing to oppose him, he gave his soldiers permission to kill, plunder, and destroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exercised upon that unfortunate city. The pleasure of revenge

A. M.
3906.
Ant. J. C.
93.

A. M.
3907.
Ant. J. C.
97.

cost him very dear. For the inhabitants of Gaza defended themselves like men in despair, and killed him almost as many of his people as they were themselves. But at length he satiated his brutal revenge, and reduced that ancient and famous city to an heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jerusalem. This war employed him a year.

A. M. 3909.
Ant. J. C. 95. Some time after the people affronted him in the most heinous manner (*d*). At the feast of the tabernacles, whilst he was in the temple, offering a solemn sacrifice, in quality of high-priest, upon the altar of burnt-offerings, they threw lemons at his head, calling him a thousand injurious names, and amongst the rest giving him that of *Slave*; a reproach which sufficiently argued, that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was an effect of what Eleazer had presumed to advance, That the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive. These indignities enraged Alexander to such a degree, that he attacked those insolent people in person, at the head of his guards, and killed to the number of six thousand of them. Seeing how much the Jews were distressed in regard to him, he was afraid to trust his person any longer to them, and used foreign troops for his guard, whom he caused to come from Pisidia and Cilicia. Of these he formed a body of six thousand men, that attended him every where.

A. M. 3910.
Ant. J. C. 94. When Alexander saw the storm which had rose against him a little appeased by the terror of the revenge he had taken for it, he turned his arms against the enemy abroad. After having obtained some advantages over them, he fell into an ambuscade, wherein he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped himself with great difficulty. At his return to Jerusalem, the Jews, incensed at this defeat, revolted against him. They flattered themselves, that they should find him so much weakened and dejected by his loss, that they should find no difficulty in completing his destruction, which they had so long desired.

fired. Alexander, who wanted neither application nor valour, and who besides had a more than common capacity, soon found troops to oppose them. A civil war ensued between him and his subjects, which continued six years, and occasioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were beaten and defeated upon many occasions.

Alexander, having taken a city wherein many of them had shut themselves up, carried eight hundred of them to Jerusalem, and caused them all to be crucified in one day: When they were fixed to the cross, he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their throats cut before their faces. During this cruel execution, the king regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they saw all that passed; and this sight was to him and them the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification! This civil war, during the six years that it lasted, had cost the lives of more than fifty thousand men on the side of the rebels.

A. M.
3918.
Ant. J. C.
86.

Alexander, after having put an end to it, undertook many other foreign expeditions with very great success. Upon his return to Jerusalem, he abandoned himself to intemperance and excess of wine, that brought a quartan ague upon him, of which he died at three years end, after having reigned twenty-seven.

A. M.
3925.
Ant. J. C.
79.

He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; but he decreed by his will, that Alexandra his wife should govern the kingdom during her life, and chuse which of her sons she thought fit to succeed her.

SECT. III. *Reign of ALEXANDRA, the wife of ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, which continued nine years. HYRCANUS her eldest son is high-priest during that time.*

ACCORDING to the advice of her husband, (a) Alexandra submitted herself and her children to the power of the Pharisees, declaring to them, that in doing so she only conformed to the last will of her husband.

A. M.
3926.
Ant. J. C.
78.

B 4

By

(a) Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24. & de bell. Jud. 1. 4.

By this step she gained so much upon them, that forgetting their hatred for the dead, though they carried it during his life as far as possible, they changed it on a sudden into a respect and veneration for his memory, and instead of the invectives and reproaches they had always abundantly vented against him, nothing was heard but praises and panegyrics, wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandized, and its power, honour and credit, much augmented. By this means they brought over the people so effectually, whom till then they had always irritated against him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence, than that of any of his predecessors; and Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed sovereign administratrix of the nation. We see from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the Pharisees, stood with them for every kind of merit, and made all failings, and even crimes, disappear as effectually as if they had never been; which is very common with those who are fond of ruling.

When that princess saw herself well established, she caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be received as high-priest: He was then near thirty years of age. According to her promise, she gave the administration of all important affairs to the Pharisees. The first thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the two last kings, had abolished all their traditional constitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. They persecuted with great cruelty, all those who had declared themselves their enemies in the preceding reigns, without the queen's being able to prevent them; because she had tied up her own hands, by putting herself into those of the Pharisees. She had seen in her husband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is attended. She was afraid of kindling a new one, and not knowing any other means to prevent it, than to give way to
 4 the

the violence of those revengeful and inexorable men, she believed it necessary to suffer a less, by way of precaution against a greater evil.

What we have said upon this head may contribute very much to our having a right sense of the state of the Jewish nation, and of the characters of those who governed it.

The Pharisees always continued (*b*) their persecutions against those who had opposed them under the late king. They made them accountable for all the cruelties and faults with which they thought proper to blacken his memory. They had already got rid of many of their enemies, and invented every day new articles of accusation to destroy those who gave them most umbrage amongst such as still survived.

The friends and partisans of the late king, seeing no end to these persecutions, and that their destruction was sworn, assembled at last, and came in a body to wait on the queen, with Aristobulus, her second son, at their head. They represented to her the services they had done the late king; their fidelity and attachment to him in all his wars, and in all the difficulties with which he had been involved during the troubles. That it was very hard at present, under her government, that every thing they had done for him should be made criminal, and to see themselves sacrificed to the implacable hatred of their enemies, solely for their adherence to herself and her family. They implored her either to put a stop to such sort of enquiries, or if that was not in her power, to permit them to retire out of the country, in order to their seeking an asylum elsewhere: At least they begged her to put them into garrisoned places, where they might find some security against the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was possible to be with the condition she saw them in, and the injustice done them. But it was out of her power to do for them all she desired; for she had given herself

masters,

(*b*) Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 24. & de bell. Jud. 1. 4.

A. M.
3931.
Ant. J. C.
73.

masters, by engaging to act in nothing without the consent of the Pharisees. How dangerous is it to invest such people with too much authority ! They exclaimed, that it would be putting a stop to the course of justice, to suspend the enquiries after the culpable; that such a proceeding was what no government ought to suffer, and that therefore they never would come into it. On the other side, the queen believed, that she ought not to give her consent, that the real and faithful friends of her family should abandon their country in such a manner; because she would then lie at the mercy of a turbulent faction without any support, and would have no resource in case of necessity. She resolved therefore upon the third point they had proposed to her, and dispersed them into the places where she had garrisons. She found two advantages in that conduct; the first was, that their enemies dared not attack them in those fortresses, where they would have their arms in their hands; and the second, that they would always be a body of reserve, upon which she could rely upon occasion in case of any rupture.

A. M.
3934.
Ant. J. C.
70.

Some years after, queen Alexandra fell sick of a very dangerous distemper, which brought her to the point of death. As soon as Aristobulus, her youngest son, saw that she could not recover, as he had long formed the design of seizing the crown at her death, he stole out of Jerusalem in the night, with only one domestick, and went to the places, in which, according to a plan he had given them, the friends of his father had been placed in garrison. He was received in them with open arms, and in fifteen days time twenty-two of those towns and castles declared for him, which put him in possession of almost all the forces of the state. The people, as well as the army, were entirely inclined to declare for him, weary of the cruel administration of the Pharisees, who had governed without controul under Alexandra, and were become insupportable to all the world. They came therefore in crowds from all sides to follow the standards

standards of Aristobulus; in hopes that he would abolish the tyranny of the Pharisees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind submission to that sect: Besides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity necessary to so vigorous a design; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean genius.

When the Pharisees saw that Aristobulus's party augmented considerably, they went with Hyrcanus at their head to represent to the dying queen what had passed, and to demand her orders and assistance. She answered, that she was no longer in a condition to intermeddle in such affairs, and that she left the care of them to the Pharisees. However, she appointed Hyrcanus her heir general, and expired soon after.

As soon as she was dead, he took possession of the throne, and the Pharisees used all their endeavours to support him upon it. When Aristobulus quitted Jerusalem, they caused his wife and children, whom he had left behind him, to be shut up in the castle of * Baris, as hostages against himself. But seeing this did not stop him, they raised an army. Aristobulus did the same. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by most part of his troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the castle of Baris: His partisans took refuge in the temple. Some time after they also submitted to Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

SECT. IV. *Reign of ARISTOBULUS II. which continued six years.*

IT was agreed by the accommodation (a), that A. M.
Aristobulus should have the crown and high-^{3935.}
priesthood, and that Hyrcanus should resign both to Ant. J. C.
him, ^{69.}

(a) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2---8. & de bell. Jud. 1---5.

* Baris was a castle situate upon an high rock without the works of the temple, which were upon the same rock.

him, and content himself with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortunes. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this; for he loved quiet and ease above all things, and quitted the government, after having possessed it three months. The tyranny of the Pharisees ended with his reign, after having greatly distressed the Jewish nation from the death of Alexander Jannæus.

The troubles of the state were not so soon appeased, to which the ambition of Antipas, better known under the name of Antipater, father of Herod, gave birth. He was by extraction an Idumæan, and a Jew by religion, as were all the Idumæans, from the time Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaism. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained the ascendant of Hyrcanus their eldest son, with the hope of raising himself by his favour, when he should succeed to the crown (b). But when he saw all his measures broke by the deposition of Hyrcanus, and the coronation of Aristobulus, from whom he had nothing to expect, he employed his whole address and application to replace Hyrcanus upon the throne.

A. M.
3939.
Ant. J. C.
65.

The latter, by his secret negotiations, had at first applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Patrea, for aid to reinstate himself. After various events, which I pass over to avoid prolixity, he had recourse to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates, was arrived in Syria (c). He there took cognizance of the competition between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who repaired thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither also, to demand that they should be freed from the government of both the one and the other. They represented, that they ought not to be ruled by kings: That they had long been accustomed to obey only the high-priest, who, without any other title, administered

(b) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2---8. & de bell. Jud. 1---5.
xiv. 5. Id. de bell. Jud. 1---5.

(c) Id.

stered justice according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them from their forefathers: That the two brothers were indeed of the sacerdotal line; but that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enslave them if not remedied.

Hyrcanus complained, that Aristobulus had unjustly deprived him of his birth-right, by usurping every thing, and leaving him only a small estate for his subsistence. He accused him also of practising piracy at sea, and of plundering his neighbours by land. And to confirm what he alledged against him, he produced almost a thousand Jews, the principals of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expressly, to support by their testimony what that prince had to say against his brother.

Aristobulus replied to this, That Hyrcanus had been deposed only for his incapacity; that his sloth and indolence rendered him entirely incapable of the publick affairs; that the people despised him; and that he, Aristobulus, had been obliged to take the reins of the government into his own hands, to prevent them from falling into those of strangers. In fine, that he bore no other title than his father Alexander had done before him. And in proof of what he advanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all possible splendor and magnificence. Their superb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanor, did no great service to his cause.

Pompey heard enough to discern, that the conduct of Aristobulus was violent and unjust, but would not however pronounce immediately upon it, lest Aristobulus, out of resentment, should oppose his designs against Arabia, which he had much at heart; he therefore dismissed the two brothers respectfully, and told them, that at his return from reducing Aretas and his Arabians, he should pass through Judæa, and that he would then regulate their affair, and make the necessary dispositions in all things.

Aristobulus,

Aristobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's sentiments, set out suddenly from Damascus, without paying him the least instance of respect, returned into Judæa, armed his subjects, and prepared for a good defence. By this conduct, he made Pompey his mortal enemy.

Pompey applied himself also in making preparations for the Arabian war. Aretas, till then, had despised the Roman arms; but when he saw them at his door, and that victorious army ready to enter his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions. Pompey, however, advanced as far as Petra his capital, which he took. Aretas was taken in it. Pompey at first kept him under a guard, but at length he was released upon accepting the conditions imposed on him by the victor, who soon after returned to Damascus.

He was not apprized till then of Aristobulus's proceedings in Judæa. He marched thither with his army, and found Aristobulus posted in the castle of Alexandrion, which stood upon a high mountain at the entrance of the country. The place was extremely strong, built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey sent to bid him come down to him. Aristobulus was not much inclined to comply, but he at last gave into the opinion of those about him, who apprehending a war with the Romans, advised him to go. He did so, and after a conversation which turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his castle. He repeated the same two or three times, in hopes by that complacency to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to decide in his favour. But for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garrisons into his strong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defence, in case Pompey should decree against him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the last time he came to him, obliged him to put them all into his hands, by way of sequestration, and made him sign orders for that purpose to all the commanders of those places.

Aristobulus, incensed at the violence which had been done him, as soon as he was released, made all haste to Jerusalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His resolutions to keep the crown, made him the sport of the different passions, hope and fear. When he saw the least appearance that Pompey would decide in his favour, he made use of all the arts of complacency to incline him to it. When, on the contrary, he had the least reason to suspect, that he would declare against him, he observed a directly opposite conduct. Such was the contrariety visible in the different steps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him close. The first place where he encamped in his way to Jerusalem, was Jericho; there he received the news of Mithridates's death, as we shall see in the following book.

He continued his march towards Jerusalem. When he approached, Aristobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promising an entire submission, and a great sum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and sent Gabinius, at the head of a detachment, to receive the money; but when that lieutenant-general arrived at Jerusalem, he found the gates shut against him, and, instead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not stand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they should deceive him with impunity, ordered Aristobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army against Jerusalem. The city was extremely strong by its situation, and the works which had been made; and had it not been divided within doors against itself, was capable of making a long defence.

Aristobulus's party was for defending the place; especially when they saw that Pompey kept their king prisoner. But the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general. And as the latter were much the greater number, the other party

party retired to the mountain where the temple stood, to defend it, and caused the bridges of the ditch and valley, which surrounded it, to be broke down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, resolved to besiege the temple. The place held out three months entire, and would have done so three more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon their enterprize, but for the superstitious rigour with which the besieged observed the sabbath. They believed, indeed, that they might defend themselves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themselves. The Romans knew how to take the advantage of this inaction upon the sabbath-days. They did not attack the Jews upon them, but filled up the fosses, made their approaches, and fixed their engines without opposition. They threw down at length a great tower, with which so great a part of the wall fell, that the breach was large enough for an assault. The place was carried sword in hand, and a terrible slaughter ensued, in which more than twelve persons were killed.

During the whole tumult, cries, and disorder of this slaughter, history observes that the priests, who were at that time employed in divine service, continued it with a surprizing unconcern, notwithstanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to see their friends and relations massacred before their eyes. Many of them saw their own blood mingle with that of the sacrifices they offered, and the sword of the enemy make themselves the victims of their duty: Happy, and worthy of being envied, if they were as faithful to the spirit, as the letter of it!

Pompey, with many of his superior officers, entered the temple, and not only into the sanctuary, but into the Sanctum Sanctorum, into which, by the law, only the high-priest was permitted to enter once a year, upon the solemn day of expiation. This was what afflicted and enraged the Jews most against the Romans.

Pompey

Pompey did not touch the treasures of the temple, that consisted principally in sums which had been deposited there by private families for their better security. Those sums amounted to two thousand * talents in specie, without reckoning the gold and silver vessels, which were innumerable, and of infinite value. † It was not, says Cicero, out of respect for the majesty of the God adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner; for, according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewish religion, more unworthy the wisdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more opposite to the institutions of their ancestors. Pompey in this noble disinterestedness had no other motive, than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the most learned of the Pagans upon the only religion of the true God. They blasphemed what they knew nothing of.

It hath been observed, that till then Pompey had been successful in all things, but that after this sacrilegious curiosity, his good-fortune abandoned him, and that his taking the temple of Jerusalem was his last victory.

SECT. V. *Reign of HYRCANUS II. which continued twenty-four years.*

POMPEY having put an end to the war, caused the walls of Jerusalem to be demolished, re-established Hyrcanus, and sent Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome. He dismembered several cities from the kingdom of Judæa, which he united with the government of Syria, imposed a tribute upon Hyrcanus, and left the administration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the

A. M.
3941.
Ant. J. C.
63.

VOL. VII.

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court

* Three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

† Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit. In primis hoc, ut multa alia, sapientur, quod in tam suspiciosa ac maledica civitate locum sermoni obtrudatorum non reli-

quit. Non enim credo religionem & Judæorum & hostium impedimento præstantissimo imperatori, sed pudorem fuisse—istorum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis vestri, majorum institutis abhorrebat. Cic. *pro Flac.* n. 67—69.

court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal ministers. Alexander made his escape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judæa, where he afterwards excited new troubles.

A. M. Hyrcanus finding himself too weak to take the field
 3947. against him, had recourse to the arms of the Romans.
 Ant. J. C. Gabinius, governor of Syria, after having over-
 57. thrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jerusalem, and re-instated Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood (*a*). He made great alterations in the civil government, for from monarchical, as it had been, he changed it into aristocratical; but those innovations were but of short duration.

A. M. Crassus upon his march against the Parthians, always
 3950. intent upon gratifying his insatiable avarice, stopt at
 Ant. J. C. Jerusalem, where he had been told great treasures were
 54. laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the sum of ten thousand talents, that is to say, about fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling.

A. M. Cæsar (*b*), after his expedition into Egypt, being
 3957. arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his escape
 Ant. J. C. from Rome with his father Aristobulus, came to throw
 47. himself at his feet, begged him to re-establish him upon the throne of his father, who was lately dead, and made great complaints against Antipater and Hyrcanus. Cæsar had too great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their interests; for, as we shall see in the sequel, without the aid he had received from them, his expedition into Egypt would have miscarried. He decreed that Hyrcanus should retain the dignity of high-priest of Jerusalem, and the sovereignty of Judæa, to himself and his posterity after him for ever, and gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judæa under Hyrcanus. By this decree, the aristocracy of Gabinius was abolished, and the government of Judæa re-established upon the ancient foot.

(*a*) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. Id. de bell. Jud. 1. 6. (*b*) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 15. de bell. Jud. 1. 8.

Antipater caused the (c) government of Jerusalem to be given to Phasaël his eldest son, and that of Galilee to Herod his second son.

Cæsar (d), at Hyrcanus's request, and in consideration of the services he had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had caused to be demolished. Antipater, without losing time, began the work, and the city was soon fortified as it had been before the demolition. Cæsar was killed this year.

A. M.
3960.
Ant. J. C.
44.

During the civil wars, Judæa, as well as all the other provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by violent troubles.

Pacorus, (e) son of Orodes king of Parthia, had entered Syria with a powerful army. From thence he sent a detachment into Judæa, with orders to place Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, upon the throne, who on his side had also raised troops. Hyrcanus, and Phasaël, Herod's brother, upon the proposal of an accommodation, had the imprudence to go to the enemy, who seized them, and put them in irons. Herod escaped from Jerusalem the moment before the Parthians entered it to seize him also.

A. M.
3961.
Ant. J. C.
43.

Having missed Herod, they plundered the city and country, placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasaël in chains into his hands. Phasaël, who well knew that his death was resolved, dashed out his brains against the wall, to avoid the hands of the executioner. As for Hyrcanus, his life was granted him; but to render him incapable of the priesthood, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off: For according to the Levitical law (f), it was requisite that the high-priest should be perfect in all his members. After having thus mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians, that they might carry him into the East, from whence it would not be possible for him to embroil affairs in Judæa. (g) He continued a prisoner

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(c) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. de bell. Jud. 1. 8. (d) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. (e) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 24, 26. Id. de bell. Jud. 3. 37. (f) Levit. xxi. 16-24. (g) Joseph. Antiq. xv. 2.

ner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the coming of Phraates to the crown, who caused his chains to be taken off, and gave him entire liberty to see and converse with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high-priest, and raised him a revenue sufficient to support his rank with splendor. The love of his native country made him forget all those advantages. He returned the year following to Jerusalem, whither Herod had invited him to come, but put him to death some years afterwards.

Herod at first took refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Anthony was then in the high degree of power, which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected. For instead of what he proposed, which was at most to obtain the crown for * Aristobulus, whose sister Mariamne he had lately married, with the view only of governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus; Anthony caused the crown to be conferred upon himself, contrary to the usual maxim of the Romans in like cases. For it was not their custom to violate the rights of the royal houses, which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give crowns to strangers. Herod was declared king of Judæa by the senate, and conducted by the consuls to the Capitol, where he received the investiture of the crown, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

Herod passed only seven days at Rome in negotiating this great affair, and returned speedily into Judæa. He employed no more time than three months in his journeys by sea and land.

* *Aristobulus was the son of Alexandra, Hyrcanus's daughter; and his father was Alexander, son of Aristobulus, brother of Hyrcania; so that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his person.*

SECT. VI. *Reign of ANTIGONUS, of only two years duration.*

IT was not easy for Herod to establish himself in the possession of the kingdom of Judæa, as it had been to obtain his title from the Romans. Antigonus was not at all inclined to resign a throne, which had cost him so much pains and money to acquire. He disputed it with him very vigorously for almost two years.

A. M.
3965.
Ant. J. C.
39.

Herod, (a) who during the winter had made great preparations for the following campaign, opened it at length with the siege of Jerusalem, which he invested at the head of a fine and numerous army. Anthony had given orders to Sosius, governor of Syria, to use his utmost endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod into full possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

A. M.
3966.
Ant. J. C.
38.

Whilst the works necessary to the siege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length consummated his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted four years to each other: But the unforeseen troubles, into which he fell, had prevented their consummating the marriage till then. She was the daughter of Alexander, the son of king Aristobulus, and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus the second, and thereby grand-daughter to those two brothers. She was a princess of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and possessed in an eminent degree all the other qualities that adorn the sex. The attachment of the Jews to the Asmonæan family, made Herod imagine, that by espousing her, he should find no difficulty in gaining their affection, which was one of his reasons for consummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jerusalem, Sosius and he, having joined their forces, pressed the siege in concert with the utmost vigour, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at least sixty thousand men. The place however held out against them many months with exceeding resolution, and if the besieged had been as

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expert

(a) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Id. de bell. Jud. i. 13.

expert in the art of war and the defence of places, as they were brave and resolute, it would not perhaps have been taken. But the Romans, who were much better skilled in those things than them, carried the place at length, after a siege of something more than six months.

A. M.
3967.
Ant. J. C.
37.

The Jews being driven from their posts, the enemy entered on all sides, and made themselves masters of the city. And to revenge the obstinate resistance they had made, and the pains they had suffered during so long and difficult a siege, they filled all quarters of Jerusalem with blood and slaughter, plundered and destroyed all before them, though Herod did his utmost to prevent both the one and the other.

Antigonus seeing all lost, came and threw himself at the feet of Sosius in the most submissive and most abject manner. He was put in chains, and sent to Anthony, as soon as he arrived at Antioch. He designed at first to have reserved him for triumph; but Herod, who did not think himself safe as long as that branch of the royal family survived, would not let him rest till he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large sum of money (*b*). He was proceeded against in form, condemned to die, and had the sentence executed upon him in the same manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was fastened to a stake; a treatment with which the Romans had never used any crowned head before.

Thus ended the reign of the Asmonæans, after a duration of an hundred and twenty-nine years, from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabæus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

This singular, extraordinary, and, till then, unexampled event, by which the sovereign authority over the Jews was given to a stranger, an Idumæan, ought to have opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to

(*b*) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Plut. in Anton. p. 932. Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 405.

to a celebrated prophecy, which had foretold it in clear terms; had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was interested, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and distinguished them by a peculiar characteristick from all the other nations of the world, that had an equal interest in it, but without knowing or being apprized of it. This was the prophecy of Jacob, who at his death foretold to his twelve sons, assembled round his bed, what would happen in the series of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, and after whom they were called. Amongst the other predictions of that patriarch concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now speak: *The (c) scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.* The scepter or rod (for the Hebrew signifies both) implies here the authority and superiority over the other tribes.

All the ancient Jews have explained this prediction to denote the Messiah; the fact is therefore incontestable, and is reduced to two essential points. The first is, that as long as the tribe of Judah shall subsist, it shall have pre-eminence and authority over the other tribes: The second, that it shall subsist, and form a body of a republick, governed by its laws and magistrates, till the Messiah comes.

The first point is verified in the series of the history of the Israelites, wherein that pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah appears evidently. This is not the proper place for proofs of this kind; those who would be more fully informed, may consult the explanation of Genesis lately published *.

For the second point, we have only to consider it with the least attention. When Herod the Idumæan, and in consequence stranger, was placed upon the throne, the authority and superiority, which the tribe of Judah had over the other tribes, were first taken

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from

(c) Gen. xlix. 10.

* By F. Babuty Rue St. Jaques.

from it. The tribe of Judah had no longer the supremacy, it was no longer a body subsisting, from which the magistrates were taken. It was manifest, therefore, that the Messiah was come. But at what time did that tribe become like the rest, and was confounded with them? In the time of Titus Vespasian, and Adrian, who finally exterminated the remains of Judah. It was therefore before those times the Messiah came.

How wonderful does God appear in the accomplishment of his prophecies! Would it be making a right use of history, not to dwell a few moments upon facts like this, when we meet them in the course of our matter? Herod, reduced to quit Jerusalem, takes refuge at Rome. He has no thoughts of demanding the sovereignty for himself, but for another. It was the grossest injustice to give it to a stranger, whilst there were princes of the royal family in being. But it had been decreed from all eternity, that Herod should be king of the Jews. Heaven and earth should sooner pass away, than that decree of God not be fulfilled. Anthony was at Rome, and in possession of sovereign power, when Herod arrives there. How many events were necessary to the conducting of things to this point! But is there any thing difficult to the Almighty?

ARTICLE II.

Abridgment of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of CRASSUS, which is related at large.

THE Parthian empire was one of the most powerful and most considerable that ever was in the East. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itself by little and little over all Asia major, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is generally allowed to be four hundred threescore and fourteen years; of which two hundred and fifty-four years were before Jesus Christ, and two hundred and twenty after him. Arsaces was the founder of that empire,

empire, from whom all his successors were called Arsacides. Artaxerxes, by birth a Persian, having overcome and slain Artabanus, the last of those kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Persians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the son of Mammæus. I shall only speak here of the affairs of the Parthians before Jesus Christ, and shall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Crassus, which I shall relate in all its extent.

I have observed elsewhere what gave (a) Arsaces I. occasion to make Parthia revolt, and to expel the Macedonians, who had been in possession of it from the death of Alexander the Great, and in what manner he had caused himself to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus at the same time made Bactria revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, surnamed *Theos*.

A. M.

3754.
Ant. J. C.
250.

Some time after Seleucus Callinicus (b), who succeeded Antiochus, endeavoured in vain to subdue the Parthians. He fell into their hands himself, and was made prisoner: This happened in the reign of Tiridates, called otherwise Arsaces II. brother of the first.

A. M.

3768.
Ant. J. C.
236.

Antiochus, surnamed the Great (c), was more successful than his predecessor. He marched into the East, and repossessed himself of Media, which the Parthians had taken from him. He also entered Parthia, and obliged the * king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned soon after with an army of an hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. As the war was of a tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arsaces, by which he left him Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist him in reconquering the revolted provinces. Antiochus marched afterwards against Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was also obliged to come to an accommodation.

A. M.

3792.
Ant. J. C.
212.

A. M.

3793.
Ant. J. C.
206.

PRIAPATIUS, the son of Arsaces II. succeeded his father,

(a) Vol. V.

(b) Vol. V.

(c) Vol. V.

* The Abbe Longueue, in his Latin Dissertation upon the Arsacides, ascribes what is here said to Artabanus, whom he places between Arsaces II. and Priapatus. Justin says nothing of them.

father, and after having reigned fifteen years, left the crown at his death to PHRAATES I. his eldest son.

A. M. 3840.
Ant. J. C. 164. Phraates left it to MITHRIDATES, whom he preferred before his own issue, upon account of his extraordinary merit, and who was in effect one of the greatest kings the Parthians ever had. He carried his arms farther than Alexander the Great. It was he who made Demetrius Nicator prisoner.

A. M. 3873.
Ant. J. C. 131. (d) PHRAATES II. succeeded Mithridates his father. Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched against him at the head of a powerful army, under pretext of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had been long kept in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himself overthrown, and killed in the last, and his army entirely cut to pieces. Phraates, in his turn, at the time he had formed the design of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and lost his life in a battle.

A. M. 3875.
Ant. J. C. 129. ARTABANUS his uncle reigned in his stead, and died soon after. His successor was MITHRIDATES II. of whom Justin says (e), that his great actions acquired him the surname of *Great*.

He declared war against the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace, which he made with them, he obliged their king to send him his son Tigranes as an hostage.

A. M. 3909. The latter was afterwards set upon the throne of Armenia by the Parthians themselves, and joined with Mithridates, king of Pontus, in the war against the Romans.

A. M. 3912. Antiochus Eusebes took refuge with Mithridates, who re-established him in the possession of part of the kingdom of Syria two years after.

A. M. 3914.
Ant. J. C. 90. It was the same Mithridates, as we shall see hereafter, who sent Orobazus to Sylla, to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, and who caused him to be put to death on his return, for having given place to Sylla.

A. M. 3915.
Ant. J. C. 89. Demetrius Eucerus (f), who reigned at Damascus, besieging

(d) Justin. l. xviii. c. 3. (e) Ibid. p. 115. (f) Joseph. Ant. xiii. 22.

besieging Philip his brother in the city of Bærea, was defeated and taken by the Parthian troops sent to the aid of Philip, and carried prisoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all the honours possible. He died there of disease.

Mithridates II. died (g), after having reigned forty years, generally regretted by his subjects. The domestic troubles, with which his death was followed, considerably weakened the Parthian empire, and made his loss still more sensible. Tigranes re-entered upon all the provinces he had given up to the Parthians, and took several others from them. He passed the Euphrates, and made himself master of Syria and Phœnicia.

A. M.
3915.
Ant. J. C.
89.

During these troubles, the Parthians elected MNASKIRES, and after him SINATROCCES, kings, of whom almost nothing more is known than their names.

PHRAATES, the son of the latter, was he, who caused himself to be surnamed THE GOD.

A. M.
3935.
Ant. J. C.
69.

He sent ambassadors to Lucullus, after the great victory the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the same time secret intelligence with the latter. It was at that time Mithridates wrote him the letter, which Sallust has preserved.

Pompey having been appointed, in the place of Lucullus, to terminate the war against Mithridates, engaged Phraates in the party of the Romans.

A. M.
3938.
Ant. J. C.
66.

The latter joins Tigranes the younger against his father, and breaks with Pompey.

After Pompey's return to Rome, Phraates is killed by his own children. MITHRIDATES his eldest son takes his place.

A. M.
3948.
Ant. J. C.
56.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, dies almost at the same time. Artavaskes his son succeeds him.

Mithridates (h), expelled his kingdom either by his own subjects, to whom he had rendered himself odious, or by the ambition of his brother Orodes, applies to Gabinius, who commanded in Syria, to re-establish

(g) Strab. l. xi. p. 532. Plut. in Lucul. p. 500, &c. l. xlii. c. 4.

(h) Justin.

establish him, upon the throne; but without effect.

A. M. He takes up arms in his own defence. Besieged in
 3949·
 Ant. J. C. Babylon, and warmly pressed, he surrenders to Orodes,
 55· who considering him only as an enemy, and not a brother, causes him to be put to death; by which means ORODES becomes peaceable possessor of the throne.

A. M. But he found enough to employ him abroad (i),
 3950·
 Ant. J. C. that he had no reason to expect. Crassus had lately
 54· been created consul at Rome, with Pompey for the second time. On the partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Crassus, who was exceedingly rejoiced upon that account; because it favoured the design he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia. When he was in company, even with people he scarce knew, he could not moderate his transports. Amongst his friends, with whom he was under less restraint, he ran even into rhodomontades unworthy of his age and character, and seemed to forget himself in a strange manner. He did not confine his views to the government of Syria, nor to the conquest of some neighbouring provinces, nor even to that of Parthia: He flattered himself with doing such things, as should make the great exploits of Lucullus against Tigranes, and those of Pompey against Mithridates, appear like the feats of infants in comparison with his. He had already over-ran in thought Bactria and the Indias, and penetrated as far as the remotest seas, and the extremities of the East. However, in the instructions and powers which were given him, Parthia was in no manner included: But all the world knew his design against it was his darling passion. Such a beginning forebodes no success.

His departure had besides something more inauspicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppose his going; and was joined by many people, who could not suffer him to set out with gaiety of heart, to carry a war against a people who had done the Romans no injury, and were their friends and allies. That tribune, in consequence, having in vain opposed the

(i) Plut. in Crass. p. 552, 554.

the departure of Crassus, made haste to the gate of the city through which he was to pass, and set a cauldron full of fire before him. When Crassus came to the place, he threw perfumes, and poured libations into the pan, uttering over them the most terrible imprecations, which could not be heard without making all present tremble with horror, and of which the misfortunes of Crassus have been regarded by many writers as the accomplishment.

Nothing could stop him. Superior to all opposition, he continued his march, arrived at Brundisium, and though the sea was very tempestuous, embarked, and lost abundance of ships in his passage. When he arrived at Galatia, he had an interview with king Dejotarus, who, though of a very advanced age, was at that time employed in building a new city. Upon which Crassus rallied him to this effect, *King of the Galatians, you begin full late to build a city at the * twelfth hour of the day.* And you, Lord Crassus, replied Dejotarus, *are not too early in setting out to make war against the Parthians.* For Crassus was at that time upwards of sixty years old, and his countenance made him still look older than he was.

He had been informed, (k) that there were considerable treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it worth his trouble to go a little out of his way to make himself master of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Besides the other riches, which amounted to very considerable sums, in it there was a beam of gold, inclosed and concealed in another of wood made hollow for that use: This was known only by Eleazar the priest, who kept the treasures of the sanctuary. This beam of gold weighed three hundred minæ, each of which weighed two pounds and a half. Eleazar, who was apprized of the motive of Crassus's march to Jerusalem, to save the other riches, which were almost all of them deposited in the temple
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(k) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

* The twelfth hour was the end of the day.

by private persons, discovered the golden beam to Crassus, and suffered him to take it away, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the rest. Was he so ignorant to imagine any thing sacred with avarice? Crassus took the beam of gold, and notwithstanding made the rest of the treasures his plunder, which amounted to about fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling. He then continued his rout.

Every thing succeeded at first as happily as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates without any opposition, passed it with his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war, than the insatiable desire of enriching himself by the plunder of a country which was supposed to be extremely opulent. The Romans under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace and several treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infraction or enterprize to give a just pretext for a war. So that the Parthians expected nothing less than such an invasion, and not being upon their guard, had made no preparations for their defence. Crassus in consequence was master of the field, and over-ran without opposition the greatest part of Mesopotamia. He took also several cities with no resistance, and had he known how to take advantage of the occasion, it had been easy for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Ctesiphon, to have seized them, and made himself master of all Babylonia, as he had done of Mesopotamia. But instead of pursuing his point, in the beginning of autumn, after having left seven thousand foot and a thousand horse to secure the cities which had surrendered to him, he repassed the Euphrates, and puts his troops into winter-quarters in the cities of Syria, where his sole employment was to amass money, and to plunder temples.

He was joined there by his son, whom Cæsar sent to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with several of the military crowns, given by the general to such as distinguished themselves by their valour.

valour. He brought with him a thousand chosen horse.

Of all the faults committed by Crassus in this expedition, which were very considerable, the greatest undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war, was his hasty return into Syria. For he ought to have gone on without staying, and to have seized Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, instead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cause of his ruin.

Whilst he was re-assembling all his troops from their winter-quarters, ambassadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commissions in few words. They told him, that if that army was sent by the Romans against the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a conclusion by the final ruin of the one or the other empire. That if, as they had been informed, it was only Crassus, who, against the opinion of his country, and to satiate his private avarice, had taken arms against them, and entered one of their provinces, the king their master was well disposed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity of the age of Crassus, and to suffer the Romans in his dominions, rather shut up than keeping possession of cities, to depart with their lives and rings safe. They spoke no doubt of the garrisons left by Crassus in the conquered places. Crassus answered this discourse only with a rhodomontade. He told them, *They should have his answer in the city of Seleucia.* Upon which the most ancient of the ambassadors, named Vahises, made answer, laughing, and shewing him the palm of his hand; *Crassus, you will sooner see hair grow in the palm of my hand, than Seleucia.* The ambassadors retired, and went to give their king notice, that he must prepare for war.

As soon as the season would permit (*l*), Crassus took the field. The Parthians had time, during the winter, to assemble a very great army, to make head against him.

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him. Orodes their king divided his troops, and marched in person with one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia : He sent the other into Mesopotamia, under the command of Surena. That general, upon his arrival there, retook several of the places Crassus had made himself master of the year before.

About the same time some Roman soldiers, who with exceeding difficulty had escaped out of the cities of Mesopotamia, where they had been in garrison, of which the Parthians had already retaken some, and were besieging the rest, came to Crassus, and related things to him highly capable of disquieting and alarming him. They told him, that they had seen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and that they had also been witnesses of their terrible valour in the bloody attacks of the cities they besieged. They added, that they were troops not to be escaped when they pursued, nor overtaken when they fled ; that their arrows, of a weight, and at the same time of an astonishing rapidity, were always attended with mortal wounds, against which it was impossible to defend.

This discourse infinitely abated the courage and boldness of the Roman soldiers ; who imagined, that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians, that Lucullus had so easily overthrown ; and flattered themselves, that the whole difficulty of the war would consist in the length of the way, and the pursuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now saw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to experience great battles and great dangers. This discouragement rose so high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion, that it was necessary for Crassus, before he advanced farther, to assemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterprize. But Crassus listened to no other advice, but of those who pressed him to begin his march, and to make all possible expedition.

What encouraged him the most, and confirmed him in that resolution, was the arrival of Artabasus, king of
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of Armenia. He brought with him a body of six thousand horse, which were part of his guards; adding, that besides these, he had ten thousand cuirassiers, and thirty thousand foot at his service. But he advised him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of Mesopotamia, and told him, that he must enter the enemy's country by the way of Armenia; the reasons with which he supported this advice, were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian horse, in which the greatest strength of their army consisted, would be rendered entirely useless to them: That if they took this rout, he should be in a condition to supply the army with all necessaries; instead of which, if he marched by the way of Mesopotamia, convoys would be deficient, and he would have a powerful army in his front, on all the marches it would be necessary for him to take, before he could penetrate to the center of the enemy's dominions; that in those plains, the horse would have all possible advantages against him; and, lastly, that he must cross several sandy deserts, where the troops might be in great distress for want of water and provisions. The counsel was excellent, and the reasons unanswerable: But Crassus, blinded by Providence, which intended to punish the sacrilege he had committed in plundering the temple of Jerusalem, despised all that was said to him. He only desired Artabafus, who returned into his dominions, to bring him his troops as soon as possible.

I have said, that Providence blinded Crassus, which is self-evident in a great measure. But a Pagan writer makes the same remark upon it; this is Dion Cassius, a very judicious historian, and at the same time a warrior. He says, that the Romans under Crassus "had
 " no salutary view, and were either ignorant upon all
 " occasions of what was necessary to be done, or in
 " no condition to execute it; so that one would have
 " thought, that, condemned and pursued by some
 " divinity, they could neither make use of their bodies
 " nor minds." That Divinity was unknown to Dion.

It was He whom the Jewith nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Crassus made haste therefore to set forward. He had seven legions of foot, near four thousand horse, and as many light-armed soldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than forty thousand men, that is to say, one of the finest armies the Romans ever set on foot. When his troops passed the bridge he had laid over the river Euphrates, near the city of Zeugma, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning drove in the face of the soldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the same time a black cloud, out of which burst an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder-claps and lightning, fell upon the bridge, and broke down a part of it. The troops were seized with fear and sadness. He endeavoured to re-animate them in the best manner he was able, promising them with an oath, that they should march back by the way of Armenia; and concluding his discourse with assuring them, that not one of them should return that way. Those last words, which were ambiguous, and had escaped him very imprudently, threw the whole army into the greatest trouble and dismay. Crassus well knew the bad effect they had produced; but out of a spirit of obstinacy and haughtiness, he neglected to remedy it, by explaining the sense of those words, to re-assure the timorous.

He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His scouts, whom he had sent out for intelligence, returned, and reported, that there was not a single man to be seen in the country, but that they had found the marks of abundance of horse, which seemed to have fled suddenly, as if they had been pursued.

Upon this advice, Crassus confirmed himself in his hopes, and his soldiers began to despise the Parthians, as men that would never have courage to stand a charge, and come to blows with them. Cassius advised him at least to approach some town, where they had a garrison, in order to rest the army a little, and have time to learn the true number of the enemies, their force,

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and what designs they had in view; or if Crassus did not approve that counsel, to march along the Euphrates towards Seleucia; because, by always keeping upon the coast of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthians to surround him; and that, with the fleet which might follow him, provisions might be always brought from Syria, and all other things of which the army might stand in need. This Cassius was Crassus's questor, and the same who afterwards killed Cæsar.

Crassus, after having considered this advice, was upon the point of coming into it, when a chief of the Arabians, named Ariamnes, came in unexpectedly, and had the address to make him approve a quite different plan. That Arab had formerly served under Pompey, and was known by many of the Roman soldiers, who looked upon him as a friend. Surena found him entirely qualified to play the part he gave him. Accordingly, when he was conducted to Crassus, he informed him, that the Parthians would not look the Roman army in the face; that its name alone had already spread an universal terror among their troops, and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered to be their guide himself, and to carry them the shortest way. Crassus, blinded by his flattery, and deceived by a man who knew how to give a specious turn to what he proposed, gave entirely into the snare, notwithstanding the pressing instances of Cassius, and some others, who suspected that impostor's design.

Crassus would hearken to nobody. The traitor Ariamnes, after having persuaded him to draw off from the banks of the Euphrates, conducted him across the plain by a way at first level and easy, but which at length became difficult from the deep sands, on which the army found itself engaged in the midst of a vast country all bare, and of a frightful driness, where the eye could discover neither end or boundary, nor the troops hope to find rest and refreshment. If thirst,

and the fatigue of the way, discouraged the Romans, the prospect of the country alone threw them into a despair still more terrible: For they could perceive neither near them, nor at a distance, the least tree, plant, or brook; not so much as an hill, nor a single blade of grass; nothing was to be seen all round but heaps of burning sand.

This gave just reason to suspect some treachery, of which the arrival of couriers from Artabafus ought to have fully convinced them. That prince informed Crassus, that king Orodes had invaded his dominions with a great army; that the war he had to support, prevented him from sending the aid he had promised; but that he advised him to approach Armenia, in order to their uniting their forces against the common enemy: That, if he would not follow that advice, he cautioned him at least to avoid, in his marches and encampments, the open plains, and such places as were commodious for the horse, and to keep always close to the mountains. Crassus, instead of giving ear to these wise counsels, flew out against them that gave them; and without vouchsafing to write an answer to Artabafus, he only told his couriers, “I have not time at present to consider the affairs of Armenia: I shall go thither soon, and shall then punish Artabafus for his treachery.”

Crassus was so full of his Arab, and so blinded by his artful suggestions, that he had continued to follow him without the least distrust, notwithstanding all the advice that was given him, till he had brought him a great way into the sandy desert we have mentioned. The traitor then made his escape, and gave Surena an account of what he had done.

After a march of some days in a desert of the enemy's country, where it was difficult to have any intelligence, the scouts came in full speed to inform Crassus, that a very numerous army of the Parthians advanced with great order and boldness to attack him immediately. That news threw the whole camp into great trouble and consternation. Crassus was more affected with it than
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the rest. He made all possible haste to draw up his army in battle. At first, following the advice of Cassius, he extended his infantry as far as he could, that it might take up the more ground, and make it difficult for the enemy to surround him; he posted all his cavalry upon the wings. But afterwards he changed his opinion, and drawing up his foot in close order, he made them form a large hollow square, facing on all sides, of which each flank had twelve * cohorts in front. Every cohort had a company of horse near it, in order that each part, being equally sustained by the cavalry, the whole body might charge with greater security and boldness. He gave one of the wings to Cassius, the other to his young son Crassus, and posted himself in the center.

They advanced in this order to the banks of a brook which had not much water, but was however exceedingly grateful to the soldiers, from the exceeding drought and excessive heat.

Most of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to rest there during the night; that in the mean time, all possible endeavours should be used to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and disposition were known, they might attack them the next day. But Crassus suffering himself to be carried away by the ardour of his son, and of the horse under his command, who pressed him to lead them against the enemy, gave orders, that all who had occasion for refreshment should eat under arms in their ranks; and scarce allowing them time for that purpose, he commanded them to march, and led them on, not slowly, and halting sometimes, but with rapidity, and as fast as they could move, till they came in view of the enemy. Contrary to their expectation, they did not appear either so numerous or so terrible,

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* The Roman cohort was a body of hundred men; and differed very little of infantry consisting of five or six from what is now called a battalion.

as they had been represented, which was a stratagem of Surena's. He had concealed the greatest part of his battalions behind the advanced troops, and to prevent their being perceived by the brightness of their arms, he had given them orders to cover themselves with their vests or with skins.

When they approached, and were ready to charge, the Parthian general had no sooner given the signal of battle, than the whole field resounded with dreadful cries, and the most frightful noise. For the Parthians did not excite their troops to battle with horns or trumpets, but made use of a great number of hollow instruments, covered with leather, and having bells of brass round them, which they struck violently against each other, the noise made by these instruments was rude and terrible, and seemed like the roaring of wild beasts, joined with claps of thunder. Those Barbarians had well observed, that of all the senses none disorders the soul more than the hearing; that it strikes upon, and affects it the most immediately, and is the most sudden in making it in a manner change its nature.

The trouble and dismay into which this noise had cast the Romans, were quite different, when the Parthians, throwing off on a sudden the covering of their arms, appeared all on fire, from the exceeding brightness of their helmets and cuirasses, which were of burning steel, and glittered like sun-beams, and to which the furniture and armour of their horses added not a little. At their head appeared Surena, handsome, well-made, of an advantageous stature, and of a much greater reputation for valour than the effeminacy of his mien seemed to promise. For he painted after the fashion of the Medes, and, like them, wore his hair curled and dressed with art; whereas the Parthians still persevered in wearing theirs after the manner of the Scythians, much neglected, and such as nature gave them, in order to appear more terrible.

At first the Barbarians were for charging the Romans with their pikes, and endeavoured to penetrate and

and break the front ranks; but having observed the depth of the hollow square, so well closed, and even, in which the troops stood firm and supported each other successfully, they fell back, and retired in a seeming confusion, as if their order of battle were broke. But the Romans were much astonished to see their whole army surrounded on all sides. Crassus immediately gave orders for his archers and light-armed foot to charge them; but they could not execute those orders long; for they were reduced by an hail of arrows to retire, and cover themselves behind their heavy-armed foot.

Their disorder and dismay began now, upon experiencing the rapidity and force of those arrows, against which no armour was proof, and which penetrated alike whatever they hit. The Parthians dividing, applied themselves to shooting at a distance, without its being possible for them to miss, tho' they had endeavoured it, so close were the Romans embattled. They did dreadful execution, and made deep wounds, because drawing their bows to the utmost, the strings discharged their arrows of an extraordinary weight, with an impetuosity and force that nothing could resist.

The Romans, attacked in this manner on all sides by the enemy, knew not in what manner to act. If they continued firm in their ranks, they were wounded mortally, and if they quitted them to charge the enemy, they could do them no hurt, and suffered no less than before. The Parthians fled before them, and kept a continual discharge as they retired; for of all nations in the world they were the most expert in that exercise after the Scythians: An operation in reality very wisely conceived; for in flying they saved their lives, and in fighting avoided the infamy of flight.

As long as the Romans had hopes, that the Barbarians, after having exhausted all their arrows, would either give over the fight, or come to blows with them hand to hand, they supported their distress with valour

and resolution; but when they perceived that in the rear of the enemy, there were camels laden with arrows, whither those, who had exhausted their quivers, wheeled about to replenish them, Crassus, losing almost all courage, sent orders to his son to endeavour, whatever it cost him, to join the enemy, before he was entirely surrounded by them; for they were principally intent against him, and were wheeling about to take him in the rear.

Young Crassus, therefore, at the head of thirteen hundred horse, five hundred archers, and * eight cohorts armed with round bucklers, wheeled about against those who endeavoured to surround him. The latter, whether they were afraid to stand before a body of troops that came on with so good an aspect, or rather designed to draw off young Crassus, as far as they could from his father, immediately faced about and fled. Young Crassus upon that, crying out as loud as he could, *They don't stand us*, pushed on full speed after them. The foot, animated by the example of the horse, piqued themselves upon not staying behind, and followed them at their heels, carried on by their eagerness, and the joy which the hopes of victory gave them. They firmly believed they had conquered, and had nothing to do but to pursue, till being at a great distance from their main body, they discovered their error; for those who had seemed to fly, faced about, and being joined by many other troops, came on to charge the Romans.

Young Crassus thereupon made his troops halt, in hopes that the enemy, upon seeing their small number, would not fail to attack them, and come to close fight. But those Barbarians contented themselves with opposing him in front with their heavy-armed horse, and sent out detachments of their light horse, that wheeling about, and surrounding them on all sides without joining them, poured in a perpetual flight of arrows upon them. At the same time, by stirring up the heaps of sand, they raised so thick a dust, that the
Romans

* *They consisted of near six thousand men.*

Romans could neither see nor speak to one another ; and by being pent up in a narrow space, and keeping close order, they were a kind of butt for every arrow shot at them, and died by slow, but cruel deaths. For finding their entrails pierced, and not being able to support the pains they suffered, they rolled themselves upon the sands with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner in exquisite torments ; or endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, which had penetrated across their veins and nerves, they only made their wounds the larger, and increased their pains.

Most of them died in this manner ; and those who were still alive, were no longer in any condition to act. For when young Crassus exhorted them to charge the heavy-armed horse, they shewed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, and their feet pierced through and through, and rivetted to the ground ; so that it was equally impossible for them either to defend themselves, or fly. Putting himself therefore at the head of his horse, he made a vigorous charge upon that heavy-armed body covered with iron, and threw himself boldly amongst the squadrons, but with great disadvantage, as well in attacking as defending. For his troops, with weak and short javelins, struck against armour either of excellent steel, or very hard leather ; whereas the Barbarians charged the Gauls, who were either naked or lightly armed, with good and strong spears. These Gauls were troops in whom young Crassus placed the greatest confidence, and with whom he did most wonderful exploits. For those troops took hold of the spears of the Parthians, and closing with them, seized them by the neck, and threw them off their horses upon the ground, where they lay without power to stir, from the exceeding weight of their arms. Several of the Gauls quitting their horses, crept under those of the enemy, and thrust their swords into their bellies. The horses, wild with the pain, leaped and reared, and throwing off their riders, trampled them
under

under foot as well as the enemy, and fell dead upon both.

But what gave the Gauls most trouble, was heat and thirst; for they were not accustomed to support them. They lost also the greatest part of their horses, which running precipitately upon that heavy-armed body, killed themselves upon their spears. They were obliged therefore to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who had received several dangerous wounds.

Upon their way they saw, at a small distance, a rising bank of sand, to which they retired. They fastened their horses in the center, and made an enclosure with their bucklers, by way of entrenchment; in hopes that it would assist them considerably in defending themselves against the Barbarians; but it happened quite otherwise. For in an even place, the front covered the rear, and gave it some relaxation; whereas upon this hill, the inequality of the ground shewing them over each other's heads, and those in the rear most, they were all exposed to the enemy's shot. So that, unable to avoid the arrows, which the Barbarians showered continually upon them, they were all equally the marks of them; and deplored their unhappy destiny, in perishing miserably, without being able to make use of their arms, or to give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young Crassus had two Greeks with him, who had settled in that country in the city of Carræ. Those two young men, touched with compassion to see him in so sad a condition, pressed him to make off with them, and to retire into the city of Ischnes, which had espoused the party of the Romans, and was not very remote. But he replied, *That the fear of no death, however cruel, could induce him to abandon so many brave men, who died out of love for him.* A noble sentiment for a young lord! He ordered them to make off as fast as they could, and embracing them, dismissed them the service. For himself, not being able to make use of his hand, which was shot through
with

with an arrow, he commanded one of his domesticks to thrust his sword through him, and presented his side to him. The principal officers killed themselves, and many of those that remained were slain, fighting with exceeding valour. The Parthians made only about five hundred prisoners, and after having cut off young Crassus's head, marched immediately against his father.

The latter, after having ordered his son to charge the Parthians, and received advice, that they were put to the rout, and pursued vigorously, had resumed some courage, and the more, because those who opposed him, seemed to abate considerably of their ardour ; for the greatest part of them were gone with the rest against young Crassus. Wherefore, drawing his army together, he retired to a small hill in his rear, in hopes that his son would speedily return from the pursuit.

Of a great number of officers, sent successively by his son to inform him of the danger he was in, the greatest part had fallen into the hands of the Barbarians, who had put them to the sword. Only the last, who had escaped with great difficulty, got to his presence, and declared to him, that his son was lost, if he did not send him directly a powerful reinforcement. Upon this news, Crassus was struck with such a diversity of afflicting thoughts, and his reason thereby so much disturbed, that he was no longer capable of seeing or hearing any thing. However, the desire of saving his son and the army, determined him to go to his aid, and he ordered the troops to march.

The Parthians, who returned from the defeat of young Crassus, arrived that moment with great cries and songs of victory, which from far apprized the unfortunate father of his misfortune. The Barbarians, carrying the head of young Crassus upon the end of a spear, approached the Romans, and insulting them with the most scornful bravadoes, they asked them of what family and relations that young
Roman

Roman was : *For, said they, it is impossible that a young man of such extraordinary valour and bravery should be the son of so base and cowardly a father as Crassus.*

This sight exceedingly dispirited the Romans, and instead of exciting the height of anger, and the desire of revenge in them, froze them with terror and dismay. Crassus, however, shewed more constancy and courage on his disgrace, than he had done before ; and running through the ranks, he cried out, “ Romans, this mourning regards only me. The fortune and glory of Rome are still invulnerable and invincible, whilst you continue firm and intrepid. If you have any compassion for a father, who has just now lost a son, whose valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and resentment against the Barbarians. Deprive them of their insolent joy, punish their cruelty, and do not suffer yourselves to be cast down by my misfortune. There is a necessity for experiencing some loss, when we aspire at great achievements. Lucullus did not defeat Tigranes, nor Scipio, Antiochus, without costing them some blood. It is after the greatest defeats that Rome has acquired the greatest victories. It is not by the favour of fortune she has attained to so high a degree of power, but by her patience and fortitude in supporting herself with vigour against adversity.”

Crassus endeavoured by remonstrances of this kind to re-animate his troops : But when he had given them orders to raise the cry of battle, he perceived the general discouragement of his army, even in that cry itself, which was faint, unequal, and timorous ; whereas that of the enemy was bold, full, and strenuous.

The charge being given in consequence, the light-horse of the Parthians dispersed themselves upon the wings of the Romans, and taking them in flank, distressed them extremely with their arrows, whilst the heavy cavalry attacked them in front, and obliged them

them to close up in one great body; except those, who, to avoid the arrows, of which the wounds occasioned a long and painful death, had the courage to throw themselves upon the horse, like men in despair. Though they did not do them much hurt, their audacity was attended with this advantage; it occasioned their dying immediately, by the large and deep wounds they received. For the Barbarians thrust their lances through their bodies with such force and vigour, that they often killed two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, upon night's coming on, the Barbarians retired; saying, they would grant Crassus only that night to lament for his son, unless he should find it more expedient to consult his own safety, and prefer going voluntarily to being dragged to their king Arfaces. They then encamped in the presence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation, that the next day they should meet with little or no difficulty in completing its defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of dressing their wounded, of whom the greatest part died in the most horrible torments. Every man was solely intent upon his particular distress. For they all saw plainly, that they could not escape, whether they waited for day in camp, or ventured, during the night, to throw themselves into that immense plain, of which they saw no end. Besides which, in the latter choice, their wounded gave them great trouble. For to carry them off, would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted but they would discover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Though they were perfectly sensible, that Crassus alone was the cause of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in desiring to see his face, and to hear his voice. But for him, lying upon the ground, in an obscure corner, with his head covered

covered in his cloke, he was to the vulgar, says Plutarch, a great example of the instability of fortune ; to wise and considerate persons, a still greater of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to such a degree, that he could not bear to be less at Rome than the first of so many millions of men, and thought himself low and mean, because there were two above him, Cæsar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius approached him, and endeavoured to make him rise, and to console and encourage him. But seeing him entirely depressed by the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all consolation and remonstrance, they assembled the principal officers, and held a council of war directly ; and it being their unanimous opinion, that it was necessary to retire immediately, they decamped without sound of trumpet. This was done at first with great silence. But soon after the sick and wounded, who could not follow, perceiving themselves abandoned, filled the camp with tumult and confusion, cries, shrieks, and horrible lamentations ; so that the troops, who marched foremost, were seized with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back, and drawing up in battle, or busying themselves in setting the wounded who followed them upon the beasts of carriage, and in dismounting such as were less sick, they lost abundance of time. There were only three hundred horse, under the command of Ignatius, who did not stop, and arrived about midnight at the city of Carræ. Ignatius called to the centinels upon the walls, and when they answered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians ; and without saying any more, or letting them know who he was, he pushed on with all possible expedition to the bridge Crassus had laid over the Euphrates, and saved his troops by that means.

means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

However, the message he had sent to Coponius by those guards, was of great service to Crassus. For that governor, wisely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown person had given him that intelligence, that it implied some disaster, gave orders immediately for the garrison to stand to their arms. And when he was informed of the way Crassus had taken, he marched out to meet him, and conducted him and his army into the city. The Parthians, though well informed of his flight, would not pursue him in the dark. But the next day early entered the camp, and put all the wounded, who had been left there, to the number of four thousand, to the sword; and their cavalry being dispersed over the plain after those who fled, took abundance of them, whom they found straggling on all sides.

One of Crassus's lieutenants, named Vargunteius, having separated in the night from the gross of the army with four cohorts, missed his way, and was found the next morning upon a small eminence by the Barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himself with great valour, but was at length overpowered by multitudes, and all his soldiers killed, except twenty, who, with sword in hand, fell on the enemy in despair, in order to open themselves a passage through them. The Barbarians were so much astonished at their bravery, that out of admiration of it, they opened, and gave them a passage. They arrived safe at Carræ.

At the same time Surena received false advice, that Crassus had escaped with the best of his troops, and that those who had retired to Carræ, were only a militia, that were not worth the trouble of pursuing. Surena, believing the reward of his victory lost, but still uncertain whether it were or not, desired to be better informed, in order to his resolving either to besiege Carræ, if Crassus was there, or to pursue him if he had quitted it. He therefore dispatched one of his

his interpreters, who spoke both languages perfectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carræ, and in the Roman language to desire to speak with Crassus himself or Cassius, and to say, That Surena demanded a conference with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Crassus accepted the proposal with joy. Soon after some Arabian soldiers came from the Barbarians, who knew Crassus and Cassius by sight, from having seen them in the camp before the battle. Those soldiers approached the place, and seeing Cassius upon the walls, they told him, That Surena was inclined to treat with them, and permit them to retire, upon condition that they would continue in amity with the king his master, and abandon Mesopotamia to him: That this was more advantageous for both parties, than to proceed to the last extremities.

Cassius came into this, and demanded that the time and place for an interview between Surena and Cassius should immediately be fixed. The Arabians assured him, that they would go and do their utmost to that effect, and withdrew.

Surena, overjoyed with keeping his prey in a place from whence it could not escape, marched thither the next day with his Parthians, who talked at first with extreme haughtiness, and declared, that if the Romans expected any favourable terms from them, they must previously deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound hand and foot into their hands. The Romans, enraged at such exceeding deceit, told Crassus, that it was necessary to renounce all remote and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and fly that very night, without losing a moment's time. It was highly important, that not one of the inhabitants of Carræ should know this design, till the instant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it first, and by Crassus himself, who confided it to him, and chose him for his guide, relying very injudiciously upon his fidelity:

The Parthians in consequence were not long before they were fully apprized of the whole plan, by the means of that traitor. But as it was not their custom to engage in the night, the impostor, to prevent Crassus from getting so much ground as might make it impossible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans sometimes by one way, sometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep marshy grounds, and places abounding with great ditches, where it was very difficult to march, and necessary to make a great many turnings and windings to extricate themselves out of that labyrinth.

There were some who, suspecting that it was with no good design Andromachus made them go backwards and forwards in that manner, refused at last to follow him, and Cassius himself returned towards Carræ. By hasty marches he escaped into Syria with five hundred horse. Most of the rest, who had trusty guides, gained the pass of the mountains called *Sinnachi*, and were in a place of safety before the break of day. The latter might be about five thousand men, under the command of Octavius.

As for Crassus, the day overtook him, still embarrassed by the contrivance of the perfidious Andromachus in those marshy and difficult places. He had with him four cohorts of foot armed with round bucklers, a few horse, and five lictors who carried the fasces before him. He at length came into the main road, after abundance of trouble and difficulty, when the enemy were almost upon him, and he had no more than twelve stadia to make, before he joined the troops under Octavius. All he could do, was to gain as soon as possible another summit of those mountains, less impracticable to the horse, and in consequence not so secure. This was under that of the *Sinnachi*, to which it was joined by a long chain of mountains, that filled up all the space between them. Octavius therefore saw plainly the danger that threatened Crassus, and descended first himself from those eminences, with a small number of sol-

diers, to his aid. But he was soon followed by all the rest, who, reproaching themselves for their cowardice, flew to his assistance. Upon their arrival they charged the Barbarians so rudely, that they obliged them to abandon the hill. After that they placed Crassus in the midst of them, and forming a kind of rampart for him with their bucklers, they declared fiercely, that not an arrow of the enemy should approach their general's body, till they were all dead round him, fighting in his defence.

Surena, seeing that the Parthians, already repulsed, went on with less vigour to the attack, and if the night came on, and the Romans should make the mountains, that it would be impossible for him to take them, he had again recourse to stratagem to amuse Crassus. He gave secret orders, that some prisoners should be set at liberty; after having posted a number of his soldiers around them, who, seeming in discourse together, said, as the general report of the army, that the king was much averse to continuing war with the Romans; that, on the contrary, his design was to cultivate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable inclinations, by treating Crassus with great humanity. And that the effects might agree with their expressions, as soon as the prisoners were released, the Barbarians retired from the fight, and Surena, advancing peaceably with his principal officers towards the hill, with his bow unstrung, and arms extended, invited Crassus to come down and treat of an accommodation. He said with a loud voice; That, contrary to the king his master's will, and through the necessity of a just defence, he had made them experience the force and power of the Parthian arms; and that at present he was disposed to treat them with mildness and favour, by granting them peace, and giving them liberty to retire with entire security on his part. We have observed on more than one occasion, that the peculiar characteristic of these Barbarians, was to promote the success of their designs by fraud and treachery, and to make

no scruple of breaking through their engagements upon such occasions.

The troops of Crassus lent a willing ear to this discourse of Surena's, and expressed exceeding joy at it: But Crassus, who had experienced nothing but deceit and perfidy from the Barbarians, and to whom so sudden a change was very suspicious, did not easily give into it, and deliberated with his friends. The soldiers began to call out to him, and to urge him to accept the interview. From thence they proceeded to outrage and reproaches; and went so far as to accuse him of cowardice; charging him with exposing them to be slaughtered by enemies, with whom he had not so much as the courage to speak, when they appeared unarmed before him.

Crassus at first had recourse to entreaties, and remonstrated to them, that by maintaining their ground, for the rest of the day, upon the eminences and difficult places, where they then were, they might easily save themselves when night came on: He even shewed them the way, and exhorted them not to frustrate such hopes of their approaching safety. But seeing they grew outrageous, that they were ready to mutiny, and by striking their swords upon their shields, even menaced him; apprehending that commotion, he began to descend, and turning about, he only said these few words: "Octavius, and you Petronius, with all the officers and captains here present, you see the necessity I am under of taking a step I would willingly avoid; and are witnesses of the indignities and violence I suffer. But I beg you, when you have retired in safety, that you will tell all the world, for the honour of Rome our common mother, that Crassus perished, deceived by the enemy, and not abandoned by his citizens." Octavius and Petronius could not resolve to let him go alone, but went down the hill with him, when Crassus dismissed his lictors, who would have followed him.

The first persons the Barbarians sent to him were two Greeks, who dismounting from their horses, saluted him with profound respect, and told him in the Greek tongue, that he had only to send some of his attendants, and Surena would satisfy him, that himself, and those with him, came without arms, and with all the fidelity and good intentions possible. Crassus replied, that had he set the least value upon his life, he should not have come to have put himself into their hands; and sent two brothers, named Roscius, to know only upon what foot they should treat, and in what number.

Surena caused those two brothers to be seized and kept prisoners, and advancing on horseback, followed by the principal officers of his army, as soon as he perceived Crassus, *What do I see!* said he. *What! the general of the Romans on foot, and we on horseback! Let an horse be brought for him immediately.* He imagined, that Crassus appeared in that manner before him out of respect. Crassus replied, *That there was no reason to be surprized that they came to an interview, each after the * custom of his own country. Very good,* returned Surena, *from henceforth let there be a treaty of peace between king Orodes and the Romans: But we must go to prepare and sign the articles of it upon the banks of the Euphrates. For you Romans,* added he, *do not always remember your conventions.* At the same time he held out his hand to him. Crassus would have sent for an horse; but Surena told him, there was no occasion for it, and that the king made him a present of that.

A horse was immediately presented to him, which had a golden bit; and the king's officers, taking him round the middle, set him upon it, surrounded him, and began to strike the horse to make him go forwards fast. Octavius was the first, who, offended at
such

* Amongst the Romans the consul always marched on foot, at the head of infantry.

such behaviour, took the horse by the bridle. Petronius seconded him, and afterwards all the rest of his attendants, who came round him, and endeavoured to stop the horse, and to make those retire by force, who pressed Crassus forwards. At first they pushed against each other with great tumult and disorder, and afterwards came to blows. Octavius, drawing his sword, killed a groom of one of those Barbarians. At the same time another of them gave Octavius a great wound with his sword behind, which laid him dead upon the spot. Petronius, who had no shield, received a stroke upon his cuirass, and leaped from his horse without being wounded. Crassus at the same moment was killed by a Parthian. Of those that were present, some were killed fighting around Crassus, and others retired in good time to the hill.

The Parthians soon followed them thither, and told them, that Crassus had suffered the punishment due to his treachery; but for them, that Surena let them know they had only to come down with confidence, and gave them his word that they should suffer no ill treatment. Upon his promise some went down, and put themselves into the hands of the enemy; others took the advantage of the night, and dispersed on all sides. But of the latter very few escaped; all the rest were pursued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them and put them to the sword.

The loss of this battle was the most terrible blow the Romans had received from the battle of Cannæ. They had twenty thousand men killed in it, and ten thousand taken prisoners. The rest made their escape by different ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria; and out of these wrecks another army was afterwards formed in Syria, of which Cassius took upon him the command, and with it prevented that country from falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat ought in one sense to have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Cannæ,

because they had less reason to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannæ, Rome was in a state of humiliation. She had already lost many battles, and had no thought but of defending herself, and repulsing the enemy. At this time Rome was triumphant, respected, and formidable to all nations: She was mistress of the most potent kingdoms of Europe, Asia, and Africa, lately victorious over one of the most powerful enemies she ever had; yet in the most exalted height of her greatness, she saw her glory suddenly fall to the ground, in an attack upon a people, formed out of the assemblage of the eastern nations, whose valour she despised, and whom she reckoned already amongst her conquests. So complete a victory shewed those haughty conquerors of the world a rival remote people, capable of making head against, and disputing the empire of the universe with them; and not only of setting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them apprehend for their own safety. It shewed that the Romans might be overthrown in a pitched battle, and fighting with all their forces; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty sea, had overflowed all the countries in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be restrained for the future within them.

The check received by Crassus from the Parthians, was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained some time after by Ventidius were not capable of effacing. The standards of the vanquished legions were always shewn by them as sights. The* prisoners taken in that fatal day were kept there in captivity, and the Romans, citizens or allies, contracted

igno-

* Milesne Crassi conjugē barbara
Turpis maritus vixit? Et hostium
(Proh Curia, inversique mores!)
Consenuit socerorum in armis
Sub rege Medo, Marsus & Appulus,
Anciliorum, nominis, & togæ
Oblitus, æternæque Vestæ,
Incolumi Jove, & urbe Roma?

ignominious marriages to the shame of Rome, as Horace emphatically describes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the standard of the Barbarians. It was not till thirty years after, in the reign of Augustus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, consented to restore their standards and prisoners to the Romans; which was looked upon by Augustus, and the whole empire, as a most glorious triumph; so much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and so much did they believe it incumbent on them to efface it, if possible, to the least trace! For themselves they never could forget it. Cæsar was upon the point of setting out against the Parthians, to avenge the affront Rome had received from them, when he was killed. Anthony formed the same design, which turned to his disgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded the war with the Parthians as the most important of their wars. It was the object of the application of their most warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimus, Severus, &c. The surname of *Parthicus* was the title of which they were fondest, and most sensibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans sometimes passed the Euphrates to extend their conquests beyond it, the Parthians in their turn did the same, to carry their arms and devastations into Syria, and even into Palestine. In a word, the Romans could never subject the Parthians to their yoke, and that nation was like a wall of brass, which with impregnable force resisted the most violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carræ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabasus. The latter, upon the return of the expresses he had sent to Crassus, perceiving, by the false measures he took, that the Romans were infallibly lost, treated an accommodation with Orodes, and by giving one of his daughters to Pacorus, the son of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty he had lately made. Whilst they were

celebrating the nuptials; the head and hand of Crassus were brought to them, which Surena had caused to be cut off, and sent the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that sight, and it was said that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, to reproach the insatiable thirst which Crassus always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory. His master, jealous of his glory, and of the credit it gave him, caused him to be put to death soon after. There are princes, near whom too shining qualities are dangerous, who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and cannot bear to be served by superior talents, capable of eclipsing their own. Orodes was of this character. He perceived, as Tacitus observes of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not sufficiently repay the service his general had lately done him. Now, when a benefit is above all return, ingratitude, and hatred take place, instead of acknowledgment and affection.

Surena was a general of extraordinary merit. He was of consummate ability at thirty years of age, and surpassed all men of his times in valour. He was, besides that, perfectly well made, and of the most advantageous stature. For riches, credit, and authority, he had also more than any man, and was, undoubtedly, the greatest subject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown upon the king's head at his coronation, and that right had appertained to his family from the re-establishment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always a thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for his wives and concubines, and for his guard, a thousand horse completely armed, besides a great number of light-armed troops, and domesticks,

* *Destruui per hæc fortunam suam Cæsar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eo usque læta sunt dum videntur*

exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenero, pro gratia odium redditur. Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 18.

domesticks, which in all did not amount to less than ten thousand men.

The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defence, marched to conquer it. But Cassius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with so much vigour, that they were obliged to repass the Euphrates shamefully, without effecting any thing.

The next (*a*) year the consuls, M. Calpurnius Bibulus and M. Tullius Cicero, were assigned the provinces of Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been allotted him; but Bibulus amusing himself at Rome, Cassius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity to Bibulus. Pacorus, son of Orodes king of the Parthians, had passed the Euphrates in the beginning of the spring, at the head of a numerous army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone, and was therefore accompanied by Orsaces, an old general, who disposed of every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he besieged. Cassius had shut himself up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus king of Comagena, assembled all his forces, and marched to the eastern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppose an invasion on that side, should the Armenians attempt it, and at the same time to be at hand to support Cassius in case of need. He sent another body of troops towards the mountain Amanus, with the same view. That detachment fell in with a great detachment of the Parthian cavalry, which had entered Cilicia, and entirely defeated it, so that not a single man escaped.

A. M.
3953.
Ant. J. C.
51.

The news of this defeat, and that of Cicero's approach

(*a*) Cic. ad Famil. l. ii. Epist. 10. 17. iii. 2. xii. 19. xv. 1-4. Ad Attic. l. v. 18, 20, 21. vi. 1, 8. vii. 2.

proach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Cassius and his troops to make a good defence, and so much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that despairing to carry the place, they raised the siege, and went to form that of Antigonía, which was not far from thence. But they were so little skilled in attacking towns, that they miscarried again before this, and were reduced to retire. That was no wonder; the Parthians made their principal force consist in cavalry, and applied themselves most to field-battle, which suited their genius best. Cassius, who was apprized of the rout they would take, laid an ambuscade for them, which they did not fail to fall into. He defeated them entirely, and killed a great number of them, amongst whom was their general Orsaces. The remains of their army repassed the Euphrates.

When Cicero saw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms against the inhabitants of mount Amanus, who being situate between Syria and Cilicia, were independent of, and at war with both those provinces. They made continual incursions into them, and gave them great trouble. Cicero entirely subjected those mountaineers, and took and demolished all their castles and forts. He afterwards marched against another barbarous nation, a kind of savages, who called themselves (*b*) free Cilicians, and pretended to have never been subjected to the empire of any of the kings, who had been masters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made such dispositions in the country, as very much pleased all their neighbours, whom they perpetually harrassed.

It is Cicero himself, who relates these circumstances in several of his letters. There are two among the rest, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner in which a general, or commander, ought to give a prince, or his ministry, an account of a military expedition; with such simplicity, perspicuity, and precision, in which the proper character of writings

(*b*) *Eleuthero Cilices.*

writings and relations of this kind consists, are they expressed. The first is addressed to the senate and people of Rome, and to the principal magistrates; it is the second of his fifteenth book of familiar epistles; the other is wrote particularly to Cato. This last is a master-piece, wherein Cicero, who passionately desired the honour of a triumph for his military expeditions, employs all the art and address of eloquence to engage that grave senator in his favour. Plutarch tells us (*c*), that after his return to Rome, the senate offered him a triumph, and that he refused it, upon account of the civil war then ready to break out between Cæsar and Pompey; not believing that it became him to celebrate a solemnity which breathed nothing but joy, at a time when the state was upon the point of falling into the greatest calamities. His refusal to triumph in the midst of the apprehensions and disorders of a bloody civil war, argues in Cicero a great love for the publick good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itself could have done.

During the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, and those that followed, the Parthians, declaring sometimes for one, and sometimes for the other party, made several irruptions into Syria and Palestine. But those are events, which particularly relate to the Roman or Jewish histories, and therefore do not enter into my plan.

I shall conclude this abridgment of that of the Parthians, with the deaths of Pacorus and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Anthony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-establishing the honour of the nation. He was a soldier of fortune, who, from the lowest condition of (*d*) life, had raised himself by his merit to the highest dignities of the republick. In the war against the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force,

(*c*) Plut. in Cic. p. 879. (*d*) Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 65. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 4.

force, he was taken an infant, with his mother, in Asculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, and led in triumph before that general. Supported by the credit of C. Cæsar, under whom he had served in Gaul, and passed through all the degrees of the army, he became prætor and consul. He was the only person that triumphed for his exploits against the Parthians, and obtained that honour, after having been led in a triumph himself.

I have said, that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carræ. He had begun to revenge the defeat of Crassus and his army, by two successive victories gained over those terrible enemies. A third, still greater than the former, compleated the work, and was obtained in this manner.

A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39. That (e) general, apprehending the Parthians, whose preparations were much advanced, would prevent him, and pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together out of their different quarters, had recourse to this stratagem. There was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the name of an ally, whom he knew to be entirely in the interests of the Parthians, and that he held secret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all the designs of the Romans, which he could discover. He resolved to make this man's treachery the means to draw the Parthians into a snare he had laid for them.

With that view he had contracted a more than ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He conversed frequently with him upon the operations of the campaign. Affecting at length to open himself to him with great confidence, he observed, that he was much afraid, from advices he had received, that the Parthians did not design to pass the Euphrates at Zeugma, as usual, but a great way lower. For, said he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this side is so mountainous,

(e) Joseph Antiq. l. xiv. c. 24. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian. in Parth. p. 156. Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 403; 404. Justin. l. xlii. c. 4.

tainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt. But if they pass below, there are nothing but plains, where they have all manner of advantages against us, and it will be impossible for us to make head against them. As soon as he had imparted this secret to him, the spy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreseen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it had all the effect he could desire. Pacorus, instead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other rout, lost abundance of time in the great compass he was obliged to take, and in the preparations necessary for passing the river there. Ventidius got forty days by this means, which he employed in making Silon of Judæa join him, with the legions quartered on the other side of the mount Taurus, and found himself in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception when they entered Syria.

As they saw that they had not been attacked either in passing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, though situated very advantageously upon an eminence, not doubting but they should soon make themselves masters of it, and that without much resistance. They were mistaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuosity, and pushed them with the utmost vigour upon the declivity; and as they had the advantage of the ground, and their light-armed troops poured showers of darts upon the Parthians, they soon put them into disorder, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made at first. The slaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle, and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquished made haste to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own country; but the Romans prevented them, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Some few escaping by flight, retired to Antiochus king of Comagena. History observes, that this celebrated battle, which so

well revenged the defeat of Crassus, was fought exactly on the same day with the battle of Carræ fourteen years before.

* Orodes was so struck with the loss of this battle, and the death of his son, that he was almost out of his senses. For several days he neither opened his mouth, nor took any nourishment. When the excess of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to speak, nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he saw him, and called to him; he seemed to discourse with him, and as if he were living, to speak to him, and hear him speak. At other times he remembered that he was dead, and shed a torrent of tears.

Never was grief more just. This was the most fatal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received; nor was the loss of the prince less than that of the army itself. For he was the most excellent person the house of the Arsacides had ever produced, for justice, clemency, valour, and all the qualities which constitute the truly great prince. He had made himself so much beloved in Syria, during the little time he resided there, that never did the people express more affection for any of their native sovereigns, than for the person of this foreign prince.

When Orodes had a little recovered the dejection, into which the death of his dear son Pacorus had thrown him, he found himself extremely embarrassed about the choice of his successor out of his other children. He had thirty by different women, each of whom solicited him in favour of her own, and made use of all the ascendancy she had over a spirit impaired by age and affliction. At last he determined however to follow the order of birth, and nominated

PHRAATES;

* Orodes, repente filii morte & exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furem vertitur. Multis diebus non alloqui quenquam, non cibum sumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Post multos deinde dies, ubi do-

lor vocem laxaverat, nihil aliud quam Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur: cum illo loqui, cum illo consistere. Interdum quasi amissum siebiliter dolebat. *Justin.*

PHRAATES, the eldest and most vicious of them all. He had scarce taken possession of the throne, when he caused all his brothers, whom his father had by the daughter of Antiochus Eusebes, king of Syria, to be murdered, and that only because their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himself. The father, who was still alive, not being able to avoid professing extreme displeasure upon that occasion, that unnatural son ordered him also to be put to death. He treated the rest of his brothers in the same manner, and did not spare his own son, from the apprehension that the people would set him upon the throne in his stead. It was this prince, so cruel in regard to all his own family, that treated Hyrcanus, king of the Jews, with peculiar favour and clemency.

A. M.
3967.
Ant. J. C.
37.

ARTICLE III.

Abridgment of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, from the foundation of that kingdom to the time when it became a province of the Roman empire.

I Have spoke in several parts of this history of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occasion, but without mentioning either their beginning or succession. I shall here unite in one point of view all that relates to that kingdom.

Cappadocia is a great country (*a*) of Asia minor. The Persians, under whom it was at first, had divided it into two parts, and established two satrapies or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whose possession it fell, suffered those two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended towards mount Taurus, and was properly called Cappadocia, or Cappadocia major, the other towards Pontus, and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia minor; they were at length united into one kingdom.

Strabo

(a) Strabo, l. xii. p. 533, 534.

A. M. 3644.
Ant. J. C. 360. Strabo says, that Ariarathes was the first king of Cappadocia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. It is probable, that it was about the time Philip, father of Alexander the Great, began to reign in Macedonia, and Ochus in Persia; admitting that the kingdom of Cappadocia continued three hundred threescore and sixteen years, before it was reduced into a province of the Roman empire under Tiberius.

It was governed at first by a long succession of kings named Ariarathes, then by kings called Ariobarzanes, who did not exceed the third generation; and at length by the last, Archelaus. According to Diodorus Siculus, there were many kings of Cappadocia before Ariarathes; but as their history is almost entirely unknown, I shall make no mention of it in this place.

A. M. 3644.
Ant. J. C. 360. ARIARATHES I. He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes, for whom he had a particular affection.

A. M. 3653.
Ant. J. C. 351. Having joined the Persians in the expedition against Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honours by king Ochus.

A. M. 3668.
Ant. J. C. 336. ARIARATHES II. son of the former, (*b*) had lived at peace in his dominions, during the wars of Alexander the Great, who, out of impatience to come to blows with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed for the conquest of Cappadocia, and had contented himself with some instances of submission.

After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire by his generals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him into possession of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes on his side prepared for a vigorous defence. He had thirty thousand foot, and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated and taken prisoner. Perdiccas caused him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into possession of his dominions.

ARI-

ARIARATHES III. after the death of his father, escaped into Armenia.

As soon as he was apprized of the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and the employment the other wars gave Antigonus and Seleucus, he entered Cappadocia with troops, lent him by Ardoates king of Armenia. He defeated Amyntas, general of the Macedonians, drove him out of the country, and re-ascended the throne of his ancestors.

A. M.

3689.

Ant. J. C.

315.

ARIAMNES his eldest son succeeded him. He entered into an alliance with Antiochus Theos king of Syria, and married his eldest son to Stratonice, the daughter of the same Antiochus. He had so great an affection for this son, that he made him his colleague in the kingdom.

A. M.

3720.

Ant. J. C.

284.

ARIARATHES IV. having reigned alone after the death of his father, left his dominions, when he died, to his son of the same name with himself, who was at that time very young.

ARIARATHES V. He married Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, an artificial princess, who finding herself barren, had recourse to imposture. She deceived her husband, and made him believe that she had two sons, one of whom was called Ariarathes, and the other* Holophernes. Her barrenness ceasing some time after, she had two daughters, and then one son, who was named Mithridates. She confessed the fraud to her husband, and sent one of the supposed children to be brought up at Rome, with a small train, and the other into Ionia. The true son took the name of Ariarathes, and was educated after the manner of the Greeks.

A. M.

3814.

Ant. J. C.

190.

ARIARATHES V. supplied his father-in-law, Antiochus king of Syria, with troops, in the war which he undertook against the Romans. Antiochus having been defeated, Ariarathes sent (c) ambassadors to Rome, to ask the senate's pardon, for having been obliged to declare against the Romans in favour of his

VOL. VII.

F

father-

(c) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 40. l. xxxviii. n. 37, & 39.

* He is called so by Polybius, and Oropernes by Diodorus Siculus.

father-in-law. This was granted him, but not till after he had been condemned to pay, by way of expiation of his fault, two hundred talents, that is to say, two hundred thousand crowns. The senate afterwards abated him half that sum, at the request of Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with his son-in-law Eumenes, against Pharnaces king of Pontus. The Romans, who had rendered themselves arbiters of the kings of the East, sent ambassadors to transact a treaty between those three princes: But Pharnaces rejected their mediation. However, two years after, he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ariarathes upon conditions sufficiently hard.

The latter had a son of his own name, who loved him in the most tender manner, which occasioned his being surnamed Philopator, and for whom he had no less affection. He desired to give him the proofs of it, in resigning the kingdom to him, and placing him upon the throne during his life. The son, who had all possible affection and respect for a father that so well deserved both, could not resolve to accept an offer so advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but a mortal wound to so good a heart as his; and represented to his father, that he was not one of those who could consent to reign during the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generosity, disinterestedness, and sincere affection for a father, are the more extraordinary, and were the more admired, as in the times of which we are now relating the history, inordinate ambition respected nothing, and boldly violated the most sacred ties of nature and religion.

ARIARATHES VI. surnamed Philopator, reigned after his father's death, and was an excellent prince.

A. M. 3842. As soon (*d*) as he ascended the throne, he sent an
Ant. J. C. 162. embassy to Rome, to renew the alliance his father
had contracted with the Romans, which he found no
diffi-

difficulty to obtain. He applied himself very closely to the study of philosophy, from whence Cappadocia, which, till then, had been unknown to the Greeks, became the residence of many learned men.

Demetrius, king of Syria, had a sister, whom Ariarathes refused to espouse, lest that alliance should give offence to the Romans. That refusal extremely prejudiced Demetrius against the king of Cappadocia. He soon found an occasion to be revenged, by supplying Holophernes with troops, who pretended himself the brother of (e) Ariarathes, expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically. He put many to death, confiscated the estates of the greatest lords, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been revered by the people from time immemorial, and had never suffered such a violence before. Apprehending a revolution, which his cruelty gave him reason to expect, he deposited * four hundred talents with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to implore aid of the Romans. The usurper sent his deputies thither also. The senate, according to the usual motives of their policy, decreed that the kingdom should be divided between the two brothers. Ariarathes found a more immediate and more effectual protector, in the person of Attalus king of Pergamus, who signalized the beginning of his reign by re-establishing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his ancestors. Ariarathes, to revenge himself on the usurper, was for obliging the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the four hundred talents Holophernes had left with them. They opposed that demand, with pleading the inviolable faith of deposits, which would not admit their giving up that sum to any one whatsoever, during the life of the person who had confided it to their keeping. Ariarathes had no regard to so just a representation, and laid waste their lands without mercy, notwithstanding

F 2

A. M.
3845.
Ant. J. C.
159.

(e) Diod. in Excerpt. p. 334, & 336.
though crowns,

* Four hundred

standing which, so considerable a loss did not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themselves obliged to observe in regard to him, who had confided that deposit with them.

Holophernes had (*f*) retired to Antioch, where he joined in a conspiracy with the inhabitants of that city against Demetrius his benefactor, whose place he had conceived hopes of supplying. The conspiracy was discovered, and Holophernes imprisoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more adviseable to reserve him, in order to make use of him afterwards in the pretensions he had upon Cappadocia, and the design he had formed of dethroning and destroying Ariarathes: But he was prevented by the plot contrived against him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who set Alexander Bala upon the throne in his stead.

A. M. Ariarathes aided the Romans against Aristonius, who
 3875. (*g*) had possessed himself of the kingdom of Pergamus,
 Ant. J. C. and perished in that war.
 129.

He left six children, whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's services, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of those six princes, apprehending the loss of her authority when they should be at age to reign, poisoned five of them the same year their father died. She had treated the sixth in the same manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the fury of that unnatural mother. The people set him upon the throne, after having destroyed that cruel murderers of her children.

ARIARATHES VII. (*h*) He married another Laodice, sister of Mithridates Eupator, and had two sons by
 A. M. her, ARIARATHES VIII. and ARIARATHES IX. His
 3913. brother-in-law caused him to be murdered by Gor-
 Ant. J. C. dius, one of his subjects. Laodice afterwards married
 91. Nico-

(*f*) Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.
 (*h*) Ibid. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

(*g*) Ibid. l. xxxvii. c. 2.

Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who immediately took possession of Cappadocia. Mithridates sent an army thither, drove out the garrisons of Nicomedes, and restored the kingdom to his nephew, the son of the same Ariarathes, whom he had caused to be assassinated.

ARIARATHES VIII. had scarce ascended the throne, when Mithridates pressed him to recall Gordius from banishment, with design to rid himself of the son by the same assassin who had killed the father. That young prince shuddered at the proposal, and raised an army to oppose the violence of his uncle. Mithridates being unwilling to decide his measures by the hazard of a battle, chose rather to draw Ariarathes to a conference, in which he assassinated him with a dagger concealed for that purpose in the view of the two armies. He set his own son of only eight years old in his place, caused him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor (*i*). The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the vexations of the lieutenants of Mithridates, rose in arms, called in Ariarathes, the late king's brother, from Asia, and placed him upon the throne.

ARIARATHES IX. Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew, and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a distemper on him, of which he died soon after. Mithridates had re-established his son upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in possession of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, set up an infant of eight years old, to whom he also gave the name of Ariarathes, and sent deputies to the Romans to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice his wife went expressly to Rome to support the imposture, and to testify, that she had three sons by ARIARATHES VII. of whom this, which she produced, was the last. Mithridates, on his side, ventured to have assurances made by Gordius, that this

F 3

son,

(*i*) Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 2.

son, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the son of that Ariarathes who had been killed in the war against Aristonicus. What times were these! what a series is here of frauds and impostures! The Roman people saw through them; and, not to support them on either side, decreed that Mithridates should renounce Cappadocia, which for the future should enjoy its liberty, and govern itself as it thought proper. But the Cappadocians sent to Rome to declare that liberty was insupportable to them, and to demand a king. We may justly be astonished at the taste of a people, who could prefer slavery to liberty! but there are capricious and corrupt nations, to which the monarchical is better adapted than the republican government; and there are few people, who are wise enough to make a moderate use of perfect and entire liberty. The Cappadocians elected, or rather received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king, whose family was extinct at the third generation.

A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. ARIOBARZANES I. (a) This new prince did not enjoy his dignity in peace. Mithraas and Bagoas, generals of Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadocia, and re-instated Ariarathes, son of Mithridates. The Romans caused Ariobarzanes to be re-instated. He was expelled some time after by an army sent by Mithridates into Cappadocia in favour of his son. Sylla, having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappadocia. Some time after, at the instigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off three hundred thousand men, to whom he gave lands in Armenia. Ariobarzanes, who had escaped to Rome before the invasion, was not restored till Pompey had put an end to the war with Mithridates.

A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66. ARIOBARZANES II. Pompey had considerably enlarged the dominions of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him upon the throne of Cappadocia. His son

(a) Appian, in Mithrid. p. 176, &c. Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 3. Plut. in Sylla.

son succeeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long. He was killed some time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia. The prince who reigned at that time was ARIOBARZANES III. grandson of ARIOBARZANES I.

ARIOBARZANES III. Cicero (*b*), upon quitting Rome, had received orders to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all possible care, as a prince whose welfare was dear to the senate and people: A glorious testimonial, which had never before been granted to any king. Cicero punctually executed the order of the senate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conspiracy was on foot against him, in favour of his brother Ariarathes. The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot; that indeed he had been earnestly solicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averse to such thoughts, during the life of his brother, who had no issue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the credit his high reputation gave him, to dispel the storm with which the king was threatened. His * endeavours were successful; he saved the king's life and crown by his constancy, and a generous disinterestedness, which rendered him inaccessible to all the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity, and to make him change sides. The greatest danger came from the high-priest of Comana. There were two principal cities of that name, the one in Cappadocia, and the other in the kingdom of Pontus (*c*). They were consecrated to Bellona, and observed almost the same ceremonies in the worship of that goddess. The one was formed upon the model of the other; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter

A. M.
3953.
Ant. J. C.
51.

F 4

we

(*b*) Cic. Epist. 2 and 4. l. xv. ad Famil. & Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

(*c*) Strabo. l. xii. p. 535, & 557.

* Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat 'Εν παρίδω consilio & auctoritate, & quod proditoribus ejus ἀπεροίτῳ μὲ, non modò ἀδωροδύκτων, præbui, regem, regnumque servavi. Cic. Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

we speak in this place. The temple of that goddess was endowed with great estates, and served by a vast number of persons, under the authority of a pontiff, a man of great credit, and so considerable, that only the king was his superior: He was generally of the blood royal. His dignity was for life. Strabo says, that in his time there were above six thousand persons consecrated to the service of this temple. From hence the high-priest was so powerful; and * in the time of which we speak, might have occasioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties, had he thought proper to defend himself by force of arms, as it was believed he would; for he had troops, both horse and foot, ready to take the field, with great funds to pay and subsist them. But Cicero, by his prudence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peaceable possession of it.

During the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with some troops to the latter, who were present at the battle of Pharsalia. This, no doubt, was the reason that Cæsar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution. It is certain he exacted very considerable sums of money from him (d); for that prince represented to him, that it would be impossible for him to pay them, if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cappadocia. Cæsar was then in Egypt, from whence he set out to reduce Pharnaces to reason. He passed through Cappadocia, and made such regulations there, as imply that Ariobarzanes and his brother were in no very good understanding, and entirely subjected the latter to the authority of the former. After Cæsar had conquered Pharnaces,

(d) Cæsar de Bell. Civ. l. iii. Hist. de Bell. Alex.

* Cum magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se (quod facturus putabatur) defenderet, adolescens & equitatu & peditatu & pecunia paratus, & toto, iis qui novari aliquid vole-

bant, perfecit ut e regno ille discederet; rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omni auctoritate aulæ communita, regnum cum dignitate obtineret. Cic. Epist. 4. lib. xv. ad Famil.

ces (*e*), he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.

This good treatment (*f*) gave the murderers of Cæsar reason to believe, that the king of Cappadocia would not favour their party. He did not openly declare against them; but he refused to enter into their alliance. This conduct gave them a just diffidence of him, so that Cassius thought it incumbent upon him not to spare him. He attacked him, and having taken him prisoner, put him to death.

ARIARATHES X. By the death of Ariobarzanes, the kingdom of Cappadocia remained to his brother Ariarathes. The possession of it was disputed with him by Sisinna, the eldest son of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high-priest of Bellona, at Comana in Cappadocia. This Archelaus was the grandson of Archelaus, a Cappadocian by nation, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates against Sylla. He abandoned the party of Mithridates in the second war, as we shall relate in the twenty-second book (*g*), and joined the Romans. He left one son, named also Archelaus, who married Berenice, queen of Egypt, and was killed six months after in a battle. He obtained a very honourable dignity of Pompey, which was the high-priesthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His son Archelaus possessed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and had two sons by her, Sisinna and Archelaus.

(*b*) The first disputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, who possessed it. Mark Anthony was the judge of this difference, and determined it in favour of Sisinna. What became of him is not known; history only tells us, that Ariarathes re-ascended the throne. Five or six years after, Mark Anthony expelled him (*i*), and set Archelaus, the second son of Glaphyra, upon the throne.

ARCHÉLAUS.

(*e*) Diod. l. xlii. p. 183. (*f*) Diod. l. xlvii. (*g*) Strab. l. xii. p. 558. Diod. l. xxxix. p. 116. (*b*) Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 675. (*i*) Diod. l. xlix. p. 411.

A. M.
3962.
Ant. J. C.
42.

A. M.
3963.
Ant. J. C.
41.

A. M.
3968.
Ant. J. C.
36.

A. M. ^{3971.} ARCHELAUS. (*k*) That prince became very powerful. He expressed his gratitude to Mark Anthony, by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was fortunate, notwithstanding that conduct, to escape the resentment of Augustus. He was suffered to keep possession of Cappadocia, and was almost the only one treated with so much favour.

A. M. ^{3984.} He assisted Tiberius (*l*) to re-establish Tigranes in Armenia, and obtained of Augustus, Armenia minor, and a great part of Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great services with Augustus, especially when his subjects brought accusations against him before that prince. He pleaded his cause himself, and was the occasion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his residence in the island of Eleusis near the coast of Cilicia, and having married Pythodoris, the widow of Polemon king of Pontus, he considerably augmented his power. For as the sons of Polemon were infants at that time, he had undoubtedly the administration of their kingdom jointly with their mother.

A. M. ^{3988.} His reign was very long and happy: (*m*) But his latter years were unfortunate, in effect of Tiberius's revenge. That prince, who saw with pain, that Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, grandsons of Augustus, and his sons by adoption, were raised by degrees above him; * to avoid giving umbrage to the two young Cæsars, and to spare himself the mortification of being witness to their aggrandisement, demanded and obtained permission to retire to Rhodes, under pretext that he had occasion to withdraw from business and the hurry of Rome for the re-establishment of his health. His retreat was considered as a real banishment, and people began to neglect him
as

(*k*) Plut. in Anton. p. 944. (*l*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5. Diod. l. liv. p. 526. Sueton. in Tib. c. viii. Diod. l. lvii. p. 614. Strab. l. xiv. p. 671. & l. xii. p. 556. (*m*) Diod. in Excerpt. p. 662. Sueton. in Tib. c. x. Vell. Patere. l. ii. c. 99.

* Ne fulgor suis orientium juvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulata causa consilii sui, commeatum ab socero atque eodem vitrico acquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit. Patere. l. ii. c. 99.

as a person in disgrace, and did not believe it safe to appear his friends. * During his stay at Rhodes, king Archelaus, who was not very remote from thence, residing generally at † Eleusis, paid him no honours, forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, says Tacitus, out of pride or haughtiness, but by the advice of Augustus's principal friends, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous at that time. On the contrary, when young Caius Cæsar, appointed governor of the East, was sent into Armenia by Augustus, to appease the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future successor to the empire, paid him all kind of honours, and distinguished himself by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often mistaken in their conjectures, for want of a clear insight into futurity. It had been more consistent with prudence and wisdom in Archelaus to have observed such a conduct as had been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is observed of Pomponius ‡ Atticus, who during the divisions, with which the republick was torn at different times, always knew how to render himself agreeable to both parties.

Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offensive to him, as it argued an ungrateful disposition in Archelaus. He made him highly sensible of this when he became master. Archelaus was cited to

Rome,

A. M.
4002.
Ant. J. C.
2.

A. M.
4020.
An. Dom.
16.

* Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, invisus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus; quia florente Caio Cæsare, missoque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur. *Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.*

† *Eleusis was but six leagues distant from Rhodes.* Strab. l. xiv. p. 651.

‡ Hoc quale sit, facilius existimabit is, qui judicare quantæ sit sapientiæ, eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque inter quos maximarum rerum non solum æmulatio, sed obtrectatio tanta intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere necesse inter Cæsarem atque Antonium, cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romanæ sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet. *Corn. Nep. in Attic. c. xx.*

Rome, as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province. Livia wrote to him, and without dissembling the emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he came in person to demand it. This was a snare laid for drawing him out of his kingdom. The * king of Cappadocia either did not perceive it, or dared not act as if he did. He set out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and saw himself proceeded against as a criminal. Dion assures us, that Archelaus, depressed with age, was generally believed to have lost his reason; but that in reality he was perfectly in his senses, and counterfeited the madman, because he saw no other means of saving his life. The senate passed no sentence against him; but age, the gout, and, more than those, the indignity of the treatment he was made to suffer, soon occasioned his death. He had reigned two-and-fifty years. After his death Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

This kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were so considerable when Archelaus died, that Tiberius thought himself able, from his new acquisition, to abate the half of a tax he had caused to be levied. He even gave that province some relief, and would not exact from it all the duties it had paid the last king.

The kings of Cappadocia generally resided at Mazaca (n), a city situate upon the mountain Argea, and was governed by the laws of † Charondas. This city was built upon the river Melas, which empties itself into the Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo only calls Ariarathes, without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the
mouths

(n) Strab. l. xii. p. 537, 539.

* Ille ignarus doli, vel, si intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat: exceptusque immiti a principe, & mox accusatus a senatu; non ob crimina, quæ fingebantur, sed angore, simul fessus senio, & quia regibus æqua,

nedum infima, insolita sunt, finem vitæ sponte an fato implevit. Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.

† This Charondas was a celebrated legislator of Græcia major, of whom mention has been made.

mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country; after which he caused small islands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades, where he passed part of his life in puerile diversions. The river broke the dams of its mouths, and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates having received them, overflowed, and did incredible damages in Cappadocia. The Galatians, who inhabited Phrygia, suffered also great losses by that torrent, for which they insisted upon being made amends. They demanded three hundred talents of the king of Cappadocia, and made the Romans their judges.

Cappadocia abounded with horses, asses (o), and mules. It was from thence the horses were brought so particularly allotted for the use of the emperors, that the consuls themselves were forbid to have any of them. It furnished also great numbers of * slaves and false witnesses. The Cappadocians were reported to accustom themselves to the bearing of torments from their infancy, and to put one another to the question by the rack and other methods of torture, in order to inure themselves against the pains their false witness might one day expose them to suffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury (p), though the latter had carried that vice to a great height, if we may believe Cicero, who ascribes to them the having made this manner of speaking common amongst them; *Lend me your evidence (q), and I'll pay you with mine.*

Cappadocia, generally speaking, was far from being a country of great geniusses and learned men. It has produced however some very celebrated authors. Strabo and Pausanias are of that number. It was believed especially, that the Cappadocians were very unfit for the profession of orators; and it became

(o) Boet. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 11. Schol. Persii. (p) Cic. pro Flac.
n. 9, 10. (q) *Da mihi testimonium mutuum.*

* Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadonum rex. *Horat.*

came a proverb, that a * rhetorician of that country was as hard to be found as a white raven or a flying tortoise. S. Basil and S. Gregory Nazianzen are exceptions to that rule.

* Θαῦτον ἔην λευκὸς κοράκις πτενέει χελώνας
Euseb., ἡ δέκιμον ῥήτορα Καππαδόκιον.

 BOOK THE TWENTY-FIRST.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

S Y R A C U S E.

A R T I C L E I.

SECT. I. *HIERO the Second chosen captain-general by the Syracusans, and soon after appointed king. He makes an alliance with the Romans in the beginning of the first Punick war.*

(a) **H**IERO II. was descended from the family of Gelon, who had formerly reigned in Syracuse. As his mother was of flavish extraction, his father Hierocles, according to the barbarous custom of those times, caused him to be exposed soon after his birth; believing that the infant dishonoured the nobility of his race. If Justin's fabulous account may be believed, the bees nourished him several days with their honey. The oracle declaring, that so singular an event was a certain preface of his future greatness, Hierocles caused him to be brought back to his house, and took all possible care of his education.

A. M.
3700.
Ant. J. C.
304.

The child improved as much from the pains taken to form him, as could be expected. He distinguished himself early from all those of his years, by his address

dress in military exercises, and his courage in battle. He acquired the esteem of Pyrrhus, and received several rewards from his own hands. He was of a beautiful aspect, large stature, and robust complexion. In his conversation * he was humane and polite, in business just, and moderate in command; so that he wanted nothing royal except a throne.

(b) Discord having arose between the citizens of Syracuse and their troops, the latter, who were in the neighbourhood, raised Artemedorus and Hiero to the supreme command, which comprehended all authority civil and military. The latter was at that time thirty years old, but of a prudence and maturity, that promised a great king. Honoured with this command, by the help of some friends he entered the city, and having found means to bring over the adverse party, who were intent upon nothing but raising disorders, he behaved with so much wisdom and greatness of mind, that the Syracusans, though highly dissatisfied with the liberty assumed by the soldiers of making such an election without any right, were however unanimous in conferring upon him the title and power of supreme commander.

From his first measures it was easy to judge, that the new magistrate aspired at something more than that office. In effect, observing that the troops no sooner quitted the city, than Syracuse was involved in new troubles by seditious spirits and lovers of novelty, he perceived how important it was, in the absence of himself and the army, to have somebody upon whom he might rely for keeping the citizens within the bounds of their duty. Leptinus seemed very fit for this purpose, he had abundance of persons devoted to his interests, and was in very great credit with the people. Hiero attached him to himself for ever, by espousing his daughter, and by the same alliance secured the publick tranquillity, during
the

(b) Polyb. l. i. p. 8, 9.

* In alloquio blandus, in negotio justus, in imperio moderatus: prorsus ut nihil ei regium deesse, præter regnum, videretur. *Justin.*

the time he should be obliged to remove from Syracuse, and march at the head of the armies.

Another much bolder, though far less just, stroke of policy, established his security and repose. He had every thing to fear from the foreign soldiers, turbulent malignant men, void of respect for their commanders, and of affection for a state which they made no part, solely actuated by the desire of command and lucre, and always ready for a revolt; who having been bold enough to assume a right in the election of magistrates, which did not belong to them, were capable, upon the least discontent, of attempting any thing against himself. He easily comprehended, that he should never have the mastery over them, from their being too well united amongst themselves; that if he undertook to punish the most criminal, their chastisement would only provoke the rest; and that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occasioned, was utterly to exterminate the factious militia, whose licentiousness and rebellious disposition were only fit to corrupt others, and incline them to pernicious excesses. Deceived by a false zeal and blind love for the publick good, and sensibly affected also with the prospect of the dangers to which he was perpetually exposed, he thought it incumbent on him, for the safety of his country and security of his person, to proceed to a cruel and sad extremity, equally contrary to his character and justice, but which seemed necessary to him in the present conjuncture. He therefore took the field under the pretext of marching against the Mamertines. When he came within view of the enemy, he divided his army into two parts: On the one side he posted such of the soldiers as were Syracusans; on the other, those who were not so. He put himself at the head of the first, as if he intended an attack, and left the others exposed to the Mamertines,

VOL. VII.

G

who

* They were originally Campanian troops, whom Agathocles had taken into his pay, and who afterwards seized Messina, having first put the principal inhabitants to the sword.

who cut them in pieces: After which he returned quietly to the city with the Syracusan troops.

The army being thus purged of all who might excite disorders and sedition, he raised a sufficient number of new troops, and afterwards discharged the duties of his function in peace. The Mamertines, elate with their success, advancing into the country, he marched against them with the Syracusan troops, whom he had armed and disciplined well, and gave the battle in the plain of Myla. A great part of the enemies were left upon the place, and their generals made prisoners. At his return he was declared king by all the citizens of Syracuse, and afterwards by all the allies. This happened seven years after his being raised to the supreme authority.

A. M.
373⁶.
Ant. J. C.
268.

It would be difficult to justify the manner in which he attained that eminence. Whether he put the foreign soldiers in motion himself, which seems probable enough; or only lent himself to their zeal, it was a criminal infidelity to his country, and the publick authority, to which his example gave a mortal wound. It is true, the irregularity of his entrance upon office was somewhat amended, by the consent which the people and the allies afterward gave to it. But can we suppose, in such a conjuncture, that their consent was perfectly free? As to his being elected king, there was nothing forced in that: If his secret ambition had any part in it, that fault was well atoned for, by his wise and disinterested conduct through the long duration of his reign and life.

The loss of the battle we have spoken of entirely disconcerted the affairs of the Mamertines. Some of them had recourse to the Carthaginians, to whom they surrendered their citadel; others resolved to abandon the city to the Romans, and sent to desire their aid. Hence arose the first Punick war, as I have explained more at large * elsewhere.

(d) Appius Claudius the consul put to sea, in order to aid the Mamertines. Not being able to pass the

(d) Frontin. Stratag. l. i. c. 4. * Vol. I. History of the Carthaginians.

the streight of Messina, of which the Carthaginians had possessed themselves, he made a feint of abandoning that enterprize, and of returning towards Rome with all the troops he had on board his fleet. Upon this news the enemy, who blocked up Messina on the side next the sea, having retired, as if there had been nothing farther to apprehend, Appius tacked about, and passed the streight without danger.

(e) The Mamertines, between menaces and surprize, having driven the officer out of the citadel, who commanded in it for the Carthaginians, they called in Appius, and opened the gates of their city to him. The Carthaginians soon after formed the siege of it, and made a treaty of alliance with Hiero, who joined his troops to theirs. The Roman consul thought fit to venture a battle, and attacked the Syracusans first. The fight was rude. Hiero shewed all possible courage, but could not resist the valour of the Romans, and was obliged to give way, and retire to Syracuse. Claudius, having obtained a like victory over the Carthaginians, saw himself master of the field, advanced to the walls of Syracuse, and even designed to have besieged it.

(f) When the news of Appius's good success arrived at Rome, it occasioned great joy. In order to make the most of it, it was thought proper to use new efforts. The two consuls lately elected, Manius Otacilius and Manius Valerius, were ordered into Sicily. Upon their arrival, several of the Carthaginian and Syracusan cities surrendered at discretion.

The consternation of Sicily, joined to the number and force of the Roman legions, made Hiero conceive what event this new war was likely to have. That prince was sensible, that he might rely upon a more faithful and constant amity on the side of the Romans. He knew, that the Carthaginians had not renounced the design they had anciently formed, of possessing themselves of all Sicily; and if they made

G 2

them-

(e) Polyb. l. i. p. 10, 11.

(f) Ibid. p. 15, 16.

A. M.
374¹.
Ant. J. C.
263.

themselves masters of Messina, he rightly judged his power would be very insecure in the neighbourhood of such dangerous and formidable enemies. He saw no other expedient for the preservation of his kingdom, than to leave the Carthaginians engaged with the Romans; well assured that the war would be long and obstinate between these two republicks equal in their forces, and that as long as they should be at blows, he should have no reason to apprehend being distressed either by the one or the other. He therefore sent ambassadors to the consuls to treat of peace and alliance. They were far from refusing those offers. They were too much afraid, that the Carthaginians, masters at sea, might cut off all passage for provisions; which fear was the better founded, as the troops, who had first passed the streight, had suffered extremely by famine. An alliance with Hiero secured the legions in that respect, and was immediately concluded. The conditions were, that the king should restore to the Romans, without ransom, all the prisoners he had taken from them, and pay them an hundred * talents in money.

From thenceforth Hiero saw no war in his dominions, nor had any other share in it, than of sending supplies to the Romans upon occasion. In other respects he reigned as a king who had no view nor ambition but the esteem and love of his people. No prince was ever more successful in that point, nor longer enjoyed the fruits of his wisdom and prudence. During more than fifty years that he lived after being elected king, whilst all things were in flames around him, occasioned by the cruel wars which the two most potent states of the world made against each other, he was so prudent and happy to be no more than a spectator of them, and only to hear the noise of those arms, which shook all the neighbouring regions; himself and his people retained a profound peace.

(g) The Romans perceived on more than one occasion,

(g) Polyb. l. i. p. 15.

* An hundred thousand crowns.

casion, during the first Punick war, and especially at the siege of Agrigentum, with which it was in a manner opened, the importance of their alliance with Hiero, who abundantly supplied them with provisions at times, when the Roman army, without his aid, had been exposed to excessive famine.

The interval between the end of the first Punick war, and the commencement of the second, which was about five-and-twenty years, was a time of peace and tranquillity to Hiero, in which the actions of that prince are little spoken of.

(b) Polybius only informs us, that the Carthaginians, in the unhappy war they were obliged to support against the strangers or mercenaries, which was called the African war, finding themselves extremely pressed, had recourse to their allies, and especially to king Hiero, who granted them all they asked of him. That prince conceived, that to support himself in Sicily, it was necessary that the Carthaginians should overcome in this war; lest the strangers, who had already obtained many advantages over the Carthaginians, in case of entire success, should find no farther obstacles to their projects, and should form designs of bringing their victorious arms into Sicily. Perhaps also, as he was an excellent politician, he thought it incumbent on him to be upon his guard against the too great power of the Romans, who would become absolute masters, if the Carthaginians should be entirely ruined in the war against the revoltors.

Hiero's sole application during this long interval of peace, was to make his subjects happy, and to redress the evils, which the unjust government of Agathocles, who preceded him some years, and the intestine divisions consequential of them, had occasioned: An employment worthy of a king. There was a levity and inconstancy in the character of the Syracusans, which often inclined them to excessive and violent resolutions; but at bottom they were humane and equitable, and no enemies to a just and reason-

A. M.
3763.
Ant. J. C.
241.

able obedience. The proof of which is, that when they were governed with wisdom and moderation, as by Timoleon, they respected the authority of the laws and magistrates, and obeyed them with joy.

Hiero was no sooner entered upon office, and had the supreme authority confided to him, than he shewed his detestation for the wretched policy of the tyrants; who, considering the citizens as their enemies, had no other thoughts than to weaken and intimidate them, and reposed their whole confidence in the foreign soldiers, by whom they were perpetually surrounded. He began by putting arms into the hands of the citizens, formed them with care in the exercises of war, and employed them in preference to all others.

SECT. II. *HIERO's pacifick reign. He particularly favours agriculture. He applies the abilities of ARCHIMEDES his relation to the service of the publick, and causes him to make an infinite number of machines for the defence of a besieged place. He dies very old, and much regretted by the people.*

WHEN Hiero attained the sovereign authority, his great application was to convince his subjects, less by his words than his actions, that he was infinitely remote from intending any thing to the prejudice of their fortunes or liberty. He was not intent upon being feared; but upon being loved. He looked upon himself less as their master, than as their protector and father. Before his reign the state had been divided by two factions, that of the citizens, and that of the soldiers; whose differences, supported on both sides with great animosity, had occasioned infinite misfortunes. He used his utmost endeavours to extinguish all remains of this division, and to eradicate from their minds all seeds of discord and misunderstanding. He seems to have succeeded wonderfully in that respect, as during a reign of more than

fifty years, no sedition or revolt disturbed the tranquillity of Syracuse.

What contributed most, without doubt, to this happy calm, was the particular care taken by Hiero, to keep his subjects employed; to banish luxury and idleness, the parents of all vices, the source of all seditions, from his dominions; to support and improve the natural fertility of his country; and to place agriculture in honour, which he looked upon as the certain means to render his people happy, and to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom. The cultivation of lands indeed, besides employing an infinity of hands, which would otherwise remain idle and unprofitable, draws into a country, by the exportation of grain, the riches of the neighbouring nations, and turns their current into the houses of the people, by a commerce renewing every year the deserved fruit of their labour and industry. This is, and we cannot repeat it too often, what ought to be the peculiar attention of a wise government, as one of the most essential parts of wise and salutary policy, though unhappily too much neglected.

Hiero applied himself entirely to this end. He did not think it unworthy of the sovereignty to study and be skilful in all the rules of agriculture. (i) He even gave himself the trouble to compose books upon that subject, of which we ought much to regret the loss. But he considered that object of his enquiries in a manner still more worthy of a king. The principal riches of the state, and the most certain fund of the prince's revenue consisted in corn. He therefore believed it of the highest consequence, and what demanded his utmost care and application, to establish good order in that traffick, to render the condition of the husbandman, of whom the greatest part of the people were composed, safe and happy; to ascertain the prince's dues, whose principal revenue arose from them; to obviate such disorders as might get ground, to the prejudice of

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his

(i) Polyb. l. xviii. c. 3.

his institutions ; and to prevent the unjust vexations, which endeavours might possibly be used to obtrude in the sequel. To answer all these purposes, Hiero made regulations so wise, reasonable, equitable, and at the same time conformable to the people's and prince's interests, that they became in a manner the fundamental laws of the country, and were always observed as sacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all succeeding times. When the Romans had subjected the city and dominions of Syracuse, they imposed no new tributes, and decreed, * that all things should be disposed according to *the laws of Hiero* ; in order that the Syracusans, in changing their masters, might have the consolation not to change their laws ; and see themselves in some measure still governed by a prince, whose name alone was always dear to them, and rendered those laws exceedingly venerable.

I have observed, that in Sicily the prince's principal revenue consisted in corn ; the tenth being paid him. It was therefore his interest that the country should be well cultivated, that estimates should be made of the value of the lands, and that they should produce abundantly, as his revenue augmented in proportion to their fertility. The collectors of this tenth for the prince, which was paid in kind and not in money, were called *Decumani*, that is to say, *farmers of the tenths*. Hiero, in the regulations he made upon this head, did not neglect his own interests, which argues him a wise prince, and good œconomist. He knew very well, there was reason to apprehend, that the country-people, who consider the most legal and moderate imposts as intolerable burdens, might be tempted to defraud the prince of his dues. To spare them this temptation, he took such †

just

* Decumas lege Hieronica semper vendendas censuerunt, ut iis jucundior esset muneris illius functio, si ejus regis, qui Siculis carissimus fuit, non solum instituta, commutato imperio, verum etiam

nomen remaneret. *Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum.* n. 15.

† Hieronica lex omnibus custodiis subiectum aratorem decumano tradit, ut neque in segetibus, neque in arvis, neque in hor-

just and exact precautions, that whether the corn were in the ear, on the floor to be threshed, laid up in barns, or laden for carriage, it was not possible for the husbandman to secrete any part of it, or to defraud the collector of a single grain, without exposing himself to a severe penalty. But he adds also, that Hiero had taken the same precautions against the avidity of the collectors, to whom it was equally impossible to extort any thing from the husbandmen beyond the tenth. Hiero seems to have been very much against the husbandman's quitting his home upon any pretext whatsoever. Cicero says accordingly, inveighing against Verres, who gave them great trouble, by frequent and painful journies; it is very hard and afflicting to the poor husbandmen, to be brought from their country to the city, from their plow to the bar, and the care of tilling their lands to that of prosecuting law-suits. (k) *Miserum atque iniquum ex agro homines traduci in forum, ab aratro ad subsellia, ab usu rerum rusticarum ad insolitam litem atque iudicium.* And besides, can they flatter themselves, let their cause be ever so just, that they shall carry it to the prejudice of the collectors? *Judicio ut arator decumanum prosequatur!*

Can there be any thing more to a king's praise than what we have now said? Hiero might undertake wars, for he did not want valour, gain battles, make conquests, and extend the bounds of his dominions, and upon these accounts might pass for a hero, in the sense of the generality of men. But with how many taxes must he have charged his people! How many husbandmen must he have torn from their lands! How much blood would the gaining those victories have cost him! And of what emolument would they have been to the state! Hiero, who knew wherein true glory consists, placed his in governing his people
with

(k) Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 14.

reis, neque in amovendo, neque poena, fraudare decumanum. Cic. in asportando frumento, grano Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 20.
uno posset arator, sine maxima

with wisdom, and in making them happy. Instead of conquering new countries by the force of arms, he endeavoured to multiply his own in a manner by the cultivation of lands, by rendering them more fertile than they were, and in actually multiplying his people, wherein the true force and riches of a state consists; and which can never fail to happen, when the people of a country reap a seasonable advantage from their labour.

A. M. 3786.
Ant. J. C. 218. (l) It was in the second Punick war, that Hiero gave distinguished proofs of his attachment to the Romans. As soon as he received advice of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he went with his fleet well equipped to meet Tiberius Sempronius, who was arrived at Messina, to offer that consul his services, and to assure him, that advanced in age as he was, he would shew the same zeal for the Roman people, as he had formerly done in his youth, in the first war against the Carthaginians. He took upon him to supply the consul's legions, and the troops of the allies, with corn and clothes at his own expence. Upon the news received the same instant, of the advantage gained by the Roman over the Carthaginian fleet, the consul thanked the king for his advantageous offers, and made no use of them at that time.

(m) Hiero's inviolable fidelity for the Romans, which is very remarkable in his character, appears still more conspicuously after their defeat near the lake of Thrasymene. They had already lost three battles against Hannibal, each more unfortunate and more bloody than the other. Hiero, in that mournful conjuncture, sent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of Ostia. The Syracusan ambassadors, upon their being introduced to the senate, told them, " That Hiero, their master, had been as sensibly afflicted " on their last disgrace, as if he had suffered it in his " own person. That though he well knew, that the " grandeur of the Roman people was almost more " ad-

“ admirable in times of adversity, than after the
 “ most signal successes; he had sent them all the
 “ aid, that could be expected from a good and
 “ faithful ally, and earnestly desired the senate would
 “ not refuse to accept it. That they had particular-
 “ ly brought a victory of gold, that weighed three
 “ hundred pounds, which the king hoped they
 “ would vouchsafe to receive as a favourable augury,
 “ and a pledge of the vows which he made for their
 “ prosperity. That they had also three hundred
 “ thousand bushels of wheat, and two hundred thou-
 “ sand of barley; and that if the Roman people de-
 “ sired a greater quantity, Hiero would cause as much
 “ as they pleased to be transported to whatever
 “ places they should appoint. That he knew the
 “ Roman people employed none in their armies but
 “ citizens and allies; but that he had seen light-armed
 “ strangers in their camp. That he had therefore
 “ sent them a thousand archers and slingers, who
 “ might be opposed successfully to the Baleares and
 “ Moors of Hannibal’s army.” They added to this
 aid a very salutary piece of counsel, which was, that
 the prætor, who should be sent to command in Sicily,
 might dispatch a fleet to Africa, in order to find the
 Carthaginians such employment in their own country,
 as might put it out of their power by that diversion to
 send any succours to Hannibal.

