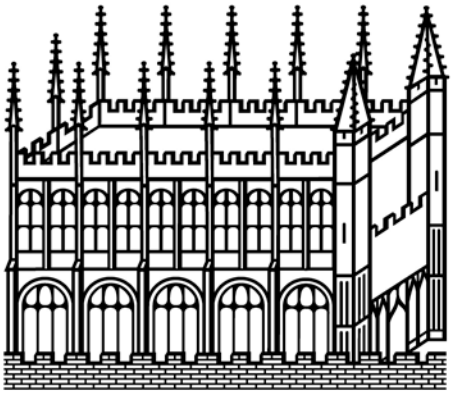


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,, XIV. Perseus, King of Macedon.

CONTENTS.

Page

CHAPTER I.—State of Parties in Greece at the Conclusion of the Peloponnesian Wars 1

CHAPTER II.—Xenophon 4

CHAPTER III.—The Thirty Tyrants 42

CHAPTER IV.—Socrates 55

CHAPTER V.—The Age of Agesilaus 62

CHAPTER VI.—Epameinondas 71

CHAPTER VII.—Philip of Macedon 120

CHAPTER VIII.—Alexander the Great 166

CHAPTER IX.—Alexander's Successors 225

Arrhidæus 225

Macedonia 246

Antigonus, Protector of Asia 261

The Seleucidæ 271

Syria and Asia Minor 289

Egypt 308

CHAPTER X.—Aratus 313

CHAPTER XI.—Cleomenes 334

Page

CHAPTER XII.—PHILOPŒMEN 351

CHAPTER XIII.—SYRIA, FROM THE REIGN OF ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT, TO THE TERMINATION OF THE DYNASTY OF THE SELEUCIDÆ 365

CHAPTER XIV.—PERSEUS, KING OF MACEDON 391

CHAPTER XV.—THE INDO-MACEDONIAN KINGDOM 400

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES:—

GREECE, B. C. 403–145 437

MACEDONIA, B. C. 359–323 443

MACEDONIA AND THRACE, B. C. 323–147 446

SYRIA, B. C. 321–62 448

ASIA MINOR, B. C. 323–36 452

PARTHIA AND BACTRIA, B. C. 250–97 454

INDEX 455





LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page
PTOLEMY II., PHILADELPHUS, AND HIS WIFE ARSINOE, DAUGHTER OF LYSIMACHUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* .	Vignette on Title
VIGNETTE. *Rossi's Gemme Antiche*	xii
ATHENS. THE ACADEMIC GROVES. *G. F. Sargent*	1
XENOPHON	4
ARTAXERXES, KING OF PERSIA. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . .	12
SLINGERS. *G. F. Sargent*	24
GREEK PRIESTESS. *Real Museo Borbonico*	41
DEATH OF THERAMENES. *G. F. Sargent*	42
ATHENE, in Car. *Tassi's Catalogue of Gems*	54
DEATH OF SOCRATES. *G. F. Sargent, after a picture by L. David* . .	55
SOCRATES. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque*	56
LYSIAS. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque*	58
RAISING A TROPHY FOR THE VICTORY OF CORONEA. *G. F. Sargent* .	62
AGESILAUS. *Reiske's German edition of Plutarch*	67
GREEK WARRIOR. *Hope's Costumes of the Ancients*	70
DEATH OF EPAMEINONDAS. *G. F. Sargent*	71
COIN OF THEBES	81
COIN OF LACEDÆMON. *Hunterian Museum*	85
CRESCENT OF TROOPS. *G. F. Sargent*	91
COIN OF ATHENS: Tetra drachma. *Hunterian Museum* . . .	98
STADIUM OF MESSENIA. *G. F. Sargent*	105
PHILIP, SON OF AMYNTAS. *Museum Florentinum*	120
AMPHIPOLIS. *L'Univers Pittoresque*	128
ARISTOTLE. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque*	129
COIN OF PHOCIS. *Hunterian Museum*	135

Page

DEMOSTHENES. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* 144
ÆSCHINES. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* 145
ISOCRATES. *Bottari, Il Museo Capitolino* 150
ALEXANDER THE GREAT. *Canini, Iconografia* 159
AMPHISSA, the Modern CRISSA, on Mount Parnassus, looking up the Vale of Salona. *G. F. Sargent* 160
CHÆRONEA. *Williams* 164
VIGNETTE. *Mural Painting at Herculaneum* 166
ALEXANDER THE GREAT 167
THEBES IN BŒOTIA. *G. F. Sargent* 176
PASSAGE OF THE GRANICUS. *G. F. Sargent, after a picture by Lebrun* . 181
HALICARNASSUS. *From L'Univers Pittoresque, by G. F. Sargent* . . 184
BATTLE OF ISSUS, BETWEEN ALEXANDER AND DARIUS. *From the Mosaic discovered at Pompeii in* 1831 194
ALEXANDER AND THE FAMILY OF DARIUS. *G. F. Sargent, after a picture by Lebrun* 197
THEBES, IN EGYPT 202
ALEXANDRIA. *Museum Florentinum* 202
JUNCTION OF THE TIGRIS AND EUPHRATES AT CHEBAR . . . 204
THE DEFEAT OF PORUS. *G. F. Sargent, after a picture by Lebrun* . . 216
THE CASPIAN SEA. *G. F. Sargent* 221
HALL OF XERXES, PERSEPOLIS. Restoration. *G. F. Sargent, after Botta* 224
BABYLON. *Martin and Corbould* 225
PYRAMIDS OF EGYPT. *Bonomi* 238
CASSANDER. *Museum Florentinum* 248
CAPTIVE JEWS. *Rosellini* 254
ANTIGONUS. *Winckelmann* 259
SITE OF SUSA, THE CAPITAL OF SUSIANA 262
PTOLEMY SOTER. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* 263
BERENICE, WIFE OF PTOLEMY SOTER. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . 263
DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . . . 265
BATTLE WITH ARABS 269
PASS IN PETRA (IDUMÆA) 270
SELEUCUS I., NICATOR 271
COIN OF RHODES. *Hunterian Collection* 276
RHODES 277
PYRRHUS, KING OF EPIRUS. *Akermann's Numismatic Atlas* . . . 280
SELEUCUS NICATOR GIVING HIS WIFE STRATONICE TO HIS SON ANTIOCHUS SOTER. *G. F. Sargent, after a picture by Gerard Lairesse* . . 282
LYSIMACHUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* 283
ANTIOCHUS SOTER. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* 290
ANTIOCHUS THEOS. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* 292
CASTLE OF TIRIDATES. *Sir R. K. Porter* 293
PTOLEMY EUERGETES. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . . . 293
COIN OF THE TIME OF PTOLEMY EUERGETES 295
SELEUCUS CALLINICUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . . . 295
ANTIOCHUS HIERAX. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* 296

Page

PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . . . 300
OVERFLOW OF THE NILE. *Bonomi* 301
ATTALUS I., KING OF PERGAMUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . . 303
PTOLEMY EPIPHANES. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . . . 305
BERENICE EUERGETES. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . . . 309
KING RETURNING WITH CAPTIVES 310
GREEK SOLDIER BEFORE THE STATUE OF ATHENE. *Museum Florentinum* 312
CORINTH FROM ACROCORINTHUS. *G. F. Sargent* 313
THE TESTUDO. *G. F. Sargent* 317
ACHAIA. *G. F. Sargent, after Williams* 333
CLEOMENES, KING OF SPARTA. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . . 334
THE ASSASSINS OF PHILOPŒMEN SACRIFICED AT HIS TOMB. *G. F. Sargent* 350
KING OF THRACE. Name unknown. *Museum Florentinum* . . . 364
PALACE OF SELEUCUS AT ANTIOCH. *G. F. Sargent* 365
ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT. *Canini, Iconografia* 365
EUMENES II., KING OF PERGAMUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . 368
HANNIBAL. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* 369
CATO THE CENSOR. *From a gem in the Ursini Collection* . . . 372
ATTALUS II., KING OF PERGAMUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . 374
SCIPIO AFRICANUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* 376
HELIODORUS DRIVEN FROM THE TEMPLE. *G. F. Sargent, from a picture by Solimene* 380
ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . . . 381
DEMETRIUS I. AND LAODICE. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . . 384
ALEXANDER BALAS. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* 384
CLEOPATRA, WIFE OF DEMETRIUS NICATOR. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* 385
ANTIOCHUS VIII., GRYPUS. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . . . 387
TIGRANES. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* 389
CLEOPATRA SELENE. *Museum Florentinum* 389
PHRYGIA, A ROMAN COLONY: Emblematical figure. *Real Museo Borbonico* 390
PERSEUS, KING OF MACEDON. *Iconografia da Canini* 391
PHILIP V. OF MACEDON. *Visconti, Iconographie Grecque* . . . 392
VIGNETTE. *Museum Florentinum* 399
TOPE OF MANIKYALA. *Wilson's Ariana* 400
TOPE OF BIMARAN. *Wilson's Ariana* 409
EUTHYDEMUS. *Wilson's Ariana* 422
EUKRATIDES THE GREAT. *Prinsep's Historical Results* . . . 425
COIN OF THE KANERKA DYNASTY. *Wilson's Ariana* 428
TUMULUS OF KOTI-KHAIL. *Wilson's Ariana* 434



Athens. The Academic Groves.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF PARTIES IN GREECE AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WARS.

B. C. 404.

THERE are no æras in Grecian history which assume greater prominence, none which present a moral of greater significance, than those which stand in immediate connection with unity of direction aided by confederate power. The headship of Miltiades, not less than the energies of Xenophon and the sway of the son of Philip, the great "Captain-General of Greece," bears witness to the power of discipline and the advantages of enlightened combination.

The Mythologic, the Heroic, and the Democratic periods of Grecian History have already passed in review before us, and we have now arrived at the last of its great leading epocha. The interest which is excited in the mind of the reader for that extraordinary people, by their heroic resistance to the overwhelming force which had been poured against them by Persia, as recorded by Herodotus, is well sustained by Thucydides in the narrative which he has left us of the domestic wars among the different States which arose, after the cessation of all danger from without; but after the conclusion of the

Peloponnesian contest, the interest and the instruction to be derived from Grecian history rapidly diminish. It has been well observed, that the proper point of view in which we ought to consider that obstinate and protracted war, is in the light of a civil contention. It was not the ambition of Athens disputing with the pride of Sparta for political ascendancy; but it was the turbulence of the many arrayed against the prescription of the few, it was a question between the Democratical party in the several States, which composed the Grecian confederation, and that of the Oligarchical; and it is in this circumstance, that we must trace the cause of that deep interest which every reader is made to feel in the progress of the contest, and which is so disproportioned to the magnitude of the stake, and so greatly superior to that which is commonly excited by the ordinary details of war and conquest. Mankind have few sympathies to spare, except where they are personally concerned in the occasion, for mere ambition and lust of power, whether exhibited in the history of nations or in that of individuals; and unless our interest on one side or the other can be excited in the *cause* for which the respective parties contend, and our moral feelings and attachments be put into motion, it is seldom that any strong and permanent hold can be gained upon the imagination, merely by eloquence of description.

State of parties in Greece.

The truth of this is strongly felt, when we close Thucydides, and take up the continuation of the history of Grecian affairs, which has been left us by his accomplished successor. If ever there existed an individual, whom natural talent and actual circumstances of every kind would have pointed out for the office of historian of the transactions which happened during the age in which he himself lived, it was surely Xenophon. Distinguished by genius and skill in warfare, perhaps, even above the very greatest of the captains whose exploits he has recorded; having access to means of information, which no individual beside himself could probably have commanded; with a taste the most refined, and an understanding strengthened and enlarged, not merely by an experience of mankind and of public affairs, such as falls to the lot of few, but also by the instruction of the father of all that is sound and elevating in philosophy—we may safely take for granted, that he has imparted to the history which he has left us of the affairs of Greece, all the interest and value of which the facts that he had to record were properly susceptible. And yet while the work of Thucydides is known almost by heart by every scholar, and quoted by every writer as the great repository of political wisdom and historical illustration, the work of Xenophon, which as a piece of composition is one of the purest specimens of Attic taste, which has been spared by the destructive hand of time, is almost unknown to the general reader, and not always read even by those who feel ashamed to confess their ignorance of Livy or Herodotus.

Xenophon peculiarly adapted for the historian of this period.

The fact is, after the submission of Athens to the will of the conqueror, that which follows of the history of Greece, until the rise of

Post-republican Greece,

the Macedonian power, when a new state of things begins to arise, is like that part of a drama which is protracted after the catastrophe. Some curiosity is perhaps felt to know what afterwards became of the several cities and states; just as in a novel, we linger to be told the final destiny of the persons of the story; but our curiosity is merely adventitious—it is unconnected with any hopes or fears—it is a mere desire to know, without regard to any wish that we seek to gratify. On this account, we may the less regret that the knowledge which we possess of the events that intervened between the fall of the Athenian power, and the rise of that of Thebes under Epaminondas, is, in many respects, imperfect. The principal events themselves are indirectly known to us by means of Xenophon and Diodorus; but the reader is often puzzled in what way they ought to be interpreted. Wars arise; jealousies and heart-burnings are manifested; alliances are cemented or broken; but what that particular state of things may have been in the several states from which they originated, or by what accidents that constant revolution of parties is brought about, which is for ever happening at Corinth, at Argos, at Thebes, and, to a certain point, even at Sparta itself, we are, for the most part, left only to conjecture. From these circumstances the narrative is broken, as it were, into pieces, without any clue being left to us by which to connect the events with each other. How detrimental this necessarily is to the interest of the story needs not be pointed out; and what is perhaps no less important, the instruction to be derived from this part of Grecian history, is diminished in a still greater degree. When everything appears accidental and capricious, and to be the result simply of a disorganized state of politics and parties, it is difficult to reason from any general principle; the only moral which a philosophical reader is able to deduce, is a strong feeling of the discomfort and insecurity which belong to all forms of government, be they of what denomination they may, the principles of which are not laid upon the foundation of hereditary institutions.

Its record disjointed and unsatisfactory.

For these reasons we propose to pass over with rapidity that period which ensued in the interval between the termination of the Peloponnesian war and the rise of the Theban power. The only prominent incident in this part of Grecian history, was the expedition of the Greeks under Cyrus, in the rebellion of that prince against his brother Artaxerxes. This event may be considered as having ultimately led to the overthrow of the Persian monarchy, by opening the eyes of the Grecians to the internal weakness of that large and ill-cemented empire. The details of the expedition also, as they have been handed down to us by Xenophon, at once the historian and the leader of that unfortunate but marvellous achievement, throw no inconsiderable light upon the manners and customs of the times, both in the east and among the Greeks themselves. This interesting and celebrated event, which forms perhaps the most curious episode in the annals of Greece, will form the subject of the following chapter.



Xenophon.

CHAPTER II.

XENOPHON.

Early years of Xenophon.

Of the origin and early years of Xenophon, the Athenian, our information is extremely scanty: the political party to which he was attached, the interest which Socrates took in the formation of his principles, the high connections which he formed wherever his fortune cast him, and the resources which he appears to have commanded, all conduce to establish the probability that he was well born and well educated; but history affords us no positive intelligence, further than the name of his father, Gryllus, and that he belonged to the Archian division of the Egeid ward. The date of his birth has been the subject of much ingenious discussion; and the result of accurate investigation, which determines the commencement of his military career to have been about his twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth year, and which, consequently, would place his birth about B. C. 427, does not differ materially from the statement of Diogenes Laertius that he became of age (ἡκμαζὲ) Ol. 94. 4. B. C. 400, and subsequently joined the expedition of Cyrus. The last-mentioned author insinuates, that Xenophon in his youth was not exempt from the vices of his age and country; and it is probable, that before he became acquainted with Socrates he had not given much attention to the duties of morality.—"He was," said Diogenes, "well mannered, and finely formed to a miracle, and to

B. C. 427.

Account of his youth by Diogenes Laertius.

these advantages were added extraordinary vigour of body and hardihood of constitution. His introduction to the great philosopher to whom he became so deeply indebted and so affectionately attached was highly characteristic of the abrupt, yet winning, manner of the teacher, and of the ingenuous docility of the pupil." It is said that Socrates, meeting him in a narrow gateway, extended his walking-stick across it so as to hinder his passage, inquiring how a man could acquire the means of profit? and upon receiving a suitable reply, he inquired further, how men could attain to virtue and honour? Xenophon being at a loss for an answer, the philosopher added, "Follow me then, and learn." And from that time he became a hearer of Socrates, and was the first who took notes from his lectures, which he afterwards published, with the title of memoirs.[1] This connection, however favourable to his future happiness, and to his fame, did not conduce, at the moment, to render his situation at Athens more comfortable. It appears probable that he was, from his birth and family, attached to the aristocratical party, which suffered at that period all the exactions and mortifications which the low tyranny of the mob, exulting in successful sedition, could inflict; and it had for some time been more than suspected, that the disciples of Socrates were trained in notions unfavourable to the continuance of an unbridled democracy—a suspicion which, more than the alleged accusation of impiety, or the virulence of the rival sophists, contributed to the condemnation of that philosopher, by the jealous temper of the sovereign people. About a year before this judgment, which cast so indelible a stain upon the Athenian character, an event occurred which gave a new turn to the prospects of Xenophon, and deprived his country of his services and of his example. Cyrus the younger, who, on the death of his father Darius, had been left commander-in-chief of a district of vast extent, was, soon afterwards, at the suggestion of the perfidious satrap Tissaphernes, seized by his elder brother Artaxerxes, the new king, and condemned to death; but, at the intercession of Parysatis, the queen-mother, who appears to have been partial to her younger son, he was liberated, and restored to his command. Indignant, however, at the insult, and made sensible of the insecurity of a younger brother's state, under Eastern despotism, he became guilty of that crime of which he had been, perhaps unjustly, accused, and entertained a design against the throne and life of the king, under the too-well founded impression that both could not continue in safety.

His introduction to Socrates.

Cyrus imprisoned by Artaxerxes.

Is released,

and meditates the destruction of his brother.

With this view the Persian prince exerted himself to win popularity by a splendid and liberal hospitality; and he laboured to strengthen his forces by every means in his power, without awakening the suspicions of the royal court; seeking, under pretext of differences with the neighbouring satraps, to engage in his service a formidable body of Grecian heavy-armed mercenaries, of which he had taken care to

The means he employs to execute his design.

[1] Memorabilia, Diogenes Laertius.

exhibit a specimen at Susa, when he travelled thither shortly before the death of Darius, and had carefully observed the effect produced upon the minds of his countrymen by their formidable appearance.

Proxenus

Among those whom he now entertained, Proxenus, a Theban of rank, pupil of the Leontine Gorgias, who brought him a reinforcement of one thousand five hundred heavy-armed soldiers, and five hundred targeteers, or light infantry, was received into his confidence, and treated as his personal friend: he being intimately connected with Xenophon wrote to him at Athens, inviting him to share the prince's favour, and to join the projected expedition as a volunteer. Xenophon showed the letter to Socrates, and desired him to be his counsellor on the occasion. The conjuncture was important: Cyrus was the ally of Lacedæmon, and, consequently, in the hostile spirit of the times, considered as the enemy of Athens, although nothing had passed to prove that he had any designs inimical to the republic; to follow his fortunes would, therefore, be to incur the suspicion of Laconism, an offence at this time nearly synonymous with the crime of being an aristocrat, and likely to be punished by a sentence amounting to banishment for life.

invites Xenophon to join Cyrus, who applies to Socrates,

The philosopher, who probably saw in his youthful friend talents and energies for the exercise of which his situation in his own country afforded him little opportunity, and who could not but feel the questionable nature of the proposed adventure, declined giving judgment himself, but recommended a reference to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. Xenophon, in compliance with this suggestion, undertook a journey to that celebrated temple, and very probably secured the favour of the Pythia by well-timed liberality; but instead of inquiring whether or not he should accept the invitation to Sardis, he merely put the question under what auspices, and with what sacrifices, he should prepare for the expedition? to which a direct and favourable answer having been returned, he informed Socrates of the result, who, after mildly reprimanding him for his departure from the advice which he had solicited, bid him set out under the direction of the god.

and finally consults the Pythian oracle.

As Xenophon must have passed his eighteenth year, sometime previous to the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, it is likely that he would, in compliance with the laws of his country, have seen some service, although the part which he took in it is nowhere recorded; but many circumstances concur in rendering it probable that he served with other Athenians of rank in the cavalry, and employed himself in acquiring information on military subjects; for he does not appear to have been received at the court of Sardis like a raw recruit, and his establishment there, as we afterwards incidentally learn, was peculiarly equestrian.

Xenophon joins Cyrus.

On his arrival, he found that the prince had engaged a Grecian force of about eleven thousand heavy-armed troops, and two thousand light infantry, principally under the direction of Clearchus, a Lacedæ-

monian exile, in whom he placed great confidence, and to whom he had entrusted a sum of ten thousand darics (nearly 8,000*l.*), for the purpose of clandestinely raising troops among the Hellespontine Thracians. He had also employed, in a similar service, Aristippus, a Thessalian, who had been driven from his home by one of those violent factions so common in Grecian states, and had availed himself of the asylum and ready aid which Cyrus afforded to all warlike fugitives, to reinstate himself and his party by force of arms. Proxenus, the Bœotian, to whom Xenophon owed his introduction, had been engaged to raise an army under pretext of chastising the Peisidians for some inroads upon the government of the prince; while Sophænetus of Stymphalus, with two associates, (Socrates of Achæa, and Pasion of Megara,) was directed to enlist all the soldiers he could meet with, for the avowed purpose of prosecuting the dispute with Tissaphernes respecting the Milesian territory. **Cyrus's generals.**

At length, thinking himself sufficiently prepared for his great undertaking, Cyrus ordered Clearchus immediately to join with all his force, and Aristippus to make terms with his citizens, and to send him the troops he had collected under the command of his countryman Menon. He also sent to Xenias, the Arcadian, who had before accompanied him to Susa, and who afterwards commanded the foreign forces in his garrisons, to bring him all who could safely be spared from that service. He recalled the generals who were conducting the siege of Miletus, and commanded the Milesian exiles to join him in the pretended exhibition against the Peisidians; other Grecian reinforcements received a route to meet him on the road; and his whole disposable Persian army accompanied him. It is probable that he hoped to have so deceived the king, with respect to the object of his march, as to have taken him quite unprepared, and to have overcome him almost without a battle; but the wily Tissaphernes, exasperated by former enmity, as well as by recent aggression, perceived at once the disproportion between the means provided and the object professed; and taking five hundred cavalry as his body guard, set off, with the utmost speed, to Susa, and thus enabled the king to make preparations for repelling the approaching invasion. **He commences warlike operations.**

The army set out from Sardis in the month of April 401 B. C. with all the pomp, and much of the luxury of a Persian camp, only it was ill provided with money, Cyrus having probably exhausted his treasury in enrolling so great a force, and depending, according to the system of the times, upon the voluntary or forced contributions of the countries through which he was to pass, and upon the hopes of speedy success and immense booty. B. C. 401.

It will not be necessary to detail all the minute particulars of a march, which Xenophon relates without taking any occasion to make mention of himself, but with an attention to the topography and natural history of the various districts through which he travelled, which suggests a conjecture, that the idea of writing the *Anabasis*

was entertained from the first, and might possibly have been proposed to him by his friend and adviser Socrates; some incidents, however, must not be omitted, which throw considerable light upon the character of those Grecian mercenaries on whom the fate of empires now began to depend, as well as upon the resources to which their leaders were driven to supply those deficiencies of pay, which the poverty of the Greeks, and the mismanagement of the Persians, so often occasioned. More than three months pay was in arrear, when Cyrus arrived at the plain of Caystrus, where he halted for five days, having left Sardis little more than seven weeks; and the soldiers, says Xenophon, "went frequently to the door of his lodging to demand what was due to them. He put them off alleging the great prospects before them; and showing the vexation which he really felt; appealing to their experience that it was not his habit to fail of payment when he had it in his power."

Cyrus in distress for treasure;

At this critical period he received a visit from Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, whom Xenophon calls the king of the Cilicians, but who was nevertheless a tributary of the Persian empire, and subject to the imperial sceptre of Artaxerxes. It was currently reported, that this lady not only brought the prince a large supply of money, but granted him still more costly favours; and he was enabled, besides discharging the demands of his army, to gratify the soldiers with a month's pay in advance. The princess continued some days with the army, either from political or other motives, and at her request Cyrus reviewed his troops at Tyriæum, which Xenophon distinguishes as "an inhabited city," with reference to the frequent occurrence throughout the Persian empire, of "cities great and fair, without inhabitant," in consequence of the system of spoil and plunder, by which the petty wars between the satraps were conducted, and of the weakness of the imperial government, which was unable to protect its dependencies or maintain subordination in the provinces.

is relieved by Epyaxa.

The lady appears to have been more frightened than pleased with the display of Grecian warfare; but Cyrus derived additional hopes from the alarm which the brilliancy of their armour, the exactness of their discipline, and the vigour of their charge, produced among the natives of the east. In this review, Menon, at the head of his Thessalians, occupied the right wing, and Clearchus the left. The former had afterwards the honour of reconducting the Cilician princess with an escort to her residence. He appears to have been in high favour with Cyrus, though Xenophon speaks of him in strong terms of disapprobation, and relates some circumstances much to his disadvantage; it is hinted by Diogenes Laertius, that he had some personal reason to dislike him.

When they arrived at Tarsus, the metropolis of Cilicia, a negotiation ensued between Cyrus and Syennesis, in consequence of which another large subsidy was provided for the pay of the troops; but here a new cause of discontent arose, which speedily broke out into

open mutiny, and threatened to destroy all the schemes of Cyrus, by the dissolution of his ill-compacted army.

The soldiers had for some time entertained suspicions, that the real design of the prince was against the king, and they now declared, that as they were not enlisted for that service, they would proceed no further. Clearchus attempted to enforce obedience to his commands, and his horse beginning the march, were stoned, himself narrowly escaping with life. Finding subordination at an end, he desisted; and having called a general assembly of the troops, where the extraordinary spectacle of a Spartan general in tears commanded silence, he addressed them in a speech probably more laconic and less skilful than the harangues put into his mouth by Xenophon, but which had the effect not only of restoring satisfaction and obedience among his own troops, but even of inducing more than two thousand men who had hitherto served under Xenias and Pasion, to transfer their arms and baggage to the camp of Clearchus, a striking instance of the want of military discipline, arising from the prevalence of republican principles. **The soldiers refuse to march, but are prevailed on by Clearchus.**

By these and other arts which the deficiency of authority compelled him to adopt, he induced the assembly of soldiers to send a deputation to Cyrus, in order to ascertain the real objects of the expedition. The prince, who was suffering the most extreme uneasiness on account of their defection, could not venture to announce his actual intentions, and replied to the deputies that an enemy of his (Abrocomas, satrap of Syria), was then on the banks of the Euphrates, distant only twelve days' march from Tarsus; and that he desired to proceed against him. The assembly were not so deceived by this feint, but that the design against the king was still suspected; but in the difficulty of returning without pay, and against the will of their leaders, through an enemy's country, and apprehensive that Cyrus might turn his arms against them, if prevented from pursuing his original plan, they resolved to follow him, on condition of receiving an augmentation of one-third to their pay. And thus this alarming sedition was effectually quieted.

All, however, were not satisfied; and the two generals, Xenias and Pasion, mortified by the secession of their troops, and the acquiescence of the prince in it, availed themselves of the opportunity soon afterwards afforded, by their arrival and stay at Myriandrus, a Phœnician sea-port of some commercial importance, where the united Lacedæmonian and Persian fleets met the army, to take their passage home; and Xenophon has acknowledged that he was tempted to follow their example, but was withheld from it by the dictates of prudence and honour. Cyrus was the first to announce this desertion to the Greeks, and he availed himself of the circumstance to gain popularity by a display of magnanimity, not only abstaining from pursuit, which with his swift galleys would have been certain of success, but assuring the soldiers, that the wives and children of the deserters, who had been left in his power at Tralles, as pledges of their fidelity, should be restored to them in safety. **Xenias and Pasion return home.**

No further difficulties arose till they reached Thapsacus, a large and rich city upon the right bank of the Euphrates; where, having halted for five days, Cyrus sent for the Grecian generals, and avowed his design of marching to Babylon against the great king, desiring them to exert their influence to prevail on the soldiers to follow. A general assembly being called, the communication so long secretly expected was made; the soldiers, as usual, showed reluctance, and accused their officers of having deceived them, with a view of extorting a further increase of pay or gratification, and they demanded the same sum which had been given on a former occasion to the Greek mercenaries, who attended the prince on his visit to his father, and who were exposed to no hazards of battle. Cyrus immediately promised a gratuity of five minæ of silver (about 16*l.*) to each man, on their arrival at Babylon, and undertook to continue their monthly pay at the increased rate at which it then stood of three half darics, till their return to Ionia. The greater part of the army were engaged by this offer; but while they were yet deliberating upon it, the artful Menon drew his men aside, and advised them to take that opportunity of ingratiating themselves with the prince by crossing the river first, while the rest were hesitating. This being done, they immediately received the thanks of Cyrus, and the promise of a liberal reward, and Menon himself was honoured with splendid presents. The whole army soon followed, and found the Euphrates easily fordable; an event which the flattery of the Thapsacenes attributed to the homage paid by the river to its future king; alleging that it had never before occurred in the memory of man, and that Abrocomas was supposed to have effectually prevented the passage by removing all the vessels upon the stream.

Cyrus informs the army of his intended enterprise.

They murmur,

but finally agree,

and cross the Euphrates.

Soon after this, the army having encamped in some deserted works, nearly opposite the populous town of Carmanda, on the Euphrates, and being employed in transporting provisions on temporary floats made of skins from the market, a violent quarrel arose between a soldier serving under Clearchus, and one belonging to Menon's division; and the former general, deciding that Menon's man was to blame, inflicted stripes upon him, in that hasty and arbitrary manner, which the deficiency of an established discipline frequently occasioned. The comrades of the culprit so warmly resented this interference, that when, on the same day, Clearchus happened to pass from the market through their quarters, with few attendants, one of them who was employed in cleaving wood flung his hatchet at his head, and was supported by the rest with stones and similar missiles. Escaping to his own camp, he called to arms; and but for the timely intervention of Proxenus, would have led his Thracian horse to action; during the discussion which ensued, Cyrus opportunely arrived, and rushing with his suite into the midst of the confusion, cried out, "Clearchus and Proxenus, and you Greeks who are present, you know not what you are doing; if you fall out among yourselves, I shall this day be cut

Dissension between the troops,

checked by the interposition of Cyrus.

off, and you not long after; for if my native troops see anything amiss between us, they will instantly become more dangerous than the forces of the king." This remonstrance brought Clearchus to himself, and all parties laid down their arms.

This storm was scarcely appeased, when a new alarm was excited by the treachery of Orontas, a relative of the prince, who was discovered holding a correspondence with the king, and to have arranged a plan for deserting with a chosen body of cavalry. Being apprehended, he acknowledged his crime, and admitted that having twice before been pardoned, after similar offences, he could never hope to re-establish his character. Cyrus unwilling to appear despotic, asked Clearchus for his judgment, having admitted him as first in rank of the Grecian army to his council on this occasion: Clearchus, without hesitation, declared his opinion for death, and all present, even the relatives of the criminal, assented to its propriety. Cyrus, therefore, condemned him to suffer: he was respectfully led out, and seen no more.

Treachery of Orontas detected

and punished.

The time for action now approaching, Cyrus took care to animate his Grecian troops by renewed and splendid promises, and to warn them of the immense superiority of numbers with which they would have to contend, encouraging them, at the same time, with assurances that they would find the Persian soldiers less than women.

He assigned the Greeks a position on the right of his army, flanked by the Euphrates, and directed Clearchus to command their right wing, and Menon the left. And here for the first time Xenophon makes mention of himself. "Cyrus rode along at a moderate distance surveying both armies, looking now at the enemy, now at his friends. Xenophon the Athenian, seeing him from the Grecian line, riding out to meet him, inquired if he had any commands for him. He stopping his horse informed him, and desired him to tell them all, that the sacrifice and victims were favourable. While he was saying this, he heard a clamour through the ranks, and asked what it was. Xenophon told him that they were exchanging a fresh watchword. He wondered who could have given it out, and asked what it might be. Xenophon replied, that it was Jupiter the Preserver and Victory. Cyrus having heard it, said I accept it; let it be so, and having said this he rode off to his station."

Cyrus's disposition of his army.

Xenophon's first mention of himself.

The minuteness with which a circumstance, in itself so little important, is related, is highly characteristic of a young man ambitious of notice, and gratified by the honour conferred upon him. At the same time it seems to imply, that Xenophon had hitherto taken no part in the conduct of the army, and had not been invited to the councils of the prince; for had he been accustomed to converse familiarly with Cyrus, he would scarcely have recorded the present interview.

The battle of Cunaxa, which followed immediately after the anecdote that has just been related, and in which Cyrus was slain and his

Battle of Cunaxa, and death of Cyrus.

army completely defeated by Artaxerxes, belongs to the history of Persia, rather than to the life of Xenophon, or to the affairs of Greece. The native troops in the army of Cyrus were totally routed and dispersed; but in that part of the field in which the Greeks fought, the forces of Artaxerxes were driven from the field in every direction, and almost without resistance. These last were pursued until the Grecians at length, wearied with slaughter and fatigue, returned to their camp. As they had gone into battle without dinner, it was no small mortification to them, on their arrival, to find that their quarters had been plundered; nevertheless, as they supposed that a great victory had been gained, their spirits were raised, and they waited patiently, hoping that the morning would bring them intelligence and orders from Cyrus. When day dawned, the generals, surprised at receiving no communication, resolved to march forward in the hope of falling in with him; but at sunrise, two officers of distinction, Procles, the governor of Teuthrania, who was descended from Demaratus the Laconian, and Glous, the son of Tamus, admiral of the fleet, informed the Greeks that Cyrus was dead; and that the remainder of his army had fled to their camp under the conduct of Ariæus their general, who desired to inform the Greeks that he would wait for them that day, but on the morrow should march homewards for Ionia. This intelligence was received by the whole army, officers and men, with the deepest consternation; but Clearchus, with true Spartan spirit, replied, "I would that Cyrus had lived to profit by our victory; but since it is otherwise, we are not less masters of the field, and but for your arrival, should have been now on our march in pursuit of the king; wherefore tell Ariæus that if he will return hither, we will set him upon the throne of Persia, since they who conquer have a right to reign." Having thus spoken, he sent them back, and desired Cheirisophus the Lacedæmonian and Menon to accompany them; the latter, indeed, had himself proposed to undertake the embassy as the friend and xenus,[1] or guest, of Ariæus.



Artaxerxes, King of Persia.
Visconti, Icon. Grecque.

Spirited reply of Clearchus to Ariæus.

In the mean time, Clearchus was too good a general to neglect provision for the immediate wants of his army. He ordered a number of

[1] There is no English word in any degree corresponding with the Greek terms ξενὸς and ξενία, in that sense in which they are here and frequently used. It was a right of friendship, arising out of a contract of reciprocal hospitality, and a remnant of the manners of the earliest age of Greece.

draught oxen and asses to be killed, and gathering up the darts and wicker or wooden shields of the barbarians, and breaking up some unnecessary waggons for fuel, they fed that day upon boiled meat. After dinner, when they were, according to the manner of the Greeks, assembled together to spend the heat of the day in conversation, some heralds arrived from the king and from Tissaphernes, (among whom was a Greek named Phalesius, in the service of the satrap, and highly esteemed by him,) demanding in the name of the king, that they should ground their arms and surrender at discretion. Clearchus merely replied, that it was not usual with the victors in an action to surrender their arms; and leaving the other generals to return a more explicit answer, he went out to attend a sacrifice, promising speedily to return. During his absence, several of the principal Greeks took part in the discussion; but having had no previous consultation on a message so unexpected, they spoke as their different tempers and interests led them, some with indignant contempt, others with a disposition to accommodation, and a few with offers of mercenary service in Egypt or elsewhere; among the rest, Xenophon thus addressed the messenger:—

Artaxerxes demands the surrender of the Greeks.

Debate of the Grecian generals.

"With us, Phalesius, as you may perceive, nothing is of value but our arms and our honour. As long as we preserve our arms, we can rely upon our own valour; but in parting with them, we should be conscious of betraying ourselves. Think not, therefore, that we will resign our only remaining property, but rather we will use them in fighting for yours." Phalesius laughed heartily at this set speech, and replied, "You appear to be a scholar, young gentleman, and what you say is pleasant enough; but I would not have your inexperience so much deceive you, as to set your boasted valour against the power of the king."[1]

Xenophon's answer to Phalesius, the messenger of the king.

Clearchus having, probably, under the usual pretext of a sacrifice, taken time for private consultation, now returned to the assembly and inquired what had been determined. Phalesius having replied, that the rest had said some one thing and some another, and that he hoped for a definitive answer from him alone, Clearchus desired him, as of Grecian extraction, to say what Greeks ought to do in their situation. The question being evaded, Clearchus boldly took upon himself to send the following message to the king. "If we are to be considered as the king's allies we shall be more worthy of his service with our arms; if we are to fight for our safety, we cannot spare them."—"This answer," said Phalesius, "we will report; but the king has also commanded us to declare that he will keep truce with you whilst you remain here, but will consider you as enemies if you either advance or retreat; say, therefore, whether you choose truce or war."—"Say," replied the general, "that we consented to the proposition of

Clearchus replies with caution to Phalesius.

[1] It is wonderful that notwithstanding this contemptuous speech, recorded by Xenophon himself, two distinguished critics and historians, Spelman and Dodwell, should have contended that he was at this time about fifty years of age.

the king."—"But is it truce or war?" urged Phalesius. "A truce, if we remain—war, if we advance or retreat." And the question being repeated, he returned the same answer, and refused to declare what were his intentions; and with this answer, the messengers were constrained to depart. Soon afterwards, Procles and Cheirisophus only returned from Ariæus, declining the offer made him on account of the inferiority of his birth to that of many Persian nobles; and stating that if the Greeks should not join him that night, he should march in the morning without them. Clearchus, in his usual manner, desired that they would do as they thought best, and declined to inform them what were his own intentions. He appears, however, to have considered the matter deeply, and to have determined wisely; and knowing the effect which the belief in divination still had upon the minds of the soldiery, he employed it, as other generals and statesmen of that age usually did, to confirm his own authority. Calling the officers together after dusk, he assured them that having sacrificed with a view to pursuing the king, the victims had appeared unfavourable; and that these indications were well founded was proved by intelligence since received, that the king had passed the Tigris, whose stream was not fordable, and had removed all the boats. To remain where they were encamped, without supplies, was manifestly impossible; the victims were altogether propitious to the Cyreian party for a return; he proposed therefore, that they should retire to sup as well as they could; and that upon the sounding of the bugle, which usually dismissed them to bed, they should pack up their baggage; upon hearing it repeated they should load their beasts of burden; and when it should sound a third time, the march should begin, taking care to keep the baggage between the river and the army. To this arrangement the officers all submitted in silence; not, says Xenophon, because they had elected Clearchus their leader, but from feeling that he alone had the talents and skill requisite for the occasion, and that the others were inexperienced in such emergencies.

Clearchus counsels a return.

Here then commences the celebrated "Retreat of the Ten Thousand," as it has been somewhat loosely termed by the moderns, but better known to the ancients as the "Return of the Cyreian Greeks." The army was now encamped at the distance of sixteen thousand and fifty furlongs from the city of Ephesus in Ionia, which they reckoned as their rendezvous, or, to compute distance by time, ninety-three days' march. By their resolution to remove, they had in effect declared themselves at war with the king, in the very heart of an enemy's country, who could at any moment pour down upon them with fifty times their numbers, and cut off all the sources of supply; and their only allies within two thousand miles were a defeated band of rebel barbarians, whose weakness and cowardice they knew, and whose fidelity they had every reason to suspect; conducted by a man who appears to have possessed neither spirit in rebellion, nor honesty in obedience. To add to the difficulty and dangers of their situation,

Retreat of the Ten Thousand.

their own numbers were thinned by desertion as soon as it was dark, and there was too much reason to apprehend that the deserters had carried intelligence to the king. Marching with the remainder, Clearchus reached his first encampment adjoining that of Ariæus about midnight; and immediately laying aside their armour, the generals and principal officers waited upon the Persian commander, and a solemn compact was made between the Greeks on one part, and Ariæus and his chief officers on the other, to observe mutual fidelity, and to afford mutual assistance; the Persian further covenanting to act faithfully as the guide of the army. The ceremony consisted in slaughtering a boar, a bull, a lynx,[1] and a ram, and their mingled blood being poured into a shield, the Greeks dipped into it a sword, and the Persians a spear, and thus took the prescribed oath. Clearchus then desired Ariæus to give his opinion respecting the route homewards. It is difficult at this distance of time, to form any opinion respecting the real intentions of Ariæus in making this league with the Greeks; and Xenophon gives no hint of any insincerity in the advice which he now offered them—to avoid the road by which they had come, on account of their want of supplies, and of the barren nature and exhausted condition of the country, and to return home by a longer way through a rich and fertile district: it was, however, evident that by taking the Greeks into a totally strange land, he had them more completely in his power than while they pursued a track already known to them.

Mutual compact of the Greeks and Persians.

It was agreed, nevertheless, to follow his recommendation, which was certainly supported by cogent arguments, and to lose no time in gaining ground on the king's forces, who, it was argued, could not overtake them with a large force, and dared not attack them with a small one. Upon this arrangement, Xenophon makes a very characteristic remark, observing that it clearly acknowledged the necessity of retreat, at least, if not of flight; "but fortune," he says, "played the general more honourably;" for it shortly happened that the royal troops came in sight, but were afraid to attack them, and actually removed to a safer distance during the night; a caution principally attributable to the Spartan spirit of Clearchus, who with a dignified indifference continued his march in their view, neither caring to attack, nor seeking to avoid any engagement. These circumstances led to an intercourse, and finally to an arrangement between the parties, the terms of which were so favourable to the Greeks, that they ought to have excited suspicion; and whatever might have been the original intentions of Ariæus, there can be little doubt that he now bought his own pardon at the expense of concurring in a scheme of cunning treachery for the total destruction of his

Treachery of Ariæus.