The senate answered the king’s ambassadors in
 very obliging and honourable terms, “ That Hiero
 “ acted like a very generous prince, and a most
 “ faithful ally: That from the time he had contracted
 “ an alliance with the Romans, his detachment for
 “ them had been constant and unalterable; in fine,
 “ that in all times and places he had powerfully and
 “ magnificently supported them: That the people had
 “ a due sense of such generosity: That some cities of
 “ Italy had already presented the Roman people
 “ with gold, who, after having expressed their grati-
 “ tude, had not thought fit to accept it: That the
 “ victory was too favourable an augury not to be
 “ re-

“ received: That they would place her in the Capitol,
 “ that is to say, in the temple of the most high
 “ Jupiter, in order that she might establish there her
 “ fixed and lasting abode.” All the corn and barley
 on board the ships, with the archers and slingers,
 were sent to the consuls.

Valerius Maximus * observes here, upon the noble and prudent liberality of Hiero; first in the generous design he forms, of presenting the Romans three hundred and twenty pounds weight of gold; then in the industrious precaution he uses, to prevent their refusal to accept it. He does not offer them that gold in specie; he knew the exceeding delicacy of the Roman people too well for that; but under the form of a victory, which they dared not refuse, upon account of the good omen it seemed to bring along with it.

It is extraordinary to see a prince, whose dominions were situate as Syracuse was in regard to Carthage, from which it had every thing to fear, at a time when Rome seemed near her ruin, continue unalterably faithful, and declare openly for her interests, notwithstanding all the dangers to which so daring a conduct exposed him. A more prudent politician, to speak the usual language, would perhaps have waited the event of a new action, and not have been so hasty to declare himself without necessity, and at his extreme peril. Such examples are the more estimable, for being rare and almost unparalleled.

I do not know, however, whether, even in good policy, Hiero ought not to have acted as he did. It would have been the greatest of all misfortunes for Syracuse, had the Carthaginians entirely ruined, or even weakened the Romans too much. That city would have immediately felt all the weight of Carthage;

* Trecenta millia modium tritici, & ducenta millia hordei, aurique ducenta & quadraginta pondo urbi nostræ muneri misit. Neque ignarus verecundiæ majorum nostrorum, quod nollet accipere, in

habitum id victoriæ formavit, ut eos religione motos, munificentia suâ uti cogeret: voluntate mittendi prius, iterum providentia cavendi ne remitteretur, liberalis. *Val. Max.* l. iv. c. 8.

thage; as it was situated overagainst it, and lay highly convenient for strengthening its commerce, securing it the empire of the sea, and establishing it entirely in Sicily, by the possession of the whole island. It had therefore been imprudent to suffer such allies to be ruined by the Carthaginians; who would not have been the better friends to the Syracusans for their having renounced the Romans by force. It was therefore a decisive point, to fly immediately to the aid of the Romans; and as Syracuse would necessarily fall after Rome, it was absolutely requisite to hazard every thing, either to save Rome, or fall with her.

If the facts, which history has preserved of so long and happy a reign, are few, they do not give us the least idea of this prince, and ought to make us exceedingly regret the want of a more particular information concerning his actions.

(n) The sum of an hundred talents (an hundred thousand crowns) which he sent to the Rhodians, and the presents he made them after the great earthquake, that laid waste their island, and threw down their Colossus, are illustrious instances of their liberality and magnificence. The modesty, with which his presents were attended, infinitely exalts the value of them. He caused two statues to be erected in the Publick Place at Rhodes, representing the people of Syracuse placing a crown upon the head of the Rhodians; as if, says Polybius, Hiero, after having made that people magnificent presents, far from assuming any vanity from his munificence, believed himself their debtor upon that very account. And indeed, the liberality and beneficence of a prince to strangers is rewarded with interest, in the pleasure they give himself, and the glory he acquires by them.

There is a pastoral of Theocrites (*Idyll.* 16.) named after the king we speak of, wherein the poet seems to reproach that prince tacitly, with paying very ill for the verses made in honour of him. But the mean manner

manner in which he claims, as it were, a reward for the verses he meditates, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice upon the poet than upon the prince, distinguished and esteemed, as we have seen, from his liberality.

(o) It is to Hiero's just taste, and singular attention to every thing that affected the publick good, that Syracuse was indebted for those amazing machines of war, of which we shall soon see it make so great an use, when besieged by the Romans. Though that prince seemed to denote his cares entirely to the tranquillity and domestick affairs of the kingdom, he did not neglect those of war; convinced, that the surest means to preserve the peace of his dominions, was to hold himself always in readiness to make war upon unjust neighbours, who should attempt to disturb it. He knew how to use the advantage of having in his dominions the most learned geometrician the world had ever produced; it is plain I mean Archimedes. He was illustrious, not only by his great ability in geometry, but his birth, as he was Hiero's relation. Sensible alone to the pleasures of the mind, and highly averse to the hurry and tumult of business and government, he devoted himself solely to the study of a science, whose sublime speculations of truths purely intellectual and spiritual, and entirely distinct from matter, have such attraction with the learned of the first rank, as scarce leaves them at liberty to apply themselves to any other objects.

Hiero had, however, sufficient power with Archimedes, to engage him to descend from those lofty speculations to the practice of the mechanicks, which depend on the hand, but are disposed and directed by the head. He pressed him continually, not to employ his art always in soaring after immaterial and intellectual objects, but to bring it down to sensible and corporeal things, and to render his reasonings in some measure

measure more evident and familiar to the generality of mankind, by joining them experimentally with things of use.

Archimedes frequently conversed with the king, who always heard him with great attention and extreme pleasure. One day, when he was explaining to him the wonderful effects of the power of motion, he proceeded to demonstrate, *That with a certain given power any weight whatsoever might be moved.* And applauding himself afterwards on the force of his demonstration, he ventured to boast, that if there were another world besides this we inhabit, by going to that he could remove this at pleasure. The king, surprized and delighted, desired him to put his position in execution, by removing some great weight with a small force.

Archimedes preparing to satisfy the just and rational curiosity of his kinsman and friend, he chose one of the galleys in that port, caused it to be drawn on shore with great labour, and by abundance of men. He then ordered its usual lading to be put on board, and besides that, as many men, as it could hold. Afterwards placed himself at some distance, and sitting at his ease, without trouble, or exerting his strength in the least, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which he had provided with cords and pullies, he drew the galley to him upon the land, with as much ease, and as upright, as if it had swam upon the water.

The king, upon the sight of so prodigious an effect of the power of motion, was entirely astonished; and judged from that experiment the efficacy of the art, he earnestly solicited Archimedes to make several sorts of machines and battering engines for sieges and attacks, as well for the defence as assault of places.

It has been sometimes asked, whether the sublime knowledge, of which we speak, be necessary to a king; and if the study of arts and sciences ought to be a part of the education of a young prince?

What

What we read here demonstrates their utility. If king Hiero had wanted taste and curiosity, and employed himself solely in his pleasures, Archimedes had remained inactive in his closet, and all his extraordinary science been of no advantage to his country. What treasures of useful knowledge lie buried in obscurity, and in a manner hid under the earth, because princes set no value upon learned men, and consider them as persons useless to the state ! But when, in their youth, they have imbibed some small tincture of arts and sciences, for the study of princes ought to extend no farther in that point, they esteem such as distinguish themselves by learning, sometimes converse with them, and place them in honour, and by so glorious a protection, make way for valuable discoveries, of which the state soon reaps the advantage. Syracuse had this obligation to Hiero ; which, without doubt, was the effect of his excellent education ; for he had been bred with uncommon care and attention.

What has been said hitherto of Archimedes, and what we shall presently add upon the admirable machines of war, which were used during the siege of Syracuse, shews how wrong it is to despise those sublime and speculative sciences, whose only objects are simple and abstracted ideas. It is true, that all mere geometrical or algebraical speculations do not relate to useful things. But it is also as true, that most of those, which have not that relation, conduct or refer to those that have. They may appear unprofitable, as long as they do not derive from this real intellectual world ; but the mixed mathematicks, which descend to matter, and consider the motions of the stars, the perfect knowledge of the navigation, the art of drawing remote objects near by the assistance of telescopes, the increase of the powers of motion, the nice exactitude of the balance, and other the like objects, become more easy of access, and in a manner familiarize themselves with the vulgar. The labour of Archimedes was long obscure, and perhaps

contemned, because he confined himself to simple and barren speculations. Ought we therefore to conclude, that it was useless and unprofitable? It was from that very source of knowledge, buried till then in obscurity, from which shot forth those living lights, and wonderful discoveries, which displayed from their birth a sensible and manifest utility, and gave the Romans astonishment and despair when they besieged Syracuse.

Hiero was great and magnificent in all things, in building palaces, arsenals, and temples. He caused an infinite number of ships of all burdens to be built for the exportation of corn; a commerce, in which almost the whole wealth of the island consisted. (p) We are told of a galley built by his order, under the direction of Archimedes, which was reckoned one of the most famous structures of antiquity. It was a whole year in building. Hiero passed whole days amongst the workmen, to animate them by his presence.

This ship had twenty benches of oars. The enormous pile was fastened together on all sides with huge nails of copper, that weighed each ten pounds and upwards.

The inside had in it three galleries or corridors, the lowest of which led to the hold by a descent of stairs, the second to apartments, and the first to soldiers lodgings.

On the right and left side of the middle gallery, there were to the number of thirty apartments; in each of which were four beds for men. The apartment for the officers and seamen had fifteen beds, and three great rooms for eating; the last of which, that was at the poop, served for a kitchen. All the floors of these apartments were inlaid with small stories in different colours, taken from the Iliad of Homer. The cielings, windows, and all the other parts, were finished with wonderful art, and embellished with all kinds of ornaments.

In the uppermost gallery, there was a gymnasium, or place of exercise, and walks proportionate to the magnitude of the ship. In them were gardens and plants of all kinds, disposed in wonderful order. Pipes, some of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all around to refresh them. There were also arbours of ivy and vines, that had their roots in great vessels filled with earth. These vessels were watered in the same manner as the gardens. The arbours served to shade the walks.

After these came the apartment of Venus with three beds. This was floored with agates and other precious stones, the finest that could be found in the island. The walls and roof were of cypress wood. The windows were adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues. In another apartment was a library, at the top of which, on the outside, was fixed a sun-dial.

There was also an apartment with three beds for a bath, in which were three great coppers, and a bathing vessel, made of a single stone of various colours. This vessel contained two hundred and fifty quarts. At the ship's head was a great reservoir of water, which held an hundred thousand quarts.

All round the ship on the outside were Atlases of six cubits, or nine feet, in height, which supported the sides of the ship; these Atlases were at equal distance from each other. The ship was adorned on all sides with paintings, and had eight towers proportioned to its bigness; two at the head, two at the stern, and four in the middle, of equal dimensions. Upon these towers were parapets, from which stones might be discharged upon the ships of an enemy, that should approach too near. Each tower was guarded by four young men compleatly armed, and two archers. The inside of them was filled with stones and arrows.

Upon the side of the vessel, well strengthened with planks, was a kind of rampart, on which was an engine to discharge stones, made by Archimedes: It threw

threw a stone of three hundred weight, and an arrow of twelve cubits, (eighteen feet) the distance of a stadium, or an hundred and twenty-five paces from it.

The ship had three masts, at each of which were two machines to discharge stones. There also were the hooks and lumps of lead to throw upon such as approached. The whole ship was surrounded with a rampart of iron to keep off those who should attempt to board it. All around were iron grapplings, (*corvi*) which being thrown by machines, grappled the vessels of the enemy, and drew them close to the ship, from whence it was easy to destroy them. On each of the sides were sixty young men compleatly armed, and as many about the masts, and at the machines for throwing stones.

Though the hold of this ship was extremely deep, one man sufficed for clearing it of all water, with a machine, made in the nature of a screw, invented by Archimedes. An Athenian poet of that name made an epigram upon this superb vessel, for which he was well paid. Hiero sent him a thousand *medimni* of corn as a reward, and caused them to be carried to the port Pyraeum. The medimnus, according to father Montfaucon, is a measure, that contains six bushels. This epigram is come down to us. The value of verse was known at that time in Syracuse.

Hiero having found that there was no port in Sicily capable of containing this vessel, except some, where it could not lie at anchor without danger, resolved to make a present of it to king* Ptolemy, and sent it to Alexandria. There was at that time a great dearth of corn throughout all Egypt.

Several other vessels of less burden attended this great ship. Three hundred thousand quarters of corn were put on board them, with ten thousand great earthen jars of salted fish, twenty thousand quintals (or two millions of pounds) of salt meat,

H 2

twenty

* There is reason to believe this was Ptolemy Philadelphus.

twenty thousand bundles of different cloaths, without including the provisions for the ships crews and officers.

To avoid too much prolixity, I have retrenched some part of the description Athenæus has left us of this great ship. I should have been glad, that, to have given us a better idea of it, he had mentioned the exact dimensions of it. Had he added a word upon the benches of oars, it would have cleared up and determined a question, which without it must for ever remain doubtful and obscure.

Hiero's faith was put to a very severe trial, after the bloody defeat of the Romans in the battle of Cannæ, which was followed by an almost universal defection of their allies. But the wasting of his dominions by the Carthaginian troops, which their fleet had landed in Sicily, was not capable of changing him. (p) He was only afflicted to see that the contagion had spread even to his own family. He had a son named Gelon, who married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus, by whom he had several children, and amongst others Hieronymus, of whom we shall soon speak. Gelon, despising his father's great age, and setting no value on the alliance of the Romans, after their last disgrace at Cannæ, had declared openly for the Carthaginians. He had already armed the multitude, and solicited the allies of Syracuse to join him; and would * perhaps have occasioned great troubles in Sicily, if a sudden and unexpected death had not intervened. It happened so opportunely, that his father was suspected of having promoted it. He did not survive his son long, and died at the age of four score and ten years, infinitely regretted by his people, after having reigned fifty-four years.

A. M.
3789.
Ant. J. C.
215.

(p) Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 30.

* *Movissetque in Sicilia res, nisi mors, adeo opportuna ut patrem quoque suspicione adspiceret, ar-* *mantem eum multitudinem, sollicitantemque socios, absumpisset.* Liv.

ARTICLE II.

SECT. I. HIERONYMUS, *grandson of HIERO, succeeds him, and causes him to be regretted by his vices and cruelty. He is killed in a conspiracy. Barbarous murder of the princeesses. HIPPOCRATES and EPICYDES possess themselves of the government of Syracuse, and declare for the Carthaginians, as HIERONYMUS had done.*

THE death of Hiero occasioned great revolutions in Sicily. The kingdom was fallen into the hands of Hieronymus his grandson, a young * prince, incapable of making a wise use of his independency, and far from resisting the seducing impressions of sovereign power. Hiero's apprehensions, that the flourishing condition in which he left his kingdom would soon change under an infant king, suggested to him the thought and desire of restoring their liberty to the Syracusans. But his two daughters opposed that design with their whole credit; from the hope, that the young prince would have only the title of king, and that they should have all the authority, in conjunction with their husbands, Andranadorus and Zoippus, who held the first rank amongst his guardians†. It was not easy for an old man of ninety, to hold out against the caresses and arts of those two women, who besieged him day and night, to preserve the freedom of his mind against their pressing and assiduous insinuations, and to sacrifice with courage the interests of his family to those of the publick.

To prevent as far as possible the evils he foresaw, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his council; and earnestly desired them, at his death, never to depart from the alliance with the Romans, to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years,

H 3

and

* Puerum, vix dum libertatem, nedum dominationem, modicè latitum. *Liv.*

† Non facile erat nonagesimum

jam agenti annum, circumfesso dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum, & convertere ad publicam privata curam. *Liv.*

and to teach the young prince to tread in his steps, and to follow the principles in which he had been educated till then.

The king, dying after these dispositions, the guardians he had appointed his grandson immediately summoned the assembly, presented the young prince to the people, and caused the will to be read. A small number of people, expressly placed to applaud it, clapped their hands, and raised acclamations of joy. All the rest, in a consternation equal to that of a family who have lately lost a good father, kept a mournful silence, which sufficiently expressed their grief for their loss, and their apprehension of what was to come. His* funeral was afterwards solemnized, and more honoured by the sorrow and tears of his subjects, than the cares and regard of his relations for his memory

Andranadorus's first care was to remove all the other guardians, by telling them roundly, the prince was of age to govern for himself.

He was at that time near fifteen years old. So that Andranadorus, being the first to renounce the guardianship held by him in common with many colleagues, united in his own person all their power. The dispositions, made by the wisest princes at their deaths, are often little regarded, and seldom executed afterwards.

The † best and most moderate prince in the world, succeeding a king so well beloved by his subjects, as Hiero had been, would have found it very difficult to console them for the loss they had sustained. But Hieronymus, as if he had strove by his vices to make him still more regretted, no sooner ascended the throne, than he made the people sensible how much all things were altered. Neither king Hiero, nor Gelon

* Funus sit regium, magis amore civium & caritate, quam cura suorum celebre. *Liv.*

† Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracusanos, succedenti tantæ ca-

ritati Hieronis. Verum enimvero Hieronymus, velut suis vitiis desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo statim conspectu, omnia quam disparia essent ostendit. *Liv.*

Gelon his son, during so many years, had ever distinguished themselves from the other citizens by their habits, or any other ornaments intimating pride. Hieronymus was presently seen in a purple robe, with a diadem on his head, and surrounded by a troop of armed guards. Sometimes he affected to imitate Dionysius the tyrant, in coming out of his palace, in a chariot drawn by four white horses. All the * rest of his conduct was suitable to this equipage: A visible contempt for all the world, haughty and disdainful, in hearing, and affectation of saying, disobliging things, so difficult of access, that not only strangers, but even his guardians, could scarce approach him; a refinement of taste in discovering new methods of debauch; a cruelty so excessive, as to extinguish all sense of humanity in him: This odious disposition of the young king terrified the people to such a degree, that even some of his guardians, to escape his cruelty, either put themselves to death, or condemned themselves to voluntary banishment.

Only three men, Andranadorus and Zoippus, both Hiero's sons-in-law, and Thrafo, had a great freedom of access to the young king. He listened a little more to them than to others; but as the two first openly declared for the Carthaginians, and the latter for the Romans, that difference of sentiments, and very warm disputes frequently the consequence of it, drew upon them that prince's attention.

About this time a conspiracy against the life of Hieronymus happened to be discovered. One of the principal conspirators, named Theodotus, was accused. Being put to the question, he confessed the crime as to himself; but all the violence of the most cruel torments could not make him betray his accomplices. At length, as if no longer able to support the pains inflicted on him, he accused the king's best friends,

H 4

though

* Hunc tam superbum apparatus habitumque convenientes sequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, superbæ aures, contumeliosa dicta, rari aditus, non alienis modò sed tutoribus etiam; liberdines novæ, inhumana crudelitas. *Liv.*

though innocent, amongst whom he named Thraſo, as the ringleader of the whole enterprize; adding, that they ſhould never have engaged in it, if a man of his credit had not been at their head. The zeal he had always expreſſed for the Roman intereſts, rendered the evidence probable; and he was accordingly put to death. Not one of the accomplices, during their companions being tortured, either fled or concealed himſelf; ſo much they relied upon the fidelity of Theodotus, who had the fortitude to keep the ſecret inviolable.

The death of Thraſo, who was the ſole ſupport of the alliance with the Romans, left the field open to the partiſans of Carthage. Hieronymus diſpatched ambaffadors to Hannibal, who ſent back a young Carthaginian officer of illuſtrious birth, named alſo Hannibal, with Hippocrates and Epicydes, natives of Carthage, but deſcended from the Syracuſans by their father. After the treaty with Hieronymus was concluded, the young officer returned to his general; the two others continued with the king by Hannibal's permiſſion. The conditions of the treaty were, That after having driven the Romans out of Sicily, of which they fully aſſured themſelves, the river Himera, which almoſt divides the iſland, ſhould be the boundary of their reſpective dominions. Hieronymus, blown up by the praiſes of his flatterers, demanded, even ſome time after, that all Sicily ſhould be given up to him, leaving the Carthaginians Italy for their part. The propoſal appeared idle and raſh, but Hannibal gave very little attention to it, having no other view at that time, than of drawing off the young king from the party of the Romans.

Upon the firſt rumour of this treaty, Appius, prætor of Sicily, ſent ambaffadors to Hieronymus, to renew the alliance made by his grandfather with the Romans. That proud prince received them with great contempt; aſking them, with an air of railleſy and inſult, what had paſſed at the battle of Cannæ; that Hannibal's ambaffadors had related incredible things

things of it ; that it was easy to know the truth from their mouths, and thence to determine upon the choice of his allies. The Romans made answer, that they would return to him, when he had learnt to treat ambassadors seriously and with reason ; and, after having cautioned rather than desired him not to change sides too rashly, they withdrew.

At length his cruelty, and the other vices to which he blindly abandoned himself, drew upon him an unfortunate end. Those, who had formed the conspiracy mentioned before, pursued their scheme ; and, having found a favourable opportunity for the execution of their enterprize, killed him in the city of the Leontines, on a journey he made from Syracuse into the country.

Here is a sensible instance of the difference between a king and a tyrant ; and that it is not in guards or arms the security of a prince consists, but the affection of his subjects. Hiero, from being convinced, that those who have the laws in their hands for the government of the people, ought always to govern themselves by the laws, behaved in such a manner, that it might be said, the law and not Hiero reigned. He believed himself rich and powerful for no other end, than to do good, and to render others happy. He had no occasion to take precautions for the security of his life : He had always the surest guard about him, the love of his people ; and Syracuse was afraid of nothing so much as of losing him. Hence he was lamented at his death as the common father of his country. Not only their mouths but hearts were long after filled with his name, and incessantly blessed his memory. Hieronymus, on the contrary, who had no other rule of conduct but violence, regarded all other men as born solely for himself, and valued himself upon governing them not as subjects but slaves, led the wretchedest life in the world, if to live were to pass his days in continual apprehension and terror. As he trusted nobody, nobody placed any confidence in him. Those who were nearest his person,

son, were the most exposed to his suspicions and cruelty, and thought they had no other security for their own lives, than by putting an end to his. Thus ended a reign of short duration, but abounding with disorders, injustice, and oppression.

A. M.
3790.
Ant. J. C
214.

(*r*) Appius, who foresaw the consequence of his death, gave the senate advice of all that had passed, and took the necessary precautions to preserve that part of Sicily, which belonged to the Romans. They, on their side, perceiving the war in Sicily was likely to become important, sent Marcellus thither, who had been appointed consul with Fabius, in the beginning of the fifth year of the second Punick war, and had distinguished himself gloriously by his successes against Hannibal.

When Hieronymus was killed, the soldiers, less out of affection for him, than a certain natural respect for their kings, had thoughts at first of avenging his death upon the conspirators. But the grateful name of the liberty, by which they were flattered, and the hope that was given them of the division of the tyrant's treasures amongst them, and of additional pay, with the recital of his horrid crimes and shameful excesses, all together appeased their first heat, and changed their disposition in such a manner, that they left the prince's body without interment, for whom they had just before expressed so warm a regret.

As soon as the death of Hieronymus was known at Syracuse, Andranadorus seized the isle, which was part of the city, with the citadel, and such other places, as were most proper for his defence in it; putting good garrisons into them. Theodorus and Sosis, heads of the conspiracy, having left their accomplices with the army, to keep the soldiers quiet, arrived soon after at the city. They made themselves masters of the quarter Achradina, where, by shewing the tyrant's bloody robe, with his diadem, to the people, and exhorting them to take arms for the defence

fence of their liberty, they soon saw themselves at the head of a numerous body.

The whole city was in confusion. The next day, at sun-rise, all the people, armed and unarmed, ran to the quarter Achradina, where the senate was assembled, which had neither fate, nor been consulted upon any affair, from Hiero's death. Polyænus, one of the senators, spoke to the people with great freedom and moderation. He represented, "that having experienced the indignities and miseries of slavery, they were most sensibly affected with them; but that as to the evils occasioned by civil discord, they had rather heard them spoken of by their fathers, than been acquainted with them themselves: That he commended their readiness in taking arms, and should praise them still more, if they did not proceed to use them till the last extremity: That at present it was his advice to send deputies to Andranadorus, and to let him know he must submit to the senate, open the gates of the isle, and withdraw his garrisons: That if he persisted in his usurpation, it would be necessary to treat him with more rigour than Hieronymus had experienced."

This deputation at first made some impression upon him; whether he still retained a respect for the senate, and was moved with the unanimous concurrence of the citizens; or, because the best fortified part of the isle having been taken from him by treachery, and surrendered to the Syracusans; that loss gave him just apprehensions. But * his wife Demarata, Hiero's daughter, an haughty and ambitious princess, having taken him aside, put him in mind of the famous saying of Dionysius the tyrant, "*That it was never proper to quit the saddle, (i. e. the tyranny) till pulled off the horse by the heels*: That a great fortune might be renounced in a moment; but that it would cost

"abun-

* Sed evocatum eum ab legatis Demarata uxor, filia Hieronis, infiata adhuc regis animis ac muliebri spiritu, admonet sæpe usur-

patæ Dionysii tyranni vocis: quæ, pedibus tractum, non insidentem equo, relinquere tyrannidem dixerit debere.

“ abundance of time and pains to attain it: That it
“ was therefore necessary to endeavour to gain time ;
“ and whilst he amused the senate by ambiguous an-
“ swers, to treat privately with the soldiers at Leon-
“ tium, whom it was easy to bring over to his in-
“ terest, by the attraction of the king’s treasures in
“ his possession.”

Andranadorus did not entirely reject this counsel, nor think proper to give into it without reserve. He chose a mean between both. He promised to submit to the senate, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity ; and the next day having thrown open the gates of the isle, repaired to the quarter Achradina ; and there, after having excused his delay and resistance, from the fear he had been in of being involved in the tyrant’s punishment, as his uncle, he declared, that he was come to put his person and interests into the hands of the senate. Then turning towards the tyrant’s murderers, and addressing himself to Theodotus and Sosis ; “ You have done,” said he, “ a memorable action. But believe me, your glory is only
“ begun, and has not yet attained the height of
“ which it is capable. If you do not take care to
“ establish peace and union amongst the citizens, the
“ state is in great danger of expiring, and of being
“ destroyed at the very moment she begins to taste
“ the blessings of liberty.” After this discourse, he laid the keys of the isle and of the king’s treasures at their feet. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occasion, and the temples were thronged during the rest of the day with infinite numbers of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for so happy a change of affairs.

The next day the senate being assembled according to the ancient custom, magistrates were appointed, amongst the principal of whom Andranadorus was elected, with Theodotus and Sosis, and some others of the conspirators who were absent.

On the other side, Hippocrates and Epicydes, whom Hieronymus had sent at the head of two thousand

sand men, to endeavour to excite troubles in the cities which continued to adhere to the Romans, seeing themselves, upon the news of the tyrant's death, abandoned by the soldiers under their command, returned to Syracuse, where they demanded to be escorted in safety to Hannibal, having no longer any business in Sicily after the death of him, to whom they had been sent by that general. The Syracusans were not sorry to part with those two strangers, who were of a turbulent, factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. There is in most affairs a decisive moment, which never returns after having been once let slip. The negligence in assigning the time for their departure, gave them opportunity to insinuate themselves into the favour of the soldiers who esteemed them upon account of their abilities, and to give them a disgust for the senate, and the better inclined part of the citizens.

Andranadorus, whose wife's ambition would never let him rest, and who, till then, had covered his designs with smooth dissimulation, believing it a proper time for disclosing them, conspired with Themistus, Gelon's son-in-law, to seize the sovereignty. He communicated his views to a comedian named Ariston, from whom he kept nothing secret. That profession was not at all dishonourable among the Greeks, and was exercised by persons of no ignoble condition. Ariston, believing it his duty, as it really was, to sacrifice his friend to his country, discovered the conspiracy. Andranadorus and Themistus were immediately killed by order of the other magistrates, as they entered the senate. The people rose, and threatened to revenge their deaths; but were deterred from it, by the sight of the dead bodies of the two conspirators which were thrown out of the senate-house. They were then informed of their pernicious designs; to which all the misfortunes of Sicily were ascribed, rather than to the wickedness of Hieronymus, who being only a youth, had acted entirely by their counsels. They insinuated, that his guardians and tutors had reigned

reigned in his name : That they ought to have been cut off before Hieronymus, or at least with him : That impunity had carried them on to commit new crimes, and to aspire to the tyranny : That not being able to succeed in their design by force, they had employed dissimulation and perfidy. That neither favours and honours had been capable to overcome the wicked disposition of Andranadorus ; nor the electing him one of the supreme magistrates amongst the deliverers of their country, him, who was the declared enemy of liberty : That as to the rest, they had been inspired with their ambition of reigning by the princesses of the blood royal, whom they had married, the one Hiero's, the other Gelon's daughter.

At those words the whole assembly cried out, that not one of them ought to be suffered to live, and that it was necessary to extirpate entirely the race of the tyrants, without any reserve or exception. * Such is the nature of the multitude. It either abjectly abandons itself to slavery, or lords it with insolence. But with regard to liberty, which holds the mean betwixt those extremes, it neither knows how to be without it, or to use it ; and has always too many flatterers ready to enter into its passions, enflame its rage, and hurry it on to excessive violences, and the most inhuman cruelties, to which it is but too much inclined of itself ; as was the case at this time. At the request of the magistrates, which was almost sooner accepted than proposed, they decreed that the royal family should be entirely destroyed.

Demarata Hiero's, and Harmonia Gelon's daughter, the first married to Andranadorus, and the other to Themistus, were killed first. From thence they went to the house of Heraclea, wife of Zoippus ; who having been sent on an embassy to Ptolemy king of Egypt,

* Hæc natura multitudinis est ; aut servit humiliter, aut superbè dominatur : libertatem, quæ media est, nec spernere modicè, nec habere sciunt. Et non fermè de-
sunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem & cædes irritent. Liv.

Egypt, remained there in voluntary banishment, to avoid being witness of the miseries of his country. Having been apprized, that they were coming to her, that unfortunate princess had taken refuge with her two daughters in the most remote part of her house, near her household gods. When the assassins arrived there, with her hair loose and disordered, her face bathed in tears, and in a condition most proper to excite compassion, she conjured them, in a faltering voice interrupted with sighs, in the name of Hiero her father, and Gelon her brother, "Not to involve
" an innocent princess in the guilt and misfortunes
" of Hieronymus. She represented to them, that her
" husband's banishment had been to her the sole fruit
" of that reign : That not having had any share in
" the fortunes and designs of her sister Demarata, she
" ought to have none in her punishment. Besides,
" what was there to fear either from her, in the for-
" lorn condition and almost widowhood to which
" she was reduced, or from her daughters, unhappy
" orphans, without credit or support ? That if the
" royal family were become so odious to Syracuse,
" that it could not bear the sight of them, they
" might be banished to Alexandria, the wife to her
" husband, the daughters to their father." When she saw them inflexible to her remonstrances, forgetting herself, she implored them at least to save the lives of the princesses her daughters, both of an age to inspire the most inveterate and furious enemies with compassion : But her discourse made no impression upon the minds of those Barbarians. Having torn her in a manner from the arms of her household gods, they stabbed her to death in the sight of her two daughters, and soon after cut their throats, already stained, and covered with the blood of their mother. What was still more deplorable in their destiny was, that immediately after their death, an order of the people's came for sparing their lives.

From compassion, the people in a moment proceeded to rage and fury against those, who had been

so hasty in the execution, and had not left them time for reflection or repentance. They demanded that magistrates should be nominated in the room of Andranadorus and Themistus. They were a long time in suspense upon this choice. At length, somebody in the croud of the people happened to name Epicydes, another immediately mentioned Hippocrates. Those two persons were demanded with so much ardour by the multitude, which consisted of citizens and soldiers, that the senate could not prevent their being created.

The new magistrates did not immediately discover the design they had, of reinstating Syracuse in the interests of Hannibal. But they had seen with pain the measures, which had been taken before they were in office. For immediately after the re-establishment of liberty, ambassadors had been sent to Appius, to propose renewing the alliance, broken by Hieronymus. He had referred them to Marcellus, who was lately arrived in Sicily, with an authority superior to his own. Marcellus, in his turn, sent deputies to the magistrates of Syracuse, to treat of peace.

Upon arriving there, they found the state of affairs much altered. Hippocrates and Epicydes, at first by secret practices, and afterwards by open complaints, had inspired every body with great aversion for the Romans; giving out, that designs were formed for putting Syracuse into their hands. The behaviour of Appius, who had approached the entrance of the port with his fleet, to encourage the party in the Roman interest, strengthened those suspicions and accusations so much, that the people ran tumultuously to prevent the Romans from landing, in case they should have that design.

In this trouble and confusion it was thought proper to summon the assembly of the people. Opinions differed very much in it; and the heat of debates giving reason to fear some sedition, Apollonides, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the conjuncture. He intimated, "that never
" city

“ city was nearer its destruction or preservation than
 “ Syracuse actually was at that time: That if they
 “ all with unanimous consent should join either the
 “ Romans or Carthaginians, their conditions would
 “ be happy: That if they were divided, the war
 “ would neither be more warm nor more dangerous
 “ between the Romans and Carthaginians, than be-
 “ tween the Syracusans themselves against each other,
 “ as both parties must necessarily have, within the
 “ circumference of their own walls, their own troops,
 “ armies, and generals: That it was therefore ab-
 “ solutely requisite to make their agreement and
 “ union amongst themselves their sole care and appli-
 “ cation; and that to know which of the two alli-
 “ ances was to be preferred, was not now the most
 “ important question: That for the rest, the authority
 “ of Hiero, in his opinion, ought to carry it against that
 “ of Hieronymus, and that the amity of the Romans,
 “ happily experienced for fifty years together, seemed
 “ preferable to that of the Carthaginians, upon
 “ which they could not much rely for the present,
 “ and with which they had as little reason to be sa-
 “ tisfied with regard to the past. He added a last
 “ motive of no mean force, which was, that in de-
 “ claring against the Romans, they would have
 “ the war immediately upon their hands; whereas,
 “ on the side of Carthage, the danger was more re-
 “ mote.”

The less passionate this discourse appeared, the
 more effect it had. It induced them to desire the opi-
 nion of the several bodies of the state; and the prin-
 cipal officers of the troops, as well natives as foreign-
 ers, were requested to confer together. The affair
 was long discussed with great warmth. At length,
 as it appeared that there was no present means for
 supporting the war against the Romans, a peace
 with them was resolved, and ambassadors sent to
 conclude it.

Some days after this resolution had been taken, the
 Leontines sent to demand aid of Syracuse, for the

defence of their frontiers. This deputation seemed to come very seasonably for discharging the city of a turbulent unruly multitude, and removing their no less dangerous leaders. Four thousand men were ordered to march under the command of Hippocrates, of whom they were glad to be rid, and who was not sorry himself for the occasion they gave him to embroil affairs. For he no sooner arrived upon the frontier of the Roman province, than he plundered it, and cut in pieces a body of troops sent by Appius to its defence. Marcellus complained to the Syracusans of this act of hostility, and demanded, that this stranger should be banished from Sicily with his brother Epicydes; who having repaired about the same time to Leontium, had endeavoured to embroil the inhabitants with the people of Syracuse, by exhorting them to resume their liberty as well as the Syracusans. The city of the Leontines was dependant on Syracuse; but pretended at this time to throw off the yoke, and to act independantly of the Syracusans, as an entirely free city. Hence, when the Syracusans sent to complain of the hostilities committed against the Romans, and to demand the expulsion of the two Carthaginian brothers, the Leontines replied, that they had not empowered the Syracusans to make peace for them with the Romans.

The deputies of Syracuse related to Marcellus this answer from the Leontines, who were no longer at the disposal of their city, and left him at liberty to declare war against them, without any infraction of the treaty made with them. He marched immediately to Leontium, and made himself master of it at the first attack. Hippocrates and Epicydes fled. All the deserters found in the place, to the number of two thousand, were put to the sword; but as soon as the city was taken, all the Leontines and other soldiers were spared, and even every thing taken from them was restored, except what was lost in the first tumult of a city carried by storm.

Eight thousand troops, sent by the magistrates of Syracuse

Syracuse to the aid of Marcellus, met a man on their march, who gave them a false account of what had passed at the taking of Leontium; exaggerating with artful malice the cruelty of the Romans, who, he falsely affirmed, had put all the inhabitants to the sword, as well as the troops sent thither by the Syracusans.

This artful falsehood, which they swallowed without suspicion, inspired them with compassion for their companions. They expressed their indignation by their murmurs. Hippocrates and Epicydes, who were before well known to these troops, appeared at the very instant of this trouble and tumult, and put themselves under their protection, not having any other resource. They were received with joy and acclamations. The report soon reached the rear of the army, where the commanders Dinomenes and Sosis were. When they were informed of the cause of the tumult, they advanced hastily, blamed the soldiers for having received Hippocrates and Epicydes, the enemies of their country, and gave orders for their being seized and bound. The soldiers opposed this with great menaces; and the two generals sent expresses to Syracuse, to inform the senate of what had passed.

The army however continued its march towards Mægara, and upon the way met a courier prepared by Hippocrates, who was charged with a letter, which seemed to be written by the magistrates of Syracuse to Marcellus. They praised him for the slaughter he had made at Leontium, and exhorted him to treat all the mercenary soldiers in the same manner, in order that Syracuse might at length be restored to its liberty. The reading of this forged letter enraged the mercenaries, of whom the body of troops was almost entirely composed. They were for falling upon the few Syracusans amongst them, but were prevented from that violence by Hippocrates and Epicydes; not from the motives of pity or humanity, but that they might not entirely lose their hopes of re-entering

Syracuse. They sent a man thither, whom he had gained by bribes, who related the storming of Leontium conformable to the first account. Those reports were favourably received by the multitude, who cried out, that the gates should be shut against the Romans. Hippocrates and Epicydes arrived about the same time before the city, which they entered, partly by force, and partly by the intelligence they had within it. They killed the magistrates, and took possession of the city. The next day the slaves were set at liberty, the prisoners made free, and Hippocrates and Epicydes elected into the highest offices, in a tumultuous assembly. Syracuse, in this manner, after a short irradiation of liberty, sunk again into its former slavery.

SECT. II. *The consul MARCELLUS besieges Syracuse. The considerable losses of men and ships, occasioned by the dreadful machines of ARCHIMEDES, oblige MARCELLUS to change the siege into a blockade. He takes the city at length by means of his intelligence within it. Death of ARCHIMEDES, killed by a soldier who did not know him.*

A. M. (s) **A**FFAIRS being in this state, Marcellus
 3790. thought proper to quit the country of the
 Ant. J. C. Leontines, and advance towards Syracuse. When
 214. he was near it, he sent deputies to let the inhabitants know, that he came to restore liberty to the Syracusans, and not with intent to make war upon them. They were not permitted to enter the city. Hippocrates and Epicydes went out to meet them; and having heard their proposals, replied haughtily, that if the Romans intended to besiege their city, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between attacking Syracuse and attacking Leontium. Marcellus therefore determined to besiege the place
 by

(s) Liv. l. xxiv. n. 33, 34. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305—307. Polyb. l. viii. p. 515—518.

by sea and land*; by land on the side of Hexapyla; and by sea, on that of the quarter Achradina, the walls of which were washed by the waves.

He gave Appius the command of the land-forces, and reserved that of the fleet to himself. It consisted of sixty gallies of five benches of oars, which were full of soldiers armed with bows, slings, and darts, to scour the walls. There were a great number of vessels, laden with all sorts of machines, used in attacking places.

The Romans carrying on their attacks at two different places, Syracuse was in great consternation, and apprehended, that nothing could oppose so terrible a power, and such mighty efforts. And it had indeed been impossible to have resisted them, without the assistance of a single man, whose wonderful industry was every thing to the Syracusans: This was Archimedes. He had taken care to supply the walls with all thing necessary to a good defence. As soon as his machines began to play on the land-side, they discharged upon the infantry all sorts of darts, and stones of enormous weight, which flew with so much noise, force, and rapidity, that nothing could oppose their shock. They beat down and dashed to pieces all before them, and occasioned a terrible disorder in the ranks of the besiegers.

Marcellus succeeded no better on the side of the sea. Archimedes had disposed his machines in such a manner, as to throw darts to any distance. Though the enemy lay far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible balistæ and catapultæ. When they overshot their mark, he had smaller, proportioned to the distance; which put the Romans into such confusion, as made them incapable of attempting any thing.

This was not the greatest danger. Archimedes had placed lofty and strong machines behind the walls, which suddenly letting fall vast beams, with an immense weight at the end of them, upon the ships, sunk them

* The description of Syracuse may be seen in Vol. III. p. 197.

to the bottom. Besides this, he caused an iron grapple to be let out by a chain; the person who guided the machine, having caught hold of the head of a ship with this hook, by the means of a weight let down within the walls, it was lifted up, and set upon its stern, and held so for some time; then by letting go the chain, either by a wheel or a pulley, it was let fall again with its whole weight either on its head or side, and often entirely sunk. At other times the machines dragging the ship towards the shore by cordage and hooks, after having made it whirl about a great while, dashed it to pieces against the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls, and thereby destroyed all within it. Gallies, frequently seized and suspended in the air, were whirled about with rapidity, exhibiting a dreadful sight to the spectators, after which they were let fall into the sea, and sunk to the bottom, with all that were in them.

Marcellus had prepared, at great expence, machines called *sambucæ*, from their resemblance to a musical instrument of that name. He appointed eight gallies of five benches for that use, from which the oars were removed, from half on the right, and from the other half on the left side. These were joined together, two and two, on the sides without oars. This machine consisted of a ladder of the breadth of four feet, which when erect was of equal height with the walls. It was laid at length upon the sides of two gallies joined together, and extended considerably beyond their beaks; upon the masts of these vessels were affixed cords and pullies. When it was to work, the cords were made fast to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the poop drew it up by the help of the pullies; others at the head assisted in raising it with levers. The gallies afterwards being thrust forward to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to them. The bridge of the *sambuca* was then let down, (no doubt after the manner

manner of a drawbridge) upon which the besiegers passed to the walls of the place besieged.

This machine had not the expected effect. Whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged a vast stone upon it that weighed ten * quintals, then a second, and immediately after a third; all which striking against it with dreadful force and noise, beat down and broke its supports, and gave the gallies upon which it stood such a shock, that they parted from each other.

Marcellus, almost discouraged, and at a loss what to do, retired as fast as possible with his gallies, and sent orders to his land-forces to do the same. He called also a council of war, in which it was resolved the next day, before sun-rise, to endeavour to approach the walls. They were in hopes, by this means, to shelter themselves from the machines, which, for want of a distance proportioned to their force, would be rendered ineffectual.

But Archimedes had provided against all contingencies. He had prepared machines long before, as we have already observed, that carried to all distances a proportionate quantity of darts, and ends of beams, which being very short, required less time for preparing them, and in consequence were more frequently discharged. He had besides made small chasms or loop-holes in the walls at little distances, where he had placed † scorpions, which not carrying far, wounded those who approached, without being perceived but by that effect.

When the Romans, according to their design, had gained the foot of the walls, and thought themselves very well covered, they found themselves exposed either to an infinity of darts, or overwhelmed with stones, which fell directly upon their heads; there
I 4 being

* The quintal, which the Greeks called *τάλαντον*, was of several kinds. The least weighed an hundred and twenty-five pounds; the largest more than twelve hundred.

† The scorpions were machines in the nature of cross-bows, which the ancients used in discharging darts and stones.

being no part of the wall which did not continually pour that mortal hail upon them. This obliged them to retire. But they were no sooner removed, than a new discharge of darts overtook them in their retreat; so that they lost great numbers of men, and almost all their gallies were disabled or beat to pieces, without being able to revenge their loss in the least upon their enemies. For Archimedes had planted most of his machines in security behind the walls; and the Romans, says Plutarch, repulsed by an infinity of wounds, without seeing the place or hand from which they came, seemed to fight in reality with the gods.

Marcellus, though at a loss what to do, and not knowing how to oppose the machines of Archimedes, could not, however, forbear pleasantries upon them. "Shall we persist," said he to his workmen and engineers, "in making war with this Briareus of a geometrician, who treats my gallies and sambucas so rudely? He infinitely exceeds the fabled giants with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and surprising discharges upon us." Marcellus had reason for referring to Archimedes only. For the Syracusans were really no more than members of the engines and machines of that great geometrician, who was himself the soul of all their powers and operations. All other arms were unemployed, for the city at that time made use of none, either defensive or offensive, but those of Archimedes.

Marcellus at length perceiving the Romans so much intimidated, that if they saw upon the walls only a small cord, or the least piece of wood, they would immediately fly, crying out, that Archimedes was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them; he renounced his hopes of being able to make a breach in the place, gave over his attacks, and turned the siege into a blockade. The Romans conceived, they had no other resource than to reduce the great number of people in the city by famine, in cutting off all provisions that might be brought to them

them either by sea or land. During the eight months in which they besieged the city, there were no kind of stratagems which they did not invent, nor any actions of valour left untried, almost to the assault, which they never dared to attempt more. So much force, upon some occasions, have a single man, and a single science, when rightly applied. Deprive Syracuse of only one old man, the great strength of the Roman arms must inevitably take the city; his sole presence arrests and disconcerts all their designs.

We here see, which I cannot repeat too often, how much interest princes have in protecting arts, favouring the learned, encouraging academies of science by honourable distinctions and actual rewards, which never ruin or impoverish a state. I say nothing in this place of the birth and nobility of Archimedes; he was not indebted to them for the happiness of his genius, and profound knowledge: I consider him only as a learned man, and an excellent geometriician. What a loss had Syracuse sustained, if to have saved a small expence and pension, such a man had been abandoned to inaction and obscurity! Hiero was far from such a conduct. He knew all the value of our geometriician; and it is no vulgar merit in a prince to understand that of other men. He placed it in honour; he made it useful; and did not stay, till occasion or necessity obliged him to do so; which would have been too late. By a wise foresight, the true character of a great prince and a great minister, in the very * arms of peace he provided all that was necessary for supporting a siege, and making war with success; though at that time there was no appearance of any thing to be apprehended from the Romans, with whom Syracuse was allied in the strictest manner. Hence were seen to arise in an instant, as out of the earth, an incredible number of machines of every kind and size, the very sight of which were sufficient to strike armies with terror and confusion,

There

* In pace, ut sapiens, aptavit idonea bello. *Horat.*
And wise in peace, prepared the arms of war.

There is, amongst these machines, of which we can scarce conceive the effects, what might tempt us to call their reality in question, if it were allowable to doubt the evidence of writers, such, for instance, as Polybius, an almost contemporary author, who treated facts entirely recent, and such as were well known to all the world. But how can we refuse our consent to the united authority of Greek and Roman historians, in regard to circumstances, of which whole armies were witnesses, in experiencing the effects, and which had so great an influence in the events of the war? What passed in this siege of Syracuse, shews how high the ancients had carried their genius and art in besieging and supporting sieges. Our artillery, which so perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if they have so much.

A burning-glass is spoke of, by the means of which Archimedes is said to have burnt part of the Roman fleet. That must have been an extraordinary invention; but as no ancient author mentions it, it is no doubt a modern tradition without any foundation. Burning-glasses were known to antiquity, but not of that kind, which indeed seem impracticable.

A. M.
3791.
An. Dom.
213.

(t) After Marcellus had resolved to confine himself to the blockade of Syracuse, he left Appius before the place with two thirds of the army, advanced with the other into the island, and brought over some cities to the Roman interest.

At the same time Himilcon, general of the Carthaginians, arrived in Sicily with a great army, in hopes of reconquering it, and expelling the Romans.

Hippocrates left Syracuse with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse to join him, and carry on the war in concert against Marcellus. Epicydes remained in the city, to command there during the blockade.

The fleets of the two states appeared at the same time on the coast of Sicily; but that of the Carthaginians

ans seeing itself weaker than the other, was afraid to venture a battle, and soon sailed back for Carthage.

Marcellus had continued eight months before Syracuse with Appius, according to Polybius, when the year of his consulship expired. Livy places the expedition of Marcellus in Sicily, and his victory over Hippocrates, in this year, which must have been the second year of the siege. And indeed Livy has given us no account of this second year, because he had ascribed to the first what passed in the second. For it is highly improbable, that nothing memorable happened in it. This is the conjecture of Mr. Crevier, professor of rhetorick in the college of Beauvais, who published a new edition of Livy, with remarks, and with which I am convinced the publick were well pleased. The first volume of the said work contains a long preface, which is well worth reading.

Marcellus therefore employed a great part of the second year of the siege in several expeditions into Sicily. In his return from Agrigentum, upon which he had made an effectual attempt, he came up with the army of Hippocrates, which he defeated, and killed above eight thousand men. This advantage kept those in their duty, who had entertained thoughts of going over to the Carthaginians. After the gaining of this victory, he returned against Syracuse, and having dismissed Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the consulship, he put Crispinus into his place.

(u) In the beginning of the third campaign, Marcellus, almost absolutely despairing of being able to take Syracuse, either by force, because Archimedes continually opposed him with invincible obstacles, or famine, as the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned more numerous than before, easily threw in convoys, deliberated whether he should continue before Syracuse to push the siege, or turn his endeavours against Agrigentum. But before he came to a final determination,

A. M.
3792.
Ant. J. C.
212.

mination, he thought it proper to try whether he could not make himself master of Syracuse by some secret intelligence. There were many Syracusans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. A slave of one of these secretly carried on an intrigue, in which fourscore of the principal persons of the city engaged, who came in companies to consult with him in his camp, concealed in barks under the nets of fishermen. The conspiracy was on the point of taking effect, when a person named Attalus, in resentment for not having been admitted into it, discovered the whole to Epicydes, who put all the conspirators to death.

This enterprize having miscarried in this manner, Marcellus found himself in new difficulties. Nothing employed his thoughts but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having consumed so much time, and sustained the loss of so many men and ships in it. An accident supplied him with a resource, and gave new life to his hopes. Some Roman vessels had taken one Damippus, whom Epicydes had sent to negotiate with Philip king of Macedon. The Syracusans expressed a great desire to ransom this man, and Marcellus was not averse to it. A place near the port Trogilus was agreed on for the conferences concerning the ransom of the prisoner. As the deputies went thither several times, it came into a Roman soldier's thoughts to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones, and examined with his eye the measure of each of them, upon a calculation of the height of the wall, he found it to be much lower than it was believed, and concluded, that with ladders of a moderate size it might be easily scaled. Without loss of time he related the whole to Marcellus. The general is not always the only wise man in an army; a private soldier may sometimes furnish him with important hints. Marcellus did not neglect this advice, and assured himself of its reality with his own eyes. Having caused ladders to be prepared, he took the opportunity of a festival,

festival, that the Syracusans celebrated for three days in honour of Diana, during which the inhabitants gave themselves up entirely to rejoicing and good cheer. At the time of night when he conceived that the Syracusans, after their debauch, began to grow drowsy and fall asleep, he made a thousand chosen troops, in profound silence, advance with their ladders to the wall. When the first got to the top without noise or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. These thousand soldiers, taking the advantage of the enemy's stillness, who were either drunk or asleep, soon scaled the wall. Having thrown down the gate of Hexapylum, they took the quarter of the city called Epipolis.

It was then no longer time to deceive, but terrify, the enemy. The Syracusans, awakened by the noise, began to rouse, and to prepare for action. Marcellus made all his trumpets sound together, which so frightened and alarmed them, that all the inhabitants fled, believing every quarter of the city in the possession of the enemy. The strongest and best part, however, called Achradina, was not yet taken, because separated by its walls from the rest of the city.

Marcellus at day-break entered * Villanova, or the new city, by the quarter called Tycha. Epicydes, having immediately drawn up some troops, which he had in the isle adjoining to Achradina, marched against Marcellus: But finding him stronger and better attended than he expected, after a slight skirmish, he shut himself up in the quarter Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon this extraordinary success. For himself, when he had considered from an eminence the loftiness, beauty, and extent of that city, he is said to have shed tears, and to have deplored the unhappy condition it was upon the point of experiencing. He called to mind the two powerful Athenian

* The new city, or Neapolis, was *times had been taken into the city and called Epipolis, and in the latter surrounded with walls.*

nian fleets which had been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illustrious generals who commanded them: The many wars sustained with so much valour against the Carthaginians: The many famous tyrants and potent kings, Hiero particularly, whose memory was still recent, who had signalized himself by so many royal virtues, and still more, by the important services he had rendered the Roman people, whose interests had always been as dear to him as his own. Moved by that reflection, he believed it incumbent upon him, before he attacked Achradina, to send to the besieged, to exhort them to surrender voluntarily, and prevent the ruin of their city. His remonstrances and exhortations had no effect.

To prevent interruption by his rear, he then attacked a fort called Eurylaus, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land-side. After having carried it, he turned all his efforts against Achradina.

During these transactions, Hippocrates and Himilcon arrived. The first with the Sicilians having placed and fortified his camp near the great gate, and giving the signal to those who were in possession of Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus commanded: Epicydes, at the same time made a sally upon the posts of Marcellus. Neither of these enterprizes was successful. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him as far as his entrenchments, and Marcellus obliged Epicydes to shut himself up in Achradina. As it was then autumn, there happened a plague, which killed great numbers in the city, and still more in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. The distemper was not excessive at first, and proceeded only from the bad air and season: But afterwards the communication with the infected, and even the care taken of them, dispersed the contagion; from whence it happened, that some, neglected and absolutely abandoned, died of the violence of the
malady,

malady, and others received help, which became fatal to those who brought it. Death, and the sight of such as were buried, continually presented a mournful object to the eyes of the living. Nothing were heard night and day but groans and lamentations. At length, the being accustomed to the evil had hardened their hearts to such a degree, and so far extinguished all sense of compassion in them, that they not only ceased to grieve for the dead, but left them without interment. Nothing was to be seen every where but dead bodies, exposed to the view of those who expected the same fate. The Carthaginians suffered much more from it than the others. As they had no place to retire to, they almost all perished with their generals Hippocrates and Himilcon. Marcellus, from the breaking out of the disease, had brought his soldiers into the city, where the roofs and shade was of great relief to them; he lost, however, no considerable number of men.

Bomilcar, notwithstanding, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and had made a second voyage to Carthage to bring a new supply, returned with an hundred and thirty ships, and seven hundred transports. He was prevented by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pacymus. Epicydes, who was afraid, that if those winds continued, this fleet might be discouraged and return to Africa, left Achradina to the care of the generals of the mercenary troops, and went to Bomilcar, whom he persuaded to try the event of a naval battle. Marcellus, seeing the troops of the Sicilians increased every day, and that if he stayed, and suffered himself to be shut up in Syracuse, he should be very much pressed at the same time both by sea and land, resolved, though not so strong in ships, to oppose the passage of the Carthaginian fleet. As soon as the high winds abated, Bomilcar stood to sea in order to double the cape: But when he saw the Roman ships advance towards him in good order, on a sudden, for what reason is not said, he took to flight, sent orders to the transports

ports to regain Africa, and retired to Tarentum. Epicydes, who had been disappointed in such great hopes, and was apprehensive of returning into a city already half taken, made sail for Agrigentum, rather with design to wait the event of the siege in that place, than to make any new attempt from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuse, and the Carthaginians Sicily, they sent deputies to Marcellus, after having sounded the dispositions of the besieged, to treat upon the conditions Syracuse should surrender. It was agreed with unanimity enough on both sides, that what had appertained to the kings should appertain to the Romans; that the Sicilians should retain all the rest with their laws and liberty. After these preliminaries, they demanded a conference with those Epicydes had charged with the government in his absence. They told them, they had been sent by the army to Marcellus and the inhabitants of Syracuse, in order that all the Sicilians, as well within as without the city, might have the same fate, and that no separate convention might be made. Having been permitted to enter the city, and to confer with their friends and relations, after having informed them of what they had already agreed with Marcellus, and giving them assurances, that their lives would be safe, they persuaded them to begin, by removing the three governors Epicydes had left in his place, which was immediately put in execution.

After which, having assembled the people, they represented, “ That for whatever miseries they had
 “ suffered till then, or should suffer from thenceforth,
 “ they ought not to accuse fortune, as it depended
 “ upon themselves alone to put an end to them :
 “ That if the Romans had undertaken the siege of
 “ Syracuse, it was out of affection not enmity to the
 “ Syracusans : That it was not till after they had
 “ been apprized of the oppressions they suffered from
 “ Hippocrates and Epicydes, those ambitious agents
 “ of Hannibal, and afterwards of Hieronymus, that
 “ they

“ they had taken arms and began the siege of the
 “ city, not to ruin it, but to destroy its tyrants :
 “ That as Hippocrates was dead, Epicydes no
 “ longer in Syracuse, his lieutenants slain, and the
 “ Carthaginians dispossessed of Sicily, both by sea
 “ and land, what reason could the Romans now have
 “ for not inclining as much to preserve Syracuse, as
 “ if Hiero, the sole example of faith to them, were
 “ still alive ? That neither the city nor the inhabi-
 “ tants had any thing to fear but from themselves,
 “ if they let slip the occasion of renewing their amity
 “ with the Romans : That they never had so favour-
 “ able an opportunity as the present, when they were
 “ just delivered from the violent government of their
 “ tyrants ; and that the first use they ought to make of
 “ their liberty, was to return to their duty.”

This discourse was perfectly well received by every
 body. It was however judged proper to create new
 magistrates before the nomination of deputies ; the
 latter of which were chosen out of the former. The
 deputy who spoke in their name, and who was in-
 structed solely to use his utmost endeavours that
 Syracuse might not be destroyed, addressed himself
 to Marcellus to this effect : “ It was not the people
 “ of Syracuse, who first broke the alliance, and de-
 “ clared war against you, but Hieronymus, less cri-
 “ minal still to Rome than to his country : And
 “ afterwards, when the peace was restored by his
 “ death, it was not any Syracusan that infringed it,
 “ but the tyrant’s instruments, Hippocrates and Epi-
 “ cydes. They were the enemies who have made
 “ war against you, after having made us slaves, either
 “ by violence, or fraud and perfidy ; and it cannot
 “ be said that we have had any times of liberty that
 “ have not also been times of peace with you. At
 “ present, as soon as we are become masters of our-
 “ selves by the death of those who held Sicily in
 “ subjection, we come the very instant to deliver up
 “ to you our arms, our persons, our walls, and our
 “ city, determined not to refuse any conditions you

Vol. VII. K “ shall

“ shall think fit to impose. For the rest,” continued he, addressing himself always to Marcellus, “ your interest is as much concerned as ours. The gods have granted you the glory of having taken the finest and most illustrious city possessed by the Greeks. All we have ever achieved of memorable, either by sea or land, augments and adorns your triumph. Fame is not a sufficiently faithful chronicler to make known the greatness and strength of the city you have taken; posterity can only judge of them by its own eyes. It is necessary that we should shew to all travellers, from whatever part of the universe they come, sometimes the trophies we have obtained from the Athenians and Carthaginians, and sometimes those you have acquired from us; and that Syracuse, thus placed for ever under the protection of Marcellus, may be a lasting, an eternal monument of the valour and clemency of him, who took and preserved it. It is unjust that the remembrance of Hieronymus should have more weight with you than that of Hiero. The latter was much longer your friend than the former your enemy. Permit me to say you have experienced the amity of Hiero: But the senseless enterprizes of Hieronymus have fallen solely upon his own head.”

The difficulty was not to obtain what they demanded from Marcellus, but to preserve tranquillity and union amongst those in the city. The deserters, convinced that they should be delivered up to the Romans, inspired the foreign soldiers with the same fear. Both the one and the other having therefore taken arms, whilst the deputies were still in the camp of Marcellus, they began, by cutting the throats of the magistrates newly elected; and dispersing themselves on all sides, they put all to the sword they met, and plundered whatever fell in their way. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed six officers, three to command in Achradina, and three in the isle. The tumult being at length appeased,

the

the foreign troops were informed from all hands, it was concluded with the Romans, that their cause should be entirely distinct from that of the deserters. At the same instant, the deputies sent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.

Amongst those who commanded in Syracuse, there was a Spaniard named Mericus: Him means was found to corrupt. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethusa to soldiers, sent by Marcellus in the night to take possession of it. At day-break the next morning, Marcellus made a false attack at Achradina, to draw all the forces of the citadel, and the isle adjoining to it, to that side, and to facilitate the throwing some troops into the isle, which would be unguarded by some vessels he had prepared. Every thing succeeded according to his plan. The soldiers, whom those vessels had landed in the isle, finding almost all the posts abandoned, and the gates by which the garrison of the citadel had marched out against Marcellus still open, they took possession of them after a slight encounter. Marcellus having received advice that he was master of the isle, and of part of Achradina, and that Mericus, with the body under his command, had joined his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that the treasures of the kings might not be plundered. They did not rise so high in their amount as was imagined.

The deserters having escaped, a passage being expressly left open for them, the Syracusans opened all their gates to Marcellus, and sent deputies to him with instructions to demand nothing further from him, than the preservation of the lives of themselves and their children. Marcellus having assembled his council, and some Syracusans who were in his camp, gave his answer to the deputies in their presence: “ That Hiero, for fifty years, had not done the
“ Roman people more good, than those who had
“ been masters of Syracuse some years past, had in-
“ tended to do them harm; but that their ill-
“ will had fallen upon their own heads, and they had

“ punished themselves for their violation of treaties
 “ in a more severe manner, than the Romans could
 “ have desired: That he had besieged Syracuse du-
 “ ring three years, not that the Roman people might
 “ reduce it into slavery, but to prevent the chiefs of
 “ the revoltors from continuing it under oppression:
 “ That he had undergone many fatigues and dangers
 “ in so long a siege; but that he thought he had
 “ made himself ample amends by the glory of have-
 “ ing taken that city, and the satisfaction of having
 “ saved it from the entire ruin it seemed to deserve.”

After having placed a guard upon the treasury, and safe-guards in the houses of the Syracusans, who had withdrawn into his camp, he abandoned the city to be plundered by the troops. It is reported, that the riches which were pillaged in Syracuse at this time, exceeded all that could have been expected at the taking of Carthage itself.

An unhappy accident interrupted the joy of Marcellus, and gave him a very sensible affliction. Archimedes, at a time when all things were in this confusion at Syracuse, shut up in his closet like a man of another world, who had no regard for what passed in this, was intent upon the study of some geometrical figure, and not only his eyes, but the whole faculties of his soul, were so engaged in this contemplation, that he had neither heard the tumult of the Romans, universally busy in plundering, nor the report of the city's being taken. A soldier on a sudden comes in upon him, and bids him follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes desired him to stay a moment, till he had solved his problem, and finished the demonstration of it. The soldier, who regarded neither his problem nor demonstration, enraged at this delay, drew his sword and killed him. Marcellus was exceedingly afflicted, when he heard the news of his death. Not being able to restore him to life, of which he would have been very glad, he applied himself to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after all his relations,

tions, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. As for Archimedes, he caused his funeral to be celebrated in the most solemn manner, and erected him a monument amongst the great persons who had distinguished themselves most at Syracuse.

ARTICLE III.

SECT. I. *Tomb of ARCHIMEDES discovered by CICERO.*

ARCHIMEDES, by his will, had desired his relations and friends to put no other epitaph on his tomb, after his death, but a cylinder circumscribed by a sphere; that is to say, a globe or spherical figure; and to set down at the bottom the relation those two solids, the containing and the contained, have to each other. He might have filled up the bases of the columns of his tomb with relieves, whereon the whole history of the siege of Syracuse might have been carved, and himself appeared like another Jupiter thundering upon the Romans. But he set an infinitely higher value upon a discovery, a geometrical demonstration, than upon all the so-much celebrated machines of his invention.

Hence he chose rather to do himself honour with posterity, by the discovery he had made of the relation of a sphere to a cylinder of the same base and height; which is as two to three.

The Syracusans, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man, who had done so much honour to their city. Less than an hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was so perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithstanding the great services he had done them, that they denied his having been buried at Syracuse. It is from Cicero we have this circumstance.

(a) At the time he was quæstor in Sicily, his curiosity induced him to make a search after the tomb of Archimedes; a curiosity that became a man of Cicero's genius, and which merits the imitation of all who travel. The Syracusans assured him, that his search would be to no purpose, and that there was no such monument amongst them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only served to increase his desire of making that discovery. At length, after several fruitless attempts, he perceived, without the gate of the city facing Agrigentum, amongst a great number of tombs in that place, a pillar almost intirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those, who have any taste for antiquities, may easily conceive the joy of Cicero upon this occasion. He cried out, * *that he found what he had looked for.* The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, when they saw the inscription still legible, though part of the lines were obliterated by time. † So that, says Cicero, in concluding his account, the greatest city of Greece, and most flourishing of old in the studies of science, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man, born in a country it considered almost as barbarous, had not discovered for it the tomb of its citizen, so highly distinguished by force and penetration of mind.

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account: But we cannot easily pardon him the contemptuous manner in which he speaks at first of Archimedes. It is in the beginning, where intending to compare the unhappy life of Dionysius the tyrant with the felicity of one passed in sober virtue, and abounding with wisdom, he says †:

Non enim

"I

(a) Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 64, 66.

* *Enim* in verb. Archim.

† Ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam vero etiam doctissima, sui civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinete didicisset.

‡ Non ergo jam cum hujus vitæ, qua tetrius, miserius, detestabilius excogitare nihil possum, Platonis aut Architæ vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum & plane sapientum. Ex eadem urbe

HUMI-

“ I will not compare the lives of a Plato or an
 “ Architas, persons of consummate learning and
 “ wisdom, with that of Dionysius, the most horrid,
 “ the most miserable, and the most detestable that
 “ can be imagined. I should have recourse to a
 “ man of his own city, A LITTLE OBSCURE PERSON,
 “ who lived many years after him. I should pro-
 “ duce him from his || dust, and bring him upon the
 “ stage with his rule and compasses in his hand.”
 Not to mention the birth of Archimedes, whose great-
 ness was of a different class, the greatest geometrici-
 an of antiquity, whose sublime discoveries have in
 all ages been the admiration of the learned, should
 Cicero have treated this man as little and obscure as a
 common artificer, employed in making machines?
 unless it be, perhaps, because the Romans, with whom
 a taste for geometry and such speculative sciences never
 gained much ground, esteemed nothing great but
 what related to government and policy.

Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus
 Describent radio, & surgentia sidera dicent:
 Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.
 VIRGIL. ÆN. 6.

*Let others better mold the running mass
 Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,
 And soften into flesh a marble face;
 Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,
 And when the stars descend and when they rise;
 But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful sway
 To rule mankind, and make the world obey;
 Disposing peace and war, thy own majestic way,*
 DRYDEN.

(b) This is the Abbe Fraguier's reflection in the
 short dissertation he has left us upon this passage of
 Cicero.

(b) *Memoirs of the academy of inscriptions, Vol. II.*
 HUMILEM HOMUNCIONEM à pul- || He means the dust used by geo-
 vere & radio excitabo, qui multis metricians.
 annis post fuit, Archimedes.

SECT. II. *Summary of the history of Syracuse.*

THE island of Sicily, with the greatest part of Italy, extending between the two seas, composed what was called Græcia major, in opposition to Greece properly so called, which had peopled all those countries by its colonies.

A. M. 3296. Syracuse was the most considerable city of Sicily, and one of the most powerful of all Greece. It was founded by Achitas the Corinthian, in the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad.

The two first ages of its history are very obscure, and therefore we are silent upon them. It does not begin to be known till after the reign of Gelon, and furnishes in the sequel many great events, for the space of more than two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under the tyrants, and liberty under a popular government; till Syracuse is at length subjected to the Romans, and makes part of their empire.

I have treated all these events, except the last, in the order of time. But as they are cut into different sections, and dispersed into different books, we thought proper to unite them here in one point of view, that their series and connection might be the more evident, from their being shewn together and in general, and the places pointed out, where they are treated with due extent.

A. M. 3520. GELON. The Carthaginian, in concert with Xerxes, having attacked the Greeks who inhabited Sicily, whilst that prince was employed in making an irruption into Greece; Gelon, who made himself master of Syracuse, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ. Hamilcar, their general, was killed in this battle. Historians speak differently of his death, which had occasioned my falling into a contradiction. For on one side I suppose, with * Diodorus Siculus, that he was killed by the Sicilians in the battle; and

* In the history of the Carthaginians.

and on the other I say, after Herodotus, that to avoid the shame of surviving his defeat, he threw himself into the pile, in which he had sacrificed human victims.

Gelon, upon returning from his victory, repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, to give the people an account of his conduct. He was chosen king unanimously. He reigned five or six years solely employed in the truly royal care of making his people happy. Vol. I. p. 144, &c. Vol. III. p. 73, &c.

HIERO I. Hiero, the eldest of Gelon's brothers, succeeded him. The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praise. Simonides and Pindar celebrated him in emulation of each other. The latter part of it did not answer the former. He reigned eleven years. Vol. III. p. 79, &c.

THRASIBULUS. Thrasibulus his brother succeeded him. He rendered himself odious to all his subjects, by his vices and cruelty. They expelled him the throne and city, after a reign of one year. Vol. III. p. 85.

Times of liberty.

After this expulsion, Syracuse and all Sicily enjoyed their liberty for the space of almost sixty years.

An annual festival was instituted to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was re-established.

Syracuse attacked by the Athenians.

During this interval, the Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their arms against Syracuse; this was in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. How fatal the event of this war was to the Athenians, may be seen, Vol. III. p. 183, &c.

DIONYSIUS the elder. The reign of this prince is famous for its length of thirty-eight years; and still more for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. Vol. I. p. 148, &c. Vol. IV. p. 4, &c.

Dionysius

A. M. 3632. Dionysius the younger. Dionysius, son of the elder Dionysius, succeeded him. He contracts a particular intimacy with Plato, and has frequent conversations with him; who comes to his court at the request of Dion, the near relation of Dionysius. He did not long improve from the wise precepts of that philosopher, and soon abandoned himself to all the vices and excesses which attend tyranny.

A. M. 3644. Besieged by Dion, he escapes from Sicily, and retires into Italy.

A. M. 3646. Dion's excellent qualities. He is assassinated in his own house by Callippus.

A. M. 3647. Thirteen months after the death of Dion, Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, expels Callippus, and establishes himself in Syracuse. During the two years of his reign, Sicily is agitated by great commotions.

A. M. 3654. Dionysius the younger taking advantage of those troubles, re-ascends the throne ten years after having quitted it.

A. M. 3657. At last, reduced by Timoleon, he retires to Corinth. Vol. I. p. 156, &c. Vol. IV. p. 47.

Times of liberty.

A. M. 3658. Timoleon restores liberty to Syracuse. He passes the rest of his life there in a glorious retirement, beloved and honoured by all the citizens and strangers. Vol. IV. p. 97, &c.

This interval of liberty was of no long duration.

A. M. 3685. AGATHOCLES. Agathocles, in a short time, makes himself tyrant of Syracuse. Vol. I. p. 161, &c.

He commits unparalleled cruelties.

He forms one of the boldest designs related in history; carries the war into Africa; makes himself master of the strongest places, and ravages the whole country.

After various events he perishes miserably. He reigned about twenty-eight years.

Times of liberty.

Syracuse took new life again for some time, and tasted with joy the sweets of liberty.

A. M.
3715.

But she suffered much from the Carthaginians, who disturbed her tranquillity by continual wars.

She called in Pyrrhus to her aid. The rapid success of his arms, at first, gave him great hopes, which soon vanished. Pyrrhus, by a sudden retreat, plunged the Syracusans into new misfortunes. Vol. I. p. 172; &c. Vol. V. p. 328, &c.

HIERO II. They were not happy and in tranquillity till the reign of Hiero II. which was very long, and almost always pacifick.

HIERONYMUS. He scarce reigned one year. His death was followed with great troubles, and the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus.

After that period, what passed in Sicily to its total reduction is little remarkable. There were still some remains of war fomented in it by the partisans of tyranny, and the Carthaginians who supported them: But those wars had no consequence, and Rome was soon absolute mistress of all Sicily. Half the island had been a Roman province from the treaty which put an end to the first Punick war. By that treaty Sicily was divided into two parts; the one continued in the possession of the Romans, and the other under the government of Hiero; which last part, after the surrender of Syracuse, fell also into their hands.

SECT. III. *Reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, and upon ARCHIMEDES.*

BY the taking of Syracuse all Sicily became a province of the Roman empire: But it was not treated as the Spaniards and Carthaginians were afterwards, upon whom a certain tribute was imposed as the reward of the victory, and punishment of the vanquished: *Quasi victoriæ præmium, ac pæna belli.*
Sicily,

Sicily, in submitting to the * Roman people, retained all her ancient rights and customs, and obeyed them upon the same conditions she had obeyed her kings. And she certainly well deserved that privilege and distinction. † She was the first of all the foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with the Romans; the first conquest their arms had the glory to make out of Italy; and the first country that had given them the grateful experience of commanding a foreign people. The greatest part of the Sicilian cities had expressed an unexampled attachment, fidelity and affection for the Romans. The island was afterwards a kind of pass for their troops into Africa; and Rome would not so easily have reduced the formidable power of the Carthaginians, if Sicily had not served it as a magazine, abounding with provisions, and a secure retreat for their fleets. Hence after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himself obliged to adorn the cities of Sicily with a great number of excellent paintings and curious statues; in order that a people, who were so highly satisfied with the success of the Roman arms, might be sensible of its effects, and retain illustrious monuments of their victories amongst them.

Sicily would have been happy in being governed by the Romans, if they had always given her such magistrates as Cicero, knowing like him in the obligations of his function, and like him intent upon the due discharge of it. It is highly pleasing to hear him explain

* *Siciliæ civitates sic in amicitiam recepimus, ut eodem jure, essent, quo fuissent; eadem conditione populo R. parerent quæ suis antea paruissent. Cic.*

† *Omnium nationum exterarum princeps Sicilia se ad amicitiam fidemque populi R. applicuit: prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est appellata: prima docuit majores nostros, quam præclarum esset exteris gentibus imperare—Itaque majoribus nostris in Afri-*

cam ex hac provincia gradus imperii factus est. Neque enim tam facile opes Carthaginis tantæ concidissent, nisi illud, & rei frumentariæ subsidium, & receptaculum classibus nostris pateret. Quare P. Africanus, Carthagine deleta, Siculorum urbes signis monumentisque pulcherrimis exornavit; ut, quos victoria populi R. lætari arbitrabatur, apud eos monumenta victoriæ plurima collocaret. Cic. Verr. 3. n. 2, 3.

plain himself upon the subject; which he does in his defence of Sicily against Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witnesses of the sincerity of what he is going to expose, he says: "In all * the employments with which the Roman people have honoured me to this day, I have ever thought myself obliged, by the most sacred ties of religion, worthily to discharge the duties of them. When I was made quæstor, I looked upon that dignity not as a gratuity conferred upon me for my particular use, but as a deposit confided to my vigilance and fidelity. When I was afterwards sent to act in that office, I thought all eyes were turned upon me, and that my person and administration were in a manner exhibited as a spectacle to the view of all the world; and in this thought I not only denied myself all pleasures of an extraordinary kind, but even those that are authorized by nature and necessity. I am now intended for ædile. I call the gods to witness, that how honourable soever this dignity seems to me, I have too just a sense of its weight, not to have more solicitude and disquiet, than joy and pleasure from it; so much I desire to make it appear, that it was not bestowed on me by chance, or the necessity of being filled up; but con-
fided

* Odiî immortales—Ita mihi meam voluntatem spemque reliquæ vitæ vestra populi que R. existimatio comprobeat, ut ego quos adhuc mihi magistratus populos. R. mandavit, sic eos accepi, ut me omnium officiorum obstringi religione arbitrarer. Ita quæstor sum factus, ut mihi honorem illum non tam datum quam creditum ac commissum putarem. Sic obtinui quæsturam in provincia, ut omnium oculos in me unum coniectos arbitrarer: ut me quæsturamque meam quasi in aliquo orbis terræ theatro versari existimarem; ut omnia semper,

quæ jucunda videntur esse, non modo his extraordinariis cupiditatibus, sed etiam ipsi naturæ ac necessitati denegarem. Nunc sum designatus ædilis—Ita mihi deos omnes propitios esse velim, ut tametsi mihi jucundissimus est honos populi, tamen nequaquam tantum capio voluptatis, quantum sollicitudinis & laboris, ut hæc ipsa ædilitas, non quia necesse fuit alicui candidato data, sed quia sic oportuerit rectè collocata, & judicio populi digno, in loco posita esse videatur. *Cic. Verr. 7.*
n. 35—37.

“ fided deservedly by the choice and discernment
“ of my country.”

All the Roman governors were far from being of this character; and Sicily, above all other provinces, experienced, as * Cicero some lines after reproaches Verres, that they were almost all of them like so many tyrants, who believed themselves only attended by the fasces and axes, and invested with the authority of the Roman empire, to exercise in their province an open robbery of the publick with impunity, and to break through all the barriers of justice and shame in such a manner, that no man's estate, life, house, or even honour, were safe from their violence.

Syracuse, from all we have seen of it, ought to appear like a theatre, on which many different and surprizing scenes have been exhibited; or rather like a sea, sometimes calm and untroubled, but oftener violently agitated by winds and storms, always ready to overwhelm it entirely. We have seen in no other republick, such sudden, frequent, violent, and various revolutions: Sometimes enslaved by the most cruel tyrants, at others under the government of the wisest kings; sometimes abandoned to the capricious will of a populace, without either government or restriction; sometimes perfectly docile and submissive to the authority of law, and the empire of reason, it passed alternately from the most insupportable slavery to the most grateful liberty, from a kind of convulsions and frantick emotions, to a wise, peaceable, and regular conduct. The reader will easily call to mind, on the one side, Dionysius the father and son, Agathocles and Hieronymus, whose cruelties made them the objects of the publick hatred and detestation;

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* Nunquam tibi venit in mentem; non tibi idcirco fasces & secures, & tantam imperii vim, tantamque ornamentorum omnium dignitatem datam; ut earum rerum vi & auctoritate omnia repagula juris, pudoris, & officii perfringe-

res; ut omnium bona prædam tuam duceres; nullius res tuta, nullus domus clausa, nullius vita septa, nullius pudicitia munita, contra tuam cupiditatem & audaciam posset esse. *Cic. Verr. n. 39.*

tation; on the other, Gelon, Dion, Timoleon, the two Heroes, ancient and modern, universally beloved and revered by the people.

To what are such opposite extremes and vicissitudes so contrary to be attributed? Undoubtedly, I think, the levity and inconstancy of the Syracusans, which was their distinguishing characteristick, had a great share in them; but what I am convinced conducted the most to them, was the very form of their government, compounded of the aristocrattick and democrattick, that is to say, divided between the senate or elders, and the people. As there was no counterpoise in Syracuse to support a right balance between those two bodies, when authority inclined either to the one side or the other, the government presently changed either into a violent and cruel tyranny, or an unbridled liberty, without order or regulation. The sudden confusion at such times of all orders of the state, made the way to sovereign power easy to the most ambitious of the citizens: To attract the affection of their country, and soften the yoke to their fellow-citizens, some exercised that power with lenity, wisdom, equity, and popular behaviour; and others, by nature less virtuously inclined, carried it to the last excess of the most absolute and cruel despotism, under pretext of supporting themselves against the attempts of their citizens, who, jealous of their liberty, thought every means for the recovery of it legitimate and laudable.

There were besides other reasons, that rendered the government of Syracuse difficult, and thereby made way for the frequent changes it underwent. That city did not forget the signal victories it had obtained against the formidable power of Africa, and that it had carried victorious arms and terror even to the walls of Carthage; and that not once only, as afterwards against the Athenians, but during several ages. The high idea its fleets and numerous troops suggested of its maritime power, at the time of the irruption of the Persians into Greece, occasioned

its pretending to equal Athens in that respect, or at least to divide the empire of the sea with that state.

Besides which, riches, the natural effect of commerce, had rendered the Syracusans proud, haughty, and imperious, and at the same time had plunged them into a sloth and luxury, that inspired them with a disgust for all fatigue and application. They generally abandoned themselves blindly to their orators, who had acquired an absolute ascendant over them. In order to make them obey, it was necessary either to flatter or reproach them.

They had naturally a fund of equity, humanity, and good nature; and yet when influenced by the seditious discourses of the orators, they would proceed to excessive violence and cruelties, which they immediately after repented.

When they were left to themselves, their liberty, which at that time knew no bounds, soon degenerated into caprice, fury, violence, and I might say even phrenzy. On the contrary, when they were subjected to the yoke, they became base, timorous, submissive, and creeping like slaves. But as this condition was violent, and directly contrary to the character and disposition of the Greek nation, born and nurtured in liberty, the sense of which was not wholly extinguished in them, and only lulled asleep; they waked from time to time from their lethargy, broke their chains, and made use of them, if I may be admitted to use the expression, to beat down and destroy the unjust masters who had imposed them.

With a small attention to the whole series of the history of the Syracusans, it may easily be perceived, (as Galba afterwards said of the Romans) that * they were equally incapable of bearing either entire liberty or entire servitude. So that the ability and policy of those who governed them, consisted in keeping the people

* Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem. *Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 16.*

people to a wise medium between those two extremes, by seeming to leave them an entire freedom in their resolutions, and reserving only to themselves the care of explaining the utility, and facilitating the execution of good measures. And in this the magistrates and kings we have spoken of were wonderfully successful, under whose government the Syracusans always enjoyed peace and tranquillity, were obedient to their princes, and perfectly submissive to the laws. And this induces me to conclude, that the revolutions of Syracuse were less the effect of the people's levity, than the fault of those that governed them, who had not the art of managing their passions, and engaging their affection, which is properly the science of kings, and of all who command others.

 BOOK THE TWENTY-SECOND.

 T H E
 H I S T O R Y
 O F
 P O N T U S.

C H A P. I.

SECT. I. MITHRIDATES, at twelve years old, ascends the throne of Pontus. He seizes Cappadocia and Bithynia, having first expelled their kings. The Romans re-establish them. He causes all the Romans in Asia minor to be put to the sword in one day. First war of the Romans with MITHRIDATES, who had made himself master of Asia minor, and Greece, where he had taken Athens. SYLLA is charged with this war. He besieges and retakes Athens. He gains three great battles against the generals of MITHRIDATES. He grants that prince peace in the fourth year of the war. Library of Athens, in which were the works of ARISTOTLE. SYLLA causes it to be carried to Rome.

MITHRIDATES, king of Pontus, whose history we are now beginning, and who rendered himself so famous by the war he supported, during almost thirty years, against the Romans, was surnamed Eupator. He descended from a house, which had given a long succession of kings to the kingdom of Pontus. The first, according to some historians, was Artabafus, one of the seven princes that slew the Magi, and set the crown of Persia

sia upon the head of Darius Hyftaspes, who rewarded him with the kingdom of Pontus. But besides that we do not find the name of Artabafus amongst those Persians, many reasons induce us to believe, that the prince of whom we speak, was the son of Darius, the same who is called Artabarzanes, who was competitor with Xerxes for the throne of Persia, and was made king of Pontus either by his father or his brother, to console him for the preference given to Xerxes. His posterity enjoyed that kingdom during seventeen generations. Mithridates Eupator, of whom we shall treat in this place, was the sixteenth from him.

He was but twelve years of age when he began to reign. His father, before his death, had appointed him his successor, and had given him his mother for guardian, who was to govern jointly with him. (x) He began his reign by putting his mother and brother to death; and the sequel answered but too well to such a beginning of it. (y) Nothing is said of the first years of his reign, except that one of the Roman generals, whom he had corrupted with money, having surrendered, and put him into possession of Phrygia, it was soon after taken from him by the Romans, which gave birth to his enmity for them.

Ariarathes king of Cappadocia being dead, Mithridates caused the two sons he had left behind him to be put to death, though their mother Laodice was his own sister, and placed one of his own sons, at that time very young, upon the throne, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian and regent. Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who apprehended this increase of power would put Mithridates into a condition to possess himself also of his dominions in time, thought proper to set up a certain young man (who seemed very fit for such a part) as third son of Ariarathes. He engaged Laodice, whom he had espoused after the death of her first husband,

L 2

A. M.
3880.
Ant. J. C.
124.

A. M.
3913.
Ant. J. C.
91.

(x) Memnon in Excerptis Photii, c. xxxii.
Mithrid. p. 177, 178.

(y) Appian. in

husband, to acknowledge him as such, and sent her to Rome, to assist and support by her presence the claim of his pretended son, whom she carried thither along with her. The cause being brought before the senate, both parties were condemned, and a decree passed, by which the Cappadocians were declared free. But they said they could not be without a king. The senate permitted them to chuse whom they thought fit. They elected Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of their nation. Sylla, upon his quitting the office of prætor, was charged with the commission of establishing him upon the throne. That was the pretext for this expedition; but the real motive of it was, to check the enterprizes of Mithridates, whose power daily augmenting, gave umbrage to the Romans. Sylla executed his commission the following year; and after having defeated a great number of Cappadocians, and a much greater of Armenians, who came to their aid, he expelled Gordius, with the pretended Ariarathes, and set Ariobarzanes in his place.

A. M.
3914.
An. Dom.
90.

Whilst Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Persian, named Orobastus, arrived at his camp from king Arsaces *, to demand the alliance and amity of the Romans. Sylla received him at his audience, caused three seats to be placed in his tent, one for Ariobarzanes, who was present, another for Orobastus, and that in the midst for himself. The Parthian king afterwards, offended at his deputy, for having acquiesced in this instance of the Roman pride, caused him to be put to death. This is the first time the Parthians had any commerce with the Romans.

Mithridates did not dare at that time to oppose the establishment of Ariobarzanes; but dissembling the mortification that conduct of the Romans gave him, he resolved to take an opportunity of being revenged upon them. In the mean while, he applied himself in cultivating good alliances for the augmentation

* This was Mithridates II.

ation of his strength, and began with Tigranes king of Armenia, a very powerful prince. (a) Armenia had at first appertained to the Persians; it came under the Macedonians afterwards, and upon the death of Alexander, made part of the kingdom of Syria. Under Antiochus the Great, two of his generals, Artaxius and Zadriadres with that prince's permission, established themselves in this province, of which it is probable they were before governors. After the defeat of Antiochus they adhered to the Romans, who acknowledged them as kings. They had divided Armenia into two parts: Tigranes, of whom we now speak, descended from Artaxius. He possessed himself of all Armenia, subjected several neighbouring countries by his arms, and thereby formed a very powerful kingdom. Mithridates gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and engaged him to enter so far into his project against the Romans, that they agreed Mithridates should have the cities and countries they should conquer for his share, and Tigranes the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.

Their first enterprize and act of hostility was committed by Tigranes, who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into possession, and re-established Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, in it. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happened to die about this time: His eldest son, called also Nicomedes, ought naturally to have succeeded him, and was accordingly proclaimed king. But Mithridates set up his younger brother Socrates against him, who deprived him of the throne by force of arms. The two dethroned kings went to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who decreed their re-establishment, and sent Manius Aquilius and M. Altinius to put that decree in execution.

They were both re-instated. The Romans advised them to make irruptions into the lands of Mithridates, promising them their support; but neither

L 3

the

the one nor the other dared to attack so powerful a prince so near home. At length, however, Nicomedes, at the joint instances of the ambassadors, to whom he had promised great sums for his re-establishment, and of his creditors, Roman citizens settled in Asia, who had lent him very considerably for the same effects, could no longer resist their solicitations. He made incursions upon the lands of Mithridates, ravaged all the flat country as far as the city Amastris, and returned home laden with booty, which he applied in discharging part of his debts.

Mithridates was not ignorant by whose advice Nicomedes had committed this irruption. He might easily have repulsed him, having a great number of good troops on foot; but he did not take the field. He was glad to place the wrong on the side of the Romans, and to have a just cause for declaring war against them. He began by making remonstrances to their generals and ambassadors. Pelopidas was at the head of this embassy. He complained of the various contraventions of the Romans to the treaty of alliance subsisting between them and Mithridates, and in particular, of the protection granted by them to Nicomedes, his declared enemy. The ambassadors of the latter replied with complaints on their side of Mithridates. The Romans, who were unwilling to declare themselves openly at present, gave them an answer in loose and general terms; that the Roman people had no intention that Mithridates and Nicomedes should injure each other.

Mithridates, who was not satisfied with this answer, made his troops march immediately into Cappadocia, expelled Ariobarzanes again, and set his son Ariathes upon the throne, as he had done before. At the same time, he sent his ambassador to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to complain of them again. Pelopidas declared to them, that his master was contented the Roman people should judge in the affair, and added, that he had already sent his ambassadors to Rome. He exhorted them not to under-

undertake any thing, till they had received the senate's orders ; nor engage rashly in a war, that might be attended with fatal consequences. For the rest, he gave them to understand, that Mithridates, in case justice were refused him, was in a condition to right himself. The Romans, highly offended at so haughty a declaration, made answer ; that Mithridates had orders immediately to withdraw his troops from Cappadocia, and not continue to disturb Nicomedes or Ariobarzanes. They ordered Pelopidas to quit the camp that moment, and not return, unless his master obeyed. The other ambassadors were no better received at Rome.

The rupture was then inevitable, and the Roman generals did not wait till the orders of the senate and people arrived ; which was what Mithridates had demanded. The design he had long formed of declaring war against the Romans, had occasioned his having made many alliances, and engaged many nations in his interests. Twenty-two languages, of as many different people, were reckoned amongst his troops, all which Mithridates himself spoke with facility. His army consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and forty thousand horse ; without including an hundred and thirty armed chariots, and a fleet of four hundred ships.

(e) Before he proceeded to action, he thought it necessary to prepare his troops for it, and made them a * long discourse to animate them against the Romans. He represented to them, “ That there was
 “ no room for examining whether war or peace were
 “ to be preferred ; that the Romans, by attacking
 “ them first, had spared them that enquiry : That
 “ their business was to fight and conquer : That he
 “ assured himself of success, if the troops persisted
 “ to act with the same valour they had already shewn
 L 4 “ upon

(e) Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3—7.

* I have abridged this discourse to miser. The discourse is a specimen extremely, which Justin repeats at of that excellent historian's style ; and length, as it stood in Trogus Pompeius, of whom he is only the epi- ought to make us very much regret the loss of his writings.

“ upon so many occasions, and lately against the
 “ same enemies, whom they had put to flight, and
 “ cut to pieces in Bithynia and Cappadocia: That
 “ there could not be a more favourable opportunity
 “ than the present, when the Marfi infested and ra-
 “ vaged the heart itself of Italy; when Rome was
 “ torn in pieces by civil wars, and an innumerable
 “ army of the Cimbri from Germany over-ran all
 “ Italy: That the time was come for humbling those
 “ proud Republicans, who had the same view with
 “ regard to the royal dignity, and had sworn to pull
 “ down all the thrones of the universe: That for
 “ the rest *, the war his soldiers were now entering
 “ upon, was highly different from that they had sus-
 “ tained with so much valour in the horrid deserts,
 “ and frozen regions of Scythia: That he should
 “ lead them into the most fruitful and temperate
 “ country of the world, abounding with rich and
 “ opulent cities, which seemed to offer themselves an
 “ easy prey: That Asia, abandoned to be devoured
 “ by the insatiable avarice of the proconsuls, the in-
 “ exorable cruelty of tax-farmers, and the crying
 “ injustice of corrupt judges, had the name of Ro-
 “ man in horror, and impatiently expected them as
 “ her deliverers: That they followed him not so
 “ much to a war, as to assured victory and certain
 “ spoils.” The army answered this discourse with
 universal shouts of joy, and reiterated protestations of
 service and fidelity.

The Romans had formed three armies out of their
 troops

* Nunc se diversam belli con-
 ditionem ingredi. Nam neque
 cœlo Asiæ esse temperatius aliud,
 nec solo fertilius, nec urbium mul-
 titudine amœnius; magnamque
 temporis partem, non ut militiam,
 sed ut festam diem, acturos, bello
 dubium facili magis an uberi-
 tantumque se avida expectat Asia,
 ut etiam vocibus vocet: adeo illis
 odium Romanorum incussit rapa-
 citas proconsulum, sectio publi-
 canorum, calumniæ litium. Jus-

tin——Sectio publicanorum in
 this passage properly signifies the
 forcible sale of the goods of those,
 who, for default of payment of
 taxes and imposts, had their estates
 and effects seized on and sold by the
 publicans. Calumniæ litium are
 the unjust quirks and chicanery,
 which served as pretexts for de-
 priving the rich of their estates,
 either upon account of taxes, or under
 some other colour.

troops in the several parts of Asia minor. The first was commanded by Cassius, who had the government of the province of Pergamus; the second by Manius Aquilius; the third by Q. Oppius proconsul, in the province of Pamphylia. Each of them had forty thousand men, including the cavalry. Besides these troops, Nicomedes had fifty thousand foot, and six thousand horse. They began the war, as I have already observed, without waiting orders from Rome, and carried it on with so much negligence and so little conduct, that they were all three defeated on different occasions, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius themselves were taken prisoners, and treated with all kinds of insults. Mithridates, considering Aquilius as the principal author of the war, treated him with the highest indignities. He made him pass in review before the troops, and presented him as a sight to the people mounted on an ass, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Manius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands fastened by a chain to a horse, that drew him along. At last he made him swallow molten lead, and put him to death with the most exquisite torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherously delivered him up to Mithridates, at a time when he was sick, and had retired to their city for the recovery of his health.

(f) Mithridates, who was desirous of gaining the people's hearts by his reputation for clemency, sent home all the Greeks he had taken prisoners, and supplied them with provisions for their journey. That instance of his goodness and lenity opened the gates of all the cities to him. The people came out to meet him every where with acclamations of joy. They gave him excessive praises, called him the preserver, the father of the people, the deliverer of Asia, with all the other names ascribed to Bacchus, to which he had a just title, for he passed for the prince of

(f) Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 461. Athen. l. v. p. 213. Cic. Orat. pro Flacco, n. 60.

of his times, (g) who could drink most without being disordered; a quality he valued himself upon, and thought much to his honour.

The fruits of his first victories were the conquest of all Bithynia, from which Nicomedes was driven; of Phrygia and Mysia, lately made Roman provinces; of Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and several other countries.

Having found at Stratonicea a young maid of exquisite beauty, named Monima, he took her along with him in his train.

(b) Mithridates considering that the Romans, and all the Italians in general, who were at that time in Asia minor upon different affairs, carried on secret intrigues much to the prejudice of his interests, he sent private orders from Ephesus, where he then was, to the governors of the provinces, and magistrates of the cities of Asia minor, to massacre them all upon a day fixed*. The women, children, and domesticks, were included in this proscription. To these orders was annexed a prohibition, to give interment to those who should be killed. Their estates and effects were to be confiscated for the use of the king, and the murderers. A severe fine was laid upon such as should conceal the living, or bury the dead; and a reward appointed for whoever discovered those that were hid. Liberty was given to the slaves, who killed their masters; and debtors forgiven half their debts, for killing their creditors. The repetition only of this horrid order, is enough to make one tremble with horror. What then must have been the desolation in all those provinces when it was put in execution! Fourscore thousand Romans and Italians were butchered in consequence of it. Some make the slain amount to almost twice that number.

Being

(g) Plut. Sympof. l. i. p. 624.
Orat. pro lege Manil. n. 7.

(b) Appian. p. 185. Cic. in

* Is uno die, tota Asia, tot in manos necandos trucidandosque civitatibus, uno nuntio, atque una denotavit. Cic.

(i) Being informed that there was a great treasure at Cos, he sent people thither to seize it. Cleopatra queen of Egypt had deposited it there, when she undertook the war in Phœnicia against her son Lathyrus. Besides this treasure, they found eight hundred talents, (eight hundred thousand crowns) which the Jews in Asia minor had deposited there, when they saw the war ready to break out.

(k) All those, who had found means to escape this general slaughter in Asia, had taken refuge in Rhodes, which received them with joy, and afforded them a secret retreat. Mithridates laid siege to that city ineffectually, which he was soon obliged to raise, after having been in danger of being taken himself in a sea-fight, wherein he lost many of his ships.

(l) When he had made himself master of Asia minor, Mithridates sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men into Greece. That general took Athens, and chose it for his residence, giving all orders from thence, in regard to the war on that side. During his stay there, he engaged most of the cities and states of Greece in the interests of his master. He reduced Delos by force, which had revolted from the Athenians, and reinstated them in the possession of it. He sent them the sacred treasure, kept in that island by Aristion, to whom he gave two thousand men as a guard for the money. Aristion was an Athenian philosopher, of the sect of Epicurus. He employed the two thousand men under his command to seize all authority at Athens, where he exercised a most cruel tyranny, putting many of the citizens to death, and sending many to Mithridates, upon pretence that they were of the Roman faction.

Such was the state of affairs when Sylla was charged with the war against Mithridates. He set out immediately for Greece with five legions, and some cohorts

A. M.
3917.
Ant. J. C.
87.

(i) Appian. p. 186. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. (k) Appian. p. 186—188. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 402. (l) Plut. in Sylla, p. 453—461. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 188—197.

cohorts and cavalry. Mithridates was at that time at Pergamus, where he distributed riches, governments, and other rewards to his friends.

Upon Sylla's arrival, all the cities opened their gates to him, except Athens, which, subjected to the tyrant Aristion's yoke, was obliged unwillingly to oppose him. The Roman general, having entered Attica, divided his troops into two bodies, the one of which he sent to besiege Aristion in the city of Athens, and with the other he marched in person to the port Pyræus, which was a kind of second city, where Archelaus had shut himself up, relying upon the strength of the place, the walls being almost sixty feet high, and entirely of hewn stone. The work was indeed very strong, and had been raised by the order of Pericles in the Peloponnesian war, when the hopes of victory depending solely upon this port, he had fortified it to the utmost of his power.

The height of the walls did not amaze Sylla. He employed all sorts of engines in battering it, and made continual assaults. If he would have waited a little, he might have taken the higher city without striking a blow, which was reduced by famine to the last extremity. But being in haste to return to Rome, and apprehending the changes that might happen there in his absence, he spared neither danger, attacks, nor expence, in order to hasten the conclusion of that war. Without enumerating the rest of the warlike stores and equipage, twenty thousand mules were perpetually employed in working the machines only. Wood happening to fall short, from the great consumption made of it in the machines, which were often either broke and spoiled by the vast weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not spare the sacred groves. He cut down the trees in the walks of the Academy and Lycæum, which were the finest and best planted in the suburbs, and caused the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demolished, in order to make use of the ruins in erecting his works, and carrying on his approaches.

As

As he had occasion for abundance of money in this war, and desired to attach the soldiers to his interests, and to animate them by great rewards, he had recourse to the inviolable treasures of the temples, and caused the finest and most precious gifts, consecrated at Epidaurus and Olympia, to be brought from thence. He wrote to the Amphyctions assembled at Delphos, "That they would act wisely in sending him the treasures of the god, because they would be more secure in his hands; and if he should be obliged to make use of them, he would return the value after the war." At the same time he sent one of his friends, named Caphis, a native of Phocis, to Delphos, to receive all those treasures by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphos, he was afraid, out of reverence for the god, to meddle with the gifts consecrated to him, and wept, in the presence of the Amphyctions, the necessity imposed upon him. Upon which, some person there having said, that he heard the sound of Apollo's lyre from the inside of the sanctuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it, or was for taking that occasion to strike Sylla with a religious awe, he wrote him an account of what happened. Sylla, deriding his simplicity, replied, "That he was surprized he should not comprehend, that singing was a sign of joy, and by no means of anger and resentment; and therefore he had nothing to do but to take the treasures boldly, and be assured, that the god saw him do so with pleasure, and gave them to him himself."

Plutarch, on this occasion, observes upon the difference between the ancient Roman generals, and those of the times we now speak of. The former, whom merit alone had raised to office, and who had no views from employments but the publick good, knew how to make the soldiers respect and obey them, without descending to use low and unworthy methods for that purpose. They commanded troops, that were wise, disciplined, and well inured to exe-

cute the orders of their generals without reply or delay. Truly kings, says * Plutarch, in the grandeur and nobility of their sentiments, but simple and modest private persons in their train and equipage, they put the state to no other expence in the discharge of their offices, than what was reasonable and necessary, conceiving it more shameful in a captain to flatter his soldiers, than to fear his enemies. Things were much changed in the times we now speak of. The Roman generals, abandoned to insatiable ambition and luxury, were obliged to make themselves slaves to their soldiers, and to buy their services by gifts proportioned to their avidity, and often by the toleration and impunity of the greatest crimes.

Sylla, in consequence, was perpetually in extreme want of money to satisfy his troops, and then more than ever for carrying on the siege he had engaged in, the success of which seemed to him of the highest importance, both to his honour and safety. He was for depriving Mithridates of the only city he had left in Greece, and which, by preventing the Romans from passing into Asia, made all hopes of conquering that prince vain, and would oblige Sylla to return shamefully into Italy, where he would have found more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was besides sensibly galled by the offensive raillery Aristion vented every day against himself and his wife Metella.

It is not easy to say whether the attack or defence were conducted with most vigour; for both sides behaved with incredible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and attended with almost battles in form, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally not very unequal. The besieged would not have been in a condition to have made so vigorous a defence, if they had not received several considerable reinforcements by sea.

What hurt them most, was the secret treachery of two Athenian slaves that were in the Piræus. Those

slaves,

* Αὐτοὶ τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς βασιλικοῦ καὶ ταῖς δαπαναῖς εὐτελεῖς ὄντες.

slaves, whether out of affection to the Roman party, or desirous of providing for their own safety, in case the place was taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that passed within, and threw them with slings to the Romans. So that whatever wise measures Archelaus took, who defended the Piræus, whilst Aristion commanded in the city, nothing succeeded. He resolved to make a general sally; the traitors slung a leaden ball with this intelligence upon it: *To-morrow, at such an hour, the foot will attack your works, and the horse your camp.* Sylla laid ambushes, and repulsed the besieged with loss. A convoy of provisions was in the night to have been thrown into the city that was in want of all things. Upon advice of the same kind the convoy was intercepted.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the Athenians defended themselves like lions. They found means either to burn most of the machines erected against the walls, or by undermining them to throw them down and break them to pieces.

The Romans, on their side, behaved with no less vigour. By the help of mines also they made a way to the bottom of the walls, under which they hollowed the ground, and having propt the foundation with beams of wood, they afterwards set fire to the props with a great quantity of pitch, sulphur, and tow. When those beams was burnt, part of the wall fell down with an horrible noise, and a large breach was opened, through which the Romans advanced to the assault. The battle continued a great while with equal ardour on both sides, but the Romans were at length obliged to retire. The next day they renewed the attack. The besieged had built a new wall during the night in the form of a crescent, in the place where the other had fallen; and the Romans found it impossible to force it.

Sylla, discouraged by so obstinate a defence, resolved to attack the Piræus no longer, and confined himself to reduce the place by famine. The city, on the other side, was at the last extremity. A bushel
of

of barley had been sold in it for a thousand drachmas (about five-and-twenty pounds sterling.) The inhabitants did not only eat the grafs and roots, which they found about the citadel, but the flesh of horses, and the leather shoes, which they boiled soft. In the midst of the publick misery, the tyrant passed his days and nights in debauch. The senators and priests went to throw themselves at his feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to obtain a capitulation from Sylla: He dispersed them with arrow-shot, and in that manner drove them from his presence.

He did not demand a cessation of arms, nor send deputies to Sylla, till reduced to the last extremity. As those deputies made no proposals, and asked nothing of him to the purpose, but ran on in praising and extolling Theseus, Eumolpus, and the exploits of the Athenians against the Medes; Sylla was tired with their discourse, and interrupted them, by saying, "Gentlemen haranguers, you may go back again, and keep your rhetorical flourishes for yourselves. For my part, I was not sent to Athens to be informed of your ancient prowess, but to chastise your modern revolt."

During this audience, some spies having entered the city, overheard by chance some old men talking of the quarter called * Ceramicus, and blaming the tyrant exceedingly for not guarding a certain part of the wall, that was the only place by which the enemy might easily scale the walls. At their return into the camp, they related what they had heard to Sylla. The parley had been to no purpose. Sylla did not neglect the intelligence given him. The next night he went in person to take a view of the place, and finding the wall actually accessible, he ordered ladders to be raised against it, began the attack there, and having made himself master of the wall after a weak resistance, entered the city. He would not suffer it to be set on fire, but abandoned it to be plundered by

* The publick place at Athens.

by the soldiers, who in several houses found human flesh, which had been dressed to be eaten. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty was granted to the citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers, who were a very small number. He besieged the citadel the same day, where Aristion, and those who had taken refuge there, were soon so much reduced by famine, that they were forced to surrender themselves. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any office under him, were put to death.

Some few days after, Sylla made himself master of the Piræus, and burnt all its fortifications, especially the arsenal, which had been built by Philo, the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabrick. Archelaus, by the help of his fleet, had retired to Munichia, another port of Attica.

This year was fatal to the arms of Mithridates. Taxilus, one of his generals arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia, with an army of a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with fourscore and ten chariots armed with scythes. Archelaus, that general's brother, was at that time in the port of Munichia, and would neither remove from the sea, nor come to a battle with the Romans; but he endeavoured to protract the war, and cut off their provisions. This was very wise conduct, for Sylla began to be in want of them; so that famine obliged him to quit Attica, and to enter the fruitful plains of Bœotia, where Hortensius joined him. Their troops being united, they took possession of a fertile eminence in the midst of the plains of Elatea, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. When they had formed their camp, the enemies could discover at a view their small number, which amounted to only fifteen thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. This induced Archelaus's generals to press him in the warmest manner to proceed to action. They did not obtain his consent without great difficulty. They immediately be-

gan to move, and covered the whole plain with horses, chariots, and their innumerable troops. For when the two brothers were joined, their army was very formidable. The noise and cries of so many nations, and so many thousands of men preparing for battle, the pomp and magnificence of their array, were equally terrible. The brightness of their armour, magnificently adorned with gold and silver, and the lively colours of the Median and Scythian coats of arms, mingled with the glitter of brass and steel, reflected a kind of rays, which, whilst they dazzled the sight, filled the soul with terror.

The Romans, seized with dread, kept close within their entrenchments. Sylla not being able by his discourse and remonstrances to remove their fear, and not being willing to force them to fight in their present universal discouragement, was obliged to lie still, and suffer, though with great impatience, the bravadoes and insulting derision of the Barbarians. They conceived so great a contempt for him in consequence, that they neglected to observe any discipline. Few of them kept within their entrenchments; the rest, for the sake of plunder, dispersed in great troops, and removed considerably, even several days journey, from the camp. They plundered and ruined some cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the last despair, when he saw the cities of the allies destroyed before his eyes, for want of power to make his army fight. He at last thought of a stratagem, which was to give the troops no repose, and to keep them incessantly at work in turning the little river Cephissus, which was near the camp, and in digging deep and large fosses, under pretence of their better security, but in effect, that when they should be tired of such great fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to the continuance of their labour. His stratagem was successful. After having worked without intermission three days, as Sylla, according to custom, was taking a view of their progress, they cried out to him with one voice to lead them

them against the enemy. Sylla suffered himself to be exceedingly intreated, and did not comply for some time: But when he saw their ardour increase from his oppositions, he made them stand to their arms, and marched against the enemy.

The battle was fought near Cheronæa. The enemy had possessed themselves with a great body of troops of a very advantageous post, called Thurium: It was the ridge of a steep mountain, which extended itself upon the left flank of the Romans, and was very proper to check their motions. Two men of Cheronæa came to Sylla, and promised him to drive the enemy from this post, if he would give him a small number of chosen troops; which he did. In the mean time he drew up his army in battle, divided his horse between the two wings, taking the right himself, and giving the left to Murena. Galba and Hortensius formed a second line. Hortensius, on the left of it, supported Murena, whilst Galba, on the right, did the same for Sylla. The Barbarians had already begun to extend the horse, and light-armed foot, in a large compass, with design to surround the second line, and charge it in the rear.

At that instant the two men of Cheronæa, having gained the top of Thurium with their small troop, without being perceived by the enemy, shewed themselves on a sudden. The Barbarians, surprized and terrified, immediately took to flight. Pressing against each other upon the declivity of the mountain, they ran precipitately down before the enemy, who charged and pursued them down the hill with their swords at their backs; so that about three thousand men were killed upon the mountain. Of those that escaped, some fell into the hands of Murena, who had just before formed himself in battle. Having marched against them, he intercepted, and made a great slaughter of them: The rest, who endeavoured to regain their camp, fell in upon the main body of their troops with so much precipitation, that they threw the whole army into terror and confusion, and

made their generals lose much time in restoring order, which was one of the principal causes of their defeat.

Sylla, to take advantage of this disorder, marched against them with so much vigour, and passed the space between the two armies with such rapidity, that he prevented the effect of their chariots armed with scythes. The force of these chariots depended upon the length of their course, which gave impetuosity and violence to their motion; instead of which, a short space that did not leave room for their career, rendered them useless and ineffectual. This the Barbarians experienced at this time. The first chariots came on so slowly, and with so little effect, that the Romans easily pushing them back, with great noise and loud laughter called for more, as was customary at Rome in the chariot-races of the Circus.

After those chariots were removed, the two armies came to blows. The Barbarians presented their long pikes, and kept close order with their bucklers joined, so that they could not be broke; and the Romans threw down their javelins, and, with sword in hand, removed the enemies pikes, in order to join and charge them with great fury. What increased their animosity, was the sight of fifteen thousand slaves, whom the king's generals had spirited from them by the promise of their liberty, and posted amongst them the heavy-armed foot. Those slaves had so much resolution and bravery, that they sustained the shock of the Roman foot without giving way. Their battle was so deep and so well closed, that the Romans could neither break nor move them, till the light-armed foot of the second line had put them into disorder, by the discharge of their arrows, and an hail of stones from their slings, which forced them to give ground.

Archelaus having made his right wing advance to surround the left of the Romans, Hortensius led on the troops under his command to take him in flank; which

which Archelaus seeing, he ordered two thousand horse to wheel about. Hortensius, upon the point of being overpowered by that great body of horse, retired by degrees towards the mountains, perceiving himself too far from the main body, and upon the point of being surrounded by the enemy. Sylla, with great part of his right wing, that had not yet engaged, marched to his relief. From the dust raised by those troops, Archelaus judged what they were, and leaving Hortensius, he turned about towards the place Sylla had quitted, in hopes he should find no difficulty in defeating the right wing without its general.

Taxilus, at the same time, led on his foot, armed with brazen shields, against * Murena; whilst each side raised great cries, which made the neighbouring hills resound. Sylla halted on that noise, not knowing well to which side he should hasten. At length, he thought it most expedient to return to his former post, and support his right wing. He therefore sent Hortensius to assist Murena with four cohorts, and taking the fifth with him, he flew to his right wing, which he found engaged in battle with Archelaus, neither side having the advantage. But as soon as he appeared, that wing taking new courage from the presence of their general, opened their way through the troops of Archelaus, put them to flight, and pursued them vigorously for a considerable time.

After this great success, without losing a moment, he marched to the aid of Murena. Finding him also victorious, and that he had defeated Taxilus, he joined him in the pursuit of the vanquished. A great number of the Barbarians were killed in the plain, and a much greater cut to pieces, in endeavouring to gain their camp; so that, of many thousand men, only ten thousand escaped, who fled to the city of Chalcis. Sylla wrote in his memoirs, that only fourteen of his men were missing, and that two of them returned the same evening.

A. M. To celebrate so great a victory, he gave the Mu-
 3919.
 Ant. J. C. sick-games at Thebes, and caused judges to come
 85. from the neighbouring Grecian cities to distribute
 the prizes; for he had an implacable aversion for the
 Thebans. He even deprived them of half their terri-
 tory, which he consecrated to Apollo Pythius, and
 Jupiter Olympius, and decreed, that the money he had
 taken out of the temples of those gods should be re-
 paid out of their revenues.

These games were no sooner over, than he received
 advice, that L. Valerius Flaccus of the adverse party
 (for at this time the divisions between Marius and
 Sylla were at the highest) had been elected consul,
 and had already crossed the Ionian sea with an army,
 in appearance against Mithridates, but in reality
 against himself. For this reason he began his march
 to Thessaly, as with design to meet him. But being
 arrived * at the city of Melitea, news came to him
 from all sides, that all the places he had left in his
 rear were plundered by another of the king's armies,
 stronger and more numerous than the first. For
 Dorylaus was arrived at Chalcis with a great fleet,
 on board of which were fourscore thousand men, the
 best equipped, the most warlike and disciplined of
 all Mithridate's troops, and had thrown himself into
 Bœotia, and possessed himself of the whole country,
 in order to bring Sylla to a battle. Archelaus would
 have diverted him from that design, by giving him
 an exact account of the battle he had so lately lost;
 but his counsel and remonstrances had no effect. He
 soon knew, that the advice he had given him, was
 highly reasonable and judicious.

He chose the plain of Orchomenus for the field of
 battle. Sylla caused fosses to be dug on each side
 of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage
 of an open country, and to remove them towards the
 marshes. The Barbarians fell furiously on the work-
 men, dispersed them, and put to flight the troops
 that supported them. Sylla, seeing his army flying
 in

in this manner, quitted his horse immediately, and seizing one of his ensigns, he pushed forwards towards the enemy through those that fled, crying to them, *For me, Romans, I think it glorious to die here. But for you, when you shall be asked where you abandoned your general, remember to say it was at Orchomenus.* They could not suffer those reproaches, and returned to the charge with such fury, that they made Archelaus's troops turn their backs. The Barbarians came on again in better order than before, and were again repulsed with greater loss.

The next day, at sun-rise, Sylla led back his troops towards the enemy's camp, to continue his trenches, and falling upon those who were detached to skirmish and drive away the workmen, he charged them so rudely, that he put them to flight. These threw the troops, who had continued in the camp, into such terror, that they were afraid to stay to defend it. Sylla entered it pell-mell with those that fled, and made himself master of it. The marshes, in a moment, were dyed with blood, and the like filled with dead bodies. The enemies, in different attacks, lost the greatest part of their troops. Archelaus continued a great while hid in the marshes, and escaped at last to Chalcis.

The news of all these defeats threw Mithridates into great consternation. However, as that prince was by nature fruitful in resources, he did not lose courage, and applied himself to repair his losses by making new levies. But from the fear, that his ill success might give birth to some revolt or conspiracy against his person, as had already happened, he took the bloody precautions of putting all he suspected to death, without sparing even his best friends.

(o) He was not more successful in Asia himself, than his generals had been in Greece. Fimbria, who commanded a Roman army there, beat the remainder

M 4

of

of his best troops. He pursued the vanquished as far as the gates of Pergamus, where Mithridates resided, and obliged him to quit that place himself, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place of Troas. Fimbria pursued him thither, and invested him by land. But as he had no fleet to do the same by sea, he sent to Lucullus, who cruized in the neighbouring seas with the Roman fleet, and represented to him, that he might acquire immortal glory, by seizing the person of Mithridates, who could not escape him, and by putting an end to so important a war. Fimbria and Lucullus were of two different factions. The latter would not be concerned in the affairs of the other. So that Mithridates escaped by sea to Mitylene, and extricated himself out of the hands of the Romans. This fault cost them very dear, and is not extraordinary in states, where misunderstandings subsist between the ministers and generals of the army, which make them neglect the publick good, lest they should contribute to the glory of their rivals.

Lucullus afterwards beat Mithridates's fleet twice, and gained two great victories over him. This happy success was the more surprizing, as it was not expected from Lucullus to distinguish himself by military exploits. He had passed his youth in the studies of the bar; and during his being quæstor in Asia, the province had always enjoyed peace. But so happy a genius as his, did not want to be taught by experience, which is not to be acquired by lessons, and is generally the growth of many years. He supplied that defect in some measure, by employing the whole time of his journey, by land and sea, partly in asking questions of persons experienced in the art of war, and partly in instructing himself by the reading of history. So that he arrived in Asia a compleat general, though he left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war*. Let your young warriors

* Ad Mithridaticum bellum onem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam
missus à senatu, non modo opini-
superi-

warriors consider this with due attention, and observe in what manner the great form themselves.

Whilst Sylla was very successful in Greece, the faction that opposed him, and at that time engrossed all power at Rome, had declared him an enemy of the commonwealth. Cinna and Carbo treated the noblest and most considerable persons with every kind of cruelty and injustice. Most of these, to avoid this insupportable tyranny, had chose to retire to Sylla's camp, as to a port of safety; so that in a small time Sylla had a little senate about him. His wife Metella, having escaped with great difficulty with her children, brought him an account, that his enemies had burnt his house, and ruined his lands, and begged him to depart immediately to the relief of those, who remained in Rome, and were upon the point of being made victims of the same fury.

Sylla was in the greatest perplexity. On the one side, the miserable condition to which his country was reduced, inclined him to march directly to its relief; on the other, he could not resolve to leave imperfect so great and important an affair as the war with Mithridates. Whilst he was under this cruel dilemma, a merchant came to him, to treat with him in secret from general Archelaus, and to make him some proposals of an accommodation. He was so exceedingly rejoiced when this man had explained his commission, that he made all possible haste to have a conference with that general.

They had an interview upon the banks of the sea, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who did
not

superiorum. Idque eo fuit mirabilius, quod ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi opera, quæstura diturnum tempus, Murena bellum in Ponto gerente, in Asiæ pace consumperat. Sed incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit indocilem usûs disci-

plinam. Itaque cum totum iter & navigationem consumpsisset, partim in percontando à peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis; in Asiam factus imperator venit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis. *Cic. Academ. Quæst.* l. vi. n. 2.

not know how important it was to Sylla, to have it in his power to repass into Italy, proposed to him the uniting his interest with those of Mithridates; and added that his master would supply him with money, troops, and ships, for a war against the faction of Cinna and Marius.