[1] This is usually translated *a wolf*; but as the lynx was with the Persians a domestic animal kept for the purposes of hunting, as hounds are with us, and as the occasion could only admit of sacrificing such animals as were at hand, it seems most probable that λυκὸς here signifies, as it is supposed to do in Homer, a lynx.

Grecian friends. To this he was induced by the persuasion of the unprincipled and politic Tissaphernes, who had been appointed to succeed the unfortunate Cyrus in his great command, and was, in consequence, preparing to pursue the same journey towards Sardis with a powerful army.

It was obviously for the interest of the Persian empire, that the Cyreian Greeks should not return in safety, to excite the cupidity of their formidable countrymen, by relating the facilities of their march, the imbecility of their adversaries, and the immense booty to be obtained by a successful invasion; and it was at the same time, extremely hazardous to attempt their destruction by force, even with that vast superiority of numbers which the king could command. In the history which follows, we shall trace a deliberate design to mislead, to disorganize, and ultimately to annihilate the Grecian army, founded upon the knowledge which the Persians had acquired of its strength and of its weaknesses, and so artfully contrived, and in part executed, as to have insured success, but for the extraordinary talents and prompt decision of Xenophon.

Policy of the Persian commanders.

The boldness and independence which the Greeks had shown, by determining to march homewards in defiance of the king, and the proud style which their leader assumed in every communication with him, had taught the Persian court that little was to be effected by haughtiness and intimidation; and Artaxerxes, or they who acted in his name on this occasion, wisely laid aside the lofty tone of oriental despotism, and not only submitted to the rough manners of Clearchus, but acceded to all his demands, and supplied him liberally with provisions; insuring by such compliances the peaceable behaviour of his troops both towards the king's forces, and the country at large, the former of whom dreaded nothing so much as an attack from a small phalanx of Greeks, and the latter knew too well the dreadful consequences to be apprehended from Grecian cruelty and rapacity in pillage.

Of the treachery intended against them, Clearchus appears to have entertained some idea; for Xenophon mentions, that in conducting his troops, under Persian guides, to the place assigned them for refreshment, he thought it necessary to push forward as rapidly as possible, observing that the numerous canals and drains across which they were led, by means of portable bridges, were much fuller of water than at that season would ordinarily have occurred, and fearing that there might be a design of entangling them in the fens, and inundating the country. If such was the intention, it was frustrated by the expedition with which the Greeks traversed these intricate marsh lands; and on their arrival at the villages, they were abundantly refreshed, and well entertained: and here, partly for rest, and partly from policy, they remained three days.

The Greeks and Persians have an interview,

During this repose, Tissaphernes, accompanied by the brother of the queen, and three Persians of rank, and with a great train, had an interview with the generals, in which he displayed all that finesse, and

ready perception of character, which characterize an accomplished diplomatist; and which proved that they, whom the Greeks with so much contempt termed barbarians, though less warlike, and generally less vigorous in mind and body, were in fact more highly civilized, more polished in manners, and more adroit in negotiation than themselves. The result of the present discussion was a reference to the Royal Council, whose reply the Greeks awaited two days in great anxiety. On the third day, Tissaphernes returned, and the treaty was settled on the following terms. That after the army, which was to accompany the new satrap, should have joined that of Ariæus, this united force should march towards Ionia, and act as guides to the Greeks; that they should provide them a market for purchasing provisions at their different stations on the road; that in failure hereof the Greeks should be allowed to seize in the villages as much as might be necessary for present consumption, but without committing waste; provided always, that whenever a market could be procured they should not plunder the country. at which certain treaties are made.

This being agreed, Tissaphernes returned to court to complete his preparations, and the Greeks encamping near Ariæus awaited his return about three weeks. During this period the symptoms of alienation became so strong on the part of the Persians, that the Greeks took alarm, and pressed Clearchus to remain no longer; but that prudent general, though he acknowledged that he participated in their uneasiness, would not consent to begin the rupture by departing from the terms of the treaty; alleging his total ignorance of the country, and especially of the rivers they might have to cross, the formidable superiority of the Persian cavalry, and his own total want of that species of force, as sufficient reasons for avoiding open hostilities.

Tissaphernes at length arrived, accompanied by Orontas, the satrap of Armenia; who is supposed to have been the son of that Orontas executed by Cyrus, and to have received the king's daughter in marriage, as a compensation for the death and disgrace of his father incurred in the royal cause. Each of the satraps led a great power, principally of horse, and Orontas brought his bride with him. The close connection which immediately appeared to subsist between Tissaphernes and Ariæus, strengthened the suspicions and increased the uneasiness already prevailing in the Grecian army, and although the terms of the treaty were formally observed, yet all friendly intercourse wholly ceased, precautions against surprise were adopted with the same jealousy as in the face of an enemy, and some blows passed among the lower servants of the two camps. Tissaphernes arrives.

A few days afterwards the evil intentions of the Persian generals became apparent, by a feigned communication made to Proxenus and Xenophon, of some intended treachery against the Greeks, the object of which appears to have been, by exasperating the jealousy of the army, to excite them to defection, or to some violation of the treaty; and so great was the consternation of Clearchus that the plot would

possibly have succeeded, had not the penetration of Xenophon pointed out an inconsistency in the story of their pretended friend, which considerably relieved him from the apprehension of any immediate attack by the Persians. This circumstance, however, added to other causes of discontent, induced Clearchus to demand an explanation of Tissaphernes, in the course of which that wily and accomplished statesman prevailed upon the Spartan to lay aside his suspicions and his caution, and by artful insinuations transferred to Menon the whole blame of the late differences; so that Clearchus was induced to propose, that himself and the principal officers of the army, should wait upon the satrap, and that a cordial reconciliation should take place; after which he remained to supper, and was treated with the most engaging hospitality. There were not wanting in the Grecian army persons who distrusted these professions, and we may gather that Xenophon himself advised the general against committing himself to the faith of his doubtful allies; but Clearchus, blunt and honest by nature, fell into the snare; and taking with him four other generals, and twenty inferior officers, and being followed by about two hundred soldiers or volunteers all unarmed,[1] he repaired to the Persian camp. On their arrival, the five generals Clearchus, Proxenus, Menon, Socrates, and Agias the Arcadian, were immediately admitted, the other officers waiting without; and not long after, upon a signal given, those within were arrested, and those without were cut to pieces, while a body of horse scouring the plain, slew all the mixed crowd which had followed them; and so complete was the destruction, that the Greeks who had observed the confusion from the camp, and were at a loss how to act, were only informed of the truth by a single fugitive who escaped mortally wounded. All flew to arms, expecting an immediate attack; but the policy of Tissaphernes was not to fight, but to wear them out, and accordingly he instantly despatched three persons supposed to have been well affected towards Cyrus; Ariæus, Artaozus, and Mithridates, and, as was reported, his own brother, with a well-armed escort of three hundred horse, to demand an interview with the remaining officers, and to endeavour to practise upon them the same artifices which had been so successfully played off upon Clearchus. Cheirisophus the Lacedæmonian next in rank to Clearchus was absent, and the only generals in the camp were Sophænetus, and Cleanor of Orchomenus; these, having taken proper measures to secure their safety, went out to meet the Persians, and Xenophon accompanied them that he might, if possible, ascertain the fate of his friend Proxenus. Ariæus then declared that Clearchus, having broken the treaty, had suffered capital punishment, but that Proxenus and Menon, who had given information of his treachery, were received among the Persians with high honours; the king, he added, demands that you should give up your arms, which, having been the property of Cyrus, has, in course, escheated to him.

The treachery of Tissaphernes.

Seizure of the Grecian generals,

and death of Clearchus.

[1] So we may understand the phrase ὡς ἐις ἀγορὰν.

This demand, which amounted in fact to an unconditional surrender, was answered by Cleanor with becoming indignation, and with an appeal to the honour and generosity of those friends of Cyrus who had involved themselves in the perfidity of Tissaphernes, which could only have failed of effect with bad hearts and depraved understandings. Ariæus merely reiterated his charge against Clearchus; upon which Xenophon, with his characteristic acuteness, observed, "Clearchus then, if indeed he has violated his oath, and broken the treaty, has suffered justly (for it is right that perjury should be punished with death); but since our generals Proxenus and Menon have deserved well of you, send them back to us, for it is manifest that they who are friends of both parties, can best advise for our mutual advantage." To this fair and able proposal the Persians could not contrive a reply, and after considerable discussion among themselves, they retired without coming to any conclusion. Reply of Xenophon to the Persians.

It does not appear that there was the least ground for the charge pretended against Clearchus, or any of the five generals, unless the excessive avarice, the shameless selfishness, the gross debaucheries, and the total want of principle, which Xenophon attributes to Menon, and his known attachment to Ariæus, might raise a suspicion that he had tampered with the Persians, and offered to assist in betraying his countrymen. But if he were thus guilty, he received the due reward of his crimes; for the other generals having been conducted alive into the presence of the king were honourably beheaded, while Menon was condemned to one of those ignominious punishments too well known in Persia, which destroys life after many months of lingering torture.

Xenophon sums up his account of this extraordinary transaction with a handsome tribute to the military genius and high character of Clearchus; and briefly notices the brilliant talents and engaging qualities of his young friend Proxenus, whom he represents as capable of conducting affairs of the greatest moment, but too desirous of being beloved among his soldiers to inspire awe or maintain due discipline; his approbation was valued by the well disposed; but his only censure, the withholding his accustomed praise and encouragement, was lightly regarded by the disorderly.

It is highly probable that the satraps produced the five generals at court as prisoners of war, and claimed the credit of having defeated the Grecian army in action, and effectually prevented its return home; an event evidently much dreaded by the Persian government, aware of the enterprising habits and daring genius of the Greeks, and of the great superiority which personal hardihood, exact discipline, and impenetrable armour must give them over any number of Persian soldiers. These troops, though often brave, and not deficient in address and activity, were, from the nature of their accoutrements, and the delicacy of their habits, equally incapable of being made effective in close action, and of sustaining the fatigues and privations of a protracted campaign. The politic arrangement of the Persian Contrast between the Greeks and the Persians.

court differed little from the general character so remarkable in oriental despotism: while a veneration scarcely short of idolatry was ostentatiously paid to the person of the great king, his authority was set at nought with impunity, and the grossest frauds were practised upon his revenues; a system of profound deceit and treachery was veiled under the most courtly manners; and the servants of the crown, often too powerful to be controlled, were secretly encouraged in a system of private warfare, that the king might keep up a shadow of power by balancing them against each other. It was this weakness in the head, and division among the members, of the empire, which opened to the enterprising genius of Cyrus those great prospects which his personal rashness nipped in the bud: had he survived, it seems probable that he would have changed the face of that vast dominion, and have given a new energy to Persian councils and Persian arms, for he had all the qualities which command respect, and many which engage affection, and he entertained enlarged and liberal views of the political and military institutions of European Greece.

Republican sentiments of Greece unfavourable to military discipline.

It has already been observed, that the republican sentiments which pervaded Greece were extremely unfavourable to the adoption of an effective military discipline. Where the council of war consists of the whole army, and the deliberations are conducted as in a popular assembly, it is impossible that there should exist anything like secrecy of design or promptitude of execution; and where the leaders owe their authority to the election of the troops, or the consent of the inferior officers, their operations must generally be controlled, and their opinions often overruled; and as such a mode of appointment precludes a regular gradation of rank, there is commonly no second ready, on any emergency, to supply the place of the commander-in-chief; so that the success of every action depends upon the life of one man, and the conduct of the whole campaign upon every casualty to which he is liable. Hence it is, that in reading the history of Greece we are so frequently surprised to find the most brilliant victories followed by no material consequences, and the greatest advantages overlooked and unimproved.

Despair of the Grecian army.

There is perhaps no instance upon record of an army so situated as that of the Greeks, after the loss of their five generals; for of the three who remained with that rank, not one appears to have possessed talents or experience, or to have thought himself either capable of the great command now vacant, or called upon to provide for the common safety. All gave themselves up to despair. They felt that they were still two thousand miles from the nearest part of Greece, close to the vast armies of the king, and surrounded on all sides by tribes of hostile barbarians, who would supply them with nothing but at the expense of blood: they had no guide acquainted with the country, no knowledge of the deep and rapid rivers which intersected it, and no cavalry to explore the road or cover their rear on the march. As if discipline and hope had ended together, the roll-call was scarcely

attended to, the watch-fires were scantily, or not at all, supplied; even their principal meal was neglected: where chance led, they threw themselves down to rest, but not to sleep—for sleep was banished by thoughts of that country and those friends, whom they now no longer expected, and scarcely dared hope to behold again.

Xenophon's meditations on the situation of the army.

But the army had among them a man, little known indeed, but of far greater talents and bolder energies than any general under whom they had served; and probably the only man who could have extricated them from their present situation of unparalleled difficulty and danger. Xenophon had hitherto held no rank; had been attached to no division of the army; and had appeared only as the friend of Proxenus, but not in any way serving under him. He, like the rest, lay awake, suffering from grief and alarm; but his mind was not of a temperament to suffer without seeking a remedy, and he represents himself as having been encouraged by a dream during a momentary doze, which he has, in his usual manner, so related and interpreted, as to leave it doubtful whether his remarkable attention to omens and sacrifices was the result of sound policy or of sincere belief. Rousing himself from slumber, he began to reflect on the folly and rashness in which all participated. The night was far spent; the enemy would probably be upon them with the dawn; submission could only conduct them through suffering and disgrace to an ignominious death: no one provided for the emergency; despair produced the effect of security; "and from what people among them, thought he, can I expect a general, fit for this business? or why should I hesitate to act on account of my youth? If I thus without an effort give myself up to the enemy, I shall never reach a more mature age."

Consults with the officers,

Full of these thoughts he rose, calling together the officers belonging to the division of Proxenus, he set before them, in an animated speech, the certain ruin and destruction which must ensue from their submission; the grounds upon which he trusted for success, from strenuous exertion and prudent counsel; and concluded with assuring them that he was at their service in any capacity; and that if they thought fit to invest him with the command, his youth should only pledge him to more vigorous exertion.

and is chosen leader, with one dissentient voice only.

Upon this, the officers unanimously declared their readiness to serve under him, with the exception of one Apollonides, who, speaking in the Bœotian dialect, recommended that they should seek safety by submitting to the orders of the king. To this proposal Xenophon, with well-timed warmth, replied that sentiments so base ought to be punished by degradation to servile duties; an expression which led to the discovery that the officer in question had actually been a Lydian slave, and retained the marks of slavery on his person. He was accordingly cashiered, and the example proved of the greatest advantage, for it infused a new spirit into the rest, who, on the suggestion of Xenophon, immediately proceeded to summon a general council of all the surviving generals and officers, to the number of nearly an hundred. By this time it was

midnight, and the Bœotian officers, to save time, requested that Xenophon would open the business, by repeating what he had stated to them.

He accordingly made another judicious and encouraging speech, in which he strongly reprobated the idea of placing the smallest dependence upon anything but their own prudence, courage, and unanimity; and recommended, as the first step towards providing for the expected attack, that they should instantly proceed to supply by election the places of the commanders whom they had lost.

Appointment of the other generals.

Cheirisophus, the Lacedæmonian, immediately rose, and complimented Xenophon in the highest terms upon his conduct and his eloquence; and proposed, in order to carry his advice into effect, that the herald Tolmides, elsewhere celebrated for his stentorian powers, should call a general assembly of the whole army, without which, it appears, that no election of commanders could take place. This business consumed the remainder of the night; Timasion of Dardanum being chosen to succeed Clearchus, Xanthicles taking the place of Socrates, and the troops of Agias being committed to Cleanor; Philesius, of Achæa, was appointed to lead the Thessalians, instead of Menon, and Xenophon supplied the loss of his friend Proxenus.

As soon as it was day, the new commanders, placing piquets in advance, again assembled the army, and exhorted them to take courage, to maintain discipline, and to rely on the favour of the gods, who would not fail to avenge themselves upon the perfidious Persians. Xenophon in particular, having armed himself with a splendour becoming his present rank, endeavoured to raise hope and inspire sentiments of honour; and fortunately the favourable omen of sternutation occurred in the midst of his speech; upon which the soldiers, all with one accord worshipped Jupiter the Preserver, from whom the omen was reputed to proceed; and Xenophon, breaking off his harangue,

Sacrifice to Zeus Soter.

proposed a sacrifice to the god, desiring those who approved of the motion to hold up their hands: the show of hands being unanimous, the sacrifice was formally vowed, and an hymn sung; after which he resumed his discourse, and at great length set before the army, now full of hope and cheerfulness, the system which they must adopt to insure a safe and honourable return to their native country, and especially enforcing the necessity of a strict adherence to discipline, too often the great deficiency of Grecian troops, and of all troops in a retreat, when it becomes doubly necessary. His proposals were unanimously carried, as before, by a show of hands. They were principally directed to the means of facilitating the march, by burning the unnecessary tents and carriages, throwing away the most cumbrous part of the baggage, and even allowing a very limited quantity of necessary utensils; to the establishment of close order and an exact obedience; and to the settling a regular line of march, by conceding the lead to Cheirisophus, as being a Lacedæmonian, allotting the command of the

wings to the two oldest generals, and reserving the charge of the rear to himself and Timasion, as being the youngest. Thus, without assuming any superior authority, he in fact acted as commander-in-chief, and was readily and cheerfully obeyed; the whole army feeling that they were indebted to his energy and genius for their present safety, and depended upon him for their future hopes.

Whilst the soldiers were at dinner, previously to commencing their march, Mithridates made his appearance with a small escort, and endeavoured once more to entrap them by professions of friendship; but the generals were now on their guard, and perceiving that this kind of intercourse led to desertion, they gave strict orders that every stranger should be treated as an enemy, without further declaration of hostilities, during their passage through the enemy's country.

Skirmish between the Greeks and Mithridates.

In the afternoon they crossed the Zabatus in good order, keeping the baggage and servants in the centre of their hollow square; when Mithridates again appeared at the head of two hundred horse, and four hundred well-appointed archers and slingers. He approached as near as he thought proper with indications of friendly intentions, and thus poured his missiles into the rear of the Greeks to their great annoyance; for their own bowmen were inferior to the barbarians, who, having discharged their arrows, retired behind the horse for protection. Provoked at this, Xenophon, with his rear-guard, attempted to pursue them; but he could not separate himself far enough from the main body of the army to render pursuit effectual, and only exposed his own men to the arrows which the enemy discharged as they retired. As the Greeks moved to rejoin the march, the enemy in turn pursued, and thus the whole day was occupied in a harassing skirmish, and the progress made was only three miles. This was sufficiently discouraging, and Cheirisophus, with the older generals, found fault with Xenophon's conduct, who ingenuously acknowledged his error, but at the same time amply atoned for it, by a display of all the resources which characterize a great commander. "We have to-day experienced," said he, "on a small scale, the mischiefs to be apprehended from the enemy; and they are such as we can easily obviate; the superiority of their missile weapons may be met by offering encouragement to the Rhodian slingers in our army, who can hurl leaden bullets, much more effective than stones; and my horses, and those left by Clearchus, added to such as are used as beasts of burden, will mount a tolerable body of cavalry, who will enable us to keep the enemy at a greater distance."

The sagacity of this arrangement was at once perceived, and that very night two hundred slingers were enrolled, and the next morning, about fifty horse were duly equipped under the command of the Athenian Lycius. This business consumed the entire day, and on the next, they began their march at an early hour, passing in safety a ravine, where they had apprehended an attack. Soon afterwards, however, Mithridates appeared with a force of ten thousand horse, and

Mithridates receives a check.

four thousand archers and slingers, having been encouraged by his late success to undertake the capture of the Greeks. But he met with a reception very different from his expectations; the new cavalry immediately charged, and, supported by the slingers and a body of heavy-armed in the rear, put the whole Persian force to flight, and following them closely, made considerable slaughter of their infantry, while eighteen horse, entangled in the ravine, were taken. The bodies of the slain were shockingly mangled by the Greeks, with a view of infusing terror into the enemy; but this piece of barbarity was committed without orders. After this, they proceeded without molestation to a deserted Median city on the banks of the Tigris, where they halted for the night.



Slingers.

Tissaphernes endeavours to obstruct the march of the Greeks.

The check they had received deterred the Persians from any further attempt for two days, but on the third, Tissaphernes, with the united force at his command, appeared, hovering on their rear and flanks. Adhering to his plan of avoiding close action, he ordered his archers and slingers to commence the attack. But the Greeks had already gained experience from the missile weapons of the enemy, and had begun to use those which they had taken from them with sure aim and deadly effect; and the slingers having fortunately obtained a supply of gut and lead, did great execution, so that Tissaphernes hastily retired beyond the range of the shot, and the whole army followed his example, pursuing the Grecian troops the rest of the day at a safe distance.

This intermission gave time to the generals to correct the deficiency of their hollow square, which was found very inconvenient in passing defiles or bridges in face of any enemy; and they so arranged it, as to march in column, protected by six piquets of a hundred men each, who were to move either to the front or rear, as the occasion might require; the column being so managed as by a ready evolution to be formed into a square when necessary. These dispositions effectually prevented any further annoyance from the enemy on the plain; and the Greeks, on the seventh day since the commencement of open

hostilities, joyfully perceived that they were approaching a mountainous country, where the enemy's horse would be unable to act in large detachments. But the Persians having occupied the heights, so harassed them with missiles, that the targeteers were forced within the protection of the heavy-armed troops, and thus rendered useless; and so many were wounded that it became necessary, on halting for the night, to appoint eight surgeons.

Designs of the Persians.

The design of the Persians being to harass rather than to fight, they continued to annoy the line of march for many days by desultory attacks, chiefly with missile weapons; and they carefully avoided all such measures as might render the Greeks desperate, and bring on a general action; so that they neither laid waste the country, nor attempted to intercept the supplies. And the Greeks, by commencing their march later in the day, and thus keeping the Persians at a greater distance, from the fear of being assaulted by night, obtained at length two or three days of uninterrupted peace.

But the satraps now began to entertain serious apprehensions, that the perseverance and courage of this handful of men would break all their fine-drawn measures; and a determined attempt was made to arrest their progress by preoccupying with bowmen and slingers a height under which they must necessarily pass; and at the same time pressing on their rear with the cavalry. But here again their scheme was defeated, no less by the prudent advice, than by the personal vigour and intrepidity of Xenophon, who, with a select body of heavy-armed troops, and the corps of targeteers, succeeded in gaining a height which commanded the position of the enemy, and immediately dislodged them.

Vigorous policy of Xenophon.

While he was encouraging his men on this service to use their utmost exertion, a surly fellow reproached him with riding at his ease on horseback whilst others toiled on foot. Upon which, Xenophon sprung from his horse, and taking his shield from the malcontent, pushed vigorously forward, till the indignation of the soldiers against the offender again induced him to mount, and restore the foot-soldier's shield.

This mode of attack being rendered abortive, Tissaphernes now at length attempted to lay waste the country, and actually set fire to some villages, which occasioned great alarm among the Grecian soldiers, who began to apprehend a want of provisions; but Xenophon, riding along the line, humorously observed to them, that "by this act the Persians clearly acknowledged themselves conquered, for they ceased to treat the country as the territory of their king." And Cheirisophus sarcastically proposed to begin burning also, in order to see which party would "first cry, hold, enough."

But though the cheerfulness of their commanders infused confidence into the troops, they had yet great difficulties to overcome; for they arrived at a pass where precipitous mountains on one hand, and a river which they could not fathom with their spears on the other, seemed to bar all further progress. After some delay in retrograde movements,

and some time spent in examining the captives, it was at length resolved, in the council of the generals, to force a passage through the Carduchian[1] mountains, inhabited by a wild and fierce race of savages, whose hereditary hostility to the Persians, it was hoped, might render them favourable to the Greeks. And with this hope they abstained from pillage, and took only such supplies of provision as were indispensable. Finding, however, that no friendly demonstration met with any attention, but that, on the contrary, the Carduchians appeared everywhere disposed to molest them, Xenophon represented to the army that nothing but activity and expedition could enable them to traverse the mountains with tolerable security, and advised a still further sacrifice of their baggage, and especially of their slaves and cattle, the most valuable of the spoil they had acquired. And such is the influence which talents for command have in seasons of public danger, that no one ventured to dispute the propriety of the order which was made; the males accordingly were mostly dismissed, but discipline was not powerful enough to make the soldiers part with their women.

Passage of the Carduchian Mountains.

The Carduchians were found much more troublesome enemies than the Persian forces had been; for, with equal disposition to mischief, they had the advantage of rugged precipices, up which the Greeks climbed with difficulty, while they rolled down vast rocks, and hurled abundance of smaller stones with the force of slings, and in some cases contrived to throw the men themselves down the precipices; they also shot arrows of uncommon length from their huge bows, which, drawn by the foot, carried much further than those of the Cretans in the Grecian army, and with such force as to pierce helmet, shield, and thorax; so that the march was a continued fight for seven days, attended with considerable loss and many severe wounds. In all these dangers Xenophon bore a prominent part, and displayed those talents for command which are always readily obeyed in seasons of distress: he preoccupied the heights; he caught savages for guides and interpreters; he led the van, conducted the piquets, or kept order in the rear, as circumstances called him: he was always accessible during the hours of meals or rest; and upon him the whole army felt that they depended for deliverance from their difficulties. Fortunately, the towns were unfortified and well supplied, and the mountaineers left them undefended, having stipulated, in return for permitting some slain to be buried, that the Greeks should not burn them. Here they found repose; and on the last day, coming in view of the river which terminates the Carduchian country, and seeing the plains of Armenia beyond, they betook themselves to sleep in the villages, as if all their toils were ended. But at day-break it was found that the opposite bank was occupied by their old enemies the Persians, under Orontas, who had arrived in his satrapy before them, to dispute their passage through it: the river, just fordable, was rapid, and its bottom uneven.

The difficulties encountered on the march.

[1] The modern name is Curds.

The Carduchians, occupying the heights which the army had just quitted, watched a favourable moment to commence their attack on the rear.

Here Xenophon again encouraged the almost-broken spirits of the army by relating a dream, the interpretation of which was evidently that he should extricate them from their perilous situation; and soon afterwards he announced information which he had received of a shallower passage lower down, with a landing-place, where the Persian horse would be unable to act against them. The usual sacrifices and libations to the gods having been performed, the whole army sung the pæan, and prepared to cross the river. The Persians, astonished probably at their apparently undiminished numbers and resolution, offered no effectual resistance; and the mountaineers being held in check by the judicious dispositions of Xenophon, made little impression on the rear. So complete indeed was the success, that the first division of the Greeks actually captured some booty from the Persian troops.

They reach Armenia,

The fertile plains of Eastern Armenia were then passed without opposition in five days' march. And on the arrival of the army at Teleboas, which forms the boundary of the Western Armenia, the satrap, Teribazus, sent to offer them a free passage and necessary supplies through his country, on condition that they should not plunder nor destroy the property of the inhabitants. These terms were gladly accepted; but the soldiers suffering severely from the change of climate and season, notwithstanding the attentions of Xenophon to provide fuel and unguents, were unavoidably quartered in the houses to protect them from the heavy falls of snow. Hence it happened that some buildings were burnt; and Teribazus, considering the treaty as violated, prepared to entrap the army in a defile. Suspicion having arisen, and a prisoner being taken to gain information, the generals prepared for defence, and their preparations alone sufficed to put the Persians to so hasty a flight, that their camp, with the tent of Teribazus himself, and all his rich furniture, became the prey of the Greeks.

and cross the Euphrates.

The next day they passed the defile, and in three days more, marching through a desert covered with snow, they reached the Euphrates near its source, and easily crossed it. In their subsequent march, they suffered dreadfully from snow and frost, so that the men fell down benumbed with cold, and the cattle perished. The sufferings of the army became extreme, and it required all the art and all the authority of Xenophon and the other generals to preserve the men from yielding to the severity of the climate and to fatigue. At length they arrived at some of the habitations of the natives, where, pretending to be in the service of the king, and on their way to join the satrap, they were peaceably quartered in the villages, and obtained refreshments in abundance. Xenophon having a particular village allotted him, immediately invited the chief magistrate, or comarch, to sup with him; and treating him with the greatest kindness, assured

him that he need apprehend nothing for his person or property, if he would only undertake to be their guide to the limit of the king's dominions, his son being detained as an hostage for his fidelity. This advantage, however, was lost, after three days' march, by the rudeness of Cheirisophus, who so offended the comarch, that he deserted, leaving his son to his fate.

Imprudence of Cheirisophus.

Xenophon warmly resented this imprudent violence, and it occasioned the only quarrel he ever had with Cheirisophus. The course of the Phasis was now their guide, till, coming opposite the passage through the mountains to the plain beyond, they diverged from it across the country, and at the foot of the hills were met by the Chalybes, the Taochians, and the Phasians in arms. After some discussion, the advice of Xenophon was adopted; the enemy were circumvented, and the passage forced: in the plain on the other side, they found "villages plentifully stored with good things."

Hence they marched through the country of the Taochians, who had taken care to collect their property within their fortifications, which they defended with desperate resolution, dashing themselves with their wives and children down the precipices rather than fall alive into the hands of the Greeks, whom want of provisions compelled to storm their strong places. The next people whose territory they invaded were the Chalybes, a well-armed and ferocious race, who so successfully opposed them, that they were forced to subsist upon the cattle which they had taken from the Taochians; and to be continually acting on the defensive, till they reached the level country of the Scythians, where, after four days' march, they found rest and food in some villages. From this place, in four days, they reached the large and wealthy town of Gymnias, the governor of which offered to conduct them, in five days, through a country which they might plunder and waste as much as they should think fit, to an eminence from whence they could behold the Euxine Sea; declaring his willingness, if he should fail of his undertaking, to suffer death.

His proposition being accepted, on the fifth day they arrived at the sacred hill called Thece, and as soon as the first division reached the summit, the view of the sea occasioned such a shout, that Xenophon, who still commanded the rear, imagined that they were attacked, and pressed forward to give assistance; but the real cause of the clamour being ascertained, all order, all discipline, for the moment, was at an end—generals, officers, and soldiers, in a transport of joyful tears, embraced each other, and the animating cry, "The sea! the sea!" was re-echoed through the broken ranks. When the first tumult of delight had a little subsided, they collected a quantity of large stones, and forming them into a rude column, hung upon it, as a kind of trophy, the arms of the barbarous nations which they had taken on the march. The guide, as might be expected, was magnificently rewarded, and honourably dismissed.

The Greeks arrive within view of the sea.

The next morning, some hostile demonstrations were made by the

Macrones, through whose thick woods their road lay; when an Athenian slinger coming to Xenophon acknowledged that he had originally been a slave, and that these people were his countrymen; offering at the same time to go to them, and bring them to terms. This being granted, and the Macrones, being assured that the Greeks were hostile to the Persians, readily entered into treaty, rendered them every assistance in their power, and conducted them to the borders of the Colchians.

Attack on the Colchians.

Here opposition was expected; and Xenophon, in a speech to the generals, strongly recommended forming the troops in column rather than in phalanx, on account of the inequality of the ascent through the mountains; and having carried his point, he rode from left to right along the ranks, crying out, "My men, these barbarians whom you now see, are the last obstacle to our reaching the destination we have so long laboured for; let us, therefore, by all means, make an example of them." The Colchians were easily defeated; but a delay of several days was occasioned by the unwholesome effects of some honey, the produce of the country, of which many of the soldiers had eaten.

When they were sufficiently recovered, they resumed their march, and in two days reached Trapezus,[1] a Greek town on the coast of the Euxine Sea, having occupied about ten months in the expedition and retreat. Here they imagined themselves at home, and supplying themselves with plenty by ravaging the adjoining Colchian country, they continued a month among the Trapezuntines, who willingly furnished them with a market, besides making them many presents. During their abode at Trapezus, they performed the vows which they had addressed on the march to Jupiter the preserver, and Hercules, celebrating the respective sacrifices and games, in the best manner which their present situation would admit.

The army, now tired of marching and fighting, was desirous of passing into Greece by sea, and Cheirisophus undertook to go to Anaxibius, the Lacedæmonian admiral, for the purpose of soliciting transports. In the mean time, Xenophon endeavoured to provide for the security and supplies of the army during his absence; and for their journey homewards by land, in the event of their failing to obtain vessels sufficient to convey them all. But he had the mortification to find, that the assembly of the troops, in which, according to the democratic principles of Grecian government, the supreme power resided, although they readily adopted all his measures for present convenience, refused their assent to every proposal that tended to provide for a march.

Foresight of Xenophon.

Disappointed in this, he sent messengers to the different states through whose territory he foresaw they must ultimately proceed, advising them by all means to prepare good roads, guides, and markets, that the passage of so large and unruly a body might be as

[1] Trebisond.

rapid and as little burdensome as possible; and his recommendation was thankfully adopted.

In the meanwhile, the army was to be supported by the most iniquitous and perilous plunder of the neighbouring countries, till the return of Cheirisophus with a supply of vessels far short of their wants and expectations: this, together with the failure of other expedients to procure any considerable number of ships, at length brought the soldiers to their senses; and they agreed to send the sick, the women, and children, all above forty years of age, and all unnecessary baggage, by sea, and that the rest should travel by land.

The army reaches Cerasus.

On the third day of their journey they reached Cerasus, a Grecian town on the Euxine, where they held a general muster, and found the whole loss of the heavy armed since their departure under Cyrus, exclusive of desertion, to be about 1,400. "These," says Xenophon, "died in battle, or in the snow, and perhaps a few from sickness." Here also they divided the money arising from the sale of their various plunder, and consecrating the produce of robbery and murder, they devoted a tenth of the spoil to Apollo and to Diana of Ephesus, which was intrusted to the generals in shares to be appropriated to the service of the gods. The use which Xenophon made of the portion committed to him will be seen hereafter.

The army then resumed their march, the transports keeping a parallel course along the coast, and landing as they halted; but the want of discipline which prevailed among the troops, rendered the situation of Xenophon (who was now acknowledged as their leader, Cheirisophus not having rejoined) extremely delicate and difficult. Straggling parties of plunderers were cut off by the natives, and the whole line of country rendered hostile by the impossibility of keeping the soldiers from committing devastation wherever they arrived; and indeed the principles of Xenophon, the disciple of Socrates, himself a moralist and a philosopher, appear to have been strangely warped by the military notions of his time, which considered the plunder of all barbarians as a regular and legitimate mode of paying and supplying an army, and were not nice even with respect to Grecian property, unless protected by special treaty, and insured by a species of hospitality resembling the black mail of our own northern marauders.

Greek military and moral notions.

The evils resulting from this barbarous mode of travelling, became sensibly felt on their arrival at Cotyora, another Sinopian colony on the same coast; and the inconvenience which they experienced, again induced the troops to wait above six weeks, in the hope of obtaining a passage by sea. This season of leisure suggested to the active and statesman-like genius of Xenophon, who knew the impossibility of procuring transports for all, the idea of founding a new colony, in a very advantageous situation not far from their present quarters. But, whether his pecuniary resources began to fail him, or the private inclination of the soothsayer was too strong to be overruled, he did not in this instance succeed in procuring the favourable indications from

sacrifices and omens which his prudence usually commanded. And perhaps it was not probable that men so long accustomed to predatory habits, and acquainted with the wealth and luxury of Persia, could be induced to settle quietly to hard labour and simple modes of life, surrounded by continual temptations to resume those irregular practices, so congenial to the idleness and the restlessness of our nature.

However this might be, the project was extremely unpopular, and excited universal alarm and indignation, not only in the army, but among all the neighbouring colonies, who justly dreaded the establishment of so overwhelming a power, actuated by motives and principles of which they had already seen too much. Those who were jealous of Xenophon's authority, or hostile to his views, took the opportunity to inflame the discontent of the soldiers and the apprehensions of the natives; and it required all his energies and all his eloquence to appease the rising mutiny, which threatened the dissolution of all remaining discipline.

Xenophon restores the discipline of the army.

Finding it absolutely necessary to give up for the present all idea of colonization, he resolved to profit by the present conjuncture to represent to the army, in a long and apparently candid speech, his real wishes and intentions; and to point out to them in strong language, the difficulties to which they exposed him, and the ruin and disgrace they were preparing for themselves, by their disregard of discipline, and by the looseness of their conduct. The remonstrance had the desired effect; and not only were better regulations adopted for the future, but a strict inquiry was instituted into past delinquencies, from which the generals themselves were not exempt; and some of them were punished by fines for neglect or peculation. Xenophon was himself accused of violence towards the soldiers under his command; but the accusation was supported only by a single witness, a muleteer, who had been guilty of gross inhumanity, and who was universally thought, upon the case being fairly stated, to have been punished too leniently. No other complainant, after this, venturing to appear, Xenophon took occasion to remind the soldiers of all that he had done and suffered for them; insisting upon it that he had never punished any man unnecessarily, much less unjustly, and appealing to their recollection of continual acts of kindness and benevolence. Ingratitude is not among the vices of a military life; and it was rare among the bold and generous though licentious soldiery of Greece: the troops were deeply touched by the affectionate reproof of their leader, and acquitted him by acclamation.

The army reaches Sinope.

From Cotyora, the army passed by sea to Sinope, having been provided with ships by the different people who desired to be delivered from their presence. The Sinopians received them with hospitality; and here they were at last joined by Cheirisophus with some triremes, but with no supplies of any kind, and bringing nothing from Anaxibius but empty compliments, and a vague promise, that if they should reach the Propontis, he would take them into pay as mercenaries. Thus,

as they approached their own country, their difficulties seemed to increase; and in the apprehension that divided councils, and want of discipline, might expose them to their enemies, and alienate their friends, they came to a resolution to elect one general, who should have full power over all the movements of the army, and the sole direction of all their measures.

Xenophon refuses the appointment of general-in-chief.

The choice falling unanimously upon Xenophon, he was powerfully tempted to accept a situation so suitable to his talents, and so calculated to extend his fame and popularity; but prudential considerations induced him to decline it, and finding the army unwilling to take a refusal, he had recourse to their superstition, and informed them, that having understood their intentions, he had previously consulted the gods, and that the sacrifices were decidedly against his undertaking the command offered him. Upon this Cheirisophus was elected, and immediately they set sail for Heraclea, a Megarensian colony, where they were received with extraordinary kindness. But Cheirisophus, though a respectable soldier, and a brave man, was no statesman; in less than a week his influence was at an end, and his command formally abrogated. The malcontents to the number of 4,500, chiefly Arcadians and Achæans, separated themselves with the intention of plundering the barbarians on the coast, and elected ten new commanders. Cheirisophus, heartily disgusted at the misconduct of the whole army, refused to take the command of any troops beside the Thracians formerly raised by Clearchus, about 1,400 heavy armed and 700 light infantry; there remained with Xenophon only 1,700 heavy foot, 300 targeteers, and all the horse, in number now about 40. Cheirisophus proceeded along the coast, and did not long survive his mortification. The mutineers commenced their system of plunder, and were overpowered by the barbarians, a large part of their number being slain, and the rest surrounded on a hill, and in hourly apprehension of being cut off to a man. Xenophon had taken an inland road, when his horse, who preceded the party as scouts, brought in some messengers from the Arcadians, who informed him of their perilous situation. Xenophon immediately saw the danger that would result to his own little troop, from the annihilation of so large a Grecian force in the neighbourhood; and addressing his soldiers, exhorted them to march to the relief of their late companions. By a skilful stratagem he induced the barbarians to retire in the night, and having ascertained that they had actually fled, he marched instantly to join Cheirisophus at the harbour of Calpe, lest he should be overwhelmed by the numbers of the enemy; on the road he fell in with the Arcadian and Achæan forces, whom he had thus delivered from the most imminent danger, and a cordial reconciliation took place between the two parties. On their arrival they found Cheirisophus already dead, and his command conferred upon Neon; and a decree was unanimously passed, in the true spirit of a Grecian popular assembly, that if any one should hereafter attempt to dismember the army, he should be punished with

Marches to the relief of the Greeks.

death. But a spirit of discontent and suspicion yet remained; the soldiers, apprehensive that Xenophon had not sincerely abandoned his design of founding a colony, refused to be encamped in the favourable situation which his military eye instantly selected for them, lest they should be entrapped into a permanent residence. But Xenophon had managed to regain his influence over the prophets, and no auspicious omens could be obtained for marching, or even for foraging, till the army complied with his commands. In the meanwhile Neon, who had succeeded to Cheirisophus, affecting to compassionate the distress of the soldiers unable to procure provisions, offered to conduct a foraging party; and about 2,000 men turned out to follow him; but this unhandsome conduct served only to confirm the authority of Xenophon; for the party under Neon were defeated by the barbarians with the heaviest loss that had ever been sustained by the army; above 500 men were slain, and the rest so surrounded by the enemy, that Xenophon was obliged to go in person with all his force to bring them off; the barbarians following closely, and lurking in the thickets about the camp till dusk, when they attacked and carried the outposts, drove in the piquets, and obliged the whole army to pass the night under arms.

Prudence of Xenophon.

The reasons of Xenophon for pitching upon a strong natural site for the camp were now apparent, and his wisdom so generally acknowledged, that no further opposition was offered to fortifying the spot he had selected, and transporting thither all their baggage. Immediately the omens were all favourable, and a vessel arrived with a cargo of provisions.