Sylla, without seeming offended at first with such proposals, exhorted him on his side to withdraw himself from the slavery, in which he lived, under an imperious and cruel prince. He added, that he might take upon him the title of king in his government, and offered to have him declared the ally and friend of the Roman people, if he would deliver up to him Mithridates's fleet under his command. Archelaus rejected that proposal with indignation, and even expressed to the Roman general, how much he thought himself injured by the supposition of his being capable of such a treason. Upon which Sylla, assuming the air of grandeur and dignity so natural to the Romans, said to him: " If being only a slave, " and at best but an officer of a Barbarian king, " you look upon it as a baseness to quit the service " of your master, how dared you propose the abandon- " doning the interests of the republick to such a Ro- " man as me? Do you imagine our condition and " affairs to be equal? Have you forgot my victories? " Do you not remember, that you are the same " Archelaus I have defeated in two battles, and " forced in the last to hide himself in the marshes of " Orchomenus?"

Archelaus, confounded by so haughty an answer, sustained himself no longer in the sequel of the negotiation. Sylla got the ascendant entirely, and dictating the law as victor, proposed the following conditions: " That Mithridates should renounce Asia " and Paphlagonia: That he should restore Bithynia " to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes: " That he should pay the Romans two thousand " talents (about three hundred thousand pounds ster- " ling) for the expences of the war, and seventy " armed

“ armed gallies, with their whole equipage; and
 “ that Sylla, on his side, should secure to Mithri-
 “ dates the rest of his dominions, and cause him to
 “ be declared the friend and ally of the Roman
 “ people.” Archelaus seemed to approve those con-
 ditions; and dispatched a courier immediately to com-
 municate them to Mithridates. Sylla set out for the
 Hellespont, carrying Archelaus with him, whom he
 treated with great honours.

He received Mithridates's ambassadors at Larissa,
 who came to declare to him, that their master ac-
 cepted and ratified all the other articles, but that he
 desired he would not deprive him of Paphlagonia;
 and that as to the seventy gallies, he could by no means
 comply with that article. Sylla, offended at this
 refusal, answered them in an angry tone: “ What
 “ say you? Would Mithridates keep possession of
 “ Paphlagonia, and does he refuse me the gallies I
 “ demanded? I expected to have seen him return
 “ me thanks upon his knees, for having only left
 “ him the hand with which he butchered an hundred
 “ thousand Romans. He will change his note when
 “ I go over to Asia; though at present, in the midst
 “ of his court at Pergamus, he meditates plans for a
 “ war he never saw.” Such was the lofty stile of
 Sylla, who gave Mithridates to understand at the
 same time that he would not talk such language, had
 he been present at the past battles.

The ambassadors, terrified with this answer, made
 no reply. Archelaus endeavoured to soften Sylla,
 and promised him, that Mithridates should consent to
 all the articles. He set out for that purpose, and
 Sylla, after having laid waste the country, returned
 into Macedonia.

Archelaus upon his return joined him at the city of
 Philippi, and informed him, that Mithridates would
 accept the proposed conditions; but that he exceed-
 ingly desired to have a conference with him. What
 made him earnest for this interview, was his fear of
 Fimbria, who having killed Flaccus, of whom men-
 tion

A. M.
 3920.
 Ant. J. C.
 84.

tion is made before, and put himself at the head of that consul's army, advanced by great marches against Mithridates; which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of Troas. Mithridates had with him two hundred gallies, twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a great number of chariots armed with scythes: And Sylla had only four cohorts, and two hundred horse in his company. When Mithridates advanced to meet him, and offered him his hand, Sylla asked him, whether he accepted the proposed conditions? As the king kept silence, Sylla continued, "Do you not know, Mithridates, that it is for suppliants to speak, and for the victorious to hear and be silent?" Upon this Mithridates began a long apology, endeavouring to ascribe the cause of the war, partly to the gods, and partly to the Romans. Sylla interrupted him, and after having made a long detail of the violences and inhumanities he had committed, he demanded of him a second time, whether he would ratify the conditions Archelaus had laid before him. Mithridates, surprized at the haughtiness and steady air of the Roman general, having answered in the affirmative, Sylla then received his embraces; and afterwards presenting the kings, Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, to him, he reconciled them to each other. Mithridates, after the delivery of the seventy gallies entirely equipped, and five hundred archers, re-embarked.

Sylla saw plainly, that this treaty of peace was highly disagreeable to his troops. They could not bear that a prince, who of all kings was the most mortal enemy to Rome, and who in one day had caused an hundred thousand Roman citizens dispersed in Asia to be put to the sword, should be treated with so much favour, and even honour, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans almost still reeking with their blood. Sylla, to justify his conduct, gave them to understand, that if he had rejected his proposals of peace, Mithridates, on his refusal, would

not have failed to treat with Fimbria; and that, if those two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him either to abandon his conquests, or hazard a battle against troops, superior in number, under the command of two great captains, who in one day might have deprived him of the fruit of all his victories.

Thus ended the first war with Mithridates, which had lasted four years, and in which Sylla had destroyed more than an hundred and sixty thousand of the enemy; recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other provinces, of which Mithridates had possessed himself; and having deprived him of a great part of his fleet, obliged him to confine himself within the bounds of his hereditary dominions.* But what is most to be admired in Sylla is, that during three years, whilst the factions of Marius and Cinna had enslaved Italy, he did not dissemble his intending to turn his arms against them, and yet continued the war he had begun, convinced that it was necessary to conquer the foreign enemy, before he reduced and punished those at home. He was also highly laudable for his constancy in not hearkening to any proposals from Mithridates, who offered him considerable aid against his enemies, till that prince had accepted the conditions of peace he prescribed him.

Some days after, Sylla began his march against Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatira in Lydia, and having marked out a camp near his, he began his intrenchments. Fimbria's soldiers, who came unarmed, ran out to salute and embrace those of Sylla, and assisted them with great pleasure in forming their lines. Fimbria, seeing this change in his troops, and fearing Sylla as an irreconcilable

* Vix quidquam in Syllæ operibus clarius duxerim, quam quod, cum per triennium Cinnanæ Marianæ partes Italiam obsiderent, neque illaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus

omisit; existimavitque ante frangendum hostem, quam ulciscendum civem; repulsoque externo metu, ubi quod alienum esset vicisset, superaret quod erat domesticum. *Vell. Patere.* l. ii. c. 2.

able enemy from whom he could expect no mercy, after having attempted in vain to get him assassinated, killed himself.

Sylla condemned Asia in general to pay twenty thousand * talents, and besides that, rifled particulars exceedingly, by abandoning their houses to the insolence and rapaciousness of his troops whom he quartered upon them, and who lived at discretion as in conquered cities. For he gave orders that every host should pay each soldier quartered upon him four † drachmas a day, and entertain at table himself, and as many of his friends as he should think fit to invite; that each captain should have fifty ‡ drachmas, and besides that a robe for the house, and another when he went abroad.

(q) After having punished Asia, he set out from Ephesus with all his ships, and arrived the third day at Piræus. Having been initiated in the great mysteries, he took for his own use the library of Apellicon, in which were the works of Aristotle. That philosopher, at his death, had left his writings to Theophrastus, one of his most illustrious disciples. The latter had transferred them to Neleus of Scepsis, a city in the neighbourhood of Pergamus in Asia; after whose death those works fell into the hands of his heirs, ignorant persons, who kept them shut up in a chest. When the kings of Pergamus began to collect industriously all sorts of books for their library, as the city of Scepsis was in their dependance, those heirs, apprehending these works would be taken from them, they thought proper to hide them in a vault under ground, where they remained almost an hundred and thirty years; till the heirs of Neleus's family, which after several generations were fallen into extreme poverty, brought them out to sell to Apellicon, a rich Athenian, who sought every where after

(q) Plut. in Syll. p. 468. Strab. l. xiii. p. 609. Athen. l. iii. p. 214. Laert. in Theoph.

* About three millions sterling. † About two shillings. ‡ About five-and-twenty shillings.

after the most curious books for his library. As they were very much damaged by the length of time, and the damp place where they had lain, Apellicon had copies immediately taken of them, in which there were many chasms; because the originals were either rotted in many places, or worm-eaten, and obliterated. These blanks, words, and letters, were filled up as well as they could be by conjecture, and that in some places with sufficient want of judgment. From hence arose the many difficulties in those works, which have ever since divided the learned world. Apellicon being dead some small time before Sylla's arrival at Athens, he seized upon his library, and with these works of Aristotle, which he found in it, enriched his own at Rome. A famous grammarian of those times, named Tyrannion, who lived then at Rome, having a great desire for these works of Aristotle, obtained permission from Sylla's librarian to take a copy of them. That copy was communicated to Andronicus the Rhodian, who afterwards imparted it to the publick: The world is obliged to him for the works of that great philosopher.

SECT. II. *Second war against MITHRIDATES, under MURENA, of only three years duration. MITHRIDATES prepares to renew the war. He concludes a treaty with SERTORIUS. Third war with MITHRIDATES. LUCULLUS consul sent against him. He obliges him to raise the siege of Cyzicum, and defeats his troops. He gains a compleat victory over him, and reduces him to fly into Pontus. Tragical end of the sisters and wives of MITHRIDATES. He endeavours to retire to TIGRANES his son-in-law. LUCULLUS regulates the affairs of Asia.*

(r) SYLLA, on setting out for Rome, had left the government of Asia to Murena, with the two legions that had served under Fimbria, to keep the province in obedience. This Murena is the father

A. M.

3921.

Ant. J. C.

83.

father of him, for whom Cicero made the fine oration; which bears his name. His son at this time made his first campaigns under him.

After Sylla's departure, Mithridates being returned into Pontus, marched his army against the people of Colchis and the Bosphorus, who had revolted against him. The first demanded his son Mithridates for their king, and having obtained him, immediately returned to their duty. The king, imagining their conduct to proceed from his son's intrigues, took umbrage at it, and having caused him to come to him, he ordered him to be bound with chains of gold, and soon after put him to death. That son had done him great services in the war against Fimbria. We see here a new instance of the jealousy, which the excessive love of power is apt to incite, and to what an height the prince, who abandons himself to it, is capable of carrying his suspicions against his own blood; always ready to proceed to the most fatal extremities, and to sacrifice whatever is dearest to him to the slightest distrust. As for the inhabitants of the Bosphorus, he prepared a great fleet and a numerous army, which gave reason to believe, his designs were against the Romans. He had not indeed restored all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but reserved part of it in his own hands, and he began to suspect Archelaus, as having engaged him in a peace equally shameful and disadvantageous.

When Archelaus perceived it, well knowing the master he had to deal with, he took refuge with Murena, and solicited him warmly to turn his arms against Mithridates. Murena, who passionately desired to obtain the honour of a triumph, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. He made an irruption into Cappadocia, and made himself master of Comana, the most powerful city of that kingdom. Mithridates sent ambassadors to him to complain of his violating the treaty the Romans had made with him. Murena replied, that he knew of no treaty made with their master. There was, in reality, nothing reduced to
writing

writing on Sylla's part, the whole having passed by verbal agreement. In consequence he continued to ravage the country, and took up his winter-quarters in it. Mithridates sent ambassadors to Rome, to make his complaints to Sylla and the senate.

There came a commissioner from Rome, but without a decree of the senate, who publicly ordered Murena not to molest the king of Pontus. But as they conferred together in private, this was looked upon as a mere collusion. And indeed Murena persisted in ravaging his country. Mithridates therefore took the field, and having passed the river Halys, gave Murena battle, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Phrygia with very great loss.

Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to suffer any longer that Mithridates, contrary to the treaty he had granted him, should be disquieted, sent Gabinius to Murena to order him in earnest to desist from making war with that prince, and to reconcile him with Ariobarzanes. He obeyed. Mithridates, having put one of his sons of only four years old into the hands of Ariobarzanes as an hostage, under that pretext retained the cities, in which he had garrisons, promising no doubt to restore them in time. He then gave a feast, in which he promised prizes for such as should excel the rest in drinking, eating, singing, and raillying: Fit object of emulation! Gabinius was the only one, who did not think proper to enter these lists. Thus ended the second war with Mithridates, which lasted only three years. Murena, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph, to which his pretensions were but indifferent.

Mithridates at length restored Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, forced by Sylla, who died the same year. But he contrived a stratagem to deprive him entirely of it. Tigranes had lately built a great city in Armenia, which, from his own name, he called Tigranocerta. Mithridates persuaded his son-in-law to conquer Cappadocia, and to transport the inhabitants

A. M.

3922.
Ant. J. C.
82.

A. M.

3923.
Ant. J. C.
81.

A. M.

3926.
Ant. J. C.
78.

into the new city, and the other parts of his dominions, that were not well peopled. He did so, and took away three hundred thousand souls. From thenceforth, wherever he carried his victorious arms, he acted in the same manner for the better peopling of his own dominions.

A. M. 3928.
Ant. J. C. 76. (x) The extraordinary reputation of Sertorius, who had given the Romans terrible employment in Spain, made Mithridates conceive the thought of sending an embassy to him, in order to engage him to join forces against the common enemy. The flatterers, who compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, insinuated, that the Romans, attacked at the same time on different sides, could never be able to oppose two such formidable powers, when the most able and experienced of generals should act in concert with the greatest of kings. He therefore sent ambassadors to Spain, with letters and instructions for treating with Sertorius, to whom they offered, in his name, a fleet and money to carry on the war, upon condition that he would suffer that prince to recover the provinces of Asia, which the necessity of his affairs had reduced him to abandon, by the treaty he had made with Sylla.

As soon as those ambassadors arrived in Spain, and had opened their commission to Sertorius, he assembled his council, which he called *the senate*. They were unanimously of opinion, to accept that prince's offers with joy, and the rather, because so immediate and an effective aid, as the offered fleet and money, would cost him only a vain consent to an enterprize, which it did not in any manner depend upon him to prevent. But Sertorius, with a truly Roman greatness of soul, protested, that he would never consent to any treaty, injurious to the glory or interest of his country; and that he could desire no victory from his own enemies, that was not acquired by just and honourable methods. And having made Mithridates's ambassadors come into the assembly, he de-

declared to them, that he would suffer his master to keep Bithynia and Cappadocia, which were accustomed to be governed by kings, and of which the Romans could pretend to no just right to dispose; but he would never consent he should have any footing in Asia minor, which appertained to the republick, and which he had renounced by a solemn treaty.

When this answer was related to Mithridates, it struck him with amazement; and he is affirmed to have said to his friends, "What orders may we not expect from Sertorius, when he shall sit in the senate in the midst of Rome; who, even now, confined upon the coast of the Atlantick ocean, dictates bounds to our dominions, and declares war against us, if we undertake any thing against Asia?" A treaty was however concluded, and sworn between them to this effect: That Mithridates should have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that Sertorius should send his troops for that purpose, and one of his captains to command them; and that Mithridates, on his side, should pay Sertorius * three thousand talents down, and give him forty gallies.

The captain sent by Sertorius into Asia was a banished senator of Rome, who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius, to whom Mithridates paid great honours. For when Marius entered the cities, preceded by the fasces and axes, Mithridates followed him, well satisfied with the second place, and with only making the figure of a powerful, but inferior, ally, in this proconsul's company. Such was at that time the Roman greatness, that the name alone of that potent republick obscured the splendor and power of the greatest kings. Mithridates, however, found his interest in this conduct. Marius, as authorized by the Roman people and senate, discharged most of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes Sylla had imposed on them; expressly declared, that it was from Sertorius they received,

* About four hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

and to whom they were indebted for that favour. So moderate and politick a conduct opened the gates of the cities to him without the help of arms, and the name of Sertorius alone made more conquests than all the forces of Mithridates.

A. M. 3929.
Ant. J. C. 75. (y) Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died this year, and made the Roman people his heirs. His country became thereby, as I have observed elsewhere, a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates immediately formed a resolution to renew the war against them upon this occasion, and employed the greatest part of the year in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. He believed, that after the death of Sylla, and during the troubles with which the republick was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for re-entering upon the conquests he had given up.

(z) Instructed by his misfortunes and experience, he banished from his army all armour adorned with gold and jewels, which he began to consider as the allurement of the victor, and not as the strength of those who wore them. He caused swords to be forged after the Roman fashion, with solid and weighty bucklers; he collected horses, rather well made and broke, than magnificently adorned: Assembled an hundred and twenty thousand foot, armed and disciplined like the Roman infantry, and sixteen thousand horse well equipped for service, besides an hundred chariots armed with long scythes, and drawn by four horses. He also fitted out a considerable number of gallies, which glittered no longer, as before with gilt pavilions, but were filled with all sorts of arms offensive and defensive, and well provided with sums of money for the pay and subsistence of the troops.

Mithridates had begun by seizing Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The province of Asia, which found itself exhausted by the exaction of the Roman tax-farmers
and

(y) Appian. de Bello Mithrid. p. 176.
Lucul. p. 469.

(z) Plut. in

and usurers, to deliver themselves from their oppression, declared a second time for him. Such was the cause of the third Mithridatick war which subsisted almost twelve years.

The two consuls, Lucullus and Cotta, were sent against him, each of them with an army under him. Lucullus had Asia, Cilicia and Cappadocia for his province; the other Bithynia and Propontis.

A. M.

3930.

Ant. J. C.

741

Whilst Lucullus was employed in reforming the rapaciousness and violence of the farmers and usurers, and in reconciling the people of the countries, through which he passed, by giving them good hopes for the time to come; Cotta, who was already arrived, thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the absence of his colleague, to signalize himself by some great exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told, that Lucullus approached, that he was already in Phrygia, and would soon arrive, the greater haste he made to fight; believing himself already assured of a triumph, and desirous of preventing his colleague from having any share in it. But he was beaten by sea and land. In the naval battle he lost sixty of his ships with their whole complements; and in that by land he had four thousand of his best troops killed, and was obliged to shut himself up in the city of Chalcedon, with no other hope of any other relief but what his colleague should think fit to give him. All the officers of his army, enraged at Cotta's rash and presumptuous conduct, endeavoured to persuade Lucullus to enter Pontus, which Mithridates had left without troops, and where he might assure himself of finding the people inclined to revolt. He answered generously, that he would always esteem it more glorious to preserve a Roman citizen, than to possess himself of the whole dominions of an enemy; and without resentment against his colleague, he marched to assist him with all the success he could have hoped. This was the first action by which he distinguished himself, and which ought to do him more honour than the most splendid victories.

A. M.
393 v.
Ant. J. C.
73.

(b) Mithridates, encouraged by the double advantage he had gained, undertook the siege of Cyzicum, a city of Propontis, which strenuously supported the Roman party in this war. In making himself master of this place, he would have opened himself a passage from Bithynia into Asia minor, which would have been very advantageous, in giving him an opportunity of carrying the war thither with all possible ease and security. It was for this reason he desired to take it. In order to succeed, he invested it by land with three hundred thousand men, divided in ten camps; and by sea with four hundred ships. Lucullus soon followed him thither, and began, by seizing a post upon an eminence of the last importance to him, because it facilitated his receiving convoys, and gave him the means of cutting off the enemy's provisions. He had only thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. The superiority of the enemy in number, far from dismaying, encouraged him; for he was convinced, that so innumerable a multitude would soon be in want of provisions. Hence, in haranguing his troops, he promised them in a few days a victory, that would not cost them a single drop of blood. It was in that he placed his glory; for the lives of the soldiers were dear to him.

The siege was long, and carried on with extreme vigour. Mithridates battered the place on all sides with innumerable machines. The defence was no less vigorous. The besieged did prodigies of valour, and employed all means, that the most industrious capacity could invent, to repulse the enemy's attacks, either by burning their machines, or rendering them useless by a thousand obstacles they opposed to them. What inspired them with so much courage, was their exceeding confidence in Lucullus, who had let them know, that if they continued to defend themselves with the same valour, the place would not be taken.

Lucullus was indeed so well posted, that without
4 coming

(b) Plut. in Lucul. p. 497—499. Appian. p. 219—222.

coming to a general action, which he always carefully avoided, he made Mithridates's army suffer infinitely, by intercepting his convoys, charging his foraging parties with advantage, and beating the detachments he sent out from time to time. In a word, he knew so well how to improve all occasions that offered, he weakened the army of the besiegers so much, and used such address in cutting off their provisions, having shut up all avenues by which they might be supplied, that he reduced them to extreme famine. The soldiers could find no other food but the herbage, and some went so far, as to support themselves upon human flesh. Mithridates*, who passed for the most artful captain of his times, in despair, that a general, who could not have had much experience, should so often put the change upon him by false marches, and feigned movements, and had defeated him without drawing his sword, was at length obliged to raise the siege shamefully, after having spent almost two years before the place. He fled by sea, and his lieutenants retired with his army by land to Nicomedia. Lucullus pursued them, and having come up with them near the Granicus, he killed twenty thousand of them upon the spot, and took an infinite number of prisoners. It was said, that in this war there perished almost three hundred thousand men, soldiers, and servants, with other followers of the army.

After this new success, Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, entered the city, and after having enjoyed for some days the pleasure of having preserved it, and the honours consequential of that success, he made a swift tour upon the coasts of the Hellespont, to collect ships and form a fleet.

N 4

Mithri-

* Cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum mœnia constitisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates Asiæ januam fore putavisset, qua effracta & revulsa tota pateret provincia : perfecta ab Lucullo hæc

sunt omnia, ut urbs fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, ut omnes copiarum regis diuturnitate obsidionis consumerentur. *Cic. in Orat. pro Mur. n. 33.*

A. M.
3933.
Ant. J. C.
71.

Mithridates, after having raised the siege of Cyzicum, repaired to Nicomedia, from whence he passed by sea into Pontus. He left part of his fleet, and ten thousand men of his best troops, in the Hellespont, under three of his most able generals. Lucullus, with the Roman fleet *, beat them twice; the first time at Tenedos, and the other at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing less than making sail for Italy, and of alarming and plundering the coasts of Rome itself. He killed almost all their men in those two engagements; and in the last took M. Marius the Roman senator, whom Sertorius had sent from Spain to the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus ordered him to be put to death, because it was not consistent with the Roman dignity, that a senator of Rome should be led in triumph. One of the two others poisoned himself; and the third was reserved for the triumph. After having cleared the coasts by these two victories, Lucullus turned his arms towards the continent: Reduced Bithynia first, then Paphlagonia; marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of Mithridates's dominions.

He suffered at first so great a want of provisions in this expedition, that he was obliged to make thirty thousand Galatians follow the army, each with a quantity of wheat upon his shoulders. But upon his advancing into the country, and subjecting the cities and provinces, he found such abundance of all things, that an ox sold for † only one drachma, and a slave for no more than four.

Mithridates had suffered almost as much by the tempest, in his passage on the Euxine sea, as in the campaign wherein he had been treated so roughly.

He

* Ab eodem imperatore classem magnam & ornata, quæ ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammato raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam. *Cic. pro lege Manil. n. 21.*

Quid? Illam pugnam navalem

ad Tenedum, cum tanto concursu, acerrimis ducibus, hostium classis Italiam spe atque animis inflata peteret, mediocri certamine & parva dimicatione commissam arbitraris? *Id. pro Muræna, n. 33.*

† Ten pence.

He lost in it almost all the remainder of his fleet, and the troops he had brought thither for the defence of his ancient dominions. When Lucullus arrived, he was making new levies with the utmost expedition, to defend himself against that invasion, which he had foreseen.

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loss of time besieged Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities of the country, very near each other. The latter, which had been very lately built, was called Rupatoria, from the surname of Eupator, given to Mithridates; this place was his usual residence, and he designed to make it the capital of his dominions. Not contented with these two sieges at once, he sent a detachment of his army to form that of Themiscyra, upon the river Thermodon, which place was not less considerable than the two others.

The officers of Lucullus's army complained, that their general amused himself too long in sieges, which were not worth his trouble, and that in the mean time he gave Mithridates opportunity to augment his army, and gather strength. To which he answered in his justification: "That is directly what I want. "I act in this manner for no other purpose, in order "that our enemy may take new courage, and assemble so numerous an army, as may embolden "him to expect us in the field, and fly no longer "before us. Do you not observe, that he has behind him immense solitudes and infinite deserts, in "which it will be impossible for us either to come "up with or pursue him? Armenia is but a few "days march from these deserts. There Tigranes "keeps his court, that king of kings, whose power "is so great, that he subdues the Parthians, transports whole cities of Greeks into the heart of "Media, has made himself master of Syria and "Palestine, exterminated the kings descended from "Seleucus, and carried their wives and daughters "into captivity. This powerful prince is the ally "and son-in-law of Mithridates. Do you think, "when

“ when he has him in his palace as a suppliant,
 “ that he will abandon him, and not make war
 “ against us? Hence in hastening to drive away
 “ Mithridates, we shall be in great danger of draw-
 “ ing Tigranes upon our hands, who has long sought
 “ for pretexts for declaring against us, and who can
 “ never find one more specious, legitimate, and
 “ honourable, than that of assisting his father-in-law,
 “ and a king reduced to the last extremity. Why
 “ therefore should we serve Mithridates against our-
 “ selves, or shew him to whom he should have re-
 “ course for the means of supporting the war with
 “ us, by pushing him, against his will, and at a time
 “ perhaps when he looks upon such a step as un-
 “ worthy his valour and greatness, into the arms and
 “ protection of Tigranes? Is it not infinitely better,
 “ by giving him time to take courage, and strengthen
 “ himself with his own forces, to have only upon
 “ our hands the troops of Colchis, the Tibarenians,
 “ and Cappadocians, whom we have so often defeat-
 “ ed, than to expose ourselves to have the additi-
 “ onal force of the Armenians and Medes to contend
 “ with?”

Whilst the Romans attacked the three places we
 have mentioned, Mithridates, who had already formed
 a new army, took the field very early in the spring.
 Lucullus left the command of the sieges of Amisus
 and Eupatoria to Murena, the son of him we have
 spoken of before, whom Cicero represents in a very
 favourable light. * “ He went into Asia, a province
 “ abounding with riches and pleasures, where he left
 “ behind no traces either of avarice or luxury. He
 “ behaved in such a manner in this important war,
 “ that he did many great actions without the gene-
 “ ral, the general none without him.” Lucullus
 marched against Mithridates, who lay encamped in
 the

* *Asiam istam, refertam & ean-
 dem delicatam, sic obiit, ut in ea
 neque avaritiæ, neque luxuriæ
 vestigium reliquerit. Maximo in*

*bello sic est versatus, ut hic multas
 res & magnas sine imperatore ges-
 serit, nullam sine hoc imperator.
 Cic. pro Murena. n. 20.*

the plains of Cabiræ. The latter had the advantage in two actions, but was entirely defeated in the third, and obliged to fly without either servant or equerry to attend him, or a single horse of his stable. It was not till very late, that one of his eunuchs, seeing him on foot in the midst of the flying crowd, got from his horse and gave it him. The Romans were so near him, that they almost had him in their hands, and it was owing entirely to themselves that they did not take him. The avarice only of the soldiers lost them a prey, which they had pursued so long, through so many toils, dangers, and battles, and deprived Lucullus of the sole reward of all his victories. Mithridates, says * Cicero, artfully imitated the manner in which Medea escaped the pursuit of her father, in the same kingdom of Pontus. That princess is said to have cut the body of Absyrtus her brother in pieces, and to have scattered his limbs in the places through which her father pursued her; in order that his care in taking up those dispersed members, and the grief so sad a spectacle would give him, might stop the rapidity of his pursuit. Mithridates in like manner, as he fled, left upon the way a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious effects, which had either descended to him from his ancestors, or had been amassed by himself in the preceding war: And whilst the soldiers employed themselves in gathering those treasures too attentively, the king escaped their hands. So that the father of Medea was stopped in his pursuit by sorrow, but the Romans by joy.

After this defeat of the enemy, Lucullus took the city

* Ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur: quam prædicant, in fuga, fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa, mœrorque patrius celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrima-

rumque rerum omnium, quas & à majoribus acceperat, & ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congesserat in Ponto, omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse è manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio mœror, hos lætitia retardavit. *Cic. de leg. Manil. n. 22.*

city of Cabiræ, with several other places and castles, in which he found great riches. He found also the prisons full of Greeks, and princes nearly related to the king, who were confined in them. As those unhappy persons had long given themselves over for dead, the liberty they received from Lucullus seemed less a deliverance, than new life to them. In one of these castles a sister of the king's, named Nyssa, was also taken, which was a great instance of her good fortune. For the other sisters of that prince, with his wives, who had been sent farther from the danger, and who believed themselves in safety and repose, all died miserably, Mithridates on his flight having sent them orders to die by Bacchidas the eunuch.

Amongst the other sisters of the king were Roxana and Statira, both unmarried, and about forty years of age, with two of his wives, Berenice and Monima, both of Ionia. All Greece spoke much of the latter, whom they admired more for her wisdom than beauty, though exquisite. The king having fallen desperately in love with her, had forgot nothing that might incline her to favour his passion: He sent her at once fifteen thousand pieces of gold. She was always averse to him, and refused his presents, till he gave her the quality of wife and queen, and sent her the royal tiara or diadem, an essential ceremony in the marriage of the kings of those nations. Nor did she then comply without extreme regret, and in compliance with her family, dazzled with the splendor of a crown, and the power of Mithridates, who was at that time victorious, and at the height of his glory. From her marriage to the instant of which we are now speaking, that unfortunate princess had passed her life in continual sadness and affliction, lamenting her fatal beauty, that instead of a husband had given her a master, and of procuring her an honourable abode, and the endearments of conjugal society, had confined her in a close prison, under a guard of Barbarians; where, far removed from the
delight-

delightful regions of Greece, she had only enjoyed a dream of the happiness with which she had been flattered, and had really lost that solid and essential good she possessed in her own beloved country.

When Bacchidas arrived, and had signified to the princesses the order of Mithridates, which favoured them no farther, than to leave them at liberty to chuse the kind of death they should think most gentle and immediate; Monima, taking the diadem from her head, tied it round her neck, and hung herself up by it. But that wreath not being strong enough, and breaking, she cried out; *Ab fatal trifle, you might at least do me this mournful office!* Then throwing it away with indignation, she presented her neck to Bacchidas.

As for Berenice she took a cup of poison, and as she was going to drink it, her mother, who was present, desired to share it with her. They accordingly drank both together. The half of that cup sufficed to carry off the mother, worn out and feeble with age; but was not enough to surmount the strength and youth of Berenice. That princess struggled long with death in the most violent agonies, till Bacchidas, tired with waiting the effects of the poison, ordered her to be strangled.

Of the two sisters, Roxana is said to have swallowed poison, venting a thousand reproaches and imprecations against Mithridates. Statira, on the contrary, was pleased with her brother, and thanked him, that being in so great danger for his own person, he had not forgot them, and taken care to supply them with the means of dying free, and of withdrawing from the indignities their enemies might else have made them suffer.

Their deaths extremely afflicted Lucullus, who was of a gentle and humane disposition. He continued his march in pursuit of Mithridates: But having received advice, that he was four days journey before him, and had taken the route of Armenia, to retire to his son-in-law, he returned directly, and after
having

having subjected some countries, and taken some cities in the neighbourhood, he sent Appius Clodius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates of him; and in the mean time returned against Amisus, which place was not yet taken. Callimachus, who commanded in it, and was the most able engineer of his times, had alone prolonged the siege. When he saw that he could hold out no longer, he set fire to the city, and escaped in a ship that waited for him. Lucullus did his utmost to extinguish the flames, but in vain; and, to increase his concern, saw himself obliged to abandon the city to be plundered by the soldiers, from whom the place had as much to fear as from the flames themselves. His troops were insatiable for booty, and he not capable of restraining them. A rain that happened to fall preserved a great number of buildings, and Lucullus, before his departure, caused those which had been burnt to be rebuilt. This city was an ancient colony of the Athenians. Such of the Athenians, during Aristion's being master of Athens, as desired to fly from his tyranny, had retired thither, and enjoyed there the same rights and privileges with the natives.

Lucullus, when he left Amisus, directed his march towards the cities of Asia, whom the avarice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers, held under the most dreadful oppression; insomuch that those poor people were obliged to sell their children of both sexes, and even set up to auction the paintings and statues consecrated to the gods. And when these would not suffice to pay the duties, taxes, and interest unpaid, they were given up without mercy to their creditors, and often exposed to such barbarous tortures, that slavery, in comparison with their miseries, seemed a kind of redress and tranquillity to them.

These immense debts of the province arose from the fine of twenty thousand * talents, which Sylla had imposed on it. They had already paid the sum twice over: But those insatiable usurers, by heaping
interest

* About three millions sterling.

interest upon interest, had run it up to an hundred and twenty thousand * talents; so that they still owed tripple the sums they had already paid.

Tacitus † has reason to say, that usury was one of the most ancient evils of the Roman commonwealth, and the most frequent cause of sedition; but at the time we now speak of, it was carried to an excess not easy to comprehend.

The interest of money amongst the Romans was paid every month, and was one *per cent.* hence it was called *usura centesima*, or *unciarum fœnis*; because in reckoning the twelve months, twelve *per cent.* was paid: *Unica* is the twelfth part of an whole.

(e) The ‡ law of the twelve tables prohibited the raising interest to above twelve *per cent.* This law was revived by the two tribunes of the people, in the 396th year of Rome.

(f) Ten years after, interest was reduced to half that sum, in the 406th year of Rome; *semiunciarum fœnus*.

(g) At length, in the 411th year of Rome, all interest was prohibited by decree: *Nē fœnerari liceret*.

All these decrees were ineffectual. || Avarice was always too strong for the laws: And whatever regulations were made to suppress it, either in the time of the republick, or under the emperors, it always found means to elude them. Nor has it paid more regard to the laws of the church, which has never entered into any composition in this point, and severely condemns all usury, even the most moderate; because, God having forbade any, she never believed she had a right to permit it in the least. It is remarkable, that usury has always occasioned the ruin of the states where it has been tolerated; and it was this disorder

(e) Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16. Liv. l. vii. n. 16.
l. vii. n. 27.

(f) Liv.

(g) Ibid. n. 42.

* About eighteen millions sterling.

plius exerceto.

† Sanè vetus urbi fœnebre malum, & seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa. Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16.

|| Multis plebiscitis obviam itam fraudibus: quæ toties repressæ, miras per artes rursùm oribantur. Tacit. ibid.

‡ Nequis unciario scenore am-

order which contributed very much to subvert the constitution of the Roman commonwealth, and gave birth to the greatest calamities in all the provinces of that empire.

Lucullus, at this time, applied himself in giving the province of Asia some relaxation, which he could only effect by putting a stop to the injustice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers. The latter, finding themselves deprived by Lucullus of the immense gain they made, raised a great outcry, as if they had been excessively injured, and by the force of money animated many orators against him; particularly confiding in having most of those who governed the republick in their debt, which gave them a very extensive and almost unbounded influence. But Lucullus despised their clamours with a constancy the more admirable, from its being very uncommon.

SECT. III. *LUCULLUS causes war to be declared with TIGRANES, and marches against him. Vanity and ridiculous self-sufficiency of that prince. He loses a great battle. LUCULLUS takes Tigranocerta, capital of Armenia. He gains a second victory over the joint forces of TIGRANES and MITHRIDATES. Mutiny and revolt in the army of LUCULLUS.*

A. M. 3934.
Ant. J. C. 70. (b) **T**IGRANES, to whom Lucullus had sent an ambassador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it so much by a series of successes, of which there are few examples, that he was commonly surnamed the *king of kings*. After having overthrown, and almost ruined the family of the kings, successors of Seleucus the Great; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, transported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Palestine, and given laws to the Arabians, called Scænites; he reigned with an authority respected by all the princes of Asia. The people paid him honours, after the manner of the

(b) Plut. in Lucul. p. 504---512. Memn. c. xlviii---lvii. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 228---232.

the East, even to adoration. His pride was inflamed and supported by the immense riches he possessed, by the excessive and continual praises of his flatterers, and by a prosperity that had never known any irruption.

Appius Clodius was introduced to an audience of this prince, who appeared with all the splendor he could display, in order to give the ambassador an higher idea of the royal dignity; who, on his side, uniting the haughtiness of his disposition with that which particularly characterized his republick, perfectly supported the dignity of a Roman ambassador.

After having explained, in a few words, the subjects of complaints which the Romans had against Mithridates, and that prince's breach of faith in breaking the peace, without so much as attempting to give any reason or colour for it; he told Tigranes, that he came to demand his being delivered up to him, as due by every sort of title to Lucullus's triumph; that he did not believe, as a friend to the Romans, which he had been till then, that he would make any difficulty in giving up Mithridates; and that in case of his refusal, he was instructed to declare war against him.

That prince, who had never been contradicted, and who knew no other law nor rule but his will and pleasure, was extremely offended at this Roman freedom. But he was much more so with Lucullus's letter, when it was delivered to him. The title of king only, which it gave him, did not satisfy him. He had assumed that of *king of kings*, of which he was very fond, and had carried his pride in that respect so far, as to cause himself to be served by crowned heads. He never appeared in publick without having four kings attending him; two on foot, on each side of his horse, when he went abroad: At table, in his chamber, in short, every where he had always some of them to do the lowest offices for him; but especially when he gave audience to ambassadors. For at that time, to give strangers a greater idea of his glory and power, he made them all stand in two ranks, one on each side

of his throne, where they appeared in the habit and posture of common slaves. A pride so full of absurdity offends all the world. One more refined shocks less, though much the same at bottom.

It is not surprizing that a prince of this character should bear the manner in which Clodius spoke to him with impatience. It is the first free and sincere speech he had heard, during the five-and-twenty years he had governed his subjects, or rather tyrannized over them with excessive insolence. He answered, that Mithridates was the father of Cleopatra his wife; that the union between them was of too strict a nature, to admit his delivering him up for the triumph of Lucullus; and that if the Romans were unjust enough to make war against him, he knew how to defend himself, and to make them repent it. To express his resentment by his answer, he directed it only to Lucullus, without adding the usual title of Imperator, or any others commonly given to the Roman generals.

Lucullus, when Clodius reported his commission, and that war had been declared against Tigranes, returned with the utmost diligence into Pontus to begin it. The enterprize seemed rash, and the terrible power of the king astonished all those, who relied less upon the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general, than upon a multitude of soldiers. After having made himself master of Sinope, he gave that place its liberty, as he did also to Amisus, and made them both free and independent cities. (i) Cotta did not treat Heraclea, which he took after a long siege by treachery, in the same manner. He enriched himself out of its spoils, treated the inhabitants with excessive cruelty, and burnt almost the whole city. On his return to Rome, he was at first well received by the senate, and honoured with the surname of Ponticus, upon account of taking that place. But soon after, when the Heracleans had laid their complaints before the senate, and represented, in a manner capable of moving

(i) Memn. c. li---lxi.

moving the hardest hearts, the miseries Cotta's avarice and cruelty had made them suffer, the senate contented themselves with depriving him of the *latus clavus*, which was the robe worn by the senators, a punishment in no wise proportioned to the crying excesses proved upon him.

Lucullus left Sornatius, one of his generals, in Pontus, with six thousand men, and marched with the rest, which amounted only to twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse, through Cappadocia to the Euphrates. He passed that river in the midst of winter, and afterwards the Tigris, and came before Tigranocerta, which was at some small distance, to attack Tigranes in his capital, where he had lately arrived from Syria. Nobody dared speak to that prince of Lucullus and his march, after his cruel treatment of the person that brought him the first news of it, whom he put to death in reward for so important a service. He listened to nothing but the discourses of flatterers, who told him Lucullus must be a great captain, if he only dared wait for him at Ephesus, and did not betake himself to flight and abandon Asia, when he saw the many thousands, of which his army was composed. So true it is, says Plutarch, that as all constitutions are not capable of bearing much wine, all minds are not suited to bearing great fortunes without loss of reason and infatuation.

Tigranes, at first, had not deigned so much as to see or speak to Mithridates, though his father-in-law, but treated him with the utmost contempt and arrogance, kept him at a distance, and placed a guard over him as a prisoner of state, in marshy unwholesome places. But after Clodius's embassy, he had ordered him to be brought to court with all possible honours and marks of respect. In a private conversation which they had together without witnesses, they cured themselves of their mutual suspicions, to the great misfortune of their friends, upon whom they cast all the blame.

A. M.

3935.

Ant. J. C.

69.

In the number of those unfortunates was Metrodorus, of the city of Scepsis, a man of extraordinary merit, who had so much credit with the king, that he was called the king's father. That prince had sent him on an embassy to Tigranes, to desire aid against the Romans. When he had explained the occasion of his journey, Tigranes asked him; *And for you, Metrodorus, what would you advise me to do, in regard to your master's demands?* Upon which Metrodorus replied, out of an excess of ill-timed sincerity: *As an ambassador, I advise you to do what Mithridates demands of you; but as your counsel, not to do it.* This was a criminal prevarication, and a kind of treason. It cost him his life, when Mithridates had been apprized of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus continually advanced against that prince, and was already in a manner at the gates of his palace, without his either knowing or believing any thing of the matter, so much was he blinded by his presumption. Mithrobarzanes, one of his favourites, ventured to carry him that news. The reward he had for it, was to be charged with a commission, to go immediately with some troops, and bring Lucullus prisoner; as if the question had been only to arrest one of the king's subjects. The favourite, with the greatest part of the troops given him, lost their lives, in endeavouring to execute that dangerous commission. This ill success opened the eyes of Tigranes, and made him recover from his infatuation. Mithridates had been sent back into Pontus with ten thousand horse, to raise troops there, and to return and join Tigranes, in case Lucullus entered Armenia. For himself, he had chosen to continue at Tigranocerta, in order to give the necessary orders for raising troops throughout his whole dominions. After this check he began to be afraid of Lucullus, quitted Tigranocerta, retired to mount Taurus, and gave orders for all his troops to repair thither to him.

Lucullus marched directly to Tigranocerta, took up his quarters around the place, and formed the
siege

siege of it. This city was full of all sorts of riches ; the inhabitants of all orders and conditions having emulated each other in contributing to its embellishment and magnificence, in order to make their court to the king : For this reason Lucullus pressed the siege with the utmost vigour ; believing that Tigranes would never suffer it to be taken, and that he would come on in a transport of fury to offer him battle, and oblige him to raise the siege. And he was not mistaken in his conjecture. Mithridates sent every day couriers to Tigranes, and wrote him letters, to advise him, in the strongest terms, not to hazard a battle, and only to make use of his cavalry in cutting off Lucullus's provisions. Taxilus himself was sent by him with the same instructions, who staying with him in his camp, made earnest instances to him, every day, not to attack the Roman armies, as they were excellently disciplined, veteran soldiers, and almost invincible.

At first he hearkened to this advice with patience enough. But when his troops, consisting of a great number of different nations, were assembled, not only the king's feasts, but his councils resounded with nothing but vain bravadoes, full of insolence, pride, and barbarian menaces. Taxilus was in danger of being killed, for having ventured to oppose the advice of those who were for a battle ; and Mithridates himself was openly accused of opposing it, only out of envy, to deprive his son-in-law of the glory of so great a success.

In this conceit Tigranes determined to wait no longer, lest Mithridates should arrive, and share with him in the honour of the victory. He therefore marched with all his forces, telling his friends, that he was only sorry on one account, and that was, his having to do with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals together. He measured his hopes of success by the number of his troops. He had about twenty thousand archers and slingers, fifty-five thousand horse, seventeen thousand of which were heavy-armed cavalry, an hundred and fifty thousand foot, divided into companies and battalions, besides workmen to clear

the roads, build bridges, cleanse and turn the course of rivers, with other labourers necessary in armies, to the number of thirty-five thousand, who, drawn up in battle behind the combatants, made the army appear still more numerous, and augmented its force and his confidence.

When he had passed mount Taurus, and all his troops appeared together in the plains, the sight alone of his army was sufficient to strike terror into the most daring enemy. Lucullus, always intrepid, divided his troops. He left Murena with six thousand foot before the place, and with all the rest of his infantry, consisting of twenty-four cohorts, which together did not amount to more than ten or twelve thousand men, all his horse, and about a thousand archers and slingers, marched against Tigranes, and encamped in the plain, with a large river in his front.

This handful of men made Tigranes laugh, and supplied his flatterers with great matter for pleasantry. Some openly jested upon them; others, by way of diversion, drew lots for their spoils; and of all Tigranes's generals, and the kings in his army, there was not one who did not intreat him to give the charge of that affair to him alone, and content himself with being only a spectator of the action. Tigranes himself, to appear agreeable, and a fine rallier, used an expression, which has been much admired; *If they come as ambassadors, they are a great many; but if as enemies, very few.* Thus the first day passed in jesting and raillery.

The next morning, at sun-rise, Lucullus made his army march out of their entrenchments. That of the Barbarians was on the other side of the river towards the East, and the river ran in such a manner, that a little below it turned off to the left towards the West, where it was easily fordable. Lucullus, in leading his army to this ford, inclined also to the left, towards the lower part of the river, hastening his march. Tigranes, who saw him, believed he fled; and calling for Taxilus, told him with a contemptuous laugh—*Do you see those invincible Roman legions?*

gions? *You see they can run away.* Taxilus replied, *I wish your majesty's good fortune may this day do a miracle in your favour; but the arms and march of those legions do not argue people running away.*

Taxilus was still speaking, when he saw the eagle of the first legions move on a sudden to the right about, by the command of Lucullus, followed by all the cohorts, in order to pass the river. Tigranes, recovering then with difficulty, like one that had been long drunk, cried out two or three times, *How! Are those people coming to us!* They came on so fast, that his numerous troops did not post themselves, nor draw up in battle without abundance of disorder and confusion. Tigranes placed himself in the centre; gave the left wing to the king of the Adiabeniens, and the right to the king of the Medes. The greatest part of the heavy-armed horse covered the front of the right wing.

As Lucullus was preparing to pass the river, some of his general-officers advised him not to engage upon that day, because one of those unfortunate days, which the Romans called *black days*. For it was the same upon which the army of * Cepio had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus made them this answer, which afterwards became so famous: *And for me, I will make this an happy day for the Romans.* It was the sixth day of October, (the day before the nones of October.)

After having made that reply, and exhorted them not to be discouraged, he passed the river, and marched foremost against the enemy. He was armed with a steel cuirass, made in the form of scales, which glittered surprizingly, under which was his coat of arms bordered all around with a fringe. He carried his naked sword shining in his hand, to intimate to his troops, that it was necessary to join an enemy immediately, accustomed to fight only at a distance with their arrows; and to deprive them, by the swiftness

O 4

and

* The Greek text says, the army has justly corrected in the margin of of Scipio, which Monsieur de Thou his Plutarch, the army of Cepio.

and impetuosity of the attack, of the space required for the use of them.

Perceiving that the heavy-armed cavalry, upon whom the enemy very much relied, were drawn up at the foot of a little hill, of which the summit was flat and level, and the declivity of not above five hundred paces, neither much broken, nor very difficult, he saw at first view what use he had to make of it. He commanded his Thracian and Galatian horse to charge that body of the enemy's cavalry in flank, with orders only to turn aside their lances with their swords. For the principal, or rather whole, force of those heavy-armed horse, consisted in their lances, which when they had not room to use, they could do nothing either against the enemy, or for themselves; their arms being so heavy, stiff, and cumbersome, that they could not turn themselves, and were almost immovable.

Whilst his cavalry marched to execute his orders, he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the eminence. The infantry followed courageously, excited by the example of their general, whom they saw marching foremost on foot, and ascending the hill. When he was at the top, he shewed himself from the highest part of it, and seeing from thence the whole order of the enemy's battle, he cried out, *The victory is ours, fellow-soldiers, the victory is ours.* At the same time, with his two cohorts he advanced against that heavy-armed cavalry, and ordered his troops not to make use of their pikes, but join those horse sword in hand, and strike upon their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts about them. But his soldiers had not so much trouble with them. That cavalry did not stay their coming on, but shamefully took to flight; and howling as they fled, fell with their heavy unwieldy horses into the ranks of their foot, without joining battle at all, or so much as making a single thrust with their lances. The slaughter did not begin until they began to fly, or rather to endeavour it; for they could not do so, being prevented

vented by their own battalions, whose ranks were so close and deep, that they could not break their way through them. Tigranes, that king so lofty and brave in words, had taken to flight from the beginning with a few followers; and seeing his son, the companion of his fortune, he took off his diadem, weeping, and giving it him, exhorted him to save himself as well as he could by another route. That young prince was afraid to put the diadem upon his head, which would have been a dangerous ornament at such a time, and gave it into the hands of one of the most faithful of his servants, who was taken a moment after, and carried to Lucullus.

It is said, that in this defeat more than an hundred thousand of the enemy's foot perished, and that very few of their horse escaped: On the side of the Romans, only five were killed, and an hundred wounded. They had never engaged in a pitched battle so great a number of enemies with so few troops; for the victors did not amount to the twentieth part of the vanquished. The greatest and most able Roman generals, who had seen most wars and battles, gave Lucullus particular praises, for having defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world, by two entirely different methods, delay and expedition. For by protraction and spinning out the war, he exhausted Mithridates when he was strongest and most formidable; and ruined Tigranes, by making haste, and not giving him time to look about him. It has been remarked, that few captains have known how, like him, to make slowness active, and haste sure.

It was this latter conduct that prevented Mithridates from being present in the battle. He imagined Lucullus would use the same precaution and protraction against Tigranes, as he had done against himself. So that he marched but slowly, and by small days journeys to join Tigranes. But having met some Armenians upon the way, who fled with the utmost terror and consternation, he suspected what had happened; and afterwards meeting a much greater number, was fully informed

informed of the defeat, and went in search of Tigranes. He found him at length, abandoned by all the world, and in a very deplorable condition. Far from returning his ungenerous treatment, and insulting Tigranes in his misfortunes, as he had done him, he quitted his horse, lamented their common disgraces, gave him the guard that attended, and the officers that served him, consoled, encouraged him, and revived his hopes: So that Mithridates, upon this occasion, shewed himself not entirely void of humanity. Both together applied to raising new troops on all sides.

In the mean time a furious sedition arose in Tigranocerta; the Greeks having mutinied against the Barbarians, and determined at all events to deliver the city to Lucullus. That sedition was at the highest when he arrived there. He took advantage of the occasion, ordered the assault to be given, took the city, and after having seized all the king's treasures, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers; who, besides other riches, found in it eight thousand talents of coined silver (about one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling.) Besides this plunder, he gave each soldier eight * hundred drachmas, which, with all the booty they had taken, did not suffice to satisfy their insatiable avidity.

(l) As this city had been peopled by colonies, which had been carried away by force from Cappadocia, Cilicia, and other places, Lucullus permitted them all to return into their native countries. They received that permission with extreme joy, and quitted it in so great a number, that from one of the greatest cities in the world, Tigranocerta became in an instant almost a desert.

(m) If Lucullus had pursued Tigranes after his victory, without giving him time to raise new troops, he would either have taken or driven him out of the country, and the war had been at an end. His having failed to do so, was very ill taken both in the army and

(l) Strab. l. xi. p. 532. & l. xii. p. 539.
l. xxxv. p. 1.

* About twenty pounds.

(m) Dion. Caf.

and at Rome, and he was accused, not of negligence, but of having intended by such conduct to make himself necessary, and to retain the command longer in his own hands. This was one of the reasons that prejudiced the generality against him, and induced them to think of giving him a successor, as we shall see in the sequel.

After the great victory he had gained over Tigranes, several nations came to make their submissions to him. He received also an embassy from the king of the Parthians, who demanded the amity and alliance of the Romans. Lucullus received this proposal favourably, and sent also ambassadors to him, who, being arrived at the Parthian court, discovered, that the king, uncertain which side to take, wavered between the Romans and Tigranes, and had secretly demanded Mesopotamia of the latter, as the price of the aid he offered him. Lucullus, informed of this secret intrigue, resolved to leave Mithridates and Tigranes, and turn his arms against the king of the Parthians; flattered with the grateful thought, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to have entirely reduced, in one expedition, the three most powerful princes under the sun. But the opposition this proposal met with from the troops, obliged him to renounce his enterprize against the Parthians, and to confine himself to pursuing Tigranes.

During this delay, Mithridates and Tigranes had been indefatigable in raising new troops. They had sent to implore aid of the neighbouring nations, and especially of the Parthians, who were the nearest, and at the same time in the best condition to assist them in the present emergency of their affairs. Mithridates wrote a letter to their king, which Sallust has preserved, and is to be found amongst his fragments. I shall insert a part of it in this place.

*Letter of MITHRIDATES to * ARSACES king of the Parthians.*

“ ALL those † who, in a state of prosperity, are
 “ invited to enter as confederates into a war,
 “ ought first to consider, whether peace be at their
 “ own option; and next, whether what is demanded
 “ of them, is consistent with justice, their interest,
 “ safety, and glory. You might enjoy perpetual
 “ peace and tranquillity, were not the enemy always
 “ intent upon seizing occasions of war, and entirely
 “ void of faith. In reducing the Romans, you cannot but acquire exalted glory. It may seem inconsistent in me, to propose to you either an alliance with Tigranes, or, powerful as you are, that you should join a prince in my unfortunate condition. But I dare advance, that those two motives, your resentment against Tigranes upon account of his late war with you, and the no advantageous situation of my affairs, to judge rightly of them, far from opposing my demand, ought to support it. For as to Tigranes, as he knows he has given you just cause of complaint, he will accept, without difficulty, whatever conditions you shall think fit to impose upon him; and for me, I can say, that fortune, by having deprived me of almost all I possessed, has enabled me to give others good counsels, and, which is much to be desired in persons
 “ of

* *Arsaces was a common name to all the kings of Parthia.*

† Omnes, qui secundis rebus suis ad belli societatem orantur, considerare debent, liceatne tum pacem agere: dein quod queritur, satisne pium, tutum, gloriosum, an indicorum sit. Tibi perpetuam pace frui liceret, nisi hostes opportuni & scelestissimi. Egregia fama si Romanos oppresseris, futura est. Neque petere audeam societatem, & frustra mala mea cum tuis bonis misceri sperem. Atqui ea, quæ te morari posse videntur, ira

in Tigranem recentis belli, & meæ res parum prosperæ, si vera æstimare voles, maximè hortabuntur. Ille enim obnoxius, qualem tu voles societatem accipiet: mihi fortuna, multis rebus ereptis, usum dedit bene suadendi, & quod florentibus optabile est, ego non validissimus præbeo exemplum, quo rectius tua componas. Namque Romanis cum nationibus, populis, regibus cunctis, una & ea vetus causa bellandi est, cupido profunda imperii & divitiarum.

“ of prosperity, I can, even from my own misfortunes, supply you with examples, and induce you to take better measures than I have done. For, do not deceive yourself, it is with all the nations, states, and kingdoms of the earth, the Romans are at war; and two motives, as ancient as powerful, put their arms into their hands; the unbounded ambition of extending their conquests, and the insatiable thirst of riches.” Mithridates afterwards enumerates at large the princes and kings they had reduced one after another, and often by one another. He repeats also his first successes against the Romans, and his late misfortunes. He goes on to this effect: “ Examine * now, I beg you, when we are finally ruined, whether you will be in a condition to resist the Romans, or can believe, that they will confine their conquests to my country? I know you are powerful in men, in arms, and treasure; it is therefore we desire to strengthen ourselves by your alliance; they, to grow rich by your spoils. For the
“ rest,

* Nunc quæso, considera, nobis oppressis, utrum firmiorem te ad resistendum, an finem belli futurum putes? Scio equidem tibi magnas opes virorum, armorum, & auri esse: & ea re nobis ad societatem, ab illis ad prædam peteris. Cæterum consilium est Tigranis, regno integro, meis militibus belli prudentibus, procul ab domo, parvo labore, per nostra corpora bellum conficere: quando neque vincere neque vinci sine periculo tuo possumus. An ignoras Romanos, postquam ad occidentem pergentibus finem oceanus fecit, arma huc convertisse? Neque quicquam à principio nisi raptum habere; domum, conjuges, argos, imperium? Convenas, olim sine patriâ, sine parentibus, peste conditos orbis terrarum: quibus non humana ulla neque divina obstant, quin socios, amicos, procul, juxtaque sitos, inopes, potentisque trahant, excidantque; omniaque non serva, & maxime

regna, hostilia ducant. Namque pauci libertatem pars magna iustos dominos volunt. Nos suspecti sumus æmuli, & in tempore vindices affuturi. Tu vero cui Seleucia maxima urbium, regnumque Persidis inclitis divitiis est, quid ab illis, nisi dolum in præsens, & postea bellum expectas? Romani in omnes arma habent, accerrima in eos quibus spolia maxuma sunt. Audendo & fallendo, & bella ex bellis ferendo, magni facti. Per hunc morem extinguunt omnia aut occidunt: quod difficile non est, si tu Mesopotamiâ, nos Armeniâ circumgredimur exercitum sine frumento, sine auxiliis. Fortuna autem nostris vitiis adhuc incolumis. Teque illa fama sequetur, auxilio profectum magnis regibus latrones gentium oppressisse. Quod uti facias moneo hortorque, ne malis pernicië nostra unum imperium probare, quam societate victor fieri.

“ rest, it is the intent of Tigranes to avoid drawing
 “ the war into his own country, that we shall go with
 “ all my troops, which are certainly well-disciplined,
 “ to carry our arms far from home, and attack the
 “ enemy in person in their own country. We cannot
 “ therefore either conquer or be conquered, without
 “ your being in danger. Do you not know, that the
 “ Romans, when they found themselves stopped by
 “ the ocean on the West, turned their arms this way?
 “ That to look back to their foundation and origin,
 “ whatever they have, they have from violence, home,
 “ wives, lands, and dominions. A vile herd of every
 “ kind of vagabonds, without country, without fore-
 “ fathers, they established themselves for the misfor-
 “ tune of human race. Neither divine nor human
 “ laws restrain them from betraying and destroying
 “ their allies and friends, remote nations or neigh-
 “ bours, the weak or the powerful. They reckon all
 “ enemies that are not their slaves; and especially,
 “ whatever bears the name of king. For few nations
 “ affect a free and independent government; the ge-
 “ nerality prefer just and equitable masters. They
 “ suspect us, because we are said to emulate their
 “ power, and may in time avenge their oppressions.
 “ But for you, who have Selucia, the greatest of
 “ cities, and Persia, the richest and most powerful of
 “ kingdoms, what can you expect from them, but
 “ deceit at present, and war hereafter? The Romans
 “ are at war with all nations; but especially with
 “ those, from whom the richest spoils are to be ex-
 “ pected. They are become great by enterprizing,
 “ betraying, and by making one war bring forth an-
 “ other. By this means they will either destroy all
 “ others, or be destroyed themselves. It will not be
 “ difficult to ruin them, if you, on the side of Me-
 “ sopotamia, and we, on that of Armenia, surround
 “ their army, without provisions or auxiliaries. The
 “ prosperity of their arms has subsisted hitherto solely
 “ by our fault, who have not been so prudent to un-
 “ derstand this common enemy, and to ally ourselves
 “ against

“ against him. It will be for your immortal glory to
 “ have supported two great kings, and to have con-
 “ quered and destroyed those robbers of the world.
 “ This is what I earnestly advise and exhort you to
 “ do; that you may chuse rather to share with us by
 “ a salutary alliance, in conquering the common ene-
 “ my, than to suffer the Roman empire to extend it-
 “ self universally by our ruin.”

It does not appear that this letter had the effect upon Phraates, Mithridates might have hoped from it. So that the two kings contented themselves with their own troops.

(*l*) One of the means made use of by Tigranes to assemble a new army, was to recall Megadates from Syria, who had governed it fourteen years in his name: Him he sent orders to join him with all the troops in that country. (*m*) Syria being thereby entirely ungarrisoned, Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eupator, to whom it of right appertained, as lawful heir of the house of Seleucus, took possession of some part of the country, and reigned there peaceably during four years.

(*n*) The army of Tigranes and Mithridates was at last formed. It consisted of seventy thousand chosen men, whom Mithridates had exercised well in the Roman discipline. It was about midsummer before it took the field. The two kings took particular care, in all the motions they made, to chuse an advantageous ground for their camp, and to fortify it well, to prevent Lucullus's attacking them in it; nor could all the stratagems he used engage them to come to a battle. Their design was to reduce him gradually; to harraß his troops on their marches, in order to weaken them; to intercept his convoys, and oblige him to quit the country for want of provisions. Lucullus not being able, by all the arts he could use, to bring them into the open field, employed a new means, which succeeded. Tigranes had

A. M.
3936.
Ant. J. C.
68.

(*l*) Appian. in Syr. p. 118, 119.
 (*n*) Plut. in Lucul. p. 513—515.

(*m*) Justin. l. xl. c. 2.

had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children; as he had almost all his treasures. Lucullus marched that way with all his troops, rightly foreseeing, that Tigranes would not remain quiet, when he saw the danger to which his capital was exposed. That prince accordingly decamped immediately, followed Lucullus to disconcert his design; and by four great marches having got before him, posted himself behind the river * Arsamia, which Lucullus was obliged to pass in his way to Artaxata, and resolved to dispute the passage with him. The Romans passed the river without being prevented by the presence or efforts of the enemy, a great battle ensued, in which the Romans again obtained a compleat victory. There were three kings in the Armenian army, of whom Mithridates behaved the worst. For not being able to look the Roman legions in the face, as soon as they charged, he was one of the first that fled; which threw the whole army into such a consternation, that it entirely lost courage; and this was the principal cause of the loss of the battle.

(o) Lucullus, after this victory, determined to continue his march to Artaxata, which was the certain means to put an end to the war. But as that city was still several days journey from thence towards the north, and winter approached, by its train of snows and storms, the † soldiers, already fatigued by a sufficiently rude campaign, refused to follow him into that country, where the cold was too severe for them. He was obliged to lead them into a warmer climate, by returning the way he came. He therefore repassed mount Taurus, and entered Mesopotamia, where he took the city Nisibis, a place of considerable strength, and put his troops into winter-quarters.

It

(o) Dion. Caf. l. xxxvii. p. 3—7.

* Or *Arsania*.

† Noster exercitus, etsi urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, & præliis usus erat secundis, tamen

nimiâ longinquitate locorum, ac desiderio suorum commovebatur. Cic. *pro lege Mar.* n. 23.

It was there the spirit of mutiny began to shew itself openly in the army of Lucullus. That general's severity, and the insolent liberty of the Roman soldiers, and still more, the malignant practices of Clodius, had given occasion for this revolt. Clodius, so well known for the invectives of Cicero his enemy, is hardly better treated by historians. They represent him as a man abandoned to all kind of vices, and infamous for his debauches, which he carried so far, as to commit incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus; to these he added unbounded audacity, and uncommon cunning in the contrivance of seditions: In a word, he was one of those dangerous persons, born to disturb and ruin every thing, by the unhappy union in himself of the most wicked inclinations with the talents necessary for putting them in execution. He gave a proof of this upon the occasion we are now speaking. Discontented with Lucullus, he secretly spread reports against him, highly proper to render him odious. He affected to lament extremely the fatigues of the soldiers, and to enter into their interests. He told them every day, that they were very unfortunate, in being obliged to serve so long under a severe and avaricious general, in a remote climate, without lands or rewards, whilst their fellow-soldiers, whose conquests were very moderate in comparison with theirs, had enriched themselves under Pompey. Discourses of this kind, attended with obliging and popular behaviour, which he knew how to assume occasionally without the appearance of affectation, made such an impression upon the soldiers, that it was no longer in the power of Lucullus to govern them.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had re-entered Pontus with four thousand of his own, and four thousand troops given him by Tigranes. * Several

VOL. VII.

P

inha-

* Mithridates & suam manu- & magnis adventitiis multorum
am jam confirmarat, & eorum regum & nationum copiis juva-
qui se ex ejus regno collegerant, batur. Hoc jam fere sic fieri
solere

inhabitants of the country joined him again, as well out of hatred to the Romans, who had treated them with great rigour, as the remains of affection for their king, reduced to the mournful condition in which they saw him from the most splendid fortune and exalted greatness. For the misfortunes of princes naturally excite compassion, and there is generally a profound respect in the hearts of the people, for the name and person of kings. Mithridates, encouraged and strengthened by these new aids, and the troops which several neighbouring states and princes sent him, resumed courage, and saw himself, more than ever, in a condition to make head against the Romans. * So that not contented with being re-established in his dominions, which a moment before he did not so much as hope ever to see again, he had the boldness to attack the Roman troops so often victorious, beat a body of them, commanded by Fabius, and after having put them to the route, pressed Friarius and Sornatius, two other of Lucullus's lieutenancy in that country, with great vigour.

A. M. Lucullus at length engaged his soldiers to quit
 3937. their winter-quarters, and to go to their aid. But
 Ant. J. C. they arrived too late. Friarius had imprudently ven-
 67. tured a battle, in which Mithridates had defeated him, and killed him seven thousand men; amongst whom were reckoned an hundred and fifty centurians, and twenty-four tribunes †, which made this one of the greatest losses the Romans had sustained a great

solere accepimus; ut regum assistæ fortunæ facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut reges sunt, aut vivant in regno: quod regale iis nomen magnum & sanctum esse videatur. *Cic. pro leg. Manil. n. 24.*

* Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum recepisset suum,

non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat, ut eam, postea quam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret: sed in exercitum vestrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit. — *Cic. pro leg. Manil. n. 25.*

† Quæ calamitas tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli, non ex prælio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. *Ibid.*

great while. The army had been entirely defeated, but for a wound Mithridates received, which exceedingly alarmed his troops, and gave the enemy time to escape. Lucullus, upon his arrival, found the dead bodies upon the field of battle, and did not give orders for their interment: Which still more exasperated his soldiers against him. The spirit of revolt rose so high, that without any regard for his character as a general, they treated him no longer but with insolence and contempt; and though he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, to conjure them to march against Mithridates and Tigranes, he could never prevail upon them to quit the place where they were. They answered him brutally, that as he had no thoughts but of enriching himself alone out of the spoils of the enemy, he might march alone, and fight them, if he thought fit.

SECT. IV. MITHRIDATES, *taking advantage of the discord which had arose in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions. POMPEY is chosen to succeed LUCULLUS. He overthrows MITHRIDATES in several battles. The latter flies in vain to TIGRANES his son-in-law for refuge, who is engaged in a war with his own son. POMPEY marches into Armenia against TIGRANES, who comes to him and surrenders himself. Weary of pursuing MITHRIDATES to no purpose, he returns into Syria, makes himself master of that kingdom, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucides. He marches back to Pontus. PHARNACES makes the army revolt against his father MITHRIDATES, who kills himself. That prince's character. POMPEY's expeditions into Arabia and Judæa, where he takes Jerusalem. After having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph.*

Manius Acilius Glabrio, and C. Piso, had been elected consuls at Rome. The first had Bithynia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus

commanded. The senate, at the same time, disbanded Fimbria's legions, which were part of his army. All this news augmented the disobedience and insolence of the troops in regard to Lucullus.

(*q*) It is true, his rough, austere, and frequently haughty disposition, gave some room for such usage. He cannot be denied the glory of having been one of the greatest captains of his age; and of having had almost all the qualities that form a compleat general. But the want of one diminished the merit of all the rest; I mean, address in winning the heart, and making himself beloved by the soldiers. He was difficult of access; rough in commanding; carried exactitude, in point of duty, to an excess that made it odious; was inexorable in punishing offences; and did not know how to conciliate esteem by praises and rewards bestowed opportunely, an air of kindness and favour, and insinuating manners, still more efficacious than either gifts or praises. And what proves, that the sedition of the troops was in a great measure his own fault, was their being very docile and obedient under Pompey.

In consequence of the letters Lucullus wrote to the senate, in which he acquainted them, that Mithridates was entirely defeated, and utterly incapable of retrieving himself, commissioners had been nominated to regulate the affairs of Pontus, as of a kingdom totally reduced. They were much surprized to find, upon their arrival, that far from being master of Pontus; he was not so much as master of his army, and that his own soldiers treated him with the utmost contempt.

The arrival of the consul Acilius Glabrio still added to their licentiousness. * He informed them, that Lucullus had been accused at Rome of protracting

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(*q*) Dion. Cass. l. xxxv. p. 7.
* In ipso illo malo gravissima-
que belli offensione, L. Lucullus,
qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis in-
commodis mederi fortasse potuisset,
vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii
diuturnitati modum statuen-

dum, veteri exemplo, putavistis,
partem militum, qui jam stipendiis
confectis erant, dimisit, partem
Glabrioni tradidit. *Cic. pro leg. Manil. n. 26.*

the war for the sake of continuing his command, that the senate had disbanded part of his troops, and forbid them paying him any further obedience. So that he soon found himself almost entirely abandoned by the soldiers. Mithridates taking advantage of this disorder, had time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make ravages in Cappadocia,

Whilst the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noise was made at Rome against Lucullus, (r) Pompey was returned from putting an end to the war with the pirates, in which an extraordinary power had been granted him. Upon this occasion one of the tribunes of the people, named Manilius, passed a decree to this effect: "That Pompey, taking upon him the command of all the troops and provinces which were under Lucullus, and adding to them Bithynia, where Acilius commanded, should be charged with making war upon the kings Mithridates and Tigranes, retaining under him all the naval forces, and continuing to command at sea with the same conditions and prerogatives, as had been granted him in the war against the pirates: That is to say, that he should have absolute power on all the coasts of the Mediterranean, to thirty leagues distance from the sea." This was, in effect, subjecting the whole Roman empire to one man. For all the provinces which had not been granted him by the first decree, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia the higher, Colchis, and Armenia, were conferred upon him by this second, that included also all the armies and forces, with which Lucullus had defeated the two kings, Mithridates and Tigranes.

A. M.

3938.

Ant. J. C

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P 3

and

(r) Plut in Pomp. p. 634. App. p. 238. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 70.

and senate most concern. They were well convinced that great wrong was done him, and that his services were not treated with the gratitude they deserved: But what gave them most pain, and they could not support, was that high degree of power to which Pompey was raised, which they considered as a tyranny already formed. It is for this reason they exhorted each other in a particular manner to oppose this decree, and not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cæsar and Cicero, who were very powerful at Rome, supported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with all their credit. It was upon this occasion, the latter pronounced that fine oration before the people, intitled, *For the law of Manilius*. After having demonstrated, in the two first parts of his discourse, the necessity and importance of the war in question, he proves, in the third, that Pompey is the only person capable of terminating it successfully. For this purpose, he enumerates the qualities necessary to form a general of an army, and shews that Pompey possesses them all in a supreme degree. He insists principally upon his probity, humanity, innocence of manners, integrity, disinterestedness, love of the publick good: “ Virtues, by so much the more necessary,” says he, “ as the * Roman name is become infamous and “ hateful amongst foreign nations, and our allies, in “ effect of the debauches, avarice, and unheard-of “ oppressions of the generals and magistrates we send “ amongst them. † Instead of which, the wise, “ moderate, and irreproachable conduct of Pompey, “ will make him be regarded, not as sent from “ Rome,

* Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud cæteras nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas hoc anno cum imperio missimus, injurias ac libidines. *Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 61.*

† Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de coelo delapsum intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere

fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam abstinentiâ, quod jam nationibus cæteris incredibile, ac falso memoriæ proditum, videbatur. Nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non sine causa majores suos, cum hac temperantiâ magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare alijs maluisse. *Ibid. n. 41.*

“ Rome, but descended from heaven, for the happiness of the people. We begin to believe, that all which is related of the noble disinterest of those ancient Romans is real and true; and that it was not without reason, under such magistrates, that nations chose rather to obey the Roman people, than to command others.”

Pompey was at that time the idol of the people, wherefore the fear of displeasing the multitude kept those grave senators silent, who had appeared so well inclined, and so full of courage. The decree was authorised by the suffrages of all the tribes, and Pompey, though absent, declared absolute master of almost all Sylla had usurped by arms, and by making a cruel war upon his country.

(s) We must not imagine, says a very judicious historian, that either Cæsar or Cicero, who took so much pains to have this law passed, acted from views of the publick good. Cæsar, full of ambition and great projects, endeavoured to make his court to the people, whose authority he knew was at that time much greater than the senate's: He thereby opened himself a way to the same power, and familiarized the Romans to extraordinary and unlimited commissions: In heaping upon the head of Pompey so many favours and glaring distinctions, he flattered himself, that he should at length render him odious to the people, who would soon take offence at them. So that in lifting him up, he had no other design than to prepare a precipice for him. Cicero also intended only his own greatness. It was his weakness to desire to lord it in the commonwealth, not indeed by guilt and violence, but by the method of persuasion. Besides his having the support of Pompey's credit in view, he was very well pleased with shewing the nobility and people, who formed two parties, and in a manner two republicks in the state, that he was capable of making the balance incline to the side he espoused. In consequence, it was always his policy to conciliate

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equally

equally both parties, in declaring sometimes for the one, and sometimes for the other.

A. M. 3938.
Ant. J. C. 66. (t) Pompey, who had already terminated the war with the pirates, was still in Cilicia, when he received letters to inform him of all the people had decreed in his favour. When his friends, who were present, congratulated him, and expressed their joy, it is said, that he knit his brows, struck his thigh, and cried out, as if oppressed by, and sorry for that new command; *Gods, what endless labours am I devoted to? Had I not been more happy as a man unknown and inglorious? Shall I never cease to make war, nor ever have my arms off my back? Shall I never escape the envy that persecutes me, nor live at peace in the country with my wife and children?*

This is usually enough the language of the ambitious, even of those who are most excessively actuated by that passion. But however successful they may be in imposing upon themselves, it seldom happens that they deceive others, and the publick is far from mistaking them. The friends of Pompey, and even those who were most intimate with him, could not support his dissimulation at this time. For there was not one of them who did not know, that his natural ambition and passion for command, still more inflamed by his difference with Lucullus, made him find a more exalted and sensible satisfaction, in the new charge conferred upon him. And his actions soon took off the mask, and explained his real sentiments.

The first step which he took upon arriving in the provinces of his government, was to forbid any obedience whatsoever to the orders of Lucullus. In his march, he altered every thing his predecessor had decreed. He discharged some from the penalties Lucullus had laid upon them; deprived others of the rewards he had given them; in short, his sole view in every thing, was to let the partizans of Lucullus

(t) Plut in Pomp. p. 634—636. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 22—25. Appian. p. 238.

lus see, that they adhered to a man, who had neither authority nor power. (u) Strabo's uncle by the mother's side, highly discontented with Mithridates, for having put to death several of his relations, to avenge himself for that cruelty, had gone over to Lucullus, and had given up fifteen places in Cappadocia to him. Lucullus loaded him with honours, and promised to reward him as such considerable services deserved. Pompey, far from having any regard for such just and reasonable engagements, which his predecessors had entered into solely from the view of the publick good, affected an universal opposition to them, and looked upon all those as his enemies, who had contracted any friendship with Lucullus.

It is not uncommon for a successor to endeavour to lessen the value of his predecessor's actions, in order to arrogate all honour to himself; but certainly none ever carried that conduct to such monstrous excess, as Pompey did at this time. His great qualities and innumerable conquests are exceedingly extolled; but so base and odious a jealousy ought to fully, or rather totally eclipse, the glory of them. Such was the manner in which Pompey thought fit to begin.

Lucullus made bitter complaints of him. Their common friends, in order to a reconciliation, concerted an interview between them. It passed at first with all possible politeness, and with reciprocal marks of esteem and amity. But these were only compliments, and a language that extended no farther than the lips, which costs the great nothing. The heart soon explained itself. The conversation growing warm by degrees, they proceeded to injurious terms; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with his avarice, and Lucullus Pompey with his ambition, in which they spoke the truth of each other. They parted more incensed, and greater enemies than before.

Lucul-

(u) Strab. l. xii. p. 557, 558.

Lucullus set out for Rome, whither he carried a great quantity of books, which he had collected in his conquests. He put them into a library, which was open to all the learned and curious, whom it drew about him in great numbers. They were received at his house with all possible politeness and generosity. The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucullus; but not without being long contested.

(x) It was he that first brought cherries to Rome, which till then had been unknown in Europe. They were called Cerasus, from a city of that name in Capadocia.

Pompey began, by engaging Phraates king of the Parthians in the Roman interest. He has been spoken of already, and is the same who was surnamed *the God*. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with him. He offered peace also to Mithridates; but that prince, believing himself sure of the amity and aid of Phraates, would not so much as hear it mentioned. When he was informed that Pompey had prevented him, he sent to treat with him. But Pompey having demanded, by way of preliminary, that he should lay down his arms, and give up all deserters, those proposals were very near occasioning a mutiny in Mithridates's army. As there were abundance of deserters in it, they could not suffer any thing to be said upon delivering them up to Pompey; nor would the rest of the army consent to see themselves weakened by the loss of their comrades. Mithridates was obliged to tell them, that he had sent his ambassadors only to inspect into the condition of the Roman army; and to swear, that he would not make peace with the Romans either on those or on any other conditions.

Pompey, having distributed his fleet in different stations, to guard the whole sea between Phœnicia and the Bosphorus, marched by land against Mithridates, who had still thirty thousand foot, and two or three thousand horse; but did not dare however to come to a battle. That prince was encamped very strongly

strongly upon a mountain, where he could not be forced; but he abandoned it on Pompey's approach, for want of water. Pompey immediately took possession of it, and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and other signs, that there was abundance of springs within it, he ordered wells to be dug, and in an instant the camp had water in abundance. Pompey could not sufficiently wonder how Mithridates, for want of attention and curiosity, had been so long ignorant of so important and necessary a resource.

Soon after he followed him, encamped near him, and shut him up within good walls, which he carried quite round his camp. They were almost eight* leagues in circumference, and were fortified with good towers, at proper distances from each other. Mithridates, either through fear or negligence, suffered him to finish his works. He reduced him in consequence to such a want of provisions, that his troops were obliged to subsist upon the carriage-beasts in their camp. The horses only were spared. After having sustained this kind of siege for almost fifty days, Mithridates escaped by night, with all the best troops of his army, having first ordered all the useless and sick persons to be killed.

Pompey immediately pursued him, came up with him near the Euphrates, encamped near him; and apprehending, that in order to escape, he would make haste to pass the river, he quitted his entrenchments, and advanced against him by night in order of battle. His design was only to surround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at day-break the next morning. But all his old officers made such intreaties and remonstrances to him, that they determined him to fight without waiting till day; for the night was not very dark, the moon giving light enough for distinguishing objects, and knowing one another. Pompey could not refuse himself to the ardour of his troops, and led them on against the enemy. The Barbarians were afraid to stand the attack, and fled
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immediately in the utmost consternation. The Romans made a great slaughter of them, killed them above ten thousand men, and took their whole camp.

Mithridates, with eight hundred horse, in the beginning of the battle, opened himself a way sword in hand through the Roman army, and went off. But those eight hundred horse soon quitted their ranks and dispersed, and left him with only three followers, of which number was Hypsicratia, one of his wives, a woman of masculine courage and warlike boldness; which occasioned her being called Hypsicrates (*x*), by changing the termination of her name from the feminine to the masculine. She was mounted that day upon a Persian horse, and wore the habit of a soldier of that nation. She continued to attend the king, without giving way to the fatigues of his long journeys, or being weary of serving him, though she took care of his horse herself, till they arrived at a fortress, where the king's treasures and most precious effects lay. There, after having distributed the most magnificent of his robes to such as were assembled about him, he made a present to each of his friends of a mortal poison, that none of them might fall alive into the hands of their enemies, but by their own consent.

(*y*) That unhappy fugitive saw no other hopes for him, but from his son-in-law Tigranes. He sent ambassadors to demand his permission to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the re-establishment of his entirely ruined affairs. Tigranes was at that time at war with his son. He caused those ambassadors to be seized, and thrown into prison, and set a price upon his father-in-law's head, promising an hundred * talents to whomsoever should seize or kill him; under pretence, that it was Mithridates who had made his son take up arms against him; but in reality to make his court to the Romans, as we shall soon see.

Pompey,

(*x*) *Ultra sceminam ferox.* Tacit. (*y*) Plut. in Pomp. p. 636, 637. Appian. p. 242. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 25, 26.

* *An hundred thousand crowns.*

Pompey, after the victory he had gained, marched into Armenia major against Tigranes. He found him at war with his son of his own name. We have observed, that the king of Armenia had espoused Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. He had three sons by her, two of whom he had put to death without reason. The third, to escape the cruelty of so unnatural a father, had fled to Phraates, king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married. His father-in-law carried him back to Armenia at the head of an army, where they besieged Artaxata. But finding the place very strong, and provided with every thing necessary for a good defence, Phraates left him part of the army to carry on the siege, and returned with the rest into his own dominions. Tigranes the father soon after fell upon the son with all his troops, beat his army, and drove him out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had designed to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates. But on the way was informed of his defeat, and having lost all hope of obtaining aid from him, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Romans. Accordingly, he entered their camp, and went to Pompey to implore his protection. Pompey gave him a very good reception, and was glad of his coming; for being to carry the war into Armenia, he had occasion for such a guide as him. He therefore caused that prince to conduct him directly to Artaxata.

Tigranes, terrified at this news, and sensible that he was not in a condition to oppose so powerful an army, resolved to have recourse to the generosity and clemency of the Roman general. He put the ambassadors, sent to him by Mithridates, into his hands, and followed them directly himself. Without taking any precaution, he entered the Roman camp, and went to submit his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey and the Romans. * He said, that of all the Romans,

* Mox ipse supplex & præsens se regnumque ditioni ejus permittit, præsatus; neminem alium ne-

que Romanum neque ullius gentis virum futurum fuisse, cujus se fidei commissurus foret, quam Cn. Pom-

Romans, and of all mankind, Pompey was the only person in whose faith he could confide; that in whatsoever manner he should decide his fate, he should be satisfied: That he was not ashamed to be conquered by a man, whom none could conquer; and that it was no dishonour to submit to him, whom fortune had made superior to all others.

When he arrived on horseback near the entrenchments of the camp, two of Pompey's lictors came out to meet him, and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot; telling him that no stranger had ever been known to enter a Roman camp on horseback. Tigranes obeyed, and ungirt his sword, gave it to the lictors; and after, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and prostrated himself to the earth to embrace his knees. But Pompey ran to prevent him, and taking him by the hand, carried him into his tent, made him sit on the right, and his son, the young Tigranes, on the left side of him. He after referred hearing what he had to say to the next day, and invited the father and son to sup with him that evening. The son refused to be there with his father; and as he had not shewed him the least mark of respect during the interview, and had treated him with the same indifference as if he had been a stranger, Pompey was very much offended at that behaviour. He did not, however, entirely neglect his interests in determining upon the affair of Tigranes. After having condemned Tigranes to pay the Romans * six thousand talents for the charges of the war he had made against them without cause, and to relinquish to them all his conquests on that side of the Euphrates, he decreed, that he should reign in his ancient kingdom Armenia major, and that his son should have Gordiana and Sophena, two provinces upon the borders of Armenia,

Pompeium. Proinde omnem sibi vel adversam vel secundam, cujus auctor ille esset, fortunam, tolerabilem futuram. Non esse turpe ab eo vinci, quem vincere esset ne-

fas: neque ei inhonestè aliquem summitti, quem fortuna super omnes extulisset. *Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 37.*

* About 900,000*l.* sterling.

Armenia, during his father's life, and all the rest of his dominions after his death; reserving, however, to the father, the treasures he had in Sophena, without which it had been impossible for him to have paid the Romans the sum Pompey required of him.

The father was well satisfied with these conditions; which still left him a crown. But the son, who had entertained chimerical hopes, could not relish a decree which deprived him of what had been promised him. He was even so much discontented with it, that he wanted to escape, in order to have excited new troubles. Pompey, who suspected his design, ordered him to be always kept in view; and upon his absolutely refusing to consent that his father should withdraw his treasures from Sophena, he caused him to be put into prison. Afterwards having discovered, that he solicited the Armenian nobility to take up arms, and endeavoured to engage the Parthians to do the same, he put him amongst those he reserved for his triumph.

Some time after, Phraates, king of the Parthians, sent to Pompey, to claim that young prince as his son-in-law; and to represent to him, that he ought to make the Euphrates the boundary of his conquests. Pompey made answer, that the younger Tigranes was more related to his father than his father-in-law; and that as to his conquests, he should give them such bounds as reason and justice required; but without being prescribed them by any one.

When Tigranes had been suffered to possess himself of his treasures in Sophena, he paid the six thousand talents, and besides that, gave every private soldier fifty * drachmas, a † thousand to a centurion, and ten thousand to each ‡ tribune; and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. This had been pardonable, had he not added to it abject behaviour and submissions unworthy of a king.

Pompey gave all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added

* About 22 s.

† About 25 l. sterling.

‡ About 250 l. sterling.

added to it Sophena and Gordiana, which he had designed for young Tigranes.

(z) After having regulated every thing in Armenia, Pompey marched northwards in pursuit of Mithridates. Upon the banks of the * Cyrus he found the Albanians and Iberians, two powerful nations, situate between the Caspian and Euxine seas, who endeavoured to stop him; but he beat them, and obliged the Albanians to demand peace. He granted it, and passed the winter in their country.

A. M. 3939.
Ant. J. C. 65. The next year he took the field very early against the Iberians. This was a very warlike nation, and had never been conquered. It had always retained its liberty, during the time that the Medes, Persians; and Macedonians, had alternately possessed the empire of Asia. Pompey found means to subdue this people, though not without very considerable difficulties, and obliged them to demand peace. The king of the Iberians sent him a bed, a table, and a throne, all of massy gold; desiring him to accept those presents as earnest of his amity. Pompey put them into the hands of the quæstors for the publick treasury. He also subjected the people of Colchis, and made their king Olthaces prisoner, whom he afterwards led in triumph. From thence he returned into Albania, to chastise that nation for having taken up arms again, whilst he was engaged with the Iberians and people of Colchis.

The army of the Albanians was commanded by Cosis, the brother of king Orodes. That prince, as soon as the two armies came to blows, confined himself to Pompey, and spurring furiously up to him, darted his javelin at him. But Pompey received him so vigorously with his spear, that it went through his body, and laid him dead at his horse's feet. The Albanians were overthrown, and a great slaughter was made of them. This victory obliged king Orodes to buy a second peace upon the same terms with that he had

(z) Plut. in Pomp. p. 637. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 28---33. Appian. p. 24, 245. * Called *Cyrnus* also by some authors.

had made with the Romans the year before, at the price of great presents, and by giving one of his sons as an hostage for his observing it better than he had done the former.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had passed the winter at Dioscuriás, in the north-east of the Euxine sea. Early in the spring he marched to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, through several nations of the Scythians, some of which suffered him to pass voluntarily, and others were obliged to it by force. The kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the same now called Crim-Tartary, and was at that time a province of Mithridates's empire. He had given it as an appanage to one of his sons, named Machares. But that young prince had been so vigorously handled by the Romans, whilst they besieged Sinope, and their fleet was in possession of the Euxine sea, which lay between that city and his kingdom, that he had been obliged to make a peace with them, and had inviolably observed it till then. He well knew that his father was extremely displeased with such conduct, and therefore very much apprehended his presence. In order to a reconciliation, he sent ambassadors to him upon his route, who represented to him, that he had been reduced to act in that manner, contrary to his inclination, by the necessity of his affairs. But finding that his father would not hearken to his reasons, he endeavoured to save himself by sea, and was taken by vessels sent expressly by Mithridates to cruise in his way. He chose rather to die than fall into his father's hands.

Pompey having terminated the war in the North, and seeing it impossible to follow Mithridates in the remote country into which he had retired, led back his army to the South, and on his march subjected Darius, king of the Medes, and Antiochus, king of Comagena. He went on to Syria, and made himself master of the whole empire. Scaurus reduced Cœlo-syria and Damascus, and Gabinius all the rest of the country, as far as the Tygris; they were his lieute-

nant-generals. (c) Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, heir of the house of the Seleucides, who, by Lucullus's permission, had reigned four years in part of that country, of which he had taken possession when Tigranes abandoned it; came to solicit him to re-establish him upon the throne of his ancestors. But Pompey refused to give him audience, and deprived him of all his dominions, which he made a Roman province. Thus, whilst Tigranes was left in possession of Armenia, who had done the Romans great hurt, during the course of a long war, Antiochus was dethroned, who had never committed the least hostility, and by no means deserved such treatment. The reason given for it was, that the Romans had conquered Syria under Tigranes; that it was not just that they should lose the fruit of their victory; that Antiochus was a prince, who had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for the defence of the country; and that to put it into his hands, would be to expose it to the perpetual ravages and incursions of the Jews, which Pompey took care not to do. In consequence of this way of reasoning, Antiochus lost his crown, and was reduced to the necessity of passing his life as a private person. In him ended the empire of the Seleucides, after a duration of almost two hundred and fifty years.

A. M.
3939.
Ant. J. C.
65.

During these expeditions of the Romans in Asia, great revolutions happened in Egypt. The Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms, and after having expelled him, called in Ptolomæus Auletes to supply his place. That history will be treated at large in the ensuing article.

(d) Pompey afterwards went to Damascus, where he regulated several affairs relating to Egypt and Judæa. During his residence there, twelve crowned heads went thither to make their court to him, and were all in the city at the same time.

(e) A fine contention between the love of a father and

(c) Appian. in Syr. p. 133. Justin. l. xl. c. 2.
in Pomp. p. 638, 639. (e) Val. Max. l. v. c. 7.

(d) Plut.

and the duty of a son was seen at this time, a very extraordinary contest in those days, when the most horrid murders and parricides frequently opened the way to thrones. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, voluntarily resigned the crown in favour of his son, and put the diadem on his head in the presence of Pompey. The most sincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the truly afflicted son, for what others would have highly rejoiced. It was the sole occasion in which he thought disobedience allowable; and he would have * persisted in refusing the scepter, if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged him at length to submit to paternal authority. This is the second example Cappadocia has instanced of so generous a dispute. We have spoken in its place of the like contest between the two Ariarathes.

As Mithridates was in possession of several strong places in Pontus and Cappadocia, Pompey judged it necessary to return thither, in order to reduce them. He made himself master of almost all of them, in consequence, upon his arrival, and afterwards wintered at Aspis, a city of Pontus.

Stratonice, one of Mithridates's wives, surrendered a castle of the Bosphorus, which she had in her keeping, to Pompey, with the treasures concealed in it, demanding only for recompence, if her son Xiphares should fall into his hands, that he should be restored to her. Pompey accepted only such of those presents as would serve for the ornaments of temples. When Mithridates knew what Stratonice had done, to revenge her facility in surrendering that fortress, which he considered as a treason, he killed Xiphares in his mother's sight, who beheld that sad spectacle from the other side of the streight.

Caina, or the new city, was the strongest place in Pontus, and therefore Mithridates kept the greatest part of his treasures, and whatever he had of greatest value, in that place, which he conceived impregnable.

Q 2

Pompey

* Nec ullum finem tam egre- triæ voluntati auctoritas Pompeii
gium certamen habuisset nisi pa- adfuisset. *Val. Max.*

Pompey took it, and with it all that Mithridates had left in it. Amongst other things were found secret memoirs, wrote by himself, which gave a very good light into his character. In one part he had noted down the persons he had poisoned, amongst whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis; the latter, because he had carried the prize in the chariot-race against him. What fantastical records were these! Was he afraid that the publick and posterity should not be informed of his monstrous crimes, and his motives for committing them?

(f) His memoirs of physick were also found there, which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Lenæus, a good grammarian, one of his freedmen; and they were afterwards made publick in that language. For amongst the other extraordinary qualities of Mithridates, he was very skilful in medicines. It was he who invented the excellent antidote, which still bears his name, and from which physicians have experienced such effects, that they continue to use it successfully to this day.

A. M. 3940. Ant. J. C. 64. (g) Pompey, during his stay at Aspis, made such regulations in the affairs of the country, as the state of them would admit. As soon as the spring returned, he marched back into Syria for the same purpose. He did not think it adviseable to pursue Mithridates in the kingdom of Bosphorus, whither he was returned. To do that, he must have marched round the Euxine sea with an army, and passed through many countries, either inhabited by barbarous nations, or entirely desert; a very dangerous enterprize, in which he would have run great risque of perishing. So that all Pompey could do, was to post the Roman fleet in such a manner, as to intercept any convoys that might be sent to Mithridates. He believed, by that means, he should be able to reduce him to the last extremity; and said, on setting out, that he left Mithridates more formi-

(f) Plin. l. xxv. c. 20.

Plut. in Pomp. p. 639--641.
Appian. p. 246--251.

(g) Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 5, 6.
Dion. Cas. l. xxxvii. p. 34--36.

formidable enemies than the Romans, which were hunger and necessity.

What carried him with so much ardour into Syria, was his excessive and vain-glorious ambition to push his conquests as far as the Red-sea. In Spain, and before that in Africa, he had carried the Roman arms as far as the western ocean on both sides of the streights of the Mediterranean. In the war against the Albanians, he had extended his conquests to the Caspian sea, and believed there was nothing wanting to his glory, but to push them on as far as the Red-sea. Upon his arrival in Syria, he declared Antioch and Seleucia, upon the Orontus, free cities, and continued his march towards Damascus; from whence he designed to have gone on against the Arabians, and afterwards to have conquered all the countries to the Red-sea. But an accident happened, which obliged him to suspend all his projects, and to return into Pontus.

Some time before, an embassy came to him from Mithridates, king of Pontus, who demanded peace. He proposed, that he should be suffered to retain his hereditary dominions, as Tigranes had been, upon condition of paying a tribute to the Romans, and resigning all other provinces. Pompey replied, that then he should also come in person, as Tigranes had done. Mithridates could not consent to such a meanness, but proposed sending his children, and some of his principal friends. Pompey would not agree to that. The negotiation broke up, and Mithridates applied himself to making preparations for war with as much vigour as ever. Pompey, who received advice of this activity, judged it necessary to be upon the spot, in order to have an eye to every thing. For that purpose, he went to pass some time at Amisus, the ancient capital of the country. There, through the just punishment of the gods, says Plutarch, his ambition made him commit faults, which drew upon him the blame of all the world. He had publickly charged and reproached Lucullus, that subsisting the

war, he had disposed of provinces, given rewards, decrees, honours, and acted in all things as victors are not accustomed to act, till a war be finally terminated; and now fell into the same inconsistency himself. For he disposed of governments, and divided the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, as if the war had been at an end. But Mithridates still lived, and every thing was to be apprehended from a prince inexhaustible in resources, whom the greatest defeats could not disconcert, and whom losses themselves seemed to inspire with new courage, and to supply with new forces. At that very time, when he was believed to be entirely ruined, he actually meditated a terrible invasion into the very heart of the Roman empire with the troops he had lately raised.

Pompey, in the distribution of rewards, gave Armenia minor to Dejotarus, prince of Galatia, who had always continued firmly attached to the Roman interests during this war, to which he added the title of king. It was this Dejotarus, who, by always persisting, out of gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the resentment of Cæsar, and had occasion for the eloquence of Cicero to defend him.

He made Archelaus also high-priest of the Moon, who was the supreme goddess of the Comanians, and gave him the sovereignty of the place, which contained at least six thousand persons, all devoted to the worship of that deity. I have already observed, that this Archelaus was the son of him, who had commanded in chief the troops sent by Mithridates into Greece in his first war with the Romans, and who, being disgraced by that prince, had, with his son, taken refuge amongst them. They had always, from that time, continued their firm adherents, and had been of great use to them in the wars of Asia. The father being dead, the high-priesthood of Comana was given to the son, in recompence for the services of both.

During Pompey's stay in Pontus, Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa; took the advantage of his absence to
make

make incursions into Syria, which very much distressed the inhabitants. Pompey returned thither. Upon his way he came to the place where lay the dead bodies of the Romans killed in the defeat of Triarius. He caused them to be interred with great solemnity, which gained him the hearts of his soldiers. From thence he continued his march towards Syria, with the view of executing the projects he had formed for the war of Arabia : But important advices interrupted those designs.

Though Mithridates had lost all hopes of peace, after Pompey had rejected the overtures he had caused to be made to him ; and though he saw many of his subjects abandon his party, far from losing courage, he had formed the design of crossing Pannonia, and passing the Alps to attack the Romans in Italy itself, as Hannibal had done before him : A project more bold than prudent, with which his inveterate hatred and blind despair had inspired him. A great number of neighbouring Scythians had entered themselves in his service, and considerably augmented his army. He had sent deputies into Gaul to solicit that people to join him, when he should approach the Alps. As great passions are always credulous, and men easily flatter themselves in what they ardently desire, he was in hopes that the flame of the revolt among the slaves in Italy and Sicily, perhaps ill extinguished, might suddenly rekindle upon his presence : That the pirates would soon repossess themselves of the empire of the sea, and involve the Romans in new difficulties ; and that the provinces, oppressed by the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates and generals, would be fond of throwing off the yoke by his aid, under which they had so long groaned. Such were the thoughts that he had revolved in his mind.

But as to execute this project, it was necessary to march five hundred leagues, and traverse the countries now called Little Tartary, Moldavia, Walachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Stiria, Carinthia, Tirol, and Lombardy, and pass three great rivers, the Borysthenes,

Danube, and Po: The idea alone of so rude and dangerous a march, threw his army into such a terror, that, to prevent the execution of his design, they conspired against him, and chose Pharnaces his son king, who had been active in exciting the soldiers to this revolt. Mithridates then, seeing himself abandoned by all the world, and that even his son would not suffer him to escape where he could, retired to his apartment, and after having given poison to such of his wives and daughters as were with him at that time, he took the same himself; but when he perceived that it had not its effect upon him, he had recourse to his sword. The wound he gave himself not sufficing, he was obliged to desire a Gaulish soldier to put an end to his life. Dion says, he was killed by his own son.

A. M. 3941.
Ant. J. C. 63. Mithridates had reigned sixty years, and lived seventy-two. His greatest fear was to fall into the hands of the Romans, and to be led in triumph. To prevent that misfortune, he always carried poison about him, in order to escape that way, if other means should fail. The apprehension he was in, lest his son should deliver him up to Pompey, occasioned his taking the fatal resolution he executed so suddenly. It was generally said, the reason that the poison did not kill him, was his having taken antidotes so much, that his constitution was proof against it. But this is believed an error, and that it is impossible any remedy should be an universal antidote against all the different species of poison.

Pompey was at Jericho in Palestine, whither the differences between Hircanius and Aristobulus, of which we have spoken elsewhere, had carried him, when he received the first news of Mithridates's death. It was brought him by expresses dispatched on purpose from Pontus with letters from his lieutenants. Those expresses arriving with their lances crowned with laurels, which was customary only when they brought advice of some victory, or news of great importance and advantage, the army was very eager and

and solicitous to know what it was. As they had only began to form their camp, and had not erected the tribunal, from which the general harangued the troops, without staying to raise one of turf, as was usual, because that would take up too much time, they made one of the packs of their carriage horses, upon which Pompey mounted without ceremony. He acquainted them with the death of Mithridates, and the manner of his killing himself; that his son Pharnaces submitted himself and dominions to the Romans, and thereby that tedious war, which had endured so long, was at length terminated. This gave both the army and general great subject to rejoice.

Such was the end of Mithridates; a prince, says * an historian, of whom it is difficult either to speak or be silent: Full of activity in war, of distinguished courage; sometimes very great by fortune, and always of invincible resolution; truly a general in his prudence and counsel, and a soldier in action and danger; a second Hannibal in his hatred of the Romans.

Cicero says of Mithridates, that after Alexander he was the greatest of king: (i) *Ille rex post Alexandrum maximus*. It is certain, that the Romans never had such a king in arms against them. Nor can we deny that he had his great qualities, a vast extent of mind, that aspired at every thing; a superiority of genius, capable of the greatest undertakings; a constancy of soul, that the severest misfortunes could not depress; an industry and bravery, inexhaustible in resources, and which, after the greatest losses, brought him again on the stage on a sudden, more powerful and formidable than ever. I cannot, however, believe, that he was a consummate general; that idea does not seem

(i) Academ. Quæst. l. iv. n. 8.

* Vir neque silendus neque dicendus sine cura: bello acerrimus, virtute eximius; aliquando fortuna semper animo maximus; consiliis dux, miles manu: odio in Romanos Annibal. *Vel. Patérc.* l. ii. c. 18.

seem to result from his actions. He obtained great advantages at first; but against generals, without either merit or experience. When Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, opposed him, it does not appear he acquired any great honour, either by his address in posting himself to advantage, by his presence of mind in unexpected emergency, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But should we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain, he could not but be considered with horror, when we reflect upon the innumerable murders and parricides of his reign, and that inhuman cruelty, which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which sacrificed every thing to his insatiable ambition.

(k) Pompey being arrived in Syria, went directly to Damascus, with design to set out from thence to begin at length the war with Arabia. When Aretas, the king of that country, saw him upon the point of entering his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions.

The troubles of Judæa employed Pompey some time. He returned afterwards into Syria, from whence he set out for Pontus. Upon his arrival at Amisus, he found the body of Mithridates there, which Pharnaces his son had sent to him; no doubt, to convince Pompey by his own eyes of the death of an enemy, who had occasioned him so many difficulties and fatigues. He had added great presents, in order to incline him in his favour. Pompey accepted the presents; but for the body of Mithridates, looking upon their enmity to be extinguished in death, he did it all the honours due to the remains of a king, sent it to the city of Sinope to be interred there with the kings of Pontus his ancestors, who had long been buried in that place, and ordered the sums that were necessary for the solemnity of a royal funeral.

In this last journey he took possession of all the places in the hands of those, to whom Mithridates had con-
fided

(k) Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4, 8. & de Bell. Jud. 1, 5. Plut. in Pomp. p. 641. Appian. p. 250. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 35 & 36.

sided them. He found immense riches in some of them, especially at Telaureus, where part of Mithridates's most valuable effects and precious jewels were kept: His principal arsenal was also in the same place. Amongst those rich things were two thousand cups of onyx, set and adorned with gold; with so prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, fine moveables, and furniture of war for man and horse, that it cost the quæstor, or treasurer of the army, thirty days entire in taking the inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus, in reward of his parricide, declared him friend and ally of the Roman people, and marched into the province of Asia, in order to winter at Ephesus. He gave each of his soldiers fifteen hundred drachmas, (about 37 l. sterling) and to the officers according to their several posts. The total sum, to which his liberalities amounted, all raised out of the spoils of the enemy, was sixteen thousand talents; that is to say, about two million, four hundred thousand pounds; besides which, he had twenty thousand more (three millions) to put into the treasury at Rome, upon the day of his entry.

His triumph continued two days, and was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. Pompey caused three hundred and twenty-four captives of the highest distinction to march before his chariot: Amongst whom were Aristobulus, king of Judæa, with his son Antigonus; Olthaces, king of Colchos; Tigranes, the son of Tigranes king of Armenia; the sister, five sons, and two daughters of Mithridates. For want of that king's person, his throne, sceptre, and gold busto of eight cubits, or twelve feet, in height, were carried in triumph.

A. M.
3943.
Ant. J. C.
61.

BOOK THE TWENTY-THIRD.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
E G Y P T.

SECT. I. PTOLOMÆUS AULETES *had been placed upon the throne of Egypt in the room of ALEXANDER. He is declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey, which he purchases at a very great price. In consequence, he loads his subjects with imposts. He is expelled the throne. The Alexandrians make his daughter BERENICE queen. He goes to Rome, and by money obtains the voices of the heads of the commonwealth for his re-establishment. He is opposed by an oracle of the Sibyl's; notwithstanding which, GABINIUS sets him upon the throne by force of arms, where he remains till his death. The famous CLEOPATRA, and her brother, very young, succeed him.*

A. M. (m) WE have seen in what manner Ptolomæus
3939. Auletes ascended the throne of Egypt.
Ant. J. C. Alexander, his predecessors, upon his being expelled
65. by his subjects, withdrew to Tyre, where he died
some time after. As he left no issue, nor any other
legitimate prince of the blood royal, he made the
Roman people his heirs. The senate, for the rea-
sons I have repeated elsewhere, did not judge it pro-

per, at that time, to take possession of the dominions left them by Alexander's will ; but to shew that they did not renounce their right, they resolved to call in part of the inheritance, and sent deputies to Tyre, to demand a sum of money left there by that king at his death.

The pretensions of the Roman people were under no restrictions ; and it had been a very insecure establishment to possess a state, to which they believed they had so just a claim ; unless some means were found to make them renounce it. All the kings of Egypt had been friends and allies of Rome. To get himself declared an ally by the Romans, was a certain means to his being authentically acknowledged king of Egypt by them. But by how much the more important that qualification was to him, so much the more difficult was it for him to obtain it. His predecessor's will was still fresh in the memory of every body ; and as princes are seldom pardoned for defects, which do not suit their condition, though they are often spared for those that are much more hurtful, the surname of *player on the flute*, which he had drawn upon himself, had ranked him as low in the esteem of the Romans, as before in that of the Egyptians.

(n) He did not, however, despair of success in his undertakings. All the methods, which he took for the attainment of his end, were a long time ineffectual ; and it is likely they would always have been so, if Cæsar had never been consul. That ambitious spirit, who believed all means and expedients just that conduced to his ends, being immensely in debt, and finding that king disposed to merit by money what he could not obtain by right, sold him the alliance of Rome, at as dear a price as he was willing to buy it ; and received for the purchase, as well for himself as for Pompey, whose credit was necessary to him for obtaining the people's consent, almost six thousand

(n) Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. liv. Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.

thousand talents, that is to say, almost nine hundred thousand pounds. At this price he was declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.

A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58. Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice the amount of this sum, he could not immediately raise the money, without exceedingly over-taxing his subjects. They were already highly discontented by his not claiming the isle of Cyprus, as an ancient appennage of Egypt, and in case of refusal, declaring war against the Romans. In this disposition the extraordinary imposts he was obliged to exact, having finally exasperated them, they rose with so much violence, that he was forced to fly for the security of his life. He concealed his route so well, that the Egyptians either believed, or feigned to believe, that he had perished. They declared Berenice, the eldest of his three daughters, queen, though he had two sons, because they were both much younger than her.

(o) Ptolemy, however, having landed at the isle of Rhodes, which was in his way to Rome, was informed that Cato, who after his death was called Cato of Utica, was also arrived there some time before. That prince, being glad of the opportunity to confer with him upon his own affairs, sent immediately to let him know his arrival; expecting that he would come directly to visit him. We may here see an instance of Roman grandeur, or rather haughtiness. Cato ordered him to be told, that if he had any thing to say to him, he might come to him, if he thought fit. Cato did not vouchsafe so much as to rise, when Ptolemy entered his chamber, and saluting him only as a common man, bade him sit down. The king, though in some confusion upon this reception, could not but admire, how so much haughtiness and state could unite in the same person with the simplicity and modesty that appeared in his habit and all his equipage. But he was very much surprized, when, upon explaining himself, Cato blamed him

him in direct terms, for quitting the finest kingdom in the world, to expose himself to the pride and insatiable avarice of the Roman grandees, and to suffer a thousand indignities. He did not scruple to tell him, that though he should sell all Egypt, he would not have sufficient to satisfy their avidity. He advised him therefore to return to Egypt, and reconcile himself with his subjects; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and offering him his mediation and good offices.

Ptolemy, upon this discourse, recovered as out of a dream, and having maturely considered what the wise Roman had told him, perceived the error he had committed, in quitting his kingdom, and entertained thoughts of returning to it. But the friends he had with him, being gained by Pompey to make him go to Rome, (one may easily guess with what views) dissuaded him from following Cato's good counsel. He had time enough to repent it, when he found himself in that proud city reduced to solicit his business from gate to gate, like a private person.

(p) Cæsar, upon whom his principal hopes were founded, was not at Rome: He was at that time making war in Gaul. But Pompey, who was there, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing to serve him. Besides the money he had received from that prince, in conjunction with Cæsar, Ptolemy had afterwards cultivated his friendship by various services, which he had rendered him during the war with Mithridates, and had maintained eight thousand horse for him in that of Judæa. Having therefore made his complaint to the senate of the rebellion of his subjects, he demanded that they should oblige them to return to their obedience, as the Romans were engaged to do by the alliance granted him. Pompey's faction obtained him their compliance. The consul Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, separated from Egypt only by the coast of Syria, had fallen
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(p) Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97, 98. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. Cic. ad Famil. Id. in Piso, n. 48—50. Id. pro Cæl. n. 23, 24.

by lot, was charged with the re-establishment of Ptolemy upon the throne.

A. M.

3947.

Ant. J. C.

57.

But before his consulship expired, the Egyptians, having been informed that their king was not dead as they believed, and that he was gone to Rome, sent thither a solemn embassy, to justify the revolt before the senate. That embassy consisted of more than an hundred persons, of whom the chief was a celebrated philosopher, named Dion, who had considerable friends at Rome. Ptolemy having received advice of this, found means to destroy most of those ambassadors, either by poison or the sword, and intimidated those so much, whom he could neither corrupt nor kill, that they were afraid either to acquit themselves of their commission, or to demand justice for so many murders. But as all the world knew this cruelty, it made him as highly odious as he was before contemptible: And his immense profusions, in gaining the poorest and most self-interested senators, became so publick, that nothing else was talked of throughout the city.

So notorious a contempt of the laws, and such an excess of audacity, excited the indignation of all the persons of integrity in the senate. M. Favonius the Stoick philosopher was the first in it, who declared himself against Ptolemy. Upon his request it was resolved, that Dion should be ordered to attend, in order to their knowing the truth from his own mouth. But the king's party, composed of that of Pompey and Lentulus, of such as he had corrupted with money, and of those who had lent him sums to corrupt others, acted so openly in his favour, that Dion did not dare to appear; and Ptolemy, having caused him also to be killed some small time after, though he who did the murder was accused juridically, the king was discharged of it, upon maintaining, that he had just cause for the action.

Whether that prince thought, that nothing further at Rome demanded his presence, or apprehended receiving some affront, hated as he was, if he continued there

there any longer, he set out from thence some few days after, and retired to Ephesus, into the temple of the goddess, to wait there the decision of his destiny.

His affair, in effect, made more noise than ever at Rome. One of the tribunes of the people, named C. Cato, an active, enterprizing young man, who did not want eloquence, declared himself, in frequent harangues, against Ptolemy and Lentulus, and was hearkened to by the people with singular pleasure, and extraordinary applause.

In order to put a new scheme in motion, he waited till the new consuls were elected, and as soon as Lentulus had quitted that office, he proposed to the people an oracle of the Sibyl's, which imported: *If a king of Egypt, having occasion for aid, applies to you, you shall not refuse him your amity: But however, you shall not give him any troops; for if you do, you will suffer and hazard much.*

A. M.
3948.
Ant. J. C.
56.

The usual form was to communicate this kind of oracles first to the senate, in order that it might be examined, whether they were proper to be divulged. But Cato, apprehending that the king's faction might occasion the passing a resolution there to suppress this, which was so opposite to that prince, immediately presented the priests, with whom the sacred books were deposited, to the people, and obliged them, by the authority which his office of tribune gave him, to expose what they had found in them to the publick, without demanding the senate's opinion.

This was a new stroke of thunder to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sibyl were too express not to make all the impression upon the vulgar, which their enemies desired. So that Lentulus, whose consulship was expired, not being willing to receive the affront to his face, of having the senate's decree revoked, by which he was appointed to reinstate Ptolemy, set out immediately for his province in quality of proconsul.

He was not deceived. Some days after, one of the new consuls, named Marcellinus, the declared enemy

of Pompey, having proposed the oracle to the senate, it was decreed, that regard should be had to it, and that it appeared dangerous for the commonwealth to re-establish the king of Egypt by force.

We must not believe there was any person in the senate so simple, or rather so stupid, to have any faith in such an oracle. Nobody doubted, but that it had been contrived for the present conjuncture, and was the work of some secret intrigue of policy. But it had been published and approved in the assembly of the people, credulous and superstitious to excess, and the senate could pass no other judgment upon it.

This new incident obliged Ptolemy to change his measures. Seeing that Lentulus had too many enemies at Rome, he abandoned the decree, by which he had been commissioned for his re-establishment, and demanding by Ammonius his ambassador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey should be appointed to execute the same commission; because it not being possible to execute it with open force, upon account of the oracle, he judged with reason, that it was necessary to substitute, in the room of force, a person of great authority. And Pompey was at that time at the highest pitch of his glory, from his success in having destroyed Mithridates, the greatest and most powerful king Asia had seen since Alexander.

The affair was deliberated upon in the senate, and debated with great vivacity by the different parties that rose up in it. (q) The difference of opinions caused several sittings to be lost without any determination. Cicero never quitted the interest of Lentulus his intimate friend, who, during his consulship, had infinitely contributed to his being recalled from banishment. But what means was there to render him any service, in the condition things stood? And what could that proconsul do against a great kingdom, without using the force of arms, which was expressly forbid by the oracle? In this manner thought people of little wit and subtlety, that were not used to consider things in dif-

(q) Cic. ad Famil. I. i. epist. 7.

different lights. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his re-establishment. Could not Lentulus have left him in some place near the frontiers, and went however with a good army to besiege Alexandria. After he had taken it he might have returned, leaving a strong garrison in the place, and then sent the king thither, who would have found all things disposed for his reception without violence or troops. This was Cicero's advice; to confirm which, I shall repeat his own words, taken from a letter wrote by him at that time to Lentulus. "You are the best judge," says he, "as you are master of Cilicia and Cyprus, of what you can undertake and effect. If it seems practicable for you to take Alexandria, and possess yourself of the rest of Egypt, it is, without doubt, both for your own and the honour of the commonwealth, that you should go thither with your fleet and army, leaving the king at Ptolemais, or in some other neighbouring place; in order, that after you have appeased the revolt, and left good garrisons where necessary, that prince may safely return thither. * In this manner you will reinstate him, according to the senate's first decree, and he be restored without troops, which our zealots assure us is the sense of the Sibyl." Would one believe that a grave magistrate, in an affair so important as that in the present question, should be capable of an evasion, which appears so little consistent with the integrity and probity upon which Cicero valued himself? It was, because he reckoned the oracle only pretended to be the Sibyl's, as indeed it was, that is to say, a mere contrivance and imposture.

Lentulus, stopped by the difficulties of that enterprize, which were great and real, was afraid to engage in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in the conclusion of his letter, where he represented: "That

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* Ita fore ut per te restitatur, quemadmodum homines religiosi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt.
 quemadmodum initio senatus censuit; & sine multitudine reduca-

“all * the world would judge of his conduct from the event: That therefore he had only to take his measures so well, as to assure his success, and that otherwise he would do better not to undertake it.”

Gabinus, who commanded in Syria in the quality of proconsul, was less apprehensive and cautious. Though every proconsul was prohibited by an express law to quit his province, or declare any war whatsoever, even upon the nearest borderer, without an express order of the senate, he had marched to the aid of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, expelled Media by the king his brother, which kingdom had fallen to him by division. (r) He had already passed the Euphrates with his army for that purpose, when Ptolemy joined him with letters from Pompey, their common friend and patron, who had very lately been declared consul for the year ensuing. By those letters he conjured Gabinus to do his utmost in favour of the proposals that prince should make him, with regard to his re-establishment in his kingdom. However dangerous that conduct might be, the authority of Pompey, and still more, the hope of considerable gain, made Gabinus begin to waver. The lively remonstrances of Anthony, who sought occasions to signalize himself, and was besides inclined to please Ptolemy, whose intreaties flattered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark Anthony, who afterwards formed the second triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus. Gabinus had engaged him to follow him into Syria, by giving him the command of his cavalry. The more dangerous the enterprize, the more right Gabinus thought he had to make Ptolemy pay dear for it. The latter, who found no difficulty in agreeing to any terms, offered him for himself and the army ten thousand talents, or fifteen hundred thousand pounds, the greatest part to be advanced immediately

A. M.
3949.
Ant. J. C.
55.

(r) Appian. in Syr. p. 126. & in Parth. p. 134. Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

* Ex eventu homines de tuo lius regni potiri, non esse cunctan-
consilio esse judicatuos, videmus dum; sin dubium non esse co-
—Nos quidem hoc sentimus; nandum.
si exploratum tibi sit, posse te il-

mediately in ready money, and the rest as soon as he should be reinstated. Gabinius accepted the offer without hesitation.

(s) Egypt had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As soon as she ascended the throne, the Egyptians had sent to offer the crown and Berenice to Antiochus Asiaticus in Syria, who, on his mother Selena's side, was the nearest heir male. The ambassadors found him dead, and returned: They brought an account, that his brother Seleucus, surnamed Cybiosactes, was still alive. The same offers were made to him, which he accepted. He was a prince of mean and sordid inclinations, and had no thoughts but of amassing money. His first care was, to cause the body of Alexander the Great to be put into a coffin of glass, in order to seize that of gold, in which it had lain untouched till then. This action, and many others of a like nature, having rendered him equally odious to his queen and subjects, she caused him to be strangled soon after. He was the last prince of the race of the Seleucides. She afterwards espoused Archelaus, high-priest of Comana in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates, though, in effect, only the son of that prince's chief general.

(t) Gabinius, after having repassed the Euphrates, and crossed Palestine, marched directly into Egypt. What was most to be feared in this war, was the way by which they must necessarily march to Pelusium. For they could not avoid passing plains covered with sands of such a depth, as was terrible to think on, and so dry, that there was not a single drop of water the whole length of the moors of Serbonida. Anthony, who was sent before with the horse, not only seized the passes, but having taken Pelusium, the key of Egypt on that side, with the whole garrison, he made the way secure for the rest of the army, and gave his general great hopes of the expedition.

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(s) Strab. l. xii. p. 538. Id. l. xvii. p. 794---796. Dion. l. xxxix. p. 115---117. Cic. in. Pison. n. 49, 50. (t) Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

The enemy found a considerable advantage in the desire of glory which possessed Anthony. For Ptolemy was no sooner entered Pelusium, than, out of the violence of his hate and resentment, he would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword. But Anthony, who rightly judged that act of cruelty would revert upon himself, opposed it, and prevented Ptolemy from executing his design. In all the battles and encounters which immediately followed one another, he not only gave proofs of his great valour, but distinguished himself by all the conduct of a great general.

As soon as Gabinius received advice of Anthony's good success, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, the properest time in consequence for the conquest of it. Archelaus, who was brave, able, and experienced, did all that could be done in his defence, and disputed his ground very well with the enemy. After he quit- ted the city, in order to march against the Romans, when it was necessary to encamp, and break ground for the entrenchments, the Egyptians, accustomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raised an outcry, that Archelaus should employ the mercenaries in such work at the expence of the publick. What could be expected from such troops in a battle? They were, in effect, soon put to the route. Archelaus was killed, fighting valiantly. Anthony, who had been his particular friend and guest, having found his body upon the field of battle, adorned it in a royal manner, and solemnized his obsequies with great magnificence. By this action he left behind him a great name in Alexandria, and acquired amongst the Romans, who served with him in this war, the reputation of a man of singular valour and exceeding generosity.