The next morning, leaving the baggage, and the soldiers above forty-five years of age to guard the camp, under the orders of Neon, Xenophon marched out, taking all those precautions which indicated that he expected to be attacked; and after having buried the slain of the preceding day, a ceremony to which Grecian superstition attached peculiar importance, he soon afterwards discovered a large body of Bithynians, sent by the satrap to defend the country, advantageously posted on a hill with a ravine in front. Some of the officers dissuaded an attack, on account of the strength of the position; but Xenophon overruling their objections by the prevailing argument of a favourable sacrifice, after a smart action, defeated and dispersed the enemy; who, finding themselves unable to cope with the Greeks in the field, contented themselves with removing all that was most valuable up the country; leaving to Xenophon and his army the undisturbed possession of a wide district abounding with provisions; so that they patiently awaited the arrival of Cleander, the Lacedæmonian governor of Byzantium, who was expected to bring transports to convey them all into Greece. His arrival, however, miserably disappointed their expectations; he came with only two triremes, and one Dexippus in his train, who having dishonestly left the Cyreian Greeks at Trapezus, had artfully contrived to infuse into the minds

both of Anaxibius, the admiral, and of Cleander, strong prejudices against the whole army, especially against Xenophon and Agasias the Arcadian, who had always been Xenophon's friend.

Cleander happened unfortunately to land when the greater part of the troops were absent on forage; and a small detachment was just then returning with some sheep which they had been plundering. Fearful of losing their booty, and aware of the corruption of Dexippus, they offered him any share of the spoil to secure the remainder to them. He eagerly embraced the proposal, but other soldiers coming in, and objecting to the bargain, and a tumult beginning to arise, he appealed to the governor, who ordered the soldier with whom the objection had arisen to be arrested. This man happened to belong to the division of Agasias, who, coming up at the moment, and treating Dexippus with merited contempt, rescued the soldier; a scene of confusion followed, in which stones were thrown, and Cleander himself was exposed to some danger, and betrayed evident symptoms of alarm. Xenophon and the other generals arriving at this juncture, instantly restored order, and endeavoured to pacify Cleander. But fear generates anger; the governor, in the true tone of Spartan insolence, declared that unless Agasias and the arrested soldier were given up to him, he would order every city in Greece to treat the Cyreian army as enemies; and no doubt appears to have been entertained that this arbitrary command of a provincial governor would have been generally obeyed.

Haughty conduct of the Spartan governor.

The conduct of Xenophon in these trying circumstances was politic and just. He allayed the irritated feelings of the army, and persuaded Agasias voluntarily to surrender himself to the governor; who, after a haughty display of official dignity, was at length persuaded of the baseness of Dexippus, and received Xenophon into his confidence, and honoured him with his friendship. But finding that the command of such a force, under such circumstances, was at once difficult and hazardous, and that all the neighbouring states, Grecian and barbarian, were anxious to be rid of a numerous body, subsisting by plunder, he declared that, as the sacrifices were not propitious for his marching at their head, he would go by sea to Byzantium, and prepare for their reception. Xenophon also had intended to sail about the same time for Athens, in the hope that he might, by his eloquence and interest, prevent the sentence which he apprehended from the violence of the people; but at the earnest desire of Anaxibius he continued in his command of the army, till they should arrive at Byzantium. On their arrival at that first European town, and entering, as they had reason to conclude, into the service of the sovereign state of Greece (for by that title the contemporary historian, himself an Athenian, does not hesitate to designate Lacedæmon), the Cyreians fancied themselves once more at home, and congratulated themselves on the end of all their wanderings: but the power of Cleander was much greater to injure than to serve them; and Anaxibius (bribed, as

it was suspected, by Pharnabazus, the satrap of Bithynia, and possibly by other neighbouring powers), not only defrauded them of the promised pay, but by an unfriendly stratagem excluded them from the city, and ordered them on a distant service. Enraged at this treatment, the soldiers seized the town, and but for the timely interference of Xenophon would have possessed themselves of the harbour and fleet, with the intention of making him their chief, and establishing an independent power. The troops seize the town.

Anaxibius gladly availed himself of the influence of Xenophon to allay the storm thus raised by his own ungenerous rashness; and having by his means once more excluded the army from the walls, he sent a creature of his own to delude them by offers of mercenary service, and to draw them to a greater distance. Deprived of the guidance and wisdom of their leader, who was preparing to sail for Athens, the Cyreians could no longer be kept together; but their number was daily thinned by the secession of small parties, some of whom obtained a passage home; whilst others settled in the country, or entered into foreign service.

A sudden change, however, in the politics of Lacedæmon, induced Anaxibius, who had now been superseded in his command by Aristarchus, to desert that party at home which was desirous of maintaining peace with Asia; and he made an unexpected proposal to Xenophon, who was still with him, to return once more to the army, and to lead them, in the service of Lacedæmon, against the rich satrapies of Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes. Xenophon, who knew how popular such an expedition would prove, readily undertook it, and was received by the soldiers with unbounded joy; but upon leading them to Perinthus, with the intention of embarking for Asia according to the instructions of Anaxibius, he was roughly treated by Aristarchus, who had sold for slaves all the Cyreians in Byzantium, to the number of 400, and would have arrested Xenophon himself, had he not been put upon his guard by a friendly intimation of the design against him.

Meeting with nothing but treachery and ill treatment from all parties, and finding themselves universally the objects of dread and suspicion, the army now placed all their hopes upon Xenophon thus unexpectedly restored to them. His genius, always fertile of resources, could suggest nothing better than to avail themselves of the repeated offers of Seuthes, a deposed Thracian prince, who had been educated under the hospitable roof of Medocus, king of the Odrysians; and who, desirous of regaining his father's throne by force, proposed to engage the Greeks in his service, with a promise of present pay, and of ample remuneration in the event of his reducing by their assistance his rebellious subjects. The army enters the service of Seuthes.

Neon alone of the generals, being a Laconian, seceded from this proposal, and drew off with him about 800 men, with whom he joined Aristarchus. The rest of the army consenting to follow

Xenophon even in a winter campaign, in the rigorous climate of Thrace, he went with the principal officers by night to the camp of Seuthes, where he was received with high honour, but at the same time with extraordinary caution, and speedily arranged the terms on which the Greeks should enter into his service, which were highly favourable to them, and to Xenophon himself.

Seuthes recovers his dominions.

The remains of this gallant army proved an overmatch for the undisciplined fierceness of the rebel barbarians, and Seuthes was not only reinstated in his paternal dominions, without any loss, in less than two months, but was enabled to make great additions to his ancient dominion. But he unfortunately had in his service, and in his confidence, an artful unprincipled Greek named Heraclides, who infused into him a distrust of Xenophon, and a jealousy of the army, and persuaded him to withhold the remuneration which he had agreed to bestow upon them. The troops immediately murmured against Xenophon because they were unpaid, and Seuthes was offended with

His breach of engagement.

him for pressing the payment of their due; and to such a length did these unpleasant discussions proceed that an open rupture was apprehended, and all friendly intercourse was actually suspended.

Lacedæmonians desire the aid of the Greeks.

The situation of Xenophon and his army was becoming extremely critical, when the arrival of two Lacedæmonian officers improved the aspect of their affairs. A change of administration in the Lacedæmonian councils had effected that alteration in their policy, on which Anaxibius had prematurely acted; and they were consequently anxious to secure the aid of the veteran troops of the Grecian army in invading the Persian dominions. The officers who came into Thrace upon this business were received by Seuthes with great hospitality, while no notice was taken of Xenophon or of his officers; but when the purport of their journey was explained, the Thracian prince altered his tone, and admitted the leaders to an interview, when the manly and decided conduct of Xenophon, the remonstrance of his better counsellors, and the dictates of his own honour prevailed: the demands of the army were fully satisfied, and harmony was restored.

There was little hesitation in accepting the offers of the Lacedæmonian government, and the army, joyfully anticipating the plunder of Asia, crossed over to Lampsacus. It seems probable, that in the arrangement with Seuthes, Xenophon had abandoned his private interest to secure the general advantage; for meeting at Lampsacus with an old Athenian acquaintance, Euclid, the Phliasian soothsayer, after mutual congratulations and inquiries, he acknowledged himself to have so completely exhausted his pecuniary resources as to be obliged to part with his horse and furniture to provide necessaries for the expedition. Euclid affected incredulity, but the Lampsacenes having sent in their contribution, and some of the cattle being slain for a sacrifice, the prophet, who attended upon his friend, was convinced, as he pretended, by the symptoms of the victims, of the reality of his poverty, attributing it to his own imprudence, and to the wrath of

Jupiter Meilichius, whose worship he had neglected. The next day Xenophon, arriving at Ophrynium, offered holocausts of swine, after the Athenian manner, to that deity, "*and the same day*," he tells us, the army received their pay from the Lacedæmonians, and he was himself gratified by their presenting him with the favourite horse which he had been obliged to sell at Lampsacus. It is deserving of remark, that although Xenophon on many occasions evidently directed the responses of the soothsayers, and therefore could not be the dupe of their craft, yet, in conformity with the opinion of Socrates, he thought it right to uphold the popular belief, as a salutary check upon the licentiousness of the times; and not only speaks of it with uniform respect, but relates all the circumstances relating to divination, with a design to impress its veracity upon the minds of his readers. In the present case he proceeds to tell us, that he had no reason to complain of the god; for that being hospitably received at Pergamus, by the wife of Gongylus, the Eretrian, that lady suggested to him a scheme of nocturnal plunder against the castle of a Persian nobleman, Asidates, whose wife, children, and property she proposed that he should seize. The diviners having declared that this project was favoured by heaven, Xenophon adopted it without scruple; and though he met with a check on his first attempt, and his friend Agasias was wounded, he succeeded at length to the extent of his wishes, and became possessed, as he informs us, "of horses and carriages, and other things, so that he could now afford to be generous." Soon after this adventure he joined the main army under Thimbron, the Lacedæmonian general, and followed him in the campaign against the Persian satrapies, till the period of his recall, *Ol.* 95, 2. B.C. 398, when he was succeeded by Dercyllidas, under whom the Cyreian troops still continued in the pay of Lacedæmon, and became so incorporated with their other forces, that the particular events relating to them and to Xenophon are absorbed in the general history of the Asiatic war, related by him (in the *Hellenics*) with that peculiar and picturesque interest which can only be given to narrative, by an eye-witness and principal actor in the scenes he describes.

Xenophon joins the army of Thimbron.

B. C. 398.

After more than two years spent in active, and generally in successful enterprise and plunder, the army was put under the command of Agesilaus, the friend, as he afterwards became, and companion of our historian, and to whom he is indebted for much of the honour with which his name has been handed down to posterity. On the recall of that illustrious prince, he still followed his fortunes, and[1] fought by his side at the celebrated battle of Coronea, B.C. 394, after which it is impossible to trace any further the distinct existence of the Cyreian army. Disbanded with the rest of the forces under Agesilaus, the individuals who composed it were reunited no more. Xenophon had, in consequence of his engagements with Lacedæmon, been sentenced to death at Athens (about the time that a similar sentence was

B. C. 394.

[1] His own phrase is *συναγωνισαμένος*.

executed upon his master Socrates), at the suggestion of Eubulus, the very person who many years afterwards obtained a decree for his recall. Having, therefore, no home in his native country, he resolved to settle himself under the protection of Lacedæmon; and to this end, quitting Agesilaus after the disbanding of the army, he repaired to Scillus, a town in the Eleian territory, which appears to have been assigned to him to be held under the crown of Lacedæmon, by a kind of feudal tenure, probably through the interest of his royal patron. He was accompanied in his retreat by his wife, and by his twin sons Gryllus and Diodorus; but whether this lady was the mother of the young men is not recorded: from the manner in which she is mentioned by his biographer, "a little female, by name Philesia," it seems likely that she was their stepmother.

It is probable that, in the course of his Asiatic campaigns, Xenophon, though by nature expensive and generous, had amassed considerable wealth; and it will be recollected that he was one of the generals who were intrusted with the tenth dedicated to Apollo and the Ephesian Diana, on the division of the spoil among the Cyreian Greeks at Cerasus; a trust not only honourable, but the source also of an ample revenue. Xenophon remitted the portion designed for Apollo to the temple at Delphi; and, on his leaving Asia to return with Agesilaus into Greece, he deposited the other portion with Megabyzus, the treasurer of the Ephesian temple, desiring that, if he should fall in the approaching contest with the Thebans, Megabyzus himself should perform the solemn act of dedication in such a manner as should be most pleasing to the goddess; but that if he should survive, the money should be returned to him; for in the insecurity of all property in Greece, the safest depository for money and the precious metals was the treasury of a temple, where superstition generally effected what better principles failed to do elsewhere; and hence the Grecian temples, especially that at Delphi, were generally used both as public and private banks.

Deposits his wealth in the temple of Ephesus.

When Xenophon was securely settled at Scillus, Megabyzus took the opportunity afforded by the Olympian games to restore the deposit to him, with which he purchased an estate for the goddess, and built upon it a temple and an altar; reserving a tenth of the produce of the sacred land as the rent due to her as proprietor, and leaving the residue to be enjoyed by the occupier of the soil, on condition of discharging his duties as manager of the festivals, and guardian of the temple; thus securing to himself and to his family a splendid demesne and handsome income, under the protection of reputed sanctity.

The situation of the estate was dictated by the oracle of Apollo, at the suggestion, doubtless, of Xenophon himself, and appears to have been studiously selected with a view to make it a counterpart of the sacred territory of Ephesus. "The river [1]Selenus," he informs us,

[1] This name is variously written. The form which coincides with Σελήνη may perhaps be thought the most proper.

" runs through the estate; as a river, also the Selenus, runs by the temple of Diana at Ephesus; and there are fish and shells in both. Around the temple is a grove of garden fruit-trees; and the temple itself, to compare great things with small, is built on the plan of that at Ephesus; and the image differs only in being of cypress instead of gold."

On a column in front of the temple was the following inscription :—

THE SACRED DEMESNE OF DIANA.

Whoever holds and enjoys this estate must reserve a tenth of the yearly produce for sacred purposes, and out of the remainder must furnish the temple. If any one shall neglect so to do, the goddess will take care to avenge herself on him.

The yearly festival was celebrated with an entertainment to all the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of both sexes. The guests being arranged in temporary arbours, pastry, bread, wine,[1] and dessert were set before them, as well as meat fed in the sacred pasture, and taken in the chase. For the neighbourhood of Scillus abounded with game; and the servants of Xenophon, and of the other citizens, were employed in hunting for this occasion, such other persons as chose it joining in the sport, and catching wild boars, wood goats, and venison. And even the cattle and horses of the guest were fed in the groves and hills belonging to the goddess.

Picture of Xenophon in retirement.

In this delightful retreat, under the protection of the temporal sovereignty of Lacedæmon, and the spiritual tutelage of Diana, Xenophon forgot the toils of wars, in a state of as much enjoyment as can fall to the lot of a man whose happiness must depend upon sublunary circumstances. He seems to have been precisely what we should now call a literary country gentleman, diversifying the more refined pleasures of his studious hours with the active amusements of the field; breaking his dogs, training his horses, and attending to the breed of stock; and so much interest did the philosopher, historian, and commander, take in these healthful pursuits, that they became the subject of more than one treatise from his immortal pen; an example to scholars in all ages that they should not disdain to refresh their vigour and renew their animation, by allowing the faculties to recreate themselves freely in country sports, and exercise themselves agreeably in country business.

From the period of his settlement at Scillus till after the destruction of the Lacedæmonian sovereignty, by the event of the battle at Leuctra, Xenophon appears to have enjoyed uninterrupted quiet, and to have employed himself in composing those works which exalted him to be the rival of Plato in politics and biography, as well as of Thucydides in history. It is said that the emulation between the two disciples of Socrates occasioned a pitiable jealousy and alienation from

[1] Many editions add ἀρτύσια, which properly signifies small coins; but, when it became customary with the great to throw sweatmeats among the people instead of silver, the name was probably extended to them also. Inadvertence to this seems to have occasioned some perplexity.

each other; but Diogenes relates to the praise of Xenophon that he gave to the world the history of Thucydides in the name of the author, when he might easily have made it his own. The list of his other works, given us by the same biographer, proves that we have been singularly fortunate in their preservation:—"He wrote about forty books, though others reckon them differently. The Anabasis, in which he wrote prefaces to the several books, but none to the whole work: the Cyropædia: the Annals of Greece: the Memoirs (of Socrates): the Symposium, or Table-talk: the Economics: the Treatises on Horsemanship and Farriery, and on Field Sports: the Apology for Socrates: the Essay on Public Revenue: Hiero, or Monarchy: the Panegyric of Agesilaus; and two discourses on the Athenian and on the Lacedæmonian states, which Demetrius the Magnesian asserts not to have been composed by him."

Works of Xenophon.

From this literary and rural enjoyment of peace and security, he was not to be tempted by the reversal of the decree against him, which passed on the change of Athenian politics some time after the battle of Leuctra. Athens was of all places the most dangerous for men in any way eminent, but especially for those who possessed property and talents; and in the continual changes of system which characterise the republics of Greece, the fickleness of the despotic mob, who had banished and recalled him, might at any moment confiscate his property, and take away his life. When, therefore, the protection of Lacedæmon could no longer avail him, and the dissensions which agitated the surrounding states rendered even the sacred territory insecure, he sent his family to Lepreum, and is related to have gone in person to Elis, to plead with the Eleians (now once more masters of Scillus), for immunity, on account of his having accepted the fief from an hostile power. It appears that the prayer was readily granted, and that he returned in peace to the possession of his property; but whether the commotions of the times rendered a country residence less desirable, or the decline of life brought with it a disinclination for bodily exertion, he appears, in his latter years, to have lived principally at Corinth, and to have died there in a good old age; but at what precise date has never been satisfactorily ascertained.

His two sons, Gryllus and Diodorus, however (as soon as the alliance between Athens and Lacedæmon removed the dilemma in which they had hitherto been placed, between the native country of their father and the state which had protected and enriched him), took the opportunity which offered itself of serving in the Athenian cavalry, and were both engaged in the battle of Mantinea. Diodorus came off safe, without having done anything to distinguish himself; but to Gryllus, who fell on the field of battle, was attributed the first merit in the action, the Mantineans giving him the preference above Cephisodorus, the Athenian master of horse, and Podares, their own general.

Death of his son Gryllus.

When the news reached Xenophon, he was in the act of offering a

festive sacrifice, and was, according to custom, crowned with a garland of flowers. Upon hearing that his son was slain, he observed, with more of Spartan nonchalance than of Athenian vivacity, "I knew that he was born mortal;" but in consideration of the mournful tidings, he laid aside his gay chaplet; the messenger, however, proceeding to relate the circumstances of his glorious death, the military ardour of the veteran prevailed over his family feelings; he resumed the sacrificial costume, and completed the ceremony. The delight which he felt in the fame of his son was heightened by the numerous testimonies of honour for his memory, which the poets and painters of the time were eager to present to the father; and the evening of his life seems to have been as honoured and tranquil as his early years were distinguished by harassing difficulties and tumultuous enterprise.

Character of Xenophon.

His character is best painted in his life and writings. He was brave, generous, and affectionate; punctual and vigilant on duty; sagacious and enterprising in command; prudent and eloquent in council; a sincere friend; a magnanimous adversary; a liberal, enlightened, and upright statesman. His excellence as an author is too well appreciated to be the subject of criticism. As an historian he has been thought deficient in attention to chronology; but his fairness and candour are universally acknowledged; and his political wisdom and military science have assisted in forming the ablest negotiators and the most skilful commanders of succeeding ages. His philosophy is that of Socrates, and approaches more nearly to the truth of Christian principles than that of any ancient writer, Plato alone excepted. The beauty of his style pervades all his works, and adorns every subject of which he treated.



Greek Priestess. *Real Museo Borbonico.*



Death of Theramenes.

CHAPTER III.

THE THIRTY TYRANTS.

B. C. 404.

B. C. 404. Upon the surrender of the Athenians to Lysander, the particulars o which we have already related, the democracy was subverted, an the supreme power of the state, which had been before vested in th assembly of the people, was committed into the hands of thirty indi viduals, elected by the Lacedæmonians, to manage for the future th affairs of the republic. In all other respects the laws of Athens wer permitted to continue in force; nor were the ancient magistrate changed; but the holders of all the offices of the state, those by whon the laws were to be administered, and the will of the new master t be executed, were for the most part removed, and their places fille by persons who, from party connexions or other causes, were suppose to be favourable to the Lacedæmonian influence; or, at least, wh were known to have disliked that order of things which the Laceda monians had put down. Xenophon has given us the names of th "Thirty," as they were called, to whom the administration of th republic was committed, of whom only two appear to have been me of superior weight of character; these were Critias and Theramenes.

Character of Critias.