Egypt was soon reduced, and obliged to receive Auletes, who took entire possession of his dominions. In order to strengthen him in it, Gabinius left him some Roman troops for the guard of his person. Those troops contracted at Alexandria the manners

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and customs of the country, and gave into the luxury and effeminacy which reigned there in almost every city. Auletes put his daughter Berenice to death, for having worn the crown during his exile; and afterwards got rid, in the same manner, of all the rich persons who had been of the adverse party to him. He had occasion for the confiscation of their estates, to make up the sum he had promised to Gabinus, to whose aid he was indebted for his re-establishment.

(u) The Egyptians suffered all these violences without murmuring. But some days after, a Roman soldier having accidentally killed a cat, neither the fear of Gabinus, nor the authority of Ptolemy, could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces upon the spot, to avenge the insult done to the gods of the country; for cats were of that number.

(x) Nothing farther is known in relation to the life of Ptolemy Auletes, except that C. Rabirius Posthumus, who had either lent him, or caused to be lent him, the greatest part of the sums he had borrowed at Rome, having gone to him, in order to his being paid when he was entirely reinstated; that prince gave him to understand, that he despaired of satisfying him, unless he would consent to take upon him the care of his revenues, by which means he might reimburse himself by little and little with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor having accepted that offer, out of fear of losing his debt if he refused it, the king soon found a colour for causing him to be imprisoned, though one of the oldest and dearest of Cæsar's friends, and though Pompey was in some measure security for the debt, as the money was lent, and the obligations executed, in his presence, and by his procurement, in a country-house of his near Alba.

Rabirius thought himself too happy in being able to escape from prison and Egypt, more miserable than he went thither. To complete his disgrace, he was prosecuted in form as soon as he returned to Rome, for having aided Ptolemy in corrupting the senate, by

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(u) Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 74, 75.

(x) Cic. pro Rabir. Posth.

the sums he had lent him for that use; of having dishonoured his quality of Roman knight, by the employment he had accepted in Egypt; and lastly, of having shared in the money which Gabinus brought from thence, with whom it was alledged, he had a fellow-feeling. Cicero's discourse in his defence, which we still have, is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and perfidy of this unworthy king.

A. M. 3953.
Ant. J. C. 51. (y) Ptolemy Auletes died in the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Egypt, about four years after his re-establishment. He left two sons and two daughters. He gave his crown to the eldest son and daughter, and ordered by his will, that they should marry together, according to the custom of that house, and govern jointly. And because they were both very young (for the daughter, who was the eldest, was only seventeen years of age) he left them under the tuition of the Roman senate. This was the famous Cleopatra, whose history it remains for us to relate. (z) We find the people appointed Pompey the young king's guardian, who some years after so basely ordered him to be put to death.

(y) Cæsar de Bello Civ. l. v.

(z) Eutrop. l. vi.

SECT. II. POTHINUS and ACHILLAS, ministers of the young king, expel CLEOPATRA. She raises troops to re-establish herself. POMPEY, after having been overthrown at Pharsalia, retires into Egypt. He is assassinated there. CÆSAR, who pursued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he seems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and sister, and for that purpose sends for CLEOPATRA, of whom he soon becomes enamoured. Great commotions arise at Alexandria, and several battles are fought between the Egyptians and CÆSAR's troops, wherein the latter have almost always the advantage. The king, having been drowned in flying after a sea-fight, all Egypt submits to CÆSAR. He sets CLEOPATRA, with her younger brother, upon the throne, and returns to Rome.

(a) **L**ITTLE is known of the beginning of Cleopatra's and her brother's reign. That prince was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus the eunuch, and of Achillas the general of his army. Those two ministers, no doubt, to engross all affairs to themselves, had deprived Cleopatra, in the king's name, of the share in the sovereignty left her by the will of Auletes. Injured in this manner, she went into Syria and Palestine, to raise troops in those countries, in order to assert her rights by force of arms.

It was exactly at this conjuncture of the difference between the brother and sister, that Pompey, after having lost the battle of Pharsalia, fled to Egypt; conceiving, that he should find there an open and assured asylum in his misfortunes. He had been the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was solely to his credit he was indebted for his re-establishment. He was in hopes of finding the son grateful, and of being powerfully assisted by him.

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(a) Plut. in Pomp. p. 659---662. Id. in Cæs. p. 730, 731. Appian. de Bel. Civ. p. 480---484. Cæs. de Bel. Civ. l. iii. Dio. l. xlii. p. 200---206.

A. M.
3956.
Ant. J. C.
48.

When he arrived, Ptolemy was upon the coast with his army, between Pelusium and mount Casius; and Cleopatra at no great distance, at the head of her troops also. Pompey, on approaching the coast, sent to Ptolemy to demand permission to land, and enter his kingdom.

The two ministers, Pothinus and Achillas, consulted with Theodotus, the rhetorician, the young king's præceptor, and with some others, what answer they should make; Pompey, in the mean time, waited the result of that council, and chose rather to expose himself to the decision of three unworthy persons, that governed the prince, than to owe his safety to Cæsar, who was his father-in-law, and the greatest of the Romans. This council differed in opinion; some were for receiving him, others for having him told to seek a retreat elsewhere. Theodotus approved neither of these methods, and displaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate, that there was no other choice to be made, than that of ridding the world of him. His reason was, because if they received him, Cæsar would never forgive the having assisted his enemy: If they sent him away without aid, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would not fail to revenge himself upon them for their refusal. That therefore there was no security for them, but in putting him to death, by which means they would gain Cæsar's friendship, and prevent the other from ever doing them any hurt: For, said he, according to the proverb, *Dead men do not bite.*

This advice carried it, as being, in their sense, the wisest and most safe. Septimus, a Roman officer in the service of the king of Egypt, and some others, were charged with putting it into execution. They went to take Pompey on board a shallop, under the pretext that great vessels could not approach the shore without difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the sea-side, as with design to do honour to Pompey, with Ptolemy at their head. The perfidious Septimus tendered his hand to Pompey, in the name of his master,

and bade him come to a king, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and son. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who was already in tears for his death; and after having repeated these verses of Sophocles, *Every man that enters the court of a tyrant becomes his slave, though free before*, he went into the shallop. When they saw themselves near the shore, they stabbed him before the king's eyes, cut off his head, and threw his body upon the strand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freed-men gave it, with the assistance of an old Roman, who was there by chance. They raised him a wretched funeral-pile, and covered him with some fragments of an old wreck, that had been driven ashore there.

Cornelia had seen Pompey massacred before her eyes. It is easier to imagine the condition of a woman in the height of grief from so tragical an object, than to describe it. Those who were in her galley, and in two other ships in company with it, made the coast resound with the cries they raised, and weighing anchor immediately, set sail before the wind, which blew fresh as soon as they got out to sea: This prevented the Egyptians, who were getting ready to chase them, from pursuing their design.

Cæsar made all possible haste to arrive in Egypt, whither he suspected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him alive. That he might be there the sooner, he carried very few troops with him; only eight hundred horse, and three thousand two hundred foot. He left the rest of his army in Greece and Asia minor, under his lieutenant-generals, with orders to make all the advantages of his victory it would admit, and to establish his authority in all those countries. * As for his person, confiding in his reputation, and the success of his arms at Pharsalia, and reckoning all places secure for him, he made no scruple to land at Alexandria with the few people
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* Cæsar confisus fama rerum nem sibi locum tutum fore existigellarum, infirmis auxiliis proficibat. *Cæs.*
isci non dubitaverat; atque om-

he had. He was very nigh paying dear for his temerity.

Upon his arrival he was informed of Pompey's death, and found the city in great confusion. Theodotus, believing he should do him an exceeding pleasure, presented him the head of that illustrious fugitive. He wept at seeing it, and turned away his eyes from a spectacle that gave him horror. He even caused it to be interred with all the usual solemnities. And the better to express his esteem for Pompey, and the respect he had for his memory, he received with great kindness, and loaded with favours, all who had adhered to him then in Egypt; and wrote to his friends at Rome, that the highest and most grateful advantage of his victory, was to find every day some new occasion to preserve the lives, and do services to some citizens, who had borne arms against him.

The commotions increased every day at Alexandria, and abundance of murders were committed there; the city having neither law nor government, because without a master. Cæsar, perceiving that the small number of troops with him were far from being sufficient to awe an insolent and seditious populace, gave orders for the legions he had in Asia to march thither. It was not in his power to leave Egypt, because of the Etesian winds, which in that country blow continually in the dog-days, and prevent all vessels from quitting Alexandria; those winds are then always full north. Not to lose time, he demanded the payment of the money due to him from Auletes, and took cognizance of the difference between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra.

We have seen, that when Cæsar was consul for the first time, Auletes had gained him, by the promise of six thousand talents, and by that means had assured himself of the throne, and been declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part of that sum, and had given him an obligation for the remainder.

Cæsar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he

he wanted for the subsistence of his troops, and exacted with rigour. Pothinus, Ptolemy's first minister, employed various stratagems to make this rigour appear still greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and silver to be found in them, and made the king, and all the great persons of the kingdom, eat out of earthen or wooden vessels; insinuating underhand, that Cæsar had seized upon all their silver and gold plate, in order to render him odious to the populace by such reports, which did not want appearance, though entirely groundless.

But what finally incensed the Egyptians against Cæsar, and made them at last take arms, was the haughtiness with which he acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in causing them to be cited to appear before him for the decision of their difference. We shall soon see upon what he founded his authority for proceeding in that manner. He therefore decreed in form, that they should disband their armies, should appear and plead their cause before him, and receive such sentence as he should pass between them. This order was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, which being independent, acknowledged no superior, and could be judged by no tribunal. Cæsar replied to these complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being arbiter by the will of Auletes, who had put his children under the tuition of the senate and people of Rome, of which the whole authority then vested in his person, in quality of consul. That as guardian, he had a right to arbitrate between them; and that all he pretended to, as executor of the will, was to establish peace between the brother and sister. This explanation having facilitated the affair, it was at length brought before Cæsar, and advocates were chosen to plead the cause.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cæsar's foible, believed her presence would be more persuasive than any advocate she could employ with her judge. She caused him to be told, that she perceived, that those she employed in her behalf, betrayed her, and demanded his

his permission to appear in person. Plutarch says, it was Cæsar himself who pressed her to come and plead her cause.

That princess took nobody with her, of all her friends, but Apollodorus the Sicilian, got into a little boat, and arrived at the bottom of the walls of the citadel of Alexandria, when it was quite dark at night. Finding that there was no means of entering without being known, she thought of this stratagem. She laid herself at length in the midst of a bundle of clothes. Apollodorus wrapt it up in a cloth, tied it up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the port of the citadel to Cæsar's apartment, who was far from being displeased with the stratagem. The first sight of so beautiful a person, had all the effect upon him she had desired.

Cæsar sent the next day for Ptolemy, and pressed him to take her again, and be reconciled with her. Ptolemy saw plainly that his judge was become his adversary; and having learnt that his sister was then in the palace, and in Cæsar's own apartment, he quit-
ted it in the utmost fury, and in the open street took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground; crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the circumstances to the multitude who assembled round him. In a moment the whole city was in motion. He put himself at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuously to charge Cæsar with all the fury natural on such occasions.

The Roman soldiers, whom Cæsar had with him, secured the person of Ptolemy. But as all the rest, who knew nothing of what passed, were dispersed in the several quarters of that great city, Cæsar had infallibly been overpowered, and torn to pieces by that furious populace, if he had not had the presence of mind to shew himself to them from a part of the palace, so high, that he had nothing to fear upon it: From hence he assured them, that they would be fully
satisfied

satisfied with the judgment he should pass. Those promises appeased the Egyptians a little.

The next day he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra into an assembly of the people, summoned by his order. After having caused the will of the late king to be read, he decreed, as tutor and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign jointly in Egypt, according to the intent of that will; and that Ptolemy the younger son, and Arsinoe the younger daughter, should reign in Cyprus. He added the last article to appease the people; for it was purely a gift he made them, as the Romans were actually in possession of that island. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrians fury; and to extricate himself out of danger, was the reason of his making that concession.

The whole world were satisfied and charmed with this decree, except only Pothinus. As it was he who had occasioned the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and the expulsion of that princess from the throne, he had reason to apprehend, that the consequences of this accommodation would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of Cæsar's decree, he inspired the people with new subjects of jealousy and discontent. He gave out, that Cæsar had only granted this decree by force, and through fear, which would not long subsist; and that his true design was to place only Cleopatra upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not being able to endure that a woman should govern them alone, and have all authority to herself. When he saw that the people came into his views, he made Achilles advance at the head of the army from Pelusium, in order to drive Cæsar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army put all things into their first confusion. Achilles, who had twenty thousand good troops, despised Cæsar's small number, and believed he should overpower him immediately. But Cæsar posted his men so well in the streets, and upon the avenues of the quarter in his possession, that he found no difficulty in supporting their attack.

A. M.
3953.
Ant. J. C.
47.

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When they saw they could not force him, they changed their measures, and marched towards the port, with design to make themselves masters of the fleet, to cut off his communication with the sea, and to prevent him, in consequence, from receiving succours and convoys on that side. But Cæsar again frustrated their design, by causing the Egyptian fleet to be set on fire, and by possessing himself of the tower of Pharos, which he garrisoned. By this means he preserved and secured his communication with the sea, without which he had been ruined effectually. Some of the vessels on fire came so near the quay, that the flames caught the neighbouring houses, from whence they spread throughout the whole quarter, called Bruchion. It was at this time the famous library was consumed, which had been the work of so many kings, and in which there were four hundred thousand volumes. What a loss was this to literature!

Cæsar, seeing so dangerous a war upon his hands, sent into all the neighbouring countries for aid. He wrote, amongst others, to Domitius Calvinus, whom he had left to command in Asia minor, and signified to him his danger. That general immediately detached two legions, the one by land, and the other by sea. That which went by sea arrived in time; the other, that marched by land, did not go thither at all. Before it had got there the war was at an end. But Cæsar was best served by Mithridates the Pergamenian, whom he sent into Syria and Cilicia. For he brought him the troops which extricated him out of danger, as we shall see in the sequel.

Whilst he waited the aids he had sent for, that he might not fight an army so superior in number, till he thought fit, he caused the quarter in his possession to be fortified. He surrounded it with walls, and flanked it with towers and other works. Those lines included the palace, a theatre very near it, which he made use of as a citadel, and the way that led to the port.

Ptolemy all this while was in Cæsar's hands; and Pothinus, his governor and first minister, who was of intelligence with Achilles, gave him advice of all that passed, and encouraged him to push the siege with vigour. One of his letters was at last intercepted, and his treason being thereby discovered, Cæsar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch of the palace, who educated Arsinoe the youngest of the king's sisters, apprehending the same fate, because he had shared in that treason, carried off the young princess, and escaped into the camp of the Egyptians; who not having, till then, any of the royal family at their head, were overjoyed at her presence, and proclaimed her queen. But Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of supplanting Achilles, caused that general to be accused of having given up the fleet to Cæsar, that had been set on fire by the Romans, which occasioned that general's being put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to him. He took also upon him the administration of all other affairs; and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the employment of a prime-minister, probity only excepted, which is often reckoned little or no qualification. For he had all the necessary penetration and activity, and contrived a thousand artful stratagems to distress Cæsar during the continuance of this war.

For instance, he found means to spoil all the fresh water in his quarter, and was very near destroying him by that means. For there was no other fresh water in Alexandria, but that of the Nile. * In every house were vaulted reservoirs, where it was kept. Every year, upon the great swell of the Nile, the water of that river came in by a canal, which had been cut for that use, and by a sluice, made on purpose, was turned into the vaulted reservoirs, which were the cisterns of the city, where it grew clear by degrees. The masters of houses and their families drank of

VOL. VII.

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* There are to this day exactly the same kind of caves at Alexandria, which are filled once a year, as of old. Thevenot's travels.

this water; but the poorer sort of people were forced to drink the running water, which was muddy and very unwholesome; for there were no springs in the city. Those caverns were made in such a manner, that they all had communication with each other. This provision of water served for the whole year. Every house had an opening, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was taken up either in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes caused all the communications with the caverns in the quarters of Cæsar to be stopp'd up; and then found means to turn the sea-water into the latter, and thereby spoiled all his fresh water. As soon as they perceived that the water was spoiled, Cæsar's soldiers made such a noise, and rais'd such a tumult, that he would have been oblig'd to abandon his quarter, very much to his disadvantage, if he had not immediately thought of ordering wells to be sunk, where, at last, springs were found, which suppli'd them with water enough to make them amends for that which was spoiled.

After that, upon Cæsar's receiving advice, that the legion Calvinus had sent by sea was arriv'd upon the coast of Libya, which was not very distant, he advanced with his whole fleet, to convoy it safely to Alexandria. Ganymedes was apprized of this, and immediately assembled all the Egyptian ships he could get, in order to attack him upon his return. A battle actually ensu'd between the two fleets. Cæsar had the advantage, and brought his legion without danger into the port of Alexandria; and, had not the night came on, the ships of the enemy would not have escap'd.

To repair that loss, Ganymedes drew together all the ships in the mouths of the Nile, and form'd a new fleet, with which he enter'd the port of Alexandria. A second action was unavoidable. The Alexandrians climb'd in throngs to the tops of the houses next the port, to be spectators to the fight, and expected the success with fear and trembling; lifting up their hands to heaven, to implore the assistance of
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the gods. The all of the Romans was at stake, to whom there was no resource left; if they lost this battle. Cæsar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valour and skill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory.

Cæsar, to make the best of it, endeavoured to seize the isle of Pharos, where he landed his troops after the battle, and to possess himself of the mole, called the Heptastadion, by which it was joined to the continent. But after having obtained several advantages, he was repulsed with the loss of more than eight hundred men, and was very near falling himself in his retreat. For the ship, in which he had designed to get off, being ready to sink with the too great number of people who had entered it with him, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship. Whilst he was in the sea, he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of consequence, and swam with the other, so that they were not spoiled.

The Alexandrians seeing that ill success itself only served to give Cæsar's troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at least dissembled such a disposition. They sent deputies to demand their king of him; assuring him, that his presence alone would put an end to all differences. Cæsar, who well knew their subtle and deceitful character, was not at a loss to comprehend their professions; but as he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's person, and if they failed in their promises, the fault would be entirely on their side, he thought it incumbent on him to grant their demand. He exhorted the young prince to take the advantage of this opportunity to inspire his subjects with sentiments of peace and equity; to redress the evils, with which a war, very imprudently undertaken, distressed his dominions; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him, by giving him his liberty; and to shew his gratitude for the services he had rendered his father.

* Ptolemy, early instructed by his masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged of Cæsar, with tears in his eyes, not to deprive him of his presence, which was a much greater satisfaction to him, than to reign over others. The sequel soon explained how much sincerity there was in those tears and professions of amity. He was no sooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigour than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by the means of their fleet, to cut off Cæsar's provisions entirely. This occasioned a new fight at sea near Canopus, in which Cæsar was again victorious. When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army, which he was bringing to the aid of Cæsar.

(f) He had been sent into Syria and Cilicia to assemble all the troops he could, and to march them to Egypt. He acquitted himself of his commission with such diligence and prudence, that he had soon formed a considerable army. Antipater, the Idumæan, contributed very much towards it. He had not only joined him with three thousand Jews, but engaged several neighbouring princes of Arabia and Coelosyria to send him troops. Mithridates, with Antipater, who accompanied him in person, marched into Egypt, and upon arriving before Pelusium, they carried that place by storm. They were indebted principally to Antipater's bravery for the taking of this city. For he was the first that mounted the breach, and got upon the wall, and thereby opened the way for those who followed him to carry the town.

On their route from thence to Alexandria, it was necessary to pass through the country of Onion, of which the Jews, who inhabited it, had seized all the passes. The army was there put to a stand, and their whole design was upon the point of miscarrying, *bellum non erat nisi periret.*

(f) Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 14 & 15.

Regius animus disciplinis facilissimis eruditus, ne à gentis suæ moribus degeneraret, sibi orare contra Cæsarem coepit, ne se de-

mitteret: non enim regnum ipsum sibi conspectu Cæsaris esse jucundius. *Hier., de Bell. Alex.*

if Antipater by his credit and that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought them letters, had not engaged them to espouse Cæsar's party. Upon the spreading of that news, the Jews of Memphis did the same, and Mithridates received from both all the provisions his army had occasion for. When they were near Delta, Ptolemy detached a flying army to dispute the passage of the Nile with them. A battle was fought in consequence. Mithridates put himself at the head of part of his army, and gave the command of the other to Antipater. Mithridates's wing was soon broke, and obliged to give way; but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his side, came to his relief. The battle began afresh, and the enemy were defeated. Mithridates and Antipater pursued them, made a great slaughter, and regained the field of battle. They took even the enemy's camp, and obliged those who remained to escape, by repassing the Nile.

Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army, in order to overpower the victors. Cæsar also marched to support them; and as soon as he had joined them, came directly to a decisive battle, in which he obtained a compleat victory. Ptolemy, in endeavouring to escape in a boat, was drowned in the Nile. Alexandria, and all Egypt, submitted to the victor.

Cæsar returned to Alexandria about the middle of January; and not finding any farther opposition to his orders, gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolemy her other brother. This was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone; for that young prince was only eleven years old. The passion, which Cæsar had conceived for that princess, was properly the sole cause of his embarking in so dangerous a war. He had by her one son, called Cæsario, whom Augustus caused to be put to death when he became master of Alexandria. His affection for Cleopatra kept him much longer in Egypt, than his affairs required. For though every thing was settled in that kingdom by the end of January,

he did not leave it till the end of April, according to Appian, who says he stayed there nine months. He arrived there only about the end of July the year before.

(g) Cæsar passed whole nights in feasting with Cleopatra. Having embarked with her upon the Nile, he carried her through the whole country with a numerous fleet; and would have penetrated into Ethiopia, if his army had not refused to follow him. He had resolved to have her brought to Rome, and to marry her; and intended to have caused a law to pass in the assembly of the people, by which the citizens of Rome should be permitted to marry such, and as many wives as they thought fit. Marius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared, after his death, that he had prepared an harangue, in order to propose that law to the people, not being able to refuse his offices to the earnest solicitation of Cæsar.

He carried Arsinoë, whom he had taken in this war, to Rome, and she walked in his triumph in chains of gold; but immediately after that solemnity he set her at liberty. He did not permit her, however, to return into Egypt, lest her presence should occasion new troubles, and frustrate the regulations he had made in that kingdom. She chose the province of Asia for her residence, at least it was there Anthony found her after the battle of Philippi, and caused her to be put to death at the instigation of her sister Cleopatra.

Before he left Alexandria, Cæsar, in gratitude for the aid he had received from the Jews, caused all the privileges they enjoyed to be confirmed; and ordered a column to be erected, on which, by his command, all those privileges were engraven with the decree of confirming them.

(h) What at length made him quit Egypt, was the war with Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates, the last king of Pontus.

Pontus. He fought a great battle with him near the city of * Zela, defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of his conquest, in writing to one of his friends, he made use of only these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*; that is to say, *I came, I saw, I conquered*.

SECT. III. CLEOPATRA causes her young brother to be put to death, and reigns alone. The death of JULIUS CÆSAR having made way for the triumvirate formed between ANTHONY, LEPIDUS, and young CÆSAR, called also OCTAVIUS, CLEOPATRA declares herself for the triumvirs. She goes to ANTHONY at Tarsus, gains an absolute ascendant over him, and brings him with her to Alexandria. ANTHONY goes to Rome, where he espouses OCTAVIA. He abandons himself again to CLEOPATRA, and after some expeditious returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph. He there celebrates the coronation of CLEOPATRA and her children. Open rupture between CÆSAR and ANTHONY. The latter repudiates OCTAVIA. The two fleets put to sea. CLEOPATRA determines to follow ANTHONY. Battle of Actium. CLEOPATRA flies, and draws ANTHONY after her. CÆSAR's victory is compleat. He advances some time after against Alexandria, which makes no long resistance. Tragical death of ANTHONY and CLEOPATRA. Egypt is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

CÆSAR, after the war of Alexandria, had set Cleopatra upon the throne, and, for form only, had associated her brother with her, who at that time was only eleven years of age. During his minority, all power was in her hands. (i) When he attained his fifteenth year, which was the first time, when, according to the laws of the country, he was to govern for himself, and have a share in the royal authority, she poisoned him, and remained sole queen of Egypt.

A. M.

3961.

Ant. J. C.

43.

S 4

In

(i) Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. Porphy. p. 226.

* This was a city of Cappadocia.

In this interval Cæsar had been killed at Rome by the conspirators, at the head of which were Brutus and Cassius; and the triumvirate between Anthony, Lepidus, and Octavius Cæsar, had been formed, to avenge the death of Cæsar.

(k) Cleopatra declared herself without hesitation for the triumvirs. She gave Albienus, the consul Dolabella's lieutenant, four legions; which were the remains of Pompey's and Crassus's armies, and were part of the troops Cæsar had left with her for the guard of Egypt. She had also a fleet in readiness for sailing, but prevented by storms from setting out.

A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42. Cassius made himself master of those four legions, and frequently solicited Cleopatra for aid, which she as often refused. She sailed some time after with a numerous fleet, to join Anthony and Octavius. A violent storm occasioned the loss of a great number of her ships, and falling sick, she was obliged to return into Egypt.

A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. (l) Anthony, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in the battle of Philippi, having passed over into Asia, in order to establish the authority of the triumvirate there, the kings, princes, and ambassadors of the East, came thither in throngs to make their court to him. He was informed, that the governors of Phœnicia, which was in the dependance of the kingdom of Egypt, had sent Cassius aid against Dolabella. He cited Cleopatra before him, to answer for the conduct of her governors; and sent one of his lieutenants to oblige her to come to him in Cilicia, whither he was going to assemble the states of that province. That step became very fatal to Anthony in its effects, and occasioned his ruin. His love for Cleopatra having awakened passions in him, till then concealed or asleep, inflamed them even to madness, and finally deadened and extinguished the few sparks of honour and virtue, he might perhaps still retain.

Cleopatra,

(k) Appian. l. iii. p. 576. l. iv. p. 623. l. v. p. 675. (l) Plut. in Anton. p. 926, 927. Diod. l. xlviii. p. 371. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 671.

Cleopatra, assured of her charms, by the proof she had already so sufficiently made of them upon Julius Cæsar, was in hopes, that she could also very easily captivate Anthony. And the more, because the former had known her only when she was very young, and had no experience of the world; whereas she was going to appear before Anthony at an age, wherein women, with the bloom of their beauty, unite the whole force of wit and address to treat and conduct the greatest affairs. Cleopatra was at that time five-and-twenty years old. She provided herself therefore with exceeding rich presents, great sums of money, and especially the most magnificent habits and ornaments; and with still higher hopes in her attractions, and the graces of her person, more powerful than dress, or even gold, she began her voyage.

Upon her way she received several letters from Anthony, who was at Tarsus, and, from his friends, pressing her to hasten her journey; but she only laughed at their instances, and used never the more diligence for them. And having crossed the sea of Pamphylia, she entered the Cydnus, and going up that river, landed at Tarsus. Never was equipage more splendid and magnificent than hers. The whole poop of her ship flamed with gold, the sails were purple, and the oars inlaid with silver. A pavilion of cloth of gold was raised upon the deck, under which appeared the queen, robed like Venus, and surrounded with the most beautiful virgins of her court, of whom some represented the nereids, and others the graces. Instead of trumpets, were heard flutes, hautboys, harps, and other such instruments of musick, warbling the softest airs, to which the oars kept time, and rendered the harmony more agreeable. Perfumes burnt on the deck, which spread their odours to a great distance upon the river, and on each side of its banks, that were covered with an infinitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn thither.

As soon as her arrival was known, the whole people of Tarsus went out to meet her; so that Anthony, who at that time was giving audience, saw his tribunal abandoned by all the world, and not a single person with him, but his lictors and domesticks. A rumour was spread, that it was the goddess Venus, who came in masquerade to make Bacchus a visit for the good of Asia.

She was no sooner landed, than Anthony sent to compliment and invite her to supper. But she answered his deputies, that she should be very glad to regale him herself, and that she would expect him in the tents she had caused to be got ready upon the banks of the river. He made no difficulty to go thither, and found the preparations of a magnificence not to be expressed. He admired particularly the beauty of the branches, which had been disposed with abundance of art, and were so luminous, that they made midnight seem agreeable day.

Anthony invited her, in his turn, for the next day. But whatever endeavours he had used to exceed her in this entertainment, he confessed himself overcome, as well in the splendor as disposition of the feast, and was the first to rally the parsimony and plainness of his own, in comparison with the sumptuosity and elegance of Cleopatra's. The queen finding nothing but what was gross in the pleasantries of Anthony, and more expressive of the soldier than the courtier, repaid him in his own coin; but with so much wit and grace, that he was not in the least offended at it. For the beauties and charms of her conversation, attended with all possible sweetness and gaiety, had attractions in them still more irresistible than her form and features, and left such incentives in the heart, the very soul, as were not easily conceivable. She charmed whenever she but spoke, but musick and harmony were in her utterance, and the very sound of her voice.

Little or no mention was made of the complaints against Cleopatra, which were, besides, without foundation.

tion. She struck Anthony so violently with her charms, and gained so absolute an ascendant over him, that he could refuse her nothing. It was at this time he caused Arsinoe her sister to be put to death, who had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Melitus, as in a secure asylum.

(*m*) Great feasts were made every day. Some new banquet still outdid that which preceded it, and she seemed to study to excel herself. Anthony, in a feast which she made, was astonished at seeing the riches displayed on all sides, and especially at the great number of gold cups enriched with jewels, and wrought by the most excellent workmen. She told him, with a disdainful air, that those were but trifles, and made him a present of them. The next day the banquet was still more superb. Anthony, according to custom, had brought a good number of guests along with him, all officers of rank and distinction. She gave them all the vessels and plate of gold and silver used at the entertainment.

Without doubt, in one of these feasts happened what Pliny, and after him Macrobius, relate. Cleopatra jested according to custom upon Anthony's table, as very indifferently served, and inelegant. Piqued with the raillery, he asked her with some warmth, what she thought would add to its magnificence? Cleopatra answered coldly, that she could expend * more than a million of livres upon one supper. He affirmed, that she only boasted, that it was impossible, and that she could never make it appear. A wager was laid, and Plancas was to decide it. The next day they came to the banquet. The service was magnificent, but had nothing so very extraordinary in it. Anthony calculated the expence, demanded of the queen the price of the several dishes, and with an air of raillery, as secure of victory, told her, that they were still far from a million.

Stay,

(*m*) Athen. l. iv. p. 147, 148.

* Centies H-S. Hoc est centies amounted to more than a million centena millies sestertium. Which of livres, or 52500 l. sterling.

Stay, said the queen, this is only a beginning. I shall try whether I can't spend a million only upon myself. * A second table was brought, and, according to the order she had before given, nothing was set on it but a single cup of vinegar. Anthony surprized at such a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears two of the finest pearls that ever were seen, each of which was valued at about fifty thousand pounds. One of these pearls she took off, threw it into † the vinegar, and, after having made it melt, swallowed it. She was preparing to do as much by the other ‡; Plancus stopped her, and deciding the wager in her favour, declared Anthony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong, to envy the queen the singular and peculiar glory of having devoured two millions in two cups.

Anthony was embroiled with Cæsar. Whilst his wife Fulvia was very active at Rome in supporting his interests, and the army of the Parthians was upon the point of entering Syria, as if those things did not concern him, he suffered himself to be drawn away by Cleopatra to Alexandria, where they passed their time in games, amusements, and voluptuousness, treating each other every day at excessive and incredible expences; which may be judged of from the following circumstance.

(o) A young Greek, who went to Alexandria to study physick, upon the great noise those feasts made, had the curiosity to assure himself with his own eyes about

(o) Plut. in Anton. p. 928.

* The ancients changed their tables to the disgrace of royalty, the son of a comedian (Clodius the son of

† Vinegar is of force to melt the hardest things. Aceti succus domitor rerum, as Pliny says of it, the same kind, and often swallowed pearls melted in that manner, from the sole pleasure of making the expence of his meals enormous.

Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,

Scilicet ut decus solidum exsorberet, aceto

Diluit insignem baccam———

Hor. l. ii. Sat. 9.

‡ This other pearl was afterwards consecrated to Venus by Augustus, who carried it to Rome on his return from Alexandria, and having caused it to be cut in two, its size was so extraordinary, that it served for pendants in the ears of that goddess.

A. M.
3964.
Ant. J. C.
40.

about them. Having been admitted into Anthony's kitchen, he saw, amongst other things, eight wild boars roasting whole at the same time. Upon which he expressed surprize at the great number of guests that he supposed were to be at this supper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him, that they were not so many as he imagined, and that there could not be above ten in all: But that it was necessary every thing should be served in a degree of perfection, which every moment ceases and spoils. "For," added he, "it often happens, that Anthony will order his supper, and a moment after forbid it to be served, having entered into some conversation that diverts him. For that reason not one but many suppers are provided, because it is hard to know at what time he will think fit to eat."

Cleopatra, lest Anthony should escape her, never lost sight of him, nor quitted him day or night, but was always employed in diverting and retaining him in her chains. She played with him at dice, hunted with him, and when he exercised his troops was always present. Her sole attention was to amuse him agreeably, and not to leave him time to conceive the least disgust.

One day, when he was fishing with an angle, and caught nothing, he was very much displeased on that account, because the queen was of the party, and he was unwilling to seem to want address or good fortune in her presence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fishermen to dive secretly under water, and to fasten some of their large fishes to his hook, which they had taken before. That order was executed immediately, and Anthony drew up his line several times, with a great fish at the end of it. This artifice did not escape the fair Egyptian. She affected great admiration and surprize at Anthony's good fortune; but told her friends privately what had passed, and invited them to come the next day, and be spectators of a like pleasantry. They did not fail. When they were all got into the fishing-boats, and

and Anthony had thrown his line, she commanded one of her people to dive immediately into the water, to prevent Anthony's divers, and to make fast a large salt fish, of those that came from the kingdom of Pontus, to his hook. When Anthony perceived his line had its load, he drew it up. It is easy to imagine, what a great laugh arose at the sight of that salt fish; and Cleopatra said to him, *Leave the line, good general, to us, the kings and queens of Pharos and Canopus: Your business is to fish for cities, kingdoms, and kings.*

Whilst Anthony amused himself in these puerile sports and trifling diversions, the news he received of Labienus's conquests, at the head of the Parthian army, awakened him from his profound sleep, and obliged him to march against them. But having received advice, upon his route, of Fulvia's death, he returned to Rome, where he reconciled himself to young Cæsar, whose sister Octavia he married, a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was believed this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra. But having began his march against the Parthians, his passion for the Egyptian, which had something of enchantment in it, re-kindled with more violence than ever.

A. M.
3965.
Ant. J. C.
39.

A. M.
3966.
Ant. J. C.
38.

(p) This queen, in the midst of the most violent passions, and the intoxication of pleasures, retained always a taste for polite learning, and the sciences. In the place where stood the famous library of Alexandria, which had been burnt some years before, as we have observed, she erected a new one, to the augmentation of which Anthony very much contributed, by presenting her the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above two hundred thousand volumes. She did not collect books merely for ornament, she made use of them. There were few barbarous nations to whom she spoke by an interpreter; she answered most of them in their own language; the Ethiopians, Tro-

Troglodytæ, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians. (q) She knew besides several other languages; whereas the kings, who had reigned before her in Egypt, had scarce been able to learn the Egyptian, and some of them had even forgot the Macedonian, their natural tongue.

Cleopatra, pretending herself the lawful wife of Anthony, saw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom she looked upon as her rival. Anthony, to appease her, was obliged to make her magnificent presents. He gave her Phœnicia, the lower Syria, the isle of Cyprus, with a great extent of Cilicia. To these he added part of Judæa and Arabia. These great presents, which considerably abridged the empire, very much afflicted the Romans, and they were no less offended at the excessive honours which he paid this foreign princess.

Two years passed, during which Anthony made several voyages to Rome, and undertook some expeditions against the Parthians and Armenians, in which he acquired no great honour.

(r) It was in one of these expeditions the temple of Anaitis was plundered, a goddess much celebrated amongst a certain people of Armenia. Her statue of massy gold was broke in pieces by the soldiers, with which several of them were considerably enriched. One of them, a veteran, who afterwards settled at Bologna in Italy, had the good fortune to receive Augustus in his house, and to entertain him at supper. *Is it true*, said that prince at table, talking of this story, *that the man, who made the first stroke at the statue of this goddess, was immediately deprived of sight, lost the use of his limbs, and expired the same hour?* *If it were*, replied the veteran with a smile, *I should not now have the honour of seeing Augustus beneath my roof, being myself the rash person who made the first attack upon her, which has since stood me in great stead. For if I have any thing, I am entirely indebted for it to*
the

(q) Plut. in Anton. p. 927.

(r) Plin. l. xxxiii.

the good goddess; upon one of whose legs, even now, my lord, you are at supper.

A. M. (s) Anthony, believing he had made every thing
 3969. secure in those countries, led back his troops.
 Ant. J. C. From his impatience to rejoin Cleopatra, he hastened
 35. his march so much, notwithstanding the rigour of the
 season and the continual snows, that he lost eight
 thousand men upon his route, and marched into Phœ-
 nicia with very few followers. He rested there in
 expectation of Cleopatra: And as she was slow in
 coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languish-
 ment, that visibly preyed upon him. She arrived at
 length with clothes, and great sums of money, for his
 troops.

Octavia, at the same time, had quitted Rome to
 join him, and was already arrived at Athens. Cleo-
 patra rightly perceived that she came to dispute An-
 thony's heart with her. She was afraid, that with
 her virtue, wisdom, and gravity of manners, if she
 had time to make use of her modest, but lively and
 insinuating, attractions to win her husband, that she
 would gain an absolute power over him. To avoid
 which danger, she affected to die for love of An-
 thony; and, with that view, made herself lean and
 wan, by taking very little nourishment. Whenever
 he entered her apartment, she looked upon him with
 an air of surprize and amazement; and when he left
 her, seemed to languish with sorrow and dejection.
 She often contrived to appear bathed in tears, and
 at the same moment endeavoured to dry and conceal
 them, as to hide her weakness and disorder. An-
 thony, who feared nothing so much as occasioning
 the least displeasure to Cleopatra, wrote letters to
 Octavia, to order her to stay for him at Athens, and
 to come no farther, because he was upon the point of
 undertaking some new expedition. At the request of
 the king of the Medes, who promised him powerful
 succours, he was, in reality, making preparations to
 renew the war against the Parthians.

That

That virtuous Roman lady, dissembling the wrong he did her, sent to him to know, where it would be agreeable to him to have the presents carried, she had designed for him, since he did not think fit to let her deliver them in person. Anthony received this second compliment no better than the first; and Cleopatra, who had prevented his seeing Octavia, would not permit him to receive any thing from her. Octavia was obliged therefore to return to Rome, without having produced any other effect by her voyage, than that of making Anthony more inexcusable. This was what Cæsar desired, in order to have a juster reason for breaking entirely with him.

When Octavia came to Rome, Cæsar, professing an high resentment of the affront she had received, ordered her to quit Anthony's house, and to go to her own. She answered, that she would not leave her husband's house; and that if he had no other reasons for a war with Anthony, than what related to her, she conjured him to renounce her interests. She accordingly always continued there, as if he had been present, and educated with great care and magnificence, not only the children he had by her, but also those of Fulvia. What a contrast is here between Octavia and Cleopatra! In the midst of resentment and affronts, how worthy does the one seem of esteem and respect, and the other, with all her grandeur and magnificence, of contempt and abhorrence.

Cleopatra omitted no kind of arts to retain Anthony in her chains. Tears, caresses, reproaches, menaces, all were employed. By dint of presents she had gained all who approached him, and in whom he placed most confidence. Those flatterers represented to him, in the strongest terms, that it was utterly cruel and inhuman to abandon Cleopatra in the mournful condition she then was; and that it would be the death of that unfortunate princess, who loved, and lived for him alone. They softened and melted the heart of Anthony so effectually, that for fear of occasioning

Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the Medes to the following spring.

A. M. 3970. It was with great difficulty then, that he resolved
Ant. J. C. 34. to leave Egypt, and remove himself from his dear
Cleopatra. She agreed to attend him as far as the
banks of the Euphrates.

A. M. 3971. After having made himself master of Armenia, as
Ant. J. C. 33. well by treachery as force of arms, he returned to
Alexandria, which he entered in triumph, dragging
at his chariot-wheels the king of Armenia, laden with
chains of gold, and presented him in that condition
to Cleopatra, who was pleased to see a captive king
at her feet. He unbent his mind at leisure, after his
great fatigues, in feasts and parties of pleasure, in
which Cleopatra and himself passed night and day.
That vain * Egyptian woman, at one of the banquets,
seeing Anthony full of wine, presumed to ask him to
give her the Roman empire, which he was not ashamed
to promise her.

Before he set out on a new expedition, Anthony,
to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to
give her new proofs of his being entirely devoted to
her, resolved to solemnize the coronation of her and
her children. A throne of massy gold was erected
for that purpose in the palace, the ascent to which
was by several steps of silver. Anthony was seated
upon his throne, dressed in a purple robe embroidered
with gold, and buttoned with diamonds. On his side
he wore a scimeter, after the Persian mode, the handle
and sheath of which were loaded with precious stones :
He had a diadem on his brows, and a scepter of gold
in his hand ; in order, as he said, that in that equi-
page he might deserve to be the husband of a queen.
Cleopatra sat on his right hand, in a shining robe,
made of the precious linen appropriated to the use
of the goddess Isis, whose name and habit she had the
vanity to assume. Upon the same throne, but a little
lower, sat Cæsario, the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleo-
patra,

* Hæc mulier Ægyptia ab ebrío Romanum imperium petiit : &
imperatore, pretium libidinum, promisit Antonius. *Flor.* l. iv. c. 12.

patra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom she had by Anthony.

Every one having taken the place assigned them, the heralds, by the command of Anthony, and in the presence of all the people, to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Cœlosyria, in conjunction with her son Cæsarion. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes kings of kings, and declared, till they should possess a more ample inheritance, Anthony gave Alexander, the eldest, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he should have conquered it; and to the youngest, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. Those two young princes were dressed after the mode of the several countries over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes rising from their seats, approached the throne, and putting one knee to the ground, kissed the hands of Anthony and Cleopatra. They had soon after a train assigned them, proportioned to their new dignity, and each his regiment of guards, drawn out of the principal families of his dominions.

Anthony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act against the Parthians, and advanced as far as the banks of the Araxis; but the news of what passed at Rome against him, prevented his going on, and induced him to abandon the Parthian expedition. He immediately detached Canidius with sixteen legions, to the coast of the Ionian sea, and joined them himself soon after at Ephesus, to be ready to act, in case of an open rupture between Cæsar and him; which there was great reason to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party; and that occasioned Anthony's ruin. His friends advised him to send her back to Alexandria, till the event of the war should be known. But that queen apprehending, that by Octavia's mediation he might come to an accommodation with Cæsar, gained Canidius, by presents of money, to speak in her favour to Anthony, and to repre-

sent to him, that it was neither just to remove a prince from this war, who contributed so much towards it on her side; nor useful to himself, because her departure would discourage the Egyptians, of whom the greatest part of his maritime forces consisted. Besides, continued those who talked in this manner, it did not appear, that Cleopatra was inferior, either in prudence or capacity, to any of the princes or kings in his army: She, who had governed so great a kingdom so long, might have learnt, in her commerce with Anthony, how to conduct the most important and difficult affairs with wisdom and address. Anthony did not oppose these remonstrances, which flattered at once his passion and vanity.

From Ephesus he repaired with Cleopatra to Samos, where the greatest part of their troops had their rendezvous, and where they passed their time in feasting and pleasure. The kings, in their train, exhausted themselves in making their court by extraordinary expences, and displayed excessive luxury in their entertainments.

(u) It was probably in one of these feasts the circumstance happened, related by Pliny. Whatever passion Cleopatra professed for Anthony, as he perfectly knew her character for dissimulation, and that she was capable of the blackest crimes, he apprehended, I know not upon what foundation, that she might have thoughts of poisoning him, for which reason he never touched any dish at their banquet, till it had been tasted. It was impossible that the queen should not perceive so manifest a distrust. She employed a very extraordinary method to make him sensible how ill-founded his fears were; and also, that if she had so bad an intention, all the precautions he took would be ineffectual: She caused the extremities of the flowers to be poisoned, of which the wreaths, worn by Anthony and herself at table, according to the custom of the ancients, were composed: When their heads began to grow warm with wine, in the height

height of their gaiety, Cleopatra proposed drinking off those flowers to Anthony. He made no difficulty of it; and after having plucked off the end of his wreath with his fingers, and thrown them into his cup filled with wine, he was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, said to him—*I am the poisoner, against whom you take such mighty precaution. If it were possible for me to live without you, judge now whether I wanted either the opportunity, or reason for such an action.* Having ordered a prisoner, condemned to die, to be brought thither, she made him drink that liquor, upon which he died immediately.

The court went from Samos to Athens, where they passed many days in the same excesses. Cleopatra spared no pains to obtain the same marks of affection and esteem, Octavia had received, during her residence in that city. But whatever she could do, she could extort from them only forced civilities, that terminated in a trifling deputation, which Anthony obliged the citizens to send to her, and of which he himself would be the chief, in quality of a citizen of Athens.

(x) The new consuls, Caius Sosius, and Domitius Ænobarbus, having declared openly for Anthony, quitted Rome, and repaired to him. Cæsar, instead of seizing them, or causing them to be pursued, ordered it to be given out, that they went to him by his permission; and declared publickly, that all persons, who were so disposed, had his consent to retire whither they thought fit. By that means he remained master at Rome, and was in a condition to decree, and act whatever he thought proper for his own interests, or contrary to those of Anthony.

When Anthony was apprized of this, he assembled all the heads of his party; and the result of their deliberations was, that he should declare war against Cæsar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Anthony's preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked Cæsar vigorously without loss

A. M.
3972.
Ant. J. C.
32.

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of time, the advantage must inevitably have been wholly on his side: For his adversary was not then in a condition to make head against him, either by sea or land. But voluptuousness carried it, and the operations were put off to the next year. This was his ruin. Cæsar, by his delay, had time to assemble all his forces.

The deputies sent by Anthony to Rome, to declare his divorce from Octavia, had orders to command her to quit his house, with all her children, and, in case of refusal, to turn her out by force, and to leave nobody in it but the son of Anthony by Fulvia. An indignity the more sensible to Octavia, as a rival was the cause of it. However, stifling her resentment, she answered the deputies only with her tears; and as unjust as his orders were, she obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even laboured to appease the people, whom so unworthy an action had incensed against him, and did her utmost to mollify the rage of Cæsar. She represented to them, that it was inconsistent with the wisdom and dignity of the Roman people, to enter into such petty differences; that it was only a quarrel between women, which did not merit their resentment about it; and that she should be very wretched, if she were the occasion of a new war; she, who had solely consented to her marriage with Anthony, from the hope, that it would prove the pledge of an union between him and Cæsar. Her remonstrances had a different effect from her intentions, and the people, charmed with her virtue, had still more compassion for her misfortune, and detestation for Anthony than before.

But nothing enraged them to such an height as Anthony's will, which he had deposited in the hands of the Vestal virgins. This mystery was revealed by (a) two persons of consular dignity, who, incapable of suffering the pride of Cleopatra, and the abandoned voluptuousness of Anthony, had retired to Cæsar. As they had been witnesses of this will, and knew the

secret,

(a) Titius and Plancus.

secret, they declared it to Cæsar. The Vestals made great difficulty to give up an act confided to their care; alledging in their excuse the faith of deposits, which they were obliged to observe; and were determined to be forced to it by the authority of the people. The will accordingly being brought into the Forum, these three articles were read in it: I. That Anthony acknowledged Cæsario the lawful son of Julius Cæsar. II. That he appointed his sons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the title of kings of kings. III. That he decreed, in case he should die at Rome, that his body, after having been carried in pomp through the city, should be laid the same evening on a bed of state, in order to its being sent to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral interment.

There are some authors, however, who believe this will to be a piece contrived by Cæsar, to render Anthony more odious to the people. And indeed, what appearance was there, that Anthony, who well knew to what a degree the Roman people were jealous of their rights and customs, should confide to them the execution of a testament, which violated them with so much contempt?

When Cæsar had an army and fleet ready, which seemed strong enough to make head against his enemy, he also declared war on his side. But in the decree granted by the people to that purpose, he caused it to be expressed, that it was against Cleopatra: It was from a refinement of policy he acted in that manner, and did not insert Anthony's name in the declaration of war, though actually intended against him. For, besides throwing the blame upon Anthony, by making him the aggressor in a war against his country, he artfully managed those who were still attached to him, whose number and credit might have proved formidable, and whom he would have been under the necessity of declaring enemies to the commonwealth, if Anthony had been expressly named in the decree.

Anthony returned from Athens to Samos, where the whole fleet was assembled. It consisted of five hundred ships of war of extraordinary size and structure, having several decks one above another, with towers upon the head and stern of a prodigious height; so that those superb vessels upon the sea, might have been taken for floating islands. Such great crews were necessary for completely manning those heavy machines, that Anthony, not being able to find mariners enough, had been obliged to take husbandmen, artificers, muleteers, and all sorts of people void of experience, and fitter to give trouble, than do service.

On board this fleet were two hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. The kings of Libya, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagena, and Thrace, were there in person; and those of Pontus, Judæa, Lycaonia, Galatia, and Media, had sent their troops. A more splendid and pompous sight could not be seen, than this fleet when it put to sea, and had unfurled its sails. But nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, all flaming with gold; its sails of purple; its flags and streamers floating in the wind, whilst trumpets, and other instruments of war, made the heavens resound with airs of joy and triumph. Anthony followed her close in a galley almost as splendid. That * queen, drunk with her fortune and grandeur, and hearkening only to her unbridled ambition, foolishly threatened the Capitol with approaching ruin, and prepared, with her infamous

* ————— Dum Capitolio

Regina dementes ruinas,

Funus & imperio parabat,

Contaminato cum grege turpium

Morbo virorum; quidlibet impotens

Sperare, fortunaque dulci

Ebria. —————

Hor. Od. xxxvii. l. 1.

Whilst drunk with fortune's heady wine,

Fill'd with vast hope, though impotent in arms,

The haughty queen conceives the wild design,

So much her vain ambition charms;

With her polluted band of supple slaves,

Her silken eunuchs, and her Pharian knaves,

The Capitol in dust to level low,

And give Rome's empire, and the world, a last and fatal blow!

troop of eunuchs, utterly to subvert the Roman empire.

On the other side, less pomp and splendor was seen, but more utility. Cæsar had only two hundred and fifty ships, and fourscore thousand foot, with as many horse as Anthony. But all his troops were chosen men, and on board his fleet were none but experienced seamen. His vessels were not so large as Anthony's, but they were much lighter, and fitter for service.

Cæsar's rendezvous was at Brundisium, and Anthony advanced to Corcyra. But the season of the year was over, and bad weather came on; so that they were both obliged to retire, and to put their troops into winter-quarters, and their fleets into good ports, till spring came on.

Anthony and Cæsar, as soon as the season would admit, took the field both by sea and land. The two fleets entered the Ambracian gulph in Epirus. Anthony's bravest and most experienced officers advised him not to hazard a battle by sea, to send back Cleopatra into Egypt, and to make all possible haste into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to fight there by land; because his army, composed of good troops, and much superior in numbers to Cæsar's, seemed to promise him the victory; whereas a fleet so ill manned as his, how numerous soever it might be, was by no means to be relied on. But it was long since Anthony had not been susceptible of good advice, and had acted only to please Cleopatra. That proud princess, who judged things solely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cæsar's ships could not approach it without being dashed to pieces. Besides, she perceived aright, that in case of misfortune, it would be easier for her to escape in her ships, than by land. Her opinion therefore took place against the advice of all the generals.

* The battle was fought upon the second of September, at the mouth of the gulph of Ambracia, near the city of Actium, in sight of both the land-armies;

* The 4th before the nones of September.

A. M.
3973.
Ant. J. C.
71.

armies; the one of which was drawn up in battle upon the north, and the other upon the south of that streight, expecting the event. It was doubtful for some time, and seemed as much in favour of Anthony as Cæsar, till the retreat of Cleopatra. That queen, frightened with the noise of the battle, in which every thing was terrible to a woman, took to flight, when she was in no danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian squadron, that consisted of sixty ships of the line; with which she sailed for the coast of Peloponnesus. Anthony, who saw her fly, forgetting every thing, forgetting even himself, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to Cæsar, which till then he had exceedingly well disputed. It, however, cost the victor extremely dear. For Anthony's ships fought so well after his departure, that though the battle began before noon, it was not over when night came on; so that Cæsar's troops were obliged to pass it on board their ships.

The next day, Cæsar seeing his victory complete, detached a squadron in pursuit of Anthony and Cleopatra. But that squadron despairing of ever coming up with them, because so far before it, soon returned to join the gross of the fleet. Anthony having entered the admiral-galley, in which Cleopatra was, went and sat down at the head of it; where, leaning his elbows on his knees, and supporting his head with his two hands, he remained like a man overwhelmed with shame and rage; reflecting, with profound melancholy, upon his ill conduct, and the misfortunes she had brought upon him. He kept in that posture, and in those thoughts, during the three days they were going to * Tænarus, without seeing or speaking to Cleopatra. At the end of that time, they saw each other again, and lived together as usual.

The land-army still remained entire, and consisted of eighteen legions, and two-and-twenty thousand horse, under the command of Canidius, Anthony's lieutenant-general, and might have made head, and
given

given Cæsar abundance of difficulty. But seeing themselves abandoned by their generals, they surrendered to Cæsar, who received them with open arms.

From Tænarus Cleopatria took the route of Alexandria, and Anthony that of Libya, where he had left a considerable army to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing he was informed, that Scarpus, who commanded this army, had declared for Cæsar. He was so struck with this news, which he had no room to expect, that he would have killed himself, and was with difficulty prevented from it by his friends. He therefore had no other choice to make, than to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she was arrived.

When she approached that port, she was afraid, if her misfortune should be known, that she should be refused entrance. She therefore caused her ships to be crowned, as if she was returned victorious; and no sooner landed, than she caused all the great lords of her kingdom, whom she suspected, to be put to death, lest they should excite seditions against her, when they were informed of her defeat. Anthony found her in the midst of these bloody executions.

Soon after she formed another very extraordinary design. To avoid falling into Cæsar's hands, who, she foresaw, would follow her into Egypt, she designed to have her ships in the Mediterranean carried into the Red-sea, over the isthmus between them, which is no more than thirty leagues broad; and afterwards to put all her treasures on board those ships, and others which she had in that sea. But the Arabians, who inhabited the coast, having burnt all the ships she had there, she was obliged to abandon her design.

Changing therefore her resolution, she thought only of gaining Cæsar, whom she looked upon as her conqueror, and to make him a sacrifice of Anthony, whose misfortunes had rendered him indifferent to her. Such was this princess's disposition. Though she loved

even to madness, she had still more ambition than love; and the crown being dearer to her than her husband, she entertained thoughts of preserving it at the price of Anthony's life. But concealing her sentiments from him, she persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambassadors with his; but gave them instructions to treat separately for herself. Cæsar would not so much as see Anthony's ambassadors. He dismissed Cleopatra's with a favourable answer. He passionately desired to make sure of her person and treasures; her person, to adorn his triumph; her treasures, to enable him to discharge the debts he had contracted upon account of this war. He therefore gave her reason to conceive great hopes, in case she would sacrifice Anthony to him.

The latter, after his return from Libya, had retired into a country-house, which he had caused to be built expressly on the banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the conversation of two of his friends, who had followed him thither. In his retirement it might have been expected, that he would hear with pleasure the wise discourses of those two philosophers. But as they could not banish from his heart his love for Cleopatra, the sole cause of all his misfortunes, that passion, which they had only suspended, soon resumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned himself again to the charms and caresses of Cleopatra, and, with design to please her, sent deputies again to Cæsar, to demand life of him, upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person; provided Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

This second deputation, not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Anthony endeavoured to extinguish in himself the sense of his present misfortunes, and the apprehension of those that threatened him, by abandoning himself immoderately to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and he regaled one another alternately, and strove with emulation

emulation to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets.

The queen, however, who foresaw what might happen, collected all sorts of poisons, and to try which of them occasioned death with the least pain, she made the experiment of their virtues and strength upon criminals in the prisons condemned to die. Having observed that the strongest poisons caused death the soonest, but with great torment; and that those which were gentle, brought on an easy, but slow death; she tried the biting of venomous creatures, and caused various kinds of serpents to be applied to different persons. She made these experiments every day, and discovered, at length, that the aspick was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions; and which, throwing the persons bit into an immediate heaviness and stupefaction, attended with a slight sweating upon the face, and a numbness of all the organs of sense, gently extinguished life; so that those in that condition were angry when any one awakened them, or endeavoured to make them rise, like people exceedingly sleepy. This was the poison she fixed upon.

To dispel Anthony's suspicions and subjects of complaint, she applied herself with more than ordinary solicitude in caressing him. Though she celebrated her own birth-day with little solemnity, and suitably to her present condition, she kept that of Anthony with a splendor and magnificence, above what she had ever instanced before; so that many of the guests who came poor to that feast, went rich from it.

Cæsar, knowing how important it was to him not to leave his victory imperfect, marched in the beginning of the spring into Syria, and from thence sat down before Pelusium. He sent to summon the governor to open the gates to him; and Seleucus, who commanded there for Cleopatra, having received secret orders upon that head, surrendered the place without waiting a siege. The rumour of this treason spread in the city. Cleopatra, to clear herself of the
accu-

accusation, put the wife and children of Seleucus into Anthony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery, by putting them to death. What a monster was this princess! The most odious of vices were united in her person; professed immodesty, breach of faith, injustice, cruelty, and, what crowns all the rest, the false outside of a deceitful amity, which covers a design formed to deliver up to his enemy the person she loads with the most tender caresses, and with marks of the warmest and most sincere attachment. Such are the effects of ambition, which was her predominant vice.

Adjoining to the temple of Isis, she had caused tombs and halls to be erected, superb as well for their beauty and magnificence, as their loftiness and extent. Thither she ordered her most precious moveables to be carried; gold, silver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatick wood; as if she intended to raise a funeral-pile, upon which she would consume herself with her treasures. Cæsar, alarmed for the latter, and apprehending, lest her despair should induce her to burn them, dispatched every day some person to her, to give her great hopes of the most kind and generous treatment, and nevertheless advanced towards the city by great marches.

Upon arriving there, he encamped near the Hippodrome. He was in hopes of making himself master of the city soon, by means of the intelligence he held with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no less than upon his army.

Anthony was ignorant of that princess's intrigues, and being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, he prepared for a good defence. He made a vigorous sally, and after having severely handled the besiegers, and warmly pursued to the gates of their camp a detachment of horse, which had been sent against him, he returned victorious into the city. This was the last effort of his expiring valour; for after this exploit, his fortitude and sense of glory abandoned him, or were never after of any service to him.

him. Instead of making use of this advantage, and of applying himself seriously to his defence, by observing the motions of Cleopatra, who betrayed him; he came, completely armed as he was, to throw himself at her feet, and to kiss her hands. The whole palace of Alexandria immediately resounded with acclamations, as if the siege had been raised; and Cleopatra, who had no thoughts but of amusing Anthony, ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared, at which they passed the rest of the day, and part of the night, together.

Early on the morrow, Anthony resolved to attack Cæsar by sea and land. He drew up his land-army upon some eminences in the city, and from thence kept his gallies in view, which were going out of the port, in order to charge those of Cæsar. He waited, without making any motion, to see the success of that attack; but was much astonished, when he saw Cleopatra's admiral strike his flag, when he came in view of Cæsar's, and surrender his whole fleet to him.

This treason opened Anthony's eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him, of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity he was for signaling himself by an extraordinary act of valour, capable, in his sense, of doing him abundance of honour. He sent to challenge Cæsar to a single combat. Cæsar made answer, that if Anthony was weary of life, there were other ways to die besides that. Anthony, seeing himself ridiculed by Cæsar, and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandoned by all his cavalry. Seized with rage and despair, he then flew to the palace, with design to avenge himself upon Cleopatra, but did not find her there.

That artificial princeis, who had foreseen what happened, to escape the rage of Anthony, had retired into the quarter where stood the tombs of the kings of Egypt, which was fortified with good walls, and of which she ordered the gates to be closed. She caused Anthony to be told, that preferring an honourable

able death to a shameful captivity, she had killed herself in the midst of her ancestors tombs, where she had also chose her own sepulchre. Anthony, too credulous, did not give himself time to examine a piece of news, which he ought to have suspected, after all Cleopatra's other infidelities; and struck with the idea of her death, passed immediately from excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, and thought only of following her into the grave.

Having taken this furious resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a slave, and having caused his armour to be taken off, he commanded him to plunge his dagger into his breast. But that slave, full of affection, respect, and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Anthony, looking upon this action as an example for him to follow, thrust his sword into his body, and fell upon the floor in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with that of his slave. At that moment an officer of the queen's guards came to let him know, that she was alive. He no sooner heard the name of Cleopatra pronounced, than he opened his dying eyes, and being informed that she was not dead, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and afterwards caused himself to be carried to the fort where she had caused herself to be shut up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance, for fear of some surprize; but she appeared at an high window, from whence she threw down chains and cords. Anthony was made fast to these, and Cleopatra, assisted by two women, who were the only persons she had brought with her into the tomb, drew him up. Never was there a more moving sight. Anthony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the air, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands, towards Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his last breath; whilst she, with her features distorted, and her arms strained, pulled the cords with her whole strength; the people below, who

who could give her no farther aid, encouraging her with their cries.

When she had drawn him up to her, and had laid him on a bed, she tore her clothes upon him, and beating her breast, and wiping the blood from his wound, with her face close to his, she called him her prince, her lord, her dearest spouse. Whilst she made these mournful exclamations, she cut off Anthony's hair, according to the superstition of the Pagans, who believed that a relief to those who died a violent death.

Anthony, recovering his senses, and seeing Cleopatra's affliction, said to her, to comfort her, that he thought himself happy as he died in her arms; and, that as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, it being no disgrace for a Roman to be overcome by Romans. He afterwards advised her to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do so with honour, to be upon her guard against the traitors of her own court, as well as the Romans in Cæsar's train, and to trust only Proculeius. He expired with these words.

The same moment Proculeius arrived from Cæsar, who could not refrain from tears at the sad relation of what had passed, and at the sight of the sword still reeking with Anthony's blood, which was presented to him. He had particular orders to get Cleopatra into his hands, and to take her alive, if possible. That princess refused to surrender herself to him. She had however a conversation with him, without letting him enter the tomb. He only came close to the gates, which were well fastened, but gave passage for the voice through cracks. They talked a considerable time together, during which she continually asked the kingdom for her children; whilst he exhorted her to hope the best, and pressed her to confide all her interests to Cæsar.

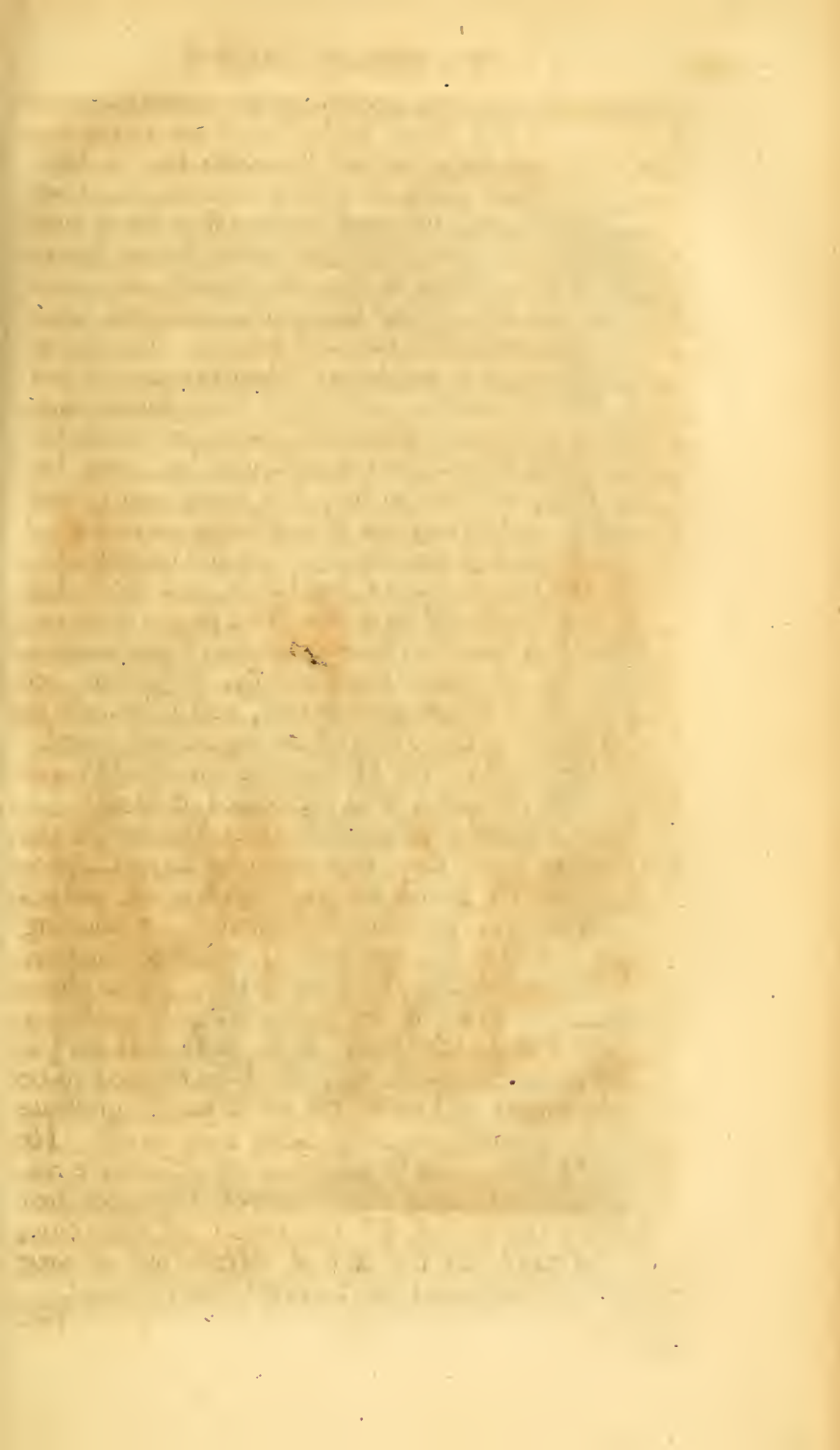
After having considered the place well, he went to make his report to Cæsar, who immediately sent Gallus to talk again with her. Gallus went to the gates, as Proculeius had done, and spoke like him.

through the crevices, protracting the conversation on purpose. In the mean while Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, entered the tomb by the same window through which she and her woman had drawn up Anthony, and, followed by two officers who were with him, went down to the gate where she was speaking to Gallus. One of the two women, who were shut up with her, seeing him come, cried out, quite out of her senses with fear and surprize, *O unfortunate Cleopatra, you are taken!* Cleopatra turned her head, saw Proculeius, and would have stabbed herself with a dagger, which she always carried at her girdle. But Proculeius ran nimbly to her, took her in his arms, and said to her, *You wrong yourself and Cæsar too, in depriving him of so grateful an occasion of shewing his goodness and clemency.* At the same time he forced the dagger out of her hands, and shook her robes, lest she should have concealed poison in them.

Cæsar sent one of his freemen, named Epaphroditus, with orders to guard her carefully, to prevent her making any attempt upon herself, and to behave to her, at the same time, with all the regard and complacency she could desire: He likewise instructed Proculeius to ask the queen what she desired of him.

Cæsar afterwards prepared to enter Alexandria, the conquest of which there were no longer any to dispute with him. He found the gates of it open, and all the inhabitants in extreme consternation, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. He entered the city, conversing with the philosopher Ariæus, upon whom he leant with an air of familiarity, to signify publicly the regard he had for him. Being arrived at the palace, he ascended a tribunal, which he ordered to be erected there; and seeing the whole people prostrate upon the ground, he commanded them to rise. He then told them, that he pardoned them for three reasons: The first, upon the account of Alexander their founder; the second, for the beauty of their city; and the third, for the sake of Ariæus one of their citizens, whose merit and knowledge he esteemed.

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R. Gravé, inv. del. et sculp.

AUGUSTUS & CLEOPATRA.

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Proculeius, in the mean time, acquitted himself of his commission to the queen, who at first asked nothing of Cæsar, but his permission to bury Anthony, which was granted her without difficulty. She spared no cost to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the East, and placed it amongst the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæsar did not think proper to see Cleopatra in the first days of her mourning: But when he believed he might do it with decency, he was introduced into her chamber, after having asked her permission; being desirous to conceal his designs under the regard he professed for her. She was laid upon a little bed, in a very simple and neglected manner. When he entered her chamber, though she had nothing on but a single tunick, she rose immediately, and went to throw herself at his feet, horribly disfigured, her hair loose and disordered, her visage wild and haggard, her voice faltering, her eyes almost dissolved by excessive weeping, and her bosom covered with wounds and bruises. That natural grace and lofty mien, which derived from her beauty, were, however, not wholly extinct; and notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which she was reduced, even through that depth of grief and dejection, as from a dark cloud, shot forth pointed graces, and a kind of radiance, which brightened in her looks, and in every moment of her countenance. Though she was almost dying, she did not despair of inspiring that young victor with love, as she had formerly done Cæsar and Anthony.

The chamber where she received him was full of the portraits of Julius Cæsar. "My lord," said she to him, pointing to those pictures, "behold those images of him who adopted you his successor in the Roman empire, and to whom I was obliged for my crown." Then taking letters out of her bosom, which she had concealed in it; "see also," said she, kissing them, "the dear testimonies of his love."

She afterwards read some of the most tender of them, commenting upon them, at proper intervals, with moving exclamations, and passionate glances; but she employed those arts with no success; for whether her charms had no longer the power they had in her youth, or that ambition was Cæsar's ruling passion, he did not seem affected with either her person or conversation; contenting himself with exhorting her to take courage, and with assuring her of his good intentions. She was far from not discerning that coldness, from which she conceived no good augury; but dissembling her concern, and changing the discourse, she thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and he had thought fit to repeat in person. She added, that in revenge she would deliver to him all the treasures of the kings of Egypt. And in effect, she put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues. And as Seleucus, one of her treasurers, who was present, reproached her with not declaring the whole, and with having concealed part of her most valuable effects; incensed at so great an insult, she rose up, ran to him, and gave him several blows in the face. Then turning towards Cæsar, "Is it not a horrible thing," said she to him, "that when you have not disdained to visit me, and have thought fit to console me in the sad condition I now am, my own domesticks should accuse me before you of retaining some woman's jewels, not to adorn a miserable person as I am, but for a present to your sister Octavia, and your wife Livia; that their protection may induce you to afford a more favourable treatment to an unfortunate princess?"

Cæsar was exceedingly pleased to hear her talk in that manner, not doubting but the love of life inspired her with such language. He told her, she might dispose as she pleased of the jewels she had reserved: And after having assured her, that he would treat her with more generosity and magnificence than she could imagine,

imagine, he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her, and was deceived himself.

Not doubting but Cæsar intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, she had no other thoughts than to avoid that shame by dying. She well knew, that she was observed by the guards who had been assigned her, and under colour of doing her honour, followed her every where; and besides, that her time was short, Cæsar's departure approaching. The better therefore to amuse him, she sent to desire, that she might go to pay her last duty at the tomb of Anthony, and take her leave of him. Cæsar having granted her that permission, she went thither accordingly to bathe that tomb with her tears, and to assure Anthony, to whom she addressed her discourse as if he had been present before her eyes, that she would soon give him a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal protestation, which she accompanied with sighs and laments, she caused the tomb to be covered with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath, and from the bath to table, having ordered it to be served magnificently. When she rose from table, she wrote a letter to Cæsar; and having made all quit her chamber except her two women, she shut the door, sat down upon a bed, and asked for a basket of figs, which a peasant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after lay down as if she had fallen asleep. But that was the effect of the aspick, which was concealed amongst the fruit, and had stung her in the arm, which she had held to it. The poison immediately communicated itself to the heart, and killed her without pain, or being perceived by any body. The guards had orders to let nothing pass without a strict search into it; but the disguised peasant, who was one of the queen's faithful servants, played his part so well, and there appeared so little appearance of design in a basket of figs, that the guards suffered him to enter. Thus all Cæsar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's resolution, after having read the letter she had wrote to him, to desire that he would suffer her body to be laid in the same tomb with that of Anthony, and instantly dispatched two officers to prevent it. But notwithstanding all the haste they could make, they found her dead.

That * princess was too haughty, and too much above the vulgar, to suffer herself to be led in triumph at the wheels of the victor's chariot. Determined to die, and thence become capable of the fiercest resolutions, she saw with dry eyes, and indifference, the mortal venom of the aspick glide into her veins.

She died at thirty-nine years of age, of which she had reigned twenty-two from the death of her father. The statues of Anthony were thrown down, and those of Cleopatra remained as they were; Archibius, who had long been in her service, having given Cæsar a thousand talents, that they might not be treated as Anthony's had been.

After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a præfect sent thither from Rome. The reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, to date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued two hundred fourscore and thirteen years, from the year of the world 3681, to 3974.

CON-

* Aufa & jacentem visere regiam
Vultu sereno fortis, & asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum;
Deliberatâ morte ferocior:
Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens
Privata deduci superbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho.

Hor. Od. xxxvii. l. 10.

*Not the dark palace of the realms below
Can awe the furious purpose of her soul;
Calmly she looks from her superior woe,
That can both death and fear controul;
Provokes the serpent's sting, his rage disdains,
And joys to feel his poison in her veins.
Invidious to the victor's fancy'd pride,
She will not from her own descend,
Disgrac'd, a vulgar captive, by his side,
His pompous triumph to attend;
But fiercely flies to death, and bids her sorrows end,*

CONCLUSION

OF THE

ANCIENT HISTORY.

WE have seen hitherto, without speaking of the first and ancient kingdom of Egypt, and of some states separate, and in a manner entirely distinct from the rest, three great successive empires, founded on the ruins of each other, subsist during a long series of ages, and at length entirely disappear; the empire of the Babylonians, the empire of the Medes and Persians, and the empire of the Macedonians and the Grecian princes, successors of Alexander the Great. A fourth empire arises, that of the Romans, which having already swallowed up most of those which have preceded it, will extend its conquests, and after having subjected all to its power by force of arms, be itself torn in a manner into different pieces, and by being so dismembered, make way for the establishment of almost all the kingdoms, which now divide Europe, Asia, and Africa. Behold here, to speak properly, an abridged picture of all ages; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world; in a word, of all that human greatness has of most splendid, and most capable of exciting admiration! All these, by an happy concurrence, generally unite in it: Height of genius, delicacy of taste, attended with solid judgment; the excellent taste of eloquence, carried to the highest degree of perfection, without departing from the natural and the true; the glory of arms, with that of arts and sciences; valour in conquering, and ability in government. What a multitude of great men of every kind does it not present to your view! What powerful, what glorious kings!

What great captains ! What famous conquerors ! What wise magistrates ! What learned philosophers ! What admirable legislators ! We are transported with beholding in certain ages and countries, as if peculiar to themselves, an ardent zeal for justice, a passionate love for their country, a noble disinterestedness, a generous contempt of riches, and an esteem for poverty, which astonish and amaze us, so much they appear above human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But whilst we are in admiration and extasy at the view of so many shining virtues, the Supreme Judge, who can alone estimate all things, sees nothing in them but trifle, meanness, vanity, and pride ; and, whilst mankind are continually busied in perpetuating the power of their families, in founding kingdoms, and eternizing themselves, if that were possible, God, from his throne on high, overthrows all their projects, and makes even their ambition the means of executing his purposes, infinitely superior to our understandings. He alone knows his operations and designs. All ages are present to him : *He seeth from everlasting to everlasting* (a). He has assigned all empires their fate and duration. In all the different revolutions, we have seen that nothing has come to pass by chance. We know, that under the image of that statue, which Nebuchodonosor saw, of an enormous height and terrible aspect, with the head of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the legs of iron mixed with clay, God thought fit to represent the four great empires, uniting in them, as we have seen in the course of this history, all that is glorious, grand, formidable, and powerful. And of what has the Almighty occasion for overthrowing this immense colossus ? (b) *A small stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer*

(a) Eccles. xxxix. 19.

(b) Dan. ii. 34, 35.

summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.

We see with our own eyes the accomplishment of this admirable prophecy of Daniel, at least in part. JESUS CHRIST, who descended to clothe himself with flesh and blood in the sacred womb of the blessed virgin, without the participation of man, is the small stone that came from the mountain without human aid. The prevailing characteristicks of his person, of his relations, his appearance, his manner of teaching, his disciples, in a word, of every thing that relates to him, were simplicity, poverty, and humility; which were so extreme, that they concealed from the eyes of the proud Jews the divine lustre of his miracles, how shining soever it was, and from the sight of the devil himself, as penetrating and attentive as he was, the evident proofs of his divinity.

Notwithstanding that seeming weakness, and even meanness, JESUS CHRIST will certainly conquer the whole universe. It is under this idea a prophet represents him to us: *(c) He went forth conquering and to conquer. His work and mission are, to set up a kingdom for his Father, which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom which shall not be left to other people; like those of which we have seen in the history; but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.*

The power granted to JESUS CHRIST, the founder of this empire, is without bounds, measure, or end. The kings, who glory so much in their puissance, have nothing which approaches in the least to that of JESUS CHRIST. They do not reign over the will of man, which is real dominion. Their subjects can think as they please independently of them. There are an infinitude of particular actions done without their order, and which escape their knowledge, as well as their power. Their designs often miscarry and

and come to nothing, even during their own lives. But with JESUS CHRIST it is quite otherwise. *(d)* *All power is given unto him in heaven and in earth.* He exercises it principally upon the hearts and minds of men. Nothing is done without his order or permission. Every thing is disposed by his wisdom and power. Every thing co-operates, directly or indirectly, to the accomplishment of his designs.

Whilst all things are in motion and fluctuate upon earth; whilst states and empires pass away with incredible rapidity, and human race, vainly employed in the external view of these things, are also drawn in by the same torrent, almost without perceiving it; there passes in secret an order and disposition of things unknown and invisible, which however determine our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end, than the formation of the bodies of the elect, which augments and tends daily towards perfection. When it shall receive its final accomplishment by the death of the last of the elect, *(e)* *Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power.* God grant that we may have all our share in that blessed kingdom, whose law is truth, whose king is love, and whose duration is eternity. *Fiat, Fiat.*

(d) Matth. xxviii. 18.

(e) 1 Cor. xv. 24.

END OF VOL. VII.

T H E

C H R O N O L O G I C A L

T A B L E.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

CHRONOLOGY is the knowledge of times. It shews to what year the events related in history are to be referred. The years used for measuring the duration of time are either solar or lunar.

The Solar Year is that space between one equinox and another of the same denomination the next year: For instance, from the vernal equinox to the vernal equinox following, which contains 365 days five hours and forty-nine minutes.

The Lunar Year is composed of twelve lunar months, of which each is twenty-nine days twelve hours and forty-four minutes, that make in all 354 days eight hours and forty-eight minutes.

Both of these years are called Astronomical, to distinguish them from that vulgarly used, which is termed Civil or Political.

Though nations may not agree amongst themselves in the manner of determining their years, some regulating them by the sun's motion, and others by the moon's, they however generally use the solar year in *chronology*. It seems at first, that as the lunar years are shorter than the solar, that inequality should produce some error in chronological calculations. But it is to be observed, that the people who used lunar years, added a certain number of intercalary days to make them agree with the solar; which reconcile them with each other, or at least, if there be any difference, it

5 may

may be neglected, when the question is only to determine the year in which a fact has happened.

In *chronology* there are certain times distinguished by some great event, to which all the rest are referred. * These are called *Epochs*, from a Greek word, which signifies to stay, because we stay there to consider, as from a resting-place, all that has happened before or after, and by that means to avoid anachronisms, that is to say, those errors which induce confusion of times.

The choice of the events which are to serve as epochs, is arbitrary, and a writer of history may take such as best suit his plan.

When we begin to compute years from one of these points distinguished by a considerable event, the enumeration and series of such years is called *Æras*. There are almost as many æras as there have been different nations. The principal, and most used, are those of *the World*, of *Jesus Christ*, of the *Olympiads*, and of *Rome*. I should have been glad to have used all the four in the Chronological Table at the end of my history. But the narrow compass of these pages, obliges me to confine myself to the two most famous, that is to say, that of *the World*, and that of *Jesus Christ*.

Every body knows, that *the Olympiads* derive their origin from the Olympick games, which were celebrated in Peloponnesus, near the city of Olympia. These games were so solemn, that Greece made them her epoch for computing her years. By *Olympiad* is meant the space of four years complete, which is the time that elapsed between one celebration of games and another. The first used by chronologers begins, according to Usher, in the summer of the year of the World 3228, before Christ 776. When the time on which an event happened is reckoned by the *Olympiads*, authors say the first, second, or third, &c. year of such an Olympiad; which being once known, it is easy to find the year of the world to which the same fact is to be referred; and in like manner, when the year of the world

* Ἐποχὴ.

world is known, it is easy to find that of the Olympiad which agrees with it.

Rome was built, according to Varro's Chronology, in the year of the world 3251, and the 753d before Jesus Christ. Cato dates the foundation of that city two years later, in the year of the world 3253, before Jesus Christ 751. I shall follow the opinion of the latter in my Roman history. The years reckoned from this *epoch* are called indifferently years of Rome, or years from the foundation of the city.

The *Julian period* is also a famous æra in *chronology*, used principally for reckoning the years before Christ. I am going to explain wherein this period consists, and its use: But first I must give the reader an idea of the three *cycles*, of which it is composed.

By the word *cycle*, the revolution of a certain number of years is understood.

The *Solar Cycle* is a term of twenty-eight years, which includes all the variations that the Sundays and days of the week admit, that is to say, at the end of twenty-eight years the seven first letters of the alphabet, which are used in the calendar for noting the day of the week, and which are called Dominical letters, return in the same order in which they were at first. To understand what I have now said, it must be observed, that if the year had only fifty-two weeks, there would be no change in the order of the dominical letters. But as it has a day more, and two in leap-year, that produces all the variations included in the space of twenty-eight years, of which the solar *cycle* consists.

The *Lunar Cycle*, called also the Golden Number, is the revolution of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon returns, within an hour and a half, to the same point with the sun, and begins its lunations again in the same order as at first. We are indebted for the invention of the *cycle* to Methon, a famous Athenian astronomer. Before the invention of the *epacts*, it was used for marking the days of the new moon in the calendar.

Besides

Besides these two *cycles*, chronologers admit a third also, called *Indiction*. This is a revolution of fifteen years, of which the first is called the *first Indiction*, the second the *second Indiction*, and so on to the fifteenth, after which they begin again to count the first indiction, &c.

The first indiction is generally supposed to have begun three years before the birth of Christ.

If these three cycles, that is to say, 28, 19 and 15, are multiplied by each other, the product will be 7980, which is what is called the *Julian period*.

One of the properties of this period, is to give the three characteristick cycles of each year, that is to say, the current year of each of the three cycles; for example, every body knows that the vulgar *æra* commences at the year 4714 of the *Julian period*. If that number be divided by 28, what remains * after the division, shews the solar cycle of that year. In the same manner the lunar cycle and the indiction may be found. It is demonstrated, that the three numbers which express these three *cycles*, cannot be found again in the same order in any other year of the *Julian period*. It is the same in respect to the cycles of other years.

If we trace this period back to its first year, that is to say, to the year when the three cycles, of which it is composed, began, we shall find it precede the creation of the world 710 years; supposing the creation to precede the vulgar *æra* only 4004 years.

This period is called *Julian*, because it is made to agree with the years of Julius Cæsar. Scaliger invented it to reconcile the systems that divided the chronologers concerning the length of time elapsed since the beginning of the world. There are who believe that only 4004 years of the world are to be reckoned before *Jesus Christ*. Others give more extent to that space, and augment the number of years of which it consists. These variations disappear when the *Julian period*

* I say what remains, and not the period, and what remains after the quotient, as some authors do; for the division, shews the year of the quotient expresses the number of current cycle, cycles elapsed since the beginning of

period is used, for every body agrees in respect to the year in which it began, and there is nobody who does not know, that the first year of the vulgar *æra* falls in the 4714th of that period. Thus in the Julian period there are two fixed points, which unite all systems, and reconcile all chronologers.

It is easy to find the year of the *Julian period*, that answers to any year whatsoever of the vulgar *æra* of the world. For as the beginning of the *Julian period* precedes that *æra* 710 years, by adding that number to the year proposed of the *æra* of the world, we have the year of the *Julian period* that answers to it. For instance, we know that the battle of Arbela was fought in the year of the world 3673. If to that number we add 710, it will be 4383, which number expresses the year of the *Julian period*, to which the battle of Arbela is to be referred.

It remains for me to say a few words upon the order I have observed in my Chronological Table. At first I proposed to make as many columns as there are different nations in my book, whose history falls out in the same times, and to place them all in the same line with each other, in order that all the events that happened in the same year might be seen at one view. But, besides my not having sufficient room to place so many columns side by side with each other, I found that I should have been obliged to leave too many blank spaces, which would have considerably lengthened the tables, and in consequence swelled the volume, that, as it is, is very large. I therefore chose to separate the Carthaginians and Syracusans, and to give their chronology apart. The histories of those two people are abundantly interwove with each other, and have little relation to those of the other nations of whom I have treated.

The reader knows, that hitherto I have not entered into chronological discussions, and undoubtedly does not expect that I should do so now. I shall generally follow Usher, whom I have chosen for my guide in this subject.

A. M.

1800.

NIMROD, founder of the first empire of the Assyrians. Ant. J. C. 2204.

NINUS, the son of Nimrod.

SEMIRAMIS; she reigned 42 years.

NINYAS.

The history of the successors of Ninyas for thirty generations, except of Phul and Sardanapalus, is unknown.

1816.	MENES, or MESRAIM, first king of Egypt.	2188.
	BUSIRIS.	
	OSYMANDIAS.	
	UCHOREUS.	
	MOERIS.	
1915.	Foundation of the king- dom of Sicyon.	2089.
1920.	The king-shepherds seize the lower Egypt. They reign 260 years.	2084.
2084.	Abraham enters Egypt, where Sarah is in great danger from one of the king-shepherds.	1920.
2148.	Foundation of the king- dom of Argos. Deluge of Ogyges in Attica.	1856.
2179.	THETHMOSIS expels the king-shepherds, and reigns in the lower Egypt.	1825.
2276.	Joseph is carried into Egypt, and sold by Poti- phar.	1728.
2298.	Jacob goes into Egypt with his family.	1706.
2427.	RAMESES-MIAMUM be- gins to reign in Egypt. He persecutes the Israe- lites.	1577.
2448.	CECROPS carries a co- lony from Egypt, and founds the kingdom of Athens.	1556.
	Foundation of the king- dom of Athens by Ce- crops. He institutes the Areopagus.	

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

2494. AMENOPHIS, the eldest son of Ramefes, succeeds him. 1510.

2513. The Israelites quit Egypt. Amenophis is swallowed up in the Red-sea. Sesostris his son succeeds him. He divided Egypt into thirty names, or districts, renders Ethiopia tributary, conquers Asia, and subjects the Scythians as far as the Tanais. On his return into Egypt he kills himself after a reign of 33 years. 1491.

2547. PHERON succeeds Sesostris. 1457.

2800. PROTEUS. In his reign Paris is driven into Egypt on his return to Troy with Helen. 1204.

RHAMPSINITH.

CHEOPS.

CHEPHREM.

MYCERINUS.

ASYCHIS.

The six preceding reigns were 170 years in duration, but it is hard to assign the length of each of them in particular.

2991. PHARAOH, king of Egypt, gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon. 1013.

3026. SESAC, otherwise called Sefonchis. It was with him that Jeroboam took refuge. 978.

A. M.

G R E E C E.

Ant. J. C.

2488.

Under Cranaus, successor of Cecrops, happens Deucalion's flood.

1516.

Foundation of the kingdom of Lacedæmonia, of which Lelex is the first king.

2530.

DANAUS, brother of Sesostris, leaves Egypt, and retires into the Peloponnesus, where he makes himself master of Argos.

1474.

Perseus, the fifth of Danaus's successors, having unfortunately killed his grandfather, abandons Argos, and founds the kingdom of Mycæne.

2628.

SISYPHUS, the son of Æolus, makes himself master of Corinth.

1376.

2710.

The descendants of Sisyphus are driven out of Corinth by the Heraclidæ.

1294.

2720.

Ægæus, the son of Pandion, king of Attica. The expedition of the Argonauts is dated in the reign of this prince.

1284.

2800.

The Heraclidæ make themselves masters of Peloponnesus, from whence they are obliged to retire soon after.

1204.

2820.

Troy taken by the Greeks.

1184.

2900.

The Heraclidæ re-enter Peloponnesus, and seize Sparta, where the brothers Eurysthene and Procles reign together.

1104.

2934.

Institution of the Archons at Athens. Medon, the son of Codrus, is the first.

1070.

2943.

Cadmus builds the city of Thebes, and makes it the seat of his government.

1061.

EGYPT.

GREECE.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

3033.

SESAC marches against
Jerusalem, and conquers
Judæa.

971.

3063.

ZARA, king of Egypt,
makes war with Afa, king
of Judah.

941.

ANYSIS. In his reign
Sabacus, king of Ethio-
pia, makes himself master
of Egypt, reigns there fifty
years, after which he re-
tires, and leaves the king-
dom to Anyfis.

3120.

LYCURGUS.

884.

3160.

HOMER. Hesiod lived
about the same time. 844.

3210.

CARANUS founds the
kingdom of Macedonia. 794.

3228.

Beginning of the com- 776.
mon era of the Olym-
piads.

A. M. I return to the chronology of the Assyrians, Ant. J. C. which I discontinued, because from Ninyas, down to about this time, nothing is known of their history.

A S S Y R I A N S.

3233. PHUL, the king of Nineveh, who repented upon 771.
Jonah's preaching.
3237. SARDANAPALUS, the last king of the first empire of 767.
the Assyrians. After a reign of twenty years, he burns
himself in his palace.

The first empire of the Assyrians, which ended at the death of Sardanapalus, had subsisted more than 1450 years. Out of its ruins three others were formed, that of the Assyrians of Babylon, that of the Assyrians of Nineveh, and that of the Medes.

3261.

First war between the
Messenians and Lacedæmo-
nians. It continues twenty
years.

743.

3280.

Archilochus the famous
poet.

724.

3285.

SEHON. He reigned
fourteen years.

719.

BABYL. NINEVEH. MEDIA. LYDIA.

A. M.

Ant. J C.

3257.

747.

BELESIS, THEGLATH ARBACES
or NABONAS-PHALASAA. exercises the
SAR. The 8th year sovereign au-
scripture calls of his reign thority over
him Baladan. he aids Ahaz, the Medes,
king of Ju- without take-
dah, and makes ing upon him
himself master the title of
of Syria, and king.
of part of the
kingdom of
Judah.

The Hera-
clidæ possess
the kingdom
of Lydia 505
years. Argon
was the first
king. He be-
gan to reign
in the year
of the world 736.
2781. The
history of his
successors is
little known
before Can-
daules.

3268.

MERODACH
BALADAN.
He sent am-
bassadors to
Hezekiah, to
congratulate
him upon the
recovery of
his health.
Nothing is
known of the
other kings
that reigned
in Babylon.

3269.

CANDAU- 735-
LES.

SALMANA-
SAR. The 8th
year of his
reign he took
Samaria, and
carried away
the people in-
to captivity.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

3298. THARACA reigns 18 years. 706.
Anarchy two years in Egypt.
3319. Twelve of the principal lords of Egypt seize the kingdom, of which each governs a part with equal authority. 685.
3320. Second war between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians 14 years. 684.

T A B L E.

313

BABYL. NINEVEH. MEDIA. LYDIA.

A. M.
3286.

Ant. J. C.
718.

GYGES. He
puts Candau-
les to death,
and reigns in
his stead.

3287.

SENNACHE-
RIB. In the
fifth year of
his reign he
makes war a-
gainst Heze-
kiah, king of
Judah.

717.

An angel
destroys his
army at the
time he is be-
sieging Jeru-
salem.

On his re-
turn to his
kingdom, he
is killed by
his two sons.

3294.

ASARHAD-
DON.

710.

3296.

DEJOCES
causes himself
to be declared
king of the
Medes,

708.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

3334. PSAMMITICUS, one of the twelve kings, defeats the other eleven, and remains sole master of Egypt. He takes Azoth after a siege of 29 years.

670.

A. M.
3323.

ASARHAD-
DON unites the
empire of Ba-
bylon with
that of Nine-
veh.

Ant. J. C.
681.

3324.

Death of
Gyges.

ARDYS his son succeeds him. In his reign, of 49 years, the Cimmerians made themselves masters of Sardis.

680.

3327.

ASARHAD-
DON carries the remains of the kingdom of Israel into Assyria. The same year he puts Manasseh in chains, and carries him in to Babylon.

677.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

3364.

Tyrteus, a poet who excelled in celebrating military virtue. 640.

Thales of Miletus, founder of the Ionick sect.

NIN. ET BAB.

MEDIA.

LYDIA.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

3335.

SAOSDUCHIN, OR

669.

NABUCHADONOSOR I. The twelfth

year of his reign

3347.

he defeats Phraortes,

king of the

Medes, and takes

Ecbatana. It was

after this expedition

that he made

Holophernes besiege

Bethulia.

3356.

Death of Nabuchadonosor.

Sarracus, called also

CHYNALADANUS,

succeeded

him.

Death of Dejoces.

PHRAORTES

succeeds him.

657.

648.

3369.

Phraortes perishes

at the siege

of Nineveh with

part of his army.

CYAXARES his

son succeeds him.

The second year

of his reign he

beats the Assyrians,

and attacks

Nineveh, the siege

of which he is

obliged to abandon

by a sudden

irruption of the

Scythians into his

dominions.

635.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

3380.

DRACO, legislator of Athens. 624.

3388.

NECHAO. The seventh year of his reign he defeats the king of Assyria, and seizes part of his dominions. He reigned sixteen years.

616.

NIN. ET BAB.

MEDIA.

LYDIA.

A. M.

3373.

Ant. J. C.

631.

SADYATTES.

He forms the siege
of Miletus in the
sixteenth year of
his reign.

3378.

NABOPOLAS-
SAR's revolt a-
gainst Saracus.
He makes him-
self master of Ba-
bylon.

Cyaxares joins
his forces with
those of Nabopo-
lassar, takes Ni-
neveh, and puts
Saracus its king

Destruction of
Nineveh. From
thenceforth Baby-
lon was the capi-
tal of the Assyrian
empire.

626.

3385.

ALYATTES. He
continues the siege
of Miletus, which
had been carried
on six years by his
father, and puts an
end to it six years
after by conclu-
ding a peace with
the besieged. In
the same prince's
reign there was a
war between the
Medes and Lydi-
ans, which was
terminated by the
marriage of Cyax-
ares with Aryenis
the daughter of
Alyattes.

619.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

3400.

SOLON.

604.

The seven sages of
Greece lived about this
time.

ALCÆUS, from whom
the Alcaick verses take
their name.

SAPHO, at the same
time.

3404.

PSAMMIS six years.

600.

BABYLON.

MEDIA.

LYDIA.

Ant. J. C.
607.

A. M.

3397.

Nabopolassar associates his son Nabuchadonofor in the empire, and sends him at the head of an army to re-conquer the countries taken from him by Nechao.

3398.

Jerusalem taken by Nabuchadonofor. He transports a great number of Jews to Babylon, and amongst them the prophet Daniel.

606.

The captivity begins from this carrying away the Jews to Babylon.

3399.

Death of Nabopolassar. His son NABUCHADONOSOR II. succeeds him in all his dominions.

605.

3403.

Nabuchadonofor's first dream interpreted by Daniel.

601.

3404.

ASTYAGES, the son of Cyaxares, gives his daughter in marriage to Cam-

600.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

3410. APRIES. He makes himself master of Sidon, in the first year of his reign. 594.
3411. Zedekiah, king of Judah, makes an alliance with the king of Egypt, contrary to the advice of the prophet Jeremiah. 593.

BABYLON.

MEDIA.

LYDIA.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

Cambyfes, king
of Perfia.

3405.

Nabuchadono-
for's lieutenants,
after having ra-
vaged Judæa, bloc-
kade Jerufalem,
and put king Je-
hoiakim to death.
About the end of
the fame year, Na-
buchadonofer re-
pairs in perfon to
Jerufalem, makes
himfelf mafter of
it, and appoints
Zedekiah king in-
stead of Jehoia-
chin, whom he
carries into cap-
tivity.

Birth of Cyrus:

599.

3409.

Death of Cy-
axares. Aftyages
his fon fucceeds
him. He reigns
thirty-five years.

595.

3416.

Nabuchadonofer
destroys Jerufa-
lem, and carries
away Zedekiah
captive to Baby-
lon. At his return
into his domini-
ons

Cyrus goes for
the first time into
Media, to fee his
grandfather Afty-
ages. He remains
three years with
him,

588.

A. M.

3430. Unfortunate expedition
of Apries into Libya.
Amasis revolts against
Apries. 574.
3432. Nabuchadonosor subjects
Egypt, and confirms Ama-
sis in the throne. 572.
3435. Apries dies in the twen-
ty-fifth year of his reign.
AMASIS reigns after him
in peace. 569.
3440. THESPIS reforms tra-
gedy. 564.
PYTHAGORAS lived a-
bout this time.
3444. SIMONIDES, the cele-
brated poet. 560.

BABYLON. MEDIA. LYDIA.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

ons he causes the
three young He-
brews to be thrown
into the furnace.

3432. Nabuchadono- 572.
for makes himself
master of Tyre,
after a siege of
thirteen years. He
did not march a-
gainst Egypt till
after this expedi-
tion.

3434. Nabuchadono- 570.
for's second dream
interpreted by Da-
niel.

3435. Nabuchadono- 569.
for reduced to the
condition of beasts
during seven years,
after which he
reigns again one
year. EVIL-ME-
RODACH his son
succeeds him. He
reigns only two
years.

3442. CROESUS. 562.
ÆSOP lived in 560.

3444. NERIGLISSOR. Death of Astya- his reign, and was
He makes great ges. CYAXARES in his court at
pre- Y 3 suc- the

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

3445.

PISISTRATUS makes 559.
himself master of Athens.

3460.

HYPPONAX, author of 544.
the verse Scazon.HERACLITUS, chief of
the sect which bears his
name.

BABYLON. MEDIA. LYDIA.

A. M.

preparations for succeeds him, the same time with Ant. J. C.
war against the known in the Solon.
Medes, and calls scripture under
Cræsus to his aid. the name of Da-
rius the Mede.

3445.

Cyrus returns
into Media for the
second time, in
order to assist his
uncle in the war
with the Babylo-
nians. 559.

3447.

Expedition of
Cyrus against the
king of Arme-
nia. 557.

3448.

Cyaxares and
Cyrus defeat the
Babylonians in a
great battle, in
which Neriglissor
is slain. 556.

Cræsus flies be-
fore Cyrus,

LABOROSOAR-
CHOD. He reigns
only nine months.

3449.

LABYINIT,
called in scripture
Belshazzar. 555.

About this time
the marriage of
Cyrus with the
daughter of his
uncle Cyaxares
may be dated.

3456.

Battle of Thym-
brea between Cræ-
sus and Cyrus, fol-
lowed with the
taking of Sardis
by the latter.
End of the king-
dom of Lydia. 548.



A. M.

Ant. J. C.

3464.

Birth of ÆSCHYLUS.

540.

CTESIPHON, or CHER-
SIPHON, a celebrated ar-
chitect, famous especially
for building the temple of
Diana of Ephesus.

3478.

Death of Pisistratus. 526.
HIPPIAS his son succeeds
him.

3479.

PSAMMENITUS. He
reigns only six months.
After the death of that
prince, Egypt is annexed
to the Persian dominions,
and continues so till the
reign of Alexander the
Great, which includes the
space of two hundred and
six years.

525.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

- | | | | |
|-------|--|--|------|
| 3466. | Labyrit is killed at the taking of Babylon. The death of that prince puts an end to the Babylonian empire, which is united with that of the Medes. | Cyrus makes himself master of Babylon. | 538. |
| 3468. | | Death of Cyaxares. | 536. |

After the death of Cyaxares and Cambyfes, Cyrus, who succeeded both in their dominions, united the empire of the Medes with those of the Babylonians and Persians, and of the three formed a fourth under the name of the empire of the Persians, which subsisted two hundred and six years.

Empire of the PERSIANS.

- | | | | |
|-------|--|--|------|
| 3468. | CYRUS. The first year of his reign he permits the Jews to return into Judæa. | | 536. |
| 3470. | Daniel's vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia. | | 534. |
| 3475. | Cyrus dies on a tour which he makes into Persia, after his having reigned seven years alone, and thirty from his setting out from Persia at the head of an army to aid Cyaxares. | | 529. |
- CAMBYSES his son succeeds him. The fourth year of his reign he attacks Egypt, and reunites it to the empire of the Persians.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

3490.
3496.

MILTIADES goes to settle in the Chersonesus.
The Pisistratidæ are obliged to abandon Attica.

514.
508.

A. M.

P E R S I A N S.

Ant. J. C.

3480. Unsuccessful expedition of Cambyfes against the Ethiopians. 524.
3481. Cambyfes puts Meroe, who was both his sister and wife, to death. 523.
It was about this time that Oretes, one of the Satrapæ of Cambyfes, made himself master of the island of Samos, and caused Polycrates, the tyrant of it, to be put to death.
3482. Death of Cambyfes. SMERDIS the Magus, who had mounted the throne before the death of Cambyfes, succeeds him. He reigns only seven months. 522.
3483. DARIUS the son of Hytaspes. 521.
3485. Edict of Darius in favour of the Jews, wherein that of Cyrus is repealed. It is believed, that what is related in the history of Esther, happened some time after the publication of this edict. 519.
3488. Babylon revolts against Darius, and is taken after a siege of twenty months. 516.
3490. Expedition of Darius against the Scythians. 514.
3496. Darius penetrates into India, and reduces all that great country into subjection. 508.

The history of the Greeks from henceforth will be intermixed and almost confounded with that of the Persians, for which reason I shall separate their chronology no farther.

P E R S I A N S A N D G R E E K S.

3501. The Persians form the siege of the capital of the island of Naxos, and are obliged to raise it in six months. 503.
3502. Aristagoras, governor of Miletus, revolts from Darius, and brings the Ionians and Athenians into his measures. 502.
3504. The Ionians make themselves masters of Sardis, and burn it. 500.
3507. The Persians defeat the Ionians in a sea-fight before the island of Lados, and make themselves masters of Miletus. 497.
- ÆSCHYLUS.
3510. Darius sends Gobryas his son-in-law at the head of an army to attack Greece. 494.
- ANACREON.
3513. Darius takes the command of his armies from Gobryas, and gives it to Datis and Artaphernes. 491.

Battle

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J.C.
3514.	Battle of Marathon.	490.
3515.	Unfortunate end of Miltiades.	489.
3519.	Death of Darius Hystaspes. XERXES his son succeeds him.	485.
3520.	Birth of the historian HERODOTUS.	484.
3524.	Xerxes sets out to make war against the Greeks.	480.
	Battle of Thermopylæ. Leonidas, king of the Lacedæmonians, is killed in it. Sea-fight near Artemisium, at the same time as the battle of Thermopylæ.	
	Birth of EURIPIDES.	
	Battle of Salamin, followed by the precipitate return of Xerxes into Persia.	
3525.	Battle of Platææ. Sea-fight the same day near Mycale, in which the Persians are defeated.	479.
3526.	The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, which had been demolished by Xerxes, notwithstanding the opposition of the Lacedæmonians.	478.
3528.	The command of the armies of Greece, of which the Lacedæmonians had been in possession from the battle of Thermopylæ, is transferred to the Athenians.	476.
	PINDAR flourished about this time.	
3530.	PAUSANIAS, general of the Lacedæmonians, accused of holding secret intelligence with Xerxes, is put to death.	474.
3531.	THEMISTOCLES, the Athenian general, is accused of having had a share in Pausanias's plot, and takes refuge with Admetus, king of the Molossians.	473.
	SOPHOCLES and EURIPIDES appear in Greece about this time.	
3532.	Xerxes is killed by Artabanus, the captain of his guards.	472.
	ARTAXERXES, surnamed LONGIMANUS, succeeds him. Themistocles takes refuge in his court the first year of his reign.	
3533.	CIMON receives the command of the armies at Athens. The year following he defeats the Persians, and takes their fleet near the mouth of the river Eurymedon.	471.
	Birth of the historian THUCYDIDES.	
3534.	Great earthquake at Sparta in the reign of Archidamus, which makes way for a sedition of the Helots.	470.
	Birth of SOCRATES.	
3535.	Beginning of Pericles.	469.
	PHIDIAS, famous for his skill in architecture and sculpture.	
	Difference and misunderstanding between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, occasioned by the affront offered to the Athenians by the Lacedæmonians in sending back	

A. M.

PERSIANS AND GREEKS.

Ant. J. C.

back their troops, after having called in their aid against the Messenians and Helots. Some time after, and in consequence of this quarrel, Cimon is banished by the Ostracism.

3537. ESDRAS obtains a commission from Artaxerxes to return to Jerusalem with all that are willing to follow him. 467.

3538. Themistocles puts an end to his life at Magnesia. 466.

3540. HERODICUS of Sicily, chief of the sect of physicians, called Διατριβικὸν. Hippocrates was his disciple. 464.

3544. The Egyptians, supported by the Athenians, revolt against Artaxerxes. 460.

3545. Defeat of the Persian army in Egypt. 459.

3548. The Egyptians and Athenians are beaten in their turn. 450.

In consequence of which all Egypt returns to its obedience to Artaxerxes, and the Athenians retire to Danarus, where they sustain a siege of a year.

Battle of Tanagra in Bœotia, where the Athenians beat the Spartans, who were come to the aid of the Bœotians.

3550. NEHEMIAH obtains Artaxerxes's permission to return to Jerusalem. 454.

3554. Birth of XENOPHON. 450.

Cimon, recalled from banishment after five years absence, reconciles the Athenians and Spartans, and makes them conclude a truce of five years.

3555. End of the war between the Greeks and Persians, which had continued, from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, fifty-one years. 449.

Death of Cimon.

3558. The Lacedæmonians conclude a truce for thirty years with the Athenians. The latter soon break it by new enterprizes. 446.

EMPEDOCLES, the Pythagorean philosopher, flourished about this time.

MYRON, the famous sculptor of Athens.

3564. Pericles makes war with the Samians, and takes the capital of their island after a siege of nine months. 440.

ZEUXIS, the famous painter, disciple of Apollodorus. PAREHASIUS his rival lived at the same time.

ARISTOPHANES, the comick poet.

3568. Birth of ISOCRATES. 436.

War between the Corinthians and the people of Corcyra. The Athenians engage in it in favour of the Corcyreans. The inhabitants of Potidæa declare on the side of Corinth against Athens. ALCIBIADES begins to appear in this war, which occasions that of Pæloponnesus.

SCOPAS, architect and sculptor.

Begin-

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
3573.	Beginning of the Peloponnesian war. It subsists twenty-seven years.	431.
3574.	A terrible plague rages in Attica. The physician Hippocrates distinguishes himself by his extraordinary care of the sick.	430.
3575.	Death of Pericles.	429.
3576.	The Lacedæmonians besiege Plataea.	428.
	PLUTO, founder of the ancient academy.	
3579.	Death of Artaxerxes. XERXES his son succeeds him. He reigns only forty-five days.	425.
	SOGDIANUS puts Xerxes to death, and causes himself to be acknowledged king in his stead. His reign continues only six months.	
3580.	OCHUS, known under the name of DARIUS NOTHUS, rids himself of Sogdianus, and succeeds him.	424.
	The Athenians, under Nicias, make themselves masters of Cythera.	
	Thucydides is banished by the Athenians, whose army he commanded, for having suffered Amphipolis to be taken.	
	POLYGNOTUS, famed particularly for his painting in the portico called ποικίλη at Athens, in which he represented the principal events of the Trojan war.	
3583.	Treaty of peace concluded, by the application of Nicias, between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, in the tenth year from the beginning of the Lacedæmonian war. Alcibiades, by an imposture, occasions its being broke the following year.	421.
3584.	<i>The banishment</i> of Hyperbolus puts an end to the <i>Ostracism</i> .	420.
3588.	Alcibiades engages the Athenians to assist the people of Egesta against the Syracusans.	416.
3589.	Alcibiades, one of the generals sent to Sicily by the Athenians, is recalled to Athens, to answer accusations against him. He flies to Sparta, and is condemned for contumacy.	415.
3590.	Pisuthnes, governor of Syria, revolts against Darius. The Egyptians do the same, and chuse Amyrtaeus for their king, who reigns six years.	414.
3593.	Alcibiades, to avoid the envy which his great actions had drawn upon him at Sparta, throws himself into the arms of Tissaphernes, one of the king of Persia's satraps. The Lacedæmonians, by the help of Tissaphernes, conclude a treaty of alliance with the king of Persia.	411.
3595.	Alcibiades is recalled to Athens. His return occasions the abolition of the Four Hundred, who had been invested with supreme authority.	409.
	Darius gives Cyrus, his youngest son, the government in chief of all the provinces of Asia minor.	

- A. M. PERSIANS AND GREEKS: Ant. J. C.
3598. **LYSANDER** is placed at the head of the Lacedæmonians. He defeats the Athenians near Ephesus. In consequence of that defeat Alcibiades is deposed, and ten generals are nominated to succeed him. 406.
3599. **CALLICRAPIDAS** has the command of the army in the room of Lysander, from whom the Lacedæmonians had taken it. He is killed in a sea-fight near the Arginifæ. 405.
- Lysander is restored to the command of the Lacedæmonian army. He gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos.
- CONON**, who commanded the Athenian forces, retires after his defeat to Evagoras, king of Cyprus.
3600. Lysander makes himself master of Athens, changes the form of the government, and establishes thirty Archons, commonly called the thirty Tyrants. 404.
- End of the Peloponnesian war.
- Death of Darius Nothus. **ARSACES**, his son, succeeds him, and takes the name of **ARTAXERXES MNEMON**.
- Cyrus the younger intends to assassinate his brother Artaxerxes. His design being discovered, he is sent to the maritime provinces, of which he was governor.
3601. Interview of Cyrus the younger and Lysander at Sardis. 403.
- Thraſybulus expels the tyrants of Athens, and re-establishes its liberty.
3602. Cyrus the younger prepares for a war with his brother Artaxerxes. 402.
3603. Defeat and death of Cyrus the younger at Cunaxa, followed by the retreat of the Ten Thousand. 401.
- Death of Socrates.
3604. Lacedæmon declares war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. 400.
3606. Beginning of **AMYNTAS**, king of Macedonia, father of Philip. 398.
3607. **AGESILAUS** is elected king of Sparta. The year following he goes to Attica, to the aid of the Greeks settled there. 397.
3609. Lysander quarrels with Agesilaus, and undertakes to change the order of the succession to the throne. 395.
- The army of Tissaphernes is defeated near Sardis by Agesilaus.
3610. Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, enter into a league against Lacedæmon, at the solicitation of the Persians. Athens enters into the same league soon after. Agesilaus is recalled by the Ephori to the assistance of his country. 394.
- The fleet of the Lacedæmonians is defeated near Cnidos by Pharnabazus, and Conon the Athenian, who com-

A. M.

PERSIANS AND GREEKS.

Ant. J. C.

manded that of the Persians and Greeks. Agefilaus defeats the Thebans almost at the same time in the plains of Coronæa.

Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.

3617. Peace shameful to the Greeks concluded with the Persians by Antalcides the Lacedæmonian. 387.

3618. Artaxerxes attacks EVAGORAS, king of Cyprus, with all his forces, and gains a signal victory over him. 386.

It is followed by the siege of Salamin, which is terminated by a treaty of peace.

3620. Expedition of Artaxerxes against the Cadusians. 384.

Birth of ARISTOTLE, founder of the Peripateticks.

3621. The Lacedæmonians declare war against the city of Olynthus. 383.

Birth of Philip, king of Macedon.

3622. PHÆBIDAS, on his way to the siege of Olynthus at the head of part of the army of the Lacedæmonians, makes himself master of the citadel of Thebes. 382.

Birth of DEMOSTHENES.

3626. Pelopidas, at the head of the rest of the exiles, kills the tyrants of Thebes, and retakes the citadel. 378.

3627. Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes to reduce Egypt, that had thrown off his yoke for some years. He employs above two years in making preparation for that war. 377.

3629. Death of Amyntas, king of Macedonia. ALEXANDER his eldest son succeeds him. He reigns only two years. PERDICCAS ascends the throne next, and reigns fourteen years. 375.

3630. Death of Evagoras, king of Cyprus. NICOCLES his son succeeds him. 374.

3634. Battle of Leuctra, in which the Thebans, under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, defeat the Lacedæmonians. 370.

3635. Expedition of Pelopidas against Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ. He goes to Macedonia to terminate the differences, between Perdiccas and Ptolemy son of Amyntas, concerning the crown. He carries Philip with him to Thebes as an hostage. He is killed in a battle which he fights with the tyrant of Pheræ. 369.

3641. Battle of Mantinæa. Epaminondas is killed in it, after having secured the victory to the Thebans. 363.

3642. The Lacedæmonians send Agefilaus to aid Tachos, king of Egypt, against Artaxerxes. He dethrones Tachos, and gives the crown to Nectanebus. He dies on his return from that expedition. 362.

Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. OCHUS his son succeeds him.

3644. PHILIP ascends the throne of Macedonia. He makes a captious peace with the Athenians. 360.

The

The history of the Cappadocians begins at this time, the chronology of whose kings I shall give after that of Alexander's successors. I shall annex to it that of the Parthians, and of the kings of Pontus.

3646. War of the allies with the Athenians. It continued three years. 358.
 Philip besieges and takes Amphipolis.
 3648. Revolt of Artabafus against Ochus king of Persia. 356.
 Birth of ALEXANDER THE GREAT.
 3649. Demosthenes appears in publick for the first time, and encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations of war making by the king of Persia. 355.
 Beginning of the sacred war.
 3650. Death of Mausolus, king of Caria. 354.
 3651. Philip makes himself master of the city of Methoné. 353.
 3652. ARTEMISIA, widow of Mausolus, to whom she had succeeded, takes Rhodes. 352.
 Philip attempts to seize Thermopylæ in vain.
 3653. Successful expedition of Ochus against Phœnicia, Cyprus, and afterwards Egypt. 351.
 3654. Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, is obliged to fly into Ethiopia, from whence he never returns. 350.
 3656. Death of Plato. 348.
 Philip makes himself master of Olynthus.
 3658. Philip seizes Thermopylæ, and part of Phœcis. He causes himself to be admitted into the number of the Amphictyons. 346.
 3662. Oration of Demosthenes, concerning the Chersonesus in favour of Diopithus. 342.
 3665. The Athenians send aid under Phocion to the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium, besieged by Philip. That prince is obliged to raise the siege. 339.
 3666. Philip is declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of the Amphictyons. He makes himself master of Elatæa. 338.
 Battle of Cheronæa, wherein Philip defeats the Athenians and the Thebans, who had entered into a league against him.
 Ochus, king of Persia, is poisoned by Bagoas his favourite. ARSES, his son, succeeds him, and reigns only three years.
 3667. Philip causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians. The same year he repudiates 337.

A. M. PERSIANS AND GREEKS. Ant. J. C.

ates his wife Olympias. His son Alexander attends her into Epirus, from whence he goes to Illyria.

3668. Philip's death. ALEXANDER, his son, then twenty years of age, succeeds him. 336.

ARSES, king of Persia, is assassinated by Bagoas. DARIUS CODOMANUS succeeds him.

3669. Thebes taken and destroyed by Alexander. He causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians in a diet assembled at Corinth. 335.

3670. Alexander sets out for Persia. Battle of the Granicus, followed with the conquest of almost all Asia minor. 334.

3671. Alexander is taken at Tarsus with a dangerous illness, from having bathed in the river Cydnus. He is cured in a few days. 333.

Battle of Issus.

3672. Alexander makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of seven months. 332.

APELLES, one of the most famous painters of antiquity. ARISTIDES and PROTOGENES were his contemporaries.

Alexander goes to Jerusalem. He makes himself master of Gaza, and soon after of all Egypt. He went after this conquest to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, and at his return built the city of Alexandria.

3673. Battle of Arbela. It is followed with the taking of Arbela, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. 331.

3674. Darius is seized and laden with chains by Bessus, and soon after assassinated. His death puts an end to the Persian empire, which had subsisted two hundred and six years from its foundation under Cyrus the Great. 330.

The Lacedæmonians revolt against the Macedonians. Antipater defeats them in a battle, wherein Agis their king is killed.

Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to see Alexander at Zadracata.

Philotas and Parmenio his father, suspected of having conspired with others against Alexander, are put to death.

3675. Bessus is brought to Alexander, and soon after put to death. 329.

Alexander, after having subdued the Sogdians and Bactrians, builds a city upon the Iaxartes, to which he gives his name.

Embassy of the Scythians to Alexander, followed by a victory gained by him over that people.

LYSIP.

A. M.

PERSIANS AND GREEKS.

Ant. J. C.

LYSIPPUS of Sicyon, a famous sculptor, flourished about this time.

3676. Alexander makes himself master of the rocky eminence of Oxus. 328.

Clitus is killed by Alexander at a feast in Maracanda. The death of Callisthenes happens soon after.

Alexander marries Roxana the daughter of Oxartas.

3677. Alexander's entrance into India. He gains a great victory over Porus in passing the Hydaspes. 327.

3678. On the remonstrances of his army, Alexander determines to march back. 326.

The city of Oxydracæ taken. Alexander in great danger there.

3679. Alexander's marriage with Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius. 325.

Revolt of Harpalus, whom Alexander had made governor of Babylon.

Demosthenes is banished for having received presents, and suffered himself to be corrupted by Harpalus.

3680. Death of Hephæstion at Ecbatana. 324.
MENANDER, the inventor of the new comedy, lived about this time.

3681. Alexander, on his return to Babylon, dies there, at the age of two-and-thirty years and eight months. 323.
ARIDÆUS, that prince's natural brother, is declared king in his stead. The regency of the kingdom is given to Perdiccas.

The generals divide the provinces amongst themselves. From this division commences the æra of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt.

The Athenians revolt, and engage the states of Greece to enter into a league with them. Demosthenes is recalled from banishment.

3682. Antipater is besieged in Lamia by the Athenians, and forced to surrender by capitulation. He soon after seizes Athens, and puts a garrison into it. 322.

Death of Demosthenes.

3683. Alexander's magnificent funeral. 321.
PERDICCAS puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia.

League of Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, against Perdiccas and Eumenes.

Death of Craterus.

Unfortunate end of Perdiccas in Egypt. Antipater succeeds him in the regency of the empire.

3684. EUMENES defeated by Antigonus, shuts himself up in the castle of Nora, where he sustains a siege of a year. 320.

- A. M. PERSIANS AND GREEKS. Ant. J. C.
3685. PTOLEMY makes himself master of Jerusalem.
 Death of Antipater. POLYSPERCHON succeeds him. 319.
 Phocion's condemnation and death at Athens.
 CASSANDER, son of Antipater, seizes Athens, and settles Demetrius Phalereus there to govern the republick.
3687. Olympias, the mother of Alexander, causes Aridæus, and Euridice his wife, to be put to death, as she herself is soon after by order of Cassander. 317.
3689. Eumenes is delivered up to Antigonus by his own soldiers, and put to death. 315.
3691. ANTIGONUS takes Tyre after a siege of fifteen months. Demetrius his son, surnamed Poliorcetes, begins to appear. 313.
3692. ZENO institutes the sect of the Stoicks at Athens. 312.
3693. SELEUCUS makes himself master of Babylon, and the neighbouring provinces. 311.
 At this expedition of Seleucus against Babylon begins the famous æra of the Seleucides, called by the Jews the æra of contracts.
 Ptolemy retires into Egypt, and carries a great number of the inhabitants of Phœnicia and Judæa thither along with him.
 Cassander causes Roxana, and her son Alexander, to be put to death.
3695. Polyasperchon puts Hercules, the son of Alexander, and his mother Berenice to death. 309.
3696. Ophellas, governor of Libya, revolts against Ptolemy. 308.
3698. DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES makes himself master of Athens, and re-establishes the democratical government. The same year he makes himself master of Salamin, and the whole island of Cyprus. 306.
 Demetrius Phalereus, who commanded at Athens, retires to Thebes. The Athenians throw down his statues, and condemn him to death.
 Antigonus, and his son Demetrius, assume the title of kings. The other princes follow their example, and do the same.
3699. Antigonus, to make the most of his son's victory in Cyprus, undertakes to deprive Ptolemy of Egypt. That expedition does not succeed. 305.
 Ptolemy the astronomer fixes the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy king of Egypt on the 7th of November of this year.
3700. Demetrius Poliorcetes forms the siege of Rhodes, which he is forced to raise a year after. 304.

A. M.

PERSIANS AND GREEKS.

Ant. J. C.

3701.

The Rhodians employ the money raised by the sale of the machine, which Demetrius had used in the siege of their city, and had given them as a present, in erecting the famous Colossus, called the Colossus of Rhodes.

303.

Demetrius Poliorcetes is declared general of all the Greeks by the states of Greece assembled at the Isthmus.

3702.

Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lyfimachus, enter into a league against Antigonus, and Demetrius his son.

302.

Battle of Ipsus, wherein Antigonus is defeated. It is followed by the division of the empire of Alexander amongst the four allied princes.

ARGESILAUS, founder of the middle academy.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

There is so much connection between the events, which happen in the four empires formed out of Alexander's, that it is impossible to separate them. For which reason I shall dispose them all in one column, according to the plan I have followed in treating them in the body of my history. I shall first give a table, that contains only the kings that reigned in each of those kingdoms.

EGYPT. SYRIA. MACEDO- THRACE
NIA. AND
BITHYNIA.

3704.	PTOLEMY SOTER.	SELEUCUS NICATOR.	CASSAN- DER.	LYSIMA- CHUS.	300.
3707.			PHILIP and ALEX- ANDER, the sons of Cas- sander, dis- pute the king- dom, and pos- sess it almost three years.		297.
3710.			DEMETRI- US POLIORCE- TES.		294.
3717.			PYRRHUS and LYSIMA- CHUS.		287.
3719.	PTOLEMY PHILADEL- PHUS.				285.
3723.				Lyfimachus is killed in a SELEUCUS battle. After NICATOR, his death his a very short dominions are time. dismembered, and	281.

A. M. EGYPT. SYRIA. MACEDO- THRACE
NIA. AND Ant. J. C.
BITHYNIA.

and cease to
form a distinct
kingdom.

3724.	ANTIO- CHUS SO- TER.	PTOLEMY CERAUNUS. His brother MELEAGER reigned some time after him.	280.
3726.		SOSTHE- NES.	278.
3728.		ANTIGO- NUS GONA- TAS.	276.
3743.	ANTIO- CHUS THE- OS.		261.
3758.	PTOLEMY EVERGETES.	SELEU- CUS CAL- LINICUS.	246.
3762.		DEMETRI- US, son of Antigonus Gonatas.	242.
3772.		ANTIGO- NUS DOSON.	232.
3778.	SELEUCUS CERAUNUS.		226.
3781.	ANTIO- CHUS THE GREAT.		223.
3783.	PTOLEMY PHILOPA- TOR.		221.
3784.		PHILIP.	220.
3800.	PTOLEMY EPIPHANES.		204.
3817.	SELEUCUS PHILOPA- TOR.		187.

EGYPT.

SYRIA.

MACEDONIA.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

3824.

PTOLEMY
PHILOMETER.

180.

3825.

PERSEUS, the
last king of the
Macedonians. 179.

3829.

ANTIOCHUS
EPIPHANES.

175.

3840.

ANTIOCHUS
EUPATOR.

164.

3842.

DEMETRIUS
SOTER.

162.

3854.

ALEXANDER
BALA.

150.

3859.

PTOLEMY
PHYSCON.DEMETRIUS
NICATOR.

145.

3860.

ANTIOCHUS
THEOS, the son
of Bala, seizes
part of Syria.
TRYPHON does
the same soon af-
ter.

144.

3864.

ANTIOCHUS
SIDETES puts
Tryphon to death,
and reigns in his
room.

140.

3877.

ZEBINA suc-
ceeds Demetrius
Nicator.

127.

3880.

SELEUCUS,
the son of Nica-
tor.

124.

ANTIOCHUS
GRYPUS.

3887.

PTOLEMY
LATHYRUS.

117.

3890.

ANTIOCHUS,
the Cyzicenean,
divides the king-
dom with Gry-
pus.

114.

EGYPT.

SYRIA.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

3897. ALEXANDER I. brother
of Lathyrus.

107.

3907. SELEUCUS, son of Gry- 97.
pus.

3911. ANTIOCHUS EUSE- 93.
BES.

3912. ANTIOCHUS, second son 92.
of Grypus.

3913. PHILIP, third son of 91.
Grypus.

3914. DEMETRIUS EUCHE- 90.
RES, fourth son of Gry-
pus.

3919. ANTIOCHUS DIONY- 85.
SIUS, fifth son of Grypus.

The four last named
kings reigned successively
with Eusebes.

3921. TIGRANES, during four- 83.
teen years.

3923. ALEXANDER II. son of 81.
Alexander I.

3935. ANTIOCHUS ASIATI- 69.
CUS,

3939. PTOLEMY AULETES. 65.

3946. Berenice, the eldest 58.
daughter of Auletes, reigns
some time in his stead,
after which that prince is
restored.

3953. Cleopatra reigns at first 51.
with her eldest brother,
then with Ptolemy, her
youngest brother, and at
last alone.

- A. M. SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER. Ant. J. C.
3727. Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, causes the holy scriptures to be translated into Greek. 277.
3728. Death of Sosthenes. ANTIGONUS GONATAS, son of Poliorcetes, who reigned afterwards during ten years in Greece, makes himself king of Macedonia in his room. Antiochus, king of Syria, disputes the possession of it with him. Their difference terminates by the marriage of Antigonus with Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus. 276.
3729. Antiochus defeats the Gauls in a bloody battle, and delivers the country from their oppressions. By this victory he acquires the name of *Soter*. 275.
3730. Pyrrhus returns into Italy, and is defeated by the Romans. He goes to Macedonia, where he attacks and defeats Antigonus. 274.
- Ptolemy Philadelphus, in effect of the reputation of the Romans, sends an embassy to them to demand their amity.
3732. Pyrrhus undertakes the siege of Sparta, and cannot reduce it. He is killed the next year at the siege of Argos. 272.
3736. Antigonus Gonatas makes himself master of Athens, which had entered into a league with the Lacedæmonians against him. 268.
3739. ABANTIDAS makes himself tyrant of Sicyon, after having put CLINIAS, its governor, to death. 265.
- MAGAS, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, revolts against Ptolemy Philadelphus.
3741. Death of Phileterrus, king, and founder of Pergamus. EUMENES, his nephew, succeeds him. 263.
3743. Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, causes his son ANTIOCHUS to be proclaimed king. He dies soon after. 261.
- BEROSUS of Babylon, the historian, lived about this time.
3746. Accommodation between Magas and Ptolemy Philadelphus. 258.
3749. War between Antiochus, king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philadelphus. 255.
3752. ARATUS, the son of Clinias, delivers Sicyon from tyranny, and unites it with the Achæan league. 252.
3754. ARSACES revolts against Agathocles, governor for Antiochus in the country of the Parthians. About the same time THEODORUS, governor of Bactriana, revolts, and causes himself to be declared king of that province. 250.
3755. Treaty of peace between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, which puts an end to the war. By one of the conditions of that treaty, Antiochus repudiates Laodice, and marries Berenice, Ptolemy's daughter. 249.

- A. M. SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER. Ant. J. C.
3756. AGIS, king of Sparta, endeavours to revive the ancient institutions of Lycurgus. Leonidas, his colleague, is deposed for refusing to consent to it. Cleombrotus, his son-in-law, reigns in his stead. 248.
3757. Death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. PTOLEMY EVERGETES, his son, succeeds him. 247.
- APOLLONIUS of Rhodes, author of a poem upon the expedition of the Argonauts.
3758. Antiochus, surnamed Theos, king of Syria, is poisoned by his wife Laodice. She afterwards causes her son SELEUCUS CALLINICUS to be declared king. 246.
- Berenice, and her son by Antiochus, are assassinated by Laodice.
- Ptolemy Evergetes, Berenice's brother, undertakes to revenge her death. He makes himself master of great part of Syria.
3760. The cities of Smyrna and Magnesia enter into an alliance to aid the king of Syria against Ptolemy Evergetes. 244.
- Aratus makes himself master of the citadel of Corinth.
- LEONIDAS is restored at Sparta, Cleombrotus sent into banishment, and Agis put to death.
3762. Death of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia. DEMETRIUS his son succeeds him. 242.
- Seleucus, king of Syria, enters into a war with ANTIOCHUS HIERAX, his brother. The latter has the advantage in a battle near Ancyra in Galatia.
3763. Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. ATTALUS, his cousin-german, succeeds him. 241.
3765. ERATOSTHENES the Cyrenian is made librarian to Ptolemy Evergetes. 239.
3771. JOSEPH, nephew of the high-priest ONIAS, is sent ambassador to Ptolemy Evergetes. 233.
3772. Death of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. ANTIGONUS, guardian of Philip, son of Demetrius, succeeds him. 232.
- POLYCLETUS of Sicyon, a famous sculptor.
3774. Seleucus, king of Syria, is defeated and taken prisoner by Arsaces, king of the Parthians. 230.
3776. CLEOMENES, king of Sparta, gains a great victory over the Achæans and Aratus. 228.
3778. Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, dies amongst the Parthians of a fall from an horse. SELEUCUS CERAUNUS, his eldest son, succeeds him. 226.
- Antiochus Hierax is assassinated by thieves on leaving Egypt.
- Aratus defeats Aristippus, tyrant of Argos. He prevails upon Lysias, tyrant of Megalopolis, to renounce the

A. M. SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER. Ant. J. C.

the tyranny, and make his city enter into the Achæan league.

3779. The Romans send a famous embassy into Greece, to impart to the Greeks the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. The Corinthians declare by a publick decree, that they shall be admitted to share in the celebration of the Isthmian games. The Athenians also grant them the freedom of Athens. 225.

Antigonus, king of Macedonia, by the management of Aratus, is called in to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians.

3781. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, takes Megalopolis. 223.
Battle of Selasia, followed with the taking of Sparta by Antigonus.

Death of Seleucus Ceraunus, king of Syria. ANTIOCHUS his brother, surnamed THE GREAT, succeeds him.

3782. The Colossus of Rhodes is thrown down by a great earthquake. 222.

3783. Death of Ptolemy Evergetes, king of Egypt. PRO- 221.
LEMY PHILOPATOR succeeds him.

The Ætolians gain a great victory at Caphyæ over the Achæans.

3784. Antiochus reduces Molon and Alexander, who had revolted against him two years before, the first in Media, the second in Persia. 220.

Death of Antigonus, king of Macedonia. PHILIP, the son of Demetrius, succeeds him.

Cleomenes, king of Sparta, dies in Egypt. The Lacedæmonians elect Agesipolis and Lycurgus to succeed him.

War of the allies with the Ætolians, in favour of the Achæans.

3785. HERMIAS, prime minister of Antiochus, is put to death by that prince's orders. 219.

3787. Battle of Raphia, between Ptolemy king of Egypt, and Antiochus king of Syria. 217.

Treaty of peace between Philip king of Macedonia and the Achæans on one side, and the Ætolians on the other, which puts an end to the war of the allies.

3788. Antiochus besieges Acæus, who had revolted in Sardis, and after a siege of two years he is delivered up by the treachery of a Cretan. 216.

Hannibal's alliance with Philip, king of Macedonia.

3789. Philip receives a considerable blow from the Romans at the siege of Apollonia. 215.

3790. CARNEADES, founder of the new academy. 214.

3792. Antiochus undertakes to reduce the provinces which had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire, and effects it in the space of seven years. 212.

Alliance

- A. M. SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER. Ant. J. C.
3793. Alliance of the Ætolians with the Romans. Attalus, king of Pergamus, enters into it. The Lacedæmonians come into it some short time after. 211.
3796. Famous battle between Philip king of Macedonia and the Ætolians near Elis. PHILOPOEMEN distinguishes himself in it. 208.
3798. Battle of Mantinæa, wherein Philopœmen defeats MACHANIDAS, tyrant of Sparta, who perishes in it. NABIS is set in his place. 206.
3800. Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans. All the allies on both sides are included in it. POLYBIUS is said to have been born this year. Death of Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt. PROLEMY EPIPHANES, at that time only five years old, succeeds him. 204.
3801. League between Philip of Macedon, and Antiochus king of Syria, against the young king of Egypt. 203.
3802. Philip, king of Macedonia, is defeated by the Rhodians in a sea-fight off the island of Chio. That prince's cruel treatment of the Cyaneans seems to be properly dated the following year. 202.
3803. Philip besieges and takes Abydos. 201.
3804. The Romans declare war with Philip. P. Sulpitius is appointed to command in it. He gains a considerable victory near the town of Octolopha in Macedonia. 200.
3805. Villicus succeeds Sulpitius in the command of the army against Philip. The year following Flaminius is sent to succeed Villicus. 199.
3806. Antiochus, king of Syria, subjects Palestine and Cœlosyria. The Achæans declare for the Romans against Philip. 198.
3807. Interview of Philip and the consul Flaminius. Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, declares for the Romans. The Bœotians do the same. 197.
- Death of Attalus, king of Pergamus. EUMENES succeeds him.
- Battle of Cynoscephale, where the Romans gain a complete victory over Philip.
3808. Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, which puts an end to the war. 196.
- Embassy of the Romans to Antiochus the Great, in order to be assured whether the complaints against him were justly founded.
- Conspiracy of Scopas, the Ætolian, against Ptolemy Epiphanes, discovered, and punished.
3809. Flaminius makes war against Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta. 195.
3813. Philopœmen gains a considerable advantage over Nabis, near Sparta. 191.

A. M. SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER. Ant. J. C.

The Ætolians resolve to seize Demetrius, Chalcis, and Sparta, by treachery and stratagem.

Nabis is killed. Philopœmen makes the Lacedæmonians enter into the Achæan league.

Antiochus goes to Greece to the aid of the Ætolians. The Romans declare war against him, and soon after defeat him near the streights of Thermopylæ.

3814. Battle of Magnesia, followed by a treaty of peace, which puts an end to the war between the Romans and Antiochus, that had subsisted about two years. 199.

The philosopher PANÆTIUS was born about this time.

3815. The consul Fulvius forces the Ætolians to submit to the Romans. Manlius, his colleague, almost at the same time subjects all the Gauls in Asia. 189.

The cruel treatment of the Spartans by their exiles, supported by Philopœmen, happened this year.

3817. Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, is killed in the temple of Jupiter Belus, which he had entered in order to plunder it. SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR succeeds him. 187.

3821. Philopœmen is taken before Messene, by Dinocrates, and put to death. 183.

3823. Demetrius, son of Philip, king of Macedonia, is unjustly accused by his brother Perseus, and put to death. 181.

3824. Death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt. PTOLEMY PHILOMETER succeeds him. 180.

3825. Death of Philip, king of Macedonia. PERSEUS his son succeeds him. 179.

3829. Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, is poisoned by Heliodorus, whom he had sent a little before to take Jerusalem. He is succeeded by ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES. 175.

3830. Antiochus Epiphanes causes Onias the high-priest of Jerusalem to be deposed, and sets Jason in his place. 174.

3833. War between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philometer. 171.

The Romans declare war against Perseus. That prince has some advantage in the first battle near the river Peneus.

3834. Antiochus Epiphanes makes himself master of all Egypt. He marches afterwards to Jerusalem, where he commits unheard-of cruelties. 170.

3835. The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometer, who had fallen into the hands of Antiochus, make PTOLEMY EVERGETES, his younger brother, king. 169.

Philometer is set at liberty the same year, and unites with his brother. That union induces Antiochus to renew the war.

3836. Paulus Æmilius is charged with the Macedonian war against Perseus. He gains a famous victory over that prince 168.

A. M. SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER: Ant. J. C.

prince near Pydna, which puts an end to the kingdom of Macedonia. It was not reduced, however, into a province of the Roman empire till twenty years after.

The prætor Anicius subjects Illyria in thirty days.

Popilius, one of the ambassadors sent by the Romans into Egypt, obliges Antiochus to quit it, and come to an accommodation with the two brothers.

Antiochus, exasperated at what had happened in Egypt, turns his rage against the Jews, and sends Apollonius to Jerusalem.

The same year he publishes a decree to oblige all nations in subjection to him to renounce their own religion, and conform to his. This law occasions a cruel persecution amongst the Jews.

3837. Antiochus goes in person to Jerusalem, to see his orders put in execution. The martyrdom of the Maccabees, and the death of Eleazer, happened at that time. 167.

Paulus Æmilius abandons the cities of Epirus to be plundered by his army, for having taken Perseus's part. The Achæans, suspected of having favoured that prince, are sent to Rome, to give an account of their conduct. The senate banish them into different towns of Italy, from whence they are not suffered to return home till seventeen years after. Polybius was of this number.

3838. PRUSTIAS, king of Bithynia, goes to Rome. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, is not permitted to enter it. 166.

Death of Mattathias. JUDAS, his son, succeeds him, and gains many victories over the generals of Antiochus.

3840. Antiochus Epiphanes is repulsed before Elymais, where he intended to plunder the temple. He marches towards Judæa, with design to exterminate the Jews. The hand of God strikes him on the way, and he dies with the most exquisite torments. ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, his son, succeeds him. 164.

3841. Antiochus Eupator marches against Jerusalem. He is soon after obliged to return into Syria, in order to expel Philip of Antioch, who had made himself master of his capital. 163.

3842. Difference between Philometer, king of Egypt, and Physcon his brother, which do not terminate till after the expiration of five years. 162.

Octavius, ambassador for the Romans in Syria, is assassinated.

DEMETRIUS SOTER, the son of Seleucus Philopator, flies from Rome, where he had been kept as an hostage, to Syria, where he causes Antiochus Eupator to be put to death, and seizes the throne.

3843. Death of Judas Maccabæus. 161.

Demetrius

- A. M. SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER. Ant. J. C.
3844. Demetrius is acknowledged king of Syria by the 160.
Romans.
3845. Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. ATTALUS 159.
PHILOMETER succeeds him.
3848. War between Attalus and Prusias. 156.
3851. ALEXANDER BALA pretends himself the son of An- 153.
tiochus Epiphanes, and in that quality attempts to cause
himself to be acknowledged king of Syria.
3852. ANDRISCUS of Adramyttium pretends himself the 152.
son of Perseus, and undertakes to cause himself to be
declared king of Macedonia. He is conquered, taken,
and sent to Rome by Metellus.
3854. Demetrius Soter is killed in a battle between him and 150.
Alexander Bala. His death leaves the latter in posses-
sion of the empire of Syria.
3856. Macedonia is reduced into a province of the Roman 148.
empire.
3857. Troubles in Achaia promoted by Diæus and Críto- 147.
laus. The commissioners sent thither by the Romans
are insulted.
3858. Metellus goes to Achaia, where he gains several ad- 146.
vantages over the Achæans. Mummius succeeds him,
and, after a great battle near Leucopetra, takes Corinth,
and entirely demolishes it.
- Greece is reduced into a Roman province under the
name of the province of Achaja.

A.M.

Ant. J. C.

The sequel of the history of the kings of Syria is much embroiled, for which reason I shall separate it from that of the Egyptians, in order to complete its chronology.

S Y R I A.

3859.

DEMETRIUS NICATOR,
son of Demetrius Soter,
defeats Alexander Bala, and
ascends the throne.

145.

3860.

ANTIOCHUS, surnamed
THEOS, son of Bala, sup-
ported by Tryphon, makes
himself master of part of
the kingdom.

144.

Tryphon gets Jonathan
into his hands, and puts
him to death at Ptolemais.
The year following he mur-
ders his pupil Antiochus,
and seizes the kingdom of
Syria.

3863.

Demetrius marches a-
gainst the Parthians. Af-
ter some small advantages
he is taken prisoner.

141.

3864.

ANTIOCHUS SIDETES,
the second son of Deme-
trius Soter, marries Cleo-
patra, the wife of his bro-
ther Demetrius Nicator ;
and after having put Try-
phon to death, he is de-
clared king himself.

140.

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

E G Y P T.

3859. Death of Ptolemy Philometer. PTOLEMY PHYSCON, 145.
his brother, succeeds him.

3866. { Death of Attalus, king of Pergamus. ATTALUS, } 138.
his nephew, surnamed PHILOMETER, succeeds
him. He reigns five years. }

3869.

Antiochus Sidetes be- 135.
sieves Johannes Hyrcanus
in Jerusalem, and takes the
city by capitulation.

3873.

Antiochus marches a- 131.
gainst the Parthians, and
gains many advantages
over them. They send
back Demetrius the year
following.

3874. Demetrius Nicator reigns
again in Syria.

130.

3877.

Demetrius is killed by
ALEXANDER ZEBINA,
who takes his place, and
causes himself to be ac-
knowledged king of Sy-
ria.

127.

3880.

SELEUCUS V. eldest son
of Demetrius Nicator, is
declared king, and soon
after killed by Cleopatra.
ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS suc-
ceeds him.

124.

3882.

Zebina is defeated by 122.
Grypus, and dies soon
after.

A. M.

3868.

The cruelties of Physcon at Alexandria, oblige most of the inhabitants to quit the place.

136.

3871.

{ Attalus Philometer, king of Pergamus, at his death leaves his dominions to the Roman people. }
{ ANDRONICUS seizes them. }

133.

3874.

{ The consul Perpenna defeats Andronicus, and sends him to Rome. The kingdom of Pergamus is reduced the year following into a Roman province by Manius Aquilius. }

130.

Physcon repudiates Cleopatra, his first wife, and marries his daughter of the same name. He is soon after obliged to fly, and the Alexandrians give the government to Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated.

3877.

Physcon reascends the throne of Egpt.

127.

3882.

Physcon gives his daughter in marriage to Grypus, king of Syria.

122

A. M.

S Y R I A.

Ant. J. C.

3884.

Cleopatra attempts to poison Grypus, and is poisoned herself.

120.

3890.

ANTIOCHUS, the Cyzicenean, son of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sides, takes arms against Grypus. He has the worst in the beginning; but in two years obliges his brother to divide the kingdom of Syria with him.

114.

3907.

Death of Grypus. SELEUCUS his son succeeds him.

97.

3910.

Antiochus the Cyzicenean is defeated, and put to death.

94.

3911.

Seleucus is defeated by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia.

93.

ANTIOCHUS EUSEBES, the son of the Cyzicenean, causes himself to be declared king. He marries Selenia, the widow of Grypus.

A. M.

3887. Death of Physcon. PTOLEMY LATHYRUS succeeds him. Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his eldest sister, and to marry Selena, his youngest. 117.
3891. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander, her youngest son. 113.
3897. Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places his brother Alexander upon the throne. 107.
3900. Signal victory of Lathyrus over Alexander, king of the Jews, upon the banks of the Jordan. 104.
3901. Cleopatra forces Lathyrus to raise the siege of Ptolemais, and takes that city herself. 103.
3903. Cleopatra takes her daughter Selena from Lathyrus, and makes her marry Antiochus the Cyzicenean. 101.

A. M.	SYRIA.	Ant. J. C.
3912.	ANTIOCHUS, brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem. He is presently after defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in the Orontes.	92.
3913.	PHILIP, his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him.	91.
3914.	DEMETRIUS EUCHERES, fourth son of Grypus, is established king at Damascus by the aid of Lathyrus.	90.
3916.	Eusebes, defeated by Philip and Demetrius, retires to the Parthians, who re-establish him upon the throne two years after.	88.
3919.	Demetrius having been taken by the Parthians, ANTIOCHUS DIONYSIUS, the fifth son of Grypus, is set upon the throne, and killed the following year.	85.
3921.	The Syrians, weary of so many changes, chuse TIGRANES, king of Armenia, for their king. He reigns fourteen years by a viceroy.	83.

T A B L E;

E G Y P T.

361

Ant. J. C.

A. M.

- | | | |
|-------|---|-----|
| 3915. | Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra: | 89. |
| 3916. | Alexander is expelled, and dies soon after:
Lathyrus is recalled. | 83. |
| 3922. | Lathyrus ruins Thebes in Egypt, where the rebels,
he had before defeated, had taken refuge. | 82. |
| 3923. | Death of Lathyrus. ALEXANDER II. son of Alex-
ander-I. under the protection of Sylla, is elected king. | 81. |

3935. Tigranes recalls Magd-
lus his viceroy in Syria.

69.

ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS takes possession of some parts of Syria, and reigns four years.

3939.

Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a Roman province.

65.

E G Y P T.

Ant. J. C.

A. M.
3928.

{ Death of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. His }
kingdom is reduced into a Roman province; as is }
{ Cyrenaica the same year. }

76.

3939. Alexander is driven out of Egypt. **PTOLEMY AU-** 65.
LETES, Lathyrus's natural son, is set in his place.
3946. The Romans depose Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, 58.
and seize that island. Cato is charged with that com-
mission.
- Ptolemy Auletes is obliged to fly from Egypt. Bere-
nice, the eldest of his daughters, is declared queen in
his stead.
3949. Gabinius and Anthony restore Auletes to the entire 55.
possession of his dominions.
3953. Death of Ptolemy Auletes. He leaves his domi- 51.
nions to his eldest son and daughter, the famous Cleo-
patra.
3956. Pothinus and Achillas, the young king's guardians, 48.
deprive Cleopatra of her share in the government, and
drive her out of Egypt.
3957. Death of the king of Egypt. Cæsar places **CLEO-** 47.
PATRA upon the throne with **PTOLEMY** her youngest
brother.
3961. Cleopatra poisons her brother when he comes of 43.
age to share the sovereign authority according to
the laws. She afterwards declares for the Roman
triumviri.
3963. Cleopatra goes to Anthony at Tarsus in Cilicia. She 41.
gains the ascendant of him, and carries him with her
to Alexandria.
3971. Anthony makes himself master of Armenia, and 33.
brings the king prisoner to Cleopatra. Coronation of
Cleopatra and all her children.
- Rupture between Cæsar and Anthony. Cleopatra
accompanies the latter, who repudiates Octavia at
Athens.
3973. Cleopatra flies at the battle of Actium. Anthony 31.
follows her, and thereby abandons the victory to
Cæsar.
3974. Anthony dies in the arms of Cleopatra. 30.
Cæsar makes himself master of Alexandria. Cleo-
patra kills herself. Egypt is reduced into a Roman
province.

A.M. CAPPADOCIA.

PARTHIAN
EMPIRE.

Ant. J. C.

3644. ARIARATHES I. was the first king of Cappadocia. He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes. 360.
3668. ARIARATHES II. son of the first. He was deprived of his dominions by Perdiccas, who sets Eumenes on the throne. 336.
3689. ARIARATHES III. ascends the throne of Cappadocia after the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes. 315.
3720. ARIAMNES. 284.
- ARIARATHES IV:
3754. ARSACES I. founder of the Parthian empire. 250.
 ARSACES II. brother of the first.
 PRIAPATIUS.
 PHRAATES I.
3814. ARIARATHES V. 190.

A. M.

P O N T U S.

Ant. J. C.

3490. The kingdom of Pontus was founded by Darius the son of Hyftaspes, in the year 3490. Artabazus was the first king of it. His successors down to Mithridates are little known. 514.

3600. MITHRIDATES I. He is commonly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus. 404.

3638. ARIOBARZANES. He reigns twenty-six years. 366.

3667. MITHRIDATES II. He reigns thirty-five years. 337.

3702. MITHRIDATES III. reigns thirty-six years. The reigns of the three kings who succeed him, include the space of an hundred years. The last of them was MITHRIDATES IV. great-grandfather of Mithridates the Great. 302.

3819. PHARNACES, son of Mithridates IV. 185.

A. M.	CAPPADOCIA.	PARTHIAN EMPIRE.	Ant. J. C.
3840.		MITHRIDATES I.	164.
3842.	ARIARATHES VI. sur- named Philopator.		162.
3873.		PHRAATES II.	131.
3875.	ARIARATHES VII.	ARTABAZUS. After a very short reign he is suc- ceeded by MITHRIDA- TES II. who reigns forty years.	129.
3913.	ARIARATHES VIII. Mithridates, king of Pon- tus, puts him to death, and sets his son upon the throne. Soon after ARIA- RATHES IX. takes Cappa- docia from the son of Mi- thridates, who is presently after re-established by his father.		91.
3914.	SYLLA enters Cappado- cia, drives the son of Mi- thridates out of it; and sets Ariobarzanes I. upon the throne.		90.
3915.	TIGRANES, king of Armenia, drives Ariobar- zanes out of Cappadocia, and reinstates the son of Mithridates.		89.

MNASCHIRES, and af-
ter him SINATROCES.
These two princes reign
about twenty years.

MITHRIDATES V. surnamed Evergetes.

3881. MITHRIDATES VI. surnamed the Great. 123.

3913. Mithridates seizes Cappadocia, and makes his son king of it. 91.

3915. Beginning of the war between Mithridates and the Romans. 89.

3916. Mithridates causes all the Romans in Asia minor to be massacred in one day. 88.

ARCHELAUS, one of the generals of Mithridates, seizes Athens, and most of the cities of Greece.

3926. Sylla obliges Mithridates to restore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. Tigranes dispossesses him of it a second time. After the war with Mithridates, Pompey reinstates Ariobarzanes. His reign, and the very short one of his son, continue down to about the year 3953.

78.

3935.

PHRAATES III. who assumes the surname of *the Good*.

69.

A. M.	P O N T U S.	Ant. J. C.
3917.	Sylla is charged with the war against Mithridates. He retakes Athens after a long siege.	87.
3918.	Victory of Sylla over the generals of Mithridates near Chæronea. He gains a second battle soon after at Orchomenes.	86.
3920.	Treaty of peace between Mithridates and Sylla, which terminates the war.	84.
3921.	Mithridates puts his son to death.	83.
	Second war between Mithridates and the Romans. It subsists something less than three years.	
3928.	Mithridates makes an alliance with Sertorius.	76.
3929.	Beginning of the third war of Mithridates against the Romans. LUCULLUS and Cotta are placed at the head of the Roman army.	75.
3930.	Cotta is defeated by sea and land, and forced to shut himself up in Chalcedon. Lucullus goes to his aid.	74.
3931.	Mithridates forms the siege of Cyzicum. Lucullus obliges him to raise it at the end of two years, and pursues and beats him near the Granicus.	73.
3933.	Mithridates defeated in the plains of Cebiræ. He retires to Tigranes.	71.
3934.	Lucullus declares war against Tigranes, and soon after defeats him, and takes Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia.	70.
3936.	Lucullus defeats Tigranes and Mithridates, who had joined their forces near the river Arsamia.	68.
3937.	Mithridates recovers all his dominions, in effect of the misunderstandings that take place in the Roman army.	67.

3948. MITHRIDATES, eldest son of Phraates. 56.

3950. ORODES. 54.
Unfortunate expedition of Crassus against the Parthians.

3953. ARIOBARZANES III. 51.
He is put to death by Cassius.

3962. ARIARATHES X. 42.

VENTIDIUS, general of the Romans, gains a victory over the Parthians, which retrieves the honour they had lost at the battle of Carræ.

3973. M. ANTHONY drives Ariarathes out of Cappadocia, and sets Archelaus in his place. On the death of that prince, which happened in the year of the world 4022, Cappadocia was reduced into a Roman province. 31.

A. M.

P O N T U S.

Ant. J. C.

3938.

Pompey is appointed to succeed Lucullus. He gains many advantages over Mithridates, and obliges him to fly. 66.

3939.

Tigranes surrenders himself to Pompey. Pompey makes himself master of Caina, in which the treasures of Mithridates were laid up. 65.

Death of Mithridates. PHARNACES his son, whom the army had elected king, submits his person and dominions to the Romans.

A. M.

SYRACUSE.

Ant. J. C.

Syracuse is said to have been founded in the year of the world 3295, before Christ 709.

3520. GELON's beginning. 484.
3525. GELON is elected king of Syracuse. He reigns five or six years. 479.
3532. HIERO I. He reigns eleven years. 472.
3543. THRASYBULUS. In a year's time he is expelled by his subjects. 461.
3544. The Syracusans enjoy their liberty during sixty years. 460.
3589. The Athenians, assisted by the people of Segesta, undertake the siege of Syracuse under their general Nicias. They are obliged to raise it at the end of two years. The Syracusans pursue and defeat them entirely. 415.
3593. Beginning of DIONYSIUS THE ELDER. 411.
3598. DIONYSIUS, after having deposed the ancient magistrates of Syracuse, is placed at the head of the new ones, and soon after causes himself to be declared generalissimo. 406.
3600. Revolt of the Syracusans against Dionysius upon account of the taking of Gela by the Carthaginians. It is followed by a treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Syracusans, by one of the conditions of which, Syracuse is to continue in subjection to Dionysius. He establishes the tyranny in his own person. 404.
- New troubles at Syracuse against Dionysius. He finds means to put an end to them.

A. M. C A R T H A G E. Ant. J. C.

Carthage was founded in the year of the world 3158,
before Christ 846.

3501. First treaty between the Carthaginians and Romans. 503.
It appears that the Carthaginians had carried their arms
into Sicily before this treaty, as they were in possession
of part of it, when it was concluded. But what year
they did so is not known.
3520. The Carthaginians make an alliance with Xerxes. 484.
3523. The Carthaginians, under A M I L C A R, attack the 481.
Greeks settled in Sicily. They are beaten by Gelon.

3592. The Carthaginians send troops under Hannibal to 412.
aid the people of Segesta against the Syracusans.
3595. H A N N I B A L and I M I L C O N are sent to conquer Si- 409.
cily. They open the campaign with the siege of
Agrigentum.

3600. The war made by the Carthaginians in Sicily is ter- 404.
minated by a treaty of peace with the Syracusans.

A. M.	SYRACUSE.	Ant. J. C.
3605.	Dionysius makes great preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians.	399.
3607.	Massacre of all the Carthaginians in Sicily, followed by a declaration of war, which Dionysius caused to be signified to them by an herald, whom he dispatched to Carthage.	397.
3615.	Dionysius takes Rhegium by capitulation. The next year he breaks the treaty, and makes himself master of it again by force.	389.
3632.	Death of Dionysius the Elder. His son DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER succeeds him. By the advice of DION, his brother-in-law, he causes Plato to come to his court. Dion, banished by the order of Dionysius, retires into Peloponnesus.	372.
3643.	Dionysius makes Arete his sister, the wife of Dion, marry Timocrates, one of his friends. That treatment makes Dion resolve to attack the tyrant with open force.	361.
3644.	DION obliges Dionysius to abandon Syracuse. He sets sail for Italy.	360.
3646.	CALLIPPUS causes Dion to be assassinated, and makes himself master of Syracuse, where he reigns about thirteen months.	358.
3647.	HIPPARINUS, brother of Dionysius the Younger, drives Callippus out of Syracuse, and establishes himself in his place for two years.	357.
3654.	Dionysius reinstated.	350.
3656.	The Syracusans call in TIMOLEON to their aid.	348.
3657.	Dionysius is forced by Timoleon to surrender himself, and to retire to Corinth.	347.
3658.	TIMOLEON abolishes tyranny at Syracuse, and throughout Sicily, the liberty of which he reinstates.	346.
3685.	AGATHOCLES makes himself tyrant at Syracuse.	319.

A. M.

C A R T H A G E.

Ant. J. C.

3607. Imilcon goes to Sicily with an army to carry on the war against Dionysius. It subsists four or five years. 197.

3654. Second treaty of peace concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians. 350.
3656. The Carthaginians make a new attempt to seize Sicily. They are defeated by TIMOLEON, sent by the Corinthians to the aid of the Syracusans. 348.
- HANNO, citizen of Carthage, forms the design of making himself master of his country.

3672. Embassy of Tyre to Carthage, to demand aid against Alexander the Great. 332.
3685. Beginning of the wars between the Carthaginians and Agathocles in Sicily and Africa. 319.

A. M.

SYRACUSE.

Ant. J. C.

3724:

A Roman legion feizes Rhegium by treachery.

280.

3729.

HIERO and ARTEMIDORUS are made supreme magistrates by the Syracusan troops.

275.

3736.

Hiero is declared king by the Syracusans.

268.

3741.

Appius Claudius goes to Sicily to aid the Mamertines against the Carthaginians. Hiero, who was at first against him, comes to an accommodation with him, and makes an alliance with the Romans.

263.

3763.

Hiero sends the Carthaginians aid against the foreign mercenaries.

241.

3786.

Hiero goes to meet the consul Tib. Sempronius, in order to offer him his services against the Carthaginians.

218.

3727. The Carthaginians send the Romans aid under Mago against Pyrrhus. 277.
3741. Beginning of the first Punick war with the Romans. It subsists twenty-four years. 263.
3743. The Romans besiege the Carthaginians in Agrigentum, and take the city after a siege of seven months. 261.
3745. Sea-fight between the Romans and Carthaginians near the coast of Myle. 259.
3749. Sea-fight near Ecnome in Sicily. 255.
3750. REGULUS in Africa. He is taken prisoner. 254.
- XANTHIPUS comes to the aid of the Carthaginians.
3755. Regulus is sent to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners. At his return the Carthaginians put him to death with the most cruel torments. 249.
3756. Siege of Lilybæum by the Romans. 248.
3763. Defeat of the Carthaginians near the islands Ægates, followed by a treaty, that puts an end to the first Punick war. 241.
- War of Lybia against the foreign mercenaries. It subsists three years and four months.
3767. The Carthaginians give up Sardinia to the Romans, and engage to pay them 1200 talents. 237.
3776. AMILCAR is killed in Spain. ASDRUBAL, his son-in-law, succeeds him in the command of the army. 228.
- Hannibal is sent into Spain upon the demand of his uncle Asdrubal.
3784. Asdrubal's death. HANNIBAL is made general of the army in his stead. 220.
3786. Siege of Saguntum. 218.
- Beginning of the second Punick war, which subsists seventeen years.
3787. Hannibal enters Italy, and gains the battles of Ticinius and Trebia. 217.

3789. Death of Hiero. **HIERONYMUS**, his grandson, succeeds him. 215.

Hieronymus abandons the party of the Romans, and enters into an alliance with Hannibal. He is assassinated soon after. His death is followed with great troubles to Syracuse.

3792. **MARCELLUS** takes Syracuse, after a siege of three years. 212.

A. M.	C A R T H A G E .	Ant. J. C.
3788.	Battle of Thrasymenus. Hannibal deceives Fabius at the Streights of Caffi- num.	216.
3789.	CN. SCIPIO defeats the Carthaginians in Spain. Battle of Cannæ. Hannibal retires to Capua after this battle.	215.
3790.	ASDRUBAL is beaten in Spain by the two Scipioes.	214.
3793.	The two Scipioes are killed in Spain. The Romans besiege Capua.	211.
3794.	Hannibal advances to Rome and besieges it. The Romans soon after take Capua.	210.
3798.	Asdrubal enters Italy. He is defeated by the consul Livius, whom the other consul Nero had joined.	206.
3799.	Scipio makes himself master of all Spain. He is made consul the year following, and goes to Africa.	205.
3802.	Hannibal is recalled to the aid of his country.	202.
3803.	Interview of Hannibal and Scipio in Africa, followed by a bloody battle, in which the Romans gain a com- plete victory.	201.
3804.	Treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Romans, which puts an end to the second Punick war. Fifty years elapsed between the end of the second, and the beginning of the third, Punick wars.	200.
3810.	Hannibal is made prætor of Carthage, and reforms the courts of justice and the finances. After having exercised that office two years, he retires to king An- tiochus at Ephesus, whom he advises to carry the war into Italy.	194.
3813.	Interview of Hannibal and Scipio at Ephesus.	191.
3816.	Hannibal takes refuge in the island of Crete, to avoid being delivered up to the Romans.	188.
3820.	Hannibal abandons the island of Crete, to take re- fuge with Prusias king of Bithynia.	184.
3822.	Death of Hannibal.	182.
3823.	The Romans send commissioners into Africa, to ad- judge the differences that arose between the Carthagini- ans and Masinissa.	181.

380 CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	C A R T H A G E.	Ant. J. C.
3848.	Second embassy sent by the Romans into Africa, to make new enquiries into the differences subsisting between the Carthaginians and Masinissa.	156.
3855.	Beginning of the third Punick war. It subsists a little more than four years.	149.
3856.	Carthage is besieged by the Romans.	148.
3858.	Scipio the younger is made consul, and receives the command of the army before Carthage.	146.
3859.	Scipio takes and entirely demolishes Carthage.	145.

End of the Chronological Table.

GENERAL

INDEX

Of the MATTERS contained in the

ANCIENT HISTORY.

- A.**
ABANTIDAS makes himself tyrant of Siccyon, V. 405
ABAS, king of Argos, II. 281
ABDOLONYMUS is placed upon the throne of Sidon against his will, IV. 422. his answer to Alexander, 423
ABELOX, a Spaniard, his treachery, I. 248
ABRADATES, king of Susiana, engages in Cyrus's service, II. 100. he is killed in the battle of Thymbræa, 119
ABRAHAM goes to Egypt with Sarah, I. 67. the Scripture places him very near Nimrod; and why, II. 6
ABROCOMAS, one of the generals of Artaxerxes Mnemon's army, marches against Cyrus the Younger, III. 323
ABSALOM, brother of Alexander Jannæus, VII. 2. he is taken prisoner at the siege of Jerusalem, 4
ABUTITES, governor of Susa, for Darius, surrenders that place to Alexander, IV. 492. he is continued in his government, 493
Abydos, a city of Asia, besieged by Philip, VI. 6, &c. tragical end of that city, 9
Academy, founded at Alexandria under the name of Musæum, V. 283
ACARNANIANS, people of Greece, their courage, V. 551
ACCIIUS. See **ATTIUS**.
ACHÆANS, settled by Achæus in Peloponnesus, II. 287. institution of their commonwealth, V. 403. their government, cities, of which the Achæan league is formed at first, *ibid.* several cities join it afterwards, 407. chiefs who rendered that republick so flourishing, V. 547, 548, 562
 The Achæans enter into a war with Sparta, V. 446. after many losses they call in Antigonus to their aid, 453. in a war with the Ætolians, they have recourse to Philip, 520. they declare for the Romans against that prince, VI. 37. they join with the Romans against Antiochus,

- tiocus, VI. 102. their cruel treatment of many Spartans, 154. they subject the Messenians, 191. they send deputies to Rome concerning Sparta, 194. Callicrates, one of their deputies, betrays them, 195, &c.
- The Achæans resolve to share with the Romans in the dangers of the war against Perseus, VI. 331. they are suspected by the Romans, 398. cruel treatment of them by the Romans, 400, &c. troubles in Achaia, 424. the Achæans declare war against the Lacedæmonians, *ibid.* they insult the Roman commissioners, 425. they engage Thebes and Chalcis to join them, 427, 428. they are defeated by Metellus, *ibid.* and after by Mummius, 429, &c. Achaia is reduced into a Roman province, 432
- ACHÆMENES, brother of Xerxes, II. 442
- ACHÆMENES, brother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, is placed at the head of the army sent by that prince against Egypt, III. 19. he is killed in a battle, *ibid.*
- ACHÆUS, son of Xuthus, founder of the Achæans, II. 287
- ACHÆUS, cousin of Seleucus Ceraunus, has the administration of the affairs of Egypt, V. 479. he avenges the death of that prince, *ibid.* he refuses the crown, and preserves it for Antiochus the Great, 479, 480. his fidelity to that prince, *ibid.* he revolts against Antiochus, 489. his power, 490. he is betrayed, and delivered up to Antiochus, and put to death, 501
- Achaia, so called from Achæus. See ACHÆANS. II. 287
- Achæarnians, comedy of Aristophanes; extract from it, I. cxiv
- ACHILLAS, young Ptolemy's guardian, VII. 249. he assassinates Pompey, 251. he is put to death, 257
- ACHITAS, Corinthian, founder of Syracuse, VII. 136
- ACHORIS, king of Egypt, III. 411
- Acbradina, one of the quarters of the city of Syracuse, description of it, III. 198
- ACICHORIUS, general of the Gauls, makes an irruption into Macedonia, V. 311. then into Greece, *ibid.* he perishes there, 315
- ACILIUS (*Manius*) is appointed to command in Greece against Antiochus, VI. 103. he defeats that prince near Thermopylæ, 107. he subjects the Ætolians, 109, &c.
- ACILIUS, a young Roman, his stratagem to make Perseus quit his asylum, VI. 370
- ACRISIUS, king of Argos, II. 282
- ACROTATES, son of Areus, king of Sparta, V. 352. valour of that young prince, 356
- Actium, city famous for Anthony's defeat, VII. 281
- ADA continued in the government of Caria, after the death of Idræus her husband, IV. 386
- ADHERBAL, general of the Carthaginians, defeats the Romans at sea, I. 194
- ADIMANTES is appointed general of the Athenians after the battle of Arginusæ, III. 277. by what means he escapes death after his defeat at Ægospotamos, 288
- ADMETUS, king of the Molossians, gives Themistocles refuge, II. 533. he is intimidated by the Athenians, and sends him away, III. 3
- ADMETUS, officer in Alexander's army, IV. 437
- Adonis. Feasts celebrated in honour of him at Athens, III. 186
- Adore. Etymology of that word, II. 248
- Adver-*

- Adversity*. It exalts the glory of a prince, II. 172. train of adversity, III. 396
- ÆACIDAS*, son of Arymbas, king of Epirus, is driven out of his dominions by the intrigues of Philip king of Macedonia, IV. 300. he reascends the throne, *ibid*.
- ÆACIDES*, king of Epirus, is banished by his own subjects, V. 174
- ÆGEUS*, king of Athens, II. 284
- Ægina*, little island near Athens, II. 423
- Ægospotamos*, famous for Lysander's victory over the Athenians, III. 284
- ÆGYPTUS*, name given Sesostris, I. 68
- ÆNEAS*, supposed by Virgil contemporary with Dido, I. 133
- ÆNOBARBUS* (*Domitius*) consul, declares for Anthony, and retires to him, VII. 277
- Æolick* dialect, II. 290
- ÆOLUS*, son of Hellenus, reigns in Thessaly, II. 287
- Æra* of Nabonassar, II. 26. æra of the Seleucides, V. 203
- ÆSCHINES*, Athenian orator, suffers himself to be corrupted by Philip's gold, IV. 288, 292, 317, &c. he accuses Demosthenes, 332, 367. he is cast, and retires into banishment, 333
- Æsop* the Phrygian: His history, II. 359. he goes to the court of Croælus, 64, 360. he is supposed to have been the inventor of fables, 361
- Ætolia*, one of the principal parts of Greece, II. 274
- ÆTOLIANS*. War of the Ætolians against the Achæans and Philip, V. 504. treaty of peace between them, 542. the Ætolians join the Romans against Philip, 550. they make peace with that prince, 591. they declare against him for the Romans, VI. 41. they condemn the treaty made between Philip and the Romans, 55. they form a resolution to seize Demetrius, Chalcis, and Lacedæmon by treachery, 94. they call in the aid of Antiochus against the Romans, 97, 98. they offer to submit to the Romans, 112. and cannot obtain peace, 114, 115. the senate, at the request of the Athenians and Rhodians, grant it them, 151. cruel treatment of them by the Romans, 379, 396, &c.
- Africa*, discovered by the care of Nechao, I. 88. Hanno sails round it by order of the senate, 124. fertility of Africa, 132
- AGAMEMNON*, king of Mycenæ, II. 283
- AGARISTA*, wife of Megacles. Her father's conduct in choosing her an husband, II. 332
- AGATHOCLES* seizes the tyranny of Syracuse, I. 161, VII. 138. his expeditions against the Carthaginians in Sicily and in Africa, I. 162, &c. he brings over Ophellas to his side, and then puts him to death, 170. miserable end of that tyrant, 171
- AGATHOCLES*, governor of Parthia for Antiochus, V. 376
- AGATHOCLES*, brother of Agathoclea, V. 502. his ascendant over Ptolemy Philopator, *ibid*. his measures for obtaining the tuition of Ptolemy Epiphanes, VI. 2. he perishes miserably, *ibid*.
- AGATHOCLEA*, concubine of Ptolemy Philopator, V. 502. miserable end of that woman, VI. 2
- AGELAS* of Naupactus, ambassador from the allies to Philip: Wisdom of his discourse, V. 540, &c.
- AGESILAUS* is elected king of Sparta, III. 368, 369. his education and character, III. 368, 369, &c. he sets out for Asia, III.

- III. 373. he differs with Lysander, 375. his expeditions in Asia, 380, &c. Sparta appoints him generalissimo by sea and land, 384. he commissions Pisander to command the fleet in his stead, 385. his interview with Pharnabazus, 386. the Ephori recall him to the aid of his country, 392. his ready obedience, *ibid.* he gains a victory over the Thebans at Coronæa, in which he is wounded, 397. he returns to Sparta, 399. he always retains his ancient manners, *ibid.* he discovers the conspiracy formed by Lysander, 400. different expeditions of Agesilaus in Greece, 401. he causes his brother Teletias to be appointed admiral, *ibid.* Sphodrias is acquitted by his means, IV. 136. Antalcides rallies him upon his being wounded by the Thebans, 137. 138. dispute between Agesilaus and Epaminondas in the assembly of the allies at Sparta, 140. he causes war to be declared against the Thebans, 141. he finds means to save those who had fled from the battle of Leuctra, 147. his conduct in the two irruptions of the Thebans into the territory of Sparta, 149. Sparta sends aid to Tachos, king of Egypt, who had revolted against Persia, 193. actions of Agesilaus in Egypt, 194. he declares for Nectanebis against Tachos, 195. he dies on his return to Sparta, 196
- AGESILAUS, uncle on the mother's side to Agis, king of Sparta, V. 428. he abuses that prince's confidence, 429. violence which he commits when one of the Ephori, 434. he is wounded, and left for dead, 437
- AGESIPOLIS, king of Sparta with Agis, IV. 118. difference between those two kings, 118. he commands the army sent against Olynthus, 122. his death, *ibid.*
- AGESIPOLIS reigns at Sparta with Lycurgus, V. 512, 513. he is dethroned by Lycurgus, VI. 68. he retires to the camp of the Romans, *ibid.*
- AGESISTRATA, mother of Agis, king of Sparta, V. 439. her death, 442
- AGIATIS, widow of Agis king of Sparta, is forced by Leonidas to marry Cleomenes, V. 443. death of that princess, 458
- AGIS I. son of Eurysthenes, king of Sparta, enslaves the inhabitants of Elos, I. cxl
- AGIS II. son of Archidamus, king of Sparta, III. 197. he makes war against the people of Elis, 367. he acknowledges Leotychides for his son at his death, 368
- AGIS III. son of another Archidamus, king of Sparta, commands the army of the Lacedæmonians against the Macedonians, and is killed in a battle, IV. 515
- AGIS IV. son of Eudamidas, reigns at Sparta, V. 424. he endeavours to revive the ancient institutions of Lycurgus, 428. he effects it in part, *ibid.* &c. only Agesilaus prevents the final execution of that design, 434. he is sent to aid the Achæans against the Ætolians, 435. on his return to Sparta he finds a total change there, 437. he is condemned to die, and executed, 442, &c.
- AGONOTHETÆ, a name given to those who presided in the public games of Greece, I. lxxi
- Agriculture*, esteem the ancients had for it, especially in Egypt, I. 53. in Persia, II. 211. and in Sicily, III. 77, VII. 87
- Argentum*. Foundation of that city, III. 178. luxury and effeminacy

minacy of its inhabitants, IV.
 4. it is subjected first by the Carthaginians, I. 148. and afterwards by the Romans, 177
ACRON, prince of Illyria, V. 419
AHASUERUS, name given by the Scripture to Aſtyages, as alſo to Cambyſes and Darius. See the names of the two laſt.
AHAZ, king of Judah, becomes vaſſal and tributary to Tiglath-pileſar, II. 27
ALBANIANS. Situation of their country, VII. 224. they are defeated by Pompey, ibid.
ALCÆUS, ſon of Perſeus, king of Mycenæ, and father of Amphytryon, II. 282
ALCÆUS, Greek poet, II. 349
ALCETAS, king of the Meloſſians, great-grandfather both to Pyrrhus and Alexander the Great, IV. 262
ALCIBIADES. When very young he carries the prize of valour in the battle againſt the Potidæans, III. 61. character of that Athenian, 164. his intimacy with Socrates, ibid. his convertibility of genius, 168, 196, 302. his paſſion for ruling alone, 169. his enormous expences in the publick games, I. lxxxv. cities that ſupplied thoſe expences, lxxxvi
 Alcibiades begins to appear at Athens, III. 164. his artifice for breaking the treaty with Sparta, 171. he engages the Athenians in the war with Sicily, 173. he is elected general with Nicias and Lamachus, 179. he is accuſed of having mutilated the ſtatues of Mercury, 186. he ſets out for Sicily, without having been able to bring that affair to a trial, 188. he takes Catana by ſurprize, 192. he is recalled by the Athenians to be tried upon an accuſation, 193. he flies and is condemned
 VOL. VII.

to die for contumacy, 194. he retires to Sparta, 196. he debauches Timæa, the wife of Agis, and has a ſon by her, 197. he adviſes the Lacedæmonians to ſend Gylippus to the aid of Syracuſe, 203
 Alcibiades retires to Tiſſaphernes, III. 246. his credit with that ſatrap, ibid. his return to Athens is concerted, 249. he is recalled, 250, 256. he beats the Lacedæmonian fleet, 257. he goes to Tiſſaphernes, who cauſes him to be ſeized and carried priſoner to Sardis, ibid. he eſcapes out of priſon, ibid. he defeats Mindarus and Pharnabatus by ſea and land the ſame day, 258, 259. he returns in triumph to Athens, 260. and is declared generaliſſimo, 262. he cauſes the great myſteries to be celebrated, 263. he ſets ſail with the fleet, 264. Thraſybulus accuſes him at Athens of having occaſioned the defeat of the fleet near Epheſus, 269. the command is taken from him, ibid. he comes to the Athenian generals at Ægoſpotamos, 285. the advice he gives them, ibid. he retires into the province of Pharnabatus, 301. that ſatrap cauſes him to be aſſaſſinated, ibid. his character, 302, &c.
ALCIBIADES, one of the Spartan exiles, is reſtated by the Achæans, and ſent deputy to Rome with complaints againſt them, VI. 179. the Achæans condemn him to die, 182. they ſoon after annul that ſentence, 186
ALCIMUS is placed at the head of Demetrius Soter's army againſt the Jews, VI. 471
ALCMÆON, II. 331
ALCMÆONIDÆ expelled Athens by Piſiſtratus, II. 335. they take the care of builting the new
 C c temple

I N D E X.

- temple of Delphi upon themselves, II. 338. their end in that undertaking, *ibid.*
- ALCYONÆUS, son of Antigonus, carries the head of Pyrrhus to his father, V. 362
- ALEXAMENES is sent by the Ætolians to seize Sparta, VI. 94. his avarice occasions the miscarriage of that design, 95. he is killed in Sparta, *ibid.*
- ALEXANDER, young Lacedæmonian, puts out one of Lycurgus's eyes, II. 297. Lycurgus's manner of being revenged of him, 298
- ALEXANDER I. son of Amyntas I. king of Macedonia, avenges the affront his mother and sisters had received from the Persian ambassadors, II. 402. he makes proposals of peace to the Athenians from the Persians, 496. he gives the Greeks intelligence of the design of the Persians, 503
- ALEXANDER II. son of Amyntas II. reigns in Macedonia, and dies at the end of one year, IV. 161
- ALEXANDER III. surnamed the Great, son of Philip. His birth, IV. 262, 351. happy inclinations of that prince, 353, &c. he has Aristotle for his præceptor, 354. Alexander's esteem and affection for that philosopher, 355. he breaks Bucephalus, 360
- Alexander ascends the throne of Macedonia, IV. 362. he reduces and subjects the people bordering upon his kingdom, who had revolted, 363. he enters Greece to dissolve the league which had been formed against him, 364. he defeats the Thebans in a great battle, 365. and takes their city, which he destroys, 367. he pardons the Athenians, 368. he summonses a diet at Corinth, and causes him-
- self to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians, 369, 370. he returns into Macedonia, 371. and makes preparations for his expedition against the Persians, 373. he appoints Antipater to govern Macedonia as his viceroy, 374
- Alexander sets out for Asia, IV. 375. arrives at Ilium, where he renders great honours to the memory of Achilles, 376. he passes the Granicus, and gains a great victory over the Persians, 379. he besieges and takes Miletus, 383. then Halicarnassus, 384. and conquers almost all Asia minor, 386. he takes the city of Gordium, where he cuts the famous Gordian knot, 388, 389. he passes the straits of Cilicia, 390. he arrives at Tarsus, where he has a dangerous illness, occasioned by bathing in the river Cydnus, 391. he is cured of it in a few days, 394. he marches against Darius, and gains a famous victory over that prince near Issus, 400, &c. tired with pursuing Darius, he comes to that prince's camp, which his troops had just before seized, 412. Alexander's humanity and respect for Syngambis, and the other captive princesses, 416, 494
- Alexander enters Syria, IV. 417. the treasures laid up in Damascus are delivered to him, *ibid.* Darius writes him a letter in the most haughty terms, 419. he answers it in the same style, 420. the city of Sidon opens its gates to him, 421. he besieges Tyre, 424, &c. after a long siege he takes that place by storm, 438. he receives a second letter from Darius, 447. he marches to Jerusalem, 448. honours paid by him to the high-priest Jaddus, 451. he enters Jerusalem, and offers

offers sacrifices there, 452. Daniel's prophecies relating to him are shewn him, *ibid.* he grants great privileges to the Jews, 459. and refuses the same to the Samaritans, *ibid.* he besieges and takes Gaza, 460. enters Egypt, 461. makes himself master of it, 463. and begins to build Alexandria, 465. he goes to Libya, *ibid.* visits the temple of Jupiter Ammon, 466. and causes himself to be declared the son of that god, 467. he returns to Egypt, 468

Alexander, on his return to Egypt, meditates advancing against Darius, IV. 469. on setting out, he is informed of the death of that prince's wife, *ibid.* he causes her to be interred with very great magnificence, 470. he passes the Euphrates, 471. then the Tigris, 472. he comes up with Darius, and gains the great battle of Arbela, 485. he takes Arbela, 486. Babylon, 488. Susa, 492. subdues the Uxii, 496, &c. seizes the pass of Susa, 498. arrives at Persepolis, of which he makes himself master, 499. &c. and burns the palace of that city in a debauch, 502

Alexander pursues Darius, IV. 503. Bessus's treatment of that prince makes him hasten his march, 506. Alexander's grief on seeing the body of Darius, who had just before expired, 508. he sends it to Syfigambis, *ibid.* he marches against Bessus, 516. Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes from a remote country to see him, 519. he abandons himself to pleasure and debauch, 520. he continues his march against Bessus, 523. he puts Philotas to death upon suspicion of having entered into a conspiracy against him, 531.

and Parmenio his father, 532. he subdues several nations, 534. he arrives in Bactriana, *ibid.* his cruel treatment of the Branchides, 535. Bessus is brought to him, 536

Alexander takes many cities in Bactriana, IV. 536, &c. and builds one near the Iaxartes, to which he gives his name, 538. he marches against the Sogdians, who had revolted, and destroys many of their cities, *ibid.* the Scythians send ambassadors to him, who speak with extraordinary liberty, 541. he passes the Iaxartes, 544. gains a victory over the Scythians, 545. and treats the conquered favourably, *ibid.* he quells a revolt of the Sogdians, 546. he sends Bessus to Ecbatana, to be punished, 547. he takes the city of Petra, *ibid.* &c. he abandons himself to the pleasure of hunting, in which he is in great danger, 552. he gives Clitus the command of the provinces which had been under Artabazus before, 553. he invites that officer to a feast, and kills him, 555. he undertakes various expeditions, 558. he marries Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, 560. he resolves to march against India, and makes preparations for setting out, 560, 561. he endeavours to make his courtiers adore him after the Persian manner, 561. he puts the philosopher Callisthenes to death, 565

Alexander sets out for India, V. 1. he takes many cities there that seem impregnable, and frequently endangers his life, 8, 9, 11, &c. he grants Taxilus his protection, 12. he passes the river Indus, 11. then the Hydaspes, 13. and gains a famous victory over Porus, 20. he restores that prince his kingdom,

I N D E X.

V. 21. he builds Nicæa and Bucephalia, 22. he advances into India, and subjects many nations, 23. he forms the design of penetrating as far as the Ganges, 29. general murmur of his army, *ibid.* he renounces that design, and gives orders to prepare for returning, 33. excess of vanity which he shews in giving thanks to the gods, 34.

Alexander sets out on his march to the ocean, V. 34. he is in extreme danger at the city of Oxydracæ, 35. he surmounts all he meets in his way, 41. he arrives at the ocean, 42, 43. prepares for his return to Europe, *ibid.* &c. he suffers extremely by famine in passing desert places, 44. equipage in which he passes through Carmania, 45. he arrives at Pasargada, 48. honours rendered by him to the ashes of Cyrus, 50. he puts Orsines, satrap of the province, to death, 51. he marries Statira, the daughter of Darius, 53. he pays the debts of the soldiers, *ibid.* he appeases a revolt amongst them, 59, &c. he recalls Antipater, and substitutes Craterus to him, 61. his grief for Hephæstion's death, *ibid.* 65, &c. he conquers the Colchians, 62.

Alexander enters Babylon, notwithstanding the sinister predictions of the Magi, and other soothsayers, V. 63. he celebrates Hephæstion's funeral with extraordinary magnificence, 65. he forms various designs of expeditions and conquests, 69. he sets people at work upon repairing the banks of the Euphrates, 70. and rebuilding the temple of Belus, 71. he abandons himself to excessive drinking, which occasions his death, 73, 74, &c. pomp of his funeral, 134. his

body is carried to Alexandria, 137. judgment to be passed on Alexander, 79. character of that prince, as to merit, 80, &c. and as to defects, 88, &c. Daniel's prophecies concerning Alexander, IV. 452, &c.

ALEXANDER, son of Alexander the Great, is elected king, V. 111. Cassander first deprives that prince of the sovereignty, 176. then puts him to death, 208.

ALEXANDER, son of Cassander, disputes the crown of Macedonia with his brother Antipater, V. 269. he is killed by Demetrius, whom he had called in to his aid, 270.

ALEXANDER I. king of Epirus, marries Cleopatra, daughter of Philip king of Macedonia, IV. 336.

ALEXANDER II. son of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, V. 345.

ALEXANDER Bala forms a conspiracy against Demetrius Soter, VI. 476. he ascends the throne of Syria, 478. he marries Cleopatra the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, *ibid.* he abandons himself to voluptuousness, 480. Ptolemy declares against him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, 481. Alexander perishes, *ibid.*

ALEXANDER Zebina dethrones Demetrius king of Syria, VI. 514. he is defeated by Antiochus Grypus, and soon after killed, 517.

ALEXANDER I. son of Physcon, is placed upon the throne of Egypt, VI. 528. he causes his mother Cleopatra to be put to death, 535. he is expelled by his subjects, and perishes soon after, *ibid.* 536.

ALEXANDER II. son of Alexander I. reigns in Egypt after the death of Lathyrus, VI. 537. he marries Cleopatra, called Berenice, and kills her nineteen days

- days after, VI. 537. the Alexandrians dethrone him, 545. he dies, and declares at his death the Roman people his heirs, 546. VII. 236
- ALEXANDER** Jannæus reigns in Judæa, VII. 4. he attacks the inhabitants of Ptolemais, VI. 528. Lathyrus marches to the aid of that city, and defeats Alexander near the Jordan, *ibid.* VII. 4, &c. Alexander's revenge upon Gaza, 5. quarrel between that prince and the Pharisees, VI. 545. gross affront that he receives at the feast of the tabernacles, VII. 6. vengeance which he takes for it, *ibid.* civil war between that prince and his subjects, 7. after having terminated it, he abandons himself to feasting, and dies, *ibid.*
- ALEXANDER** makes himself tyrant of Pheræ, IV. 161. he endeavours to subject the people of Thessaly, *ibid.* Pelopidas reduces him to reason, *ibid.* he seizes Pelopidas by treachery, and puts him in prison, 163. Epaminondas obliges him to release his prisoner, 167. he is defeated near Cynocephalus, 168. tragical end of that tyrant, 172. his diversions, 166
- ALEXANDER**, son of Æropus, forms a conspiracy against Alexander the Great, IV. 388. he is put to death, *ibid.*
- ALEXANDER**, son of Polyspheron, accepts the general government of Peloponnesus, V. 178. he is killed in Sicyon, *ibid.*
- ALEXANDER**, governor of Persia for Antiochus the Great, V. 480. he revolts, and makes himself sovereign in his province, *ibid.* he perishes miserably, 486
- ALEXANDER**, deputy from the Ætolians to the assembly of the allies held at Tempe, VI. 51.
- ALEXANDER**, pretended son of Perseus, is driven out of Macedonia, where he had usurped the throne, VI. 423
- ALEXANDER**, son of Anthony and Cleopatra, VII. 275
- ALEXANDRA**, wife of Alexander Jannæus, reigns over the Jewish nation, VI. 545. VII. 71, &c. she dies in the ninth year of her reign, 11
- Alexandria*, city of Egypt, built by Alexander the Great, IV. 465. luxury that reigned there, I. 27. its commerce, 25. famous libraries of Alexandria, V. 283, &c. fate of those libraries, 284, 285, VII. 256
- Alexandria*, built by Alexander the Great upon the Iaxartes, IV. 538
- ALEXIS**, governor of the citadel of Apamæa, betrays Epigenes, Antiochus's general, V. 485
- Algebra*, that science is part of the mathematicks, VII. 95. it ought not to be neglected, 96, 97
- ALLOBROGES**. Extent of their country, I. 226
- Alps*. mountains famous for Hannibal's passing them, I. 226
- AMASIS**, officer of Apries, is proclaimed king of Egypt, I. 95. he is confirmed in the possession of the kingdom by Nabucodonosor, 97. he defeats Apries, who marched against him, takes him prisoner, and puts him to death, *ibid.* he reigns peaceably in Egypt, 99. his method for acquiring the respect of his subjects, *ibid.* his death, 101. his body is taken out of his tomb, and burnt by order of Cambyses, II. 180
- Ambassadors*. Fine example of disinterest in certain Roman ambassadors, V. 365
- Ambition*. There are two sorts of it, II. 45. the Pagans held it a virtue, III. 334

I N D E X.

- AMENOPHIS, king of Egypt, I. 68.
his manner of educating his son
Sesostris, I. 69. this king is the
Pharaoh of the Scripture, who
was drowned in the Red-sea, 68
- AMESTRIS, wife of Xerxes. Bar-
barous and inhuman revenge of
that prince's, II. 515, &c.
- Amisus*, city of Asia, besieged by
Lucullus, VII. 185. the en-
gineer Callimachus, who de-
fended it, sets it on fire and
burns it, 190
- AMMONIANS, II. 180 famous
temple of that people, 187,
IV. 463
- Amnesty*, famous one at Athens, III.
309. occasions when amnesties
are necessary, 310
- AMORGES, bastard of Pissuthnes,
revolts against Darius Nothus,
III. 244. he is taken and sent
into Persia, 245
- AMOSIS, king of Egypt. *See*
THETHMOSIS.
- AMPHARES, one of the Spartan
Ephori, V. 439. his treachery
and cruelty to king Agis, *ibid.*
and 441
- AMPHICTYON, king of Athens,
II. 283
- AMPHICTYONS. Institution of
that assembly, II. 283, III. 526.
their power, 527. oath taken
at their installation, *ibid.* their
condescensions for Philip occa-
sions the diminution of their au-
thority, 528. famous sacred war
undertaken by order of this as-
sembly, IV. 270
- Amphipolis*, city of Thrace, be-
sieged by Cleon, general of the
Athenians, III. 159. Philip
takes that city from the Athe-
nians, and declares it free, IV.
257. it is soon after taken pos-
session of by that prince, 260
- AMYNTAS I. king of Macedonia,
submits to Darius, II. 402
- AMYNTAS II. king of Macedonia,
father of Philip, IV. 250. his
death, 252
- AMYNTAS, son of Perdiccas, ex-
cluded from the throne of Mac-
cedonia, IV. 255
- AMYNTAS, deserter from Alex-
ander's army, seizes the govern-
ment of Egypt, IV. 462. he is
killed there, 463
- AMYNTAS, one of Alexander the
Great's officers, IV. 490
- AMYRTÆUS, one of the generals
of the Egyptians, who had re-
volted against Artaxerxes Lon-
gimanus, III. 20. he is assisted
by the Athenians, 40. he drives
the Persians out of Egypt, and
is declared king of it, 152. he
dies, 153
- AMYTIS, wife of Nabuchodonosor,
II. 14
- ANACHARSIS, by nation of the
Scytho-Nomades, one of the
seven sages, II. 358. his con-
tempt for riches, *ibid.*
- ANACHREON, Greek poet, II. 352.
- ANAITIS. Fate of one of the
statues of this goddess, VII. 271
- ANAXAGORAS, his care of Pericles,
III. 28. his doctrine, 68
- ANAXANDER, king of Lacedæ-
monia, I. cl
- ANAXILAUS, tyrant of Zandle,
III. 84.
- ANAXIMENES, in what manner
he saved his country, IV. 376
- ANDRANODORUS, guardian of Hier-
onymus, king of Syracuse, VII.
101. his strange abuse of his
authority, 102. after the death
of Hieronymus, he seizes part
of Syracuse, 106. he forms a
conspiracy for ascending the
throne, 109. he is accused and
put to death, *ibid.*
- ANDRISCUS of Adramyttium, pre-
tends himself son of Perseus, and
is declared king of Macedonia,
VI. 420. he defeats the Roman
army, commanded by the præ-
tor Juventius, 422. he is twice
defeated by Metellus, 423. he

- is taken, and sent to Rome, VI.
423. he serves to adorn the triumph of Metellus, 437
- ANDROCLES, son of Codrus king of Athens, II. 288
- ANDROMACHUS, governor of Syria and Palestine for Alexander, IV. 469. sad end of that governor, *ibid.*
- ANDROMACHUS, father of Achæus, is taken and kept prisoner by Ptolemy Evergetes, V. 479: Ptolemy Philopator sets him at liberty, and restores him to his son, 490
- ANDRONICUS, general for Antigonus, makes himself master of Tyre, V. 196. he is besieged in that place by Ptolemy, and forced to surrender, 200
- ANDRONICUS, Perseus's officer, put to death, and why, VI. 336
- ANDRONICUS of Rhodes, to whom the world is indebted for the works of Aristotle, VII. 175
- ANDROSTHENES, commander for Philip at Corinth, is defeated by Nicolstratus, prætor of the Achæans, VI. 53
- Angels.* Opinions of the Pagans concerning them, III. 438
- ANICIUS, Roman prætor, is charged with the war against Gentius king of Illyria, VI. 352. he defeats that prince, takes him prisoner, and sends him to Rome, 353. he receives the honour of a triumph, 386
- ANTALCIDES, Lacedæmonian, concludes a shameful peace with the Persians for the Greeks, III. 402, &c.
- ANTHONY (*Marcus*) contributes by his valour to the re-establishment of Auletes upon the throne of Egypt, VII. 246. when triumvir, he cites Cleopatra before him, and why, 264. his passion for that princess, 266. her ascendant over him, 267. she carries him with her to Alexandria, 268. Anthony returns to Rome, and marries Octavia, Cæsar's sister, 270. he makes some expeditions into Parthia, 271. then goes to Phœnicia to meet Cleopatra, 272. his injurious treatment of Octavia, *ibid.* 273. he makes himself master of Armenia, and returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph, 274. he celebrates there the coronation of Cleopatra, and her children, *ibid.* open rupture between Cæsar and Anthony, 277, 278. the latter repudiates Octavia, 277. Anthony puts to sea, accompanied by Cleopatra, 280. he is intirely defeated in a sea-fight by Actium, 282. all his troops surrender themselves to Cæsar, 283. he returns to Alexandria, *ibid.* he sends ambassadors to treat of peace with Cæsar, 284. seeing himself betrayed by Cleopatra, he sends to challenge Cæsar to a single combat. 287. believing Cleopatra had killed herself, he falls upon his sword, 288. he expires in Cleopatra's arms, 289. that princess celebrates his funeral with great magnificence, 291
- ANTIGONA, Philotas's mistress, accuses him to Alexander, IV. 527
- ANTIGONA, the daughter of Ptolemy, wife of Pyrrhus, V. 265
- Antigonia*, city built by Antigonus, V. 255. and destroyed by Seleucus, 261
- ANTIGONUS, one of Alexander's captains, divides the empire of that prince with the rest of them, V. 112. he makes war against Eumenes, and besieges him in Nora, 147, 148. he marches into Pisidia against Alcetas and Attalus, 149. he becomes very powerful, 153. he revolts against the kings, and continues the war with Eumenes, who adheres

- heret to them, V. 168. he is defeated by that captain, 183. he gets Eumenes into his hands by treachery, 190. and rids himself of him in prison, 191. a league is formed against him, 193. he takes Syria and Phœnicia from Ptolemy, 195. and makes himself master of Tyre, after a long siege, *ibid.* 196. he marches against Cassander, and gains great advantages over him, 198. he concludes a treaty with the confederate princes, 207. he puts Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, to death, 210. he forms the design of reinstating the liberty of Greece, 212, 213. he besieges and takes Athens, *ibid.* *Ec.* excessive honours paid him there, 217. he assumes the title of king, 225. he makes preparations to invade Egypt, 226, 227. his enterprize is unsuccessful, *ibid.* he loses a great battle at Ipsus, and is killed in it, 257.
- ANTIGONUS** Gonatas offers himself as an hostage for Demetrius his father, V. 280. he establishes himself in Macedonia, 318. Pyrrhus drives him out of it, 351. he retires into his maritime cities, *ibid.* he sends troops to the aid of the Spartans against Pyrrhus, 357. he marches to the assistance of Argos, besieged by that prince, 360. he takes the whole army and camp of Pyrrhus, and celebrates the funeral of that prince with great magnificence, 362. he besieges Athens, 367. and takes it, *ibid.* his death, 395.
- ANTIGONUS** Doson, as Philip's guardian, reigns in Macedonia, V. 402. the Achæans call him in to their aid against Sparta, 452, 456. he occasions their gaining several advantages, 458, *Ec.* he is victorious in the famous battle of Selasia against Cleomenes, 466. he makes himself master of Sparta, and treats it with great clemency, 473. he marches against the Illyrians, and dies after having gained a victory over them, 474.
- ANTIGONUS**, nephew of Antigonus Doson, Philip's favourite, discovers to that prince the innocence of his son Demetrius, and the guilt of Perseus, VI. 231. Philip's intentions in respect to him, 233. he is put to death by order of Perseus, 292.
- ANTIGONUS**, a Macedonian lord in the court of Perseus, V. 349.
- ANTIGONUS**, the brother of Aristobulus I. is appointed by his brother to terminate the war in Ituræa, VII. 3. at his return his brother puts him to death, *ibid.*
- ANTIGONUS**, son of Aristobulus II. is sent to Rome by Pompey, VII. 17. he is set upon the throne of Judæa, 19. he is besieged in Jerusalem, 21. he surrenders, and is put to death, 22.
- ANTIMACHUS**, officer in the army of Perseus, VI. 327.
- Antioch*, city built by Seleucus upon the Orontes, V. 261.
- ANTIOCHUS**, lieutenant of Alcibiades, attacks the Lacedæmonians with ill conduct, and is defeated with great loss, III. 268.
- ANTIOCHUS** I. surnamed Soter, reigns in Syria, and marries Stratonice his father's wife, V. 305. he endeavours to seize the kingdom of Pergamus, 371. he is defeated by Eumenes, *ibid.* he puts one of his sons to death, and dies himself soon after, *ibid.*
- ANTIOCHUS** II. surnamed Theos, ascends the throne of Syria, V. 371. he delivers Miletus from tyranny, *ibid.* he carries the war into Egypt against Ptolemy, 375. the provinces of the East revolt against him, 376. he loses most

of those provinces, 377. he makes peace with Ptolemy, and marries Berenice the daughter of that prince, after having repudiated Laodice, *ibid.* he repudiates Berenice, and takes Laodice again, who causes him to be poisoned, 387. Daniel's prophecies concerning him, 378

ANTIOCHUS Hierax commands in Asia minor, V. 388. he enters into a league with his brother Seleucus against Ptolemy, 394. he declares war against Seleucus, gives him battle, and defeats him with great danger of his life, 395. he is attacked and defeated by Eumenes, 396. he retires to Ariarathes, who soon after seeks occasion to rid himself of him, 397. he takes refuge with Ptolemy, who imprisons him, 398. he escapes, and is assassinated by robbers, *ibid.*

ANTIOCHUS III. surnamed the Great, begins to reign in Syria, V. 480. fidelity of Achæus in respect to him, *ibid.* he appoints Hermias his prime minister, *ibid.* Molon and Alexander, whom he had appointed governors of Media and Persia, revolt against him, *ibid.* he marries Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates, 482. he sacrifices Epigenes, the most able of his generals, to the jealousy of Hermias, 485, 486. he marches against the rebels, and reduces them, 486. he rids himself of Hermias, 488. he marches into Cœlosyria, and takes Seleucia, 491. Tyre and Ptolemais, 493. he makes a truce with Ptolemy, *ibid.* the war breaks out again, 494, 495. Antiochus gains many advantages, *ibid.* he loses a great battle at Raphia, 497. he makes peace with Ptolemy, 499. he turns his arms against Achæus,

who had revolted, 499. Achæus is put into his hands by treachery, and executed, 501. expeditions of Antiochus into Media, 592. Parthia, 594. Hyrcania, *ibid.* Bactria, 595. and even into India, 596. he enters into an alliance with Philip to invade the kingdom of Egypt, VI. 3, 4. and seizes Cœlosyria and Palestine, *ibid.* he makes war against Attalus, 25. upon the remonstrances of the Romans he retires, *ibid.* 26. he recovers Cœlosyria, which Aristomenes had taken from him, 27

Antiochus forms the design of seizing Asia minor, VI. 28. he takes some places there, 61. an embassy is sent to him from the Romans upon that head, 62. Hannibal retires to him, 66. the arrival of that general determines him upon a war with the Romans, 80. he marches against the Pisidians, and subverts them, 84. he goes to Greece at the request of the Ætolians, 97. he attempts to bring over the Achæans in vain, 99. and afterwards the Bœotians, 102, 103. he makes himself master of Chalcis, and all Eubœa, *ibid.* the Romans declare war against him, *ibid.* he makes an ill use of Hannibal's counsels, 105. he goes to Chalcis, and marries the daughter of the person in whose house he lodges, 106. he seizes the straits of Thermopylæ, *ibid.* he is defeated near those mountains, and escapes to Chalcis, 108. on his return to Ephesus, he ventures a sea-fight, and loses it, 114. his fleet gains some advantage over the Rhodians, 117. he loses a second battle at sea, 118. conduct of Antiochus after this defeat, 120. he makes proposals of peace, 122. which

- which are rejected, VI. 124. he loses a great battle near Magnesia, 128, &c. he demands peace, 131. and obtains it, on what conditions, 132. in order to pay the tribute to the Romans, he plunders a temple in Elymais, 161, 162. he is killed, *ibid.* character of Antiochus, *ibid.* Daniel's prophecies concerning that prince, 163
- ANTIOCHUS, the eldest son of Antiochus the Great, dies in the flower of his youth, VI. 85. character of that young prince, *ibid.*
- ANTIOCHUS IV. surnamed Epiphanes, goes to Rome as an hostage, VI. 133. he ascends the throne of Syria, 239. dispute between that prince and the king of Egypt, 242. he marches against Egypt, 245. and gains a first victory over Ptolemy, *ibid.* then a second, 247. he makes himself master of Egypt, *ibid.* and takes the king himself, *ibid.* upon the rumour of a general revolt, he enters Palestine, 248. besieges and takes Jerusalem, *ibid.* where he exercises the most horrid cruelties, *ibid.* 258, &c. Antiochus renews the war in Egypt, 250. he replaces Ptolemy Philometor upon the throne, and with what view, 253. he returns to Syria, *ibid.* he comes back to Egypt, and marches to Alexandria, 255. Popilius, the Roman ambassador, obliges him to quit it, 256, 257
- Antiochus, incensed at what happened in Egypt, vents his rage upon the Jews, VI. 258. he orders Apollonius, one of his generals, to destroy Jerusalem, *ibid.* cruelties committed there by that general, *ibid.* 259. Antiochus endeavours to abolish the worship of the true God
- God at Jerusalem, 259. he enters Judæa, and commits horrible cruelties, 263, &c. he celebrates games at Daphne near Antioch, 268, 269. several of his generals defeated by Judas Maccabæus, *ibid.* 274, 275, 276. he goes to Persia, attempts to plunder the temple of Elymais, and is shamefully repulsed, *ibid.* 277. upon receiving advice of the defeat of his armies in Judæa, he sets out instantly with design to extirminate the Jews, *ibid.* he is struck by the hand of God on his way, and dies in the most exquisite torments, *ibid.* 278. Daniel's prophecies concerning this prince, 279
- ANTIOCHUS V. called Eupator, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria, VI. 458. he continues the war with the Jews, 459. his generals and himself in person are defeated by Judas Maccabæus, 460, 461. he makes peace with the Jews, and destroys the fortifications of the temple, 463. Romans discontented with Eupator, 470. his soldiers deliver him up to Demetrius, who puts him to death, 471
- ANTIOCHUS VI. surnamed Theos, is placed upon the throne of Syria by Tryphon, VI. 486, 487. he is assassinated soon after, 489
- ANTIOCHUS VII. surnamed Sidetes, marries Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, and is proclaimed king of Syria, VI. 493. he dethrones Tryphon, who is put to death, 494. he marches into Judæa, 505. besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, *ibid.* the city capitulates, 506. he turns his arms against Parthia, 507. where he perishes, 508. adventure of this prince in hunting, 509

ANTIOCHUS VIII. surnamed Grypus, begins to reign in Syria, VI. 517. he marries Tryphena, the daughter of Physcon king of Egypt, *ibid.* he defeats and expels Zebina, *ibid.* his mother Cleopatra endeavours to poison him, and is poisoned herself, 518. Antiochus reigns some time in peace, 519. war between that prince and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum, 520. the two brothers divide the empire of Syria between them, 522. Grypus marries Selena, the daughter of Cleopatra, and renews the war against his brother, 531. he is assassinated by one of his vassals, 532

ANTIOCHUS IX. surnamed the Cyziceniian, makes war against his brother Antiochus Grypus, VI. 520. he marries Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had repudiated, *ibid.* after several battles he comes to an accommodation with his brother, and divides the empire of Syria with him, 522. he goes to the aid of the Samaritans, and is unsuccessful in that war, 523. after his brother's death he endeavours to possess himself of his dominions, 532. he loses a battle against Seleucus the son of Grypus, who puts him to death, 533

ANTIOCHUS X. surnamed Eusebes, son of Antiochus the Cyziceniian, causes himself to be crowned king of Syria, and expels Seleucus, VI. 533. he gains a battle against Antiochus and Philip, brother of Seleucus, *ibid.* he marries Selena the widow of Grypus, 534. he is entirely defeated by Philip, and obliged to take refuge amongst the Parthians, *ibid.* by their aid he returns into Syria, *ibid.* he is again expelled and retires

into Cilicia, where he ends his days, 536

ANTIOCHUS XI. son of Grypus, endeavours to revenge the death of his brother Seleucus, VI. 533. he is defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in endeavouring to pass the Orontes, *ibid.* &c.

ANTIOCHUS XII. surnamed Dionysius, seizes Cœlosyria, and reigns some short time, VI. 534

ANTIOCHUS XIII. called Asiaticus, sent by Selena his mother to Rome, VI. 539. on his return he goes to Sicily, and receives an enormous affront from Verres, *ibid.* he reigns sometime in Syria, 544, VII. 226. Pompey deprives him of his dominions, *ibid.*

ANTIPAS, or *Antipater*, Herod's father, excites great troubles in Judæa, VII. 12, &c. he sends troops to aid Cæsar besieged in Alexandria, 260

ANTIPATER, Alexander's lieutenant, is appointed by that prince to govern Macedonia in his absence, IV. 374. he defeats the Lacedæmonians, who had revolted against Macedonia, 514. Alexander takes his government from him, and orders him to come to him, V. 61. suspicions of Antipater in respect to Alexander's death, 75. Antipater's expeditions into Greece after Alexander's death, 119, 120. he is defeated by the Athenians near Lamia, to which he retires, *ibid.* he surrenders that place by capitulation, 122. he seizes Athens, and puts a garrison into it, 126. he puts Demosthenes and Hyperides to death, 128. he gives Phila his daughter to Craterus in marriage, 133. he is appointed regent of the kingdom of Macedonia in the room of Perdiccas, 146. death of Antipater, 151

ANTI-

I N D E X.

- ANTIPATER**, eldest son of Cassander, V. 269. dispute between that prince and his brother Alexander for the crown of Macedonia, *ibid.* he kills his mother Thessalonica, who favoured his younger brother, *ibid.* Demetrius drives him out of Macedonia, 270. he retires into Thrace, and dies there, *ibid.*
ANTIPHON, courtier of Dionysius: Witty saying which cost him his life, IV. 44
ANTONY. See **ANTHONY**.
ANYSIS, king of Egypt, I. 80
Aornus, a rock in India, besieged and taken by Alexander, V. 10, 11
APAMIA, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, and widow of Magas, V. 374
Apaturia: Feasts celebrated at Athens, III. 279
APATURUS, officer of Seleucus Ceraunus, forms a conspiracy against that prince, and poisons him, V. 479. he is put to death, *ibid.*
Apege, infernal machine, invented by Nabis, V. 590
APELLES, courtier of Philip, V. 517. abuses his power, *ibid.* he endeavours to humble and enslave the Achæans, 519. he perishes miserably, 536
APELLES, Perseus's accomplice in accusing Demetrius, is sent ambassador to Rome by Philip, VI. 228. after the death of Demetrius, he escapes into Italy, 232
APELLES, officer of Antiochus Epiphanes, endeavours to make Mattathias sacrifice to idols, VI. 261. Mattathias kills him with all his followers, 262
APELLICON, Athenian library erected by him at Athens, VII. 174, 175
Apis, ox adored under that name by the Egyptians, I. 36
APIS, king of Argos, II. 282
APOLLO. Temple erected in honour of him at Delphi, I. liii
APOLLOCRATES, eldest son of Dionysius the Younger, commands in the citadel of Syracuse in the room of his father, IV. 79. he surrenders that place to Dion, and retires to his father, 88
APOLLODORUS, of Amphipolis, one of Alexander's officers, IV. 489
APOLLODORUS, friend of Cleopatra, favours the entrance of that princess into Alexandria, and in what manner, VII. 254
APOLLODORUS, governor of Gaza for Lathyrus, defends that place against Alexander Jannæus, VII. 5. he is assassinated by his brother Lyfimachus, *ibid.*
APOLLONIDES, officer in the army of Eumenes, occasions the loss of a battle, V. 147. he is seized, and put to death, *ibid.*
APOLLONIDES, magistrate of Syracuse, VII. 112. his wife discourse in the assembly of the people, 113
APOLLONIUS, lord of the court of Antiochus Epiphanes, is sent ambassador by that prince, first to Egypt, VI. 243. then to Rome, *ibid.* Antiochus sends him with an army against Jerusalem, with orders to destroy that city, 258. his cruelties there, *ibid.* 259. he is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, and killed in the battle, 269
APOLLONIUS, governor of Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, marches against Jonathan, and is defeated, VI. 480. he forms a plot against the life of Ptolemy Philometor, 481
APOLLOPHANES, physician of Antiochus the Great, discovers to that prince the conspiracy formed against him by Hermias, V. 487, 488. salutary advice which he gave Antiochus, 491
APPIUS

APPIUS (*Claudius*) Roman consul, is sent into Sicily to aid the Mamertines, I. 176, VII. 83. he defeats the Carthaginians and Syracusans, I. 177, VII. 83

APPIUS (*Claudius*) Roman senator, prevents the senate from accepting the offers of Pyrrhus, V.

332

APPIUS (*Claudius*) Roman, commands a body of troops, and is beat near Uscana, against which he marched with design to plunder it, VI. 327

APRIES ascends the throne of Egypt, I. 92. success of that prince, *ibid.* Zedekiah king of Judah implores his aid, 93. he declares himself protector of Israel, *ibid.* Egypt revolts against him, 94. and sets Amasis on the throne, 95. he is obliged to retire into upper Egypt, *ibid.* Amasis defeats him in a battle, in which he is taken prisoner, and put to death, 97

AQUILIUS (*Manius*) Roman proconsul, is defeated in a battle by Mithridates, who takes him prisoner, and puts him to death, VII. 153

Arabians (*Nabuthæan*;) Character of that people, V. 205

ARACUS, Lacedæmonian admiral, III. 282

ARÆUS, one of the Spartan exiles, is reinstated by the Achæans, and carries accusations against them to Rome, VI. 179. the Achæans condemn him to die, 182. his sentence is annulled by the Romans, 186

ARÆUS, grandson of Cleomenes, reigns at Sparta, V. 352

ARÆUS, another king of Sparta, V. 424

ARASPES, lord of Media, is appointed by Cyrus to keep Panthæa prisoner, II. 99. passion which he conceives for that prince, *ibid.* goodness of Cyrus in

respect to him, 99. he does that prince great service in going as a spy amongst the Assyrians, 100, 113

ARATUS, son of Clinias, escapes from Sicyon, to avoid the fury of Abantidas, V. 405. he delivers that city from the tyranny, *ibid.* 406. and unites it with the Achæan league, *ibid.* he appeases a sedition upon the point of breaking out at Sicyon, 409, &c. he is elected general of the Achæans, 411. he takes Corinth from Antigonos, 412, &c. he makes several cities enter into the Achæan league, 417, 418. he has not the same success at Argos, 421. he marches against the Ætolians, 435. Cleomenes king of Sparta gains several advantages over him, 446. Aratus's envy of that prince, 451. he calls in Antigonos to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians, 453. he marches against the Ætolians, and is defeated near Caphyæ, V. 505, 506. Philip's affection for Aratus, *ibid.* Apelles, Philip's minister, accuses him falsely to that prince, 520. he is declared innocent, 521. he accompanies Philip into Ætolia, his expeditions against the Ætolians, Lacedæmonians, and Eleans, 523. Philip causes him to be poisoned, 547. his funeral solemnized magnificently, *ibid.* 548. praise and character of Aratus, 407, 529, 546

ARATUS the Younger, son of the great Aratus, is chief magistrate of the Achæans, V. 515. Philip causes him to be poisoned, 548

ARBACES, governor of the Medes for Sardanapalus, revolts against that prince, and founds the kingdom of the Medes, II. 23, 26, 43

ARBACES,

I N D E X.

- ARBACES**, general in the army of Artaxerxes Mnemon against his brother Cyrus, III. 323
- Arbela**, city of Assyria, famous for Alexander's victory over Darius, IV. 476, 485
- ARCESILAS**, Alexander's lieutenant. Provinces that fell to his lot after that prince's death, V. 113
- ARCHAGATHUS**, son of Agathocles, commands in Africa after his father's departure, I. 170. he perishes there miserably, 171
- ARCHELAUS**, governor of Susa for Alexander, IV. 493
- ARCHELAUS**, general for Antigonus, marches against Aratus, who besieged Corinth, and is taken prisoner, V. 415, 416. Aratus sets him at liberty, 417
- ARCHELAUS**, one of the generals of Mithridates, takes Athens, VII. 155. he is driven out of it by Sylla, 161. he is defeated by the same captain, first at Cheronæa, 165. and then at Orchomenos, 167. he escapes to Chalcis, *ibid.* and has an interview with Sylla near Delium, 169. Archelaus goes over to Mædæna, 176. he engages the latter to make war against Mithridates, *ibid.*
- ARCHELAUS**, son of the former, is made high-priest and sovereign of Comana, VII. 73, 230. he marries Berenice, queen of Egypt, 73, 245. he is killed in a battle with the Romans, 246
- ARCHELAUS**, son of the latter, enjoys the same dignities as his father, VII. 73. he marries Glaphyra, and has two sons by her, *ibid.*
- ARCHELAUS**, second son of Archelaus and Glaphyra, ascends the throne of Cappadocia, VII. 73. Tiberius does him great services with Augustus, 74. he draws the revenge of Tiberius upon himself, 74, 75. he is cited to Rome, and why, *ibid.* 76. he is very ill received there, *ibid.* he dies soon after, *ibid.*
- ARCHIAS**, Corinthian, founder of Syracuse, III. 91, 177
- ARCHIAS**, Theban, is killed by the conspirators at a feast given by Philidas, one of them, to the Bæotarchs, IV. 128
- ARCHIAS**, comedian, delivers up the orator Hyperides, and several other persons, to Antigonus, V. 128
- ARCHIBIUS**. His attachment to Cleopatra, VII. 294
- ARCHIDAMIA**, Lacedæmonian lady: Heroick action of her's, V. 354. she is put to death by order of Amphares, 442
- ARCHIDAMUS**, king of Sparta, III. 36. he saves the Lacedæmonians from the fury of the Helots, *ibid.* he commands the troops of Sparta at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, 101. he besieges Platæa, 122
- ARCHIDAMUS**, son of Agesilaus, gains a battle against the Arcadians, IV. 156. his valour during the siege of Sparta by Epaminondas, 174. He reigns in Sparta, 197
- ARCHIDAMUS**, brother of Agis, escapes from Sparta to avoid the fury of Leonidas, V. 443. Cleomenes recalls him, 446. he is assassinated in returning home, 447
- ARCHIDAMUS**, ambassador of the Ætolians, endeavours to engage the Achæans to declare for Antiochus, VI. 100
- ARCHILOCHUS**, Greek poet, inventor of iambick verses, II. 347. character of his poetry, *ibid.*
- ARCHIMEDES**, famous geometrical, VII. 94. he invents many machines

- machines of war, VII. 95. prodigious effects of those machines, 120, 121. he is killed at the taking of Syracuse, 132. his tomb discovered by Cicero, 133
- ARCHIMEDES, Athenian poet, VII. 99
- ARCHON, one of Alexander's officers. Provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, V. 113
- ARCHON is elected chief magistrate of the Achæans, VI. 328. wise resolution which he makes that people take, 330, 331
- ARCHONS instituted at Athens, II. 284, 319, III. 521. their function, *ibid*
- ARDYS, king of Lydia, II. 60
- Areopagus*: Its establishment, II. 283, III. 518. authority of that senate, II. 325, III. 518, &c. Pericles weakens its authority, 520
- ARETAS, king of Arabia Petræa, submits to Pompey, VII. 234
- ARETE, daughter of Dionysius the tyrant, first married to her brother Theorides, and afterwards to her uncle Dion, IV. 47. she marries Timocrates, in the banishment of the latter, 69. Dion takes her again, 89. her death, 93
- Arelhusa*, fountain famous in fabulous history, III. 198
- ARGÆUS is placed by the Athenians upon the throne of Macedonia, IV. 255. is defeated by Philip, 257
- The Argilian*, a name given the slave who discovered Pausanias's conspiracy, II. 529
- Arginuse*: Isles famous for the victory of the Athenians over the Lacedæmonians, III. 273
- ARGO, king of Lydia, II. 57
- Argos, foundation of that kingdom, II. 281. kings of Argos, 282. war between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, I. cxlii. they refuse to aid the Greeks against the Persians, III. 373. Argos besieged by Pyrrhus, V. 359. Aratus endeavours to bring that city into the Achæan league, 421. but without success, 422. Argos is subjected by the Lacedæmonians, 458. and afterwards by Antigonus, *ibid*. Argos surrenders to Philocles, one of Philip's generals, VI. 37, 38. the latter puts it again into the hands of Nabis, 40. it throws off the yoke of that tyrant, and reinstates its liberty, 75
- ARGUS, king of Argos, II. 282
- ARIÆUS, of Alexandria, philosopher; Augustus Cæsar's esteem for him, VII. 290
- ARIÆUS commands the left wing of Cyrus's army at the battle of Cunaxa, III. 324. he flies upon advice of that prince's death, 328. the Greeks offer him the crown of Persia, 334. he refuses it, 335. and makes a treaty with them, 336
- ARIAMNES, Arabian, deceives and betrays Crassus, VII. 35
- ARIAMNES, king of Cappadocia, VII. 65
- ARIARATHES I. king of Cappadocia, VII. 64
- ARIARATHES II. son of the first, reigns over Cappadocia, VII. 64. he is defeated in a battle by Perdiccas, who seizes his dominions, and puts him to death, V. 138, VII. 64
- ARIARATHES III. escapes into Armenia after his father's death, VII. 65. he ascends the throne of his ancestors, *ibid*.
- ARIARATHES IV. king of Cappadocia, marries Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, VI. 83, VII. 65. the Romans lay a great fine upon him for having aided his father-in-law, VI. 161. he sends his son to Rome, and with what view,

- view, VI. 301. he declares for the Romans against Perseus, 303. death of Ariarathes, 407
- ARIARATHES VI.** goes to Rome, and why, VI. 301. he refuses to reign during his father's life, 407, VII. 56. after his father's death he ascends the throne of Cappadocia, *ibid.* he renews the alliance with the Romans, *ibid.* he is dethroned by Demetrius, *ibid.* VII. 67. he implores aid of the Romans, *ibid.* Attalus re-establishes him upon the throne, *ibid.* he enters into a confederacy against Demetrius, 68. he marches to aid the Romans against Aristonicus, and is killed in that war, *ibid.*
- ARIARATHES VII.** reigns in Cappadocia, VII. 68. his brother-in-law Mithridates causes him to be assassinated, *ibid.*
- ARIARATHES VIII.** is placed upon the throne of Cappadocia by Mithridates, VII. 69. he is assassinated by that prince, *ibid.* 147
- ARIARATHES IX.** king of Cappadocia, is defeated by Mithridates, and driven out of his kingdom, VII. 69, 147
- ARIARATHES X.** ascends the throne of Cappadocia, VII. 73. Sininna disputes the possession of it with him, and carries it against him, *ibid.* Ariarathes reigns a second time in Cappadocia, *ibid.*
- ARIARATHES,** son of Mithridates, reigns in Cappadocia, VII. 69, 147. he is dethroned by the Romans, *ibid.* he is reinstated a second and then a third time, 69, 149, 150
- ARIASPES,** son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, deceived by his brother Ochus, kills himself, IV. 200
- ARIDÆUS,** bastard brother of Alexander, is declared king of Macedonia after the death of that prince, V. 78, 110. Olym-
- pias causes him to be put to death, 173
- Arimanius,** divinity adored in Persia, II. 249
- ARIMAZUS,** Sogdian, governor of Petra Oxiana, refuses to surrender to Alexander, IV. 548. he is besieged in that place, 549. he submits to Alexander, who puts him to death, 551
- ARIOBARZANES,** satrap of Phrygia under Artaxerxes Mnemon, ascends the throne of Pontus, I. clxiii. he revolts against that prince, IV. 197
- ARIOBARZANES I.** is placed upon the throne of Cappadocia by the Romans, VII. 70. he is twice dethroned by Tigranes, *ibid.* Pompey reinstates him in the quiet possession of the throne, *ibid.*
- ARIOBARZANES II.** ascends the throne of Cappadocia, and is killed soon after, VII. 70, 71
- ARIOBARZANES III.** reigns in Cappadocia, VII. 71. Cicero suppresses a conspiracy forming against him, *ibid.* he sides with Pompey against Cæsar, 72. the latter lays him under contribution, *ibid.* he refuses to ally with Cæsar's murderers, 73. Cassius attacks him, and having taken him prisoner, puts him to death, *ibid.*
- ARIOBARZANES,** governor of Persia for Darius, posts himself at the pass of Susa, to prevent Alexander from passing it, IV. 497. he is put to flight, 498
- ARISTAGORAS** is established governor of Miletus by Hystiæus, II. 401. he joins the Ionians in their revolt against Darius, 404, 406. he goes to Lacedæmon for aid, 407. but ineffectually, 408. he goes to Athens, *ibid.* that city grants him some troops, 409. he is defeated and killed in a battle, 412

- ARISTANDER, a soothfayer in the train of Alexander, IV. 481
- ARISTAZANES, officer in the court of Ochus, IV. 228
- ARISTEAS, citizen of Argos, gives Pyrrhus entrance into that city, V. 359, 360
- ARISTÆMUS, chief magistrate of the Achæans, engages them to declare for the Romans against Philip, VI. 32, &c.
- ARISTIDES, one of the generals of the Athenian army at Marathon, resigns the command to Miltiades, II. 426. he distinguishes himself in the battle, 429. he is banished, 435. he is recalled, 467. he goes to Themistocles at Salamin, and persuades him to fight in that strait, 487. he rejects the offers of Mardonius, 497. and gains a famous victory over that general at Plataeæ, 501, &c. he terminates a difference that had arose between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, 506. confidence of the Athenians in Aristides, 525. his condescension for that people, *ibid.* he is placed at the head of the troops sent by Athens to deliver the Greeks from the Persian yoke, *ibid.* his conduct in that war, 527. he is charged with the administration of the publick revenues, 534. his death, 539. his character, 540. his justice, 435, 494, 523. his disinterestedness, 430, 532. his love of poverty, 537
- ARISTIDES, painter, great esteem for his works, VI. 433
- ARISTION usurps the government at Athens, and acts with great cruelty, VII. 155. he is besieged in that city by Sylla, 156. he is taken, and put to death, 161
- ARISTIPPUS, philosopher, his desire to hear Socrates, III. 443
- ARISTIPPUS, citizen of Argos, Vol. VII.
- excites a sedition in that city, V. 358. he becomes tyrant of it, 421. he is killed in a battle, 422. continual terrors in which that tyrant lived, 421, &c.
- ARISTOBULUS I. son of John Hyrcanus, succeeds his father in the high-priesthood, and sovereignty of Judæa, VII. 2. he assumes the title of king, *ibid.* he causes his mother to be put to death, *ibid.* then his brother Antigonus, *ibid.* he dies soon after himself, 4
- ARISTOBULUS II. son of Alexander Jannæus, reigus in Judæa, VII. 11. dispute between that prince and Hyrcanus, 13. Pompey takes cognizance of it, *ibid.* Aristobulus's conduct makes him his enemy, 14. Pompey lays him in chains, 15. and sends him to Rome, 17
- Aristocracy*, form of government, II. 286, 357
- ARISTOCRATES commands the left wing of the Athenians at the battle of Arginusæ, III. 274
- ARISTODEMUS, chief of the Heraclidæ, possesses himself of Peloponnesus, I. 288
- ARISTODEMUS, guardian of Agesipolis king of Sparta, III. 393
- ARISTODEMOS of Miletus is left at Athens by Demetrius, V. 214
- ARISTOGENES, one of the generals of the Athenians at the battle of Arginusæ, III. 274
- ARISTOGITON conspires against the tyrants of Athens, II. 337. his death, *ibid.* statues erected in honour to him by the Athenians, 339
- ARISTOMACHE, sister of Dion, is married to Dionysius the Tyrant, IV. 22
- ARISTOMACHUS, tyrant of Argos, V. 421. his death, *ibid.*
- ARISTOMENES, Messenian, offers his daughter to be sacrificed for appeasing the wrath of the gods,

I N D E X.

- gods, I. cxliv. he carries the prize of valour at the battle of Ithoma, cxlviii. he is elected king of the Messenians, *ibid.* he bears the Lacedæmonians, and sacrifices three hundred of them in honour of Jupiter of Ithoma, cxlix. he sacrifices himself soon after upon his daughter's tomb, *ibid.*
- ARISTOMENES, second of that name, king of Messene, gains a victory over the Lacedæmonians, I. cli. bold action of that prince, *ibid.* he is beat by the Lacedæmonians, cliii. his death, *ibid.*
- ARISTOMENES, Acarnanian, is charged with the education of Ptolemy Epiphanes, VI. 11, 12. he quashes a conspiracy formed against that prince, 65. Ptolemy puts him to death, *ibid.*
- ARISTON, of Syracuse, comedian, discovers the conspiracy formed by Andranadorus against his country, VII. 109
- ARISTON, pilot: Counsel which he gives the Syracusans, III. 232
- ARISTONA, daughter of Cyrus, wife of Darius, II. 366
- ARISTONICUS possesses himself of the dominions of Attalus, VI. 502. he defeats the consul Crassus Mucianus, and takes him prisoner, *ibid.* he is beaten and taken by Perpenna, *ibid.* the consul sends him to Rome, 503. he is put to death there, 504
- ARISTONICUS of Marathon is put to death by order of Antigonus, V. 129
- ARISTOPHANES, famous poet, I. cxi. character of his poetry, *ibid.* &c. faults with which he may justly be reproached, *ibid.* extracts from some of his pieces, I. cxii, &c. III. 453, 525
- ARISTOPHON, Athenian captain, accuses Iphicrates of treason, IV. 212
- ARISTOTLE, Philip charges him with the education of Alexander, IV. 263, 354. his application in forming that prince, 355. suspicions of him in respect to the death of Alexander, V. 75. state of his works, VII. 174
- ARMENES, son of Nabis, goes an hostage to Rome, VI. 79
- Armenia*, province of Asia, I xxx. it was governed by kings, clxv, II. 84, VII. 149
- Arms*, those used by the ancients, II. 221
- ARPHAXAD, name given by the Scripture to Phraortes. *See* PHRAORTES.
- ARRICHION, Pancratiast: Combat of that Athleta, I. lxxvi
- ARSACES, son of Darius. *See* ARTAXERXES MNEMON.
- ARSACES I. governor of Parthia for Antiochus, revolts against that prince, VI. 376. he assumes the title of king, 399, VII. 25
- ARSACES II. king of Parthia, takes Media from Antiochus, V. 592. he sustains a war against that prince, 593, VII. 25. he comes to an accommodation with Antiochus, who leaves him in peaceable possession of his kingdom, V. 594, VII. 25
- ARSAMES, natural son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, is assassinated by his brother Ochus, IV. 200
- ARSES reigns in Persia after the death of Ochus, IV. 233. Bagas causes him to be assassinated, *ibid.*
- ARSINOE, daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, is married to Lyfina-chus, king of Thrace, V. 262. after the death of that prince her brother Ceraunus marries her, 310. fatal sequel of that marriage, 311. she is banished into Samothracia, *ibid.*
- ARSINOE, another daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, marries her brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, V.

- V. 368. death of that princeſs, 381
- ARSINOE, ſiſter and wife of Ptolemy Philometor, V. 496. her death, 503
- ARSINOE, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes: Cæſar's ſentence in her favour, VII. 255. ſhe is proclaimed queen of Egypt, 257. Cæſar carries her to Rome, and makes her ſerve as an ornament in his triumph, 262. Anthony, at the requeſt of Cleopatra, cauſes her to be put to death, 266
- ARSINOE, wife of Magas. See APAMIA.
- ARSITES, ſatrap of Phrygia, occasions the defeat of the Perſians at the Granicus, IV. 377. he kills himſelf through deſpair, 381
- Art.* See *Arts.*
- ARTABANUS, uncle of Phraates, cauſes himſelf to be crowned king of Parthia, and is killed ſoon after, VI. 511, VII. 26
- ARTABANUS, brother of Darius, endeavours to divert that prince from his enterprize againſt the Scythians, II. 391. he is made arbiter between the two ſons of Darius in reſpect to the ſovereignty, 439. his wife diſcourſe to Xerxes upon that prince's deſign to attack Greece, 444, &c.
- ARTABANUS, Hyrcanian, captain of the guards to Xerxes, conſpires againſt that prince, and kills him, II. 542. he is killed himſelf by Artaxerxes, 543
- ARTABARZANES, after the death of Darius, diſputes the throne of Perſia with Xerxes, II. 439. he continues in amity with his brother, and loſes his life in his ſervice at the battle of Salamin, 440. he was the firſt that reigned in Pontus, VII. 147
- ARTABARZANES, king of Atropatene, ſubmits to Antiochus, V. 487
- ARTABAZUS, Perſian lord, officer in the army of Mardonius, II. 502. his counſel to that general, *ibid.* he eſcapes into Aſia after the battle of Platææ, 505. Xerxes gives him the command of the coaſts of Aſia minor, and with what view, 526. he reduces the Egyptians that had revolted againſt Artaxerxes, III. 20
- ARTABAZUS, governor of one of the provinces of Aſia for Ochus, revolts againſt that prince, IV. 206. ſupported by Chares the Athenian, he gains ſeveral advantages, *ibid.* he is overpowered and retires into Macedonia, 207. Ochus receives him again into favour, 230, &c. his fidelity to Darius, 506. Alexander makes him governor of Petra Oxiana, 521
- ARTAGERSES, officer of Artaxerxes Mnemon, is killed in the battle of Cunaxa, III. 327
- ARTAINTA, niece of Xerxes, II. 515. violent paſſion of that prince for her, 516. fatal ſequel of that paſſion, 517
- ARTAPHERNES, governor of Sardis for his brother Darius, is for compelling the Athenians to reinſtate Hippias, II. 342. he marches againſt the iſland of Naxos with deſign to ſurprize it, II. 405. he is beſieged in Sardis by the Athenians, 409, 410. he diſcovers the conſpiracy of Hyſtiæus, 412. he marches againſt the revolted Ionians, 413
- ARTAPHERNES, ambaffador of Artaxerxes to the Lacedæmonians, III. 146
- ARTARIUS, brother of Artaxerxes Longimanus, III. 22
- ARTAVASDES, king of Armenia, VII. 27
- ARTAXERXES I. ſurnamed Longimanus, by the infligation of

- Artabanes, kills his brother Darius, and ascends the throne of Persia, II. 542. he rids himself of Artabanes, *ibid.* he destroys the party of Artabanes, III. 2. and that of Hytaspes his elder brother, *ibid.* he gives Themistocles refuge, 5. his joy for the arrival of that Athenian, *ibid.* he permits Esdras to return to Jerusalem first, 24. and then Nehemiah, 25. alarmed by the conquests of the Athenians, he forms the design of sending Themistocles into Attica at the head of an army, 16. Egypt revolts against him, 19. he reduces it to return to its obedience, 21. he gives up Inarus to his mother contrary to the faith of treaty, 22. he concludes a treaty with the Greeks, 41. he dies, 147
- ARTAXERXES II. surnamed *Mnemon*, is crowned king of Persia, III. 295. Cyrus his brother attempts to murder him, 297. he sends him to his government of Asia minor, *ibid.* he marches against Cyrus advancing to dethrone him, 322. gives him battle at Cunaxa, 323. and kills him with his own hand, 327. he cannot force the Greeks in his brother's army to surrender themselves to him, 334. he puts Tissaphernes to death, 383. he concludes a treaty with the Greeks, 402. he attacks Evagoras king of Cyprus, 407, &c. he judges the affair of Teribazus, 417. his expedition against the Cadusians, 419, &c.
- Artaxerxes sends an ambassador into Greece to reconcile the states, IV. 154. he receives a deputation from the Greeks, 155. honours which he pays to Pelopidas, 157. he undertakes to reduce Egypt, 189. that enterprize miscarries, 191. he meditates a second attempt against Egypt, 193. most of the provinces of his empire revolt against him, 197. troubles at the court of Artaxerxes concerning his successors, 199. death of that prince, 200.
- ARTAXERXES III. before called Ochus. *See* OCHUS.
- ARTAXIAS, king of Armenia, VI. 270, VII. 149
- ARTEMEDORUS, invested with the supreme authority at Syracuse, VII. 80
- ARTEMISA, queen of Halicarnassus, supplies Xerxes with troops in his expedition against Greece, II. 462. her courage in the battle of Salamin, 488
- ARTEMISA, wife of Mausolus, reigns in Caria after the death of her husband, IV. 219 honours she renders to the memory of Mausolus, *ibid.* she takes Rhodes, 220. her death, 222
- Artemisa*, promontory of Eubœa, famous for the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, II. 478
- ARTEMON, Syrian. Part that queen Laodice makes him play, V. 387, &c.
- ARTEMON, engineer. III. 57
- ARTOXARES, eunuch of Darius Nothus, forms a conspiracy against that prince, III. 152. he is put to death, *ibid.*
- Arts*, origin and progress of the arts, II. 234. arts banished from Sparta by Lycurgus, 316. and placed in honour at Athens by Solon, 329
- ARTYPHIUS, son of Megabyzus, revolts against Ochus, III. 149. he is suffocated in ashes, 150
- Auspices*. *See* *Augurs*.
- ARYMBAS, king of Epirus, IV. 299, I. clxvi
- ASA, king of Judah, defeats the army of Zaza king of Ethiopia, I. 80

I N D E X.