Of the former of these little more is known than what is related c him as president of the "Thirty," and prime instigator of all the act and measures of that rash and desperate usurpation. Except in th

course of this part of the Athenian history, we believe the name of Critias is only to be found in the account which has been left to us by Xenophon of the "Memorable Things of Socrates;" and even there it is probable he would not have found a place, had it not been for the celebrity which he obtained as having been placed by the Lacedæmonians at the head of their faction. It seems a charge had been made against Socrates of being a teacher of bad morality, from the circumstance of Critias and Alcibiades having both of them been his pupils. These reproaches Xenophon retorts in an ingenious and pleasant manner; and, in the course of his remarks, gives us to understand that Critias inherited one of the largest fortunes, and was of one of the most illustrious families in Athens (his paternal grandfather was brother to the great lawgiver, Solon); but that for his arrogance, and other unpopular qualities, he had been banished by the people, and had resided in Thessaly, where his associates were of very different pursuits from those which Socrates would have approved. This injustice (as probably it was) had soured his temper, and strongly indisposed him to all popular forms of government; and we may conclude that the knowledge which the Lacedæmonians had of his disposition in this respect, was that which recommended him to them as a fit person to be placed at the head of the oligarchy, which it was their usual practice to establish in every city in which their influence or power prevailed.[1]

Character of Theramenes

Of Theramenes something more is known. He was one of the generals who commanded at the battle of Arginusæ; and more particularly distinguished himself as leader in the prosecution of his colleagues. His conduct on that occasion was marked with so much violence and injustice, that even the death to which he afterwards exposed himself, from the resistance which he made to the tyrannical measures of the "Thirty," cannot redeem his character from the blot which he then fixed upon it.[2] The name of Theramenes, also, is conspicuous in the account which is given in the 8th book of Thucydides of the proceedings which led to the overthrow of the government of the "Four Hundred." On that occasion, the historian tells us, that Theramenes and his associates established a constitution, the form of which "was upon a better footing than any within his memory; a mixed government being established, with the authority judiciously divided between the few and the many."[3] In this concise eulogy is contained the whole insight which Thucydides has afforded us of the constitution which he so much approved, and for which his fellow-citizens appear to have been entirely indebted to the wisdom and courage of Theramenes. It would therefore be in vain to conjecture as to its particular provisions; and almost equally difficult is it to collect from either of the features in his political conduct, which we have just been pointing out, what could possibly have been the

[1] Xenoph. Mem. lib. i. c. xi. s. 12. [2] Xenoph. Hell. lib. i. vii.
[3] Thucyd. lib. viii. xcviii.

motives of the Lacedæmonians for associating with Critias, in the government of Athens, a man whose whole public life would appear to have been at least as strongly opposed to oligarchical tyranny as to democratical oppression. He had shown himself, indeed, an enemy to the licence of mere popular authority, in the government which he set up on the overthrow of the "Four Hundred;" but his opposition to the last-mentioned usurpation was, at least, a clear proof that he was no friend to oligarchy; and his behaviour on the disgraceful occasion of the horrible cruelty exercised towards six of the unfortunate commanders, who had gained the victory of Arginusæ, was completely in the spirit of a true Athenian demagogue. Moreover, though of illustrious descent, yet Agnon, his father, the founder of Amphipolis, had been a man high in favour with the people; so that his party connexions were certainly such as would have led him to associate himself with those who were adverse to the principles of Lacedæmonian interference. But upon this, as on a great many other occasions, our ignorance of everything that happened at Sparta, further than is to be collected from the naked statement of the acts by which her conduct to foreign states was marked, forms a perpetual occasion of perplexity in any attempt to unravel the principles of her policy; and in the present instance no account can be given of the circumstance which recommended the several individuals whom she selected to form the council of the Thirty. The only authority for the facts connected with this particular point of history is Xenophon, who simply records the names of the Thirty, without alluding in any way to any discussion, by which the choice of these may be supposed to have been preceded.

Oligarchy established.

As soon as the long walls and those of the Piræus were demolished, as had been stipulated by treaty, the Lacedæmonians quitted the territory of Athens, and left the administration of affairs in the hands of the party whom they had vested with the supreme authority. It was not customary in the policy either of Athens or Sparta to place garrisons in those towns which they wished to retain in subjection; but availing themselves of the factions into which every state in Greece was divided, it was found that the safest as well as the cheapest mode of securing their respective interests, was merely to take the arms out of the hands of one party and to place them in those of their opponents. An oligarchical form of government was so strongly in contrast with the institutions and habits of the Athenians, that the Lacedæmonians were well aware that those who composed it would necessarily be compelled to depend upon their support for the maintenance of their authority. This was so strikingly the fact in the present instance, that the Spartan king had hardly returned to Peloponnesus when ambassadors were despatched from Athens to Sparta, demanding the assistance of a Lacedæmonian garrison, which was sent accordingly, under the command of Callibius. So violent were the proceedings, so utterly irreconcileable with all justice and equity were the measures

which the "Thirty" appear to have resolved upon for the consolidation and extension of their authority, that they seemed to doubt the power, or at least the willingness, even of their own party to co-operate with them in many of their acts; but encouraged by the strength which a foreign garrison threw into their hands, they laid aside all their fears, and openly avowed the principles on which they intended to carry on the government. Paying all possible court to Callibius, in order that his report at Sparta might be favourable, and implicating him in their violence, by inducing him to execute their orders, they seemed to consider themselves as placed as much above the precautions of common prudence, as of all considerations of common shame and decency.

Tyranny of the Thirty.

The "Thirty," it would seem, had been originally appointed, not as forming a definitive part of the government, but rather as a council who were to act as commissioners for the establishment of a constitution, founded upon such principles as the Lacedæmonians should approve. Their first step, accordingly, was to publish a catalogue of three thousand citizens, selected by themselves, who were to partake of the sovereign power,[1] and to be competent to the magistrature. By this decree, all other Athenians were at once reduced to the condition of subjects, nominally of the "three thousand," but virtually of the "Thirty." The next step was to proclaim a review of the citizens, who were directed to assemble in arms, the "three thousand" in the forum, but all the rest at a distant place, which was named. As these last marched to the place of review, from the different quarters of the city, the avenues were occupied by the Lacedæmonian troops, and other confidential adherents of the "Thirty;" the arms of those not in the catalogue were then taken from them as they passed, and placed safely in the citadel, under the custody of the garrison.

All effectual opposition being in this manner precluded, the "Thirty" now threw off the mask at once. Xenophon tells us that hitherto they had apprehended and subjected to death only such as during the democracy had subsisted by the trade of informers, and had been a nuisance to honest men; but from this period no man's life or property was safe, whose name did not happen to be found in the list of the privileged citizens whom the present rulers had selected; and all who, it was supposed, would never be brought quietly to acquiesce in their violent proceedings, or who had influence enough, had they so wished, to raise a party against them, were at once apprehended and put to death.

Opposition of Theramenes.

Critias and Theramenes had at first acted with great friendship and unanimity; but their union soon began to be interrupted, and shortly proceeded to open contention. Theramenes had, in the first instance, protested against the nomination of the "three thousand." "It was an absurdity," he said, "for men, who at first proposed to form a government in which the power should be vested only in the hands of the best and wisest men of the community, to draw up a list con-

[1] μεθέξοντας τῶν πραγμάτων.

sisting of three thousand, as if that number necessarily implied that all of them were men of worth and honour; and that whoever did not belong to it was necessarily unworthy to have any share of power. But I plainly see," he added, "that you are intent upon reconciling two schemes of government, which will be found upon trial to be utterly inconsistent with each other; a government to be supported by violence, the agents of which are nevertheless to be much less considerable in point of power than those who are to be governed."[1] The effect of these expostulations, however, on the part of Theramenes, was not only to convince Critias of the danger with which the line of policy which he was determined to pursue was necessarily surrounded, but to induce him in consequence to resort to measures more and more violent, for securing himself against the machinations of the disaffected. It would, indeed, be difficult to believe even the express testimony of Xenophon to the desperate shamelessness in crime to which Critias and his colleagues now proceeded, were it not that his account is corroborated by two other contemporary writers.

Reflections upon Greek political government.

In reading the history of Greece, it is often difficult to decide which form of republican government is most unsuited to the growth of civil liberty. No sooner is our strong disapprobation of the democratical form excited, by some act of injustice on the part of the Athenian mob, than we find ourselves stopped in our inclination to prefer the government of the few, by some equal atrocity exercised either by the Lacedæmonians against their dependents, or by those rulers whom the Lacedæmonians had set up, against their fellow-citizens. The only firm conclusion is, that all governments, be they of what nature they may, whether monarchical, democratical, or oligarchical, that are founded upon usurpation, are necessarily prone to violence and oppression. In such governments the supreme power is always in the hands of a faction, who are compelled to seek their safety in keeping down their opponents. Equal justice is here impossible, because the duty of self-preservation supersedes all other claims. Every act of violence creates the necessity for some further act, in order to obviate the discontent which the first had produced; this again, entails the necessity of a third; and thus cruelty and oppression go on, in an infinite series, until the force of compression is met by an equal force; and matters are righted by one of those political explosions which are attended with more or less ruin to individuals, according as the character of those by whom the resistance is conducted, are men of violence, or of virtue and moderation. Such was the progress of affairs at Athens, under the "Thirty." They proceeded in their course of violence, until human nature could no longer endure the weight of their oppression; and until the Lacedæmonians were ashamed to stand forward in their defence; and then by the firmness and virtue of an individual, things were restored to their old foundation, and the

[1] Xenoph. Mem. lib. ii. c. iii.

egitimate government of her citizens re-established without a single act having been committed that could stain their triumph.

The first act to which the "Thirty" proceeded, was dictated to them by the necessity of providing funds for the pay of their Lacedæmonian guards; for this purpose they made a decree, "that each person of the Thirty might apprehend one of the sojourners residing in the city, might put him to death and appropriate his wealth."[1] This is briefly stated by Xenophon, as one of their measures; and the barefaced iniquity of it is so great, that we might be tempted to doubt, whether there was not some error in the statement, if the authority of the historian were not borne out by that of Lysias, who was himself a Metic, or sojourner at Athens, and who, in one of his orations, has related the circumstances attending what happened to himself on the occasion. Measures pursued by the Thirty.

The father of Lysias, we are told by the orator, in his speech against Eratosthenes, was a Syracusan, who had been driven from his country by the violence of party; and had, in consequence, migrated to Athens. Being possessed of a large fortune, he had enjoyed the friendship of Pericles and Socrates, and it has been supposed, that his house in the Piræus is the scene of some of Plato's dialogues. Lysias himself had gone when a boy to Italy, with the historian Herodotus, at the time when Thurium was settled under the patronage of Pericles, upon the ruins of Sybaris. He had lived at Thurium for thirty years, until it became a place in which a person who was not content to live under the Lacedæmonian protection, could no longer remain in safety. Accordingly Lysias collected his fortune together and returned to Athens, where, in partnership with his brother Polemarchus, he established a manufactory of shields, in which, the orator tells us, he employed at one time no less than a hundred slaves. Lysias. History and connections of Lysias.

He was, as he relates, entertaining some strangers at supper, when some of the Thirty entered, commanded the guests to withdraw and himself to remain a prisoner. Committing him then to the care of Pison, one of their number, they proceeded to take an inventory of his effects, of which his slaves composed a principal part. He, in the mean while, fearing for his life, began to tamper with his keeper, and had agreed to pay a talent for his promise of safety; when having to open a chest in which he kept his money, in order to pay the price down, the whole contents to the amount of three talents in silver, with cyzicenes and darics, the gold coin current in Greece, in all about 1,200*l.* was immediately seized; and he himself with great difficulty escaped with his life to Megara; in this respect being more fortunate than his brother Polemarchus, who was executed by order of the Thirty, by being made, after the Athenian manner, to drink a draught of hemlock. Melobius, one of the Thirty, tore from his wife the gold ear-rings which she wore; and other acts of violence are mentioned by Lysias, which even making all allowances for oratorical exaggera-

[1] Xenoph. Hell. lib. ii. 3.

tion, are sufficient to explain why Theramenes, according to Xenophon, should have made the conduct of the Thirty to the Metics, a ground of particular opposition to their measures.

We learn, however, from a speech which Xenophon puts into the mouth of Theramenes in the senate, that it was not the Metics only who were exposed to the oppression of the Thirty. Niceratus, the son of Nicias, a man of large fortune and always opposed to democratical violence, Antiphon, and Leon of Salamis, all three of them men, whose blameless and public-spirited lives had, in a particular manner, recommended them to the esteem of their fellow-citizens, were also tyrannically put to death. And in the *Memorabilia*,[1] Xenophon has given us a curious account of what passed at an examination of Socrates before the Thirty, in consequence of a saying of his which was noised abroad, comparing the tyrants to keepers of cattle, who, instead of preserving the herd entire, took every pains to diminish its number, by putting the animals under their care to death. Being called before them, and having heard the charge, and the prohibition which had been issued, in consequence, forbidding him to teach the art of reasoning, and to discourse, as had been his custom, with the young men of Athens, Socrates begged to know whether he might ask some questions in order to be sure that he understood the sense of this prohibition. Being answered in the affirmative. "I declare myself," he went on, "always ready to obey the laws. But lest I should transgress through ignorance, I would expressly know from you, whether you forbid me to teach the art of reasoning, because you judge it to consist in saying what is right, or what is wrong. For if it consists in saying what is right, then you clearly forbid me from saying what is right; but if it consists in saying what is wrong, then, undoubtedly, I ought always to endeavour to say what is right." Upon this Charicles, one of the Thirty, began to be angry, and told him "that the prohibition was so worded, as to make it impossible that he should mistake its meaning, for it forbade him to hold any discourse at all with the young men at Athens."—"But," said Socrates, "in order to prevent the possibility of my falling into any snare, who am I to understand by young men? to what age do you deem men young?"—"Till the age prescribed for entrance into the senate," said Charicles; "hold no discourse with persons under thirty years of age."—"Suppose," replied Socrates, "I want something of a tradesman who is under thirty, must I not ask him the price of what I want?"—"Ay, ay, certainly you may," said Charicles; "but it is your way, Socrates, to ask questions about points respecting which you do not wish to be informed. You are to ask no such questions as those."—"Suppose, then, a person should ask me where Charicles lives, or where Critias may be found, am I forbidden to give him any answer?" Here Critias interposed. "You are to hold no discourse about shoemakers, carpenters, and braziers, for they have

Socrates and the Thirty Tyrants.

[1] Lib. i.

been already sufficiently vexed by your perpetually making them the subject of your comparisons."—"Am I," said Socrates, "to abstain also from talking about the conclusions that follow from my comparisons, respecting justice, and piety, and things that are right and proper?"—"Yea, by Zeus, you must," said Charicles, "and also about your *keepers of cattle*, mark me; or beware that you do not become one of those cattle, who you say are put to death." We have selected this anecdote from another work of Xenophon, because it illustrates the spirit of a wicked government, even more strongly than an occasional act of arbitrary power might do. What must that government have been, in which discussions about morals were thought inconsistent with the safety of its rulers!

Conspiracy against Theramenes.

Having thus either imposed silence, or banished, or put to death every one whose virtue or wisdom, it was thought, must reprobate, or whose riches would supply the coffers of this iniquitous council, the next step of Critias and his followers was to get rid of a man whose power and influence they dreaded even more than his known courage and ability; this was Theramenes. He had constantly opposed the measures of Critias; he had on every occasion pointed out the danger and folly, as well as the iniquity, of the line of policy which they were pursuing, and, to the utmost of his power, had thwarted their designs; he was, however, too powerful, and retained too many adherents, even among the party of the Thirty, to be destroyed by the same summary process, that had been resorted to on the occasion of the other individuals whom we have mentioned. It was resolved, therefore, to proceed, in his case, with more deliberation and precaution. A council having been called, Critias surrounded the place of assembly with a body of men, provided with concealed arms. He then rose in his place, and in a set speech accused Theramenes of treason. He stated no facts, however, but arguing merely as an assassin with his accomplices, proposed that the accused should be put to death, on the ground, not of any alleged criminality, but solely of convenience to the party by whom he was to be judged.

Theramenes, who, from long practice in a public assembly, was among the most eloquent men of his time, knew too well the temper of the tribunal before whom he was to speak, to think of defending himself on the score of law or justice; he took the tone of his defence from that of his accuser, and pointed out to the Thirty the dangerous path in which they were treading; he showed them how much more prudent had been the measures which he had recommended, and demonstrated, not the wickedness, but the folly of Critias. Such was the effect which his speech produced, that he had already disposed a majority of the council in his favour, when Critias, who perceived that the critical moment was arrived when either he or Theramenes must be destroyed, left the room, and in a few minutes returned with his armed attendants. He then addressed the council as follows:—"I reckon it the duty of a good magistrate, not to stand

by while gross impositions are practising upon his friends: be it my care, on the present occasion, to discharge that duty. There is none here but is ready to admit, that no man should be allowed to escape with impunity who is an enemy to the oligarchy. It is, indeed, enacted by the new body of laws, that no person whose name is on the list of the three thousand shall be put to death, except by the vote of the senate; but that the council of Thirty may put to death any who are not on that list. I therefore, with your entire approbation, strike the name of this Theramenes here, out of that list; and we," added he, "order him to be put to death."

Death of Theramenes.

When Theramenes, who perceived what was about to happen, heard these last words, he immediately leaped upon the altar, and keeping hold of it, told the council, "He was well aware that the sanctuary of the altar would avail him nothing in the present emergency, but he was glad to have an opportunity of convincing all men, that Critias and his adherents, were not only unjust towards their fellow-creatures, but sacrilegious towards the gods." He then asked those present, if they "were prepared to allow to Critias a right which might in the next moment be exercised towards themselves?" but he was interrupted by the crier belonging to the Thirty, who ordered the Eleven, as the public executioners were called, to go and seize Theramenes; and Critias directed them to carry him away to the proper place, and perform their duty. As soon as Critias had spoken, the eleven proceeded to drag Theramenes from the altar: the senate, in the mean while, making no opposition; surrounded as they were by the creatures of Critias, with the area before the senate-house filled with foreign guards, and knowing also that many of those within had daggers concealed under their clothes, they justly considered that resistance would be useless to the victim, and probably fatal to themselves. Theramenes was hurried away across the forum, loudly remonstrating against his fate. He was told to be silent or his cries should be turned into groans.[1] "And shall I not groan," he replied, "if I am silent?" The same spirit he preserved at his execution; when he drank off the poison, he threw the little that remained at the bottom of the cup upon the ground, tinkling the vessel at the same time (according to the custom of the Greeks at banquets), and saying, "This libation to the noble Critias." "I am not ignorant," says Xenophon, who relates these anecdotes, that "such sayings as these are of no importance in themselves; but this I think admirable in the man, that in the very instant when death was immediately at hand, neither his playfulness nor his high-mindedness forsook him."[2]

Such was the end of Theramenes. It now only remains for us to relate the fate which awaited Critias; and this will lead us to the

[1] Ὅτι οἰμώξειεν, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν.

[2] Καὶ τοῦτῳ μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα· ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθὸν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος, μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον, μήτε τὸ παιγνιῶδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

detail of circumstances, and the contemplation of a character, upon which it will be much more pleasant to dwell, than upon any which have been furnished by the particulars which we have hitherto been narrating.

Thrasybulus occupies Phyle.

Among those whom the tyranny of the Thirty had driven into exile, was Thrasybulus, son of Lycus, whose name we have already had occasion to mention with honour, as one of the ablest and most successful of the Athenian commanders during the latter years of the Peloponnesian war. He had taken up his residence in Bœotia, and was waiting for some opportunity favourable to his views of assailing the tyrants from without, when the news of the death of Theramenes, and of the jealousies and discontent which so violent a measure seemed calculated to create, at once decided him to put the plan which he had formed into execution. It was now toward mid-winter; and scarcely six months had elapsed since the establishment of the Thirty, when, attended only by about seventy heavy armed, he entered Attica, and seized Phyle, a fortress near the Bœotian border.

An enterprise which was undertaken with such feeble means, gave at first but little alarm to the Thirty. They concluded that plunder was the only object of it: to prevent this, they marched immediately against the place, and attempting to take it by assault, they were beaten back, and driven to the necessity of commencing a circumvallation. As the weather was fine, and the town only at the distance of twelve miles from Athens, they had come without tents and camp equipage; but the same night a heavy fall of snow so distressed them, that the following morning they hastily withdrew, and, with so little conduct, that a great part of their baggage was taken by the pursuers.

Success of Thrasybulus.

This success increased the forces of Thrasybulus, but did not immediately open the eyes of the Thirty to his ulterior object. Supposing still, that depredation was the end which he had in view, they sent the greater part of the Lacedæmonian troops with a body of their own horse, to keep the invaders in check; but Thrasybulus, whose soldiers now amounted to seven hundred, heavy-armed, surprised the camp of the Thirty at day-break, killed a hundred and twenty of their best troops, and put the rest to flight. In a few days the forces of the Athenian commander were increased to a thousand heavy-armed; and with these he boldly resolved at once to march to the town of the Piræus, which being dismantled, he entered without resistance; and by this step at once proclaimed, that his intentions extended to the liberation of his country from the tyranny by which it was oppressed. The Thirty led their whole force to the attack, before his numbers should be increased. Finding the extent of the Piræus was too large for his scanty numbers to occupy, Thrasybulus moved to the adjoining suburb of Munychia, which afforded more advantageous ground for defence. The Thirty did not delay the assault: it was now evident to Critias that nothing but victory could uphold the desperate cause to which he was pledged; unless he could secure this, death in the field

Death of Critias.

was the happiest alternative which was left him; and this he was fortunate enough to obtain. Hippomachus, another of the Thirty, was also killed. Hardly more than seventy of their followers had fallen when the remainder took to flight, leaving the victory in the hands of Thrasybulus, who was careful to seize the opportunity of recommending his cause to the favourable construction of his fellow-citizens, by abstaining from spoiling the dead.