- ASDRUBAL, Hamilcar's son-in-law, commands the Carthaginian army in Spain, I. 213. he builds Carthage, *ibid.* he is killed treacherously by a Gaul, 214
- ASDRUBAL, surnamed Calvus, is made prisoner in Sardinia by the Romans, I. 257
- ASDRUBAL, Hannibal's brother, commands the troops of Spain after his brother's departure, I. 225. he receives orders from Carthage to march to Italy to the aid of his brother, 262. he sets forward and is defeated, 264. he loses a great battle near the river Metaurus, and is killed in it, 265
- ASDRUBAL, Gisgo's brother, commands the Carthaginian troops in Spain, I. 266
- ASDRUBAL, surnamed Hædus, is sent by the Carthaginians to Rome to demand peace, I. 274
- ASDRUBAL, Masinissa's grandson, commands in Carthage, during the siege of that city by Scipio, I. 311. another Asdrubal causes him to be put to death, 317
- ASDRUBAL, Carthaginian general, is condemned to die; and wherefore, I. 302. the Carthaginians appoint him general of the troops without their walls, 311. he causes another Asdrubal who commands within the city to be put to death, 317. his cruelty to the Roman prisoners, *ibid.* after the taking of the city, he intrenches himself in the temple of Æsculapius, 321. he surrenders himself to Scipio, *ibid.* tragical end of his wife and children, 322
- Ashes*: Smothering in ashes a punishment amongst the Persians, III. 150
- Asia*, geographical description of it, I. xxx, &c. it is considered as the cradle of the sciences, II. 236
- ASMONEAN race: Duration of their reign in Judæa, VII. 21
- ASPASIA, celebrated courtesan, III. 57. she marries Pericles, 67. accusation formed against her at Athens, *ibid.* her great knowledge occasions her being ranked amongst the sophists, *ibid.*
- Aspick*, serpent whose bite is mortal, V. 302, VII. 285
- ASPIS, governor for Artaxerxes in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia, revolts against that prince, III. 424. he is punished soon after, *ibid.*
- ASSUR, son of Shem, who gave his name to Assyria, II. 5
- Assyria*, origin of its name, II. 5
- ASSYRIANS. First empire of the Assyrians, II. 1. duration of that empire, *ibid.* kings of the Assyrians, 2, &c. second empire of the Assyrians, both of Nineveh and Babylon, 26. subversion of that empire by Cyrus, 127
- ASTER, of Amphipolis, shoots out Philip's right eye, IV. 273. that prince puts him to death, *ibid.*
- Astrology, Judicial*, falsehood of that science, II. 243, &c.
- Astronomy*. Nations that applied themselves first to it, I. 49, II. 242
- ASTYAGES, king of the Medes, called in Scripture Ahasuerus, II. 56. he gives his daughter in marriage to Cambyfes king of Persia, *ibid.* he causes Cyrus his grandson to come to his court, 74
- ASTYMEDES, deputed to Rome by the Rhodians, endeavours to appease the anger of the senate, VI. 391
- ASYCHIS, king of Egypt, author of the law concerning loans, I. 79. famous pyramid built by his order, *ibid.*

ATHEAS, king of Scythia, is defeated by Philip, against whom he had declared, IV. 315
 ATHENÆUS, general of Antigonus, is sent by that prince against the Nabathæan Arabians, V. 205. he perishes in that expedition, *ibid.*
 ATHENAI, daughter of Leontius. See EUDOCIA.
 ATHENÆUS, brother of Eumenes, is sent ambassador by that prince to Rome, VI. 201
 ATHENÆUS, governor for Antiochus in Judæa and Samaria, to establish that prince's religion in them, VI. 260
Athenæa, or Panathenæa, feasts celebrated at Athens, I. xxxvi
 ATHENION, courtier of Ptolemy Evergetes, goes to Jerusalem by order of that prince, V. 400
 ATHENS. ATHENIANS. Foundation of the kingdom of Athens, I. 74, II. 283. kings of Athens, II. *ibid.* the archons succeed them, 284, 319. Draco is chose legislator, *ibid.* then Solon, 322. Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, 332, &c. the Athenians recover their liberty, 339. Hippias attempts in vain to re-establish the tyranny, 341. the Athenians, in conjunction with the Ionians, burn the city of Sardis, 410. Darius prepares to avenge that insult, *ibid.* famous Athenian captains at that time, 416. Darius's heralds are put to death there, 423. the Athenians under Miltiades gain a famous victory over the Persians at Marathon, 424. moderate reward granted Miltiades, 433
 The Athenians, attacked by Xerxes, chuse Themistocles general, II. 466. they resign the honour of commanding the fleet to the Lacedæmonians, 470. they contribute very much to the victory gained at Artemisium,

479. they are reduced to abandon their city, 481. Athens is burnt by the Persians, 484. battle of Salamin, in which the Athenians acquire infinite glory, *ibid.* they abandon their city a second time, 499. the Athenians and Lacedæmonians cut the Persian army to pieces near Plattææ, 505. they defeat the Persian fleet at the same time near Mycale, 513. they rebuild the walls of their city, 518. the command of the Greeks in general transferred to the Athenians, 525

The Athenians, under Cimon, gain a double victory over the Persians near the river Eurymedon, III. 14. they support the Egyptians in their revolt against Persia, 19. their considerable losses in that war, 21. seeds of division between Athens and Sparta, 38. peace re-established between the two states, 39. the Athenians gain several victories over the Persians, which obliges Artaxerxes to conclude a peace highly glorious for the Greeks, 40, &c. jealousy and differences between Athens and Sparta, 53. treaty of peace for thirty years between the two states, 56. the Athenians besiege Samos, 57. they send aid to the Corcyrans, *ibid.* they besiege Potidæa, 60. open rupture between Athens and Sparta, 66. beginning of the Peloponnesian war, 99. reciprocal ravages of Attica and Peloponnesus, 104

Plague of Athens, III. 109. The Athenians seize Potidæa, 117. they send forces against the isle of Lesbos, 125. and make themselves masters of Mitylene, 131. the plague breaks out again at Athens, 138. the Athenians take Pylus, 139. and are besieged in it,

III. 139. they take the troops shut up in the isle of Sphaacteria, 144. they make themselves masters of the island of Cythera, 154. they are defeated by the Thebans near Delium, 156. truce for a year between Athens and Sparta, 157. the Athenians are defeated near Amphipolis, 160. &c. treaty of peace for fifty years between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, 163

The Athenians, at the instigation of Alcibiades, renew the war against Sparta, III. 172. they engage by his advice in the war with Sicily, 173. Athens appoints Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, generals, 179. triumphant departure of the fleet, 189. it arrives in Sicily, 190. the Athenians recall Alcibiades, and condemn him to die, 193. after some actions, they besiege Syracuse, 200. they undertake several works that reduce the city to extremities, 206. they are defeated by sea and land, 213, 220, 226. they hazard a second battle by sea, and are defeated, 227. they resolve to retire by land, 234. they are reduced to surrender themselves to the Syracusans, 238. their generals are put to death, 241. consternation of Athens upon this defeat, 242

The Athenians are abandoned by their allies, III. 243. the return of Alcibiades to Athens is concerted, 249. the four hundred invested with all authority at Athens, 252. their power is annulled, 256. Alcibiades is recalled, *ibid.* he occasions the gaining of several great advantages by the Athenians, 257, 258. the Athenians elect him generalissimo, 262. their fleet is defeated near Ephesus, 268.

the command is taken from Alcibiades, 269. they gain a great victory over the Lacedæmonians near the Arginusæ, 273. they are entirely defeated by the latter near Ægospotamos, 287. Athens, besieged by Lysander, capitulates, and surrenders, 289

Thirty tyrants instituted to govern Athens, by Lysander, III. 291. she recovers her liberty, 308, &c. she enters into the league formed against the Lacedæmonians, 390. Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens, 402. the Athenians aid the Theban exiles, IV. 125. they repent it presently after, 134. they renew the alliance with the Thebans, 136. they declare against the latter for the Lacedæmonians, 155. many of the Athenian allies revolt, 207. generals employed to reduce them, *ibid.* &c. alarm of the Athenians, occasioned by the preparations for war made by the king of Persia, 213. they send aid to the Megalopolitans, 218. and afterwards to the Rhodians, 221

The Athenians suffer themselves to be amused by Philip, IV. 259. Demosthenes endeavours in vain to rouse them from their lethargy, 277, 280, 292. Athens joins the Lacedæmonians against Philip, 301. the Athenians under Phocion drive Philip out of Eubœa, 303, &c. they oblige that prince to raise the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 313. they form a league with the Thebans against Philip, 322. immoderate joy of Athens upon that prince's death, 333, 339. the Athenians form a league against Alexander, 353. that prince pardons them, 368. conduct of the Athenians in respect to Harpalus, V. 55

Rumours and joy at Athens
D d 4 up m

upon the news of Alexander's death, V. 117. the Athenians march against Antipater, 119. they are victorious at first, 120. and are afterwards reduced to submit, 125. Antipater makes himself master of their city, 126. Phocion is condemned to die by the Athenians, 156. Cassander takes Athens, 163. he makes choice of Demetrius Phalereus to govern the republic, *ibid.* Athens taken by Demetrius Poliorcetes, 214. excessive honours rendered to Antigonus and his son Demetrius by the Athenians, 217. Athens besieged by Cassander and delivered by Demetrius, 252. excessive flattery of Demetrius by the Athenians, 253. Athens shuts its gates against Demetrius, 262. he takes that city, 267. Athens declares against Antigonus Gonatas, 367. and is taken by that prince, who puts a garrison into it, *ibid.*

The Athenians carry their complaints against Philip to Rome, VI. 12. that prince besieges their city, 15. decrees of Athens against Philip, 23. she sends three famous philosophers upon an embassy to Rome, and wherefore, 411. 412. Athens taken by Archelaus, VII. 155. Aristion makes himself tyrant of that city, *ibid.* his cruelties there, *ibid.* it is besieged and retaken by Sylla, 156. &c.

Government of Athens, III. 508. foundation of the government instituted by Solon, II. 321. abuses introduced into the government by Pericles, V. 100. inhabitants of Athens, III. 512. senate, 516. Arcopagus, 518. magistrates, 521. assemblies of the people, 522. other tribunals, 524. revenues of Athens, 529. education of youth, 530.

different species of troops, of which the armies of Athens were composed, 542. choice of the generals, IV. 343. raising of troops, their pay, 551. navy, 546. ships, 547. naval troops, 551. equipment of galleys at Athens, 241. exemptions and honours granted by that city to those who had rendered it great services, 245. orations pronounced by order of the state in honour of those who had died for their country, III. 57, 108, IV. 331. of religion, I. xxxiii. feasts of the Panathenæa, xxxvi. Bacchus, xxxix. and Eleusis, xli

Peculiar character of the people of Athens, III. 553. easily enraged, and soon appeased, 38, 132, 280, 480. sometimes ungrateful to their generals, and those who had served them best, II. 434, 436, 531, III. 269, V. 157, 218. humane to their enemies, III. 309. delicate in respect to politeness and decorum, 556, V. 57. great in their projects, III. 175. zealous for liberty, II. 423, 497. taste of the Athenians for the arts and sciences, III. 556. their passion for the representations of the theatre, I. xcvi, cxxv. common character of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, III.

559

Athletæ. Etymology of the word, I. lxxix. exercises of the *Athletæ*, lxx, trial through which they passed before they fought, *ibid.* rewards granted to them when victorious, lxxxvii, II. 332

Athlithetæ, their function, I. lxxi

Athos, famous mountain of Macedonia, II. 451, V. 67

Atossa, wife of Artaxerxes Mnemon, IV. 199

Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and wife of Cambyfes first, and after of

I N D E X.

- of Smerdis the Magus, II. 191. she is at last married to Darius, 366. Democedes cures her of a dangerous distemper, 372. she persuades Darius to send him into Greece, and why, 373. she is called Vasthi in Scripture, 377
- ATREUS**, son of Pelops king of Mycenæ, II. 283
- ATROPATES**, one of Alexander's generals: Provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, V. 113. he causes himself to be declared king of them, 147
- ATTALUS I.** king of Pergamus, V. 396. war between that prince and Seleucus, 479, 480, 489. Attalus joins the Romans in the war against Philip, 552, 554, 567. he gains several advantages over that prince, VI. 4, 5. he dies, 42. his magnificent use of his riches, 43
- ATTALUS II.** surnamed Philadelphus, prevails upon the Achæans to revoke their decree, against his brother, VI. 329. he comes ambassador to Rome, 387. he reigns in Cappadocia as guardian to Attalus his nephew, 407, 408. war between Attalus and Prusias, 409. death of Attalus, 500
- ATTALUS III.** surnamed Philometor, goes to Rome, and why, VI. 410. he ascends the throne of Cappadocia, after the death of his uncle, and causes him to be much regretted by his vices, 500. he dies, and by his will leaves his dominions to the Roman people, 501
- ATTALUS**, Syracusan, discovers the intelligence held by Marcellus in Syracuse to Epicydes, VII. 124
- ATTALUS**, Philip's lieutenant, is sent by that prince into Asia minor, IV. 334. marriage of his niece Cleopatra with Philip, 335. Alexander's quarrel with Attalus in the midst of the feast, *ibid.* Alexander causes him to be assassinated, 364
- Attica*, divided by Cecrops into twelve cantons, II. 283. See *Athens.*
- ATYADÆ**, descendants of Atys, II. 57
- ATYS**, son of Cræsus; good qualities of that prince, II. 67. his death, *ibid.*
- Augurs*: Puerilities of that science, I. xlviii
- AUGUSTUS.** See **CÆSAR AUGUSTUS**
- Aura*, name of Phidolas's mare, I. xc
- AUTOPHRADATES**, governor of Lydia for Artaxerxes Mnemon, is charged by that prince with the war against Datames, III. 426. he is defeated, *ibid.* and retires into his government, 427. he joins with the provinces of Asia in their revolt against Artaxerxes, IV. 197
- AXIOCHUS**, Athenian, takes upon him the defence of the generals condemned to die after the battle of Arginusæ, III. 281
- AXITHEA**, wife of Nicocles, kills herself, V. 199
- AZARIAS**, one of the three Hebrews miraculously preserved in the midst of the flames, II. 38
- Azotus*, a city of Palestine, I. 86

B.

- B A A L.** See **BEL.**
- Babel**, description of that tower, II. 14
- BABYLON, BABYLONIANS**; foundation of the city of Babylon, II. 2. description of that city, 9. kings of Babylon, 26. duration of its empire, 43, 140. siege and taking of that city by Cyrus, 137. it revolts against Darius, II. 378. that prince reduces it to obedience, 381. *Alex.*

- Alexander makes himself master of Babylon, IV. 488. destruction of Babylon foretold in several parts of the Scripture, II. 128. curse pronounced against that city, 141. eagerness of princes to destroy it, 142. the Babylonians laid the first foundations of astronomy, 242
- BACCHIDAS, eunuch of Mithridates, VII. 188
- BACCHIS, governor of Mesopotamia under Antiochus Epiphanes and Demetrius Soter, is defeated in many engagements by Judas Maccabeus, VI. 471, &c.
- BACCHIS, whose descendants reigned at Corinth, II. 286
- BACCHUS, feasts instituted at Athens in honour of him, I. xxxix
- BACCHYLIDES, Greek poet, III. 84
- Bactriana*, province of upper Asia, I. xxx
- Betica*, part of old Spain, I. 137
- BAGOAS, eunuch of Ochus, commands a detachment during that prince's expedition against Egypt, IV. 228. he poisons Ochus, 232. he places Arses upon the throne of Persia, 233. he causes that prince to be put to death, and places Darius Codomanus upon the throne in his stead, *ibid.* he falls into the hands of Alexander, IV. 519. he gains the ascendant of that prince, *ibid.* by his intrigues he causes Orsines to be put to death, V. 50, &c.
- BAGOPHANES, governor of the citadel of Babylon, surrenders to Alexander, IV. 489
- BAGORAZUS, Artaxerxes's eunuch, is put to death by order of Xerxes, III. 148
- BALA. See ALEXANDER BALA
- Baleares*, islands: Why so called, I. 136
- BALTHAZAR, or BELSHAZZAR, king of Babylon, called also Labynit, or Nabonid, II. 42. he is besieged in Babylon by Cyrus, 137. he gives a great feast to his whole court the same night that city is taken, *ibid.* he is killed in his palace, 140. his death foretold in Scripture, 136, 137
- BARCA. See HAMILCAR, surnamed Barca.
- BARSINA, wife of Alexander, V. 114. Polysperchon puts her to death, 208
- Basket*. Procession of the basket at Athens, I. xlv
- Bastards*: Law of Athens against them, III. 118
- Bastarnæ*, people of Sarmatia in Europe; their character, VI. 292
- Battalion, sacred*, of the Thebans, IV. 138.
- Battles and Combats* celebrated in ancient history. Near the coasts of Myle, I. 179. near Ecnome, 180. of Ticinius, 231. of Trebia, 234. of Thrasymenus, 239. of Cannæ, 248. of Zama, 272. of Thymbræa, II. 210. of Marathon, 424. of Thermopylæ, 470. of Artemisium, 478. of Salamin, 484. of Platææ, 496. of Mycale, 513. of the river Eurymedon, III. 14. of Arginusæ, 273. of Ægospotamos, 284. of Cunaxa, 323. of Leuctra, IV. 143. of Mantinæa, 175, &c. of Cheronæa, 325. of the Granicus, 379. of Issus, 400. of Arbela, 431. of the Hydaspes, V. 14. Ipsus, 349. of Selasia, 466. of Raphia, 496. of Caphyia, 506. of Elis, 555, &c. of Oëtolophos, VI. 20. of Cynoscephale, 45. of Thermopylæ, 107. of mount Corychus, 114. of Elea, 117. of Myonesus, 120. of Magnesia, 126. of Emmaus, 272. of Bethsura, 276. of the river Peneus, 316. of Pydna, 359. of Lepocetra,

I N D E X.

- copetra, VI. 430. of Carræ,
VII. 38. of Cabiræ, 187. of
Arfamia, 208. of Actium, 281
- Bee*, name given Sophocles, I.
civ, cvii
- BEL**, divinity adored by the Assy-
rians; temple erected in honour
of him, II. 14
- BELESIS**, king of Babylon. *See*
NABONASSAR.
- BELGIUS**, at the head of the
Gauls, makes an irruption into
Macedonia, V. 311. he defeats
Ceraunus, and is defeated him-
self, 312
- BELUS**, name given Amenophis,
I. 68. and to Nimrod, II. 2
- BELUS** the Assyrian, II. 2
- BERENICE**, wife of Ptolemy Soter,
V. 266. ascendant of that prin-
cess over her husband, *ibid.*
281, 282, 287
- BERENICE**, daughter of Ptolemy
Philadelphus, marries Antiochus
Theos, V. 380. Antiochus re-
pudiates her, 387. Laodice
causes her to be put to death,
388
- BERENICE**, wife of Ptolemy E-
vergetes, V. 391. Ptolemy Phi-
lipator causes her to be put to
death, 492. Berenice's hair,
391
- BERENICE**, daughter of Ptolemy
Lathyrus. *See* CLEOPATRA.
- BERENICE**, daughter of Ptolemy
Auletes, reigns in Egypt during
her father's absence, VII. 238.
She marries Se'eucus Cybiosactes,
and then causes him to be put to
death, 245. She marries Arche-
laus, *ibid.* Ptolemy puts her to
death, 247
- BERENICE**, wife of Mithridates,
VII. 188. unhappy death of
that princess, 189
- BEROSUS**, historian, V. 572
- BESSUS**, chief of the Bactrians,
betrays Darius, and puts him in
chains, IV. 503, 505. he as-
sassinates that prince, 507. he
- is seized and delivered up to
Alexander, 536. that prince
causes him to be executed, 547
- BESTIA** (*Calpurnius*) is sent by the
Romans against Jugurtha, I.
341. his conduct in that war,
ibid.
- Bethulia*, city of Israel: Siege of
that city by Holophernes, II. 52
- BIAS**, one of the seven sages of
Greece, II. 355
- BIBIUS**, commander in Ætolia
for the Romans, VI. 396. his
conduct in that province, 397
- Biblos*, city of Phœnicia, IV. 421
- BIBULUS** (*M. Calpurnius*) is ap-
pointed by the Romans to com-
mand in Syria after the defeat of
Crassus by the Parthians, VII.
57. his incapacity, *ibid.*
- Bisalta*, people of Thrace: Va-
liant action of one of their
kings, II. 471
- Bithynia*, province of Asia minor,
I. xxxi. kings of Bithynia, clxii.
Mithridates possesses himself of
it, VII. 154. it is reduced into
a province of the Roman em-
pire, VI. 538, VII. 180
- BITON** and **CLEOBIS**, Argives,
models of fraternal friendship,
II. 63
- BOCCHUS**, king of Mauritania,
Jugurtha's father-in-law, I. 344.
he delivers up his son to the
Romans, *ibid.*
- BOEOTIA**, part of Greece, II.
274. unjust prejudice against
that country, IV. 182
- BOEOTIANS**. *See* THEBANS.
- Boeotarch*, principal magistrate of
Thebes, IV. 128
- BOGES**, governor of Eione for the
king of Persia, III. 9. his ex-
cess of bravery, 10
- BOLIS**, Cretan: His stratagem
and treason to Achæus, V. 500
- BOMILCAR**, Carthaginian gen-
eral, makes himself tyrant of
Carthage, I. 169. he is put to
death, 170

Bosphorus

I N D E X.

- Bosphorus Cimmerian*, country subject to Mithridates, VII. 225
- BOSTAR**, commander of the Carthaginians in Sardinia, is murdered by the mercenaries, I. 209
- Brachmans*, Indian philosophers, V. 23. their opinions, employments, and manner of living, 24, 25, &c.
- Branchidæ*, family of Miletus, settled by Xerxes in the upper Asia, and destroyed by Alexander the Great, IV. 535
- BRASIDAS**, Lacedæmonian general, distinguishes himself at the siege of Pylos, III. 139. his expeditions into Thrace, 154. he takes Amphipolis, 155. he defends that place against Cleon, and receives a wound of which he dies, 160
- BRENNUS**, general of the Gauls, makes an irruption into Pannonia, V. 311. Macedonia, 313. and Greece, 314. he perishes in the last enterprize, 315
- Bruchion*, quarter of the city of Alexandria, VII. 256
- Bucephalia*, city built by Alexander, IV. 361
- Bucephalus*, war-horse backed by Alexander, IV. 360. wonders related of that horse, *ibid.*
- Burial* of the dead in the earth, II. 257. burial of kings amongst the Scythians, 384. care of the ancients to procure burial for the dead, III. 277
- Burning-glass*, by the means of which Archimedes is said to have burnt the Roman fleet, VII. 122
- BUSIRIS**, king of Egypt, I. 65
- BUSIRIS**, brother of Amenophis, infamous for his cruelty, I. 74
- Byblos*, city of the isle of Prosopitis, III. 20
- Byrsa*, name of the citadel of Carthage, I. 325
- Byssus*, an Egyptian plant; its description and use, I. 57
- Byzantium*, city of Thrace, delivered by the Greeks from the power of the Persians, II. 525, 526. it submits to the Athenians, III. 260. siege of Byzantium by Philip, IV. 309. war between the Byzantines and Rhodians, V. 490
- ## C.
- Abiræ*, city of Asia, famous for Lucullus's victory over Mithridates, VII. 187
- Cadiz*, city of Spain, I. 138
- CADMUS**, Phœnician, seizes Bœotia, and builds Thebes there, II. 284. it was he that introduced the use of letters in Greece, I. 75
- Cadusians*, people of Assyria: They submit to Cyrus, II. 103. revolt of the Cadusians against Artaxerxes, III. 419. Tiribazus makes them return to their duty, 420
- Cadytis*, name given to the city of Jerusalem by Herodotus, I. 90
- Cælestis*, Urania or the moon, goddess of the Carthaginians, I. 105
- CÆSAR** (*Julius*) his power at Rome, VII. 214. he restores Ptolemy Auletes, 237. he goes to Egypt in hopes of finding Pompey there, 251. he makes himself judge between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra, 253. Cæsar's passion for that princess, 254, 261. battles between his troops and the Alexandrians, 256. he gives the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra and Ptolemy, 261. he confirms the Jews in their privileges, 18, 262. he gains a great victory over Pharnaces, and drives him out of the kingdom of Pontus, 262, 263. he is killed soon after, 264
- CÆSAR** (*Octavius*) afterwards surnamed Augustus, joins with Anthony and Lepidus to avenge Cæsar's

- Cæsar's death, VII. 264. he quarrels with Anthony, 273. he gains a great victory over him at the battle of Actium, 281, 282. he goes to Egypt, 285. he besieges Alexandria, 286. interview of Cæsar and Cleopatra, 291. he is deceived by that princess, whom he was in hopes of deceiving, 293
- CÆSARIO, son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, VII. 261. he is proclaimed king of Egypt jointly with his mother, 274
- Caina, city of Pontus, taken from Mithridates by Pompey, VII. 227
- Cairo, its famous castle in Egypt, I. 4
- CALANUS, Indian philosopher, comes to the court of Alexander the Great, V. 28. he dies voluntarily upon a funeral pile, 51, &c.
- CALCIDÆUS, in the name of the Lacedæmonians, concludes a treaty with Tissaphernes, III. 245
- CALLAS, son of Harpalus, officer in Alexander's army, IV. 375
- CALLIAS, citizen of Athens, is cited before the judges upon account of Aristides, II. 537. he is appointed plenipotentiary for Athens to Artaxerxes, III. 41
- CALLIBIUS, Spartan, is appointed governor of the citadel of Athens, III. 291
- CALLICRATES, Spartan, kills Epaminondas in the battle of Mantinæa, IV. 178
- CALLICRATES, deputed by the Achæans to Rome, betrays them, VI. 195. he prevents the Achæans from aiding the two brothers Ptolemies, against Antiochus, 254, 255. he impeaches all the Achæans, who had seemed to favour Perseus, to the Romans, 399
- CALLICRATIDAS succeeds Lyfander in the command of the Lacedæmonian fleet, III. 270. he goes to the court of Cyrus the Younger, 272. he is defeated near the islands of Arginusæ, and killed in the battle, 275, &c.
- CALLIMACHUS, polemarch at Athens, joins the party of Miltiades, II. 426
- CALLIMACHUS, governor of Amisus for Mithridates, defends that city against Lucullus, and then sets it on fire, VII. 190
- CALLIPPUS, Athenian, assassinates Dion, and seizes the tyranny of Syracuse, IV. 92, &c. he is soon after assassinated himself, *ibid.*
- CALLISTHENES, philosopher in the train of Alexander, V. 562. that prince causes him to be put to death, 564. character of that philosopher, 565
- CALLIXENES, Athenian orator, accuses the Athenian generals falsely in the senate, III. 278. he is punished soon after, 280
- CALPURNIUS BESTIA. *See* BESTIA.
- CALVINUS (*Domitius*) commands in Asia for Cæsar, VII. 256
- Calumniators, or False accusers. Punishment of them in Egypt, I. 32. law of Charondas against them, III. 93
- CAMBYLUS, general in the service of Antiochus, betrays Achæus, and delivers him up to that prince, V. 500, 501
- CAMBYSES, father of Cyrus, king of Persia, II. 57, 72
- CAMBYSES, son of Cyrus, ascends the throne of Persia, II. 177. he enters Egypt with an army, 178. and makes himself master of it, 179. his rage against the body of Amasis, 180. his expedition against Ethiopia, 181. on his return he plunders the temples of the city of Thebes, II.

- II. 182. he kills the god Apis, 183. he puts his brother Smerdis to death, 184. he kills Meroe, his sister and wife, *ibid.* he prepares to march against Smerdis the Magus, who had usurped the throne, 189. he dies of a wound which he gives himself in the thigh, *ibid.* character of that prince, 268
- CAMISARES, Carian, governor of Leuco-Syria, perishes in the expedition of Artaxerxes against the Cadusians, III. 422
- Canaanites: Origin of that people, I. 64
- CANDAULES, king of Lydia, II. 57
- Candia, island. See *Crete*
- CANIDIUS, Anthony's lieutenant, VIII. 282
- Cannæ, city of Apulia, famous for Hannibal's victory over the Romans, I. 253
- CAPHIS, Phocæan, Sylla's friend, is sent by that general to Delphi, to receive the treasures of it, VII. 157. religious terror of Caphis, *ibid.*
- Caphyia, a city of Peloponnesus, known by the defeat of Aratus, V. 506
- Cappadocia, province of Asia minor, I. xxxii. kings of Cappadocia, cxlv, VII. 64. it is reduced into a Roman province, 76
- Capua, city of Italy, abandons the Romans, and submits to Hannibal, I. 255. it is besieged by the Romans, 259. the tragical end of its principal inhabitants, 260
- CARANUS, first king of Macedonia, II. 286
- CARBO; oppressions committed by him at Rome, VII. 169
- Cardia, city of the Chersonesus, IV. 297
- Caria, province of Asia minor, I. xxxi
- CARIDEMUS, of Oæa, is banished Athens, IV. 368. he is persecuted by Alexander, and retires to Darius Codomanus, *ibid.* his sincerity occasions his death, 396, &c.
- Carmania, province of Persia, V. 45
- CARNEADES, philosopher, his embassy to Rome, VI. 411, 412
- Carræ, a city famous for the defeat of Crassus, VII. 46
- CARTHAGE. CARTHAGINIANS. Foundation of Carthage, I 131. its augmentation, 134. conquests of the Carthaginians in Africa, *ibid.* in Sardinia, 135. they possess themselves of the Balearian isles, 136. in Spain, 137. they land in Spain, 138. and in Sicily, 140. first treaty between Rome and Carthage, 141. the Carthaginians make an alliance with Xerxes, 142, II. 451. they are defeated in Sicily by Gelon, I. 143, III. 73. they take several places in Sicily under Hannibal, I. 145, and Imilcon, 146. they make a treaty with Dionysius, 148. IV. 14. war between the Carthaginians and Dionysius, I. 150, IV. 24. they besiege Syracuse, I. 152, IV. 29. they are defeated by Dionysius, I. 152, IV. 34. the plague rages in Carthage, I. 155. second treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, 156. the Carthaginians endeavour to seize Sicily after the re-establishment of Dionysius the Younger, I 156, IV. 99. they are defeated by Timoleon, I. 158, IV. 112. war of the Carthaginians with Agathocles, at first in Sicily, I. 161. and after in Africa, 163. they sustain a war in Sicily against Pyrrhus, 172, V. 344.
- The Carthaginians are called in to aid the Mamertines, who give

give them possession of their citadel, I. 176. they are driven out of it by the Romans, 177. they send a numerous army into Sicily, *ibid.* they lose a battle, which is followed with the taking of Agrigentum, their place of arms, *ibid.* they are beat at sea, first near the coast of Myle, 178, 179. and after at Ecnome, 180. they sustain the war against Regulus in Africa, I. 181. punishment inflicted by them upon that general, 190. they lose a battle at sea in sight of Sicily, 191. ardour of the Carthaginians in defence of Lilybæum, 192. their fleet is entirely defeated near the islands Ægates, 196. they make a treaty of peace with the Romans, which terminate this war, 197. war of the Carthaginians with the mercenaries, 199

The Carthaginians are obliged to abandon Sardinia to the Romans, I. 211. they besiege and take Saguntum, 218. war between the two states again, 219. The Carthaginians pass the Rhone, 222. then the Alps, 226. their entrance into Italy, 230. they gain several victories over the Romans, near the Tici-nus, 231, &c. near Trebia, 234. near Thrasymenè, 239. they lose several battles in Spain, 247. they gain a famous victory over the Romans at Cannæ, 251. bad success of the Carthaginians, 259, 260, 264. they are attacked in Africa by the Romans, 266. they recall Hannibal from Italy, 267. they are entirely defeated at Zama, 272. they demand peace of the Romans, *ibid.* and obtain it, 273. differences between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, 295. third war of the Carthaginians and Romans, 302. Carthage sends

deputies to Rome to declare that it submits to the discretion of the Romans, 305. the latter order the Carthaginians to abandon their city, 308. the Carthaginians resolve to defend themselves, 311. the Romans besiege Carthage, 312. it is taken and demolished by Scipio, 323. it is rebuilt by Cæsar, 326. the Saracens destroy it entirely.

327

Carthage formed upon the model of Tyre, I. 102. religion of the Carthaginians, 104. their barbarous worship of Saturn, 106, 168. government of the Carthaginians, 109. suffetes, 111. senate, *ibid.* people, 112. tribunal of the hundred, 113. defects in the government of Carthage, 115. the courts of justice and the finances reformed by Hannibal, 279. wise custom of the Carthaginians in sending colonies into different countries, 116. commerce of Carthage, the principal source of its riches and power, 117. discovery of the gold and silver mines in Spain by the Carthaginians, second source of the riches and power of Carthage, 119. military power of Carthage, 120. arts and sciences in little esteem there, 124. characters, manners, and qualities of the Carthaginians, 128

Cartagena, city of Spain, I. 213

CARTHALO, commander of the auxiliary troops of the Carthaginians, declared guilty of treason, and why, I. 302

CASSANDER, general of the Thracians and Pæonians, in the army of Alexander, IV. 375

CASSANDER, son of Antipater, V. 75. provinces which fell to him after Alexander's death, 113. he puts Demades and his son to death, 151. he is asso-

ciated

- ciated with Polyperchon in the regency of the kingdom of Macedonia, V. 151. he takes Athens, 163. and establishes Demetrius Phalereus in the government of it, *ibid.* he puts Olympias to death, 175. he confines Roxana, the wife of Alexander, with Alexander her son, in the castle of Amphipolis, 176. he reinstates the city of Thebes, 177. he enters into the league formed against Antigonus, 194. he concludes a treaty with him, and breaks it immediately, 198. he puts to death the young king Alexander, with his mother Roxana, 208. he besieges Athens, of which Demetrius Poliorcetes had made himself master, 281. the latter obliges him to raise the siege, and defeats him near Thermopylæ, 252. Cassander concludes a league against Antigonus and Demetrius, 254. after the battle of Ipsus, he divides the empire of Alexander with three other princes, 258. death of Cassander, 264.
- CASSANDER, Macedonian, by Philip's order, massacres the inhabitants of Marcæna, VI. 180. that prince causes him to be put to death, 181.
- CASSIUS (*Lucius*) Roman general, is defeated by Mithridates, VII. 153.
- CASSIUS, quæstor of Crassus's army in the war with the Parthians, VII. 35. he puts himself at the head of the remains of that army, and prevents the Parthians from seizing Syria, 57. he forms a conspiracy against Cæsar, 264. he is entirely defeated by Anthony, *ibid.*
- Cat, veneration of the Egyptians for that animal, II. 179, VII. 247.
- Catracæ of Nile, I. 13
- CATO (*M. Portius*) surnamed the Censor, serves as lieutenant-general under the consul Acilius, VI. 107. his valour at the pass of Thermopylæ, *ibid.* he speaks in favour of the Rhodians in the senate, 393. he obtains the return of the exiles for the Achæans, 403. his conduct in respect to Carneades, and the other Athenian ambassadors, 412. he is appointed by the commonwealth to depose Ptolemy king of Cyprus, and to confiscate his treasures, 551.
- CATO, son of the former, acts prodigies of valour at the battle of Pydna, VI. 366.
- C. CATO, tribune of the people, opposes the re-establishment of Ptolemy, VII. 238, &c.
- Caythæans, people of India, subjected by Alexander, V. 23, 24.
- CEBALINUS discovers the conspiracy of Dymnus against Alexander, IV. 525.
- CECROPS, founder of Athens, II. 283. he institutes the Areopagus, *ibid.*
- Celene, city of Phrygia, famous for the river of Marsyas, IV. 388.
- CENDEBÆUS, general of Antiochus Sidetes, is defeated in Jerusalem by Judas and John, VI. 495.
- CENSORINUS (*L. Marcus*) consul, marches against Carthage, I. 305. he notifies the senate's orders to that city, 308. he forms the siege of Carthage, 312.
- Ceramica, suburb of Athens, III. 93.
- Cerasus, a city of Cappadocia, famous for its cherries, III. 352, VII. 218.
- Ceres, goddess: Feasts instituted in honour of her at Athens, I. xii

I N D E X.

- CERETHRIUS, one of the generals of the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece, V. 311
- Ceryces, priests at Athens, III. 262
- CESAR. See CÆSAR.
- Cestus, offensive arms of the Athletæ, I. lxxiv
- CETTHIM, son of Javan, and father of the Macedonians, II. 278, 279
- CHABRIAS, Athenian, without order of the commonwealth accepts the command of the auxiliary troops of Greece in the pay of Achoris, IV. 189. he is recalled by the Athenians, *ibid.* he serves Tachos again without the consent of his republick, 194. the Athenians employ him in the war against their allies, 207. he dies at the siege of Chio, 210. praise of Chabrias, 208
- CHÆREPHON, disciple of Socrates, III. 439
- Chæronea, city of Bœotia, famous for Philip's victory over the Athenians and Thebans; and for that of Sylla over the generals of Mithridates, IV. 325, VII. 163
- Chalcioicos, a temple of Minerva, at Sparta, V. 433
- Chalcis, city of Ætolia, II. 276
- Chaldeæans, addicted to the study of judicial astrology, II. 244. the sect of Sabæans formed of them, 252
- CHAM, son of Noah, worshipped in Africa under the name of Jupiter Ammon, I. 64
- CHARES, one of the generals of the Athenians in the war with the allies, IV. 210. his little capacity, 211. he writes to Athens against his two colleagues, *ibid.* he suffers himself to be corrupted by Artabafus, 206, 212. he is recalled to Athens, 207. he is sent to the aid of the Chersonefus, 308. the cities re-
- Vol. VII.
- fuse to open their gates to him, 309. he is defeated at Chæronea by Philip, 326
- CHARES, of Lindus, makes the Colossus of Rhodes, V. 246
- CHARILAUS made king of Sparta by Lycurgus, I. cxlii, II. 293
- Chariots armed with scythes much used by the ancients in battles, II. 222, &c.
- CHARITIMI, Athenian general, supports Inarus in his revolt against the Persians, III. 19
- Charon: His boat; origin of that fable, I. 45
- CHARON, Theban, receives Pelopidas and the conspirators into his house, IV. 126. he is elected Bœotarch, 132
- CHARONDAS is chosen legislator at Thurium, III. 93. he kills himself upon having broken one of his own laws, 95
- Chase, or Hunting; exercise much used amongst the ancients, III. 535
- CHELIDONIDA, daughter of Leontychidas, and wife of Cleonymus, V. 352. her passion for Acrotates, *ibid.*
- CHEONIDA, wife of Cleombrotus, V. 437. her tenderness for her husband, 438
- CHEOPS and CEPHRÆNUS, kings of Egypt, and brothers, equally inhuman and impious, I. 77
- CHILO, one of the seven sages of Greece, II. 354
- CHILO, Lacedæmonian, attempts to ascend the throne of Sparta, but ineffectually, V. 518.
- Chio, island of Greece, extolled for its excellent wine, II. 276, VII. 350
- CHIRISOPHUS, Lacedæmonian, is chosen general by the troops that made the retreat of the Ten Thousand, III. 335
- CHLENEAS, deputy from the Ætolians to Sparta to persuade that city to enter into the treaty con-
- E e
- cluded

- cluded with the Romans, V. 552
- Choaspes*, river of Babylonia, famous for the goodness of its waters, IV. 492
- Chœnix*, measure of corn amongst the ancients, III. 140
- Cborus* incorporated with tragedy, I. ci.
- Christians*: The refusal of the Jews to work in rebuilding the temple of Belus, a lesson of instruction for many Christians, V. 72
- CHRYSA NTES, commander in the army of Cyrus at the battle of Thymbraea, II. 113
- CHYNALADANUS. See SARACUS.
- CICERO (*M. Tullius*) his military exploits in Syria, VII. 57. he refuses a triumph, and why, 59. by his credit he causes Pompey to be appointed general against Mithridates, 214. his counsel to Lentulus, upon re-instating Ptolemy Auletes, 243. he discovers the tomb of Archimedes, 134. parallel between Cicero and Demosthenes, V. 130
- Cilicia*, province of Asia minor, I. xxxii
- CILLES, Ptolemy's lieutenant, loses a battle against Demetrius, who takes him prisoner, V. 201
- Cimmerians*, people of Scythia. They are driven out of their country, and go to Asia, II. 60. Halyattes king of Lydia obliges them to quit it, *ibid.*
- CIMON, son of Miltiades, when very young, signalizes himself by his piety to his father, II. 434. he encourages the Athenians by his example to abandon their city, and to embark, 481. he distinguishes himself at the battle of Salamin, 492. he commands the fleet sent by the Greeks to deliver their allies from the Persian yoke, in conjunction with Aristides, 525. the Athenians place Cimon at the head of their armies after Themistocles retires, III. 8. he makes several conquests in Thrace, and settles a colony there, 9. he makes himself master of the isle of Scyros, where he finds the bones of Theseus, which he brings to Athens, 10. his conduct in the division of the booty with the allies, 11. Cimon gains two victories over the Persians, near the river Eurymedon, in one day, 14. worthy use which he makes of the riches taken from the enemy, *ibid.* he makes new conquests in Thrace, 15. he marches to the aid of the Lacedæmonians, attacked by the Helots, 37. he is banished by the Athenians, 38. he quits his retreat, and repairs to his tribe to fight the Lacedæmonians, *ibid.* he is recalled from banishment, 39. he re-establishes peace between Athens and Sparta, *ibid.* he gains many victories, which oblige the Persians to conclude a treaty highly glorious for the Greeks, 40. he dies during the conclusion of the treaty, 41. character and praise of Cimon, 8, 9, 13, 41. use which he made of riches, 11
- CINEAS, Thessalian, famous orator, courtier of Pyrrhus, V. 324. his conversation with that prince, *ibid.* 325. Pyrrhus sends him ambassador to Rome, 332. his conduct during his stay there, 333. idea which he gives Pyrrhus of the Roman senate, *ibid.*
- CINNA, his oppressions and cruelties at Rome, VII. 169
- Cios*, city of Bithynia. Philip's cruel treatment of the inhabitants of that city, VI. 5, 6
- Claros*, city of Ionia, famous for the oracles of Apollo, I. lii
- CLAUDIUS

I N D E X.

- CLAUDIUS** (*Appius*) See **APPIUS**.
CLAUDIUS (*Gento*) Roman officer, is sent by Sulpitius to the aid of Athens, VI. 13. he ravages the city of Chalcis, *ibid*.
CLAUDIUS (*C.*) sent by the Romans into Achaia: His conduct in respect to that people, VI. 399
Clazomenæ, city of Ionia, II. 288
CLEADES, Theban, endeavours to excuse the rebellion of his country to Alexander, IV. 366
CLEANDER, Alexander's lieutenant in Media, assassinates Parmenio by his order, IV. 532
CLARCHUS, Lacedæmonian captain, takes refuge with Cyrus the Younger, III. 317. he is placed at the head of the Greek troops in that prince's expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, 319. he is victorious on his side at the battle of Cunaxa, 326. he commands the Greek troops in their retreat after the battle, 335. he is seized by treachery, and sent to Artaxerxes, who causes him to be put to death, 341. praise of Clarchus, *ibid*.
CLEOBIS and **BITON**, brothers, models of fraternal affection, II. 63
CLEOBULUS, one of the seven sages of Greece, II. 356
CLEOCRITUS of Corinth appeases the dispute between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians after the battle of Plataæ, II. 507
CLEOMBROTUS, king of Sparta, marches against the Thebans, IV. 142. he is killed at the battle of Leuctra, 145
CLEOMBROTUS, son-in-law of Leonidas, causes himself to be elected king of Sparta to the prejudice of his father-in-law, V. 433. he is dethroned soon after by Leonidas, 437. and banished from Sparta, 439
CLEOMENES, governor of Egypt for Alexander, V. 68
CLEOMENES, king of Sparta, refuses to join the Ionians in their revolt against the Persians, II. 408. he marches against the people of Ægina, 423. he effects the expulsion of his colleague Demaratus from the throne, *ibid*. he reduces the people of Ægina, and dies soon after, *ibid*.
CLEOMENES, son of Leonidas, marries Agiatis, V. 443. he ascends the throne of Sparta, 445. he enters into a war with the Achæans, 446. he gains many advantages over them, *ibid*. &c. he reforms the government of Sparta, and re-establishes the ancient discipline, 447, 448. he gains new advantages over the Achæans, 449, 451, 456. he sends his mother and children as hostages into Egypt, 459. he takes Megalopolis by surprize, 461. he is defeated at Selasia by Antigonus king of Macedonia, 470, &c. he retires into Egypt, 472. Ptolemy's reception of him, 474, 475. he cannot obtain permission to return into his country, 509. unfortunate death of Cleomenes, 511. his character, 444, 474
CLEON, Athenian, his extraction, III. 105. by his credit with the people, he prevents the conclusion of a peace between Sparta and Athens, 141. he reduces the Lacedæmonians, shut up in the island of Sphacteria, 144. he marches against Brasidas, and advances to the walls of Amphipolis, 159. surprized by Brasidas, he flies and is killed by a soldier, 160
CLEON, flatterer in Alexander's court, endeavours to persuade

I N D E X.

- the Macedonians to prostrate themselves before that prince, V. 562
- CLEONNIS commands the troops of the Messenians in the first war with Sparta, I. cxliv. after the battle of Ithoma, he disputes the prize of valour with Aristomenes, cxlvi. he afterwards disputes the crown with him on the death of king Euphaes, cxlviii
- CLEONYMUS, Spartan, being disappointed of the throne, retires to Pyrrhus, and engages him to march against Sparta, V. 352. history of this Cleonymus, *ibid.*
- CLEOPATRA, niece of Attalus, marries Philip king of Macedonia, IV. 335
- CLEOPATRA, Philip's daughter, is married to Alexander king of Epirus, IV. 336. Antigonus causes her to be put to death, V. 210
- CLEOPATRA, daughter of Antiochus the Great, is promised and then given in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes, VI. 28, 83. after her husband's death she is declared regent of the kingdom, and her son's guardian, 201. death of that princess, 242
- CLEOPATRA, daughter of Ptolemy Epiphanes, makes an accommodation between her brothers Philometor and Evergetes, VI. 242. after the death of Philometor her husband, she marries Physcon, 482, 483. that prince puts her away to marry one of her daughters, 511. the Alexandrians place her upon the throne in Physcon's stead, 512. she is obliged to take refuge in Syria, 513
- CLEOPATRA, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, is married to Alexander Bala, VI. 478. her father takes her from Alexander, and marries her to Deme-
- trius, 481. whilst her husband is kept prisoner by the Parthians, she marries Antiochus Sidetes, 494. after the death of Sidetes, she returns to Demetrius, 514. she causes the gates of Ptolemais to be shut against him, *ibid.* she kills Seleucus her eldest son, 516. she dies of poison, which she would have given her second son Grypus, 518
- CLEOPATRA, Philometor's daughter, marries Physcon, VI. 482. after her husband's death, she reigns in Egypt with her son Lathyrus, whom she first obliges to repudiate his eldest sister Cleopatra, and to marry his youngest sister Selena, 519. she gives her son Alexander the kingdom of Cyprus, 522. she takes his wife Selena from Lathyrus, drives him out of Egypt, and sets his younger brother Alexander upon the throne, 527, 528. she aids this prince against his brother, 528. she marries Selena to Antiochus Grypus, 531. Alexander causes her to be put to death, 535
- CLEOPATRA, Physcon's daughter, and wife of Lathyrus, is repudiated by her husband, VI. 520. she gives herself to Antiochus the Cyziceniian, *ibid.* Tryphæna her sister causes her to be murdered, 522
- CLEOPATRA, daughter of Lathyrus. See BERENICE.
- CLEOPATRA, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, ascends the throne of Egypt in conjunction with her eldest brother, VII. 248. she is dethroned by the young king's guardians, 249. she raises troops to reinstate herself. *ibid.* she repairs to Cæsar, and with what view, 254. Cæsar establishes her queen of Egypt, jointly with her brother, 261. she

I N D E X.

- she puts her brother to death, and reigns alone in Egypt, VII. 263. after Cæsar's death she declares for the Triumvirs, 264. she goes to Anthony at Tarsus, 265. gets the ascendant of him, 267. she carries him to Alexandria, 268. her jealousy of Octavia, 272, 273. coronation of Cleopatra and her children, 274. she accompanies Anthony in his expeditions, 275. the Romans declare war against her, 281. she flies at the battle of Actium, 282. and returns to Alexandria, 283. she endeavours to gain Augustus, and designs to sacrifice Anthony to him, *ibid.* she retires into the tombs of the kings of Egypt, to avoid Anthony's fury, 287. that Roman expires in her arms, 288. she obtains permission from Cæsar to bury Anthony, 291. she has a conversation with Cæsar, *ibid.* &c. to avoid serving as an ornament in Cæsar's triumph, she dies by the bite of an asp, 293. character of Cleopatra, 287, 294. her arts to keep Anthony in her chains, 273. the taste she retained for polite learning and the sciences, in the midst of her excesses, 270
- CLEOPHE, mother of Assacanus, king of the Mazagæ, reigns after the death of her son, V. 8. she surrenders to Alexander, who reinstates her in her dominions, 10
- CLEOPHON, Athenian orator, animates the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians, III. 259. his character, 260
- CLINIAS, citizen of Sicyon, is put to death by Abantidas, V. 405
- CLINIAS, Greek, of the island of Cos, commands the Egyptians in their revolt against Ochus, and is killed in a battle, IV. 228
- CLISTHENES, tyrant of Sicyon: His method in the choice of a son-in-law, II. 332
- CLISTHENES, of the family of the Almæonidæ, forms a faction at Athens, II. 341. he is obliged to quit that place, but returns soon after, *ibid.*
- CLITOMACHUS, Carthaginian philosopher, I. 124
- CLITUS, one of Alexander's captains, saves the life of that prince at the battle of the Granicus, IV. 380. Alexander gives him the government of the provinces of Ariabafus, 552. and kills him the same day at a feast, 553, &c.
- CLITUS, commander of Antipater's fleet, gains two victories over the Athenians, V. 123. Antigonus takes the government of Lydia from him, 153
- CLODIUS, Roman, is taken by pirates, against whom he had been sent, VI. 551. he requests Ptolemy king of Cyprus to send him money for paying his ransom, *ibid.* in resentment to Ptolemy, he obtains an order from the Roman people for dispossessing him of his dominions, 552
- CLODIUS (*Appius*) is sent by Lucullus to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates, VII. 190, 193. his discourse occasions the army to revolt against Lucullus, 209. character of Clodius, *ibid.*
- CLONDICUS, general of the Gauls, called in by Perseus to his aid, VI. 350
- Cnidus, a maritime city of Asia minor, famous for Conon's victory over the Lacedæmonians, II. 289, III. 395
- COBRUS, the last king of Athens, II. 284
- Cælesyria, province of Asia minor, I xxxii
- COENUS, one of Alexander's captains, speaks to him in behalf

I N D E X.

- of his soldiers, V. 32. his death, 34, his praise, *ibid.*
- Colchis*, province of Asia, I. xxx
- Colonies*. Advantages derived from them by the ancients, I. 117
- Colossus* of Rhodes: Description of it, V. 246. fate of that famous statue, 376
- Combats* celebrated by the ancients. See *Battles*.
- Combats*, publick ones of Greece, I. lxiii, &c. why encouraged, lxiv. rewards granted to the victors, lxxxvii. difference of the Greeks and Romans in their taste for these combats, xc. disputes for the prizes of poetry, *xcv*
- Comedian*. The profession of a comedian not dishonourable amongst the Greeks, I. lxvii, &c.
- Comedy*: Its beginnings and origin, I. cxi. comedy divided into three classes; the ancient, cxii. the middle, cxx. and the new, *ibid.*
- Conon*, Athenian general, is shut up by Cyllicratidas in the port of Mitylene, III. 274. he is delivered soon after, 277. he retires into Cyprus after the defeat of the Athenians at Ægospotamos, 287. he goes to Artaxerxes, who makes him admiral of his fleet, 395. he defeats the Lacedæmonians near Cnidus, *ibid.* he rebuilds the walls of Athens, 402. he is sent by the Athenians to Teribasus, who imprisons him, 403. death of Conon, 404. immunities granted by the Athenians to himself and his children, IV. 247
- Conon*, of Samos, mathematician, V. 391
- Conquerors*: In what manner the conquerors so much boasted in history are to be considered, II. 173, 450, V. 95, &c.
- Consuls Roman*: Solemnity of their setting out upon expeditions, VI. 311, 312
- Corcyra*, island in the Ionian sea, with a city of the same name, II. 275. its inhabitants promise aid to the Greeks against the Persians, 465. dispute between Corcyra and Corinth, III. 58
- Corinth*, city of Greece; its different forms of government, II. 286. and Corcyra, which occasions the Peloponnesian war, III. 58. Corinth sends aid to the Syracusans besieged by the Athenians, 303. enters into a league against Sparta, 389. is besieged by Agesilaus, 401. sends Timoleon to the aid of Syracuse against Dionysius the Younger, IV. 99. is obliged, by the peace of Antalcides, to withdraw her garrison from Argos, 117. gives Alexander the freedom of the city, V. 64. enters into the Achæan league, 420. insults the deputies sent by Metellus to appease the troubles, VI. 426. the Romans destroy Corinth entirely, 431
- Coriphæus*, person employed in theatrical representations, I. cii
- CORNELIA*, Roman lady, mother of the Gracchi, rejects Physcon's proposal to marry her, VI. 466
- CORNELIA*, Pompey's wife, sees her husband assassinated before her eyes, VII. 251
- Coronea*, city of Bœotia, famous for the victory of Agesilaus over the Thebans, III. 397
- Corvus* (or *Crane*) machine of war, I. 179
- Cos*, island of Greece, Hippocrates's country, III. 110
- COSIS*, brother of Orodes, commands the army against the Albanians, VII. 224. Pompey kills him in battle, *ibid.*
- Cesmi*, magistrates of Crete, III. 503
- Cossæans*, very warlike nation of Media, subjected by Alexander, V. 62
- Cothen*,

I N D E X.

- Colbon*, name of the port of Carthage, I. 320
- COTTA*, Roman consul, is defeated by Mithridates, VII. 181. his cruelties at Heraclea, 194
- Cotyla*, measure of Attica, III. 140
- COTYS*, king of the Odrysæ in Thrace, declares for Perseus against the Romans, VI. 304. the latter dismiss his son without ransom, 386
- Courage*; wherein true courage consists, III. 281
- Courier*. Invention of couriers, II. 154, 213
- Course*, or *Racing*: Exercise of it by the Greeks, I. lxxviii. of the foot-race, lxxix. of the horse-race, lxxxi. of the chariot-race, ibid.
- Courtiers*: Wherein their merit and ability consist, III. 267
- CRANAUS*, king of Athens, II. 283
- CRASSUS*, consul, marches against the Parthians, VII. 28. he plunders the temple of Jerusalem, 29, 30. he continues his march against the Parthians, 32. he is entirely defeated near Carræ, 38. the Parthians, under pretence of an interview, seize and kill him, 56
- CRASSUS*, son of the former, accompanies his father in his expedition against the Parthians, VII. 30. he perishes in the battle of Carræ, 43
- CRATERUS*, one of the principal officers of Alexander, draws on the ruin of Philotas by his discourse, IV. 527. he speaks to Alexander in the name of the army, and upon what occasion, V. 38. that prince gives him the government of Macedonia which Antipater had before, 61. provinces which fell to him after Alexander's death, V. 112. he marries Phila, Antipater's daughter, 133. he is defeated by Eumenes, and killed in the battle, 143
- CRATESICLEA*, mother of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, is sent by her son as an hostage into Egypt, V. 459. generous sentiments of that prince, ibid.
- CRATESIPOLIS*, wife of Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, corrects the insolence of the Sicyonians, who had killed her husband, and governs that city with wisdom, V. 178, 179
- CHRESPHONTES*, one of the chiefs of the Heraclidæ, re-enters Peloponnesus, where Messenia falls to him by lot, II. 288
- Crete*, island near Greece, description of it, II. 275. laws of Greece instituted by Minos, III. 499, &c. the Cretans refuse to join the Greeks attacked by Xerxes, II. 466, 467. they passed for the greatest liars of antiquity, III. 508
- CRISPINUS* (2.) succeeds Appius, who commanded with Marcellus at the siege of Syracuse, VII. 123
- CRITIAS*, one of the thirty tyrants at Athens, causes Theramenes, one of his colleagues, to be put to death, III. 304, 305. he prohibits the instruction of the youth by Socrates, 306. he is killed fighting against Thrasybulus, 307
- CRITO*, intimate friend of Socrates, cannot persuade him to escape out of prison, III. 469
- CRITOLAUS*, Peripatetick philosopher, his embassy to Rome, VI. 412
- CRITOLAUS*, one of the chiefs of the Achæans, animates them against the Romans, VI. 425, &c. he is killed in a battle, 428
- Crocodile*, amphibious animal, adored in Egypt, I. 40
- CROESUS* king of Lydia, II. 61. his conquests, ibid. his means

I N D E X.

- to try the veracity of the oracles, II. 67, 68. deceived by the answer of the oracle of Delphi, he undertakes a war with the Persians, 69. he loses a battle against Cyrus, 95. he is defeated near Thymbraea, 110. Cyrus besieges him in Sardis, 123. and takes him prisoner, 124. in what manner he escaped the punishment to which he had been condemned, 125. character of Cræsus, 65. his riches, 61. his protection of the learned, *ibid.* his reception of Solon, *ibid.* his conversation with that philosopher, 62. on what occasion he dedicated a statue of gold in the temple of Delphi to the woman who baked his bread, I. lxii
- CROMWELL.** His death compared with that of Dionysius the Tyrant, IV. 53
- Croton**, city of Greece, built by Myscellus, III. 90
- Crowns** granted to the victorious combatants in the games of Greece, I. lxxv, lxxxvii
- CRESIAS**, of Cnidos, practises physick in Persia with great reputation, III. 366. his works place him in the number of the historians, *ibid.*
- Cunaxa**, city famous for the battle between Artaxerxes and his brother Cyrus, III. 323
- CYAXARES I.** reigns in Media, II. 52. he forms the siege of Nineveh, *ibid.* an irruption of the Scythians into Media obliged him to raise the siege, 53. he besieges Nineveh again and takes it, 54. his death, 56
- CYAXARES II.** called in Scripture Darius the Mede, ascends the throne of Media, II. 57. he sends to demand aid of Persia against the Assyrians, 78. expedition of Cyaxares and Cyrus against the Babylonians, 93.
- Cyaxares gives his daughter to Cyrus in marriage, 105. he goes to Babylon with that prince, and forms in concert with him the plan of the whole monarchy, 154. death of Cyaxares, 157
- CYCLIADUS**, president of the assembly of the Achæans held at Argos, eludes Philip's proposal, VI. 115
- CYLON**, known by taking the citadel of Athens, III. 65
- CYNÆGIRUS**, Athenian. His tenacious fierceness against the Persians in a sea-fight with them, II. 429
- CYNISCA**, sister of Agefilaus, disputes the prize in the Olympick games, and is proclaimed victorious, I. lxxxvi, III. 400
- Cynoscéphale**, an hill in Thessaly, famous for the victory of the Romans over Philip, VI. 45
- Cyprus**, island in the Mediterranean, delivered from the Persian yoke by the Greeks, II. 525. revolt of that island against Ochus, IV. 223. it submits, 227. horrible and bloody tragedy that passes there at the death of Nicocles, V. 199. after having been governed sometimes by the kings of Egypt, and sometimes by the kings of Syria, it is subjected to the Romans, VII. 553, 554
- CYPSELUS**, Corinthian, usurps supreme authority at Corinth, and transmits it to his son, II. 286
- Cyrene**, city upon the coast of the Mediterranean: In what manner the dispute between this city and Carthage, concerning their limits, is terminated, I. 135
- Cyropolis**, city of Sogdiana, destroyed by Alexander, IV. 539
- CYRUS**, son of Cambyfes king of Persia: Birth of that prince, II. 56, 72. his education, *ibid.* he goes to the court of his grandfather Astyages, 74. his return into

I N D E X.

into Persia, II. 77. he marches to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares against the Babylonians, 78. 79. he reduces the king of Armenia, 85. he gains a first advantage over Cræsus, and the Babylonians, 95. his conduct to Panthæa, 98. he challenges the king of the Assyrians to a single combat, 103. he returns to Cyaxares, 104. that prince gives him his daughter in marriage, 105.

Cyrus marches to meet the Babylonians, II. 109. he gains a famous victory over them and Cræsus at the battle of Thymbraea, 110. he makes himself master of Sardis, and takes Cræsus prisoner, 123. he advances to Babylon, 127. and takes it, 137. conduct of Cyrus after the taking of Babylon, 145. he shews himself with great pomp to the newly-conquered people, 150. he goes to Persia, 154. at his return he carries Cyaxares to Babylon, and forms the plan of the whole monarchy, in concert with him, *ibid.* after the death of Cyaxares he reigns over the Medes and Persians, 157. he passes a famous edict in favour of the Jews, *ibid.* last years of Cyrus, 164. his death, and discourse with his children before his death, 165. praise and character of Cyrus, 167. &c. his continual attention to render the Divinity the worship he thought due to him, 121. difference of Herodotus and Xenophon in respect to Cyrus the Great, 175.

CYRUS, the younger son of Darius, is made governor in chief of all the provinces of Asia minor by his father, III. 153. his father recalls him, 283. after the death of Darius he forms the design of assassinating his brother, 296. he is sent back into Asia minor, 297. he se-

cretly raises troops against his brother, 316. he sets out from Sardis, 320. the battle of Cunaxa, 323. he is killed in it, 327. praise of Cyrus, 331.

Cythera, island of Greece, facing Laconia, II. 276.

Cyzicum, city of Propontis, VII. 182.

D.

DÆDALA, country of India, subjected by Alexander, V. 8.

DÆMON, or familiar spirit of Socrates, III. 436.

DAMIPIUS, Syracusan, sent by Epiicydes to negotiate with Philip king of Macedonia, VII. 124.

DAMIS disputes with Aristomenes the succession to the kingdom of Messenia after the death of Euphaes, I. cxlviii.

DAMOCLES learns, by his own experience, that the life of Dionysius the Tyrant was not so happy as it seemed, IV. 51.

DAMOCRITUS deputed to Nabis by the Ætolians, VI. 81. his insolent answer to Quintius, 94. he is made prisoner of war at the siege of Heraclea, 111.

DAMOCRITUS, chief magistrate of the Achæans, causes war to be declared against the Lacedæmonians, VI. 424.

DAMON, friend of Pythias. Trial to which their friendship was put, IV. 50.

DANAUS forms a design to murder Sesostris his brother, I. 74. he retires into Peloponnesus, where he seizes the kingdom of Argos, *ibid.* II. 282.

Dancing cultivated by the Greeks, III. 531.

DANIEL, prophet, is carried into captivity to Babylon, II. 35. he explains Nabucadonofor's first dream, *ibid.* and the second, 40. he is raised to the principal offices of the state, 36. discovers the fraud of the priests of Bel, and

and causes the dragon to be killed, II. 41. visions of the prophet Daniel, 43, 160. he explains to Belshazzar the vision that prince had at a banquet, 43. he is made superintendant of the affairs of the empire, 155. he is thrown into the lions den, *ibid.* at his request Cyrus grants the edict, whereby the Jews are permitted to return to Jerusalem, 157. Daniel's skill in architecture, 159. reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, 160, &c.

Daricks, pieces of gold struck by Darius the Mede, II. 156, 218, III. 267

Darius the Mede: Cyaxares II, king of the Medes, is so called in Scripture. See CYAXARES.

DARIUS, son of Hystaspes. He enters into the conspiracy against Smerdis the Magian, II. 192. he runs him through with a sword, 193. he is made king of Persia by an artifice of his groom, 195. the esteem he acquires by his wisdom and prudence, 201. he quits the name of Ochus to assume that of Darius, 365. marriages of Darius, *ibid.* 366. his method for transmitting to posterity the manner in which he attained the sovereignty, *ibid.* order which he establishes in the administration of the finances, 367. his moderation in imposing tributes, *ibid.* the Persians give him the surname of *The Merchant*, 368. he sends Democedes the physician into Greece, 374. he confirms the edict of Cyrus in favour of the Jews, 376. his gratitude to Syloson, whom he re-establishes king of Samos, 377, 378

Darius reduces Babylon after a siege of twenty months, II. 378, &c. expedition of Darius

against the Scythians, 391. Artabanus's remonstrance to Darius, *ibid.* &c. barbarous actions of Darius to the three children of Oebasus, 395. Darius conquers India, 403. he conceives the design of making himself master of Naxus, 404. the Ionians revolt against Darius, 406. he re-establishes the Tyrians in their ancient privileges, *ibid.* resentment conceived by Darius against the Athenians, who had shared in the burning of Sardis, 410. his expedition against Greece, 415. he sends heralds into Greece to found the states, and to demand their submission, 422. his army is defeated at Marathon, 424, &c. Darius resolves to go in person against Egypt and Greece, 436. he chuses his successor, 437. his death, 440. his epitaph, *ibid.* his character, *ibid.* &c. dispute between two of his sons for the crown, 438

DARIUS, the eldest son of Xerxes: His marriage with Artainta, II. 515, &c. he is murdered by his brother Artaxerxes, 543

DARIUS NOTHUS takes arms against Sogdianus, and puts him to death, III. 148. he ascends the throne of Persia, and changes his name from Ochus to Darius, 149. he causes his brother Artabanes, who had revolted against him, to be smothered in ashes, 150. puts a stop to the rebellion of Pisuthnes, *ibid.* 151. and punishes the treason of Artaxares his principal eunuch, 152. he quells the revolt of Egypt, 153. and that of Media, *ibid.* he gives the government of Asia minor to Cyrus his younger son, *ibid.* the instructions he gives him on sending him to his government, 266. Darius recalls Cyrus to court, 283, 284. death.

I N D E X.

- death of Darius Nothus, III. 293. his memorable words to Artaxerxes his successor at his death, 295
- DARIUS**, son of Artaxerxes Mne-
mon, conspires against his fa-
ther's life, IV. 199. his conspi-
racy is discovered and punished,
ibid. 200
- DARIUS CODOMANUS** is placed
by Bagoas upon the throne of
Persia, IV. 233. he loses the
battle of the Granicus against
Alexander, 378, &c. he orders
Memnon the Rhodian to carry
the war into Macedonia, 389.
Darius resolves to command in
person, 390. Caridemus, his
free remonstrance to Darius, 396,
&c. march of Darius's army,
398. famous victory of Alex-
ander over Darius near the city
of Issus, 400, &c.
- Darius's haughty letter to
Alexander, IV. 419. second
letter of Darius to Alexander,
447. Darius receives advice of
his wife's death, 469. his prayer
to the gods upon being told in
what manner she had been treat-
ed by Alexander, 471. Darius
proposes new conditions of peace
to Alexander, which are not ac-
cepted, 475. famous battle of
Arbela, wherein Darius is de-
feated, 479. &c. retreat of Da-
rius after that battle, 487. he
quits Ecbatana, 503. his speech
to his principal officers to induce
them to march against the ene-
my, 504. he is betrayed and
laid in chains by Bessus and Na-
barzanes, 505. unhappy death
of that prince, 508. his last
words, ibid.
- DARIUS**, king of the Medes, is
subdued by Pompey, VII. 225
- DATAMES**, Carian, succeeds his
father Camisares in the govern-
ment of Leuco-Syria, III. 422.
he reduces Thyus, governor of
Paphlagonia, who had revolted
against the king of Persia, 423.
he receives the command of the
army designed against Egypt,
ibid. he is ordered to reduce
Aspis, 424. he revolts against
Artaxerxes, 425. and gains se-
veral advantages over the troops
sent against him, 427. he is as-
sassinated by order of Artaxerxes,
428
- DATIS** commands the army of
the Persians at the battle of Ma-
rathon, II. 425
- Debts**. Laws of the Egyptians in
respect to those who contracted
debts, I. 32, 33. Solon's law
for annihilating debts, II. 323
- Decelia**, fort of Attica, III. 204.
is fortified by the Lacedæmoni-
ans, 218
- DEIDAMIA**, daughter of Æacides,
wife of Demetrius, son of An-
tigonus, V. 261, 262. her
death, 263
- DEJOCES** forms the design of as-
cending the throne of Media,
II. 44, &c. he is elected king
by unanimous consent, 46. con-
duct of Dejoces in governing
his kingdom, 47. he builds Ec-
batana, 48. means he used for
acquiring the respect of his sub-
jects, 49, 264
- DEJOTARUS**, prince of Galatia:
Pompey gives him Armenia mi-
nor, VII. 230. repartee of that
prince to Crassus, 209
- Delium**. Place in Bœotia. Battle
there between the Athenians and
Thebans, III. 156
- Delos**, one of the Cyclades. The
common treasures of Greece de-
posited in that island, II. 534.
the Athenians send a ship every
year to Delos, III. 468. Arche-
laus subjects Delos, and restores
it to the Athenians, VII. 155
- Delphos**, city of Phocis, famous for
Apollo's oracle there, I. liii.
the Pythia and Sybil of Delphi,
1.

and causes the dragon to be killed, II. 41. visions of the prophet Daniel, 43, 160. he explains to Belshazzar the vision that prince had at a banquet, 43. he is made superintendant of the affairs of the empire, 155. he is thrown into the lions den, *ibid.* at his request Cyrus grants the edict, whereby the Jews are permitted to return to Jerusalem, 157. Daniel's skill in architecture, 159. reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, 160, &c.

Daricks, pieces of gold struck by Darius the Mede, II. 156, 218, III. 267

Darius the Mede: Cyaxares II, king of the Medes, is so called in Scripture. See CYAXARES.

DARIUS, son of Hystaspes. He enters into the conspiracy against Smerdis the Magian, II. 192. he runs him through with a sword, 193. he is made king of Persia by an artifice of his groom, 195. the esteem he acquires by his wisdom and prudence, 201. he quits the name of Ochus to assume that of Darius, 365. marriages of Darius, *ibid.* 366. his method for transmitting to posterity the manner in which he attained the sovereignty, *ibid.* order which he establishes in the administration of the finances, 367. his moderation in imposing tributes, *ibid.* the Persians give him the surname of *The Merchant*, 368. he sends Democedes the physician into Greece, 374. he confirms the edict of Cyrus in favour of the Jews, 376. his gratitude to Syloson, whom he re-establishes king of Samos, 377, 378

Darius reduces Babylon after a siege of twenty months, II. 378, &c. expedition of Darius

against the Scythians, 391. Artabanus's remonstrance to Darius, *ibid.* &c. barbarous actions of Darius to the three children of Oebasus, 395. Darius conquers India, 403. he conceives the design of making himself master of Naxus, 404. the Ionians revolt against Darius, 406. he re-establishes the Tyrians in their ancient privileges, *ibid.* resentment conceived by Darius against the Athenians, who had shared in the burning of Sardis, 410. his expedition against Greece, 415. he sends heralds into Greece to sound the states, and to demand their submission, 422. his army is defeated at Marathon, 424, &c. Darius resolves to go in person against Egypt and Greece, 436. he chuses his successor, 437. his death, 440. his epitaph, *ibid.* his character, *ibid.* &c. dispute between two of his sons for the crown, 438

DARIUS, the eldest son of Xerxes: His marriage with Artainta, II. 515, &c. he is murdered by his brother Artaxerxes, 543

DARIUS NOTHUS takes arms against Sogdianus, and puts him to death, III. 148. he ascends the throne of Persia, and changes his name from Ochus to Darius, 149. he causes his brother Artabates, who had revolted against him, to be smothered in ashes, 150. puts a stop to the rebellion of Pisuthnes, *ibid.* 151. and punishes the treason of Artaxares his principal eunuch, 152. he quells the revolt of Egypt, 153. and that of Media, *ibid.* he gives the government of Asia minor to Cyrus his younger son, *ibid.* the instructions he gives him on sending him to his government, 266. Darius recalls Cyrus to court, 283, 284. death.

I N D E X.

- death of Darius Nothus, III. 293. his memorable words to Artaxerxes his successor at his death, 295
- DARIUS**, son of Artaxerxes Mne-
mon, conspires against his father's life, IV. 199. his conspiracy is discovered and punished, ibid. 200
- DARIUS CODOMANUS** is placed by Bagoas upon the throne of Persia, IV. 233. he loses the battle of the Granicus against Alexander, 378, &c. he orders Memnon the Rhodian to carry the war into Macedonia, 389. Darius resolves to command in person, 390. Caridemus, his free remonstrance to Darius, 396, &c. march of Darius's army, 398. famous victory of Alexander over Darius near the city of Issus, 400, &c.
- Darius's haughty letter to Alexander, IV. 419. second letter of Darius to Alexander, 447. Darius receives advice of his wife's death, 469. his prayer to the gods upon being told in what manner she had been treated by Alexander, 471. Darius proposes new conditions of peace to Alexander, which are not accepted, 475. famous battle of Arbela, wherein Darius is defeated, 479. &c. retreat of Darius after that battle, 487. he quits Ecbatana, 503. his speech to his principal officers to induce them to march against the enemy, 504. he is betrayed and laid in chains by Bessus and Nabarzanes, 505. unhappy death of that prince, 508. his last words, ibid.
- DARIUS**, king of the Medes, is subdued by Pompey, VII. 225
- DATAMES**, Carian, succeeds his father Camisares in the government of Leuco-Syria, III. 422. he reduces Thyus, governor of Paphlagonia, who had revolted against the king of Persia, 423. he receives the command of the army designed against Egypt, ibid. he is ordered to reduce Aspis, 424. he revolts against Artaxerxes, 425. and gains several advantages over the troops sent against him, 427. he is assassinated by order of Artaxerxes, 428
- DATIS** commands the army of the Persians at the battle of Marathon, II. 425
- Debt.** Laws of the Egyptians in respect to those who contracted debts, I. 32, 33. Solon's law for annihilating debts, II. 323
- Decelia**, fort of Attica, III. 204. is fortified by the Lacedæmonians, 218
- DEIDAMIA**, daughter of Æacides, wife of Demetrius, son of Antigonus, V. 261, 262. her death, 263
- DEJOCES** forms the design of ascending the throne of Media, II. 44, &c. he is elected king by unanimous consent, 46. conduct of Dejoces in governing his kingdom, 47. he builds Ecbatana, 48. means he used for acquiring the respect of his subjects, 49, 264
- DEJOTARUS**, prince of Galatia: Pompey gives him Armenia minor, VII. 230. repartee of that prince to Crassus, 209
- Delium**. Place in Bœotia. Battle there between the Athenians and Thebans, III. 156
- Delos**, one of the Cyclades. The common treasures of Greece deposited in that island, II. 534. the Athenians send a ship every year to Delos, III. 468. Archelaus subjects Delos, and restores it to the Athenians, VII. 155
- Delphos**, city of Phocis, famous for Apollo's oracle there, I. liii. the Pythia and Sybil of Delphi, 1.

I. liii, liv. temple of Delphos burnt and rebuilt, lxi
Delta, or Lower Egypt, I. 22
Deluge of Deucalion, II. 283. that of Ogyges, ibid.
DEMADES opposes the advice of Demosthenes, IV. 282. he is taken prisoner at the battle of Chæronea, 326. he goes ambassador to Alexander from the Athenians, 368. he prepares the decree for the death of Demosthenes, V. 125. Demades with his son Cassander killed, 151
DEMARATA, wife of Andronodorus: She persuades her husband not to submit to the senate of Syracuse, VII. 107, 108. she is killed, 110
DEMARATUS, king of Sparta, expelled the throne by Cleomenes his colleague, II. 423. his fine and noble answer to Xerxes, 463, 475. vain and insolent demand of Demaratus to Artaxerxes, III. 7
DEMETRIUS (*Phalereus*) he is obliged to quit Athens, and is condemned to die in his absence, V. 127, 155. Cassander settles him there to govern the republick, 163. his wisdom and ability in the government, 164. &c. three hundred and sixty statues are erected to him out of gratitude, 213. reflection upon that great number of statues erected in honour of Demetrius Phalereus, 221. he retires to Thebes after the taking of Athens by Demetrius Poliorcetes, 215. his statues are thrown down, and he is condemned to die at Athens, 218, II. 433. he takes refuge with Cassander, and afterwards in Egypt, V. 219, 220. he is made intendant of king Ptolemy's library, 286. his death, 302. character of his eloquence and writings, ibid, &c.

DEMETRIUS, son of Antigonus, surnamed Poliorcetes: His character, V. 229, 272, &c. he begins to make himself known in Asia minor, 196. he loses a battle at Gaza against Ptolemy, 200. he gains one soon after against Cilles, the same Ptolemy's lieutenant, 201. he is sent by his father to Babylon against Seleucus, 205. he makes Ptolemy raise the siege of Halicarnassus, ibid. he makes himself master of Athens, 214. and reinstates the democratical government, 216, &c. excessive gratitude of the Athenians to him, 217, &c. his marriage, 224. he besieges Salamina, 223, &c. and takes it, 224. he receives the title of king, 225. his conduct in war and peace, 229

Demetrius forms the siege of Rhodes, V. 230, &c. he makes Cassander raise the siege of Athens, 252. excessive honours which he receives in that city, ibid. he marries *Deidamia*, 253. he is proclaimed general of the Greeks, and initiated into the great and lesser mysteries, ibid. 254. he is defeated at the battle of Ipsus, 257. Athens shuts her gates against him, 262. he takes that city, 267. he forms the design of subjeeting the Lacedæmonians, 268. he loses almost at the same time all his dominions in Asia, ibid. Demetrius called in to the aid of Alexander, Cassander's son, Demetrius, destroys him, and is proclaimed king of Macedonia, 270. he makes great preparations for recovering his father's empire in Asia, 271. he is obliged to abandon Macedonia, 272. he surrenders himself to Seleucus, who keeps him prisoner, 279, &c. his death, 281.
 DEME-

I N D E X.

- DEMETRIUS, brother of Antigonus Gonatas, is put to death in Apamea's bed, V. 375
- DEMETRIUS, son and successor of Antigonus Gonatas, I. clxi, V. 395, 402. his death, 418
- DEMETRIUS of Pharos, prince of Illyria, V. 419. he advises Philip king of Macedonia to carry the war into Italy, 544
- DEMETRIUS, son of Philip king of Macedonia, is given as an hostage to the Romans, VI. 55. the Romans send him back to his father, 113. Philip sends Demetrius ambassador to Rome, 181. Demetrius justifies his father to the Romans, 202. he returns into Macedonia, 203. Perseus's secret plot against his brother Demetrius, 207. he accuses him to his father, 208. Demetrius's defence against the accusations of Perseus, 219. Philip causes him to be put to death, 230
- DEMETRIUS SOTER, after having been long an hostage at Rome, demands permission to return into Syria in vain, VI. 460. he flies from Rome, 470. he ascends the throne of Syria, and receives the surname of *Soter* from the Babylonians, 471. he makes war against the Jews, *ibid.* &c. he places Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia, 407, 474. the Romans acknowledge him king of Syria, 474. he abandons himself to feasting and voluptuousness, 475. conspiracy against him, *ibid.* he endeavours to engage the Jews in his interests, 476, 477. he is killed in a battle, 478.
- DEMETRIUS NICATOR, son of Demetrius Soter, claims the crown of Syria, 480. he marries the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, 481. he drives Alexander the usurper out of Syria, and remains in quiet possession of the throne, 481. excesses of Demetrius, 483. Jonathan sends him aid against the people of Antioch, 485. he is driven out of Syria, 486. his manner of living at Laodicea, whither he had retired, 489. he is taken prisoner in an expedition against the Parthians, 491. he marries Rodoguna, daughter of Mithridates king of Parthia, *ibid.* he makes ineffectual attempts to return into his kingdom, 507. he recovers his dominions, 509. he is defeated in a battle by Alexander Zebina, 514. his death, *ibid.*
- DEMETRIUS EUCHARIES is established king at Damascus, VI. 534
- DEMIURGES, magistrates amongst the Achæans, VI. 166
- DEMOCEDES, physician of Crotona; he cures Darius, II. 371. history of that physician, *ibid.* he returns into Greece, 374. he settles at Crotona, where he marries the daughter of Milo the Athleta, 375
- DEMOCHARES, one of the murderers of Agis king of Sparta, V. 439, &c.
- DEMOCLES, surnamed the Fair, V. 252. throws himself, to elude the violence of Demetrius, into a vessel of boiling water prepared for a bath, *ibid.*
- DEMOPHANTES, general of the horse to the Elæans, is killed by Philopœmen before the city of Elis, V. 556
- DEMOSTHENES is chosen by the Athenians commander of a fleet for the aid of Nicias in Sicily, III. 217, 224. he makes an attempt against Syracuse without success, 225. he is reduced to surrender at discretion to the Syracusans, 237. he is put to death, 241.
- DE-

DEMOSTHENES the Orator. Abridgment of his life to the time when he begins to appear in the tribunal of harangues, IV. 234, &c. he appears for the first time in publick, and encourages the Athenians against the preparations for war of Artaxerxes, 215. his oration in favour of the Megalopolitans, 217. he speaks for the Rhodians, 221. he proposes and occasions the passing of a law for the equipment of fleets, which annuls another very heavy upon the poorer citizens, 243. his discourse in defence of the law that granted exemptions, 247, &c.

Demosthenes, upon occasion of Philip's attempt to seize Thermopylæ, harangues the Athenians, and animates them against that prince, IV. 277. he is sent ambassador to Philip, 288. his oration upon the peace, 295. that upon the Chersonesus, 298. Demosthenes presses the Athenians to declare for the Lacedæmonians against Philip, 302. his Philippicks, 307. his oration to frustrate the effects of Philip's letter to the Athenians, 311. his advice after the taking of Elatæa by that prince, 319, &c. he is sent upon an embassy to Thebes, 322. he flies in the battle of Cheronæa, 326. he is cited to a trial before the people, who acquit him, and do him great honours, 329. Æchines accuses him, 332. generosity of Demosthenes to his accusers, 333. his immoderate joy for Philip's death, 338, 339

Demosthenes animates the people against Alexander, IV. 364. he prevents the Athenians from delivering up the orators to Alexander, 367. Demosthenes suffers himself to be cor-

rupted by Harpalus, V. 56. he is condemned and banished, 57. he is recalled from banishment, 118. he quits Athens, before the arrival of Antipater, 124. he is condemned to die, 125. he puts an end to his life by poison, 128. the Athenians erect a statue of brass to him,

129

DERCYLLIDAS, surnamed *Sisiphus*, receives the command of the Lacedæmonian troops in the room of Thymbron, III. 363. he takes Æolia from Midias, who had possessed himself of it by putting his mother-in-law Dania to death, 365. he shuts up the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus, *ibid.* truce concluded between Dercyllidas, Pharnabazus, and Tissaphernes,

367

Deserters. Charondas's law in respect to them, III. 94

DEUCALION, king of Thessaly, II. 287. deluge of Deucalion, 283, 287

DEUCETIUS, chief of the people called Sicilians. His history, III. 86

DIAUS, one of the chiefs of the Achæans, sows discords amongst them, VI. 425, &c. he takes upon him the command of the army in the room of Critolaus, 428. his unfortunate end, 431

DIAGORAS, the Melian, is condemned at Athens for teaching atheism, III. 194

Dialects. The four dialects of the Greeks, II. 289

DICEARCHUS, ancient admiral of Philip king of Macedonia, and accomplice with Scopas in the conspiracy against Ptolemy Epiphanes, VI. 65

DICEARCHUS, brother of Thoas, general of the Ætolians. He is deputed by them to Antiochus, VI. 81

DIDAS,

- DIDAS**, governor of Pæonio, puts Demetrius to death, by order of Philip, VI. 230
- DIDO**: Her history, I. 131, &c.
- DINOCRATES**, architect, he presides in building the temple of Diana at Ephesus, IV. 383. singular design of a temple proposed by him to Ptolemy Philadelphus, V. 382
- DINOMENES**, one of the commanders of the army sent by the Syracusans to the aid of Marcellus, VII. 115
- DINON**, governor of Damascus, V. 493
- DIOCLES**, one of the generals of the Syracusans: His advice concerning the Athenians taken in Sicily, III. 238
- DIOCLES**, Ætolian, takes Demetrius, VI. 94
- DIODORUS**, Athenian, opposes the putting to death of the inhabitants of Mitylene, III. 132
- DIODENES** the Cynick, refuses to be initiated in the mysteries of Ceres Eleusina, I. xlv. he receives a visit from Alexander the Great, IV. 370
- DIODENES**, Stoick philosopher, is sent on an embassy to Rome by the Athenians, VI. 412
- DIODNETUS**, admiral of Antiochus the Great, V. 493, 495
- DIOMEDEON**, one of the generals condemned to die for having left the bodies unburied of those who were killed in the battle of Arginusæ. His speech before his death, III. 279
- DION** of Syracuse: His character and friendship with Plato, IV. 23. he persuades Dionysius the Elder to have some conversation with Plato, *ibid.* his marriage with Arete daughter of Dionysius, 47. his magnanimous generosity to Dionysius the Younger, 53, &c. he becomes odious to the courtiers, 54. Dion determines Dionysius to invite Plato to his court, 56. the courtiers spare no pains to discredit him with Dionysius, 61. he is banished, 63. he resides at Athens, 65. he visits the other cities of Greece, 66. Dionysius causes Dion's estates and effects to be sold, 68. and makes his wife Arete marry Timocritus, 69. Dion determines to attack him with open force, *ibid.* &c. he embarks on board two merchant ships for Syracuse, 72. he appears before the walls of the city, 74. success of his enterprize, *ibid.* he defeats the troops of Dionysius, 76. ingratitude of the Syracusans to Dion, 78. he retires to Leontium, 80. he is recalled by the Syracusans, 82. he delivers Syracuse, and pardons his enemies, 85, &c. Dion enters the citadel, which is surrendered to him by the son of Dionysius, and is reconciled to his wife Arete, 89. reflection upon Dion's modesty, *ibid.* &c. he suffers Heraclides to be put to death, 90. Callippus conceives the design of assassinating Dion, and puts it in execution, 91, &c.
- DION**, famous philosopher, sent by the Egyptians ambassador to Rome against Ptolemy Auletes, VII. 240
- DIONYSIUS** the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse: His peculiar characteristick, IV. 3. means which he uses for possessing himself of the tyranny, 4, &c. he is appointed generalissimo with unlimited power, 11. he succeeds in having guards assigned him, 12. and establishes himself tyrant, *ibid.* attempts at Syracuse and in Sicily against him, 13, &c. he makes preparations for a war with the Carthaginians, 18, &c. the people of Rhegium refuse

refuse to ally themselves with the tyrant, IV. 22. he marries two wives at the same time, *ibid.* his friendship and deference for Dion, 23. he besieges and takes Motya, 26, 27. he is defeated at sea, 28. the Syracusan troops gain an advantage over the Carthaginians in the absence of Dionysius, 30. new movements at Syracuse against him, 31. he entirely defeats the Carthaginians, and obliges them to quit Sicily, 33, &c. he punishes the inhabitants of Rhegium, 35, &c. violent passion of Dionysius for poetry, 37, 42, &c. reflections upon that taste of his, 39. he sends his brother Thearides to Olympia to dispute the prizes of the chariot-race and poetry, 40. new enterprizes of Dionysius against the Carthaginians, 46. he carries the prize of poetry at Athens, *ibid.* death of Dionysius, 47. his character, *ibid.* &c.

DIONYSIUS the Younger succeeds his father, IV. 52. his conduct in the beginning of his reign, 54. his good qualities, 56. Dion induces Dionysius to cause Plato to come to his court, 57. in what manner Plato is received there, 59. wonderful change occasioned by the presence of that philosopher, *ibid.* Dionysius banishes Dion, 63. he dismisses Plato, 64. he presses him to return to Syracuse, with which Plato complies, 67. Dionysius grants Plato permission to return into Greece, 69. embassy from Dionysius to Dion, who had possessed himself of Syracuse, 73. defeat of Dionysius's troops, 76. method which he uses for rendering Dion suspected, 77. he retires into Italy, 79. he re-ascends the throne, 97. Ictas obliges him to shut himself up

in the citadel of Syracuse, 101, 102. Dionysius treats with Timoleon, who sends him to Corinth, 104, &c. wife answer of Dionysius to a stranger, 106,

I. 157, VII. 138

DIOPHANES, Achæan, compels Seleucus to raise the siege of Pergamus, VI. 117

DIOPITHES, chief of the colony sent by the Athenians into the Chersonesus, makes an irruption into the lands of Philip king of Macedonia, IV. 297. he is accused by Philip's pensioners, and defended by Demosthenes,

298

Discoboli. Those who exercised themselves in throwing the discus, I. lxxvi

Discus. King of athletick combat, I. lxxvii

Distribution of lands instituted at Sparta by Lycurgus, II. 295. reflections upon that institution, 308

Divinity. Idea of the Divinity implanted in the hearts of all mankind, V. 317

DODANIM, the fourth of the sons of Javan, II. 279

Dodona, Oracle of Dodona, I. li

Delphins, machine of war, III. 223

DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS sent commissioner by the Romans into Achaia, where he commits the most enormous oppressions, VI. 399, &c.

Donations. How regulated by Solon, II. 328

Dorick dialect, II. 290

DORIMACHUS, general of the Ætolians, V. 516

Doris, country of ancient Greece: Origin of its inhabitants, II.

289

DORIS, wife of Dionysius the Elder, IV. 22

DORUS, second son of Hellenus, gives his name to Doris, II.

287

DORY-

DORYLAUS, one of Mithridates's generals, is defeated by Sylla in the plains of Orchomenus,

VII. 167

Doryphori. Body of troops, guards of the kings of Persia, II. 221

DRACO, legislator of Athens, II.

319. his laws are annulled by

Solon,

324

Dramatick. See *Pœm*.

DRYPETIS, Hæphestion's widow.

She is destroyed perfidiously by

Roxana,

V. 115

DULLIUS, consul, commands the

first fleet fitted out by the Ro-

mans, I. 178. he is the first of

the Romans that triumphed for

a victory at sea, 179

DYMUS conspires against Alex-

ander, IV. 524. he runs him-

self through with his sword, 525

Dynasty of Egypt, I. 62

Dyrachium. See *Epidamnium*.

E.

Ecbatana, capital city of Me-

dia: Its foundation, II. 48,

50. description of that city, 48,

V. 592

Ecnomus, city of Sicily, famous

for a victory of the Romans

over the Carthaginians, I. 180

Education of children amongst the

Persians, II. 73. at Sparta, 299.

in Crete, III. 500. at Athens,

539. it was regarded by those

nations as an essential part of go-

vernment, II. 735 299, III. 538.

advantages of a good education,

IV. 355, VI. 377, &c. fatal

effects of a bad education, es-

pecially to princes, II. 266,

IV. 512, 558

ÆTION, admiral of the Atheni-

ans, is defeated by Clitus, who

commanded the Macedonian

fleet, V. 123

EGESIMACHUS, officer in Alex-

ander's army. Rashness that

costs him his life, V. 14

VOL. VII.

EGESTA, city of Sicily: Its founda-

tion, III. 177. its inhabit-

ants implore the aid of Athens

against the Syracusans, 178

Eggs, manner in which the Egyp-

tians hatch them without hens,

I. 52

Egypt divided into three parts, I.

2. Upper Egypt, or Thebais,

ibid. Middle Egypt, or Hepa-

nomis, 3. Lower Egypt, or Del-

ta, 22. fertility of Egypt, 55.

Egyptian monarchy, 64. Egypt

subdued by the Persians, II.

178. and afterwards by the Ma-

cedonians, IV. 461

EGYPTIANS, manners and customs

of the Egyptians, I. 27. of their

kings and government, 28. and

of their laws, 31. of the priests,

and religion of the Egyptians,

34. absurd worship of different

divinities, 36. reasons for this

worship, 40. funeral ceremo-

nies, 43. of the soldiery and

Wars of the Egyptians, 47. of

the manner in which they culti-

vated the arts and sciences, 48.

of their husbandmen, shepherds,

and artisans, 50

Eion, city of Thrace; unhappy

fate of that city, III. 9

ELAZA, city of Phocis, falls into

Philip's hands, IV. 319

ELEAZAR, Simon's brother, high-

priest of the Jews, exercises that

office during the minority of

Onias, V. 271

ELEAZAR, doctor of the law, pre-

fers death to eating impure

meats, VI. 263

ELEAZAR, one of the sons of

Mattathias, sacrifices himself in

a battle to deliver his people,

VI. 462

ELEAZAR, of the sect of the Pha-

risees, forms a false accusation

against Hyrcanus, VI. 525

ELECTRON, king of Mycenæ,

II. 282

Elephants: Description of those animals, V. 5. manner of taking them, *ibid.* &c.

Elusis, a small city of Attica, where the Athenians celebrated a feast in honour of Ceres, I. xli

Elis, province of Peloponnesus, where the Olympick games were celebrated, I. 91, II. 274

ELISA. See DIDO.

ELIZA, son of Javan, settles in Peloponnesus, II. 278

Eloquence: Definition of it, III. 49. of what eloquence united with the love of the publick good is capable, IV. 324. how necessary it is to a prince or statesman, 303, V. 198, 323. it was the principal study of the youth of Athens and Rome, III. 536. defects contrary to true eloquence, IV. 332

Elos, city in the territory of Sparta, subjected by the Lacedæmonians, I. cxl

Elymais, a city of Persia, supposed to be very rich, VI. 276, 277

Embalming. Manner of embalming bodies amongst the Egyptians, I. 44

EMILIA, sister to Paulus Emilius: Riches left by her to Scipio at her death, I. 329

EMILIUS (*Paulus*) is chosen consul, VI. 340. he sets out for Macedonia, 347. exact and severe discipline which he establishes in his army, 353. he gains a famous victory over Perseus near the city of Pydna, 363, &c. he pursues Perseus in his flight, 369. that prince puts himself into his hands, 372. Paulus Emilius is continued in the command of the army in Macedonia, 375. during the winter-quarters he visits the most famous cities of Greece, 376. upon his return to Amphipolis, he imparts to the Macedonians the regulations made

by himself and the senate in respect to Macedonia, 379, &c. he gives a great feast there, 381. he sets out for Rome by the way of Epirus, the cities of which he abandons to be plundered by the troops, 382. he enters Rome in triumph, 384, 385

EMILIUS, deputy from the Romans, goes to Philip, who had besieged Abydos, and exhorts him in the name of the senate to lay down his arms, VI. 11. he goes to Egypt to take possession of the guardianship of the king for the Roman people, *ibid.*

EMILIUS (*L. Paulus*) is elected consul with Varro, I. 248. he is killed at the battle of Cannæ, 251

EMILIUS (Q.) gives Pyrrhus advice of the design to poison him, V. 342

EMPEDOCLES, of Agrigentum, Pythagorean philosopher, having gained the prize in the Olympick games, regals the people, I. lxxxviii

Empires. See *Kingdoms*.

Enc, a very rich temple in Media, V. 592

Envy, a disease of the mind scarce ever cured, V. 186

EPAMINONDAS, Theban, his character, IV. 123. his conduct in the conspiracy against the tyrants of Thebes, 126. he goes to Sparta to treat of peace, 140. he gains a great victory over the Lacedæmonians near Leuctra; 143. he ravages Laconia, 149. and advances to the gates of Sparta, 151. at his return he is accused before the people and acquitted, 154. he marches against Alexander tyrant of Phæra, and delivers Pelopidas out of his hands, 165. he returns to Thebes, 167. he is placed

I N D E X:

- at the head of the Theban army, IV. 172. his second attempt against Sparta, 173. his famous victory at Mantinæa, 176. he is mortally wounded in the battle, 178. his death, 180. and praise, *ibid.*
- EPERATUS**, by the credit of Appelles, Philip's minister, is appointed general of the Achæans, V. 519. universal contempt of him, 537
- Ephesus**, city of Ionia, II. 288
- EPHIALTES**, orator, endeavours to prevent the Athenians from aiding the Lacedæmonians, III. 35
- EPHORI**, magistrates of Sparta: Their institution, II. 295. their authority, *ibid.* III. 372
- EPICERDUS**, of Cyrene: His generosity to the Athenians, IV. 246
- Epick poem*, its origin, I. xcvi
- EPICRATUS**, one of the generals of Antiochus the Cyzicene, betrays the interests of that prince, and treats secretly with Hyrcanus, VI. 524
- EPICRATES**, porter at Athens: Pleasantry of that Athenian upon the deputies that had been sent into Persia, IV. 159
- EPICYDES**, Athenian: His little courage and avarice, II. 466. he suffers himself to be brought over by Themistocles, 467
- EPICYDES**, Carthaginian, sent by Hannibal to Hieronymus, remains with that prince, VII. 104. after the death of Hieronymus, he demands to return to Hannibal, 109. he is elected magistrate at Syracuse, 112. he marches to the aid of Leontium, and is put to flight by Marcellus, 114. he usurps supreme authority at Syracuse, after having caused the magistrates to be put to death, 116. he retires to Agrigentum, when he sees Marcellus master of Syracuse, 127
- Epidamnus**, or *Dyrrachium*, a maritime city of Macedonia, III. 58
- Epigonis**: Signification of that word, V. 54
- Epipoliæ**, part of the city of Syracuse, III. 198
- Epirus**: Geographical description of it, II. 273. history of its kings, I. clxiv, clxv
- EPISTHENES** of Amphipolis, officer in the army of Cyrus the Younger, III. 328
- Equality**. It is the soul of popular governments, II. 323. it is the basis and tie of liberty, III. 500, 519
- ERASINIDES**, one of the Athenian captains that gained the battle of Arginusæ, III. 274. on his return he is condemned to die with his colleagues, 280
- ERASISTRATUS**, physician, famous for his address and penetration in discovering the cause of Antiochus's sickness, V. 305
- ERATOSTHENES** of Cyrene, keeper of the Alexandrian library, V. 98
- ERECTHEUS**, king of Athens, II. 283
- Eretria**, city of Eubœa, supports the Ionians in their revolt against the Persians, II. 409. it is destroyed by the Persians, 424, &c.
- ERGINUS**, Corinthian, supplies Aratus with the means of seizing the citadel of Corinth, V. 412
- ESARHADDON** ascends the throne of Assyria, II. 31. he takes Babylon and the country of Israel, *ibid.* he carries away Manasseh king of Judah, 32. his death, *ibid.*
- ESCLAPIUS**, inventor of medicine, II. 239. his knowledge occasions his being ranked in the number of the gods, *ibid.*
- ESDRAS** obtains permission of Artaxerxes Longimanus to return

I N D E X.

- to Jerusalem, III. 24. he disposes the holy Scriptures into their proper order, 27
- ESTHER** causes the fatal edict of Ahasuerus against the Jews to be revoked, II. 207, 377
- Etolia.* See *Ætolia.*
- ETOLIANS.** See *ÆTOLIANS.*
- EVAGORAS**, king of Salamin, III. 408. brief history of that prince, *ibid.* &c. his war with Artaxerxes Mnemon, 410, &c. his death, IV. 186. character and praise of Evagoras, III. 413
- EVAGORAS**, son of Nicocles, is deprived of the throne of Salamin by Protagoras, IV. 223. he demands in vain to be reinstated, 227. tragical end of that prince, *ibid.*
- EVALCUS**, general of the Lacedæmonian cavalry, is killed in a battle by Pyrrhus, V. 359
- EVANDER** of Crete, general of the auxiliaries to Perseus, is sent by that prince to assassinate Eumenes, VI. 259. he prevents Perseus from improving the advantage he had gained over the Romans, 320. attachment of Evander to Perseus, 368. that prince causes him to be killed, 371
- Eubœa**, isle of Greece, II. 276. subjected by the Athenians, III. 56. the Lacedæmonians seize it, 256. Antiochus takes that island, VI. 103. it is soon after taken from him by the consul Acilius, 109
- EUCHIDAS**, of Plataea, undertakes to bring the sacred fire from Delphi, II. 509. he dies at his return, *ibid.*
- EUCLID** of Mægara, founder of the Megarean sect, his ardour to hear Socrates, III. 443
- EUCLIDAS**, Lacedæmonian. His brother Cleomeles king of Sparta makes him reign with him, V. 449. he is routed at the battle of Selasia, where he commanded part of the army, 470, 471
- EUDAMIDAS**, Lacedæmonian, commands in the war against Olynthus, IV. 118
- EVILMERODACH**, king of Babylon, II. 41
- EULÆUS**, eunuch: Bad education that he gives Ptolemy Philometor, whose governor he was, VI. 247, 248
- EUMENES**, general in Alexander's army. Provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, V. 112. his marriage with Barsina, 114. he retires to Perdiccas, who puts him into possession of Cappadocia, 138. victory of Eumenes over Neoptolemus, and then over Craterus and Neoptolemus together, 142. he kills the latter with his own hand in the battle, 143. he is defeated by Antigonus, and retires into the castle of Nora, where he is besieged, 147. battles between Eumenes and Antigonus, 179, 183, 186, 188. he is betrayed by his troops, 189. delivered up to Antigonus, 190. and put to death, 191. praise of Eumenes, *ibid.*
- EUMENIS I.** nephew of Phileterus, succeeds his uncle in the kingdom of Pergamus, V. 370. he gains a great victory over Antiochus Soter, who came to possess himself of his dominions, 371. he attacks Antiochus Hierax, who was engaged in a war against his brother, 396. he abandons himself to excesses which occasion his death, *ibid.*
- EUMENES II.** succeeds his father Attalus in the kingdom of Pergamus, VI. 43. he refuses the alliance of Antiochus, 83. he is besieged in his capital by Seleucus, 117. the Romans deliver him, *ibid.* 118. dispute between

I N D E X.

- tween Eumenes and the Rhodians concerning the Greek cities of Asia, V. 134, &c. he offers a considerable claim to the Achæans, and with what view, 172. war of Eumenes with Prusias, 192. and Pharnaces, 200. he sends deputies to Rome to complain of Philip, 201. he goes to Rome himself to inform the Romans of the secret intrigues of Perseus, 297. Perseus endeavours to rid himself of Eumenes, first by assassination, 299. and then by poison, 300. Eumenes gives ear to the proposals of Perseus, 318. he is suspected by the Romans, and cannot obtain permission to enter Rome, 405. the senate send commissioners to enquire into his conduct, 406. death of Eumenes, 407. his praise, 408. famous library founded by him at Pergamus, *ibid.*
- EUMOLPIDÆ, priests of Ceres, successors of Eumolpus, who first exercised that office, I. xliii, III 262
- EUNOMUS, king of Sparta, is killed in a popular commotion, I. cxli.
- Euruchs.* The use of them introduced by Cyrus in the East, II. 149. credit and power which they acquired with their princes, 150, IV. 233
- EUPHAES, king of Messinia, is attacked by the Lacedæmonians, I. cxliv. he is wounded in battle near Ithoma, cxlv. he adjudges the prize of valour to Aristomenes, cxlviii. he dies of his wounds, *ibid.*
- EUPOLIS, comick poet, I. cxviii
- EURYLOCHUS, chief magistrate of the Magnetes, influences them against the Romans, VI. 91
- EURIPIDAS heads a detachment of the Elæans to ravage the territory of Sicyon, V. 516. he falls into the hands of Philip, *ibid.*
- EURIPIDES, tragick poet, I. civ. character of that poet, cvii, &c.
- EURIPTODEMUS takes upon him the defence of the generals condemned by the Athenians after the battle of Arginusæ, III. 281
- EURYBIADES, Lacedæmonian, is appointed generalissimo of the Greeks in preference to Themistocles, II. 469. the latter determines to fight in the straits of Salamin, 487. the Lacedæmonians decree him the prize of valour, 492
- EURYDICE, wife of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, prevails upon Iphicrates, by her entreaties, to reinstate her children upon the throne of their father, IV. 253
- EURYDICE, wife of Aridæus: Olympias causes her to be put to death, V. 173
- EURYDICE, Athenian, wife of Ophellias, V. 212. after her husband's death she marries Demetrius, *ibid.* 221
- EURYDICE, widow of Ptolemy Soter, marries her daughter Ptolemaida to Demetrius, V. 277
- Euryelus*, an eminence near Syracuse, leading to Epipolæ, III. 199
- EURYMEDON, general of the Athenians, is condemned to pay a great fine, and why, III. 175. he goes into Sicily to the aid of Nicias, 217. he is killed in a battle, 230
- EURYSTHENES, king of Sparta, I. cxxxix.
- EURISTHEUS, king of Mycenæ, famous for the twelve labours which he made Hercules undertake, II. 282
- EURYTION, or EURYPON, king of Sparta, renounces some part of

the absolute power of the kings in favour of the people, I. cxli
EUTHYCRATES, chief magistrate of Olynthus, puts that city into Philip's hands, IV. 285
EUTHYDEMUS, appointed by the Athenians to command jointly with Nicias, forces that general to engage in a sea-fight, wherein he is worsted, III. 222
EUTHYDEMUS, king of Bactria, makes an honourable peace with Antiochus, who intended to dethrone him, V. 594
Exemption, or Immunities, granted by the Athenians to those who had rendered their country great services, IV. 245
EXENETES, of Agrigentum, victor in the Olympick games, enters that city in triumph, IV. 5
Exiles, name given the citizens expelled by Nabis from Sparta, V. 589. supported by the Achæans, they commit great cruelties at Sparta, VI. 154. they accuse the Achæans at Rome, 179. consequence of that accusation, 193, &c.

F.

FABIUS MAXIMUS (*Quintus*) is appointed dictator, I. 242. his slow conduct in respect to Hannibal, 243, &c. the people give Minucius, general of the horse, equal power with him, 246. Fabius extricates him out of a danger, in which his ill conduct had engaged him, 247
FABIUS MAXIMUS, son of Paulus Æmilius, distinguishes himself in the war against Perseus, VI.

357

Fables. Authors to whom the invention of them is ascribed, II. 361. Use of fables in respect to the education of children, ibid.

FABRICIUS is deputed by the Romans to Pyrrhus, V. 334. he

commands in the war against that prince, 341

Faith. It is the surest bulwark of a state, III. 156. and a quality essential to a prince, 76, 355. breach of faith often one of the principal causes of the ruin of empires, II. 269, &c.

Famine in Egypt in the time of the emperor Trajan, I. 59

FANNIUS (C.) Roman officer, distinguishes himself at the siege of Carthage, I. 323

Farmers, or Farmers of Taxes, people little sensible to merit, III. 529, 530. their want of humanity, ibid. VII. 190

Festivals, celebrated at Athens, I. xxxvi, &c. and at Lacedæmon, II. 492, 510

FIMBRIA, commander of the Romans in Asia, defeats the troops of Mithridates, VII. 167, 168. he kills Flaccus, seizes that consul's army, and marches against Mithridates, 171. upon being abandoned by his troops, he kills himself in despair, 174

FLACCUS (*L. Valerius*) is elected consul and marches against Mithridates, VII. 166. he is killed by Fimbria, 171

FLAMININUS (*Quintius*) is deputed by the Romans to Prusias, I. 289. he is elected consul, and marches against Philip king of Macedonia, VI. 25. he gains a first advantage over that prince, 30. different expeditions of Flamininus in Phocis, 31. he is continued in the command as proconsul, 38. he has an ineffectual interview with Philip, 39. he gains a great victory over that prince near Scotussa and Cynoscephale, 48, 49. and concludes a peace with him, 54, 55. honours and applauses which he receives in the Isthmian games, 56, 57. he makes war against Nabis, 68. besieges him in Sparta, 73. and grants

I N D E X.

grant's him peace, VI. 74. he triumphs at Rome, 78, 79
FLAMINIUS (C.) consul marches against Hannibal, I. 239. he is defeated, and killed near the lake of Thrasymenus, 241
Flattery. Causes of the propensity of princes to be seduced by flattery, II. 64
Fortifications of the ancients, II. 229
 Four hundred men invested with all authority at Athens, and abuse it tyrannically, III. 252. their power is annulled, 256
FRENCH. Ideas people had of the ancient Gauls, VI. 158, &c. what passed at the siege of Philipsburgh ought to undeceive those, who have the same idea of the modern French, 159, &c.
Friendship. Fundamental law of it, III. 371
FULVIA. Anthony's wife, very active at Rome for her husband's interests, VII. 268
Funerals. Funeral ceremonies in Egypt, I. 43. at Athens, III. 107

G.

GABINIUS, Pompey's lieutenant, subjects part of Syria, VII. 225. he commands there as proconsul, 244. upon the earnest instances of Pompey, he re-establishes Ptolemy Auletes upon the throne of Egypt, 246
GADATES, prince of Assyria, submits to Cyrus, II. 103
Gagamela, or *Camel's house*, place famous for Alexander's second victory over Darius, II. 398, IV. 476, 485
GALA, Masinissa's father, joins the Carthaginians against the Romans, I. 295
Galutia, or *Gelis-Græcia*, a province of Asia minor, inhabited by the Gauls after their irruption into Greece, V. 317

GALBA: Fine saying of that emperor, V. 152
Galley. See *Ship*.
Games, part of the religion of the ancients, I. lxiii. solemn games of Greece: The Olympick, the Pythian, the Nemæan, the Isthmian, lxxv. rewards granted to the victors in those games, lxxvi, lxxxvii. ladies admitted to dispute the prize in the Olympick games, III. 400
GANYMEDE, Ptolemy's eunuch, supplants Achilles, and becomes prime minister of Egypt in his place, VII. 257. his stratagems against Cæsar during his war in Egypt, ibid. &c.
GAOS, admiral to Artaxerxes, revolts against that prince, and on what occasion, III. 417
Gardens. Hanging gardens of Babylon, II. 13
GAULS. They dispute the passage of the Alps with Hannibal, I. 227, &c. irruption of the Gauls into Greece, V. 313. their attempt against the temple of Delphi, 314
Gaza in Palestine, besieged and taken by Alexander, IV. 400. destruction of Gaza by Alexander Jannæus, VII. 5
GELANOR, king of Argos, II. 282
Gela, city of Sicily, III. 178
GELLIAS, citizen of Agrigentum, his noble use of riches, IV. 5
GELON possesses himself of supreme authority at Syracuse, III. 73. reasons that prevent him from aiding the Greeks when attacked by Xerxes, II. 465. he defeats Hamilcar, general of the Carthaginians, I. 143. the Syracusans proclaim him king, 144, III. 75. his wife conduct during his reign, 76, &c. his death, 79. respect which the Syracusans retained for his memory, ibid. IV. 110

I N D E X.

- GELON**, son of Hiero, espouses the party of the Carthaginians against the Romans, VII. 100. he dies soon after, *ibid.*
- Genius**. Height to which the ancients carried genius, VII. 122
- GENTIUS**, king of Illyrium, becomes suspected by the Romans, VI. 302, 304. he makes an alliance with Perseus, 347. he declares against the Romans, and imprisons their ambassadors, 352. the Romans send the prætor Anicius against him, *ibid.* Gentius is obliged to throw himself at his feet, and implore his mercy, 353. Anicius sends him to Rome with all his family, *ibid.*
- Geometry**. People to whom the invention of that science is attributed, I. 49
- GERGIS**, son of Ariazus, one of the six generals of Xerxes's army, II. 462
- GIGIS**, one of the Parysat's women, confesses the poisoning of Statira, III. 362. she is put to death, *ibid.*
- GISCO**, son of Hamilcar, is punished for his father's ill success, and is banished, I. 144
- GISGO**, Carthaginian, endeavours to suppress the revolt of the mercenaries, I. 201. Spendius, their general, puts him to death, 205
- GISEO** endeavours to prevent the Carthaginians from accepting the conditions of peace proposed by Scipio, I. 274
- GLABRIO** (*Man. Acilius*) obtains Bithynia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus commanded before, VII. 211. his discourse on his arrival augments the licence of Lucullus's troops, 212, &c.
- GLAUCIAS** king of Illyrium takes Pyrrhus under his protection, and re-establishes him in his dominions, V. 265
- GLAUCO**, a young Athenian, desirous of having a share in the administration of the publick affairs, III. 444. Socrates, in a conversation, obliges him to own his incapacity for them, *ibid.* &c.
- Glory**. Wherein true glory consists, V. 91, 598
- GOBRYAS**, Assyrian lord, puts himself and family under the protection of Cyrus, II. 101. he puts himself at the head of a body of troops at the siege of Babylon, 139. Gobryas enters into the conspiracy against Smerdis the Magian, 193. his sense of the present given Darius by the Scythians, 397
- GOERYAS**, Persian lord, commands in the army of Artaxerxes at the battle of Cunaxa, III. 323
- GOD**. Answer of Simonides to a prince who asked him what God was, III. 81. one supreme God acknowledged by Socrates, 448
- Gordian**, capital city of Phrygia, famous for the chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied, which Alexander cut, IV. 388, 389
- GORGAS**, officer to Antiochus Epiphanes, marches with Nicanor against Judas Maccabæus, V. 272. his troops are put to flight, 274
- GORGIDAS**, Athenian, joins Pelopidas to expel the tyrants of Thebes, IV. 132
- GORGIS**, sophist, is sent deputy from the Leontines to Athens to demand aid against the Syracusans, III. 175
- GORGO**, daughter of Cleomenes: Smart saying of that child, II. 408
- Government**. Different kinds of government, III. 489. which would

I N D E X.

- would be the most perfect, III. 490. essential point in governing, IV. 96. view and end of all government, III. 489
- GRACCHUS** (*Tiberius*) distinguishes himself at the siege of Carthage, I. 323. being tribune of the people; he proposes a law concerning the will of Attalus, and is killed soon after, VI. 501, 502
- Grandeers**. Example how little their friendship is to be relied on, II. 455. blindness too common to the great, 544. mistaken ambition sufficiently common to the great, V. 179, 181. See Princes, Kings.
- Granicus**, river of Phrygia, famous for the victory of Alexander over the Persians, IV. 377
- Gratitude**: The principal virtue of the Egyptians, I. 34
- GREECE, GREEKS**, geographical description of ancient Greece, II. 273. history of Greece divided into four ages, 277, VI. 438. primitive origin of the Greeks, II. 278. different states of which Greece was composed, 281. transigrations of the Greeks into Asia minor, 286, &c. settlement of the Greeks in Sicily, III. 177. manners and customs of the Greeks, 488, &c. republican government instituted almost universally in Greece, II. 290. Monsieur Bosuet's reflections upon that kind of government, V. 101. love of liberty the peculiar character of the Greeks, VI. 444. different kind of troops that composed the armies of the Greeks, III. 542. ships, and naval forces, 546. people of Greece very warlike in all times, 537. origin and cause of courage and military virtue amongst the Greeks, 538. religion of the Greeks, I. xxxvi. of the augurs, xlviii. of the oracles, II. famous games and combats of Greece, lxiii. difference of taste of the Greeks and Romans in respect to publick shows, xc. disputes for the prize of wit, shows, and representations of the theatre, xciii. illustrious men who distinguished themselves most by the arts and sciences amongst the Greeks, II. 342. dialects of the Greeks, 289. See the articles *Athenians and Lacedæmonians*, for what relates to the wars of Greece with the Persians and Macedonians. Greece becomes a Roman province, VI. 432. reflections upon the causes of the grandeur, decline, and ruin of Greece, 437, &c.
- GRYPUS**. See **ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS**.
- GULUSSA**, son of Masinissa, divides the kingdom with his two brothers after his father's death, I. 336
- GYGES** kills Candaules king of Lydia, whose principal officer he was, and ascends the throne in his stead, II. 58. what Plato says of his ring, 59
- GYLIPPUS**, Lacedæmonian, goes to the aid of Syracuse besieged by the Athenians, III. 209. his arrival in Sicily changes the face of things, 211. he obliges the Athenians to surrender at discretion, 238. his sordid avarice sullies the glory of his great actions, 291, 292
- Gymnastick**, art of forming the athletes, I. lxi
- Gynæcea**, or apartments of the ladies amongst the Greeks, I. lxvii
- H.
- HÆMUS**, mountain between Thrace and Thessaly, VI. 228
- Hair* of Berenice, V. 391
- Haliartus*,

I N D E X.

Haliorius, city of Bœotia, sides with Perseus, VI. 308. the prætor Lucretius takes and entirely demolishes it, 326

Halicarnassus, city of Doris, II. 276. besieged and taken by Alexander, IV. 385

HALYATTES, king of Lydia, II. 60. war of that prince with Cyaxares, 53. he continues the siege of Miletus begun by his father, 60. he raises the siege of that city, and wherefore, *ibid.*

HAMESTRIS, wife of Teriteuchmes, III. 298. cruelty of that princess, 299

HAMILCAR commands the army sent by the Carthaginians into Sicily at the request of Xerxes, I. 142, II. 451, III. 73. it is defeated by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, I. 143, III. 74. his death, I. 143

HAMILCAR, son of Gyscon, commands the Carthaginian army against Agathocles, and gains a great victory over him, I. 161. he falls alive into the hands of the Syracusans whilst besieging their city, 169. he is put to death, *ibid.*

HAMILCAR, surnamed Barcha, general of the Carthaginians, I. 198. boldness and ability of that general, 199, 200. he commands the army against the mercenaries, 206. and defeats them entirely, 213. he goes to Spain, which he conquers in a short time, *ibid.* he is killed in a battle, *ibid.*

HAMILCAR, surnamed Rhodanus, a Carthaginian, goes into the camp of Alexander by order of Carthage, I. 172. at his return he is put to death, *ibid.*

HANNIBAL, son of Gisgo, is placed at the head of the troops sent by the Carthaginians into

Sicily to the aid of the people of Egesta, I. 145. actions of that general in Sicily, *ibid.* &c. he dies there of the plague, 147

HANNIBAL commands the Carthaginian fleet, and is defeated by the consul Duilius, I. 179. he besieges the mercenaries in Tunis, 207. he falls into their hands and is crucified, *ibid.*

HANNIBAL, surnamed the Great, at nine years old goes with his father sent to command in Spain, I. 213. he is appointed to command there after Asdrubal's death, 216. after several conquests he besieges Saguntum, 217. and takes it, 218. he prepares for his march into Italy, 220. he goes to Cadiz, and with what view, *ibid.* he begins his march, 221. his expeditions as far as the Rhone, 222. he passes that river, *ibid.* his march afterwards, 224. he passes the Alps, 226. he enters Italy, 230. he defeats the Romans near the river Ticinus, 231. then at Trebia, 234. he marches to Tuscany, 238. he loses an eye in passing the Appenines, 239. he gains a battle near the lake of Thrasymenus, *ibid.* he concludes a treaty with Philip, and sends ambassadors to him, V. 543. his conduct in regard to Fabius, I. 242. his manner of extricating himself from the wrong step he had taken at Cassilinum, 246. he gains a famous victory near Cannæ, 248, &c. he sends deputies to Carthage with the news of his victory, and to demand reinforcement, 253. he makes a treaty with Hieronymus, VII. 104. he winters at Capua, I. 255. and suffers the courage of his troops to be enervated.

- enervated by the luxury of that place, I. 256
- Bad success of Hannibal, I. 259. he flies to the aid of Capua, besieged by the Romans, *ibid.* to make a diversion, he marches suddenly back against Rome, *ibid.* after various attempts he abandons that enterprise, 260. he is recalled into Africa, 267. he has an interview there with Scipio, 270. followed by a battle, in which he is defeated, 272. he escapes to Carthage, *ibid.* he causes a peace to be concluded with the Romans, 273. he undertakes and effects the reformation of the courts of justice and finances at Carthage, 279. pursued by the Romans, he retires to Antiochus, 282, VI. 66. his discourse to that prince, and the counsels he gives him, I. 286, 288, VI. 80, 104. he goes to Syria and Phœnicia to bring ships from thence, 114. he is defeated at sea by the Rhodians, 117. he retires first to the island of Crete, I. 288. then to Prusias, 289, VI. 192. he does that prince great services, I. 289, and VI. 192, 193. betrayed by Prusias, he poisons himself, I. 290, VI. 193. Hannibal's character and praise, I. 291, &c.
- HANNIBAL, young Carthaginian, sent to Hieronymus by Hannibal, VII. 104
- HANNO, citizen of Carthage, forms the design of making himself master of the commonwealth, I. 160. he is discovered and punished, *ibid.*
- HANNO, Carthaginian, is placed at the head of the troops against Agathocles, I. 165. he is killed in battle, *ibid.*
- HANNO, general of the Carthaginians, is defeated by the Romans near the islands Ægates, I. 195. the Carthaginians give him the command of their troops against the mercenaries, 203. the command is taken from him, 204. the Carthaginians place him again at the head of their troops, 208. Hanno opposes in vain the undertaking of the second Punic war, 215. Hanno's jealousy of Hannibal, 254
- HARMODIUS conspires against the tyrants of Athens, II. 337. his death, *ibid.* statues erected in honour of him by the Athenians, 339
- HARMONIA, wife of Themistus, is put to death by order of the people of Syracuse, VII. 110
- HARPAGUS, officer of Astyages, is ordered by that prince to make away with Cyrus, II. 175. rage of Astyages upon discovering that Harpagus had disobeyed his orders, and the revenge he takes of him, *ibid.*
- HARPALUS, governor of Babylon for Alexander, quits the service of that prince, and retires to Athens, V. 55. he corrupts Demosthenes with his presents, 56. the Athenians drive Harpalus out of their city, 57
- HARPATES, son of Tiribases, assassinates Artabanes by order of Ochus, IV. 200
- HÆCATÆUS, one of Alexander's officers, causes Attalus to be assassinated by that prince's order, IV. 364
- HÆGEOCHUS, Physcon's general, defeats the Alexandrians, and takes their general Marfias prisoner, VI. 513
- HEGESIPYLA, wife of Miltiades, and mother of Cimon, II. 417
- HEGETORIDES, Thasian, exposes his life for the safety of his city besieged by the Athenians, III. 15

I N D E X.

- HELENA**, daughter of Tyndarus, and wife of Menelaus, carried away by Paris, son of Priam king of Troy, II. 285
- HELENUS**, son of Pyrrhus, accompanies his father to the siege of Argos, V. 360. he enters the city with a body of troops, which occasions a confusion, in which his father perishes, *ibid.* 361
- Helepolis*, machine of war invented by Demetrius, V. 238
- HELICON** of Cyzicum, mathematician, IV. 68
- HELIODORUS**, prime minister to Seleucus Philopator, goes to Jerusalem to take away the treasures of the temple, VI. 276. chastisement which he receives from God on that account, 237. he poisons Seleucus, and usurps the crown, 238. he is expelled by Eumenes, 239
- Helopolis*, city of the Lower Egypt, famous for its temple dedicated to the sun, I. 23. furious actions of Cambyfes there, 24
- HELLANICE**, Alexander's nurse, IV. 556
- Hellanodica*, name of those who presided in the athletick games of Greece, I. lxxi.
- HELLENUS**, son of Deucalion king of Thessaly, from whom the Greeks derived their name *Ἑλληνες*, II. 287
- Hellefpont*, strait between Europe and Asia, II. 455
- Helots*. Origin and condition of the Helots, I. cxl. cruelties of the Lacedæmonians in respect to them, 154, II. 317. revolt of the Helots against the Lacedæmonians, III. 36
- HELVIDIUS PRISCUS**: Character of that Roman, V. 162
- Hemerodromi*: Runners or couriers amongst the Greeks, VI. 14
- HEPHESTION**, Alexander's favourite: Mistake of the captive princesses in respect to him, IV. 414. he receives a wound at the battle of Arbela, 484. Alexander makes him marry Darius's youngest daughter, V. 53. his death, 61. Alexander's esteem for that favourite, IV. 414, V. 61. extraordinary honours which that prince causes to be paid him after his death, 65, &c.
- Heptanomis*, or Middle Egypt, description of it, I. 3
- Heracleæ*, city of Pontus: Tyrants who governed it, I. clxvii. destruction of that city by Cotta, VII. 194
- Heracleæ* in Æolia, besieged and taken by the consul Acilius, VI. 109, &c.
- HERACLEA**, wife of Zoippus, of the family of Hiero, is massacred with her children by order of the people of Syracuse, VII. 111
- HERACLIDÆ**, or descendants from Hercules. They succeed the Attyades in the kingdom of Lydia, II. 57. they seize Peloponnesus, and are soon after driven out of it, 282. they re-enter Peloponnesus, and seize Lacedæmon, 286, 288, I. cxxxix. they endeavour to oppose the augmentation of the Athenians, who defeat them in battle, II. 289
- HERACLIDES**, minister of Seuthes king of Thrace: His perfidy, III. 355
- HERACLIDES**, exile of Syracuse, comes to the aid of his country against Dionysius, IV. 77. the Syracusans choose him admiral, 78. his envy of Dion, *ibid.* he is obliged to call in Dion to the aid of Syracuse, 85. and to put himself into his hands, 86. Dion restores him the command in chief by sea, 88. Heraclides renews his intrigues against Dion, *ibid.* Dion is obliged to suffer him to be killed, 90

HERA-

I N D E X

- HERACLIDES**, Philip's minister, his character, VI. 24. Philip sacrifices him to gain the affection of the Macedonians, 25
- HERACLIDES**, of Byzantium, is deputed by Antiochus to Scipio Africanus, VI. 123, 124
- HERACLIDES**, treasurer of the province of Babylon, is banished by Demetrius Soter, VI. 471. he is appointed by Ptolemy, Attalus, and Ariarathes, to prepare Alexander Bala for personating the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, in order to his reigning instead of Demetrius, 475. he carries him to Rome, where he succeeds in causing him to be acknowledged king of Syria, 476
- Herbesstis*, city of Sicily, IV. 15
- HERCULES**, son of Jupiter and Alcmena, subjected to Eurystheus by the fraud of Juno, II. 282
- HERCULES**, son of Alexander and Barsina, V. 114. is put to death by Polyperchon, 208
- HERIPPIDAS**, Spartan: His too rigid exactness obliges Spithridates to abandon the party of the Lacedæmonians, III. 385
- HERMIAS**, Carian, is declared prime minister of Antiochus the Great, V. 480. his character, *ibid.* 481. he removes Epigenes, the most able of Antiochus's generals, 485. Antiochus causes him to be assassinated, 488
- HERMOCRATES**, Syracusan, encourages his citizens to defend themselves against the Athenians, III. 202. he is elected general, 203
- HERMOLAUS**, officer in the train of Alexander, conspires against that prince, IV. 564. he is discovered and punished, 565
- HEROD**, Idumæan, is made governor of Galilee, VII. 19. he escapes from Jerusalem to avoid falling into the hands of the Parthians, 19. he goes to Rome, and is declared king of Judæa by the senate, 20. he forms the siege of Jerusalem, 21. he goes to Samaria, and espouses Mariamne, *ibid.* he makes himself master of Jerusalem, and ascends the throne of Judæa, 22
- HERODICUS**, one of the principal persons of Thessaly: Unhappy fate of that prince and his family, VI. 205
- HERODOTUS**, Greek historian: His birth, II. 442. applauses which he received at the Olympic games on reading his history there, I. xciv.
- HERODOTUS**, friend of Demetrius son of Philip, is seized on that prince's account, VI. 229. he is put to the question, and dies in the torments, 230
- Heroes*. Times most famous for the history of the heroes, II. 284. description of most of the heroes so much boasted of in history, 173, 174. qualities that form the true hero, V. 82
- HESION**, Greek poet, II. 345
- HEZEKIAH**, king of Judah, is cured miraculously, II. 29. he shews the ambassadors of the King of Babylon his riches and his palace, *ibid.* God menaces him by his prophet, 30. accomplishment of those threats, 34
- HIDARNES**, Persian of great quality, Statira's father, III. 297
- HIEMPSAL**, son of Micipsa, king of Numidia, I. 336. Jugurtha causes him to be murdered, 338
- HIERAX**, of Antioch, becomes prime minister to Physcon, VI. 496. that prince puts him to death, *ibid.*
- HIERO I.** brother of Gelon, reigns after him at Syracuse, III. 79. his character, 80. suspicions which he forms against his brother,

- ther, III. 80. he attracts learned men about him, *ibid.* his goodness to the children of Anaxilaus, 84. his death, *ibid.*
- HIERO II.** His birth, VII. 79. he is chosen captain-general of the Syracusans, 80. and soon after elected king, 82. he quits the party of the Carthaginians, and espouses that of the Romans, 83, I. 177. he aids the first against the mercenaries, 85. his pacifick reign, *ibid.* 86. he favours agriculture particularly, 87, 88, &c. distinguished proofs which he gives of his attachment to the Romans in the second Punick war, 90, 100. he employs the ability of Archimedes, who makes abundance of machines of war for him for the defence of a place, 95. galley which Archimedes builds for him, 97. he dies at a great age, much lamented by his people, 100
- HIEROCLES**, father of Hiero, causes his son to be exposed, and then to be brought back to his house, where he educates him with great care, VII. 79
- Hieroglyphicks**: Signification of the word, I. 5
- HIERONYMUS**, Hiero's grandson, reigns after him at Syracuse, and by his vices causes him to be much regretted, VII. 101, 102. he makes an alliance with Hannibal, 104. he is killed in a conspiracy, 105
- Hierophantes**, name given the person who presided at the ceremony of the feast of Eleusis, I. xliii
- Himera**, city of Sicily; its foundation, III. 178. its destruction, I. 143
- HIMILCON**, Carthaginian general, comes to Sicily to drive the Romans out of it, VII. 122. he perishes there, 127
- Hippacra**, city of Africa, refuses at first to join the mercenaries, I. 202. and joins them afterwards, 205
- HIPPARCHUS**, son of Pisistratus, governs at Athens after his father's death, II. 336. his taste for literature, *ibid.* he is killed in the conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogiton, 337
- HIPPARINUS**, brother of Dionysius, drives Callippus out of Syracuse, and reigns there two years, IV. 94
- HIPPIAS**, son of Pisistratus, retains the sovereignty after the death of his father, II. 336. he finds means to frustrate the conspiracy formed by Harmodius and Aristogiton, 337. he is compelled to quit Attica, and goes to settle in Phrygia, 339. he takes refuge in Asia with Artaphernes, 342, 409. he engages the Persians in the war against the Greeks, and serves them as a guide, *ibid.* 425. he is killed at Marathon, fighting against his country, 429
- HIPPOCRATES**, famous physician: His great ability, II. 241. his disinterestedness, III. 110
- HIPPOCRATES**, native of Carthage, is sent by Hannibal to Hieronymus, and resides at his court, VII. 108, 109. he becomes one of the principal magistrates of Syracuse, 112. he marches to the aid of Leontium, 114. and is reduced to fly, *ibid.* he, with Epicycles, possess themselves of all authority at Syracuse, 116. he makes war in the field against Marcellus, 122, 127. the plague destroys him and his troops, 127
- HIPPONAX**, satyrick poet, known by his verses against Pupalas and Athenis, II. 348
- History**. Idea which it gives us of the origin and progress of kingdoms,

I N D E X.

- doms, I. i. advantages to be derived from the study of history, cxxxvi, IV. 358, V. 587
- HOLOPHERNES**, general for the king of Assyria, marches against the Israelites, and besieges Bethulia, II. 52. Judith cuts off his head, *ibid.*
- HOLOPHERNES**, supposed brother of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, dethrones him, and reigns in his stead, VI. 407, VII. 65. he is driven out by Attalus, and retires to Antioch, 68. he enters into a conspiracy against Demetrius his benefactor, *ibid.* that prince imprisons him, *ibid.*
- HOMER**, famous poet, II. 342, &c. to what perfection he carried the species of poetry to which he applied himself, 344, 345
- Horse**, troops at Athens, III. 510. the horse, or the knights, a comedy of Aristophanes, I. cxii
- HOSEA**, king of Samaria, revolts against the king of Assyria, II. 28. he is laden with chains by Salmanasar, and put in prison for the rest of his life, *ibid.*
- HYACINTHUS**, feasts celebrated in honour of him at Lacedæmon, II. 499
- Hybla**, a city of Sicily, III. 178
- HYDARNES** commands the Persians called the *Immortals* in the army of Xerxes, II. 462
- Hydraotes**, a river of India, V. 23
- HYMEREUS**, brother of Demetrius Phalereus, is delivered up to Antipater, who puts him to death, V. 128
- HYPERBOLUS**, Athenian: His character, III. 172. he endeavours to irritate the people against Nicias and Alcibiades, *ibid.* he is banished by the ostracism, 173. he dies in a very tragical manner, V. 128
- HYPSICRATIA**, one of the wives of Mithridates: Her masculine courage, VII. 220
- Hyrcanians**, people in the neighbourhood of Babylonia, subjected by Cyrus, II. 97
- HYRCANUS**, son of Joseph, is sent by his father to the court of Alexandria, to compliment the king upon the birth of his son Philometor, V. 501, 502. he distinguishes himself at that court by his address and magnificence, 502
- HYRCANUS** (*John*) son of Simon, is declared high-priest and prince of the Jews after his father's death, VI. 505. he is besieged by Antiochus Sidetes in Jerusalem, *ibid.* and surrenders by capitulation, 506. he renders himself absolute and independent, 510. he renews the treaty with the Romans, 515. he augments his power in Judæa, 523. he takes Samaria, and demolishes it, 524. he becomes an enemy to the Pharisees, 527. he dies, *ibid.*
- HYRCANUS**, son of A'lexander Jannæus, is made high-priest of the Jews, VI. 545, VII. 8. after the death of Alexander, he takes possession of the throne, 11. he is obliged to submit to Aristobulus his younger brother, *ibid.* he has recourse to Pompey, who replaces him upon the throne, 12, &c. he is again dethroned by Pacorus, son of Orodes, and delivered up to Antigonus, who causes his ears to be cut off, 19. the Parthians carry him into the East, *ibid.* he returns to Jerusalem, where Herod puts him to death, 20
- HYSTASPES**, father of Darius, governor of Persia, II. 192
- HYSTASPES**, second son of Xerxes, is made governor of Bactriana, II.

- II. 518. his remoteness from court makes way for his brother Artaxerxes to ascend the throne, 543. Artaxerxes undertakes to reduce him, III. 1. and entirely ruins his party, 2, 3
- HYSTIÆUS**, tyrant of Miletus, prevails upon the generals of Ionia not to abandon Darius, then employed in a war with the Scythians, II. 399. Darius grants him a territory in Thrace, where he builds a city, 400. that prince recalls him to court, 401. Hystiæus secretly supports the revolt of the Ionians, 406. he forms a conspiracy against the government, 412. he is discovered, *ibid.* he is taken by the Persians, delivered up to Artaphernes, and put to death, 414. character of Hystiæus, *ibid.*
- I.
- IACCHUS.** See **BACCHUS.**
- JADDUS**, high-priest of the Jews, implores the protection of God against Alexander, IV. 430. honours paid him by that prince, 451. his death, V. 147
- JALYSUS**, founder of Rhodes, represented in a painting by Protogenes, V. 247
- Lambick verse* proper for tragedy, I. cx
- JASON**, tyrant of Pheræ, is declared generalissimo of the Thes-salians, IV. 160. death puts a stop to his designs, 161
- JASON** supplants his brother Onias, high-priest of the Jews, VI. 241. he is supplanted himself by his brother Menelaus, 244. he takes Jerusalem, and obliges Menelaus to retire into the citadel, 248
- JAVAN**, or Ion, son of Japhet, father of all the people known under the name of Greeks, II. 278
- Javelins*, exercise of the javelin, I. lxxvii
- Iberians*, people of Asia, subjected by Pompey, VII. 224
- Ibis*, animal adored by the Egyptians, I. 36, 40
- ICETAS** of Syracuse, tyrant of the Leontines, causes the wife and mother-in-law of Dion to be put to death, IV. 93. the Syracusans call in his aid against Dionysius, and elect him their general, 99. he conceives the design of making himself master of Syracuse, *ibid.* and seizes great part of the city, 100, 102. Timoleon marches against him, and obliges him to live as a private person in the city of the Leontines, 111. Ictetas revolts against Timoleon, who punishes him and his son with death, 112
- Ichneumon*, animal adored in Egypt, I. 40
- Idolatry*: Which the most ancient and most general, II. 247. See *Religion.*
- Idumæans*, people of Palestine: Hyrcanus obliges them to embrace Judaism, VII. 2
- Jealousy*, or *Envy*, an incurable disease of the mind, V. 451. it sullies the glory of the greatest actions, VII. 217
- JECHONIAS**, or **JEHOIACHIM**, king of Judah, is led captive to Babylon, II. 37. he is set at liberty after an imprisonment there of thirty-seven years 41
- JEHOAZ**, king of Judæa, led captive into Egypt, where he dies, I. 90
- JEHOIAKIM** is placed by Nechao upon the throne of Judæa in the room of his brother Jehoaz, I. 90. he is conquered by Nebuchadonosor, II. 34. he revolts against that prince, 36. his death, *ibid.*
- Jerusalem*, city of Palestine, I. xxxii, taking of that city by Nechao,

I N D E X.

Necho, I. 90. it is besieged by Senacherib, and delivered miraculously, II. 30. it is besieged, and taken by Nebuchodonosor, 34, 37. its fortifications demolished by that prince, *ibid.* and rebuilt by order of Artaxerxes, III. 24. Alexander's entrance into Jerusalem, IV. 452. it is besieged and taken by Ptolemy, V. 150. it is taken and plundered by Antiochus Epiphanes, VI. 248, 258. its temple is profaned, 248, 259. it is taken by Antiochus Sidetes, who causes its fortifications to be demolished, 505. Pompey takes Jerusalem by storm, VII. 16. Cæsar permits its walls to be rebuilt, which Pompey had caused to be demolished, 19. Herod takes Jerusalem, 22

JESUS CHRIST, his kingdom foretold by Daniel, II. 161. contrast between the kingdoms of the world and the kingdom of Christ, 163, 164

JEWS, massacre of the Jews by order of Senacherib, II. 31. aversion of the Jews for the Samaritans, 32. captivity of the Jews at Babylon, and its duration, 34, &c. Cyrus's edict for their return to Jerusalem, 157. the rebuilding of their city opposed by the Samaritans, 158, 375. Darius confirms Cyrus's edict in their favour, 376. his edict against the Jews revoked at the solicitation of Esther, 207. the Jews are confirmed in their privileges by Xerxes, 442. and afterwards by Artaxerxes, III. 24. Ochus carries a great number of Jews captive into Egypt, IV. 227. the Jews refuse to submit to Alexander, 450. they obtain great privileges from that prince, 459. they refuse to work at the building of the temple of Belus, V. 72

VOL. VII,

The Jews settle at Alexandria in great numbers, V. 204. all those who were slaves in Egypt are set at liberty, 319. the Jews submit to Antiochus the Great, VI. 23. cruelties which they suffer from Antiochus Epiphanes, 248, 259, 264, &c. they gain great victories under Judas Maccabæus, first over the generals of that prince, then over those of Antiochus Eupator, and over himself in person, 269, 274, 277, 460, 461, 463. they make peace with Antiochus, 463. they gain new victories over the generals of Demetrius Soter, 472. they are declared friends and allies of the Romans, *ibid.* they build a temple in Egypt, 478, 479. they revenge themselves on the inhabitants of Antioch, for the evils they had suffered from them, 485, 486. they renew the treaties with the Romans, 489, 495. they are subjected by Antiochus Sidetes, 505. history of the Jews under Aristobulus, VII. 1. Alexander Jannæus, 4. Alexandra, 7. Aristobulus II. 11. Hyrcanus, 17. Antigonus, 21. the sovereignty over the Jews transferred to a stranger, 22

MILCON, son of Hanno, is sent lieutenant to Hannibal on his going to command in Sicily, I. 146. he takes Agrigentum, 147. he puts an end to the war by a treaty with Dionysius, and returns to Carthage, 148, IV. 14. he returns to Sicily at the head of an army, I. 151, IV. 26. the plague spreads in his army, I. 152, IV. 33. he is defeated by Dionysius, *ibid.* he leaves his troops to the mercy of the enemy, and retires to Carthage, where he kills himself, I. 154, IV. 34

IV. 34

G g

Immer

I N D E X.

- Immortality of the Soul.* See *Soul*.
- Immortals*, guards of the Persian kings so called, II. 221
- Immunities.* See *Exemptions*.
- Imposts.* See *Tributes* or *Taxes*.
- INACHUS, king of Argos, II. 282
- INARUS, prince of the Libyans, is chosen king by the Egyptians, and supports their revolt against the Persians, III. 19. he treats with Megabyfus, general of the Persians, and surrenders himself, 21. he is delivered to the mother of Artaxerxes, and put to death, 22
- Incest*, common amongst the Persians, II. 184, 256
- INDATHYRSUS, king of the Scythians, attacked by Darius, II. 396. answer of that prince to Darius, who sent to demand fire and water from him, *ibid.*
- India*, region of Asia, divided in two parts, I. xxx, V. 2. manners of its inhabitants, 4. rarities of that country, 5, &c. history of the commerce with that country from Solomon's time to the present, I. 25. very singular dispute between two Indian women after the death of their common husband, V. 183, 184. expeditions of Semiramis into India, II. 17. conquest of India by Darius, 403. then by Alexander, V. 6
- Informers.* How punished in Persia, II. 206, 377. definition of them by Plutarch, IV. 74. See *Calumniators*, or *False-accusers*.
- Ingratitude* punished most severely amongst the Persians, II. 73
- INTAPHERNES, Persian lord: His insolence and punishment, II. 363
- Interest* of money amongst the Romans, VII. 191
- IOLAS, second son of Antipater, and cup bearer to Alexander, is suspected of having poisoned that prince, V. 75
- ION, son of Xuthus, who gave his name to Ionia, II. 287
- ION, favourite of Perseus, delivers up that prince's children to Octavius, VI. 371
- JONATHAN, Jew and Sadducee, brings over Hyrcanus to his sect from that of the Pharisees, VI. 526, 527
- JONATHAN, brother of Judas Macabæus, succeeds him in the government of Judæa, VI. 473. he accepts of the high-priesthood from Alexander Bala, and aids that prince against Demetrius Soter, 477. he undertakes to drive the Greeks out of the citadel, which they had in Jerusalem, 484, &c. Demetrius Nicator orders him to attend him upon that affair, 484. Jonathan aids that prince against the people of Antioch, 485. disgusted by the ingratitude of Demetrius, he declares for Antiochus Theos, 487. he suffers himself to be deceived by Tryphon, who puts him to death, 487, 488
- Ionia*, province of Asia minor, II. 276. from whom it takes its name, 287
- IONIANS. Revolt of the Ionians against Darius, II. 406. they burn the city of Sardis, 410. their party is entirely ruined, 413. they throw off the Persian yoke after the battle of Salamin, and unite with the Greeks from thenceforth, 515
- JOSEPH, son of Jacob, I. 67
- JOSEPH, Onias's nephew, is sent into Egypt to make his uncle's excuse to Ptolemy, V. 400. his credit with Ptolemy, 401. that prince gives him the farm of the revenues of Cœlosyria and Palestine without security, 402
- JOSIAH,

I N D E X.

- JOSIAH**, king of Judah, marches against Nechao, is defeated, and dies of a wound received in battle, I. 89
- IPHICRATES**, Athenian, is sent to aid Corcyra, IV. 137. he is placed at the head of the Grecian troops in the expedition of Artaxerxes against Egypt, 189. he retires to Athens, where Pharnabazus causes him to be accused of making the expedition miscarry, 192. the Athenians employ him in the war with the allies, 208, 211. he is accused by Chares, and cited to take his trial, 212. means which he employs for his defence, *ibid.* &c. he re-establishes Perdiccas upon the throne of Macedonia, 253. praise of Iphicrates, 208. military discipline which he establishes amongst the troops, 209
- Issus**, city of Phrygia, famous for the victory of Ptolemy, Cassander, Seleucus, and Lysimachus, over Antigonus and Demetrius, V. 256
- Irony** attributed to Socrates, III. 451
- ISADAS**, young Spartan; his great courage, IV. 174
- ISAGORAS**, Athenian, forms a faction in Athens after the expulsion of the tyrants, II. 341
- ISCHOLAS**, Spartan, guards an important pass during the irruption of the Thebans into Lacedæmonia, and distinguishes himself in a peculiar manner, IV. 149
- Isle**, part of the city of Syracuse; description of it, III. 198
- ISMENIAS**, Theban, is made prisoner with Pelopidas, by Alexander of Pheræ, IV. 163. he is delivered by Epaminondas, 167
- ISMENIUS**, Polemarch of Thebes, is seized by Leontides, and carried prisoner to the citadel, IV. 120. he is condemned and executed, 122
- ISOCRATES**, Greek orator: Services which he endeavoured to render the Athenians by his writings, IV. 213, 289. his death, 328
- ISOCRATES**, Greek grammarian, is sent prisoner to Rome for having endeavoured to justify the assassination of Octavius, VI. 474
- Issus**, city of Cilicia, famous for Alexander's victory over Darius, IV. 401
- Isthmian**, solemn games of Greece, I. lxxv
- ITALIANS** massacred in Asia minor by order of Mithridates, VII. 154
- ITHOBAL**, king of Tyre, when besieged by Nabucodonosor, II. 38
- Ithoma**, a city of Messenia, famous for the battle fought there between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, I. cxliv. the inhabitants of that city subjected by the Lacedæmonians, cxlix
- Ituræa**, part of Cœlosyria, VII. 2. the Ituræans are obliged by Aristobulus to embrace Judaism, *ibid.*
- JUBA I.** king of Mauritania, is conquered by Cæsar, and kills himself, I. 346
- JUBA II.** son of the former, is led in Cæsar's triumph whilst an infant, I. 346. Augustus restores him the dominions of his father, *ibid.* works of learning ascribed to this prince, *ibid.* 347
- JUDAS**, called Maccabæus, third son of Mattathias, is chosen general by his father against Antiochus Epiphanes, VI. 268. he gains several great victories over that prince, 271, 274, 275, 276. he retakes the temple, and dedicates it anew to the service of God, 276. he gains new advantages over the generals of Antiochus Eupator, and

I N D E X.

- over that prince in person, VI. 459, 461, 462. repeated victories of Judas Maccabæus over the generals of Demetrius Soter, 462, 472. he dies in battle fighting gloriously, 473
- Judæa*, region of Syria, called also Palestine, I. xxxii
- JUDITH**, Jewess: Her courage and boldness, II. 52
- JUGURTHA**, Masinissa's grandson, is adopted by Micipsa, and associated with the other children of that prince, I. 338. he seizes the kingdom of Numidia, and puts one of the two princes his brothers by adoption to death, *ibid.* he attacks the second with open force, 339. besieges him in Cirtha, 340. the Romans declare war against him, *ibid.* Jugurtha frustrates their efforts several times by bribes, *ibid.* 341. the Romans send Metellus first, and then Marius, against him, who both gain many advantages over him, 342, 343, &c. Jugurtha has recourse to Bocchus his father-in-law, who gives him up to the Romans, 344. he is led in triumph, 345. and afterwards thrown into a deep dungeon, where he perishes miserably, *ibid.* &c.
- JULIUS** is sent deputy by the Romans into Achaia, to appease the troubles there, VI. 425
- JUNIUS**, consul, is defeated at sea by the Carthaginians, I. 194
- Justice*, the supreme of virtues, IV. 121. and the principal support of regal authority, III. 372
- JOVENTIUS THALNA** (P.) Roman prætor, marches against Andronicus, VI. 422. he is killed in a battle, *ibid.*
- K.
- K** *Kingdoms*: Origin and progress of kingdoms from their first institution, I. xxv
- KINGS. PRINCES. Duties of a King**, III. 82, 503, IV. 187, V. 98, 273. qualities essential in a prince; sincerity, truth, and faith to engagements, III. 74, 80, V. 54. application in rendering justice, IV. 339, V. 273, VII. 94. to know how to own faults when they happen to commit them, II. 447. to acquire the affection of subjects, V. 202, 274, 386, 421, 450, 588. to favour arts and sciences, VII. 96, 121. to make commerce flourish in his kingdom, V. 401. not to harbour envy and jealousy, nor open his heart to flattery, I. 292, II. 444, III. 25, V. 49. in what a prince ought to endeavour to distinguish himself from his subjects, II. 169, 171. noble use which he ought to make of his riches, V. 336, &c. a prince is the sword and shield of his dominions, II. 217. the knowledge of the heart of man is of great importance to a prince, IV. 374. temperance is a very estimable virtue in a king, IV. 187. vices odious in a prince, 558. difference between a king and a tyrant, III. 82, IV. 2, VII. 105
- L.
- L** *Abdalon*: Fort situated in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, III. 199
- LABOROSOARCHOD** ascends the throne of Assyria, and is killed soon after, II. 42. bad inclinations and cruelty of that prince, *ibid.* and 101
- LABYINIT**. See **BALTAZAR**, or **BELSHAZZAR**.
- Labyrinth* of Egypt: Description of it, I. 9
- LACEDÆMON**, or *Sparta*, city of Peloponnesus, capital of Lacedæmonians or Spartans, II. 274
- Kings

Kings of Lacedæmonia, II. 284. the Heraclidæ seize Lacedæmon, where two brothers, Eurysthenes and Procles, reign jointly, 285. the crown remains in those two families, *ibid.* the Lacedæmonians take Elos, and reduce the inhabitants of that city to the condition of slaves under the names of Helots, I. cxl. Lycurgus, legislator of Sparta, cxli. war between the Lacedæmonians and Argives, cxlii. first war between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, cxliii. defeat of the Lacedæmonians near Ithoma, cxlvi. they take and destroy Ithoma, and grant peace to the Messenians, cxlix. second war of the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, *ibid.* the Lacedæmonians are defeated, cli. they demand a general of the Athenians, who give them Tyrtaeus, by profession a poet, *ibid.* by his verses he inspires them with courage, and occasions their gaining a great victory, clii. the Lacedæmonians subject the Messenians, and reduce them to the condition of Helots, cliii

The Lacedæmonians deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratides, II. 339. they undertake to reinstate Hippias, son of Pisistratus, but ineffectually, 341, 416. Darius sends to Sparta, to demand its submission, 422. the Spartans put his heralds to death, 423. a ridiculous superstition prevents the Lacedæmonians from having a share in the battle of Marathon, 425. 431. the honour of commanding the Greeks is decreed to them, 469. three hundred Spartans dispute the pass of Thermopylæ with Xerxes, 472. battle of Salamin, in which the Lacedæmonians have a great

share, 484, &c. honours which they render Themistocles after that battle, 492. the Lacedæmonians, in conjunction with the Athenians, cut the army of the Persians in pieces at the battle of Plataea, 501, 502. they defeat the Persian fleet at the same time near Mycale, 513. they are for preventing the Athenians from rebuilding the walls of their city, 519. the haughtiness of Pausanias occasions their losing the command, 525. they send deputies to Athens, to accuse Themistocles as an accomplice in Pausanias's conspiracy, 531

Earthquake at Sparta, III. 36. sedition of the Helots, *ibid.* seeds of division between Sparta and Athens, 37. peace is re-established between the two states, 39. jealousy and differences between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, 53. treaty of peace for thirty years, 56. new causes of complaint and dissention, *ibid.* open rupture between Sparta and Athens, 64. Peloponnesian war, 99, &c. allies of the Lacedæmonians in that war, 100. they ravage Attica, 104. Lacedæmon has recourse to the Persians, 116. its deputies are seized by the Athenians, carried to Athens, and put to death, 117. Plataea besieged and taken by the Lacedæmonians, 121, 137. they abandon Attica to retake Pylos from the Athenians, 139. they are defeated at sea, *ibid.* Lacedæmonians shut up in the island of Sphacteria, *ibid.* they surrender at discretion, 145. Expeditions of the Lacedæmonians into Thrace, 154. they take Amphipolis, 155. truce of a year between Sparta and Athens, 157. victory of the Lacedæmonians

Lacedæmonians over the Athenians near Amphipolis, III. 160. treaty of peace between the two states for fifty years, 163

The war renewed between Sparta and Athens, III. 171. the Lacedæmonians give Alcibiades refuge, 196. by his advice they send Gylippus to the aid of Syracuse, and fortify Decelia in Attica, 203, 213. the Lacedæmonians conclude a treaty with Persia, 252. their fleet is beaten by the Athenians near Cyzicum, 258. they appoint Lyfander admiral, 265. they beat the Athenian fleet near Ephesus, 268. Callicratidas succeeds Lyfander, 270. defeat of the Lacedæmonians near the Arginusæ, 273, &c. they gain a famous victory over the Athenians near Ægospotamos, 286. they take Athens, 290. and change the form of its government, 291. decree of Sparta concerning the use of the money which Lyfander causes to be carried thither, 292. base conduct of the Lacedæmonians in respect to Syracuse, IV. 17. infamous means which they use for ridding themselves of Alcibiades, III. 301. inhumanity of the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians, who fled to avoid the violence of the thirty tyrants, 307, &c.

The Lacedæmonians furnish Cyrus the Younger with troops against his brother Artaxerxes, III. 318. they chastise the insolence of the inhabitants of Elis, 367. they undertake, with Agesilaus at the head of them, to reinstate the ancient liberty of the Greeks of Asia, 373. expeditions of the Lacedæmonians in Asia, 380. Sparta appoints Agesilaus generalissimo by sea and land, 384. league against

the Lacedæmonians, 388. they gain a great victory near Nemaëa, 393, 394. their fleet is defeated by Conon near Cnidus, 395. battle gained by the Lacedæmonians at Coronea, 397. they conclude a shameful peace for the Greeks with the Persians, 403. they declare war with the Olynthians, IV. 118. they seize the citadel of Thebes by fraud and violence, 120. they receive the Olynthians into the number of their allies, 122

Prosperity of Sparta, IV. 122. the Lacedæmonians are reduced to quit the citadel of Thebes, 132. they form an ineffectual enterprize against the Piræus, 134. they are defeated near Tægyra, 138. they declare war against the Thebans, 139. they are defeated and put to flight at Leuctra, 143, &c. the Thebans ravage their country, and advance to the gates of Sparta, 149, 151. the Lacedæmonians implore aid of the Athenians, 155. Sparta besieged by Epaminondas, 173. battle of Mantinæa, in which the Lacedæmonians are defeated, 175. the Lacedæmonians send aid to Tachos, who had revolted against the Persians, 193. enterprize of the Lacedæmonians against Megalopolis, 216. they revolt against the Macedonians, 514. they are defeated by Antipater, 515. Alexander pardons them, 516

Sparta besieged by Pyrrhus, V. 353. courage of the Spartan women during that siege, *ibid.* 354, 355. history of the Lacedæmonians in the reign of Agis, 424 and in that of Cleomenes, 444. Sparta falls into the hands of Antigonus Doson, 474. sedition in Sparta appeased by Philip, 507. Sparta joins the Ætolians

I N D E X.

lians against that prince, V. 513. several actions between the Lacedæmonians and Philip, 530, 531. Sparta joins with the Ætolians in the treaty with the Romans, 553. Machanidas becomes tyrant of Sparta, *ibid.* the Lacedæmonians defeated by Philopœmen near Mantinæa, 582. Nabis succeeds Machanidas, 589. his cruel treatment of the Lacedæmonians, *ibid.* 590, VI. 69. Quintius Flaminius besieges Sparta, 73. enterprize of the Ætolians against Sparta, 94. that city enters into the Achæan league, 95. the Spartans cruelly treated by their exiles, 153, 154. war between the Lacedæmonians and Achæans, 424. the Romans separate Sparta from the Achæan league, *ibid.* 425

Character and government of Sparta, II. 292, 307, III. 490. laws instituted by Lycurgus formed upon those of Crete, II. 293, III. 499. senate, II. 294, III. 491. distribution of lands, II. 295. love of poverty, III. 495. gold and silver money banished Sparta, II. 296, 308. publick meals, 297. education of children, 299, 311. barbarous cruelty in respect to them, 314, 315. obedience to which they were accustomed, 312, III. 494. respect which they were obliged to have for age, II. 313. patience and fortitude of the Lacedæmonian youth, 301. profession and exercise of the Lacedæmonians, 303. excessive leisure in which they lived, 316. cruelty of the Lacedæmonians in respect to the Helots, 317. chastity and modesty absolutely neglected at Sparta, *ibid.* common character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, III. 559. causes of

the decline of Sparta, 498. different kinds of troops of which the Lacedæmonians armies were composed, 542. manner in which the Lacedæmonians prepared for battle, II. 472. military discipline of Sparta, IV. 147. navy of the Lacedæmonians, II. 310

LACHARES, Theban, commands a detachment of the army of Ochus in that prince's expedition against Egypt, IV. 228. he forms the siege of Pelusium, and takes it, *ibid.*

Laconia, province of Peloponnese, II. 274

Lada, a small island over-against Miletus, II. 413

Ladies: Plutarch composed a treatise to prove the industry and capacity of the ladies, II. 454. happy simplicity of the ladies of antiquity, IV. 495

LAIS, famous courtesan, III. 196

LAIUS, king of Thebes, his misfortunes, II. 284

Lake of Mœris, I. 10

LAMACHUS is appointed general with Nicias and Alcibiades in the expedition of the Athenians against Sicily, III. 179. his poverty makes him contemptible to the troops, 195. he is killed at the siege of Syracuse, 208

LAMIA, courtesan to Demetrius: Her enormous expences, V. 254. pleasantry of a comick poet in respect to her, *ibid.*

Lamia, city of Thessaly, famous for the victory of the Athenians over Antipater, V. 121

Lands: Distribution of them instituted by Lycurgus at Sparta, II. 295. reflection upon that partition, 308

LAODICE, wife of Antiochus Theos, is repudiated by that prince, V. 377. Antiochus takes her again, 387. she causes him to

I N D E X.

- be poisoned, V. 387. and Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king in his stead, 388. she causes Berenice and her son to be put to death, *ibid.* Ptolemy puts her to death, 390
- LAODICE**, daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, marries Antiochus the Great, V. 482
- LAODICE**, sister of Demetrius Soter, and widow of Perseus king of Macedonia, is put to death by Ammonius, favourite of Alexander Bala, VI. 480
- LAODICE**, widow of Ariarathes VI. acts as regent during the minority of six princes her children, VI. 503, VII. 68. she poisons five of them, and prepares to do the same by the sixth, *ibid.* she is put to death by the people, *ibid.*
- LAODICE**, sister of Mithridates Eupator, marries first Ariarathes VII. king of Cappadocia, and afterwards Nicomedes king of Bithynia, VII. 68, 69. part which he makes her act at Rome before the senate, 69, 147, 148
- LAOMEDON**, one of Alexander's captains: Provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, V. 112. he is dispossessed of them by Nicanor, who takes him prisoner, 149
- Laranda**, city of Pisidia, revolts against Perdiccas, V. 138, 139. tragical end of that city, *ibid.*
- Larissa**, city of Thessaly, II. 275
- LASTHENES**, chief magistrate of Olynthus, puts that city into the hands of Philip, IV. 285
- LASTHENES**, of Crete, supplies Demetrius Nicator with troops for ascending the throne of Syria, VI. 480. his bad conduct makes that prince commit many faults, 483
- LATHYRUS**. See **PTOLEMY LATHYRUS**.
- Laws**. Origin and institution of laws, I. 28. laws of the Egyptians, 31. laws of Crete, III. 499. laws of Sparta, II. 292. laws of Athens, 322
- Leaping**: Exercise amongst the Greeks, I. lxxvii
- Legion Roman**; soldiers of which it was composed, I. 248
- Legislators**, famous ones of antiquity; Draco, II. 319. Solon, 320. Lycurgus, 292. Charondas, III. 93. Zaleucus, 95
- LELEX**, first king of Lacedæmonia, II. 284
- LENTISCUS**, son of Ptolemy, is taken prisoner by Demetrius, and sent back to his father by that prince, V. 225
- LENTULUS** is sent to Thebes by the Romans, to have an eye over Bœotia, during the war with Perseus VI. 311
- LENTULUS**, consul, is ordered to reinstate Ptolemy Auletes upon the throne, VII. 239, 240. he is prevented from executing that commission by a pretended oracle of the Sybils, 241
- LEON**, Corinthian, defends the citadel of Syracuse against Ictas and the Carthaginians, IV. 107
- LEON**, Athenian, is sent deputy with Timagoras to the court of Persia, and accuses his colleague at his return, IV. 159
- LEONATUS**, one of Alexander's captains: Provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, V. 112. he marches to the aid of Antipater besieged in Lamia, 121. he is killed in battle, *ibid.*
- LEONIDAS**, governor of Alexander, IV. 354
- LEONIDAS I.** king of Sparta, defends the pass of Thermopylæ with unparalleled bravery against the innumerable army of Xerxes, II. 470. he is killed there, 474. the Lacedæmonians

I N D E X.

- ans erect him a magnificent monument, II. 475
- LEONIDAS II.** reigns at Sparta jointly with Agis, V. 424. he opposes the designs of that prince, 431. he is divested of the sovereignty, 433. he escapes to Tægea, 434. he is recalled, and replaced upon the throne, 437. he lays snares for Agis, 439. and puts him to death, 441, 442. he obliges the wife of that prince to marry his son Cleomenes, 443. death of Leonidas, 445. his character, 425
- LEONTIDES**, Polemarch of Thebes, puts the citadel of that place into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, IV. 119. he imprisons Ismenius, who was his opponent, 120. he sends persons to Athens to assassinate the principal exiles, 125. Pelopidas, at the head of the conspirators, kills him, 131
- LEONTIUM**, city of Sicily, III. 178
- LEONTIUS**, Philip's general, insults Aratus grossly at a feast, V. 530. he is security for the fine laid on Megaleas upon the same account, *ibid.* Philip takes the command of his troops from him, and puts him to death, 534, &c.
- LEOSTHENES**, Athenian, informs Athens of Alexander's death, and animates them to throw off the Macedonian yoke, V. 117. he is placed at the head of the Greeks allied against Antipater, *ibid.* 118. his glorious exploits, 120. he receives a wound at the siege of Lamia, 121. and dies soon after, 122
- LEOTYCHIDES**, king of Lacedæmonia, in conjunction with Xanthippus the Athenian, gains a famous victory over the Persians near Mycale, II. 513
- LEOTYCHIDES**, son of Timæa, wife of Agis, passes for the son of Alcibiades, and for that reason is excluded the throne, III. 197, 368
- LEPTINUS**, brother of Dionysius, is put to flight by the Carthaginians, with the fleet under his command, IV. 28. he is banished, 45. and soon after recalled, *ibid.* he kills Callippus, Dion's murderer, 92. he surrenders himself to Timoleon, who sends him to Corinth, 111
- LEPTINUS**, Syrian, kills Octavius the Roman ambassador, VI. 469. Demetrius delivers him up to the senate, 474
- LEPTINUS**, Syracusan, Hiero's father-in-law, VII. 80
- Lesbos*, island of Greece, II. 276. revolt of that island against the Athenians, III. 125. the Athenians reduce it to its former obedience, 130, &c.
- Letters*. Invention of letters brought into Greece by Cadmus, I. 74
- LEUCON**, king in the Bosphorus; mutual generosity between that prince and the Athenians, IV. 247
- Leutra*, small town of Bœotia, famous for the victory of the Thebans over the Lacedæmonians, IV. 143, &c.
- LEVINUS**, Roman consul, defeated by Pyrrhus, V. 330
- LEVINUS** (*M. Valerius*) is sent into Greece and Macedonia in quality of prætor, to oppose the enterprizes of Philip, V. 549. enemies he excites against that prince, *ibid.* &c.
- LEUTYCHIDES** is elected king of Sparta in the room of Demaratus, II. 423
- LEWIS XV.** king of France. Glorious testimony which that prince renders the French nation, VI. 159, &c.

I N D E X.

- Library.* Famous libraries of antiquity; at Alexandria, I. 27, V. 286, 287. at Athens, II. 336 at Pergamus, VI. 408
- Libya*, part of Africa, VI. 545. war of Libya, or of the mercenaries, I. 199
- LICINIUS*, consul, is sent into Macedonia against Perseus, VI. 303, 311. he encamps near the river Peneus, 316. he is defeated in a battle, 319, &c. and afterwards gains some advantage over Perseus, 326
- LICINIUS (C.)* the consul's brother, commands the Italian cavalry in his brother's army, VI. 318.
- Light-house* of Alexandria, I. 26.
- LIGORAS*, one of the generals of Antiochus the Great, makes that prince master of the city of Sardis, V. 500
- Liguria*, province of Italy, VI. 413. its inhabitants subjected to the Marseillians by the Romans, *ibid.*
- Lilybæum*, city of Sicily, besieged by the Romans, I. 192
- Lines* of circumvallation and contravallation amongst the ancients, III. 123
- LIONESS*, *LOENA* or *LEONA*, name of a courtesan. Statue erected in honour of her by the Athenians, II. 340
- Lissus*, city of Illyria: Siege and taking of that city by Philip, V. 549
- LIVIVS*, consul, is sent into Cisalpine Gaul, to oppose the entrance of Afrubal into Italy, I. 262. he defeats that general in a great battle, 264, &c.
- Loans.* Law concerning them amongst the Egyptians, I. 32, 79. in what manner such as lived upon borrowing were considered amongst the Persians, II. 207
- Lotus*, an Egyptian plant of which they made bread, I. 57
- Love.* Care of the ancients to avoid admitting any thing into their dramatick poems relating to love, I. cix. force of which that passion is capable, V. 137, &c.
- Conjugal love. Model of it, V. 439
- LUCRETIUS*, prætor, commands the Roman fleet sent against Perseus, VI. 311. he besieges Haliartus, a city of Bœotia, takes and demolishes it entirely, 326
- LUCULIUS* commands the Roman fleet sent against Mithridates, and gains two great victories over that prince, VII. 168. he is elected consul, and charged with the war against Mithridates, 181. he obliges that prince to raise the siege of Cyzicum, 183. and defeats his troops, 184. he gains a compleat victory over him, 187. and obliges him to take refuge with Tigranes king of Armenia, 189. he sends an ambassador to demand Mithridates, 190. he regulates the affairs of Asia, *ibid.* &c. he declares war against Tigranes, 192. and marches against him, 195. he besieges Tigranocerta, 196. he gains a great victory over Tigranes, 201. and takes Tigranocerta, 202. he gains a second victory over the joint forces of Mithridates and Tigranes, 208. his army refuses to obey him, 209, 211. Pompey is sent to command in his stead, 213. Lucullus returns to Rome and receives the honour of a triumph, 218. his character, 212. means which he used for acquiring the knowledge of the art of war, 168

I N D E X.

Lusitania, part of the ancient Spain,

I. 138

LUTATIUS, consul, defeats the fleet of the Carthaginians, and puts an end by that victory to the first Punick war, I. 195, &c.

Luxury. Fatal effects of luxury amongst the ancients, II. 260, &c. almost always attended with the ruin of states, 261, II. 390,

III. 96

LYCIPAS, Athenian, is for having the proposal of Mardonius heard, II. 498. he is stoned, *ibid.*

Lycia, province of Asia minor, I. xxxi. it is declared free by the Romans, VI. 337, 395

LYCISCUS, deputy from the Acarnanians, endeavours to engage the Lacedæmonians in Philip's party, V. 552

LYCISCUS, Ætolian, is accused of having treated those with great cruelty, who would not espouse the Romans against Perseus, VI. 396. P. Æmilius acquits him,

397

LYCON, Athenian, commander of the Grecian troops in the army of Pisuthres, is brought into the views of Tissaphernes, whom he joins, III. 150

LYCORTAS, Polybius's father, is sent ambassador by the Achæans to Ptolemy Epiphanes, VI. 168, 189. he is elected general of the Achæans, and avenges Philopœmen's death, 189. he is deputed a second time to Ptolemy, 200

LYCURGUS, son of Eunomus, king of Sparta, governs the kingdom as guardian to Charilaus his nephew, II. 292. he endeavours to reform the government of Sparta, and makes several voyages with that view, 293. on his return he changes the form of the government, *ibid.* &c. he goes to Delphi to consult the

oracle, and dies voluntarily by abstaining from food, 305. reflections upon Lycurgus's death,

ibid. &c.

LYCURGUS, Spartan, corrupts the Ephori, and causes himself to be elected king of Sparta, V. 513. Chilo's attempt against him, 518. Lycurgus flies into Ætolia to escape the Ephori, and is soon after recalled, 537

Lydia, country of Asia minor, I. xxxii. king of Lydia, II. 57. it is subjected by Cyrus, 120. the manner in which the Lydians contracted alliances, 54

Lying. How much abhorred amongst the Persians, II. 207

LYNCEUS, king of Argos, II. 282

LYNCESTES ALEXANDER is convicted of a conspiracy against Alexander the Great, and put to death, IV. 531

LYSANDRA, Ptolemy's daughter, marries Agathocles son of Lyfimachus, V. 304. after the murder of her husband she retires to Seleucus, and engages him to make war against Lyfimachus, *ibid.*

LYSANDER is appointed admiral by the Lacedæmonians, III. 265. he becomes very powerful with Cyrus the Younger, 267. he beats the Athenian fleet near Ephesus, 268. his envy of Callicratidas sent to succeed him, 271. he commands the fleet of the Lacedæmonians a second time, 282. and gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos, 284, &c. he takes Athens, 289, &c. and entirely changes the form of the government, 291. he returns to Sparta, and sends thither before him all the gold and silver taken from the enemy, *ibid.* he is sent to Athens to re-establish the thirty tyrants, 308. he strangely abuses his power, 311. he suffers

fers the Grecian cities in Asia minor to consecrate altars to him, III. 312. upon the complaint of Pharnabazus he is recalled to Sparta, 314. Lyfander accompanys Agesilaus into Asia, 373. he quarrels with him, 376. and returns to Sparta, *ibid.* his ambitious designs for changing the fucceffion to the throne, 377. he is killed before Haliartus, which he was going to befiege, 390. fome time after his death, the plot he had formed againft the two kings is difcovered, 400. Lyfander's character, 272, 391, &c.

LYSANDER is elected one of the Ephori at Sparta by the favour of Agis, V. 429. he endeavours to make the people receive the ordinances of that excellent young king, *ibid.* 430

LYSIADES, tyrant of Megalopolis, renounces his power upon the remonftrances of Aratus, and makes his city enter into the Achæan league, V. 423. the Achæans make him their captain-general three times fucceffively, and then expel him, *ibid.* he is killed in battle, 447

LYSIAS, kinfman of Antiochus Epiphanes, is made governor by that prince of part of his dominions, and præceptor to Antiochus Epiphanes, VI. 271. Antiochus gives him the command of the army againft the Jews, *ibid.* he is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, 277. he poffeffes himfelf of the regency during the minority of Antiochus Eupator, 458. the government of Cœlofyrta and Paleftine is given to him, 459. he is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, 461. he makes peace with the Jews, 463. he is delivered up to Demetrius Soter, who puts him to death, 471

LYSIAS, one of the Athenian generals, who defeated the Lacedæmonians near the iflands Arginufæ, and at their return were condemned to die, III. 274, 280

LYSIAS of Syracufe, Greek orator, goes to settle at Thurium, III. 92. he raifes five hundred men to aid the Athenians againft the tyrants, 307. he carries Socrates a difcourse for his defence, 457. character of Lyfias's ftyle, *ibid.*

LYSICLES commands the Athenian army at Cheronæa, and is defeated by Philip, IV. 325

Lyfimachia, a city of Thrace, VI. 62

LYSIMACHUS, one of Alexander's captains, is expofed by order of that prince to a furious lion that he kills, IV. 564. provinces which fell to him after Alexander's death, V. 112. he enters into a league with Ptolemy Seleucus and Caffander, againft Antigonus, 194. treaty of peace between thofe princes, which is immediately broken, 207. Lysimachus, Ptolemy, Caffander and Seleucus, againft Antigonus and Demetrius, 254, 255. they divide Alexander's empire amongft them, 258. alliance of Lysimachus with Ptolemy, 262. he takes Macedonia from Demetrius, 272. and divides it with Pyrrhus, 275. he obliges Pyrrhus foon after to quit it, 276. he marches againft Seleucus, gives him battle, and is killed, 307

LYSIMACHUS, fon of Ariftides, his poverty, V. 246

LYSIMACHUS, Alexander's præceptor, accompanys that prince in his expeditions, IV. 430

Lyfimelia, a marfh near Syracufe, III. 199

Lyffirata, comedy of Ariftophanes; extract from it, I. cxv

MAC-

I N D E X.

M.

MACCABEES. Martyrdom of them, VI. 264, &c.

Macedonia, MACEDONIANS. Macedonia, kingdom of Greece, II: 275. origin of the Macedonians, 279. commencement of their empire, 286. kings of Macedonia before Philip, IV. 252. reign of Philip, 255. and his son Alexander, 362. Alexander's successors who reigned in Macedonia: Cassander, V. 258. Philip his son, 265. Demetrius Poliorcetes, 270. Pyrrhus, 272. Lyfimachus, 276. Seleucus, 307. Ptolemy Ceraunus, 308. Sosthenes, 313. Antigonus Gonatas, 318. Demetrius, son of Antigonus, 395. Antigonus Doson, 402. Philip, son of Demetrius, 474. Perseus, VI. 234. Macedonia is declared free by the Romans, 379, 380. and some time after reduced into a province of the Roman empire, 423

MACHANIDAS becomes tyrant of Sparta, V. 554. he endeavours to subject Peloponnesus, 582. Philopœmen marches against him, *ibid*. Machanidas is defeated and killed in battle, 585, 586

MADATHES, governor of the country of the Uxii for Darius, refuses to surrender to Alexander, IV. 496. that prince subdues and forgives him, *ibid*.

MAGAS, governor of Cyrenaica and Liyba, revolts against Ptolemy Philadelphus, and causes himself to be declared king of those provinces, V. 368. he causes overtures of accommodation to be made to that prince, and dies during the negotiation, 374

MAGAS, brother of Ptolemy Phi-

lopator, is put to death by his order, V. 492

MAGI employed in the divine worship of the Persians, II. 251. their religion, 253

Magistrate. Duty of a magistrate, VII. 141, 142

Magnesia, city of Caria in Asia minor, I. xxxi. Artaxerxes gives the revenues of that city to Themistocles for his subsistence, III. 7

MAGO, Carthaginian general, is sent into Sicily to make war against Dionysius the Elder, IV. 27. after various efforts he concludes a peace with that tyrant, 35. he loses a great battle, and is killed in it, I. 154

MAGO, the former's son, commands the army of the Carthaginians in Sicily, and gains a great victory over Dionysius the elder, I. 155. the Carthaginians place him at the head of their troops in Sicily against Dionysius the Younger, 157, IV. 107. he shamefully abandons the conquest of Sicily, I. 157, IV. 108. he returns to Carthage, and kills himself through despair, I. 158, IV. 109

MAGO, Carthaginian general, is placed at the head of the fleet sent to aid the Romans against Pyrrhus, I. 172. he goes to Pyrrhus in order to sound his designs in respect to Sicily, 173

MAGO, Hannibal's brother, carries the news of that general's victory over the Romans at the battle of Cannæ to Carthage, I. 253

MAGO, Carthaginian general, is taken prisoner in Sardinia, I. 258, 259

MAGOSA, city of India, besieged and taken by Alexander, V. 8

MAHARDAL, Carthaginian officer, endeavours to persuade Hannibal

I N D E X.

- bal to march directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, I. 252
- MAHOMET.** Vulgar report concerning his tomb, V. 383
- MALLI,** a people of India; their war with Alexander, V. 35. they submit to that prince, 38
- MAMERTINES,** people originally of Italy: They seize Messina, city of Sicily, I. 175. they are defeated by Pyrrhus, V. 345. a division arises amongst them, which occasions the first Punick war, I. 176, VII. 82
- Man.** Wherein the science of knowing mankind consists, III. 340. men are the same in all ages, 342
- MANASSEH,** king of Judah, is put in chains by the generals of Esarhaddon, and carried captive to Babylon, II. 32. he obtains his liberty, and returns to Jerusalem, ibid.
- MANCINUS (L.)** the consul Piso's lieutenant, engages rashly in a post, from whence Scipio happily extricates him, I. 314
- MANDANA,** daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes, is given in marriage to Cambyses king of Persia, II. 56. she goes to Media, and carries her son Cyrus with her, 74. she returns into Persia, 77
- MANDANIS,** an Indian philosopher, refuses to follow Alexander in his train, V. 27, 28
- MANDROCLIDES,** young Spartan, supports the party of Lysander the Ephorus through zeal for the publick good, V. 430
- MANETHON,** Egyptian priest; author of the history of the Dynasties of Egypt, I. 62
- MANIA,** wife of Zenis, is continued in the government of Æolia, after the death of her husband, and causes herself to be admired for her conduct, III. 364. she is assassinated with her son, by Midias her son-in-law, 365
- MANILIUS (M.)** consul, is sent against Carthage in the beginning of the first Punick war, I. 305
- MANILIUS,** tribune of the people, prepares a decree for appointing Pompey to command the armies against the kings, Mithridates and Tigranes, VII. 213
- MANIUS CURIUS,** consul, gains a great victory over Pyrrhus, and obliges him to quit Italy, V. 349
- MANIUS AQUILIUS,** consul, terminates the war against Aristonicus, VI. 503. and enters Rome in triumph, 504
- MANLIUS (L.)** is appointed consul with Regulus, I. 180. they jointly gain a great victory over the Carthaginians near Ecnoma in Sicily, ibid. they go to Africa, ibid. Manlius is recalled, 181
- Mantineia,** city of Arcadia, famous for the victory of Epaminondas over the Lacedæmonians, and for that of Philopœmen over Macharidas tyrant of Sparta, IV. 179, V. 582
- Maracanda,** capital city of Sogdiana, submits to Alexander, IV. 538
- Marathon,** small city of Attica, famous for the victory of the Athenians over the Persians, II. 424
- MARCELLUS (M.)** consul, is sent into Sicily to appease the troubles there, VII. 114. actions of Marcellus in Sicily, 115. he forms the siege of Syracuse, 116. the considerable losses of men and ships, by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, oblige him to turn the siege into a blockade, 120. he undertakes several expeditions in Sicily, 123. he

I N D E X.

- he makes himself master of Syracuse by means of his intelligence in it, VII. 124, &c. he abandons the city to be plundered, 132. honours which he pays to the memory of Archimedes, *ibid.* Marcellus, at first as prætor, and afterwards as consul, gains several advantages over Hannibal, I. 256
- MARCIUS (*L.*) Roman knight, preserves Spain to the Romans by his valour, I. 262
- MARCIUS, ambassador of the Romans in Greece, has an interview with Perseus near the river Peneus, VI. 306. he returns to Rome, 308. he is sent again into Greece, to regulate affairs there, 310, 311
- MARCIUS PHILIPPUS (*Q.*) consul, is charged with the war against Perseus, VI. 329. he sets out from Rome, and advances towards Macedonia, 330. after great fatigues he penetrates into Macedonia, and takes several cities there, 331, &c.
- MARDONIUS, son-in-law of Darius, enters Macedonia with an army, II. 415. his ill success obliges Darius to recall him, *ibid.* he gives Xerxes flattering counsels which induce him to invade Greece, 443. Xerxes chuses him one of his generals, 461. that prince leaves him with a numerous army to reduce Greece, 490. he causes very advantageous offers to be made to the Athenians, which are rejected, 496. he enters Athens, and burns what had escaped of it, when taken the year before, 499. he is defeated, and killed at the battle of Platæa, 504
- Mare* of Phidolas, I. xc
- Maronæa*, city of Thrace. Cruel treatment of its inhabitants by Philip, VI. 180
- Marriages*. Laws concerning them instituted at Athens and Sparta, II. 328, III 391
- MARIAMNE, granddaughter of Aristobulus, marries Herod the Idumæan, VII. 20
- MARIUS, lieutenant under Metellus, supplants that general, and causes himself to be appointed general for terminating the war with Jugurtha in his stead, I. 343. he gets Jugurtha into his hands, and makes him serve as an ornament of his triumph, 345, &c.
- MARIUS (*M.*) Roman senator, is sent by Sertorius to the aid of Mithridates, VII. 179. he is taken by Lucullus and put to death, 184
- MARSEILLIANS. Their embassy to Rome, VI. 413. origin of the Marseillians, *ibid.* they settle in Gaul, 414. wisdom of their government, 415. their attachment to the Romans, 418. they obtain grace of the Romans for Phocæa, which had been condemned to be destroyed, 503
- MASINISSA, king of Numidia, espouses the party of the Romans against the Carthaginians, I. 266, 302. he aids the Romans in the war against Perseus, VI. 303, &c. he marries Sophonisba, and is soon obliged to send her poison, I. 296. contests between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, 297. he defeats them in a battle, 300. he dies, and at his death appoints Scipio Æmilianus guardian of his children, 313
- MASISTUS, son of Darius and Atossia, is one of the six commanders of the army of Xerxes, II. 461. tragical death of Masistus and his children, 516, &c.
- MASSIVA, Numidian prince, is murdered in the midst of Rome by Jugurtha's orders, I. 341, 342
- MASTA-

I N D E X.

- MASTANABAL**, Masinissa's son, shares the kingdom of Numidia with his two brothers, after the death of their father, I. 336
- MATTANIAH** is placed upon the throne of Judah in the room of his nephew Jechonias, II. 37
- MATTATHIAS**, Jew, of the sacerdotal race, refuses to obey the ordinances of Antiochus, VI. 262. he retires with his family into the mountains to avoid the persecution, *ibid.* death of Mattathias, 268
- MATHO**, in concert with Spendius, causes the mercenaries to revolt against the Carthaginians, I. 201. he is placed at their head, 202. he takes Hannibal prisoner, and causes him to be hanged up in the room of Spendius, 207. he is taken by the Carthaginians, who execute him, 208, 209
- MAUSOLUS**, king of Caria, enters into a conspiracy against Artaxerxes, IV. 197. he subjects the Rhodians, and the people of Cos, 218. his death, 219. honour paid to his memory by Artemisia his wife, *ibid.*
- MAZARUS**, Macedonian lord, is appointed governor of the citadel of Susa by Alexander, IV. 493
- MAZÆUS**, governor of Memphis for Darius, abandons that city to Alexander, IV. 463. he commands the horse in the army of Darius at the battle of Arbela, 483. he surrenders himself, and the city of Babylon, to Alexander, 488. that prince gives him the government of Babylonia, 489
- Meals*: Publick ones instituted at Crete and Sparta, II. 297, III. 501
- MECÆNAS**, favourite of Augustus, and patron of the learned, III. 83
- MEDEA**, her means to escape the pursuit of her father, VII. 187
- MEDES**, ancient people of Asia, inhabiting Media, II. 43. history of the kingdom of the Medes, *ibid.* empires of the Medes and Persians united, 156. revolt of the Medes against Darius Nothus, III. 153. that prince obliges them to return to their duty, *ibid.* manners of the Medes, II. 74. manner in which they contracted alliances, 54
- Media*, kingdom of upper or greater Asia, I. xxx. description of that kingdom by Polybius, V. 592
- Medicine*. Origin and antiquity of medicines, II. 239
- MEDON**, son of Codrus, is placed at the head of the commonwealth of Athens, under the title of Archon, II. 284
- MEGABATES**, noble Persian, occasions the miscarrying of the enterprize of the Persians against Naxos through jealousy of Aristagoras, II. 405
- MEGABYSUS**, governor of Thrace for Darius, occasions the permission that prince had given Hyllæus to build a city in Thrace to be revoked, II. 401. he sends deputies to demand earth and water of Amyntas, *ibid.* 402. insolence of those deputies at the court of Amyntas, and revenge taken of them by the sons of that prince, *ibid.*
- MEGABYZUS**, son of Zopyrus, is one of the six generals of the army of Xerxes, II. 462. he discovers the plot formed by Artabanes against Artaxerxes, 543. he is charged by that prince with the war against the revolted Egyptians, III. 20. he subjects the Egyptians, and promises to spare their lives, 21. Megabyzus, in despair on seeing the Egyptians put to death

I N D E X.

- contrary to the faith of treaty, revolts against Artaxerxes, III. 22. he defeats two armies sent against him by that prince, *ibid.* he is restored to favour, and returns to court, *ibid.* Artaxerxes's jealousy of Megabyzus at an hunting-match, 23. death of Megabyzus, *ibid.*
- MEGACLES**, son of Alcmeon, puts himself at the head of one of the factions that divided Athens in Solon's time, II. 332. his marriage with Agorista, daughter of Clisthenes, *ibid.* he drives Pisistratus out of Athens, and soon after recalls him, 334. he is obliged to quit Athens, 335
- MEGACLES**, friend of Pyrrhus, V. 329. that prince in a battle gives his mantle and arms to Megacles, and disguises himself in his, 330. Megacles is wounded and unhorsed in the battle, *ibid.*
- MEGADATES** is appointed viceroy of Syria by Tigranes, and governs that kingdom fourteen years, VI. 536. Tigranes recalls him from thence, VII. 207
- MEGALEAS**, Philip's general, devotes himself entirely to Apelles, that prince's minister, V. 522, 531. he insults Aratus, in concert with Leontius, at the breaking up of a feast, 530. Philip imprisons him, and then sets him at liberty upon giving security, *ibid.* his bad designs against Philip are discovered, 535. he kills himself to avoid a trial and the execution of sentence upon him, *ibid.* 536
- Megalopolis**, city of Arcadia, IV. 216. Aratus makes it enter into the Achæan league, V. 423
- Megara**, name of one of the quarters of the city of Carthage, I. 325
- Megara**, city of Achaia, its foundation, II. 289. that city enters into the Achæan league, V. 417
- MEGISTONES**, Lacedæmonian captain, is sent by Cleomenes to the aid of Argos, and is killed fighting in that city, V. 457
- MELITUS**, Athenian orator, accuses Socrates, III. 456. success of that accusation, 465. he is condemned to die, 466
- MELON**, Theban, is appointed Boeotarch with Pelopidas and Charon, IV. 132
- MEMNON**, Rhodian, reinstated in the favour of Ochus, against whom he had taken arms, IV. 230, 231. he endeavours to prevent Darius's generals from fighting the battle of the Granicus, 377. he throws himself into Miletus, and defends that place against Alexander, 384. he defends the city of Halicarnassus against that prince, 385. he transports the inhabitants of that city to the island of Cos, *ibid.* he advises Darius to carry the war into Macedonia, 389. that prince gives the execution of that enterprize to him, and makes him generalissimo, *ibid.* Memnon besieges Mitylene, and dies before that place, 390
- Memnon*. Memnon's statue in Thebais. Wonders related of it, I. 3
- Memphis**, city of Egypt: Its foundation, I. 66. taking of that city by Cambyfes, II. 179, 180. and afterwards by Alexander, IV. 463
- MEMPHITIS**, son of Physcon and Cleopatra, is murdered by his father, cut in pieces, and sent to his mother, VI. 512
- MENANDER**, Athenian, is made colleague to Nicias, general in Sicily, III. 216. he forces that general to engage in a sea-fight, in which he is worsted, 222, 223. is partly the cause of the defeat of the Athenians near Ægospotamos, 285

I N D E X.

- MENANDER**, comick poet, change which he introduced in comedy, I. cxxi
- MENANDER**, one of Alexander's captains: Provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, V. 112
- Mendes*, city of Egypt, IV. 195. a prince of that city disputes the crown with Nectanebus, *ibid.* he is defeated and taken prisoner by Agesilaus, 196
- MENECRATES**, ridiculous vanity of that physician, IV. 342
- MENELAUS**, Ptolemy's brother, is defeated by Demetrius, and obliged to retire into Salamina, V. 222. he surrenders himself at discretion to Demetrius, who sends him to his brother without ransom, 225
- MENELAUS** supplants Jason his brother, high-priest of the Jews, and obtains his office, VI. 244. Jason drives him out of Jerusalem, 248. Antiochus reinflates him in the high-priesthood, 249.
- MENES**, or Misraim, first king of Egypt, I. 64
- MENON** commands the Thessalian troops of Cyrus's army in that prince's expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, III. 319. Tissaphernes seizes him with the other Greek generals by treachery, and puts him to death, 341. Menon's character, 343
- MENOSTANES**, nephew of Artaxerxes Longimanus, is defeated and put to flight by Megabyfus, III. 22
- MENTOR**, Rhodian, is sent by Nectanebus into Phœnicia to support the rebels there, IV. 223. he is confounded on the approach of Ochus, 225. he puts the city of Sidon into that prince's hands, 226. Ochus gives him the command of a detachment of his army against Egypt, 228. Mentor's actions in Egypt, 229. Ochus makes him governor of all the coast of Asia, and declares him generalissimo of all the troops on that side, 230. Mentor's conduct in his government, 231
- MENYLLUS** commands the Macedonian garrison which Antipater puts into Munychia, V. 126. Cassander takes the command of that fortress from him, 155
- Mercenaries*. War of the mercenaries against the Carthaginians, I. 199
- MERCURY**, Egyptian, to whom Egypt was indebted for the invention of almost all the arts, I. 69
- MERICUS**, Spaniard, delivers up one of the gates of Syracuse to Marcellus in the night, VII. 131
- Mermnadae*, race of the kings of Lydia, II. 58
- MERODACH-BALADAN**, king of Babylon, sends ambassadors to Hezekiah, to congratulate him upon the recovery of his health, II. 26
- MEROE**, daughter of Cyrus, becomes wife of her brother Cambyses, II. 184. tragical death of that princess, 185
- MESABATES**, eunuch, cuts off the head and hand of Cyrus the Younger by order of Artaxerxes, III. 328. punishment inflicted on him by Parisatis, 360, 361
- MESRAIM**. See **MENES**.
- Messengers*, or Letter-carriers, established by the university of Paris, II. 215
- Messenia*, a country of Peloponnesus, I. cxliii
- MESSENIANS**. First war between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, I. cxliii. the Messenians defeat the army of the Lacedæmonians near Ithoma, cxliv, &c. they submit to the Lacedæmonians, cxlix. second war between

I N D E X.

- between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, I. cxlix. the Messenians are at first victorious, cli. then defeated, cliii. they are reduced to the condition of the Helots, *ibid.* they are reinstated by the Thebans, IV. 152. troubles between the Messenians and Achæans, VI. 186. the Messenians put Philopœmen to death, 189. they are subjected by the Achæans, 191, 192. fault of the Messenians which occasioned all their misfortunes. IV. 152
- MESSINA, or MESSANA, city of Sicily, I. 175
- METELLUS (*L.*) consul is charged with the war against Jugurtha, I. 342. he is supplanted by Marius, 343. he enters Rome in triumph, 344
- METELLUS (*Q. Cæcilius*) Roman prætor, defeats Andriſcus, VI. 423. and sends him prisoner to Rome, *ibid.* he reduces another adventurer, named Alexander, *ibid.*
- Methone, city of Thrace, destroyed by Philip, IV. 273
- METON, astronomer, counterfeits the madman, and wherefore, III. 176
- METRODORUS of Scepsis goes ambassador for Mithridates to Tigranes, VII. 196. Mithridates puts him to death, *ibid.*
- METRODORUS, painter and philosopher, is given to Paulus Æmiliius by the Athenians for a tutor to his sons, VI. 377
- MICIPSA succeeds his father Masinissa in the kingdom of Numidia, I. 336. he adopts Jugurtha his nephew, and makes him co-heir with the rest of his children, 338. Micipsa's death, *ibid.*
- MICYTHUS, guardian of the children of Anaxilaus. Prudence of his administration, III. 84
- MIDIAS, son-in-law of Mania, assassinates his mother-in-law and her son, in order to possess himself of her riches and government, III. 365. he is deprived of them by Dercyllidas, *ibid.*
- Miletus, city of Ionia, II. 413. cruelties acted by Lysander at Miletus, III. 313. Miletus besieged and taken by Alexander, IV. 383, 384
- MILÓ of Crotona, famous athlete, defeats the army of the Sybarites, and destroys their city, III. 92. extraordinary strength of that combatant, 97. his voracity, 98. his death, *ibid.*
- MILTHOCITUS, Thracian, abandons the Greeks after the battle of Cunaxa, and surrenders himself to Artaxerxes, III. 335
- MILTIADES, Athenian tyrant of the Thracian Chersonesus, accompanies Darius in his expedition against the Scythians, and is of opinion that satisfaction ought to be made them, II. 398, 399. an irruption of the Scythians into Thrace obliges him to abandon the Chersonesus, whither he returns soon after, 402. he settles at Athens, 418. he commands the army of the Athenians, and gains a famous victory at Marathon over the Persians, 425. &c. moderate reward given him by the Athenians, 432. he sets out with a fleet to reduce the revolted islands, and has ill success in the isle of Paros, 434. he is cited to take his trial, and has a great fine laid upon him, *ibid.* not being able to pay it, he is put in prison, and dies there, *ibid.*
- Mina, Greek money: Its value, III. 133
- MINDARUS, Spartan admiral, is defeated and killed in battle by Alcibiades, III. 259

I N D E X.

Minerva, goddess, I. xxxvi. famous feast at Athens in honour of her, ibid.

Mines. Product of mines was the principal riches of the ancients, I. 119

Minister. Wise lessons for a minister, II. 210, &c. III. 322, 387

Minos, first king of Crete, III. 499. laws instituted by him in his kingdom, *ibid.* &c. hatred of the Athenians for Minos, 507. cause of that hatred, *ibid.*

MINUCIUS (*Marcus*) is appointed master of the horse by Fabius, I. 242. he gains a slight advantage over the Carthaginians in that dictator's absence, 246. the people give him equal authority with the dictator, *ibid.* he engages with disadvantage, out of which Fabius extricates him, 247. he acknowledges his fault, and returns to his obedience, *ibid.* he is killed at the battle of Cannæ, 251

MISAEI, one of the three young Hebrews preserved miraculously in the furnace, II. 38

Mithras, name given the sun by the Persians, III. 300

MITHRIDATES I. king of Pontus, I. clxiii. that prince submits to Alexander, and accompanies him in his expeditions, IV. 386

MITHRIDATES II. king of Pontus, flies to avoid the rage of Antigonur, I. clxiv

MITHRIDATES III. king of Pontus, adds Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominions, I. clxiv

MITHRIDATES IV. king of Pontus, I. clxiv

MITHRIDATES V. surnamed *E-VERGETES*, king of Pontus, aids the Romans against the Carthaginians, I. clxiv. the Romans reward him with Phrygia

major, VI. 503. death of Mithridates, 516

MITHRIDATES VI. surnamed *EUPATOR*, ascends the throne of Pontus, I. clxiv, VI. 516, VII. 146. the Romans take Phrygia from him, 147. he possesses himself of Cappadocia and Bithynia after having expelled their kings, *ibid.* 148, 150. he gives his daughter in marriage to Tigranes king of Armenia, 149. open rupture between Mithridates and the Romans, 151. that prince gains some advantages over the Romans, 154. he causes all the Romans and Italians in Asia minor to be massacred in one day, *ibid.* 155. he makes himself master of Athens, *ibid.* two of his generals are defeated by Sylla, 162, &c. and himself by Fimbria, 167, 168. his fleet is also twice beaten, 168. he has an interview with Sylla, and concludes peace with the Romans, 172. second war of the Romans with Mithridates under *Muræna*, 177. it subsists only three years, *ibid.*

Mithridates makes a treaty with Sertorius, VII. 178, 179. he prepares to renew the war with the Romans, 180. he seizes Paphlagonia and Bithynia, *ibid.* the Romans send Lucullus and Cotta against him, 181. Mithridates defeats Cotta by sea and land, *ibid.* he forms the siege of *Cyzicum*, 182. Lucullus obliges him to raise it, and defeats his troops, 183. Mithridates takes the field to oppose the progress of Lucullus, 186. he is entirely defeated, and obliged to fly, 187. he sends orders to his sisters and wives to die, 188. he retires to Tigranes his son-in-law, 189, 190. Tigranes sends him back into

I N D E X.

- into Pontus to raise troops, VII. 196. Mithridates endeavours to console Tigranes after his defeat, 202. those two princes apply in concert to raising new forces, 203. they are defeated by Lucullus, 208
- Mithridates, taking advantage of the misunderstanding in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions, VII. 210, 213. he is defeated on several occasions by Pompey, 219. he endeavours in vain to find an asylum with Tigranes his son-in-law, 220. he retires into the Bosphorus, 225. he puts his son Xiphares to death, 227. he makes proposals of peace to Pompey which are rejected, 229. he forms the design of attacking the Romans in Italy, 231. Pharnaces makes the army revolt against Mithridates, who kills himself, 232. character of Mithridates, 233
- MITHRIDATES I. king of the Parthians, defeats Demetrius and takes him prisoner, VI. 491. he carries that prince into his kingdom, and gives him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage, *ibid.*
- MITHRIDATES II. surnamed *the Great*, ascends the throne of Parthia after the death of his uncle Artabanes, VI. 511, VII. 29. he re-establishes Antiochus Eusebes, who had taken refuge with him in his dominions, VI. 534. he sends an ambassador to Sylla to make an alliance with the Romans, VII. 148. death of Mithridates, 27
- MITHRIDATES III. ascends the throne of Parthia after the death of Phraates, VII. 27. Orodes his brother dethrones and puts him to death, *ibid.* 28
- MITHRIDATES, young Persian lord, boasts of having given Cyrus the Younger his mortal wound, III. 328. Parysatis causes him to be put to death, 359
- MITHRIDATES, eunuch and great chamberlain of Xerxes, makes himself an accomplice in the murder of that prince, II. 542. he is put to death by the punishment of the troughs, III. 2
- MITHRIDATES of Pergamus marches with troops to the aid of Cæsar in Egypt, VII. 256
- MITHROBARZANES, favourite of Tigranes, is sent against Lucullus by that prince, VII. 196. himself and his troops are cut to pieces, *ibid.*
- Mytilene*, capital of the isle of Lesbos, II. 276. that city taken by the Athenians, III. 141
- MNASIPPUS is sent with a fleet by the Lacedæmonians to retake Corcyra from the Athenians, IV. 136. he is killed in a battle, 137
- MNASKIRES, king of the Parthians, VII. 27
- Maevius*, name of the ox adored in Egypt, I. 24
- Modesty*: Traces of it amongst the ancients, II. 58. it was absolutely neglected at Sparta, 317
- MOERIS, king of Egypt, I. 66. famous lake made by him, 10
- MOZO is made governor of Media by Antiochus the Great, VI. 481. he makes himself sovereign in his province, *ibid.* Antiochus defeats him in a battle, 486. he kills himself out of despair, *ibid.*
- MOLOCH, name given Saturn in Scripture, I. 126
- Monarchy*. Original design of monarchy, II. 46. monarchical the best form of government, 194, 196
- MONIMA of Ionia: Mithridates carries her with him in his train, VII. 154. she marries that prince,

I N D E X.

- prince, VII. 188. tragical death of that prince, 189
- Monuments* erected by the ancients for those who died for their country, II. 432, 474. what kind of monuments the most durable, III. 47, 79
- Moral Philosophy*, or *Ethicks*. It is, properly speaking, the science of kings, IV. 355
- Motya*, city of Sicily, I. 141
- Mummie* of Egypt, I. 44
- MUMMIUS, consul, is charged with the war in Achaia, VI. 428. he defeats the Achæans, 430. takes Corinth, and entirely demolishes it, 431. he preserves the statues erected in honour of Philopœmen, 191, 435: noble disinterestedness of Mummius, 435, &c. he enters Rome in triumph, 437. he goes on an embassy into Egypt, Asia, Syria, and Greece, 497
- MURENA commands the left wing of Sylla's army at the battle of Cheronæa, VII. 163. Sylla, on setting out for Rome, leaves him the government of Asia, 175. he makes war against Mithridates, 176. and is defeated, 177. he receives the honour of a triumph at Rome, 178. *ibid.*
- Museum*: Academy of the learned, instituted under that name at Alexandria, V. 283. description of the building called Museum, 286
- MUSICANUS, Indian prince: Subdued by Alexander, V. 41
- Musick*. To what perfection carried by the ancients, II. 237. the Greeks considered it as an essential part in the education of youth, III. 531, 532. theatre of musick at Athens, 46. prizes of musick at the feast of Panathensæa, I. xxxvi
- MYCALE, promontory of the continent of Asia, famous for the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, II. 513
- Mycenæ*, city of Peloponnesus, II. 282. kings of Mycenæ, *ibid.*
- MYCERINUS, king of Egypt, I. 77. mildness of his reign, 78.
- MYRON, Athenian sculptor, I. lxxvii
- MYRONIDES, general of the Athenians, defeats the Spartans near Tanagra in Bœotia, III. 38
- MYRTO, supposed second wife of Socrates, from whom he had much to suffer, III. 435
- MYSCELLUS, general of the Achæans, founder of Crotona, III. 90
- Mysteries*. Feasts of the less and greater mysteries celebrated at Athens in honour of Ceres Eleusina, I. xli
- ## N.
- NABARZANES, general of the horse in the army of Darius, perpetrates an horrible crime upon the person of that prince, IV. 505, &c. he retires into Hyrcania, 507. he surrenders himself to Alexander upon his promise, 518, 519
- NABIS makes himself tyrant of Sparta, V. 589. instances of his avarice and cruelty, *ibid.* 590, VI. 41, 69. Philip puts Argos into his hands by way of deposit, 41. Nabis declares for the Romans against that prince, *ibid.* the Romans declare war against him, 68. Q. Flaminius marches against him, 69. &c. besieges him in Sparta, 73. obliges him to demand peace, 74. and grants it him, *ibid.* Nabis breaks the treaty, 83. he is defeated by Philopœmen, 88. and obliged to shut himself up in Sparta, 89. he is killed, 95
- NABONASSAR, or Belesis king of Babylon, II. 26
- NABO-

I N D E X.

NABOPOLASSAR, king of Babylon, joins with Cyaxares king of Media, besieges Nineveh, and entirely ruins that city, II. 33, 54. he associates his son Nabucodonosor with him in the empire, and sends him at the head of an army against Nechoa, 34. Nabopolassar's death,

35

NABUCODONOSOR I. or SAOSDUCHINUS, king of Nineveh, II. 32. that prince is attacked by Phraortes, king of the Medes, 51. he defeats him in the plain of Ragau, ravages his dominions, and puts him to death, 33, 51. he sends Holophernes with a powerful army to revenge him upon the people, who had refused him aid, 52. entire defeat of his army, *ibid.*

NABUCODONOSOR II. is associated in the empire of Assyria by Nabopolassar, I. 91, II. 34. he defeats Necho, and conquers Syria and Palestine, *ibid.* he besieges Jerusalem, makes himself master of it, and carries away a great number of Jews captive to Babylon, II. 34. he reigns in Assyria after the death of his father, 35. Nabucodonosor's first dream, *ibid.* that prince marches against Jerusalem, takes it, and carries away all its treasures, 37. he defeats the army of Pharaoh king of Egypt, returns to Jerusalem, and demolishes its fortifications, I. 94, II. 37. he causes himself to be adored as a God, 37, 38. he besieges Tyre, and takes it after a long siege, 38, 39. he makes himself master of Egypt, where he takes great spoils, I. 97. Nabucodonosor's second dream, II. 39. he is reduced to the condition of beasts, 41. he recovers his former shape,

and re-ascends the throne, 41. he dies, *ibid.*

Naptha, kind of bitumen very combustible, IV. 488

NARAVASUS, Numidian lord, joins Barca in the war with the mercenaries, I. 204

Navy, naval affairs of the ancients, III. 546

Naupactum, city of Ætolia, II. 274. it is besieged by Acilius, VI. 111

Naxos, island, one of the Cyclades, II. 404. sedition at Naxos, which occasions the revolt of the Ionians against Darius, *ibid.*

Neapolis, quarter of the city of Syracuse so called, III. 198

NEARCHUS, officer of Alexander, undertakes to view the coast from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulf, V. 43, 44. he succeeds in his enterprize, 46,

53

NECHAO, king of Egypt, I. 88. he undertakes to open a communication between the Nile and the Red-sea, *ibid.* able navigators by his order undertake to sail round Africa, and happily effect it, *ibid.* 89. Nechao marches against the Babylonians and Medes to put a stop to their progress, 89. he defeats Josiah king of Judah, who opposed his march, *ibid.* he beats the Babylonians, takes Carchemis, and returns into his kingdom, 90. on his way he goes to Jerusalem, deprives Jehoahaz of the crown, and gives it to Jehoiakim, *ibid.* he is conquered by Nabucodonosor, who retakes Carchemis, 91, II. 34. death of Nechao, I. 91

NECTANEBIS is placed by the revolted Egyptians upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Tachos, IV. 195. he is supported by Agesilaus, *ibid.* by his aid

H h 4

he

- he reduces the party of the prince of Mendes, IV. 196. not being able to defend himself against Ochus, he escapes into Ethiopia, from whence he never returns, 229
- NEHEMIAH, Jew, cupbearer of Artaxerxes, obtains permission of that prince to return to Jerusalem, and to rebuild its fortifications, III. 24, &c. he acquits himself of his commission with incredible zeal, *ibid.*
- NELEUS of Scepsis, to whom Theophrastus had left the works of Aristotle, VII. 174
- Nemæa, games instituted near that city, I. lxxv
- NEOLAS, brother of Malo and Alexander, brings the latter the news of Malo's defeat by Antiochus, and then kills himself through despair, V. 486
- NEOPTOLEMUS, one of Alexander's captains; provinces that fell to him after the death of that prince, V. 112. he joins Antipater and Craterus against Perdiccas and Eumenes, 142. he marches with Craterus against the latter, *ibid.* and is killed in a battle, 143. character of Neoptolemus, 140
- NEOPTOLEMUS, uncle of Pyrrhus, reigns in Epirus in his nephew's place, I. clxvii, IV. 265. Pyrrhus causes him to be killed, I. clxvii
- NEOPTOLEMUS, Greek poet, IV. 326
- NERIGLISSAR puts himself at the head of a conspiracy against Evilmerodach king of Assyria, and reigns in his stead, II. 42. he makes war with the Medes, and is killed in a battle, 95
- NERO (*C. Claudius Nero*) consul, quits his province, and makes haste to join his colleague, in order to their attacking Asdrubal, I. 262, 263
- NEVIUS, Roman officer, surprises Philip's camp near Apollonia in the night, V. 545
- Nicæa, city built by Alexander at the place where he had defeated Porus, V. 22
- NICANDER is deputed by the Ætolians to Philip, VI. 81. he endeavours to engage that prince to join Antiochus against the Romans, *ibid.*
- NICANOR, young officer in Alexander's army: Rash boldness which costs him his life, V. 14
- NICANOR, Cassander's brother, is put to death by order of Olympias, V. 173
- NICANOR, governor of Media under Antigonus, is surprized in his camp in the night by Seleucus, and obliged to fly, V. 202. - he is killed in a battle, 226
- NICANOR, officer of Seleucus Ceraunus, conspires against that prince, and poisons him, V. 479. he is put to death by Archæus, *ibid.*
- NICANOR, lieutenant-general of Antiochus Epiphanes, marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, VI. 272, &c. Demetrius Soter sends him with an army into Judæa, to assist Alcimus, 473. he is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, and killed in battle, *ibid.*
- NICIAS, general of the Athenians, makes them conclude a peace with the Lacedæmonians, III. 162, &c. he opposes the war of Sicily in vain, 179. he is appointed general with Lamachus and Alcibiades, *ibid.* 184. his conduct on arriving in Sicily, 191. after some expeditions he forms the siege of Syracuse, 200, 204. the city is reduced to extremities, 209. the arrival of Gylippus changes the face of affairs, 211. Nicias writes to the Athenians the state of his condition,

I N D E X.

- dition, and to demand reinforcement, III. 214. two colleagues are appointed him, 217. he is compelled by his colleagues to engage in a sea-fight, in which he is defeated, 222. his land army is also defeated, 226. he hazards another sea-fight in concert with Demosthenes, and is again defeated, 230, 233. he determines to retire by land, 234. he is reduced to surrender at discretion, 238. he is condemned to die, and executed, 241
- NICIAS**, treasurer to Perseus, throws the treasures of that prince into the sea by his order, VI. 335. Perseus puts him to death, 336
- NICOCLES**, son of Evagoras, reigns at Salamin after his father's death, IV. 186. admirable character of that prince, *ibid.* &c.
- NICOCLES**, king of Paphos, submits to Ptolemy, V. 198. he makes an alliance secretly with Antigonos, *ibid.* he kills himself, 199
- NICOCLES**, tyrant of Sigyon, is driven out of that city by Aratus, V. 405, &c.
- NICOGENES**, in whose house Themistocles resides at Ægæ, supplies his guest with the means of going to the court of Persia in safety, III. 4
- NICOLAUS**, one of Ptolemy's generals, refuses to desert with Théodotus, and continues to adhere to Ptolemy, V. 492, &c.
- NICOLAUS**, venerable old man, haraques the Syracusans, to dissuade them from condemning the Athenian generals, III. 239
- NICOMEDES I.** king of Bithynia, builds the city of Nicomedia, I cxi
- NICOMEDES II.** son of Prusias king of Bithynia, goes to Rome, VI. 410. he kills his father, who had given orders for murdering him, and reigns in his stead, 411. he sets up a child under the name of Ariarathes, and causes the kingdom of Cappadocia to be demanded for him of the Romans, VII. 68, 69. 147. his death, 149
- NICOMEDES III.** ascends the throne of Bithynia, VII. 149. he is dethroned by Mithridates, *ibid.* the Romans reinstate him, *ibid.* he is again expelled by Mithridates, 154. Sylla reconciles him and Mithridates, who restores him his dominions, 172. Nicomedes, in gratitude for the services of the Romans, at his death leaves the Roman people his heirs, 180, VI. 537, 538
- NICON**, Athleta, V. 110. adventure that happened to his statue, 111
- NICOSTRATUS** of Argos commands one of the detachments of Ochus's army in that prince's expedition into Egypt, IV. 228
- NICOSTRATUS**, prætor of the Achæans, defeats the troops of Androsthenes, who commanded for Philip at Corinth, VI. 57.
- NILÆUS**, son of Codrus, settles in Asia minor, II. 288
- Nile**, river of Africa. Its sources, I. 13. cataracts of the Nile, *ibid.* causes of its inundation, 14. time that its inundation continues, 15. measure or depth of its inundation, 16. canals of the Nile, 17. fertility occasioned by the Nile, 18. double prospect occasioned by the Nile, 20. canal of communication between the two seas by the Nile, 21
- NIMROD**, founder of the Assyrian empire, II. 2. history confounds him with his son Ninus, 3. the Scripture places him very near Abraham; for what reason, 6
- Nineveh,*

I N D E X.

Nineveh, city of Assyria, its foundation, II. 5, 6. description of that city, *ibid.* kings of Nineveh, 6; &c. destruction of that city, 33, 54

NINUS, king of Assyria, succeeds Nimrod, and is often confounded with that prince, II. 3, 6. he builds Nineveh, 6. his expedition against the Bactrians, 7. he marries Semiramis, and has a son by her, 8. he dies soon after, *ibid.*

NINYAS, son of Ninus and Semiramis, reigns in Assyria, II. 21. effeminacy and sloth of that prince, *ibid.*

NITOCRIS, queen of Babylon, II. 42. inscription which the causes to be put upon her tomb, 43

No-Amon, famous city of Egypt, I. 83

Nobility. Wherein true nobility consists, V. 192

Nomi, or governments of Egypt, I. 2, 69

NUMIDIANS, people of Africa, I. 302. their principal force consisted in cavalry, *ibid.*

NYRSIUS, general of Dionysius the Younger, relieves the citadel of Syracuse, closely besieged by the Syracusans, IV. 81. he burns and plunders part of the city of Syracuse, *ibid.* 84. Dionysius drives him out of Syracuse, of which he had made himself master, 97

NYSA, nurse of Bacchus, V. 291

NYSSA, sister of Mithridates, falls into the hands of Lucullus, VII. 188

O.

Obedience: Model of it in the education of the Spartan youth, II. 300, 312. means necessary to be used for obtaining voluntary obedience, 81, 82

Obelisks of Egypt, I. 5

OCHA, sister of Ochus, is buried

alive by order of that prince, IV. 206

OCHUS takes the name of Darius, from having put a stop to the insolence of Smergis the Magus, II. 365. See *DARIUS I.*

OCHUS, son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, marches at the head of a great army against Sogdianus, III. 148. he gets that prince into his hands, and puts him to death, *ibid.* &c. he ascends the throne of Persia, and changes his name from Ochus to Darius, 149. See *DARIUS NOTHUS.*

OCHUS, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, opens his way to the empire by the murder of his brothers, IV. 200. he ascends the throne of Persia, and takes the name of Artaxerxes, 205. cruelties which he commits, 206. his successful expedition against Phœnicia, 222, 226. Cyprus, 223. and Egypt, 227. after those expeditions he abandons himself to pleasures, 231. he is poisoned by Bagoas, *ibid.*

OCTAVIA, widow of Marcellus, and sister of young Cæsar, marries Anthony, VII. 270. she leaves Rome to go to Anthony, and arrives at Athens, 272. Anthony forbids her to come any farther, *ibid.* she returns to Rome, 273. affront which she receives from Anthony, 277

OCTAVIUS (*Cn.*) prætor commands the Roman fleet against Perseus, VI. 343, 347, 352. means which he uses to make that prince quit the island of Samothracia, which was deemed a sacred and inviolable asylum, 370. Perseus puts himself into his hands, 372. Octavius receives the honour of a triumph, 386. the Romans send him to Syria as ambassador, 460. he is murdered there, 469. the senate erect a statue to him, 470.

OCTA-

I N D E X.

- OCTAVIUS**, Crassus's lieutenant, endeavours in vain to console him for his defeat, VII. 46. he accompanies that general in his interview with Surena, 51. he is killed in defending him, 53
- Odeon*, or theatre of musick at Athens, III. 46
- OEBARES**, Darius's groom, by his address secures the crown of Persia to his master, II. 195, 366
- OEBAZUS**, Persian lord, barbarous cruelty of Darius in respect to him, II. 395
- Oeconomy*. It is one of the principal qualities of political ability, III. 52
- OLTHACES**, king of Colchis, is subdued by Pompey, who makes him serve as an ornament in his triumph, VII. 235
- Olympia*, city of Elis in Peloponnesus, famous for the temple of Jupiter, I. 65
- Olympia*, castle in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, III. 201
- OLYMPIAS**, daughter of Neoptolemus, is married to Philip king of Macedonia, and has by that prince Alexander the Great, IV. 262. Philip repudiates her, 335. Alexander carries her to Epirus, *ibid*. Polysperchon recalls her from Epirus, whither she had retired during Antipater's regency, and divides the government with her, V. 154. Olympias causes Aridæus and his wife Eurydice to be put to death, 173. Cassander besieges her in Pydna, whither she had retired, takes her prisoner, and puts her to death, 174. 175
- Olympick*. Solemn games of Greece, I. lxxv, lxxvi. ladies admitted to them, lxxxvi
- Olympiads*. Epochs of the Olympiads, II. 285
- Olynthus*, city of Thrace, IV. 118. the Lacedæmonians declare war against it, 118. it is reduced to surrender, 122. Olynthus, upon the point of being besieged by Philip, implores aid of the Athenians, IV. 280. Philip makes himself master of that city by the treason of two of its citizens, and plunders it, 285
- ONESICRITUS**, philosopher and historian: Alexander deputes him to the Brachmans, to engage them to join his train, V. 27. he can prevail upon none of them to do so except Calanus, 28
- ONESIMUS**, Macedonian lord, not being able to dissuade Perseus from making war with the Romans, quits his party, and retires to Rome, VI. 338
- ONIAS**, son of Jaddus, high-priest of the Jews, succeeds his father, V. 147. his death, 260, 261
- ONIAS**, high-priest of the Jews, makes himself venerable for his piety, VI. 235. he refuses Heliodorus the treasures kept in the temple of Jerusalem, 236, &c. he is deposed by the intrigues of Jason his brother, 241. his death, 244
- ONIAS**, son of the former, having failed of the high-priesthood, retires into Egypt, VI. 478. he builds a temple there for the Jews, *ibid*. &c.
- ONOMARCHUS**, brother of Philometus, general of the Phocæans, takes upon him the command of the troops in his stead, IV. 272. he is defeated by Philip, and killed in the battle, 274. his body is fastened to a gibbet, *ibid*.
- ONOMASTES**, governor of Thrace for Philip, executes the cruel decree of that prince against the people of Maronæa, 180
- OPHELLAS**, governor of Libya and Cyrenaica, revolts against Ptolemy, and renders himself inde-

I N D E X.

- independent, V. 211. he suffers himself to be seduced by Agathocles, and carries him troops into the country of the Carthaginians, *ibid.* 212, I. 170. Agathocles puts him to death, *ibid.*
- OPHRA**, king of Egypt. *See* **APRIES**.
- OPPIUS**, Roman proconsul, marches against Mithridates, and is taken prisoner, VII. 153
- Oracles**: Famous ones of antiquity, I. 51. of Dodona, *ibid.* of Trophonius in Bœotia, *ibid.* of the Branchidæ, lii. of Claros, *ibid.* of Delphos, liii. usual character of oracles, lvi. whether they are to be ascribed to the operation of devils, or the knavery of men, lviii
- Orations**: Funeral orations pronounced in Greece over the tombs of those who had died fighting for their country, III. 108
- Orator**: Quality most essential to an orator, IV. 238
- Orchestra**, part of the theatre of the ancients, I. cxxii, cxxiii
- Orchomenos**, part of Bœotia, where the battle between Sylla and Archelaus was fought, VII. 166
- ORESTES**, son and successor of Agamemnon king of Mycenæ, II. 283
- ORESTES**, Roman commissary, goes to Corinth, and notifies to the Achæans the decree of the senate for separating several cities from their league, VI. 424. he flies to escape the violence of the people, 425
- ORETES**, governor of Asia minor for Cambyfes, puts Polycrates to death, and seizes the island of Samos, II. 187. Darius puts him to death, 370
- OROANDES** of Crete promises Perseus to receive him into his ship, and embarks part of the riches of that prince, VI. 371. he runs away with those treasures, *ibid.*
- OROBAZUS** is sent ambassador to Sylla, by Arsaces king of Parthia, to make an alliance with the Romans, VII. 148. Arsaces puts him to death at his return, *ibid.*
- ORODES** king of Parthia, VII. 28. war of that prince with the Romans under Crassus, *ibid.* Orodès, jealous of the glory Surenâ had acquired by the defeat of Crassus, puts him to death, 56. grief of that prince for the death of his son Pacorus, 62. he chuses Phraates for his successor, who causes him to be put to death, *ibid.* 63
- Oromofles**, divinity worshipped by the Persians, II. 253
- ORONTES**, son-in-law of Artaxerxes Mnemon, commands the land-army of that prince in the war against Evagoras, III. 411. he accuses Teribasus falsely, 412. he terminates the war with Evagoras by a treaty of peace, 413. Artaxerxes punishes him for his false accusation, 419
- ORONTES**, governor of Mysia, joins with the provinces of Asia minor, in their revolt against Artaxerxes Mnemon, and then betrays them, IV. 197, 198
- ORPHANS**: Charondas's law in favour of them, III. 94
- ORSACES**, old general, accompanies Pacorus in his expeditions by order of Orodès, VII. 57. he is killed in a battle, 58
- ORSINES**, governor of Passi-gardæ, re-establishes good order throughout the whole province, V. 48. he goes to meet Alexander with magnificent presents, *ibid.* he is put to death in effect of the secret intrigues of the eunuch Bagoas, 49, 51

I N D E X.

Orthia. Inhuman worship rendered by the Lacedæmonians to Diana, surnamed *Orthia*, II.

301

Ortygia, island near Syracuse, III.

198

OSÆUS. See *HOSEA*.

OSIRIS, Persian lord, marches at the head of an army against Megabysus, III. 22. he is defeated and taken prisoner, *ibid*. Megabysus generously sends him back to Artaxerxes, *ibid*.

OSTANES, chief of the Magi, accompanies Xerxes in his expedition against Greece, II. 514

Ostracism, a kind of sentence amongst the Athenians, by which persons were condemned to banishment, II. 435. the banishment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the ostracism, III. 173

OSYMANDIAS, king of Egypt, I. 65. magnificent edifices which he caused to be erected, *ibid*. famous library formed by that prince, *ibid*. his tomb surrounded with a circle of gold, which Cambyfes afterwards took away, *ibid*. II. 183

OTANES, Persian lord, discovers the imposture of Smerdis the Magus, by the means of his daughter, II. 191. he forms a conspiracy against that usurper, 192. he re-establishes Syloson, tyrant of Samos, 378

OTHRYADES, Lacedæmonian, obtains the victory for the Lacedæmonians over the Argives by his valour, I. cxliii. he kills himself upon the field of battle, *ibid*.

OXATHRES, brother of Darius, distinguishes himself in the battle of Issus, IV. 409. Alexander puts Bessus into his hands, to inflict upon that traitor the punishment he deserved, 536

OXYARTES, Persian prince, entertains Alexander in his house,

and gives him his daughter Roxana in marriage, IV. 560

OXYDRACÆ, people of India, V. 35. their capital besieged and taken by Alexander, *ibid*. they submit to that prince, 38

Oxyrinchus, city of the lower Thebais, I. 42, 43. wonder related of that city by the Abbé Fleury in his ecclesiastical history, *ibid*.

P.

P*PACORUS*, son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, enters Syria at the head of an army, and besieges Antioch, VII. 57. he raises the siege of that city, and is defeated in a battle, 58. he returns into Syria, and is defeated and killed in a battle, 61
Pagan. Definition of a Pagan by Tertullian, III. 12. See *Paganism*.

Paganism. General reflections upon paganism, I. xxxiv, &c. absurdities of paganism, cxviii, 1. what the highest perfection to be expected from it was, III.

95, 96

Palamedes, tragedy wrote by Euripides on occasion of the death of Socrates, III. 480

Palestine, province of Syria, I.

xxxii

Palestræ, publick schools in which the athletes exercised themselves in wrestling, I lxxii

Palica, city of Sicily, near which there was a temple famous for the sanctity of the oaths taken there, III. 86

Palisades, difference of those used by the Greeks and Romans in fortifying their camps, VI. 43, 44

PAMMENES commands the troops sent by the Thebans to the aid of Artabazus, and occasions his gaining two considerable victories, IV. 207

PAM-

PAMMENES, Athenian general, marches to the aid of the city of Megalopolis, besieged by the Lacedæmonians, IV. 218
Pamphylia, province of Asia minor, I. xxxi
Panatheneæ, festival celebrated at Athens, I. xxxvi
Pancratium, kind of combat amongst the ancients, I. lxxv, &c.
PANETIUS, Stoick philosopher, he accompanies Scipio in his embassy to the kings of the East, VI. 498
PANTAUCHUS, Perseus's ambassador to Gentius, engages that prince in his master's interest against the Romans, VI. 351
PANTHÆA, wife of Abradates, is taken prisoner by Cyrus, II. 98. conduct of that prince in regard to her, *ibid.* she brings over her husband to Cyrus, 100. her discourse with him before he sets out for the battle, 115. the excess of her grief upon the death of Abradates, 122. she stabs herself with a dagger, and falls dead upon her husband, *ibid.* 123
Paphlagonia, province of Asia minor, I. xxxi
PEPIRIA, mother of the second Scipio Africanus: Magnificent liberality of Scipio in regard to her, I. 329
Papyrus, plant of Egypt: Description of it, I. 56
PARALUS, last of the legitimate children of Pericles, dies of the plague, III. 115
Parasangæ, measure of ways peculiar to the Persians, III. 357
Parchment: Invention of parchment, I. 56
PARIS, Trojan, returning home with Helen, whom he had ravished, is carried by a tempest into one of the mouths of the Nile, I. 75. Proteus king of Egypt obliges him to leave He-

len with him, and to quit Egypt, 76. Paris returns to Troy, *ibid.*
PARMENIO, one of Alexander's generals, is placed at the head of the infantry, in the expedition of that prince against the Persians, and does him great service, IV. 375. he seizes the pass of Syria, and makes himself master of the small city of Issus, 401. Alexander confides the treasures laid up in Damascus, and the keeping of the prisoners to him, 419. Parmenio advises that prince to accept Darius's offers, 448. surprize of Parmenio, on seeing Alexander prostrate himself before the high-priest Jaddus, 451, 452. Alexander causes him to be killed as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Philotas, 532. praise of Parmenio, 533
PARMYs, daughter of the true Smerdis, marries Darius I. II. 366
Parricide. Reasons that prevented Solon from making any law against that crime, II. 331
PARTHENIATÆ, name given to the illegitimate children of the Lacedæmonians: When grown up, they banish themselves from Sparta, and settle at Tarentum in Italy, I. cxlv
Parthenon, temple of Minerva at Athens, III. 45
Parthia, country of the Parthians, province of Upper Asia, I. xxx. beginning of the empire of the Parthians, VII. 24. kings of Parthia from Arsaces I. to Orodes, 25, &c.
PARYSATIS, sister and wife of Darius Nothus, III. 152. her ascendant over her husband, *ibid.* 266. idolatry of Parysatis for her son Cyrus, *ibid.* 294, 297. she obtains pardon of Artaxerxes for that son, and causes him

- him to be sent back to his government, III. 297. cruelty and jealousy of Parylatis, 360, 361. she poisons Statira, 362. Artaxerxes confines her in Babylon, ibid.
- Pasargada*, city of Persia, submits to Alexander, IV. 503
- PATERREMIS**, officer of Apries, not having been able to seize Amasis in the midst of the revolted Egyptians, is treated in the most cruel manner by that prince, I. 99
- Patience* of the Lacedæmonians, II. 301
- PATISITHES**, chief of the Magi, places his brother Smerdis upon the throne of Persia, II. 188, 189. he is killed with his brother, 193
- PATROCLUS**, governor of Babylon for Seleucus, abandons that city upon the approach of Demetrius, and retires into the marshes, V. 206
- PATROCLUS** commands the fleet sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus to the aid of the Athenians besieged by Antigonus Gonatas, V. 367. he returns into Egypt, and at Caunus causes Sotades the satyrick poet to be put to death, ibid. 368
- PATROCLUS**, Athenian, cites Demosthenes before the judges as an infractor of the laws, IV. 244. bad success of his accusation, ibid.
- PATRON**, general of the Greeks in the pay of Darius, advises that prince in vain to confide the guard of his person to the Greeks, IV. 505
- PAULUS EMILIUS**. See **EMILIUS**.
- PAUSANIAS**, king of Lacedæmon, commands the army of the Greeks jointly with Aristides, and gains a great battle over the Persians, II. 503, &c. he makes the Lacedæmonians lose the chief command by his haughtiness, 525. his secret conspiracy with the Persians, 528. he is discovered, 529. and punished, 530
- PAUSANIAS**, king of Lacedæmonia, commands at the siege of Athens, III. 289. he obtains peace for the Athenians, 308. he neglects to march to the aid of Lysander, and is summoned to take his trial on his return, 390, 391. he refuses to appear, and is condemned to die, 391. he retires to Tegæum, and dies there, ibid.
- PAUSANIAS**, Macedonian prince, possesses himself of the throne of Macedonia, IV. 253. he is dethroned by Iphicrates, ibid.
- PAUSANIAS**, young Macedonian lord, cannot obtain satisfaction of Philip for an insult which he had received from Attalus, IV. 337. he assassinates Philip in revenge, and is torn to pieces upon the spot, 338
- PAUSISTRATUS**, commander of the Rhodian fleet, is defeated by Polyxenides, Antiochus's admiral, and killed in the battle, VI. 117
- Pay* of the troops by sea and land amongst the ancients, III. 551, 552
- Peace*. It ought to be the end of every wise government, V. 161
- PEDARETUS**, Lacedæmonian: His love of his country, II. 302
- PELASGUS** teaches the first Greeks to live upon acorns, II. 280
- Pella*, capital of Macedonia, famous for the birth of Philip and Alexander, IV. 250
- PELOPIDAS**, Theban: His character, IV. 123. his friendship with Epaminondas, 124. he abandons Thebes, and retires to Athens, 120. he forms the design of reinstating the liberty of his country, 126. he is elected Bæotarch,

- Bœotarch**, IV. 132. he drives the garrison out of the citadel, *ibid.* he causes the Athenians to declare for the Thebans, 134. he gains an advantage over the Lacedæmonians near Tegyra, 138. he commands the sacred battalion at the battle of Leuctra, 143. he is created Bœotarch with Epaminondas, ravages Laconia, and advances to the gates of Sparta, 148, 151. at his return he is accused and acquitted, 153. the Thebans send him ambassador to the court of Persia, 157. his credit with Artaxerxes, 158. Pelopidas marches against Alexander, tyrant of Phœæ, and reduces him to reason, IV. 161. he goes to Macedonia to appease the troubles of that court, and brings away Philip as an hostage, 162, 254. he returns into Thessaly, 163. he is seized, and made prisoner by treachery, *ibid.* he animates Phebe, wife of Alexander, against her husband, 165. he is delivered by Epaminondas, 167. Pelopidas marches against the tyrant, gains a victory over him, and is killed in the battle, 168, &c. singular honours paid to his memory, 171
- PELOPIDAS**, one of the officers of Mithridates, is sent ambassador by that prince to demand satisfaction of the Romans, and to declare war against them in case of refusal, VII. 150, 151
- Peloponnesus**, province and peninsula of Greece, now called the Morea, II. 273, 283. Peloponnesian war, III. 99
- PELOPS** gives his name to Peloponnesus, II. 283
- Pelusium**, city of Lower Egypt, I. 22
- Pensions**. Manner of giving pensions by the kings of Persia, II. 219, 220
- Pentacostomedimni**, citizens of the first class at Athens, III. 510
- Pentatblum**, assemblage of several agonistick exercises amongst the Greeks, I. lxxvii
- PENTHILUS**, son of Orestes, reigns at Mycenæ with his brother Tifamenes, II. 283
- People**, description and character of the people, III. 33, 281, IV. 211, V. 158, 159, VII. 109
- PERDICCAS**, son of Amyntas II. is placed upon the throne of Macedonia by Pelopidas, IV. 161, 162, 253. he is killed in a battle against the Illyrians, IV. 162, 255
- PERDICCAS**, one of Alexander's generals, receives that prince's ring a moment before his death, V. 74, 111. provinces which fell to him after the death of Alexander, 113. he is appointed guardian of Aridæus, and regent of the empire, 111. he puts Statira, Alexander's widow, to death, 115. he quells the revolt of the Greeks in Upper Asia, 116. he puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia, 138. he marries Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, 139. his unfortunate expedition into Egypt, 141, 145. he is killed there, 144
- Pergamus**, city of Great Mysia in Asia minor, I. xxxi. kings of Pergamus, clxii. the kingdom of Pergamus becomes a Roman province, VI. 503
- PERIANDER**, tyrant of Corinth, is ranked in the number of the seven sages, II. 286, 356
- PERICLES**, Athenian: His extraction, III. 28. his education, *ibid.* care that he takes to cultivate his mind by the study of the sciences, and of exercising himself in eloquence, 29, 31. means that he employs for conciliating the favour of the people,

I N D E X.

ple, III. 31, 32. he undertakes to reduce the power of the Areopagus, and succeeds in it, 35, 520. Thucydides is opposed to him, 43. he adorns Athens with magnificent buildings, 44. envy of the Athenians against Pericles, *ibid.* he justifies himself, and causes Thucydides to be banished, 45, 47. he changes his conduct in respect to the people, 48. his great authority, 49. his disinterestedness, 50

Expeditions of Pericles into the Thracian Chersonesus, III. 55. about Peloponnesus, *ibid.* and against Eubœa, 56. he reduces the Samians, and demolishes their walls, 57. he causes aid to be granted the people of Corcyra against the Corinthians, *ibid.* 58. troubles given him by his enemies, 66, 68. he determines the Athenians to enter into a war with the Lacedæmonians, 70. and to shut themselves up within their walls, 102. he prevents them from taking the field, whilst their lands are ravaged, 104. he makes the funeral oration of the Athenians killed during the campaign, 108. the Athenians divest him of the command, and fine him, 114. grief of Pericles for the death of his son Paralus, 115. the Athenians reinstate him, 116. and permit him to enroll his illegitimate son amongst the citizens, 118. death of Pericles, 119. his praise, *ibid.* &c.

PERICLES, son of the former, one of the Athenian generals, who defeated the Lacedæmonians near the island Arginusæ, is condemned with his colleagues to die, III. 274, 280

Perinthus, city of Thrace, besieged by Philip, and delivered by the Athenians, IV. 308, 313
Vol. VII.

Perjury. Punishment of perjury in Egypt, I. 32

PERPENNA, Roman ambassador to Gentius, is imprisoned, VI. 352. Anicius delivers him, and sends him to Rome with the news of his victory, 353. Perpenna, when consul, marches against Aristonicus, defeats him in a battle and takes him prisoner, 502. he dies on his return to Rome, 503

PERSEUS, first king of Mycenæ, II. 282

PERSEUS, son of Philip, last king of Macedonia, forms a conspiracy against his brother Demetrius, and accuses him to Philip, VI. 207, 209, 211. his speech against his brother, 213. Perseus removes from court to avoid his father's indignation, 232, 233. he takes possession of the throne of Macedonia after his father's death, 234. he puts Antigonus, whom his father had chosen his successor, to death, 292. he prepares secretly for war with the Romans, 293. he endeavours to gain allies, *ibid.* he tries in vain to bring over the Achæans, 294. the Romans are informed of his secret measures, 297. Eumenes confirms them concerning his proceedings, *ibid.* Perseus endeavours to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, 299, 300. and afterwards by poison, 300. rupture between Perseus and the Romans, 301. interview of Perseus and Marcianus, 306. war declared in form, 311. Perseus advances with his troops near the river Peneus, 317. battle of the cavalry, in which that prince gains a considerable advantage, and makes an ill use of it, 320, 321. he makes proposals of peace, which are rejected, 324, 325. he takes fright upon the arrival of the
I i

- consul Marcius in Macedonia, and leaves him the passage open 333, 334. he resumes courage soon after, 335. he solicits aid on all sides, 347. his avarice loses him considerable succours, 349. he is intirely defeated and put to flight by Paulus Æmilius at the battle of Pydna, 363, &c. he is taken prisoner with his children, 372. and serves as an ornament in the triumph of Paulus Æmilius, 385. death of Perseus, 386
- Persepolis*, capital city of Persia, subjected by Alexander, who burns the palace of it in a party of debauch, IV. 498, &c.
- Persia*, province of Asia, I. xxx. foundation of the Persian empire by Cyrus, 156. kings who reigned in Persia; Cyrus, 157. Cambyfes, 177. Smerdis the Magus, 190. Darius son of Hytaspes, 365. Xerxes, 442. Artaxerxes Longimanus, III. 1. Xerxes II. 147. Sogdianus, *ibid.* Darius Nothus, 149. Artaxerxes Mnemon, 295. Ochus, IV. 205. Arses, 231. Darius Codomanus, 233. destruction of the empire of the Persians by Alexander, 509. vices which occasioned the decline, and at length the ruin of the Persian empire, *ibid.* II. 258, IV. 901
- Manners and customs of the Persians, II. 196. education of the Persians in the time of Cyrus, 72. government of the Persians, 196. form of it monarchical, *ibid.* coronation of their kings, III. 296. respect paid to them, II. 197. manner of educating their children, 198, 199. publick council of the Persians, 200. administration of justice, 203. attention to provinces, 208. care of their finances, 217. of war, 220. enterance into the troops, *ibid.* arms of the Persians, 221. their chariots armed with scythes, 222. military discipline of the Persians, 224. their order of battle, 226. manner of going to battle, III. 324. quality of the Persian troops in the time of Cyrus, and after that prince, II. 97, 232. arts and sciences of the Persians, 234. their religion, 247. marriages and burials, 255
- Petalism*, kind of sentence established at Syracuse, III. 86
- Petra*, a very strong place in the country of the Nabathæan Arabians, V. 205
- Petra Oxiana*, inaccessible rock, IV. 547. Alexander makes himself master of it, 550, &c.
- PEUCESTES, one of Alexander's captains, distinguishes himself at the siege of the city of Oxydracæ, V. 35. provinces which fell to him after the death of Alexander, 113. he opposes the progress of Pithon, and drives him out of Media, 172
- PHALANTHUS, general of the Spartans called Partheniata, settles them at Tarentum, I. cxlv
- Phalaræx*, Macedonian: Description of it, IV. 263
- PHALARIS, his bull taken at the siege of Agrigentum and sent to Carthage, I. 148
- PHALECUS is appointed general of the Phocæans during the sacred war, in the room of Phayllus, IV. 275. he pillages the temple of Delphos as the other had done, and is deposed, *ibid.*
- Phalera*, part of Athens, II. 521
- PHAMEAS, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, dares not take the field, when Scipio is to support the forages, I. 312. he goes over to the Romans, 313
- PHANES of Halicarnassus, general of the Greek auxiliaries in the army of Amasis, goes over upon some discontent to Cambyfes, II.

I N D E X.

- II. 178. the Greeks in the king of Egypt's service murder his children in revenge, 179
- PHARAOH, common name of the kings of Egypt, I. 65. one of them gives his daughter to Solomon in marriage, 79
- PHARISEES, powerful sect in Judæa, VI. 524, 526. persecution of Alexander Jannæus and his party by the Pharisees, 545, VII. 8. end of that persecution, 12
- PHARNABASUS, governor of Asia, and general of the troops of Darius and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia, aids the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, III. 257, 258. he makes peace with the latter, 260. he sends complaints against Lysander to Sparta, 314. his whole province is ravaged by Agesilaus, 385. interview of Agesilaus and Pharnabasis, 386. the latter is charged by Artaxerxes with the war against Egypt, IV. 189. the enterprize miscarries through his fault, 191
- PHARNACES makes the army revolt against his father Mitridates, and is elected king in his stead, VII. 232. he is declared the friend and ally of the Romans, 235. he is defeated and driven out of Pontus by Cæsar, 262, 263
- PHARNACIAS, eunuch of Xerxes II. supplies Sogdianus with the means for assassinating that prince, III. 147
- PHAROS, its famous tower or light-house, V. 282
- PHASAEL, brother of Herod, is made governor of Jerusalem, VII. 19. he is taken by the Parthians, and put in irons, *ibid.* he kills himself to avoid the ignominy of punishment, *ibid.*
- PHAYLLUS, general of the Phœnicians during the sacred war, plunders the temple of Delphos to defray the expences of that war, IV. 274. his death, *ibid.*
- PHAYLLUS, of Crotona, Athleta: His affection for the Greeks, and valour, IV. 485
- PHEBIDAS, Lacedæmonian, sets out from Sparta at the head of a body of troops against Olynthus, IV. 119. he seizes the citadel of Thebes by fraud, 120. he is deprived of the command, and fined, 121
- PHEDYMA, daughter of Otanes, and wife of Smerdis the Magus, discovers that usurper's imposture, II. 191. she marries Darius after the death of Smerdis, 366
- Phœnicia*, or *Phœnicia*, province of Syria, I. xxxii. revolt of Phœnicia against Ochus, IV. 222
- PHERENDATES, Persian lord, made governor of Egypt by Ochus, IV. 229
- PHERENICUS, one of the principal conspirators against the tyrants of Thebes, IV. 127
- PHERON, king of Egypt, I. 75. action of that prince against the Nile, *ibid.*
- PHIDIAS, famous painter and sculptor. Pericles gives him the direction of the public buildings at Athens, III. 46. ingratitude of the Athenians to Phidias, 66
- PHILA, Antipater's daughter, is married to Craterus, V. 131. after the death of Craterus she marries Demetrius Poliorcetes, *ibid.* 221. she kills herself with poison, 277. praise of that princess, 133
- PHILA, daughter of Seleucus and Stratonice, marries Antiochus Gonatas, V. 318
- Philadelphus*, name given ironically to Ptolemy II. king of Egypt, V. 281. See PROLEMY PHI-
LADELPHUS.

PHILAMMON assassinate Arsinoe, sister and wife of Ptolemy Philopator, V. 503. he is beaten to death with staves by the ladies of honour to that princess, VI. 3

PHILÆNI, two brothers, citizens of Carthage, sacrifice their lives for the good of their country, I. 135. the Carthaginians, out of gratitude, consecrate two altars to them, *ibid.*

PHILÆNIUS, Lacedæmonian, accompanies Hannibal in his expeditions, and composes the history of that great captain, I.

293

PHILEMON, comick poet, preferred by the Greeks to Menander in his own life-time, I. cxxi

PHILETERES, founder of the kingdom of Pergamus, I. clxii, V. 370. means which he uses for supporting himself in that kingdom, *ibid.*

PHILIDAS, one of the conspirators against the tyrants of Thebes, finds means to make himself their secretary, IV. 126. on the day fixed by the conspirators, he gives the tyrants a supper, 128. the conspirators kill them at his house, 131.