When the pursuit had ceased, a truce for the burial of the slain was in the usual form solicited by the defeated, and granted by the conqueror. This afforded the followers of Thrasybulus an opportunity of communicating with those within the town; and so strongly did the tide turn against the Thirty, even among the majority of their late adherents, that the next day they were deposed by general consent, and a council of ten appointed in their room, one from every ward, for the express purpose of negotiating an accommodation with those in the Piræus. No resistance was attempted by the fallen tyrants, nor was any violence used against them. Two of their number were elected of the ten; the others, who had probably shared too deeply in the wickedness of the late proceedings, and were therefore hopeless of being forgiven, left the city, and retired to Eleusis (a town which the Thirty had taken the precaution to garrison), waiting the result of an embassy which they had despatched to Sparta, soliciting assistance, and representing the danger to which the Lacedæmonian interest in Athens was exposed. Instead, however, of fulfilling the duty for which they had been elected, that of negotiating a peace with Thrasybulus, the ten came to the resolution of maintaining the oligarchy; and of resisting his design of restoring the ancient order of things with every means in their power. With this view they determined to remain upon the defensive, until troops could be brought from the Peloponnesus to their support.

Thrasybulus joined by large numbers.

Meanwhile, crowds of citizens, and other inhabitants of Attica, of all denominations, gathered themselves round the standard which he had raised. Providing themselves with such arms as circumstances permitted, they soon formed a force which, though not sufficiently strong to attack the city, was yet able to obtain complete command of the open country.

Policy of Lacedæmon.

Thrasybulus had so well chosen his season for enterprise, and had conducted it with so much celerity, that his object of assembling an army at the gates of Athens was accomplished, almost before the Thirty had even been able to interpret his plan. But what he trusted to, perhaps more than to the season of the year, or even to the surprise into which the Thirty were thrown, was his knowledge of the state of parties in Lacedæmon. The great stay upon which the hopes of the tyrants rested, was the influence of Lysander, who, it might naturally be supposed, would be anxious to maintain at Athens the order of things of which he himself may be considered as the author. But, on the other hand, Lysander himself was, to those who were in

power at Sparta, an object of great personal jealousy; and as the principal ground of what they considered his undue influence among his fellow-citizens, was founded upon the subjection to which he had reduced the inveterate enemy of their country, those who were at the head of the party opposed to him in affairs, were not sorry of an opportunity for counteracting his views, by endeavouring to take the supreme power at Athens out of the hands in which he had placed it, and to transfer it to a party, who would owe their authority to them.

Pausanias sent at the head of an army.

An army was sent, however, to Attica, for the purpose of reducing Thrasybulus; but the command of it was given to Pausanias, the avowed rival, or rather enemy of Lysander; and the eagerness with which the former availed himself of every circumstance that might appear to justify him, in entering into a treaty, clearly indicated the disposition of his politics. This disposition was carefully cultivated by Thrasybulus, whose moderation and equitable views, when contrasted with the violent and iniquitous proceedings of those whose power Pausanias was commissioned to uphold, were in themselves well calculated to make favourable impressions. Pausanias was, moreover, connected by ties of hospitality with the family of Nicias, of which the head, as we have seen, had perished under the Thirty. The Spartan king, having communicated with the survivors of that family, directed them to come to him, numerously attended, in order to give weight to a declaration of their wish, for an accommodation with their fellow-citizens in the Piræus. At the same time he invited Thrasybulus to send commissioners to treat with him; and named the terms which it would be expedient that they should propose. He was readily obeyed by both; and with the concurrent authority of the two Ephori, who had been appointed to accompany him as his council, he granted passports to the commissioners from the Piræus, and to Cephisophon and Melitus, as representatives of the moderate party at Athens, to proceed to Lacedæmon.

Deputation sent to Lacedæmon.

The party in Athens, who had succeeded to the Thirty, were naturally alarmed at these proceedings; and accordingly they despatched a deputation to Sparta, complaining of the measures which Pausanias was pursuing; declaring, "that they for their part were willing to surrender their walls and their persons into the hands of the Lacedæmonians; and that, therefore, they in the Piræus, if they pretended to be also the friends of that people, should likewise surrender into their hands the Piræus and Munychia." Having heard all that the respective envoys had to say, the Ephori and council of state, determined to send fifteen persons to Athens, with instructions to complete the reconciliation of all parties in the state, upon the most honourable and equitable terms in their power. These instructions were faithfully and liberally complied with. With the exception of the Thirty, and of some other individuals who had taken a particular active part in their oppressive proceedings, for whom an asylum was provided at Eleusis, the citizens of all parties and denominations

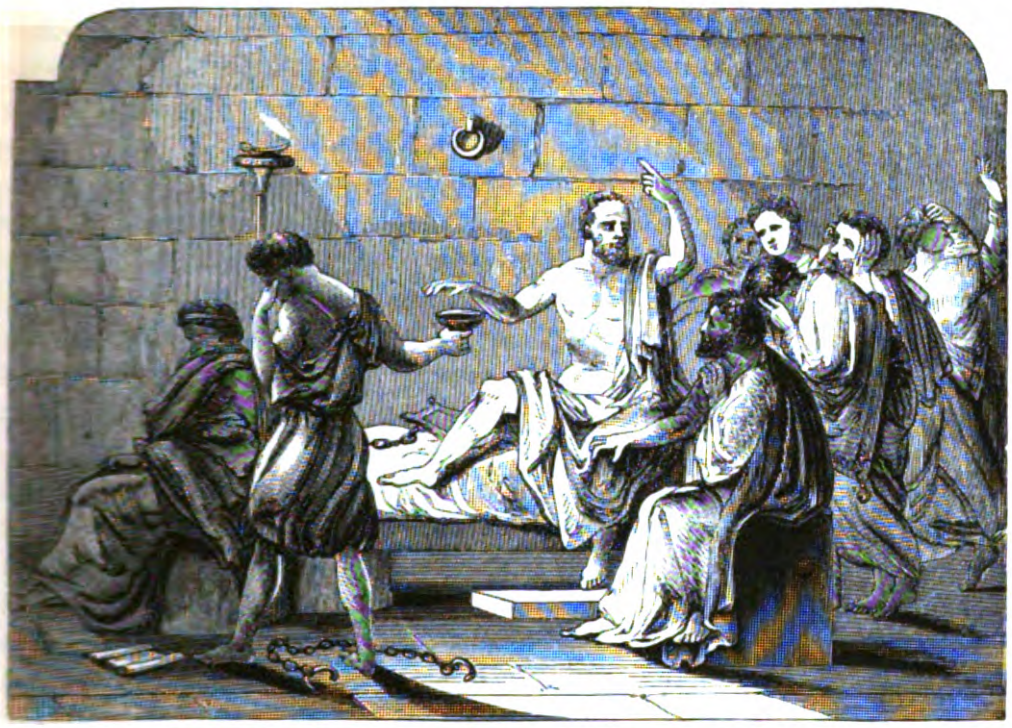
were restored to their respective rights; with no other condition annexed, than an oath to dwell in peace, and to be true to an universal amnesty.

Pausanias disbands his army.

All points being now adjusted, Pausanias returned to Peloponnesus, and disbanded his army. His retreat was the signal for Thrasybulus and his followers to march to Athens, which they entered in procession, and with all the solemnity of a triumph. Having entered the city, they first directed their steps to the citadel, in which they offered a sacrifice to Minerva. A general assembly was there held, and by the advice of Thrasybulus, the complete restoration of the republic, to the forms in which the constitution was administered before the establishment of the Thirty was unanimously decreed. All the magistracies were filled up; and from this period the government resumed its ancient course, and Athens herself quickly fell into her old connections and system of policy. But the conduct of the Athenians upon the re-establishment of the state, does not fall properly under our present subject. She never after was able to recover that preponderating influence among the democratical states, from which she fell at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war; and had Lacedæmon preserved towards her other dependents the same generous line of conduct which she adopted towards Athens in the case of the late sedition, it is probable that she would have preserved her influence not only there, but in every part of Greece. But moderation in prosperity was a quality unknown to Grecian republics. Every party in the state had too many private quarrels to prosecute, too many private injuries to redress, upon every change of administration, to leave room for justice or generosity to have their course; and Lacedæmon, as we shall soon have occasion to point out, is just as much exposed to censure for the means which she took in order to secure and extend her influence, as the Athenian democracy had been before her.

The democracy restored.





Death of Socrates. *G. F. Sargent*, after a Picture by L. David.

CHAPTER IV.

SOCRATES.

B. C. 469 TO 399.

Political tendencies of the Socratic philosophy.

In the annals of the Greek philosophy we can contemplate no system more instructive, and none more thoroughly practical, than that of Socrates; it animated equally the profound contemplations of Plato and the resolute enterprise of Xenophon; it embodied the principles of morality and the constitution of a sound policy. A period of seventy years, passed amidst the factions and political oppressions of his native city, had not robbed Socrates of the earnest desire of being the true benefactor of his species. Socrates belonged to the deme Alopece, in the immediate vicinity of Athens. His father, Sophroniscus, was a sculptor; and, in pursuit of the same profession, the son seems to have acquired a fair proficiency, producing, amongst various works, a group of the Graces, which was exhibited as his genuine work in the time of Pausanias. His mother, Phœnarete, was a midwife, and his maternal brother was named Patrocles. Three sons were the result of his union with Xantippe, whose violent temper, while passing almost into a proverb, bore witness to the exemplary patience of Socrates. The position of the great philosopher's family was humble, though of pure Attic descent, since it belonged to the gens Dædalidæ, and derived its name from the renowned mythologic artificer Dædalus.

Parentage of Socrates.

His family.

Scanty resources of Socrates.

On the decease of Socrates' father, he was left with nothing bu the scanty inheritance of eighty minæ, of which he was basely deprived by the dishonesty of a relative, to whom it was left in trust by Sophroniscus. Thus driven to support himself by active exertion, he continued the profession of his father, devoting all his leisure hours to the study of philosophy. Prodicus, the sophist, was his preceptor in eloquence, Damo in music, Theodorus in geometry and Evenus in poetry; whilst Anaxagoras and Archelaus had the distinguished honour of laying the foundation of that solid virtue which was so deeply venerated in Socrates. His thirst for knowledge was universal, and with this object he visited every individual of interest in the city, male or female. His interview and conversation with Theodote, recorded by Xenophon, and his personal friendship with the beautiful and accomplished Aspasia, are well known.

His eager desire for knowledge.

Constitution and appearance of Socrates.

The personal characteristics of Socrates were unusually marked. To physical powers of high endurance, and a most vigorous constitution, were joined a mien and gait essentially comic, still farther heightened by features conveying the idea of a highly-laughable mask. These peculiarities, together with the fits of abstraction which involved him in ludicrous mistakes, marked him out as a favourite object of satire. His energetic vigour as a hoplite, while on military service, was remarkable. Indifferent to the change of the seasons, and clad in the same scanty clothing throughout the year, he went barefoot even in the winter campaign in Thrace, while his diet was both simple and abstemious. From gymnastic training, as it required ample supplies of food, he entirely abstained, since he was resolute in limiting to the narrowest bounds every requirement of nature. His object was self-control and self-sufficiency; and this mastery, aided by native independence of character, he fully obtained. As a soldier, he served with distinguished renown at Amphipolis and Potidæa, on two several occasions saving the lives of Xenophon and Alcibiades; whilst in the only political office which he filled, that of president of the Prytaneia, B. C. 406, he evinced his high moral courage in refusing to put to the vote the unconstitutional proposition of Callixenus against the victorious generals of Arginusæ.



His hardihood and military endurance.

Integrity of Socrates.

We have not the means of ascertaining the exact time when Socrates resigned his profession as statuary; though, undoubtedly, the middle and latter parts of his life were wholly devoted to the sacred duty of a moral teacher.

In this zealous occupation his practice was to frequent the gymnasia,

the public walks, and the schools; whilst at its most crowded hours he was to be seen in the market-place, visiting the booths and tables; and in this public position his time was entirely spent. Every individual seemed entitled to the vast fund of wisdom accumulated by the great Athenian philosopher; characters the most various and opposite were benefited by the universality of his doctrines, for they rested upon a basis so broad as to comprehend all the relations of human existence. The sophist, the politician, the warrior, the artizan, were the indiscriminate objects of his address, which took its rise immediately from that source with which each was best acquainted. Those singular and instructive discourses ere long attracted around Socrates a body of enlightened hearers, who were in the habit of attending him in public as companions, though in this relationship the strict appellation of master and pupil never received his sanction; whilst, towards the close of his career, as the fame of Socrates continued to increase, not only Athens, but Thebes, Megara, Elis, and even Cyrene, sent forth eager aspirants for the honour of his instruction. We have already seen the distinctive mode of the Socratic instruction, which differed widely from the formal discourses of the philosopher, who received special pupils at his own residence or garden.

Socratic habits of teaching.

Disciples of Socrates.

Here the individuality of Socrates was most marked, while his lessons, accessible to all, embraced a far wider intellectual circle. While, however, such publicity and freedom of instruction gained considerable popularity, his sincerity and boldness provoked personal enmity of a powerful character; at the same time, the more salient points of his physical and intellectual character proved an irresistible temptation to the satirical genius of his countrymen. Hence his selection by Aristophanes, the great Attic comedian, as an effective caricature of the philosophical and rhetorical teacher. At the instigation of Melitus, who afterwards became the prosecutor of Socrates, Aristophanes introduced the philosopher in the comedy of "The Clouds," holding him up to the ridicule of the Athenians. Socrates seldom visited the theatre, except on the performance of the tragedies of Euripides. On one occasion, however, he was present at the representation of "The Clouds," when the house was crowded with foreigners, who had come to Athens on the celebration of a festival in honour of Dionysus. On the appearance on the stage of the representative of Socrates, a whisper passed around amongst the strangers, inquiring who was the original of the satire. At this time, Socrates was seated in one of the most conspicuous parts of the theatre, and remarking the curiosity of the audience, with great composure he rose up, and remained standing during the rest of the representation. Surprised at such magnanimity, one of the spectators inquired if he did not feel hurt at this public derision. "By no means," replied Socrates; "I am merely a host, providing a large company with entertainment." In the following year, Aristophanes brought forward

Individuality of Socrates.

Caricature of Aristophanes

Socrates present at the play of "The Clouds."

Magnanimity of Socrates.

the comedy with several alterations and additions, but the piece met with so much discouragement that he was compelled to discontinue it.

Accusation of Anytus.

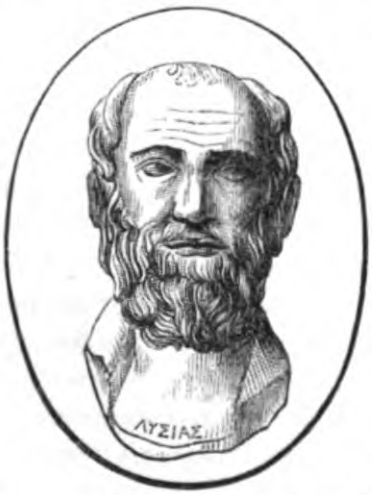
It was not till several years afterwards that a serious attempt was made to destroy the reputation and life of the great philosopher; and, in the latter object, the envious Anytus was but too successful. It will be important to notice the time when this accusation was brought forward.

Athens had not long since passed through the perilous ordeal of the thirty tyrants, and the recent restoration to liberty had made the Athenians unusually severe in avenging all departure from ancient religious ideas and old political maxims, while specious reasons existed, as will shortly be shown, for connecting Socrates with the tyranny of the Thirty. His principal accuser, Anytus, was a tanner, who had gained much wealth by his trade, and was a man of such political influence as to have been exiled by the Thirty, in the same decree which drove into banishment Thrasybulus and Alcibiades. This man, with Melitus, the tragic poet, and Lycon, the rhetor, formed a powerful nucleus for the concentrated enmity of baffled pride; for these individuals were urged on by personal resentment, being convicted by the great Athenian philosopher of that empty conceit of knowledge which it was ever his object to expose and rectify. Anytus, in particular, entertained especial grounds of enmity against Socrates, in whose discourses the son of Anytus took great interest. The Athenian philosopher, observing in this youth high intellectual promise, had dissuaded his father from bringing him up to the trade of a leather-seller. The father, having sustained great losses during the sway of the oligarchs, was desirous that his son should repair these by diligence in his old occupation. To such young men as the son of Anytus the conversation of Socrates was particularly attractive, and they failed not to carry home new and enlarged ideas, highly displeasing to their fathers, who hailed the impeachment of Socrates as the means of proving him "a corrupter of youth."

Socrates connected with the tyranny of the Thirty.

Melitus, Anytus, and Lycon, combine against Socrates.

Conversational charms of Socrates.



Lysias. *Visconti*, Iconog. Grecque.

Accusation of Melitus.

In the year B.C. 399 the determined hostility of his bitterest enemies was consummated in his destruction. In that year, Miletus hung up in front of the office of the King-Archon an indictment against him, couched in the following terms:—"Socrates is guilty of not worshipping the gods whom the city worships, and of introducing new divinities; he is besides guilty of corrupting the youth; the penalty due is death." Excited by the imminent peril of Socrates, Lysias, one of the most distinguished orators of the time, composed a powerful and pathetic oration, which he presented to his friend as his defence in

the forthcoming trial. After perusing it, and extolling its animation and eloquence, Socrates declined making use of it, comparing it to Sicyonian shoes, which though they might fit, were evidence of effeminacy; remarking at the same time, that a philosopher should be distinguished by firmness of soul. Socrates declines the defence of the orator Lysias.

The remarks of Xenophon, and the apology of Plato, are the only sources whence we gain any knowledge of the actual speeches of either of the plaintiffs before the Attic tribunal; it is clear, however, that the third count of the indictment was their strongest ground of accusation. Socrates had, in some measure, the training of both Alcibiades and Critias; the former, from high intellectual powers and soaring ambition, had become the dread of the Athenian democracy; he had evinced his total disregard of all the trammels of Attic equality, and took delight in making himself indispensable to his country, while he scorned and trampled on its laws; he was aware of every turn in the current of popularity, which he directed to his own advancement. Critias was detested for the atrocities which, as leader of the Thirty, he had committed, and the obloquy which deservedly attached to these individuals was now basely sought to be fastened upon Socrates. The old calumnies of Aristophanes, Eupolis, and other comedians, were again revived, and of the effect of these, Socrates manifested greater apprehension than of the speeches of his opponents on his trial. Alcibiades and Critias disciples of Socrates. Revival of calumnies against Socrates.

These affirmed that the Athenian youth were taught by him a conceit of their superior wisdom, and learned to insult their parents and kinsmen. He was charged, too, with quoting the most pernicious passages of their greatest poets, and of perverting them to the ruin of the young, by sowing in them the seeds of a despotic disposition; that he was fond of quoting the case of Ulysses, recorded by Homer in the second book of the Iliad, as though the poet had applauded the Ithacan chief for caressing the leaders, and for applying stripes to the common people.

With these misrepresentations were mingled accusations of a political character, partially founded in truth. Of such a nature was the charge, that "Socrates censured the choice of Archons by lot at Athens," thereby inducing contempt of the government. Against this elaborate machinery of vindictive malice Socrates took no precaution; indeed, from the testimony of Xenophon, we learn that the great philosopher indulged scarcely a desire for acquittal. Political misrepresentations.

The preparation of his defence was almost unthought of by him; and when remonstrated with by his friend Hermogenes for this omission, he observed, that the blameless life which he had passed was his best defence; besides, though he had casually begun to meditate on what he ought to say, the divine signal had warned him to desist. He further remarked, that a conviction of a progressive moral advance had hitherto attended him; that even if his life were prolonged, senile decay would affect all the organs of intelligence, and render life Socrates disregards his defence. His reasons for so doing.

thus burdened an intolerable load; whereas an unjust present condemnation would be a disgrace to his judges, none to himself. These sentiments delivered previous to his trial, prove Socrates' disregard of an acquittal, nay, even that he deemed that the divinity had fixed the approaching trial as the goal of his existence. In this calm frame of mind did Socrates appear before the unrighteous tribunal with unpremeditated defence. Here he triumphantly refuted the charge of irreligion; he called the attention of his judges to the mandate of the divinity, that he should pass his life in the search of wisdom, in self-examination, and in the examination of others; that this command he could not disobey, and that he believed this duty of his, the greatest good ever granted by the gods to his native city. As for himself, he observed, he had no regard for a defence, but solely for the sake of the Athenians, lest by their condemnation of him they should reject the goodness of the gods. "There is no man," he observed, "who knows what death is, yet mankind fear it, as if they were convinced it is the greatest of all evils—a gross specimen of ignorance,—since it involves the conceit of knowledge without the reality. You possibly may feel incensed at my resolute avowal; you may have anticipated that I should weep, and beg for my life, aided by the tears of children and relatives. Relatives I have, like others, and three children; but none of them shall appear before your bar for such a purpose, for I deem such conduct degrading to my high reputation, and guilty should I be if I sought to bias you by supplications. It is my duty to instruct and persuade you, if possible; as to yourselves, you have sworn to judge according to the laws, and it is your bounden duty so to do. Require not, therefore, from me, conduct disgraceful to myself, and criminal towards you." Never before had the Athenian judges been addressed in language so dignified and independent; they had been accustomed to subservience; they now felt exasperated and humbled by the moral grandeur of the man who looked down on the petty forms of human judgment, as it were, from the lofty tribunal of the divinity itself, and Crito and his other friends trembled for the result. In the Attic judicature, the penalty was decided by a separate vote of the judges, taken after the verdict of guilty. The accuser was entitled to name the penalty he considered appropriate; the accused then named some lighter penalty; between these proposals the judges were to choose. Melitus in his indictment had demanded the infliction of capital punishment; it now remained for Socrates to make some counter-proposition, and this he was now called upon to do. "What counter-penalty shall I name," observed he, "as a substitute for that of Melitus? Shall I mention the treatment which I think I merit at your hands? For my exertions to teach the Athenian youth justice and moderation, and to render my countrymen generally more happy, let me be rewarded with a subsistence in the Prytaneum, at the public expense, for the remaining years of my life; an honour, O Athenians, which I merit more than the victors at the Olympic games;

Appears before his judges.