PHILIP, son of Amyntas II. king of Macedonia: His birth, IV. 251. Pelopidas carries him to Thebes as an hostage, 162, 253. he flies from Thebes into Macedonia, and is placed upon the throne, 255. beginnings of his reign, *ibid.* he makes a capitious peace with the Athenians, 257. his first conquests, 260. birth of Alexander, 262. Philip's care of his education, *ibid.* 263. he endeavours to subvert Thrace, and takes Methrone, at the siege of which place he loses an eye, 273. he conciliates the amity of the Thessalians, and expels their tyrants, 274, 275. he endeavours to seize the pass of

Thermopylæ in vain, 275. he takes the city of Olynthus, notwithstanding the efforts of the Athenians to prevent it, 285. he declares for the Thebans against the Phocæans, and begins in that manner to share in the sacred war, 286. he lulls the Athenians with a false peace and false promises, 288. he seizes the Thermopylæ, reduces the Phocæans, and terminates the sacred war, 292, 293. he causes himself to be admitted into the council of the Amphictyons,

293

Philip on his return into Macedonia, pushes his conquests into Illyrium and Thrace, IV. 296. he enters into a league with the Thebans, Argives, and Messenians, for attacking Peloponnesus with their joint forces, 300, 301. Athens declaring for the Lacedæmonians, breaks that league, 302. Philip makes an attempt upon Eubœa, 303. Phocion drives him out of that island, 306. Philip forms the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 309. Phocion obliges him to raise both those sieges, 313. Philip subjects Atheas king of the Scythians, and the Triballi, people of Mœsia, 315. by his intrigues, he causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of the Amphyctyons, 317, &c. he seizes Elatæa, 319. the Athenians and Thebans enter into a league against him, 324. he makes proposals of peace, which are rejected by the advice of Demosthenes, *ibid.* battle of Chæronea, in which Philip gains a great victory, 325, 326. Philip in the council of the Amphyctyons causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians, and prepares for that great expedition, IV.

I N D E X.

IV. 334. domestick troubles in his family, *ibid.* he repudiates Olympias, and marries another wife, 335. he celebrates the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter with Alexander king of Epirus, and is killed in the midst of them, 336, &c. memorable actions and sayings of Philip, 339. good and bad characters of that prince, *ibid.* &c.

PHILIP, son of Demetrius, ascends the throne of Macedonia, V. 474. his affection for Aratus, 506, 507. he takes upon him the defence of the Achæans against the Ætolians, *ibid.* different expeditions of Philip against the enemies of the Achæans, 515. strange abuse that Apelles his minister makes of his confidence, 517. irruption of Philip into Ætolia, 524, 525. he takes Thermæ by surprize, 526. excesses committed there by his soldiers, *ibid.* prudence which he shews in his retreat, 528, 529. troubles in his camp, 530. punishment of the authors of them, *ibid.* irruption of Philip into Laconia, *ibid.* new intrigue of the conspirators, 531. their punishment 534. Philip takes Thebes of Phthiotis from the Ætolians, 538. he concludes a peace with them, 540

Philip concludes a treaty with Hannibal, V. 543. he makes preparations for carrying the war into Italy, 544. he is surprized and defeated by the Romans at Apollonia, 545. his change of conduct, 546. his bad faith and irregularities, *ibid.* &c. he causes Aratus to be poisoned, 547. he makes himself master of the city and castle of Lissus, 549. he gains several advantages over the Ætolians, 554. he is repulsed near the city of Elis, 556. different actions of Philip against Sulpi-

tius, 567, 568, 569. he makes peace with the Romans, 591. he enters into a league with Antiochus for invading the dominions of Ptolemy Epiphanes, VI. 3, 4. bad success of Philip against Attalus and the Rhodians, 5. his cruel treatment of the Cyaneans, *ibid.* 6. he besieges and takes Abydos, 6, 9. he ravages Attica, 12. the Romans declare war against him, 13

Philip makes ineffectual attempts against Athens, VI. 14, 15. he endeavours to bring over the Ætolians into his party, 18. he is defeated in a battle by Sulpitius, 21. he is reduced to abandon the defiles along the Apfus, 30. ineffectual interview of Philip with Flamininus concerning peace, 39. he is defeated by Flamininus near Scotussa and Cynoscephale in Thessalia, 49. the Romans grant him peace, 56. Philip aids Quintius against Nabis, 68, &c. his conduct to Scipio, 116. Philip's causes of discontent from the Romans, 174, &c. the Romans order him to evacuate the cities of Thrace, 179. he discharges his rage upon the inhabitants of Maronæa, 180. he sends his son Demetrius on an embassy to Rome, 181. complaints against Philip carried to Rome, 201. the Romans send back his son with ambassadors, 203. Philip prepares to renew the war with the Romans, 204. plot of Perseus against Demetrius, 207. he accuses him to Philip, 211. upon a new accusation Philip causes Demetrius to be put to death, 230. he discovers his innocence some time after, and Perseus's guilt, 232. whilst he meditates the punishment of the latter, he dies, 234.

I N D E X.

- PHILIP** pretends himself son of Perseus, and seizes the kingdom of Macedonia, VI. 420, &c. he is defeated and killed by Tremellius, 423
- PHILIP**, one of Alexander's captains: Provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, V. 113
- PHILIP**, in concert with his brother Antiochus, destroys the city of Mopsuestia, to avenge the death of his brother Seleucus, VI. 533. he reigns in Syria with his brother Demetrius, after having driven out Eusebes, 534. Philip's death, 536
- PHILIP**, Phrygian, is made governor of Judæa by Antiochus Epiphanes, VI. 249
- PHILIP**, foster brother and favourite of Antiochus Epiphanes, is made governor by that prince of his son Antiochus Eupator, and regent of Syria, VI. 278, 279, 458. Lysias usurps that employment from him, 458. Philip retires into Egypt, ibid.
- PHILIP**, of Acarnania, physician, known from the salutary draught which he gave Alexander, IV. 393
- Philisburgh*, town of Germany, besieged and taken by the French, VI. 158
- PHILISCUS** is sent by the king of Persia to reconcile the states of Greece, IV. 156
- PHILISTUS**, rich citizen of Syracuse, pays a fine for Dionysius, IV. 6. Dionysius banishes him, 45. Dionysius the Younger recalls him to court, 58. death of Philistus, 79. he may be considered as a great historian, 58
- PHILOCLEES**, Macedonian, devoted to Perseus, is sent by Philip on an embassy to Rome, VI. 228. at his return he delivers a forged letter to that prince under the counterfeited seal of T. Quintius, which occasions the death of Demetrius, 230. Philip causes him to be seized, and put to the question, in which he dies, 232
- PHILOCLEES**, one of the Athenian generals, is defeated and made prisoner with his colleagues at the battle of Ægospotamos, III. 287. he is put to death, 288
- PHILOMELUS**, general of the Phœceans, sets them against the decree of the Amphictyons, and determines them to take arms, IV. 270. he makes himself master of the temple of Delphi, and takes the riches of it to pay his troops, 271, 272. he is defeated in a battle, and throws himself headlong from the top of a rock, 272
- PHILONIDES**, runner to Alexander the Great, famous for his swiftness, I. lxxx
- PHILOPOEMEN**, Megalopolitan: Determines his citizens to reject the offers of Cleomenes, V. 461, 467. he signalizes himself at the battle of Selasia, 469. he distinguishes himself in the battle near the city of Elis, 556. his education, 557. his great qualities, 558, &c. he is elected general of the horse by the Achæans, 561. he reforms the Achæan troops, 562. he is elected captain general of the Achæans, 581. he gains a famous victory over Machanidas tyrant of Sparta, and kills him in the battle, 583, 586. the Achæans erect him a statue, 586. honours which he receives in the assembly at the Nemæan games, 587, &c. Philopœmen is defeated at sea by the tyrant Nabis, VI. 88. he gains a famous victory over that tyrant near Sparta, 89. after the death of Nabis he seizes Sparta, and obliges that city to enter into the Achæan league, 95. he refuses the presents offered,

- ferred him by the Spartans, VI. 96. he secretly favours the Spartan exiles, and causes war to be declared against that city, 152, 153. he makes himself master of Sparta, and reinstates the exiles, 154. he attacks Messene, and is taken prisoner, 187. the Messenians put him to death, 188. honours paid to his memory, 190. trial of Philopœmen after his death, 190, 435.
- PHILOSOPHERS**, *Philosophy*. It is wonderfully proper for forming the hero, IV. 181, 182. the study of this science incompatible with slavery, III. 88
- PHILOTAS**, son of Parmenio, commands a body of horse in Alexander's expedition against Persia, IV. 375. pretended conspiracy of Philotas against Alexander, 525, 527, &c. he is put to death, 531
- PHILOTAS**, governor of Upper Asia, is put to death by Pithon, V. 172
- PHILOXENUS**, poet, favourite of Dionysius the Tyrant: His generous freedom, IV. 42, &c.
- PHILOXENUS**, Macedonian, seizes Harpalus, and causes him to be put to the question, V. 53
- Phocæa*, city of Ionia, is condemned to be destroyed by the Romans, VI. 503 the Marseillians originally descended from that city obtain pardon for it, *ibid.*
- PHOCION**, general of the Athenians, drives Philip out of Eubœa, IV. 305. he makes that prince raise the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 313. he rejects the offers of Harpalus, V. 56. he endeavours in vain to prevent the Athenians from engaging in the Lamian war, 117. he is condemned to die by the Athenians, 156. his body is carried out of the territory of Attica, 157. the Athenians erect a statue to him, and inter his bones honourably, 162. character and praise of Phocion, IV. 303, V. 55, 158, &c.
- Phocis*, part of Greece, II. 276. it is ravaged by Xerxes, 480. the Lacedæmonians deprive the people of Phocis of the custody of the temple of Delphi, III. 56. Pericles restores it to them, *ibid.* the Phocæans till the ground consecrated to Apollo, IV. 270. they are declared guilty of sacrilege, and are fined, *ibid.* they take arms against the decree of the Amphictyons, *ibid.* the latter make war against the Phocæans, 271. Philip reduces them, 293
- Phoenix*, fabulous bird; wonders related of it, I. 23
- PHORONEUS**, king of Argos, II. 282
- PHRAATES I.** son of Priapatius, king of the Parthians, VII. 26
- PHRAATES II.** succeeds his father Mithridates in the kingdom of Parthia, VII. 26. he is defeated three times by Antiochus Sidetes, VI. 508. he releases Demetrius, 509. he defeats Antiochus, who is killed in the battle, 508, 509. he marries one of that prince's daughters, 509. he is defeated by the Scythians, who had called in Antiochus to their aid, and is killed in flying, 510, 511
- PHRAATES III.** surnamed THEOS, king of the Parthians, VII. 27. he makes an alliance with the Romans during the war with Mithridates, *ibid.* he espouses the part of Tigranes the Younger against his father, *ibid.* death of Phraates, *ibid.*
- PHRAATES IV.** is placed by his father Orodes upon the Parthian throne, I i 4

- throne, VII. 63. he puts his brothers, father, and his son, to death, ibid.
- PHRAORTES**, king of the Medes, succeeds his father Dejoces, II. 50. he makes himself master of almost all Upper Asia, 51. he makes war against the Assyrians, ibid. he is defeated, ibid. Nabucodonosor puts him to death, ibid. 52
- PHRATAPHERNES**, one of Alexander's generals: Provinces which fall to him after that prince's death, V. 113
- Phrygia*, province of Asia minor, I. xxxii
- PHRYNICUS**, one of the Athenian generals, opposes the recall of Alcibiades, III. 250. he is divested of the command, 251
- PHRYNON** commands the army of the Athenians sent against Mitylene, II. 354. he accepts the challenge of Pittacus, and is killed, ibid.
- PHYLLUS**, Lacedæmonian officer, is killed at the siege of Sparta by Pyrrhus, fighting valiantly, V. 356
- PHYSCON**. See **PTOLEMY EVERGETES**, surnamed *Physon*.
- PHYTO**, general of the troops of Rhegium, defends that city against Dionysius, IV. 36. Dionysius, after having made him suffer great indignities, puts him to death, 37
- PINDAR**, Greek lyric poet, character of his works, III. 82, 83
- Piræus*, port of Athens, II. 521
- Piromis*, name given to kings, said by the Egyptian priests to have reigned in Egypt, I. 84
- PISANDER**, Athenian captain, determines the people of Athens to recall Alcibiades, III. 251. the Athenians send him to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes, ibid. at his return he changes the form of the government, 252
- PISANDER**, Lacedæmonian, is appointed by Agesilaus his brother-in-law to command the fleet in his stead, III. 384, 385. he is defeated by Conon near Cnidos, and killed in the battle, 395
- PISISTRATUS**, Athenian, makes himself tyrant of Athens, II. 331, 333. lenity of his government, 335. his death, 336. his character, 332. library founded by him at Athens, 335
- PISO** (*Calpurnius*) consul, commands at the siege of Carthage before the arrival of Scipio, I. 313
- PISUTHNES**, governor of Lydia for Darius, revolts against that prince, III. 150. he is taken, and put to death, ibid.
- PITHON**, one of Alexander's captains, is made governor of Media by Antipater, V. 147. he causes Philotas to be put to death, and takes possession of his government, 172. he is driven out of Media by Peucestes, and obliged to retire to Seleucus, ibid. 173. Antigonus puts him to death, 193
- PITTACUS** of Mitylene, one of the seven sages of Greece, drives out the tyrant who oppressed his country, II. 354. he commands the army against the Athenians, ibid. he challenges Phrynon their general to a single combat, and kills him, ibid. the inhabitants of Mitylene give him the sovereignty of their city, ibid. he voluntarily abdicates his authority at the expiration of ten years, and retires, 355. his death, ibid.
- Places*. Attack and defence of places by the ancients, II. 229, 231, III. 122, &c.
- Plague*,

I N D E X.

- Plague*, contagious distemper, III. 109. description of that disease, ibid.
- Platæa*, city of Bœotia, II. 275. the Platæans acquire glory at the battle of Marathon, 425. they refuse to submit to Xerxes, 466. the Greeks decree the prize of valour to them after the defeat of Mardonius, 507. the Platæans institute an anniversary festival in honour of those who died in the battle, 510. siege of Platæa by the Thebans, III. 99. Platæa besieged and taken by the Lacedæmonians, 121, 137. the Thebans demolish it intirely, 138, IV. 139. the Platæans retire to Athens, *ibid.* they induce Alexander to destroy Thebes, 366. that prince permits them to rebuild their city, 486
- PLATO**, philosopher of Athens : He retires to Mægara to avoid the rage of the Athenians, III. 480. Plato's travels into Sicily, where he appears for the first time at the court of Dionysius the Younger, IV. 23. his intimacy and friendship with Dion, *ibid.* Plato's second voyage into Sicily, 58. wonderful change occasioned by his presence at the court of Dionysius the Younger, 59. conspiracy of the courtiers to prevent its effects, 61. Plato quits the court, and returns into Greece, 64. adventure that happens to him at Olympia, 65. he returns to the court of Dionysius the Younger, 67. Dionysius differs with him, 68. he permits him to return into Greece, 69. Plato's death, 231
- Plemmyrium*, isle near Syracuse, III. 200
- PLISTARCHUS**, son of Leonidas king of Sparta, II. 529
- PLISTHENES**, son of Atreus, king of Mycenæ, II. 283
- PLISTONAX**, king of Lacedæmonia, takes pains to cause a treaty to be concluded between Athens and Sparta, III. 162. his death, 270
- PLUTARCH** of Eretria calls in the Athenians to the aid of Eubœa, besieged by Philip, IV. 303. his perfidy, 305. Phocion drives him out of Eretria, ibid.
- Pæcile*, Παικίαν, gallery or porch of paintings at Athens, where the Stoicks used to assemble, II. 433
- Pœm*, epick, II. 343, I. xcvi. dramatick, I. xcvi. satyrick, cxii
- Pœssy*. Greek poets, II. 342, &c. emulation of the poets in disputing the prizes in the Olympick games, I. xcvi. poets who invented and improved tragedy and comedy, xcviii, cxii
- POLEMARCH**, magistrate at Athens, employed both to administer justice and command armies, II. 426, III. 521
- POLIORCETES**, name given Demetrius son of Antigonus, V. 196
- Politics*: Policy, wherein it consists, III. 52, 53, 247, 297, 309, 369, VII. 86, 92. effects of false policy, I. 37, III. 115, 116. policy of the Romans, VI. 388, 391, 407, 466. language of politicians, IV. 218
- POLYÆNUS**, senator of Syracuse, harangues the people upon the action of Andranadorus, after the death of Hieronymus, VII. 107
- POLYBIDAS**, Lacedæmonian, is charged with the war against Olynthus, and takes that city, IV. 120
- POLYBIUS**, Greek historian ; his function at the funeral of Philopœmen, VI. 190. he is chosen ambassador to Ptolemy Epiphanes nes

I N D E X.

- nes by the Achæans, VI. 200. he is elected general of the horse by the Achæans, 329. he is deputed to the consul Marcius, to whom he presents the decree of the Achæans, 331, 333. he returns to Achaia, 333. he saves the Achæans a considerable expence, 336. he is included in the number of the exiles, and carried to Rome, 400. his great friendship with the second Scipio Africanus, 401, I. 328, 332. return of Polybius into Achaia, VI. 435. zeal of Polybius in defending Philopœmen's memory, *ibid.* proof which he gives of his disinterestedness, 435, 436. he establishes good order and tranquillity in his country, 436. he returns to Scipio at Rome, and accompanies him to the siege of Numantia, *ibid.* after Scipio's death he returns into his own country, where he ends his days, *ibid.* 437
- POLYBIUS of Megalopolis, officer in the army of the Achæans, V. 584
- POLYCRATES, tyrant of Samos, II. 186. singular history of that tyrant, *ibid.* 187. his miserable end, 188
- POLYCRATES, first minister of Ptolemy Epiphanes, renders that prince great services, VI. 170, 171
- POLYDAMAS, famous athleta of antiquity, I. lxxiii
- POLYDECTES, king of Sparta, and brother of Lycurgus, I. cxli
- POLYDORUS, brother of Jason, tyrant of Phæræ, succeeds him, and is soon after killed by Polyphron his other brother, IV. 161
- Polygamy.* It was allowed in Egypt, I. 33
- POLYGNOTUS, famous painter, generous action of his to the Athenians, II. 433
- POLYPERCHON, Syracusan, in concert with Leptinus, kills Callippus, Dion's murderer, IV. 92
- POLYPHRON is substituted to Jason, tyrant of Phæræ his brother, IV. 161. he kills Polydorus his other brother, and is soon after killed himself by Alexander of Phæræ, *ibid.*
- POLYSPERCHON, one of the generals of Alexander's army, reduces a country called Bubacene, IV. 560. he ridicules a Persian for prostrating himself before Alexander, 564. that prince causes him to be put in prison, and pardons him soon after, *ibid.* Polysperchon takes the city of Ora, V. 10. he is appointed regent of the kingdom, and governor of Macedonia by Antipater, 151. he recalls Olympias, 154. he endeavours to secure Greece to himself, *ibid.* he is driven out of Macedonia by Cassander, 174. he causes Hercules the son of Alexander, and his mother Barsina to be put to death, 208
- POLYSTRATUS, Macedonian soldier, carries drink to Darius at the point of death, and receives his last words, IV. 508
- POLYXENIDES, admiral of the fleet of Antiochus the Great, is defeated by Livius, and reduced to fly, VI. 114. he defeats Pausistratus, who commanded the fleet of Rhodes by a stratagem, 117. he is defeated by Æmilius, and reduced to retire to Ephesus, 120
- POLYXENUS, brother-in-law of Dionysius, having declared against that prince, flies to avoid falling into his hands, IV. 32
- POLYZELUS, brother of Hiero I. king of Syracuse, gives his brother umbrage, III. 80. Theron, his son-in-law, takes his part, *ibid.* peace

I N D E X.

peace is made by the mediation of the poet Simonides, III. 80

POMPEIUS (L.) Roman officer, commands a small body of troops during the war with Perseus, and retires to an eminence, where he defends himself valiantly, VI. 326

POMPEY succeeds Lucullus in the war against Mithridates, VII. 213. his conduct upon arriving in his government, 215. he offers Mithridates peace, 218. he gains several victories over that prince, 219. he marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes and surrenders himself to him, 221. he pursues Mithridates, and in his way subjects the Albanians and Iberians, 224. tired of following Mithridates, he comes to Syria, of which he takes possession, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucides, VI. 544, VII. 225. he marches to Pontus, 227. he returns into Syria, 228. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia, 12, 234. and Judæa, 14. he takes Jerusalem, enters the temple, and the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, 16. after having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, 235. he receives the honour of a triumph, *ibid.* after his defeat at Pharsalia, he retires into Egypt, 249. he is killed, 251

Pontus, kingdom of Asia minor, I. xxxi, clxxi. chronological abridgment of the history of the kings of Pontus, clxxi

POPILIUS (C.) is sent ambassador into Egypt in order to put an end to the war there, VI. 252. he obliges Antiochus to quit Egypt, and leave the two Ptolemies, brothers, in quiet possession of it, 257. he is sent into Peloponnesus to publish the

decree of the senate there in favour of the Greeks, 329

PORPHYRY, Tyrian, a learned pagan, declared enemy of Christianity, and the holy Scriptures, VI. 289

PORUS, Indian king, refuses to submit to Alexander, V. 12. he is defeated and taken prisoner, 17, 21. Alexander restores him his dominions, 21

Post. Invention of posts and couriers, II. 154; 213, &c.

POTIUNUS, Ptolemy's minister, dethrones Cleopatra, VII. 249. he advises the death of Pompey, 250. he endeavours to render Cæsar odious to the Egyptians, 253. he prevents the effect of Cæsar's decree, and makes the Egyptians take arms against him, 255. Cæsar causes him to death, 257

Potidea, city of Macedonia, revolts against the Athenians, to whom it was tributary, III. 60. it is besieged and taken by the Athenians, *ibid.* 117. Philip takes that city from them, IV. 260

Poverty. Love of poverty instituted at Sparta, III. 495

Power, or *Rule*, the spirit of it how umbrageous, VII. 144

PREXASPES, confident of Cambyfes, kills Smerdis by that prince's order, II. 184. his base and monstrous flattery of Cambyfes, 185. he promises the Magi to declare Smerdis the Magus the true son of Cyrus to the people, 192. he speaks to the people from the top of a tower, declares the contrary to them, throws himself down from the top of the tower, and is killed, *ibid.*

PRIAPATIUS, son and successor of Arsaces II. king of the Parthians, VII. 25

Priene,

Priene, city of Ionia, III. 57
Princes. See *Kings*.
PROCLÉS, son of Aristodemus, reigns at Sparta with his brother Eurysthenes, I. cxxxix
PROCLEIUS, Roman officer, comes to Cleopatra in her retirement, and advises her to put herself into Cæsar's hands, VII. 289. he makes himself master of the person of that princess, 290. Cæsar orders him to ask her what she desires of him, *ibid.*
Prodicos, name given by the Lacedæmonians to the guardians of the kings, I. cxlii
PROBTUS, king of Argos, II. 282
PROMACHUS, one of Alexander's officers, dies in a debauch with that prince, V. 52
Prophecies in respect to Pharaoh Hophra, and the Egyptians, I. 93, &c. prophecies concerning Nineveh, II. 55. Babylon, 128. Cyrus, 131. Alexander, 162, V. 452. Tyre, 144. Antiochus the Great, VI. 162, &c. Seleucus Philopator, 238. Antiochus Epiphanes, 279. Jacob's prophecy concerning the Messiah, VII. 23
Prosperity. Proof to which it puts the soul, II. 79. train of prosperity, III. 397
PROTAGORAS, brother of Nicocles, expels Evagoras II. from Salamin, and reigns in his stead, IV. 223. Ochus confirms the possession of the throne to him, 227
PROTAGORAS of Abdera, sophist; opinion of Protagoras concerning the Divinity, III. 194. the Athenians expel him their city, and cause his works to be burnt, 195
PROTEAS, Macedonian: Alexander drinks his health in the bowl of Hercules, V. 73
PROTEUS, king of Egypt, I. 75.

he stops Helen and her riches, and restores her to Menelaus, I. 75, &c.
PROTHOUS, senator of Sparta, opposes the war with the Thebans, but is disregarded, IV. 141
PROTOGENES, famous painter. Demetrius's regard for him during the siege of Rhodes, V. 247
PROTOMACHUS, one of the Athenian generals that gained the victory near the islands Arginuse, and were condemned at their return, III. 274, 279
Providence. Discourse of Socrates upon Providence, III. 447
PROXENES of Bœotia, commands a body of Grecian troops in the army of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes, III. 319. he is seized by treachery, and put to death, 341. character of Proxenes, 342
PRUSIAS I. king of Bithynia, I. clxii
PRUSIAS II. king of Bithynia, surnamed *the Hunter*, declares for the Romans against Antiochus, VI. 119. he makes war against Eumenes, 192. services done him by Hannibal during that war, *ibid.* 193, I. 289. Prusias agrees to deliver him up to the Romans, I. 289, VI. 193. he endeavours to induce the Romans to grant Perseus a peace, 336. his abject flattery in the senate, 404. war of Prusias with Attalus, 409. the senate oblige him to lay down his arms, and to make Attalus satisfaction, *ibid.* Prusias intending to put his son Nicomedes to death, is killed by him, 411
Prytanis, name of the chief magistrate of Corinth, II. 286
PSAMMENITUS, king of Egypt, is conquered by Cambyses, who uses him with clemency, I. 101, II. 179. he endeavours to re-ascend

I N D E X.

- ascend the throne, and is put to death, I. 101, II. 180
- PSAMMETICUS**, one of the twelve kings, who reigned at the same time in Egypt, is banished into the fens, and on what occasion, I. 85. he defeats the other eleven kings, and remains sole monarch of Egypt, *ibid.* he makes war against the king of Assyria, 86. he besieges Azotus, and takes it after a siege of twenty-nine years, *ibid.* 87. he prevents the Scythians from invading Egypt, 87. his method for knowing whether the Egyptians were the most ancient people of the earth, *ibid.* 87.
- PSAMMIS**, king of Egypt, I. 91
- PTOLEMAIDA**, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, is married to Demetrius Poliorcetes, V. 277
- PTOLEMY**, son of Amyntas II. disputes the crown with Perdiccas, IV. 161. Pelopidas excludes him from the throne, 162, 254
- PTOLEMY**, son of Seleucus, is killed at the battle of Ipsus, IV. 410
- PTOLEMY I.** son of Lagus, one of Alexander's generals, takes several cities of India, V. 8. he is dangerously wounded at the siege of a city of India, 41. he is cured soon after, *ibid.* provinces which fall to him after the death of Alexander, 112. he causes the body of Alexander to be carried to Alexandria, 137. he enters into a league with Antipater, Craterus, and Antigonus, against Perdiccas and Eumenes, 140. he makes himself master of Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa, 149. he takes Jerusalem, 150. he forms a league with Seleucus, Cassander, and Lyfimachus, against Antigonus, 194. he seizes the island of Cyprus, 198. he defeats Demetrius in battle, 199. and makes himself master of Tyre, 200. defeat of one of his generals by Demetrius, 201. different expeditions of Ptolemy against Antigonus, 209. Ptolemy is defeated by Demetrius, who takes from him the isle of Cyprus, 224, 252.
- Ptolemy assumes the title of king, V. 225. he sends aid to the Rhodians besieged by Demetrius, 237, 241. the Rhodians, in gratitude, give him the title of *Soter*, 247. Ptolemy allies himself with Seleucus, Cassander, and Lyfimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius, 255. those four princes divide the empire of Alexander amongst them, 258. Ptolemy retakes the island of Cyprus from Demetrius, 268. he renews the league with Lyfimachus and Seleucus against Demetrius, 272. he abdicates the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, 282. death of Ptolemy Soter, 288. praise of that prince, *ibid.* famous library, which he caused to be erected at Alexandria, 283, 284.
- PTOLEMY II.** surnamed **PHILADELPHUS**, is placed by his father Ptolemy Soter upon the throne of Egypt, V. 282. feast which he gives the people on his accession to the crown, 288. the commencement of his reign, 301. his resentment against Demetrius Phalereus, *ibid.* he causes the holy Scriptures to be translated into Greek, to adorn his library, 319. he cultivates the amity of the Romans, 364. his liberality to the Roman ambassadors, 365. Ptolemy sends aid to the Athenians besieged by Antigonus, 367. revolt of Magas against Ptolemy, 368. the latter quells a conspiracy against

I N D E X.

against his person, V. 369. works of Ptolemy of advantage to commerce, 373. he comes to an accommodation with Magas, 374. war between Ptolemy and Antiochus, 375. peace between those princes, 377. death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 383. character and qualities of that prince, *ibid.* his taste for arts and sciences, 375, 381. his application to make commerce flourish in his dominions, 373

PTOLEMY III. surnamed EVERGETES, succeeds his father Ptolemy Philadelphus, V. 383. he avenges the death of his sister Berenice, puts Laodice to death, and seizes part of Asia, 389, 390. in returning from that expedition he goes to Jerusalem, and offers sacrifices there to the God of Israel, 392. league of Antiochus Hierax and Seleucus Callinicus against Ptolemy, 394. the latter comes to an accommodation with Seleucus, 395. he causes Antiochus to be seized, and imprisons him, 398. he augments the library of Alexandria, *ibid.* he gives Joseph, the nephew of Onias, the farm of the revenues of the provinces of Coelosyria, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Samaria, 401. arrival of Cleomenes at the court of Egypt, 474. death of Ptolemy Evergetes, 475. Ptolemy's liberality to the Rhodians, 476

PTOLEMY IV. surnamed PHILOPATOR, ascends the throne of Egypt after the death of Ptolemy Evergetes, V. 475, 478. injustice and cruelty of that prince to Cleomenes, 509, 510. Antiochus the Great undertakes to recover Coelosyria from Ptolemy, 483, 491. short truce between those two princes, 493. Ptolemy gains a great victory over Antiochus at Raphia, 496,

497. he comes to Jerusalem, 497. rage and revenge of Ptolemy against the Jews, because they refuse to let him enter into the sanctuary, 498. he grants Antiochus peace, 499. the Egyptians revolt against Philopator, 501. that prince gives himself up to all manner of excesses, 502. he puts Arsinoë, his wife and sister, to death, 503. he dies worn out with debauches,

597

PTOLEMY V. called EPIPHANES, at the age of five years ascends the throne of Egypt after the death of Ptolemy Philopator, VI. 1. Antiochus the Great and Philip enter into a league to invade his dominions, 4. Ptolemy is put under the guardianship of the Romans, 11. Aristomenes, the young king's guardian for the Romans, takes Palestine and Coelosyria from Antiochus, 26. Antiochus retakes those provinces, *ibid.* Scopas's conspiracy against Ptolemy frustrated by Aristomenes, 64. Ptolemy is declared at age, 65. he marries Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus, 83. he makes an alliance with the Achæans, 168. he treats Hyrcanus, the son of Joseph, with great marks of favour and friendship, 169, &c. he takes a disgust to Aristomenes, and puts him to death, 65, 170. he abandons himself to all sorts of excesses, 170. the Egyptians form several conspiracies against him, *ibid.* Ptolemy chooses Polycrates for his prime minister, *ibid.* with that minister's assistance he gets the better of the rebels, 171. he renews the alliance with the Achæans, *ibid.* he forms the design of attacking Seleucus, 200. the principal persons of his court poison him, *ibid.*

PTOLEMY

I N D E X.

PTOLEMY VI. called **PHILOMETOR**, at six years old, succeeds his father Ptolemy Epiphanes, VI. 201. cause of war arises between Ptolemy and Antiochus Epiphanes, 242. coronation of Ptolemy, 243. he is defeated by Antiochus, 245. he loses a second battle against Antiochus, and is taken prisoner, 247. the Alexandrians elect his brother Ptolemy Evergetes II. surnamed also Physcon, in his place, 249. Antiochus replaces Philometor in appearance upon the throne, 253. the two brothers unite and reign jointly, 254. the Romans prevent Antiochus from disturbing them, 257. Philometor is dethroned by his brother Physcon, 463, 464. he goes to Rome to implore the senate's clemency, 464. the Romans divide the kingdom of Egypt between the two brothers, 465. new differences arise between Philometor and Physcon, *ibid.* Philometor refuses to evacuate the island of Cyprus, 467. he gains a victory over Physcon, and takes him prisoner, 468. he pardons him, and restores him his dominions, *ibid.* he marries his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander Bala, 478. he permits Onias to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, *ibid.* he marches to the aid of Alexander his son-in-law, attacked by Demetrius, 480. Apollonius's plot against Ptolemy, *ibid.* upon the refusal of Alexander to deliver up that traitor, Philometor takes his daughter from him, gives her to Demetrius, and aids him in ascending his father's throne, 481. Philometor's death, *ibid.*

PTOLEMY VII. called **EVERGETES II.** and **PHYSCON**, son of Ptolemy Epiphanes, is placed

by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt in his eldest brother's stead, VI. 249. the two brothers unite and reign jointly, 254. they prepare to defend themselves against the attacks of Antiochus, *ibid.* the Romans oblige that prince to leave those two princes in tranquillity, 257. Physcon dethrones Philometor, 463, 464. the Romans divide the kingdom between the two brothers, 465. Physcon, dissatisfied with the part given to him, goes to Rome, and demands to be put in possession of the island of Cyprus, *ibid.* the Romans adjudge it to him, 466. the people of Cyrenaica oppose Physcon's entrance into their country, 467. that prince re-establishes himself in that country, and draws attempts against his life upon himself by his bad conduct, *ibid.* he makes a second voyage to Rome, and carries his complaints thither against his brother, *ibid.* he undertakes to make himself master of the island of Cyprus, 468. Philometor beats and takes him prisoner, and afterwards generously restores him his dominions, *ibid.*

Physcon marries Cleopatra, the widow of Philometor, ascends the throne of Egypt, and puts his brother's son to death, VI. 482. Physcon's excess of folly and debauchery, 495. Scipio Africanus the Younger goes to that prince's court, 498. Physcon puts away Cleopatra, and marries her daughter, by Philometor, named also Cleopatra, 511. horrible cruelties which he commits in Egypt, *ibid.* a general revolt reduces him to quit that kingdom, 512. new cruelties of Physcon, *ibid.* he returns into Egypt, and re-ascends

ascends the throne, V. 514. he supports the impostor Alexander Zebina, and lends him an army to place him upon the throne of Syria, *ibid.* he gives his daughter Tryphena in marriage to Grypus, 517. Physcon's death,

519

PTOLEMY VIII. called **LATHYRUS**, succeeds his father Physcon, VI. 519. Cleopatra his mother obliges him to repudiate his eldest sister, and marry Selena his youngest, 520. Lathyrus aids Antiochus the Cyzicenean against John Hyrcanus, 523. Cleopatra takes her daughter Selena from Lathyrus, and obliges him to quit Egypt, and content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, 528. Lathyrus sends an army to besiege Ptolemais, and marches in person against Alexander king of the Jews, over whom he gains a great victory, 529. barbarous action of Lathyrus after the battle, *ibid.* he raises the siege of Ptolemais, 530. he makes an ineffectual attempt against Egypt, *ibid.* he is recalled by the Alexandrians, and replaced upon the throne of Egypt, 536. a rebellion rises up against him in Egypt, 537. Lathyrus destroys Thebes, whither the rebels had retired, *ibid.* he dies soon after, *ibid.*

PTOLEMY IX. king of Egypt. *See* **ALEXANDER** son of Physcon.

PTOLEMY X. son of Alexander I. king of Egypt. *See* **ALEXANDER II.**

PTOLEMY XI. surnamed **AULETES**, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt, in the room of Alexander II. VI. 545. he causes himself to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey,

VII. 237, 238. he oppresses his subjects in consequence with taxations, 238. he is dethroned, *ibid.* the Alexandrians substitute his daughter Berenice in his place, *ibid.* he goes to Rome, and with money gains the suffrages of the principal persons of the commonwealth for his re-establishment, 240. he causes most of the ambassadors, sent by the Egyptians to Rome to justify their revolt, to be murdered, *ibid.* an oracle of the Sybil is trump up against him, 241. Gabinius reinstates him upon the throne, 246. Auletes puts his daughter Berenice to death, 247. his ingratitude and perfidy to Rabirius, *ibid.* death of Auletes, 248

PTOLEMY XII. son of Ptolemy Auletes, reigns after his father with his sister Cleopatra, VII. 248. he expels Cleopatra, 249. he causes Pompey to be assassinated by the advice of Theodotus, 250, 251. Cæsar makes himself judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, 253. he secures the person of Ptolemy, 254. he releases him, 259. Ptolemy renews the war against Cæsar, 260. he is defeated, and drowned in the Nile endeavouring to escape, 261

PTOLEMY I. king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, is deposed by the Romans, who confiscate his treasures, VI. 552. he poisons himself, *ibid.*

PTOLEMY II. son of Ptolemy Auletes, is made king of Cyprus by Cæsar, VII. 255. Cæsar gives him the crown of Egypt jointly with Cleopatra, 261. death of Ptolemy, poisoned by that princefs, 263

PTOLEMY, son of Anthony and Cleopatra, is proclaimed king of Syria by Anthony, VII. 275
Pro-

I N D E X.

PTOLEMY APION, natural son of Physcon, is made king of Cyrenica by his father, VI. 519. he leaves his kingdom to the Romans at his death, 532

PTOLEMY CERAUNUS, or *Thunder*, son of Ptolemy Soter, quits the court, and retires first to Lyfimachus, and afterwards to Seleucus, V. 282, 304. he engages the latter in a war with Lyfimachus, 304. he assassinates Seleucus, and possesses himself of his dominions, 308. he marries his sister Arsinoe, widow of Lyfimachus, and causes her two children by that prince to be murdered, 310, 311. he banishes her into Samothracia, 311. he is soon after punished for those parricides by the Gauls, who kill him in a battle, 312

PTOLEMY MACRON, governor of the island of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometor, revolts against that prince, enters into the service of Antiochus Epiphanes, and gives him possession of the island of Cyprus, VI. 246. Antiochus gives him a share in his confidence, and the government of Cœlosyria and Palestine, *ibid.* he marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, 272. he becomes a friend to the Jews, 459. Antiochus Eupator deprives him of his government, *ibid.* Ptolemy, through despair, poisons himself, *ibid.*

PTOLEMY, son of Pyrrhus, is killed in a battle against the Lacedæmonians, V. 358

PTOLEMY, one of the principal officers of Philip, unites with Apelles in his conspiracy against that prince, V. 531, 533. Philip causes him to be put to death, 536

PUL, king of the Assyrians, who
VOL. VII.

does penance upon the preaching of Jonah, II. 22

PULCHER (*P. Claudius*) consul, is beaten at sea by Adherbal the Carthaginian general, I. 194

Punick: Origin and signification of that word, I. 103. Punick wars, 175, 211, 302

Pydna, city of Macedonia, is subjected by Philip, IV. 260. famous victory gained by Paulus Æmilius over Perseus, near that city, VI. 359

Pythagori, among the Greeks, who, IV. 318

Pylus, a small city of Messenia, taken by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian war, III. 139

Pyramid. Description of the pyramids of Egypt, I. 6, 78. judgment to be formed of those famous structures, 8

PYRRHIAS, general of the Ætolians, is twice beaten by Philip, V. 554

PYRRHUS, son of Æacides king of Epirus, flies from the fury of the revolted, V. 265. he is re-established upon the throne of Epirus by Glaucias king of Illyrium, *ibid.* the Molossians revolt against him, and plunder all his riches, *ibid.* he retires to Demetrius, son of Antigonus, *ibid.* he distinguishes himself at the battle of Ipsus, 257, 266. he goes to Egypt as an hostage for Demetrius, 266. he marries Antigone, daughter of Berenice, *ibid.* Ptolemy gives him a fleet and money, of which he makes use for repossessing himself of his dominions, *ibid.* Pyrrhus takes Macedonia from Demetrius, and is declared king of it, 272. he divides that kingdom with Lyfimachus, 275. he is soon obliged to quit it, 276. the Tarentines call in Pyrrhus to their aid against the Romans, 323, 324.

K k that

I N D E X.

that prince goes to Italy, V. 326, 327. he defeats the consul Levinus, 331. he causes proposals of peace to be made to the Romans, 332. conversation of Pyrrhus with Fabricius, 335. Pyrrhus gains a second advantage over the Romans, 343. expeditions of Pyrrhus in Sicily, 345, I. 175. he returns into Italy, V. 347. he plunders the temple of Proserpine in the country of the Locrians, 348. he is defeated by the Romans, 349, 350. he returns into Epirus, 350. he throws himself into Macedonia, and makes himself master of it for a time, after having defeated Antigonus, *ibid.* 351. expedition of Pyrrhus into Peloponnesus, 353. he besieges Sparta ineffectually, *ibid.* he is killed at the siege of Argos, 361, 362. good and bad characters of Pyrrhus, 274, 323, 362, &c.

PYTHAGORAS, Lacedæmonian, commands part of the fleet of Cyrus the Younger, in the expedition of that prince against his brother Artaxerxes, III. 319

PYTHAGORAS, son of Evagoras, defends the city of Salamin besieged by Artaxerxes, during his father's absence, III. 411, 412

PYTHAGORAS, philosopher, III. 88. he goes to Italy and settles at Crotona, where he opens a school of philosophy, *ibid.* novice of silence which he made his disciples observe, 89

PYTHARCHUS of Cyzicum gains the favour of Cyrus, who gives him the revenues of seven cities for a pension, II. 220

PYTHEAS, magistrate of the Bœotians, induces them to unite their forces against the Romans, VI. 427, 428. Metellus puts him to death, 429

PYTHEAS, famous astronomer and geographer, VI. 417

Pythia, name of the priestess of Apollo at Delphi, I. liii

Pythian, celebrated games of Greece, I. lxxv

PYTHIAS, friend of Damon: Trial to which their friendship was put, IV. 50, 51

PYTHIUS, Lydian prince, generous offer which he makes Xerxes of his riches, II. 453. means which the princess his wife uses to make him sensible of the injustice and ridicule of his conduct, 454. cruelty which Pythius experiences from Xerxes, *ibid.*

PYTHODORUS, sent by the Athenians to the aid of the Leontines, is banished for not having undertaken the conquest of Sicily, III. 175

PYTHON of Byzantium, famous rhetorician, is deputed by Philip to the Thebans to incline them to peace, IV. 322

Q.

Q *Uoit.* See *Disfus.*

R.

R **ABIRIUS POSTHUMUS**, Roman knight, goes to Ptolemy Auletes, in order to be paid the sums he had lent that prince at Rome, VII. 247. perfidy of Ptolemy in respect to him, *ibid.* Rabirius is accused at Rome of having assisted Ptolemy in corrupting the senate, *ibid.* Cicero takes his defence upon him, 248

Racc. See *Coursé.*

Ragan, name of the plain where Nabucodonosor conquered Phraortes, II. 51

RAMESES-MIAMUN, king of Egypt, I. 67. he makes the Israelites suffer infinite hardships, *ibid.*

RAMMIUS,

I N D E X.

- RAMMIUS**, citizen of Brundisium, is ordered by Perseus to poison Eumenes, VI. 300. he goes to Valerius at Chalcis, discovers the whole to him, and follows him to Rome, *ibid.*
- Raphia**, city of Palestine, near which Antiochus the Great was defeated by Ptolemy Philopator, V. 496
- Reading**, of history especially : Of what use it is to a prince, IV. 357. delicacy of the Lacedæmonians in respect to the books that youth were to be suffered to read, II. 347, 348
- REGILLUS** (*L. Æmilius*) is charged with the command of the Roman fleet in the room of Livius, VI. 115. he gains a compleat victory over Polyxenides, Antiochus's admiral, 120. he receives the honour of a triumph, 143
- REGULUS** (*M. Atilius*) consul, gains a great victory over the Carthaginians with his fleet, I. 180. he goes to Africa, *ibid.* the Romans continue him in the command as proconsul, 181. he defeats the Carthaginians, and seizes Tunis, 182. he suffers himself to be dazzled by his glorious successes, 183. he is defeated and taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, 186, &c. the Carthaginians send him to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners, 189. at his return they put him to a cruel death, 190
- Religion**. Origin and source of the religion of the ancients, I. xxxiii, &c. attention of the ancients in discharging all the duties of religion, II. 512. the veil of religion often serves to cover the most criminal designs, and the most unjust enterprizes, III. 155, IV. 287
- REOMITHRAS**, one of the chiefs of the revolt against Artaxerxes Mnemon, delivers up the principal rebels to that prince, to make his own peace, and keeps the money which he had brought from Egypt for the confederacy, IV. 198
- Resurrection** of the body. Confused notion which the ancients had of the resurrection of the body, III. 277
- Retreat** of the ten thousand Greeks after the battle of Cunaxa, III. 343, &c.
- RHADAMANTHUS**, brother of Minos, is appointed by that prince to administer justice in his capital city, III. 504
- RHAMPSINITUS**, king of Egypt, I. 77
- Rhegium**, city of Sicily, forms a league against Dionysius, IV. 18. it makes peace with that tyrant, *ibid.* its refusal to give him a wife, and the insolent answer with which that refusal is attended, 21, 22. Dionysius besieges it out of revenge, 35. miserable fate of that city, 36. a Roman legion by the aid of the Mamertines comes and settles there, after having expelled the inhabitants, I. 175. the Romans re-establish the inhabitants, 176
- RHISIASES**, Achæan, obliges his son Memnon, who was chief magistrate, by menaces not to oppose the treaty with the Romans, VI. 36
- Rhodes**, island and city of Asia minor, I. xxxi. Rhodes takes arms against Athens, IV. 207. it is declared free, 214. it is subjugated by Mausolus king of Caria, 218, 219. the Rhodians undertake to dethrone Artemisa widow of that prince, 220. that princess takes their city, 221. the death of Artemisa reinstates their liberty, 222. the Rhodi-

ans refuse to aid Antigonus against Ptolemy, V. 230. Demetrius besieges their city, 231. he raises the siege a year after by a peace very honourable for the Rhodians, 245, 246. he makes them a present of all the machines of war, which he had employed in that siege, 246. the Romans erect the famous Colossus, with the money raised by the sale of those machines, *ibid.* their impious flattery of Ptolemy, to express their gratitude for the aid he had given them during that siege, *ibid.* 247. great earthquake at Rhodes, 475, 476. emulation of the neighbouring princes in consoling that afflicted city, 476. VII. 93. destruction of the famous Colossus, V. 476. war between the Rhodians and Byzantines, and the causes of it, 490. peace is restored between the two people, *ibid.* war between the Rhodians and Philip, VI. 4. they defeat Hannibal at sea, 118. dispute between the Rhodians and Eumenes before the Romans concerning the Grecian cities of Asia, 134, &c. the Rhodians signalize their zeal for Rome in the war with Perseus, 308. they send ambassadors to Rome, and to the Roman army in Macedonia, who speak there in favour of Perseus with extraordinary insolence, 336, 355. they send deputies to Rome, who endeavour to appease the anger of the senate, 391. after long and warm solicitations, they prevail to be admitted into the alliance of the Roman people, 396

RHODOGUNE, daughter of Mithridates king of the Parthians, is married to Demetrius king of Syria, VI. 491

Rhone, river. Passage of the Rhone by Hannibal, I. 222

Rhyme. See *Rythmus*.

RICHÉLIEU (*Cardinal*) composed dramatick poems, and piqued himself upon excelling that way, IV. 39, 40

Riches, contempt which the ancient Scythians had for riches, II. 386

ROMANS. First treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, I. 141. the Romans send deputies to enquire into the laws of the cities of Greece, II. 541. second treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, I. 156. war between the Romans and Pyrrhus, V. 323, &c. they are defeated in two battles by that prince, 331, 343. they gain a great victory over Pyrrhus, and oblige him to quit Italy, 349, 350. they punish their citizens who had settled in Rhegium, I. 175. they send ambassadors to Ptolemy Philadelphus, and make an alliance with that prince, V. 364, 365. they aid the Mamerlines against the Carthaginians, I. 176. they make an alliance with Hiero king of Syracuse, VII. 85. they form the design of fitting out a fleet for the first time, I. 178. they beat the Carthaginians, first near the coast of Myle, and afterwards near Ecnoma, 179, 180. they go to Africa, 180. they are at first victorious, and afterwards defeated, 181, 186. they defeat the Carthaginian fleet in sight of Sicily, 191. they go to Sicily, and form the siege of Lilybæum, *ibid.* 192. they are defeated at sea, 194. they gain a great victory over the Carthaginians, to whom they grant peace, 196, 197

The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians, I. 211.

they

they drive Teuta out of Illyrium, V. 420. they send a solemn embassy into Greece to notify their treaty with the Illyrians, *ibid.* the Corinthians admit them to the Isthmian games, and the Athenians grant them the freedom of their city, *ibid.* the Romans drive Demetrius of Pharos out of Illyrium, 514. they send ambassadors to demand him of Philip, who refuses to deliver him up, *ibid.* they declare war against the Carthaginians, I. 219. they are defeated near the Ticinus, 232. near Trebia, 235. and the lake of Thrasymene, 241. they make several conquests in Spain, 247. they lose a great battle near Cannæ, 252. Hannibal besieges Rome, 259. the Romans are defeated in Spain, 261. they gain a great battle over Asdrubal, 263. they go to Africa, 266. they defeat the Carthaginians near Zama, oblige them to demand peace, and grant it them, 272, 273

The Romans send deputies to Ptolemy and Cleopatra to renew their ancient alliance with Egypt, V. 501. they gain an advantage over Philip at Apollonia, 545. they break with Hieronymus, VII. 105. upon the news of that prince's death they send Marcellus into Sicily, 106. that general takes Syracuse, 131. alliance of the Romans with the Ætolians, V. 549. the Romans send Sulpitius to the aid of the Ætolians against Philip, 554. various expeditions of that prætor in Macedonia, 555, 567. general peace between the Romans and Philip, in which the allies on both sides are included, 591. the Romans accept the guardianship of Ptolemy Epiphanes,

VI. 10. they declare war against Philip, 13. they defeat that prince in a battle, 21. they employ their credit with Antiochus to induce him not to make war with Attalus, 25, 26. expeditions of the Romans in Phocis, 31. they make a treaty with Nabis, 41. they gain a famous victory over Philip near Scotussa and Cynoscephale, 49. they grant that prince peace, 54. they reinstate Greece in its ancient liberty, 56

The Romans send an embassy to Antiochus, VI. 62. it tends only to dispose both sides to an open rupture, 63. they make war against Nabis, 67. they oblige him to demand peace, and grant it to him, 74. preparations on all sides for a war between the Romans and Antiochus, 79. mutual embassies on both sides without effect, *ibid.* the Romans send troops against Nabis, who had broken the treaty, 87. they declare war against Antiochus, 103. they gain an advantage over that prince at Thermopylæ, 107. they defeat Polyxenides, Antiochus's admiral, on two occasions, 114, 120. they go to Asia, and gain a great victory over Antiochus near Magnesia, 123, 130. they grant him peace, 132. they reduce the Ætolians, and grant them peace, 150. they subject the Gauls of Asia, 156. &c. complaints against Philip carried to Rome, 174. the Romans send commissaries to examine into those complaints, and to take cognizance of the ill treatment of Sparta by the Achæans, *ibid.* new complaints carried to Rome against Philip, 201. the Romans send back his son Demetrius with ambassadors, 202. they favour

I N D E X.

Masinissa, who was at war with the Carthaginians, I. 306

The Romans send ambassadors into Macedonia, to have an eye upon the conduct of Perseus, VI. 293. they break with that prince, 302. the war is declared in form, 311. the Romans are worsted near the river of Peneus, 319. the senate makes a wise decree to put a stop to the avarice of the generals and magistrates, who oppressed the allies, 327. the Romans penetrate into Macedonia, 331, &c. they conquer Gentius king of Illyrium, 353. they gain a great victory over Perseus near the city of Pydna, 365. that prince is taken with his children, 372. decree of the senate, which grants liberty to the Macedonians and Illyrians, 375. the Romans oblige Antiochus Epiphanes to quit Egypt, and to leave the two reigning brothers in peace, VI. 257. their cruel treatment of the Ætolians, 397. all in general who had favoured Perseus are cited to Rome, to answer for their conduct there, 398. a thousand Achæans carried thither, 400. the senate banishes them into several towns of Italy, 401. after seventeen years of banishment, they are sent back into their own country, 403. they refuse Eumenes entrance into Rome, 405. the Romans divide the kingdom of Egypt between Philometor and Physcon, 465. one of their ambassadors is killed in Syria, 469

The Romans declare the Jews their friends and allies, VI. 472. they acknowledge Demetrius king of Syria, 473. they conquer the Ligurians, and give their territory to the Marsellians, 415. they defeat An-

driscus, and two more adventurers, who had possessed themselves of Macedonia, and reduce that kingdom into a Roman province, 420, 423. they declare war against the Carthaginians, I. 306. they order them to abandon Carthage, 308. they besiege that city, and demolish it entirely, 311, 315. decree of the senate for separating several cities from the Achæan league, VI. 424, &c. troubles in Achæia, 427. the Romans defeat the Achæans, and take Thebes, 428, 429. they gain another victory over the Achæans, take Corinth, and burn it, 430, 431. they reduce Greece into a Roman province, 432. they renew the treaties made with the Jews, 489, 494. they inherit the riches and dominions of Attalus king of Pergamus, 501. they reduce Aristonicus, who had possessed himself of them, 502. war of the Romans against Jugurtha, I. 343. Ptolemy Apion king of Cyrenaica, and Nicomedes king of Bithynia, leave the Romans their dominions at their deaths, VI. 532, 537, 538. the Romans reduce those kingdoms into Roman provinces, 532, 538

The Romans re-establish the kings of Cappadocia and Bithynia, expelled by Mithridates, VII. 148. massacre of all the Romans and Italians in Asia minor, 154. the Romans gain three great battles against the generals of Mithridates, 159, 166, 168. they grant that prince peace, 172. second war of the Romans with Mithridates, 175. they are defeated by that prince in a battle, 181. they gain a great victory over him, and reduce him to retire into Armenia to Tigranes his son-in-law, 187,

I N D E X.

196. they declare war against Tigranes, and defeat him in a battle, VII. 200. second victory of the Romans over the united forces of Mithridates and Tigranes, 208. they again gain several victories over Mithridates, who had recovered his dominions, 219. they subject Tigranes king of Armenia, 221, 222. they drive Antiochus Asiaticus out of Syria, and reduce that kingdom into a Roman province, 226, 349

The Romans are declared heirs of his dominions by the will of Alexander king of Egypt, VI. 547. end of the war with Mithridates, VII. 232. the Romans drive Ptolemy out of Cyprus, and confiscate his treasures, VI. 552. they invade Parthia, and are defeated, VII. 28, &c. they declare Ptolemy Auletes their friend and ally, 237. they reduce Egypt into a Roman province, 295. Cappadocia is also reduced into a Roman province, 76. reflection upon the conduct of the Romans in respect to the states of Greece, and the kings both of Europe and Asia, VI. 144. strokes of the Roman policy, 193, 198, 388, 391, 407, 466. difference between the Romans and the Greeks, 441. Roman haughtiness, 257. setting out of the consul and army, 311, 312. difference of taste of the Romans and Greeks in respect to shows, I. xc

ROSACES, governor of Lydia and Ionia, commands a detachment of Ochus's army in that prince's expedition against Egypt, IV. 227, 238

ROSACES, Persian lord, gives proofs of his valour at the battle of the Granicus, IV. 380

Roxvers. Condition of them among the ancients, III. 550

ROXANA, sister of Statira, queen of Persia. Tragical history of that princess, III. 297, 298

ROXANA, daughter of Oxyartes, wife of Alexander, IV. 560. she is delivered of a son soon after Alexander's death, V. 112. she causes Statira, Alexander's widow, as well as herself, to be put to death with Drypæus, Hephæstion's widow, 115. Cassander deprives her of all the honours of a queen, and soon after puts her to death, 176, 177, 208

ROXANA, sister of Mithridates, VII. 188. deplorable end of that princess, 189

Rythmus, or *Time*, term of music: Wherein it consists, II. 237

S.

SABACUS, king of Ethiopia, enters Egypt, and conquers it, I. 80. at the expiration of fifty years he retires voluntarily into Ethiopia, 81

Sabeans, sect of idolaters in the East, II. 252

Sabrææ, powerful people of India, subjected by Alexander, V. 41

Sacæ, Scythian nation, conquered by Alexander, V. 546

Sacæ, people of Assyria, subjected by Cyrus, II. 103

SADDUCEES, a powerful sect among the Jews; some account of them, VI. 526

SADYATTES, king of Lydia, II. 60. he besieges Miletus, *ibid.*

SAGES. Abridgment of the lives of the seven sages of Greece, II. 352

Saguntum, city of Spain, besieged and taken by Hannibal, I. 218

Sais, city of the Lower Egypt, I. 22

K k 4

Sa amin,

- Salamin*, capital city of the island of Cyprus, III. 412
- Salamin*, isle of Greece, famous for the battle at sea between Xerxes and the Greeks, II. 276, 484
- SALMANASAR**, king of Nineveh, II. 28. he conquers Hosea king of Samaria, loads him with chains, and destroys the kingdom of Israel, *ibid.* death of Salmanasar, *ibid.*
- SALOME**, wife of Aristobulus I. takes the three princes, her husband's brothers, out of prison, VII. 4
- Samaria*, city of Palestine, the capital of the kingdom of Israel, I. xxxii. origin of the enmity between the Samaritans and Jews, 32. the Samaritans oppose the Jews at the time they are rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem, 158, 190, 375. they submit to Alexander, IV. 450. they cannot obtain the same privileges of that prince as the Jews, 459. they mutiny, 469. Alexander drives them out of Samaria, *ibid.* they conform to the religion of Antiochus Epiphanes, VI. 260. destruction of Samaria by Hyrcanus, 523
- Sambucæ*, machine of war of the ancients, VII. 118
- Samos*, island and city of Ionia, II. 276, 288. Samos taken and destroyed by the Athenians, III. 57. Lyfander re-establishes the ancient inhabitants in it, 291. impious flattery of that Lacedæmonian by the Samians, 312
- Samothracia*, island of the Archipelago, considered as sacred and inviolable, VI. 370
- SANDROCOTTA**, Indian, possesses himself of all the provinces of India, which Alexander had conquered, V. 251. Seleucus undertakes to drive him out of them, 251. those two princes come to an accommodation, *ibid.*
- Sangala*, city of India, taken and entirely demolished by Alexander, V. 24
- SAOSDUCHIN**, king of Babylon. See **NABUCODONOSOR** I.
- SAPPHO** of Mitylene, surnamed the tenth *Muse*, II. 351
- SARACUS**, king of Assyria, II. 33. revolt of Nabopolassar against that prince, *ibid.* death of Saracus, 54
- SARDANAPALUS**, king of Assyria, II. 23. his effeminacy, *ibid.* his death, 24
- Sardinia*, island of Europe in the Mediterranean, subjected by the Carthaginians, I. 135. and afterwards by the Romans, 213
- Sardis*, a city of Lydia, subjected by Cyrus, II. 123. it is taken and burnt by Aristagoras and the Athenians, 409, 410. Alexander takes it, IV. 382
- Satrapæ*, name given the governors of provinces amongst the Persians, II. 208, III. 363
- Saturn*, Pagan divinity, I. 106
- Satyr*, sort of poem, I. xcvi
- Sayd*, the ancient Thebais of Egypt, I. 2
- Scamma*, name given the place where the *Athletæ* combated, I. lxxviii
- SCARPUS**, general of Anthony's army in Lybia, declares for Cæsar, VII. 283
- SCAURUS**, Pompey's lieutenant, reduces Syria and Damascus, VII. 225, 226
- SCAURUS** (*Æmilius*) is deputed by the Romans to Jugurtha, I. 341. he suffers himself to be corrupted by that prince, *ibid.*
- Scene* or *Stage*, part of the theatre of the ancients, I. xcvi
- SCERDILEDES**, king of Illyrium, exercises a kind of piracy at the expence of all his neighbours, V.

I N D E X.

- V. 419. he joins the Achæans against the Ætolians, 513. he makes an alliance with the Romans, 552
- Sciences.* See *Arts.*
- SCIPIO (*Publius*) marches into Spain against Hannibal, I. 224. he passes the Po, and is defeated near the Ticinus, 231. he is sent into Spain, and joins his brother Cn. Scipio there, 247. they make a great progress there, *ibid.* 258. they divide their troops, 261. Publius is killed in a battle, *ibid.*
- SCIPIO (*Cneus*) is sent by his brother into Spain, to make head against Asdrubal, I. 225. the two brothers join each other, and have great success, 247, 258. they divide their troops, 261. Cneus is killed in a battle, 262
- SCIPIO (*P. Cornelius*) surnamed AFRICANUS, makes himself master of all Spain, I. 266. he is elected consul, and goes to Africa, *ibid.* he has an interview with Hannibal, and gains a great victory over that general, 270, &c. he grants the Carthaginians peace, 273. conversation between Scipio and Hannibal at Ephesus, 285, &c. VI. 85. Scipio serves as lieutenant to his brother L. Cornelius Scipio in the war with Antiochus, 115. he rejects the offers of Antiochus, 124, 125. Scipio's death, I. 291
- SCIPIO (*L. Cornelius*) surnamed ASIATICUS, is charged with the war against Antiochus, VI. 115. he goes to Asia, 123. he gains a famous victory over Antiochus near Magnesia, 126, 130. he triumphs, 143
- SCIPIO NASICA, son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, is charged with an important expedition by Paulus Æmilius, which he executes highly for his honour, VI. 357. he is sent into Macedonia, to appease the troubles excited by Andronicus, 421
- SCIPIO (*Publius*) surnamed AFRICANUS the Younger, distinguishes himself in the war with Carthage, I. 312. he returns to Rome to demand the office of edile, 314. the people give him the consulship, *ibid.* Scipio goes to Africa, and advances against Carthage, *ibid.* he takes that city and demolishes it, 320, 321, 324. he is sent ambassador into Egypt, Syria, and Greece, VI. 497. use which he makes of the presents sent him by Antiochus Sidetes, 506, 507. character and praise of Scipio, I. 327. his intimate friendship with Polybius, 328
- SCISMAS, eldest son of Datames, becomes his accuser to Artaxerxes, III. 426
- SCOPAS is placed at the head of the troops in Ætolia in the war against the Achæans, V. 507. he ravages Macedonia, 515. he prevails upon the Ætolians to make an alliance with the Romans, 550. he goes into the service of Ptolemy Epiphanes king of Egypt, VI. 26. he possesses himself of Judæa, *ibid.* he is defeated by Antiochus, and obliged to accept ignominious conditions, 27. he conspires against Ptolemy, and is put to death, 64
- Scorpion, machine of war, VII. 119
- SCYLAX, Greek of Caryandia, is commissioned by Darius to discover India, II. 403. he acquits himself happily of that commission, *ibid.*
- SCYLURUS, king of the Scythians: In what manner he recommended unity to his children, II. 387
- Scytale,*

Scytale, used among the Lacedæmonians. What it was, II.

307

SCYTHIANS. They possess themselves of Upper Asia, II. 52. they are driven out of it at the end of twenty-eight years, 53. Darius designs to punish them for that irruption, 391. the Scythians refuse to submit, 396. they send an herald to Darius with presents, 397. they ravage Thrace, 402. they send ambassadors to Alexander, who speak to him with extraordinary freedom, IV. 541. they are defeated and subjected by that prince, 545. they make war with Phraates to revenge his injustice, defeat him in a battle, and ravage his kingdom, VI. 510, 511. manners of the Scythians according to Herodotus, II. 383. manners and character of the ancient Scythians according to Justin, 385. in what time luxury got ground amongst them, 390

Scythopolis, city of the tribe of Manasseh, II. 53

Sea. Red Sea. The passage of the Red Sea manifestly meant by a passage in Diodorus Siculus, I. 68

Sects of idolaters in the East, II. 251. different sects of philosophers. See *Philosophers*.

Segeſta, city of Sicily, puts itself under the protection of the Carthaginians, I. 144

Selasia, city of Peloponnesus, famous for the battle between Antigonus and Cleomenes, V.

466

SELENA, daughter of Ptolemy Physcon and Cleopatra, is compelled by her mother to marry her brother Lathyrus, VI. 520. Cleopatra makes her quit Lathyrus, and gives her in marriage to Antiochus Grypus, 527,

531. Selena, after the death of Grypus, marries Antiochus Eusebes, 534. Eusebes having been driven out of his dominions, she keeps possession of Ptolemais with part of Phœnicia and Cœlosyria, and reigns there many years, 536. she conceives hopes of ascending the throne of Egypt, 538. she sends her two sons to Rome with that view, *ibid.*

Seleucia, city of Syria, built by Seleucus Nicator, V. 261

Seleucia, city situate upon the Tigris, built by Seleucus Nicator, V. 270

Seleucides. Famous æra of the Seleucides, V. 203. end of the empire of the Seleucides in Asia, VII. 226

SELEUCUS NICATOR is placed at the head of all the cavalry of the allies after the death of Alexander, V. 113. he is settled by Antipater in the government of Babylon, 146. he joins Antigonus and Ptolemy against Eumenes, 171. he escapes from Babylon, and retires into Egypt, 193. he forms a league with Ptolemy, Lyſimachus, and Cassander, against Antigonus, 194. he makes himself master of Babylon, 202. he assumes the title of king, 226. he strengthens himself upon the throne of Syria, *ibid.* he makes an expedition into India, 251. league between Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lyſimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius, 255. Seleucus commands the army of the confederates, and gains a famous victory near Ipsus, 256, 257. the four victorious princes divide the empire of Alexander the Great amongst them, 258. Seleucus builds several cities, 261. he makes an alliance with Demetrius, 262. he quarrels with

- with him, and takes Cilicia from him, V. 263, 268. he builds Seleucia, 270. he forms a league with Ptolemy, Lyfimachus, and Pyrrhus, against Demetrius, 272. he gets that prince's person into his hands, 279. he gives his wife and part of his dominions to his son Antiochus, 304, 305. he makes war against Lyfimachus, defeats him in battle, and possesses himself of all his dominions, 307. he is assassinated by Ceraunus, whom he had laden with favours, 308. character of Seleucus, 309
- SELEUCUS CALLINICUS ascends the throne of Syria after his father Antiochus Theos, poisoned by Laodice, V. 387, 388. he endeavours to retake what Ptolemy had conquered from him, and is unsuccessful on several occasions, 392. he unites with his brother Hierax against Ptolemy, 394. war between the two brothers, 395. Seleucus marches against Arsaces, 399. he is taken prisoner, *ibid.* death of Seleucus, 402
- SELEUCUS CERAUNUS succeeds his father Seleucus Callinicus, V. 479. he is poisoned by two of his principal officers, *ibid.*
- SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR is left by his father Antiochus the Great to govern Syria during his absence, VI. 161. he ascends the throne of Syria, 168. he sends Heliodorus to Jerusalem to bring away its treasures, 235, 236. Heliodorus causes him to be poisoned, 238
- SELEUCUS, the son of Demetrius Nicator, causes himself to be declared king of Syria, VI. 516. his mother Cleopatra kills him with her own hands, *ibid.*
- SELEUCUS, eldest son of Antiochus Grypus king of Syria, succeeds him, VI. 532. he supports himself against Antiochus the Cyzicenean, 532. he is driven out of his dominions by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia, 538
- SELEUCUS CYBIOSACTES, son of Antiochus Eusebes and Selena, goes to Rome to solicit the senate for his mother, VI. 539. he accepts the crown of Egypt and Berenice, VII. 245. he renders himself odious by his base inclinations, *ibid.* Berenice causes him to be put to death, *ibid.*
- SELEUCUS, governor of Pelasium for Cleopatra, delivers up that city to Cæsar by order of that queen, VII. 285, 286
- Selinonta*, city of Sicily, III. 178. destruction of that city by Hannibal, I. 145
- SEMIAMIS, queen of Assyria: Her birth, II. 8. she marries Ninus, *ibid.* manner in which she ascends the throne, *ibid.* she visits all the parts of her empire, 16. her authority over her people, 17. her conquests, *ibid.* she puts the government into her son's hands, and retires from the sight of mankind, 19. difference between Semiramis and Sardanapalus, 25
- SEMPRONIUS, consul, is defeated by Hannibal near Trebia, I. 239
- Senate.* Carthaginian senate, I. 111. senate of Sparta, II. 294. senate of Athens, III. 516. senate of Rome described by Cineas, V. 333
- SENNACHERIB, king of Nineveh, declares war against Hezekiah, and reduces Jerusalem to extremities, II. 23. he writes to Hezekiah a letter full of blasphemies against the God of Israel, and marches against the king of Egypt, whose dominions he ravages, 29. he returns against Jerusalem, 30. his army is destroyed

I N D E X.

- froyed by an angel, II. 30. he is murdered by his own children, 31
- SEPTIMIUS**, Roman officer in the service of Ptolemy king of Egypt, assassinated Pompey, VII. 250, 251
- SEPTUAGINT**, some account of it, V. 319, &c.
- Serapis**, divinity adored in Egypt, V. 283. his image is brought from Pontus to Alexandria, *ibid.*
- SERON**, general of Antiochus Euphrates, is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, and killed in the battle, VI. 269
- SERTORIUS**, Roman general, makes a treaty with Mithridates, VII. 178, 179
- SERVILIUS** serves in the Roman army in quality of proconsul, I. 249. he is killed in the battle of Cannæ, 251
- SESAC**, or **SESONCHIS**, king of Egypt, I. 79. he marches against Jerusalem, and carries away all its treasures, *ibid.* &c.
- SESOSTRIS**, king of Egypt, his education, I. 69. his conquests, 70. his works beneficial to Egypt, 72. his blind fondness for his own grandeur, 73. his death, *ibid.*
- SETHON**, king of Egypt, causes himself to be consecrated high-priest of Vulcan, and abandons himself intirely to superstition, I. 84. miraculous manner in which Herodotus relates, that he was delivered from Sennacherib's irruption into his dominions, *ibid.* &c. death of Sethon, 84
- SETHOSIS**. See **SESOSTRIS**.
- SEUTHES**, prince of Thrace, is established in his father's dominions by Xenophon, III. 355. perfidy of that prince to Xenophon and his troops, *ibid.*
- Seventy*. Version of the Seventy, V. 320
- Shepherds*. They were in great consideration in Egypt, I. 50. and in India, V. 3
- Shinar*, plain where Babylon was built, II. 4, 242
- Ship*, galley, vessel. Ship-building of the ancients, III. 546, &c. fitting out of the fleets of Athens, IV. 241. ship of enormous magnitude built by Ptolemy Philopator, V. 271, 272. another built by Archimedes, VII. 97
- Shows*. Difference of taste between the Greeks and Romans in respect to shows, I. xc. their passion for shows one of the principal causes of the decline, degeneracy, and corruption of Athens, xcvi
- Sibotis*, island over-against Corcyra, famous for the battle between the people of Corcyra and the Corinthians, III. 59
- Sicanians*, people of Spain; they come to settle in Sicily, III. 177
- Sicily*, island of the Mediterranean: Description of it, I. 140. different people that inhabited it, III. 177
- Sicyon*, city of Peloponnesus: Its kings, II. 281. it is delivered from tyranny, and united to the Achæan league by Aratus, V. 406. Sicyon was long in great reputation for arts and sciences, 409
- Sidon*, city of Phœnicia, I. xxxii. despair of the Sidonians when they see Ochus master of their city, IV. 226. they submit to Alexander, 421
- Sieges*. Famous sieges of antiquity; of Carthage by the Romans, I. 315, &c. of Babylon by Cyrus, II. 137. of the same city by Darius, 378. of Plataea by the Lacedæmonians, III. 121, 134. of Syracuse by the Athenians, 200. of the same city

I N D E X.

- city by Marcellus, VII. 116.
of Tyre by Alexander, IV.
426. of Rhodes by Demetrius,
V. 230. of Athens by Sylla,
VII. 156
- Signals by fire.* Manner of making
signals by fire, V. 569
- SIMON, surnamed the *Just*, suc-
ceeds his father Onias in the
high-priesthood of the Jews,
V. 261. his death, 271
- SIMON, son of Mattathias, VI.
261. he is chosen general in
the room of his brother Jona-
than, and marches against Try-
phon, 487. he is made high-
priest and prince of Judæa, 489.
he renews the ancient treaties
with the Romans, *ibid.* 494.
death of Simon, 505
- SIMON, Jew, has the guard of the
temple given him: His trea-
chery, VI. 235
- SIMONIDES, Greek poet; his an-
swer to Hiero, who asked him
what God was, III. 81. Si-
monides preserved by the Gods,
I. lxxxix, xc
- SINATROCCE, king of the Par-
thians, VII. 27
- Sinope*, city of Pontus. Lucullus
gives it liberty, VII. 194
- SISYPHUS, son of Æolus, makes
himself master of Corinth, II.
286
- SITALCES, king of the Odrysians
in Thrace, makes an alliance
with the Athenians, III. 108,
109
- Slavery. Slaves.* Slavery incom-
patible with the study of philo-
sophy, III. 83. the highest
price that can be paid for it,
cannot reconcile free men to it,
IV. 523. what happens to such
as have once submitted to a
state of servitude, VI. 237
- SMERDIS, or TANAŌXARES, son
of Cyrus, is made governor of
several provinces by his father
Cyrus, II. 165. Cambyse
- causes him to be put to death,
184
- SMERDIS *the Magus* passes for the
son of Cyrus, and ascends the
throne of Persia, II. 188, 189,
190. his imposture is discovered,
192. he is killed by the conspi-
rators, 193
- SMERDONES, one of the six ge-
nerals of Xerxes's army in that
prince's expedition against
Greece, II. 461
- Smyrna*, city of Æolis, II. 288
- Sobriety.* Excellent lesson upon
sobriety, II. 76
- SOCRATES, prince of the philoso-
phers; his birth, III. 330. he
applies at first to sculpture, *ibid.*
then to the study of the sciences,
ibid. his wonderful progress in
them, 431. his taste for moral
philosophy, *ibid.* his character,
432. his employments, *ibid.* his
sufferings from the ill temper of
his wife, 434. Dæmon or fa-
miliar spirit of Socrates, 436.
the Delphick oracle declares
him the wisest of mankind, 439.
Socrates distinguishes himself at
the battle of Potidæa, and at
that of Delium, III. 60, 156,
157. his intimacy with Alcibi-
ades, 164. he devotes himself
entirely to the instruction of the
Athenian youth, 441. attach-
ment of his disciples to him,
443. admirable principles which
he gives them upon government
and religion, 444, 448, 449.
he industriously applies himself
to discredit the sophists in the
opinion of the Athenian youth,
450. what we are to understand
by the ironical manner ascribed
to him, 451. Socrates is ac-
cused of holding bad opinions
concerning the gods, and of
corrupting the youth of Athens,
453, &c. he defends himself
without art or meanness, 458.
he is condemned to die, 466.
he

- he refuses to escape out of prison, III. 468. he passes the last day of his life in discoursing with his friends upon the immortality of the soul, 473, &c. he drinks the hemlock, 479. punishment of his accusers, 481. honours rendered to his memory by the Athenians, *ibid.* reflections upon the sentence passed on Socrates by the Athenians, and upon Socrates himself, *ibid.* relation between the death of Socrates, and that of the governor of Tigranes, II. 90, 91
- SOCRATES** of Achaia commands a body of Greek troops in the expedition of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes, III. 319. he is seized by treachery, and put to death, 341
- SOCRATES**, son of Nicomedes, dethrones his brother Nicomedes king of Bithynia, VII. 149
- Sogdiana**, province of Upper Asia, I. xxx. Alexander makes himself master of it, IV. 538. it revolts against that prince, *ibid.* great courage of thirty young Sogdian prisoners condemned to die by Alexander, 546, &c.
- SOGDIANUS**, natural son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, kills Xerxes II. and ascends the throne of Persia in his stead, III. 147. he puts Bagorazus, one of his father's eunuchs, to death, 148. he is dethroned by Ochus, who causes him to be stifled in ashes, *ibid.* &c.
- Solar year**. At what time it began to be used, I. 49
- Soldiers**. Employment and exercises of the soldiers in their camp, VI. 353, 354
- SOLON**, one of the seven sages of Greece, is elected archon and legislator by the Athenians, II. 322. government which he institutes at Athens, *ibid.* &c. laws which he gives the Athenians, 327. travels of Solon into Egypt and Lydia, 61, 62, 331. his conduct at the court of Cræsus, *ibid.* conversation of Solon with Thales upon marriage, 320, 321. at his return to Athens he finds every thing changed, 331. he endeavours to make Pisistratus abdicate the tyranny in vain, 334. death of Solon, *ibid.*
- SOLSIUS**, Lacedæmonian, præceptor to Hannibal, I. 293. he accompanies Hannibal in his expeditions, and composes the history of that great captain, *ibid.*
- Soothsayers**. Reflection upon the events of some of their predictions, V. 72
- SOPHISTS**. Definition of the sophists, III. 450
- SOPHOCLES**, one of the Athenian generals, is banished for not having attempted the conquest of Sicily, III. 175
- SOPHOCLES**, tragick poet, he disputes the prize with Æschylus, and carries it against him, I. ciii, III. 10. his death, I. ciii. tragedies of his come down to us, civ. in what manner he defended himself in a very advanced age against the ingratitude of his children, *ibid.* character of Sophocles; cvii
- SOPHONISBA**, Afrubal's daughter, is married to Syphax, I. 296. Masinissa having conquered Syphax, marries Sophonisba, and to save her from falling into the hands of the Romans, is reduced to send her poison, *ibid.*
- SOPHRONISGUS**, the father of Socrates the philosopher, III. 430
- SOPHROSINE**, daughter of Dionysius the Elder, is married to her brother, Dionysius the Younger, IV. 47

I N D E X.

- SORNATIUS**, one of Lucullus's officers, commands in Pontus during the absence of that general, VII. 195
- SOSIBES**, Ptolemy Philopator's minister, causes Arsinoe the king's sister and wife to be murdered, V. 503. he is obliged to quit his employment, *ibid.* he prevents that prince from aiding Cleomenes, and advises him to seize his person, 510
- SOSIBES**, son of the former, has the care of the person of the young king Ptolemy Epiphanes, VI. 3
- SOSIS**, one of the chief conspirators against Hieronymus, seizes part of the quarter Achradina, and exhorts the Syracusans to recover their liberty, VII. 106. he is chosen one of the principal magistrates, 108. he commands the troops sent to the aid of Marcellus, 115
- SOSIUS** (*Caius*) consul, declares for Anthony, and goes to him, VII. 277
- SOSTHENES**, Macedonian, drives the Gauls out of Macedonia, and reigns there during some time, V. 313. he is overpowered by the great number of Brennus's troops, 314
- SOSTRATUS**, architect, builds the tower of Pharos, V. 282. deceit which he uses for engrossing the whole honour of that work to himself, I. 26, 27
- SOSTRATUS**, or **SESISTRATUS**, governor of Syracuse, delivers up that city to Pyrrhus, V. 345. Pyrrhus, to make him amends, is for putting him to death, 357
- SOTADES**, satyrick poet, V. 296. just punishment which he receives for his calumnies, 297
- Soul.* Discourse of Socrates before his death upon the immortality of the soul, III. 475
- SOU**, king of Sparta, with his colleague Agis, takes the city of Elos, I. cxl
- Spain.* Description of Spain, I. 137. mines of gold and silver, 119. the Carthaginians make themselves masters of part of Spain, 139. it is entirely conquered by the Romans, 266
- Sparta.* See *Lacedæmon*.
- SPENDIUS** of Capua, in concert with Mathos, causes the mercenaries to revolt against the Carthaginians, I. 201. he is placed at their head, *ibid.* he puts Gisgo to death, 205. he treats with the Carthaginians, 207. he is seized and hanged, *ibid.*
- SPEUSIPPUS**, philosopher, Plato's nephew, his intimacy with Dion, IV. 70
- Sphaeteria*, small island over against Pylos, III. 139
- SPHERUS**, philosopher, assists Cleomenes in reinstating the ancient discipline in Sparta, V. 449
- SPHODRIAS**, Lacedæmonian, who commanded in Thespiæ, forms a fruitless enterprize against the Piræus, IV. 134, &c. he is acquitted for that attempt by the credit of Agefilæus, 136
- Spirit.* Familiar spirit of Socrates, III. 436
- SPITAMENES**, confident of Bessus, forms a conspiracy against him, and delivers him up to Alexander, IV. 534, &c. he raises Bactriana against that prince, 538. his wife not being able to persuade him to surrender himself to Alexander, kills him in the night, 559
- SPITHRIDATES**, one of Artaxerxes Mnemon's principal officers, goes over to Agefilæus, and does him great services, III. 385. offended at the excessive severity of Heippidas, he retires to Sardis, 386
- SPITHROBATES**, satrap of Ionia, and son-in-law of Darius, distinguishes

- anguishes himself by his valour at the battle of the Granicus, IV. 380. Alexander lays him dead with his lance, *ibid.*
Stadium, Greek and Roman measure or furlong, I. lxxxviii
Stagira, city of Macedonia, Aristotle's country, destroyed by Philip, and rebuilt by Alexander, IV. 354
 STASICRATES, architect and great mechanick, is appointed by Alexander to execute the Catafalco, or magnificent funeral pile of Hephæstion, V. 67. he proposes to Alexander to cut mount Athos into the form of a man, *ibid.* See DINOCRATES.
Stater, ancient coin: Its value, III. 111
States. See *Kingdoms.*
 STATIRA, wife of Artaxerxes Mnemon, revenge which she takes for the death of her brother Teriteuchmes, III. 297, 298. she is poisoned by Parisætis, 362
 STATIRA, wife of Darius, falls into Alexander's hands, IV. 413. death of that princess, 469
 STATIRA, eldest daughter of Darius, marries Alexander the Great, V. 53. she is murdered by the intrigues of Roxana, 115
 STATIRA, sister of Mithridates, receives orders from that prince to die, VII. 188. she dies courageously, 189
Statuaries. See *Sculptors.*
 STESAGORAS, eldest son of Cimon, is established sovereign of the Thracian Chersonesus by his uncle Miltiades, II. 417
 STHENELUS, king of Mycenæ, II. 282
 STILPON of Megara, philosopher, V. 216
Stirrups. The use of them unknown to the ancients, III. 544
 STRATIUS, physician, goes to Rome with Attalus, VI. 388. his wife remonstrances prevent that prince from asking to share the kingdom of Pergamus with his brother Eumenes, 389, &c.
 STRATONICE, daughter of Demetrius, marries Seleucus, V. 262. that prince gives her to his son Antiochus, 306, 307
 STRATONICE, one of the wives of Mithridates, submits to Pompey, VII. 227. revenge Mithridates takes of her, *ibid.*
 SUA, king of Ethiopia. See SABACUS.
Submission: Means for inspiring it, II. 81. manner of exacting the submission of nations by the Persians, 401, 402, 422, 455
Suffetes, chief magistrate of the Carthaginians, I. 110
 SULPITIUS (P.) Roman prætor, is sent against Philip, V. 554. different actions of Sulpitius in Macedonia, 555. he is elected consul, and goes into Macedonia, VI. 13. he gains a considerable victory over Philip, 21
 SULPITIUS GALLUS, tribune of the Roman army against Perseus, foretells an eclipse to the troops, VI. 361. the senate commissions him to inspect secretly into the conduct of Eumenes and Antiochus, 406. his imprudent conduct in executing that commission, *ibid.*
Sun, profound reverence with which the Persians adored that star, II. 248
Superstition. Its great effect upon the minds of the populace, IV. 473, 474
Supreme Good. See *Good.*
 SURENA, general of the army of the Parthians, gains a great victory over Crassus, VII. 38. Orodes, jealous of his glory, puts him to death, 56. praise of Surena, *ibid.*

I N D E X.

Surveying invented by the Egyptians, I. 49

Susa, city of Persia, submits to Alexander, IV. 492

Swans, what is said of their singing, I. 24

Sybaris, city of great Greece, III. 91. luxury and effeminacy of its inhabitants, *ibid.* total ruin of that city, 91, 92

SYENNESIS, king of Cilicia, abandons the país of that country on the approach of Cyrus the Younger, III. 320, 321

SYLLA serves under Marius in quality of quæstor, I. 344. that general sends him to Bacchus to receive Jugurtha from him, 354. he causes a ring to be made with that action represented upon it, which he used ever after as his seal, *ibid.* he re-establishes Ariobarzanes upon the throne of Cappadocia, VII. 148. he is charged with the war against Mithridates, 155. he besieges Athens, 156. and takes it, 160. he is victorious in three great battles against the general of Mithridates, 163, &c. he has an interview with that prince, and grants him peace, 172. he marches against Fimbria, 173. he goes to Athens, seizes its library, and sends it to Rome, 175. his death, 177

SYLSON, brother of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos: His generosity to Darius, II. 377. reward which he receives for it, *ibid.* 378

SYPHAX, king of Numidia, joins with the Romans, I. 295. he is defeated by Masinissa, 296. he marries Sophonisba, and goes over to the Carthaginians, *ibid.* he is defeated by Scipio, and taken prisoner, 267, 296

Syraco, name of a marsh from whence Syracuse took its name, III. 197

VOL. VII.

Syracuse, city of Sicily: Its foundation, III. 177. description of that city, 197. history of Syracuse to the reign of Gelon, VII. 136. reigns of Gelon, III. 73. of Hiero, I. 79. of Thrasylbulus, 85. siege of Syracuse by the Athenians, 200. the city is reduced to extremities, 210. the arrival of Gylippus changes the face of affairs, 211. the Syracusans make themselves masters of the Athenian army, and put the two generals to death, 237, &c. Dionysius makes himself tyrant of Syracuse, IV. 4. ineffectual attempts of the Syracusans against him, 13, 15, 30, 31. Dionysius the Younger succeeds his father, 52. Dion expels him, 69, &c. horrible ingratitude of the Syracusans to Dion, 79, 80. Dionysius the Younger reascends the throne, 97. Syracuse implores the aid of the Corinthians, who send them Timoleon, 99. that general reinstates the liberty of the city, 108, 109. Agathocles usurps supreme authority at Syracuse, I. 161. after the death of that tyrant Syracuse recovers its liberty, VII. 138. it calls in the aid of Pyrrhus against the Carthaginians, I. 172, V. 348. it chuses Hiero II. king, VII. 82. mildness of his reign, 86. Hieronymus succeeds Hiero, 101. troubles at Syracuse after the death of Hieronymus, 109. Syracuse besieged and taken by Marcellus, 116, 131. reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, 142

Syria, province of Asia, I. xxxii. it is reduced into a Roman province, VI. 544

*SYSIGAMBI*S, mother of Darius, is taken prisoner by Alexander, after the battle of Issus, IV. 412.

L I

the

he cannot survive the death of Alexander, V. 77, 78
 SYSIMETHRES, governor of the rock Coriænæ, submits to Alexander, V. 558

T.

TACHOS ascends the throne of Egypt, IV. 193. he raises troops to defend himself against the king of Persia, *ibid.* he obtains troops from the Lacedæmonians, who are commanded by Agesilaus, *ibid.* 194. seeing himself abandoned by Agesilaus, he quits Egypt, and retires to the court of Persia, 195. Artaxerxes pardons him, and gives him the command of his troops against the rebels, *ibid.*

Tactics: Wherein that art consists, II. 227, V. 560

Talent. Value of the Babylonian talent, II. 15. value of the Attick talent, *ibid.*

TALTHYBIUS, Agamemnon's herald, honoured as a god at Sparta, II. 424

TAMOS, Egyptian, commands the fleet of Cyrus the Younger in that prince's expedition against his brother, III. 319

Tanagra, city of Bœotia, near which the Athenians defeated the Spartans, III. 38

TANAOXARES, son of Cyrus. *See SMERDIS.*

Tarentum, city of Italy, I. cxlv. the Tarentines call in Pyrrhus to their aid against the Romans, V. 323, 324. that prince leaves a garrison in their city, 344

Tarracunia, part of the ancient Spain, I. 137

Tarsus, city of Cilicia, subjected by Alexander, V. 391

TAURION, one of the confidents of Philip, poisons Aratus by that prince's order, V. 547

TAXILUS, Indian king, puts himself under the protection of A-

lexander, V. 12. he accompanies that prince in his expedition against Porus, *ibid.* 13. Alexander sends him to Porus to persuade him to submit, 21. Porus is reconciled to Taxilus,

34

TAXILUS, one of the generals of Mithridates, joins Archelaus, and is defeated by Sylla, VII.

161, 165

Tegæa, city of Arcadia, II. 274. war between its inhabitants and those of Mantinæa, IV. 172,

173

Tegyra, city of Bœotia, battle between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians near it, IV. 138

Telearch, office amongst the Thebans: What it was, IV. 155

TELECLÉS, king of Lacedæmon, assassinated by the Messenians, I. cxliii, cxliv

Telescope, glass for seeing remote objects: Invention of it, V. 580

TELEUTIAS is declared admiral of the Lacedæmonian fleet by the credit of Agesilaus his brother by the mother's side, III. 401. he besieges Corinth by sea, *ibid.* he is sent against Olynthus in the room of Phœbidas, IV. 122. he is killed in battle, *ibid.*

TELLUS, citizen of Athens, esteemed most happy, and why, II. 62

TELYS, Sybarite, occasions the ruin of his country, III. 91, 92

Temples, famous ones of Greece, IV. 351

Ten. Council of Ten established at Athens, III. 308

TENNES, king of Sidon, delivers up that city to Ochus, IV. 226. Ochus, to reward his treason, puts him to death, *ibid.*

Tenth. Custom among the Greeks of giving the tenth to the gods, II. 510

TERENCE, Latin poet: Abridgement of his life, I. 125

TERILLUS,

I N D E X.

- TERILLUS**, tyrant of Himera, deprived of his power by Theron, engages the Carthaginians to invade Sicily, III. 74
- TERITEUCHMES**, brother of Statura, wife of Artaxerxes, marries Hamellris, daughter of Darius, III. 298. tragical history of Teriteuchmes, *ibid.*
- TEUTA**, after the death of Agron her husband prince of Illyrium, reigns in his stead, V. 419. her gross insult on the Romans in the persons of their ambassadors, *ibid.* she is obliged to demand peace of them, and obtains it, 420
- THAIS**, famous courtesan born in Attica, occasions the burning of the palace of Persopolis, in a party of debauch with Alexander, IV. 501, 502
- THALES** of Miletus, philosopher; reasons that prevented him from marrying, II. 320, 321. founder of the Ionick sect, 352, 353
- THALESTRIS**, queen of the Amazons, comes from a remote country to visit Alexander, IV. 519
- THARACA**, king of Ethiopia, after the death of Sethon, I. 84
- THARSIS**, second son of Javan, settles in Greece, II. 279
- Thasus**, island in Thrace, revolts against the Athenians, III. 15
Cimon obliges it to submit, *ibid.* 16
- THEANO**, priestess at Athens, refuses to curse Alcibiades, III. 194
- THEARIDES**, brother of Dionysius the Elder, is sent to Olympia by that tyrant to dispute the prizes of poetry and the chariot-race, IV. 40, 41
- Theatre**. Description of the theatre of the ancients, I. cxxi. declamation or speaking of the theatre composed and set to notes, cxxvi
- Thebais**, part of Egypt, I. 2
- THEBE**, wife of Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, obtains permission of her husband to see and converse with Pelopidas, IV. 165. her conversations with that Theban make her conceive an aversion for her husband, *ibid.* she makes her three brothers assassinate the tyrant, 172
- Thebes**, city of Bœotia in Greece : Its foundation, II. 204. kings of Thebes, *ibid.* the Thebans besiege Plataeæ, III. 99. they gain a victory over the Athenians near Delium, 156. they give refuge to the Athenians, who fled after the taking of their city by Lysander, 307. they enter into a league with Tithraustes against the Lacedæmonians, 389. valour of the Thebans at the battle of Coronæa, 598. they are compelled by the treaty of Antalcides to give the cities of Bœotia their liberty, IV. 117. Thebes falls into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, 119. Pelopidas reinstates its liberty, 126. the Thebans gain a considerable advantage over the Lacedæmonians near Tegyra, 138. they destroy Plataeæ and Thespiae, 140. they defeat the Lacedæmonians, and put them to flight at the battle of Leuctra, 145. they ravage Laconia, and advance to the gates of Sparta, 151, 152. they send Pelopidas to the court of Persia, and obtain the title of friends and allies of the king, 157, 158. they make Alexander tyrant of Pheræ submit, 161
- The Thebans make a second attempt against Sparta, IV. 173. they gain a great victory over the Lacedæmonians near Mantinæa, 178, &c. they aid Artabasus against the king of Persia, 207. they call in Philip to their

aid against the Phœceans, IV. 286. The Thebans, Messenians, and Argives, enter into an alliance with Philip to attack Peloponnesus, 300. the Thebans join the Athenians against Philip, 324. they are defeated near Cheronæa, 326. Philip puts a garrison into their city, 328. the Thebans, after the death of that prince, put part of the garrison to the sword, 363. Alexander marches against them, and destroys their city, 364. &c. re-establishment of Thebes by Cassander, V. 178. the Thebans make an alliance with the Romans in the war against Perseus, VI. 308. they surrender themselves to the Romans, 326. Sylla deprives them of half their territory, VII. 166
Theft of a certain kind permitted and even commanded to the young Lacedæmonians, II. 301. it was the most severely punished of all crimes by the Scythians, 385
THEMISTOCLES, Athenian, distinguishes himself at the battle of Marathon, II. 429. he removes Epicyles from the command, and causes himself to be elected general in his stead, 467. he supports the decree to recall Aristides, 468. he resigns the honour of commanding the fleet to the Lacedæmonians, 469. he determines the Athenians to abandon their city, 481. he determines the Greeks to fight in the strait of Salamin, 484, 485. the Lacedæmonians decree the prize of wisdom to him, after the victory at Salamin, 492. acclamations with which he is received at the Olympick games, 493. he re-instates the works of Athens, and fortifies the Piræus, 519, 521. black design which he conceives

for supplanting the Lacedæmonians, 522. he is banished Athens, 531. the Athenians and Lacedæmonians uniting against him as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Pausanias, he takes refuge with Admetus, 533. he retires to Artaxerxes, III. 3. his great credit with that prince, 5, &c. he kills himself, 17. character of Themistocles, II. 418, 493, 531, III. 18. his great moderation on many occasions, II. 469, 485
THEMISTUS, magistrate of Syracuse, conspires with Andranodorus to seize the sovereignty, VII. 109. he is killed by order of the other magistrates, *ibid.*
THENON, commander of the citadel of Syracuse, surrenders himself to Pyrrhus, V. 345. that prince puts him to death, 346, 347
THEOCRITUS, poet at the court of Hiero, VII. 93, 94
THEODORUS, chief of the Eumolpidæ at Athens: What he ventured to say in respect to the maledictions or curses, III. 262
THEODORUS, citizen of Syracuse, ventures to declare himself openly against Dionysius in favour of liberty, IV. 31
THEODOTUS, uncle of Heraclides, is deputed by him to Dion to conjure him to return to the aid of Syracuse, IV. 85. he puts himself into Dion's hands, 86. Dion pardons him, 87
THEODOTUS, governor of Bactriana, revolts against Antiochus, and causes himself to be declared king of that province, V. 376. he dies, 397
THEODOTUS, son of the former, succeeds his father, V. 397. he forms a league offensive and defensive with Arsaces, *ibid.*
THEODOTUS is charged by Antiochus with the war against Molo,

- Molo, V. 482. he is defeated, and obliged to abandon the field of battle, *ibid.*
- THEODOTUS, Ætolian, governor of Cœlosyria for Ptolemy, defends the entrance into that province against Antiochus, and obliges that prince to retire, V. 483. he is accused, and obliged to go to the court of Egypt to give an account of his conduct, 491, 492. in resentment for that affront, he declares for Antiochus, and puts the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais into his hands, 492. he enters the camp of Ptolemy in the night with design to kill him, 496. he fails in that attempt, and escapes to his camp, *ibid.*
- THEODOTUS, one of the principal conspirators against the life of Hieronymus, is put to the rack, and dies without discovering any of his accomplices, VII. 104
- THEODOTUS, preceptor to the last Ptolemy, advises that prince to put Pompey to death, VII. 250. he goes to present the head of that Roman to Cæsar, 252
- THEOGITON, of Megara, gives the Greeks wise advice after the battle of Plataea, II. 507
- THEOPHRASTUS, Antigonus's general, refuses to quit Corinth, V. 417. Aratus causes him to be put to death, *ibid.*
- THEOPHRASTUS, philosopher, his dispute with an old woman of Athens, in buying something of her, III. 553
- THEOPOMPUS, king of Sparta, commands in the war against the Argives, I. cxlii. then against the Messenians, cxliv. he is defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death by Aristomenes, cxlix. establishes the Ephori, II. 295
- THEOPOMPUS, disciple of Isocrates, gains the prize of eloquence over his master, and has the weakness and vanity to brag of it, IV. 219
- THEOXENA, Thessalian lady, daughter of Herodicus, marries Poris, VI. 205. tragical and courageous end of Theoxena, 206
- THERAMENES, one of the Athenian generals, is charged with the care of burying the dead after the battle of the Arginusæ, III. 276. not being able to execute that order, he makes the other generals responsible for it, and accuses them at Athens, 277. he is deputed to Lysander during the siege of Athens, 290. he opposes the violence of his colleagues, and draws their hatred upon himself, 304. he is accused by Critias, and put to death, 305
- Therma, capital city of Ætolia, taken by surprize, and ravaged by Philip, V. 525, 526
- Thermopylæ, pass of mount Ceta in Thessaly, II. 470. battle of Thermopylæ between the Lacedæmonians and Xerxes, 472. &c. victory of the Romans over Antiochus near Thermopylæ, VI. 106
- THERON, tyrant of Agrigentum, makes an alliance with Gelon, and gains in conjunction with him a great battle over the Carthaginians, III. 74
- THESEUS, king of Athens, II. 284. he dies in the island of Scyros, whither he had been obliged to fly, III. 10. Cimon brings his bones to Athens, *ibid.*
- Thesmothetæ, Athenian magistrates, III. 521
- Thespie, city of Achaia, ruined by the Thebans, IV. 139
- THESPIIS, Greek poet, considered as the inventor of tragedy, I. xcviij, II. 333

- THESSALONICA**, wife of Cassander, is killed by Antipater his eldest son, V. 269
- THESSALUS**, third son of Pisistratus, II. 336
- Thessaly**, province of ancient Greece, II. 273. the Thessalians submit to Xerxes, 470. they implore aid of the Thebans against Alexander of Phæræ, IV. 161. Pelopidas delivers them from his power, *ibid.* they have recourse to Philip against their tyrants, 274. that prince delivers them, *ibid.*
- THESTA**, sister of Dionysus the Elder, and wife of Polyxenes: Couragcous answer which he gives her brother upon the occasion of her husband's escape, IV. 32
- Theti**, name of the lower class of people at Athens, III. 510
- THETHMOSIS**, or **AMOSIS**, having driven the king shepherds out of Egypt, reigns there, I. 67
- THIMBRON**, Lacedæmonian general, marches against Tisaphernes and Pharnabazus, III. 356. upon some discontent he is recalled, 363
- Thirty**. Council of thirty established at Lacedæmon, II. 295, 308. thirty tyrants established at Athens by Lyfander, III. 291. cruelties which they commit in that city, 304. Thrasybulus drives them out of Athens, 307. they endeavour to reinstate themselves, and are all put to the sword, 309
- THOAS**, Ætolian, charged with the execution of a design to seize Chalcis, fails in the attempt, VI. 94. he goes to Antiochus, and determines him to enter Greece, 97
- Thrace**, province of Europe; very singular customs of its inhabitants, II. 400. Thrace subjected by Philip, IV. 297, &c. kingdom of Thrace after Alexander's death, I. clxi
- THRASO**, confident of Hieronymus, is accused by Theodorus of having conspired against that prince, VII. 103, 104. he is put to death, 104
- THRASYBULUS**, tyrant of Miletus, is besieged by Halyattes, II. 60. stratagem which he uses to deliver himself from that siege, *ibid.*
- THRASYBULUS**, brother of Gelon, reigns at Syracuse after Hiero's death, III. 85. he causes himself to be dethroned by his cruelty, *ibid.*
- THRASYBULUS** is made general of the Athenians, III. 254. he accuses Alcibiades at Athens, and causes him to be deposed, 269. he quits Athens to avoid the cruelty of the thirty tyrants, 307. he expels the tyrants from that city, and reinstates its liberty, 307, &c.
- THRASYLUS** is made general of the Athenians, III. 254
- Throssyné**. Lake of Tuscany, famous for Hannibal's victory over the Romans, I. 240
- THUCYDIDES**, Greek historian, he is commanded to go to the aid of Amphipolis, III. 155. the Athenians make it a crime in him to have suffered that city to be taken, and banish him, *ibid.*
- THUCYDIDES**, brother-in-law to Cimon, is set up against Pericles by the nobility of Athens, III. 43. Pericles prevails to have him banished, 47
- Thurium**, city of Sicily: Its foundation, III. 47, 92
- Thymbra**, city of Lydia, famous for the battle between Cyrus and Cræsus, II. 109
- Thyræa**, small territory of Greece, which occasioned the war between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, I. cxliii
- THYVS,**

I N D E X.

- THYUS**, governor of Paphlagonia, revolts against Artaxerxes, IV. 422. he is conquered by Datames, 423
- Tiara** of the kings of Persia, IV. 199
- TIBERIUS GRACCHUS** is sent by the senate into Asia to examine into the conduct of Eumenes and that of Antiochus, VI. 406. See GRACCHUS.
- Ticinus**, river of Italy, near which P. Scipio was defeated by Hannibal, I. 231
- TIGLAH PILEZER**, king of Nineveh, II. 27. he aids Ahaz king of Judah against the kings of Syria and Israel, *ibid.*
- TIGRANES**, son of a king of Armenia, obtains pardon for his father of Cyrus, II. 85, &c. he commands the Armenian troops, 89
- TIGRANES**, son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, is set at liberty by the Parthians on his father's death, and placed upon the throne, VI. 533. he accepts the crown of Syria, and wears it eighteen years, 536. he marries Cleopatra daughter of Mithridates, VII. 149. he invades the kingdom of Cappadocia, 70, 177. he gives Mithridates refuge, 190. the Romans declare war against him, 192. Tigranes is defeated by Lucullus, 201. he raises new troops in concert with Mithridates, 203. he is defeated a second time, 208. Pompey marches against him, and finds him at war with his son, 220. Tigranes submits his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey and the Romans, 221. Pompey leaves him part of his dominions, 222
- TIGRANES**, son of the former, makes war with his father, VII. 220. he puts himself under the protection of Pompey, 221. not being satisfied with Pompey's decree, he endeavours to fly, 223. Pompey reserves him for his triumph, *ibid.*
- Tigranocerta**, city of Armenia, built by Tigranes, VII. 177. Lucullus takes it, and abandons it to be plundered by the soldiers, 202
- Tigris**, river of Asia, IV. 471
- TIMÆA**, wife of Agis : Excess of her passion for Alcibiades, III. 197
- TIMAGORAS**, deputed by the Athenians to the court of Persia, receives great presents, and is condemned to die at his return, IV. 158, 159
- TIMANDRA**, concubine, renders Alcibiades the last duties, III. 301, 302
- TIMARCHUS**, tyrant of Miletus, is conquered and killed by Antiochus Theos, V. 371, 372
- TIMARCHUS**, governor of Babylon, revolts against Demetrius Soter, and is put to death, VI. 471
- TIMASION** is chosen one of the generals of the Greeks after the death of Clearchus, III. 344
- TIMASITHEUS**, chief of the pirates of Lipara : His noble and religious behaviour in respect to the Romans, IV. 98
- TIMENES**, one of the principal Heraclidæ, re-enters Peloponnesus, II. 288. Argos falls to him by lot, *ibid.*
- TIMOCLEA**, Theban lady, her courageous action at the storming of Thebes, IV. 365
- TIMOCRATES**, friend of Dionysius the Younger, marries Dion's wife whilst he is banished, IV. 69. he flies on the approach of Dion, 74
- TIMOLAUS** of Corinth advises the cities in alliance against the Spartans to attack them in their own territory, III. 393
- TIMO-

I N D E X.

- TIMOLAUS**, Lacedæmonian, at whose house Philopœmen lay, is sent by his country to offer him the riches of Nabis, VI. 96. he finds it difficult to acquit himself of that commission, *ibid.*
- TIMOLEON**, Corinthian, sacrifices his brother Timophanes to his country, IV. 99, 100. the Corinthians send him to the aid of Syracuse, *ibid.* I. 156. he eludes the vigilance of the Carthaginians by a wise stratagem, IV. 103. he gains an advantage over the Carthaginians and Icetas near the city of Adranon, 104. he enters Syracuse, *ibid.* Dionysius surrenders himself to him, 105. Timoleon sends him to Corinth, *ibid.* he gains several victories over the Carthaginians, 107, &c. I. 157. he re-establishes the liberty of Syracuse, and institutes wise laws there, IV. 108, &c. he frees the other cities of Sicily from tyranny, 111, &c. he gains a great victory over the Carthaginians, 112. he is accused and cited to answer, 113. he quits his authority, and passes the rest of his life in retirement, 113, &c. he dies in it, 114. great honours rendered his memory, 114, &c. his praise, 115, &c.
- TIMOPHANES**, Corinthian, having made himself tyrant of his country, his brother Timoleon causes him to be assassinated, IV. 100
- TIMOTHEUS**, son of Conon, is sent by the Athenians with a fleet to the aid of the Thebans, IV. 136. he ravages the coasts of Laconia, and makes himself master of the island of Corcyra, *ibid.* he is employed by the Athenians in the war against the allies, 207; 208. he is accused by Chares, and sentenced to pay a great fine, 211. he retires to Chalcis, and dies there, 212. fine saying of Timotheus, 170. his praise, 207, 208
- TIMOTHEUS**, lieutenant of Antiochus Epiphanes, is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, VI. 275. he is defeated a second time by the same captain in the reign of Antiochus Eupator, 461
- TIMOXENES** is chosen general of the Achæans in the room of Aratus, V. 451
- TIRIBASUS**, general of Artaxerxes Mnemon, determines that prince not to fly before his brother Cyrus, III. 323. he commands the fleet of Artaxerxes against Evagoras, and besieges that prince in Salamin, 411. he is falsely accused by Orontes, and carried to the court in chains, 412. trial of Tiribasus, 417. the king discovers his innocence, and restores him to his favour, 419. Tiribasus accompanies Artaxerxes in that prince's expedition against the Caduseans, *ibid.* his stratagem for making that people return to their obedience to the Persians, 420
- TIRIBASUS**, satrap of western Armenia, incommodes the ten thousand Greeks in their retreat, III. 347, 348
- TIRINTATECHMUS**, son of Artabanus, one of the commanders of the army of Xerxes in that prince's expedition against Greece, II. 461
- TISAMENES**, son of Orestes, reigns at Mycenæ with his brother Penthilus, II. 283
- TISIPPUS**, Ætolian, is accused of having exercised great cruelties against those who had not taken party with the Romans against Perseus, VI. 396. Paulus Æmilius acquits him, 397
- TISSAPHERNES**, Persian of quality, is appointed by Darius to reduce Pisuthnes governor of Lydia, III. 150,

150. he effects it, and has the government of Lydia for his reward, 151. he suffers himself to be seduced by the flattery of Alcibiades, and gives himself up entirely to him, 246. he concludes a treaty with the Peloponnesians, 252. he causes Alcibiades to be seized, and sent prisoner to Sardis, 257. he commands in the army of Artaxerxes Mnemon at the battle of Cunaxa, and distinguishes himself in it, 323, 327, 328. he takes upon him to reconduct the Greeks into their own country, 337. he seizes Clearchus and the other generals by treachery, and sends them to Artaxerxes, 341. he joins Pharnabazus to oppose the enterprizes of Dercyllidas, 367. he sends to command Agesilaus to quit Asia, and to declare war against him in case of refusal, 380. he is defeated near Sardis, 382. he is treacherously accused, 383. Artaxerxes puts him to death, *ibid.* character of Tissaphernes, 150, 382

TITHRAUSTES seizes Tissaphernes by order of Artaxerxes, and is placed at the head of the army in his stead, III. 383. he arms several states of Greece against the Lacedæmonians, 389, 380

TOBIT is carried captive into Assyria, II. 28. he hides himself some time to avoid the cruelty of Sennacherib, 31. he foretells the ruin of Nineveh to his children, 32, 33

TOMYRIS, queen of the Scythians, II. 176. Herodotus relates that she caused Cyrus to be put to death, 176, &c.

Tragedy: Its origin, I. xcvi. its progress, *ibid.* II. 333. poets that distinguished themselves in tragedy, *ibid.*

Treaties. Odd custom of making treaties among the Iberians and Scythians, II. 383, 384

Trebia, river of Lombardy, famous for Hannibal's victory over the Romans, I. 234

TREMELLIUS, surnamed *Scrofa*, defeats and kills a third usurper of the kingdom of Macedonia, VI. 423

Trezena, city of Argolis, gives refuge to the Athenians who had lately abandoned their city, II. 482

TRIARIUS, one of Lucullus's lieutenants, is defeated by Mithridates, VII. 210

Triballi, people of Mæsia, IV. 315. they pretend to share with Philip in the booty taken from the Scythians, *ibid.* they are defeated by that prince, *ibid.* they are defeated by Alexander, 363

Tributes. Reasons for the establishment of them, II. 217

TRIERARCHS, Athenian officers: Their functions, IV. 242, 244

Trogilus, part of Syracuse, III. 200
Trophies erected by the ancients after a victory, I. lxii

TROPHONIUS, hero, I. li. famous oracles of Trophonius in Boæotia, *ibid.*

Trough: Kind of punishment used by the Persians, III. 2

Troy, city of Asia, taken and burnt by the Greeks, II. 285

Truth: It is the foundation of the commerce between men, IV. 348, &c.

TRYPHENA, daughter of Physcon, is married to Antiochus Grypus, VI. 517. she sacrifices her sister Cleopatra to her jealousy, 522. Antiochus of Cyzicum puts her to death in torments, *ibid.*

Tunis, city of Africa, is taken by Regulus, I. 182. the mercenaries revolting against Carthage make it their place of arms, 203

Tyber,

Tyche, quarter of the city of Syracuse, III. 199

TYDEUS, one of the Athenian generals, rejects the advice of Alcibiades, and occasions the loss of the battle of Ægospotamos, III. 286

TYNDARUS, king of Lacedæmon, II. 285

Tyrant. Origin of that name and its signification, II. 291. difference between a king and a tyrant, IV. 2, 3, VII. 105

Tyre, city of Phœnicia: Its foundation, IV. 440. Tyre besieged and taken by Nabucodonosor, II. 38, 39. Darius reinstates it in its ancient privileges, 406. Tyre besieged and taken by Alexander, IV. 425, &c. then by Antigonus, V. 196. accomplishment of the different prophecies concerning Tyre, IV. 441, &c.

TYRTÆUS, Græek poet, the Athenians give him to the Lacedæmonians to command them, I. clii. character of his poetry, ibid. he revives the courage of the latter, and occasions their gaining a great victory over the Messenians, clii, cliii. he is made citizen of Sparta, cliii

V.

VARGUNTEIUS, one of the lieutenants of Crassus, being separated from the main body of the army, is attacked by the Parthians, and dies fighting gloriously, VII. 47

VARRO (*C. Terentius*) consul, is defeated by Hannibal at the battle of Cannæ, I. 248, &c.

VASTHI, wife of Darius. See **ATOSSA**.

UCHOREUS, king of Egypt, builds Memphis, I. 66

UDIASTES, friend of Teriteuchmes, assassinates him by order of Darius, III. 298. Statira causes

him to be put to death in torments, 299

VENTIDIUS, Roman soldier, rises to the highest dignities of the commonwealth by his merit, VII. 59. he revenges the disgrace of the Romans at the battle of Carræ, and defeats the Parthians upon several occasions, 60, &c.

VERRES, prætor in Sicily for the Romans, takes a scone of gold intended for the Capitol from Antiochus Asiaticus, VII. 541, &c.

VILIUS is elected consul, and makes war with Philip in the room of Sulpitius, VI. 23, 29. nothing considerable passes during his year, 25. he is sent ambassador to Antiochus, and succeeds in making that prince suspect Hannibal, 84, 85, I. 284

University of Paris. France obliged to it for the establishment of posts and post-offices, II. 215

Urania, divinity of the Carthaginians. See *Moon*.

Ufury: To what excess it was carried in the latter times of the Roman commonwealth, VII. 190, 191

Utica, city of Africa, abandons the side of Carthage, and joins the revolted mercenaries, I. 205. it is reduced to surrender at discretion, 208. it puts itself into the hands of the Romans, 307. the latter reward it with the lands between Carthage and Hippo, 325

Uxii, people upon the frontiers of Persia, conquered by Alexander the Great, IV. 496, 497

W.

WASPS, comedy of Aristophanes called *The Wasps*, I. cxiv

Water. Sweet water how preserved at Alexandria, VII. 257, 258

Wells of Joseph in the castle of Cairo in Egypt: Description of them, I. 4

Women.

I N D E X.

Women. Whether they ought to be admitted to the administration of publick affairs, the command of armies, and the sovereignty of states, II. 20. See *Ladies.*

Wrestling. Exercise of wrestling among the ancients, I. lxxi

Writing. Its beginnings, I. 55

X.

XANTHIPPIUS, Lacedæmonian, comes to the aid of the Carthaginians, I. 183. he defeats the army of Regulus, 186. he retires and disappears soon after,

187

XANTHIPPIUS, citizen of Athens, accuses Miltiades of treason, II.

434

XANTHIPPIUS, father of Pericles, abandoning Athens on the approach of Xerxes, his dog follows his ship to Salamin, and expires on the shore, II. 483

XANTHIPPIUS, Athenian, commands the fleet of the Greeks in conjunction with Leotychides king of Sparta, and gains a great victory over the Persians near Mycale, II. 513

XANTHIPPIUS, eldest son of Pericles, dies of the plague, III. 115

XANTHUS, philosopher, whose slave Æsop was, II. 360

XANTIPPE, wife of Socrates: His sufferings from her ill humour,

III. 434

XENETAS, Achæan, is sent against Molo and Alexander by Antiochus, V. 483. he falls into an ambuscade, and is cut to pieces with his whole army, *ibid.*

XENOCRATES, philosopher, in what manner he was received by Antipater, to whom he had been sent ambassador by the Athenians, V. 125

XENON is charged by Antiochus with the war against Molo, V. 482. he is defeated, *ibid.*

XENON, Achæan, exclaims against

the demand of the Roman commissaries in an assembly, VI. 400

XENOPHANES, Philip's ambassador to Hannibal, falls into the hands of the Romans, V. 542. he escapes and concludes the treaty with Hannibal, 543. he is taken on his return by the Romans, *ibid.*

XENOPHON, historian and philosopher; he engages in the service of Cyrus the Younger, III. 319. he commands the ten thousand Greeks after the death of Clearchus, and brings them back into their own country, 344. *&c.* he joins the Lacedæmonians in the war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, 356. he acts under Agesilaus, at the battle of Coronæa, 397. character of his style, II. 90. difference between Xenophon and Herodotus in their accounts of Cyrus, 175

XERXES I. son of Darius, is elected king of Persia in preference to his brother Artabazanes, II. 438. he confirms the Jews in their privileges, 442. he reduces Egypt, *ibid.* he prepares to invade Greece, *ibid.* he deliberates with his council concerning that expedition, 442, 443. wise speech of Artabanes to him, 444, 455. rage of Xerxes upon that occasion, 446. he discovers his error, and confesses it in full council, 447. the war is resolved, 449. Xerxes enters into an alliance with the Carthaginians, 451, I. 142. he begins his march, and gives orders for cutting a way through mount Athos, II. 451. his letter to that mountain upon that subject, 452. he advances to Sardis, *ibid.* his cruelty to Pythius, 454. he marches towards the Hellespont, 455. he causes the sea to be chastised for having broken the bridge of boats which he had laid over it, 457. he orders a second to be built, and passes

passes the Hellespont with his army, II. 457, 458. number of his forces, 460. Demaratus tells him freely his thoughts of this enterprize, 463. three hundred Spartans dispute the pass of Thermopylæ with Xerxes, 473. that prince in his rage causes the dead body of Leonidas to be affixed to a gibbet, 474. he takes and burns Athens, 484. he is defeated at Salamin, 485, &c. he leaves Mardonius in Greece, and returns precipitately into Asia, 490. violent passion of Xerxes for the wife of his brother Masistus, and afterwards for Artainta that princess's daughter, 515. he causes Masistus to be put to death, 518. he gives himself up to luxury and voluptuousness, 542. he is killed by Artabanus, captain of his guards, 543. character of Xerxes, 543, &c.

XERXES II. son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, ascends the throne of Persia, III. 147. he is assassinated by his brother Sogdianus, *ibid.*

XIPHARES, son of Mithridates, is killed by his father, VII. 227

XUTHUS, son of Helenus, settles in Attica, II. 287

XYCHUS, who had been at Rome with Apelles and Philocles in quality of secretary to their embassy, is seized and carried before Philip, VI. 232. he discovers the whole plot of Perseus against Demetrius, *ibid.*

Y.

YAZDAN, the good deity of the Persians, II. 253

Year, solar, when first used, I. 49

Youth. The irregularities of that time of life are not always sufficient grounds for despairing of a young man, III. 8, 9

Z.

ZABDIEL, Arabian prince, betrays Alexander Bala, VI.

481. he delivers up Antiochus, son of Bala, to Tryphon, 485

ZALEUCUS, legislator of the Locrians, III. 95. wisdom of his laws, *ibid.*

Zancle, city of Sicily, III. 178. See *Messene*.

ZEBINA. See ALEXANDER ZEBINA.

Zela, a city of Cappadocia, VII. 263

ZENIS, Dardanian, governor of Æolia under Pharnabazus, III.

364
ZENODOTUS, librarian of Ptolemy Soter at Alexandria, V. 398

ZERAH, king of Ethiopia and Egypt, makes war with Asa king of Judah, and is defeated, I. 80

ZEUGITÆ, third class of the citizens of Athens, III. 510

ZOIPPUS, Hiero's son-in-law: His great credit with Hieronymus, VII. 103. he goes ambassador to Egypt, and stays there in voluntary banishment, 110, 111.

ZOPYRUS, Persian lord, mutilates himself for the service of Darius, II. 380. he makes that prince master of Babylon, 381. reward given by Darius for so great a service, *ibid.*

ZOPYRUS, slave of Pericles, and governor of Alcibiades, III. 166

ZOROASTER, founder of the sect of the Magi amongst the Persians, II. 252

ZOROASTER, another chief and reformer of the same sect, II.

252
ZOROBABEL, chief of the Jews that return to Jerusalem after the decree of Cyrus, II. 158

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