His defence.

His opinion on death.

Refuses the ordinary modes of defence.

Astonishment and indignation of his judges.

Course of the Attic judicature.

Reply of Socrates to his judges.

for they make their countrymen more happy in appearance, whereas I have made you so in reality."

Their exasperation.

Nothing could be more dignified than the lofty bearing of this noble champion of philosophy, but it exasperated while it humiliated his judges. If they had before felt humbled by the moral grandeur of Socrates, they were now incensed by his laying claim to almost the highest honorary distinction which the state could bestow. Excited by this supposed insult to judicial authority, they condemned him to drink the juice of hemlock. Socrates now addressed those dicasts who had decided in his favour, announcing his approaching death as a pleasure, since he was going to hold converse with the noblest heroes of antiquity; he at the same time recommended to their paternal care his defenceless children; and on returning to prison exclaimed, "I am going to die, you to live; which is the best, the divinity alone can know." It was usual for the condemned to drink the poison the day succeeding the trial; but it so happened, in Socrates' case, that his sentence was pronounced immediately after the sailing of the sacred ship on its yearly pilgrimage to Delos; until the return of this vessel, it was considered unholy to carry out any state execution. Hence, Socrates remained in prison, heavily ironed, till its return, a period of thirty days. During this interval, his friends had free access to him, and spent the greater part of their time in the prison. Nor were their efforts for rescuing him from his perilous position supine or inefficient. Crito, by bribing the gaoler, had completed a scheme for his escape, which was only rendered ineffective by Socrates himself, who gave it his decided refusal, as a breach of the law. The details of the last scene of his life are full of the deepest interest. With his friends he continued to converse with the greatest calmness and serenity, and when one of them expressed his grief that though innocent he was to suffer, "What!" replied he, "would you have me die guilty?" He developed his opinions on the immortality of the soul, deeply reprobating the prevalent custom of suicide. To Crito, who had urged his escape, he observed, "Whither shall I fly to avoid the doom passed upon all?" When the hour of execution arrived, the gaoler presented the cup, with tears in his eyes. Socrates received it with composure, drank the potion with countenance unchanged, and soon afterwards expired. Thus perished, in his seventieth year, the great ethical philosopher of antiquity, whose original and efficacious system, by giving a durable impulse to the investigation of truth, still continues to be felt by the intellectual world.

Socrates is condemned to drink the juice of hemlock.

His execution postponed.

Efforts of his friends to save him.

His opinion on suicide.

His death.

B. C. 399.



Raising the Trophy for the Victory of Coronea. *G. F. Sargent.*

CHAPTER V.

THE AGE OF AGESILAUS.

B. C. 404 TO 388.

B. C. 404. AT the termination of the Peloponnesian war, there remained no longer any power who could venture upon disputing the supremacy of Lacedæmon; and although the peace which had been made, effected nothing towards a reconciliation of the parties by which Greece was distracted, yet it insured for a short period a political calm, which afforded at least a temporary rest from war and tumult.

Seeds of dissension in Greece.

The first symptoms of impending disturbance seem to have shown themselves in Thebes. Thebes claimed sovereignty over the other towns of Bœotia; but her claims were resisted by Lacedæmon, who was desirous of retaining these communities in dependence upon herself. Here then were at once the germs of dissension between these states; and the haughty manner in which the latter appears to have asserted her pretensions, gave such advantages to the democratical leaders in Thebes; that very shortly after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, we find the aristocratical, which was always in some degree the Lacedæmonian party, completely excluded from power in that city. But a revolution in the government of Thebes was always the signal of a similar change at Corinth; and Corinth again was so closely united with Argos, that her example was commonly sufficient to induce the like change in the government of this last; so that the

Peloponnesian war was scarcely terminated before three of the principal cities became alienated from the interest, even though they did not dare, or were not able at once to withdraw themselves from under the power of, the Lacedæmonians. The generous conduct which had been displayed by these last, on the occasion of the expulsion of the Thirty, would probably, and in fact did, go far to conciliate the gratitude of the Athenians; and from this time her citizens seem to have laid aside their former acrimony of feeling towards the Lacedæmonians; but still it was hardly possible for a democratical state in Greece to continue in cordial alliance with one, which openly professed to rule by means of the aristocratical interest; so that it required no particular foresight to prophesy, that if ever Athens should recover her strength, it would soon be exercised in an attempt to regain her station, as head of the democratical faction.

But although a merely general knowledge of the affairs of Greece, at the period immediately succeeding the Peloponnesian war, is sufficient to enable us to sketch out so far a rough outline of her political system, yet the information is singularly defective as to all the details. There is, perhaps, no age of Athenian history so intimately known to us as this, upon which we are now about to enter. The works of Xenophon, of Plato, of Aristophanes, and of many of the best of the Grecian orators belong properly to this period; and they abound with particulars, that enable the classical reader to make himself as familiarly acquainted with the manners, and feelings, and domestic circumstances of the Athenians during the times in which they wrote, as with the occurrences of the Court of Elizabeth or James, in our own country.

Though the writings which remain to us of this period leave us but little to desire in the way of information, so far as Athens is concerned, yet they are entirely silent with respect to every circumstance connected with the internal affairs of the neighbouring states; and we are left almost as much in the dark with regard to the intrigues of parties at Sparta, and Thebes, and Corinth, as of those at Carthage or Tarentum. That Lacedæmon was distracted by faction at this point of time, may clearly be collected from the account, which Xenophon has left us, of the measures pursued by her in the case of the restoration of the Athenian democracy; as well as by the instance which he has recorded, of the resistance which her requisitions constantly met with, on the part of several of the other principal states; and which requisitions, as she was entitled by treaty to enforce, she certainly never could have receded from, had not her attention been occupied and her operation clogged, by some difficulties at home, of which it is in vain to guess the precise nature. Her conduct, as after events proved, was haughty and intemperate enough, whenever she was able to act with freedom; so much so, that it is hardly possible to give her the praise of moderation, even when the measures which she pursued seemed to bear that character.

Such being the state of things in Greece at the time upon which we are now entering, it will be readily understood that it could require no very extraordinary combination of circumstances to light up again the torch of discord among the several states of the Grecian confederacy; if that connection may be called a confederacy, which was kept together rather by the repulsion of discordant parts, counteracting each other, than by any tie of common interest or affection. The immediate occasion, however, of the first war which broke out among the leading states, after the Peloponnesian war, does not, as we shall soon see, reflect much honour upon the patriotism or integrity of the democratical leaders.

Policy of Lacedæmon.

It is mentioned by Xenophon as a singular circumstance, that while the most reasonable demands of Lacedæmon were disputed or disobeyed among the cities of Greece, among those of Asia Minor, her commands were listened to, and her directions followed, with a degree of unanimity, which enabled her to assume a much higher tone with the Persian satraps, than she could have employed with prudence towards the meanest of her allies in Greece. Encouraged by the prosperous condition of her affairs in the East, no less than by the secret, which the triumphant retreat of the ten thousand had divulged to the world, of the utter inability of the Persian troops to cope with any regularly-organized force of Greeks, when conducted with bravery and common prudence, the rulers in Lacedæmon resolved to commence their operations for reducing the Grecian states to that obedience, which the treaties they had concluded gave them a right to claim, by consolidating their power and extending their dominions in Asia. Once masters of the maritime force and inexhaustible wealth, which the possession of empire in that part of the globe would immediately place at their disposal, they concluded, and probably with justice, that it would then be a work of no difficulty to bring their refractory allies in Greece to submission. In the meantime, it was their policy to keep their temper with respect to them, and not allow any provocation or insult to force them into premature hostilities; well knowing that if they should succeed in their designs upon Asia, it would be in their power not only to prevent all danger of future opposition at home, but to punish at their leisure whatever insults they might think it worth while to put up with in the meanwhile.

Scheme of conquest in Asia.

In prosecution of this scheme of policy, of which Agesilaus was the ostensible promoter, but Lysander the real author, a force was equipped with orders to proceed under the command of Agesilaus, to the relief of the Grecian colonies in Asia, the safety of which, it was pretended, was threatened by Tissaphernes, who, it was given out, was making immense preparations in Phœnicia and other ports under his dominion, for the reduction of the Asiatic towns. Geræstus, in Eubœa, was the port at which the troops were to embark. In his way thither, attended only by a small escort, Agesilaus having to pass in the neighbourhood of the port of Aulis in Bœotia, went thither to

sacrifice; he was induced to do so, because that place had been the spot at which Agamemnon sacrificed, before his departure for Troy. In the midst of the ceremony, the Bœotarchs, at the head of a considerable force, came and rudely forbade the sacrifice; and upon Agesilaus protesting against their rudeness and impiety, they brutally scattered the offering from the altar, and by open force prevented the sacrifice from proceeding. It does not appear that any notice was taken of this unprovoked insolence by the Lacedæmonians; but we may safely conclude, that the affront was not forgotten. A day of retribution, they hoped, was at hand; and Agesilaus continued his journey to Geræstus, merely imprecating the vengeance of the gods upon the conduct of the Bœotians.

Success of Agesilaus in Asia Minor.

We shall not follow Agesilaus in his Asiatic campaign: a detail of battles which ultimately led to no result, and which were marked by no extraordinary circumstances, would convey neither amusement nor instruction; but his success was so marked, and his progress so alarming, and the ultimate designs which he had in view of dismembering the Persian empire, began to develop themselves so plainly, that Tithraustes, the Persian satrap, who had succeeded Tissaphernes in the government of Lydia, finding it impossible to resist the Lacedæmonians in Asia, saw no resource, except that of endeavouring to excite a diversion against them at home.

Tithraustes was well aware of the dislike of the Lacedæmonian supremacy which prevailed in Greece; and of the insecure state of her influence among the petty republics who there constituted her subjects. Instead, therefore, of pretending to resist the Spartan king in the field, he resolved to protract the war in Asia, and endeavour to procure the recal of the forces which were there employed, by finding occupation for them at home. For this purpose he employed a Rhodian, named Timocrates, to proceed to Greece; and by means of bribes, judiciously distributed among the democratical leaders in the several republics, and of promises of support from the great king, began to form a coalition against Lacedæmon, which might lead to active measures against her. Xenophon tells us that the sum with which Timocrates was intrusted, amounted to about twelve thousand pounds sterling; and small as this may seem, such either was the corruption of public principle among the Greeks at this time, or such the predisposition among them, to fall in with the proposition which Timocrates was deputed to negotiate, that his success more than answered the most sanguine expectations of Tithraustes. Xenophon has not scrupled to name the party leaders in Argos, Corinth, and Thebes, who partook of the satrap's bounty; but he acquits his own countrymen of any share in the transaction: in fact, whatever may have been the effect of the Persian gold upon individuals, it is clear that the hope of the powerful support which Timocrates was commissioned to promise, combined with the discontented state of the public mind, must in reality have been the cause of the ready acquiescence with which the proposals were everywhere received.

Mission of Timocrates to Greece.

War against Thebes.

The first who openly defied the power of Lacedæmon was Thebes. She did not at once declare war against the state, because for this no pretence was afforded; but she availed herself of some pretext to attack the Phocians; well knowing that the Lacedæmonians would never stand still, and allow the subjection of so important a member of their confederation. Upon measures being taken on the part of Lacedæmon to repress this instance of Theban insolence, ambassadors were despatched from this latter power to Athens. By the advice of Thrasybulus, the proposition of the Thebans was accepted, and an alliance between them and the Athenians concluded. The accession of Athens induced Argos to join in the confederacy, which again led to the concurrence of Corinth. The united influence of so many cities soon led Acarnania, Ambracia, Leucadia, Eubœa, together with part of Thessaly and Thrace, into the confederacy. The pressing danger which now threatened the power of Lacedæmon, as Tithraustes had calculated, immediately led to the recal of Agesilaus, whose abilities, experience, and commanding weight were wanted at home, even more than any addition of strength which the force under his command could contribute.

This prince was enjoying in Asia honours and power, and popularity beyond what any Grecian had before obtained among the Asiatic cities; and he had before him the most inviting field of ambition, that had ever yet presented itself to any commander. Having provided, however, for the security of the allies and subjects of Lacedæmon, in Asia, he instantly obeyed the order to return; and marching through Thrace and Thessaly, had arrived in Bœotia, with a well-appointed and victorious army; when he was met by news which tended to allay any hopes which he might have formed, of bringing the contest in which he was now about to engage, to the desired result. Through the combined exertions of Pharnabazus, and of Evagoras, the Tyrant, as he was called, of Salamis (and who seems to have been influenced in the part which he was taking in the war solely by regard for the Athenians), a combined fleet was placed under the command of Conon, one of the Athenian commanders, who had fled to Salamis, after the defeat at Ægospotamos, near Cnidus. Conon fell in with the Lacedæmonian fleet under Peisander, brother-in-law of Agesilaus, and defeated him with the loss of his life; and (if we may take the authority of Diodorus, on a point where Xenophon is silent), with the capture of no less than fifty of his ships.

Return of Agesilaus.

Conon gains a victory by sea over the Lacedæmonians.

Battle of Coronea.

Such was the disastrous intelligence which met Agesilaus on his entrance into Bœotia. Concealing the news from his men, he continued his march towards Peloponnesus, when he was met at Coronea, by the combined army of the confederates, consisting of the flower of the Bœotian, Athenian, Corinthian, Argian, and Locrian forces. Nevertheless, as Agesilaus had been joined in his march by the divisions of Phocis and Orchomenus, as well as some towns in Thrace, the armies were nearly equal. One of the most obstinate conflicts ensued which

is recorded in the annals of Greece. The confederates, however, were at length pushed from the field; but Agesilaus, except the honour of a victory, gained no advantage from the contest, beyond the privilege of prosecuting the remainder of his march unmolested.



Agesilaus.

Rebuilding of the long walls at Athens.

Conon, in the meanwhile, gathered much more substantial advantages, as the fruits of the victory which he had gained. Before he returned to Athens, he had persuaded Pharnabazus to allow him to employ the fleet under his command, in re-establishing the dominion of Athens among the islands; after which the generous satrap supplied him with money and sent him home to Athens, with directions to the crews of the Phœnician vessels, that they should assist in rebuilding the long walls, which Lysander had destroyed. From this period Athens resumed her commanding attitude; and continued until the battle of Chæronea, to be not only an independent but a leading state in Greece; although fortunately, perhaps, both for herself and her neighbours, she never recovered that exclusive power among the democratical republics, which she had formerly exercised and abused.

In tracing the events which followed the return of Agesilaus from Asia, and considering the means which Lacedæmon still possessed, as well as those which her enemies were able to employ, it is difficult not to feel some surprise at the confined operations which ensued on both sides. Though no important victory appears to have been gained, nor any considerable battle to have been fought, yet the weight of the war seems to have distressed the Lacedæmonians. To recover the footing upon which the event of the Peloponnesian war had placed her, was manifestly no longer within the compass of circumstances; she would have been satisfied to retain her dominion over those states within the Peloponnesus, which were directly, and almost by hereditary right, her subjects; but even this seemed problematical; and upon looking round for relief, she saw no quarter to which she could turn with so much hope, as to the event of negotiation with Persia. Enough, it was clear, had been effected by the mission of Timocrates, and the assistance of Pharnabazus, to satisfy all the ends of policy which the Persian court could have had in view, in lending her assistance to Athens and the other allies. Accordingly Antalcidas was sent to Sardis, in order to negotiate with Teribazus, who had succeeded Pharnabazus in the satrapy; the latter having been removed upon the occasion of his marriage with the king's daughter. The terms proposed were not such as reflected much honour upon the Lacedæmonians; they offered, not to dispute the sovereignty of the king over the Asiatic cities, upon

Lacedæmon negotiates with Persia.

condition that Teribazus would withdraw the assistance of his fleet from the Athenians, and re-establish the independence of the islands. As the power of Lacedæmon was still unbroken in Asia, these terms were too favourable not to be readily embraced by the Persian; and upon the confederates refusing to submit to such dishonourable conditions, Teribazus imprisoned Conon, and supplied the Lacedæmonians with money for the maintenance of their fleet.

War prosecuted without success on either side.

A war of skirmish and depredation now ensued, and was sustained with much activity, but continued equally without result on both sides. In the meantime, Teribazus had left Sardis for Susa; and Struthas, who, in his absence, was appointed to command in his place, instigated by the recollection of the losses and injuries which had been inflicted upon his country, and which he had himself witnessed and probably suffered from, during the period when Agesilaus commanded in Asia, warmly took part with the confederates, and supplied them with every means in his power for prosecuting the war.

Hostilities renewed with Persia.

Hostilities were thus renewed between Persia and Lacedæmon; but they were prosecuted, on the part of the latter, neither with prudence nor success. In Asia, Struthas surprised Thimbron, the new Lacedæmonian commander, and cut both him and his army to pieces. In Europe, Thrasybulus was successful by sea, and Iphicrates completely destroyed a Lacedæmonian mora before Corinth. These defeats were not of a nature materially to cripple the power of Lacedæmon; but they shook that which was the chief foundation of her greatness—the opinion of her invincibility; they threw a damp upon the courage of her allies, and destroyed that alacrity with which she had, at first, entered upon the war.

Mission of Antalcidas to Sardis.

Seeing, then, no way of extricating herself from the toils in which she was encompassed, she again directed her views to a negotiation with Persia. That court seems to have been always more ready to enter into treaty with the Lacedæmonians, than with any other power in Greece. The form of her government and the general stability of her councils, seemed to afford more dependance than could be placed upon states whose policy might be expected to veer, with every change of popular feeling or opinion. Accordingly, as soon as Teribazus had returned to his satrapy, and Struthas was in consequence removed, Antalcidas was again deputed to Sardis, to endeavour to effect such terms of accommodation, as might put an end, not only to the war in Asia, but also to that in Europe, among the different Grecian states.

Arriving at Ephesus in autumn, Antalcidas immediately proceeded to Sardis, where he found Teribazus not only disposed to him, personally, in the same friendly manner as before, but provided with powers from Susa, to conclude even an offensive alliance with Lacedæmon, in case the confederates persisted in prosecuting the war. But the temper of the principal belligerent republics, all of whom had severely felt the pressure, and none of whom had reaped any benefit from the war (Athens, perhaps, alone excepted), seemed to be now

much more favourably inclined for peace, than had been the case on the former occasion. By the secession of the king, the command of the sea remained no longer with Athens; Corinth and Argos, whose territory had been the chief seat of the war, had every reason to wish for an accommodation; the Bœotians only remained, who, as they had suffered less by the contest, were, in proportion, less solicitous for its termination.

The proposal for a general peace came from Teribazus; and the terms in which it was made, were such as it might have been supposed, would not be grateful to the vanity of the Greek nation. The congress being opened, Teribazus produced the king's rescript, to which was attached the royal signet. It ran thus:—"Artaxerxes, the king, thinks it just, that the cities in Asia, and the two isles of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should be his own; but that all the rest of the Grecian cities, both small and great, should be free and independent, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scios, to continue in subjection to the Athenians. And whatever state refuses this peace, I, myself, with such as receive it, shall make war against that people both by sea and land, both with ships and with money."[1] Peace of Antalcidas. B. C. 387.

The ambassadors from the several states having heard this mandate, sent their report of it home to their several constituents. The Thebans alone hesitated, because they were only permitted to take the oath for themselves, and not as they wished, in the name of all the Bœotian cities. But upon Agesilaus making instant preparation for reducing them to submission, they at length acquiesced; and the peace was signed without further delay by all the belligerent republics.

As to the humiliation of allowing a foreign potentate thus to dictate the terms upon which the Grecians were to accommodate their differences with each other, this seems to have been a scruple which occasioned no demur. The point of honour, among states as well as individuals, seems to be altogether a modern refinement; and, therefore, if the Greeks in general were satisfied with the terms of the treaty, we need not wonder that they should not quarrel about the manner in which it had been proposed. It is something more surprising, however, that the contemporary historian, in relating the transactions which took place during the progress of the treaty, should express no anger at the evident want of generosity in thus formally abandoning to their fate the Grecian cities of Asia, without even a stipulation in their favour. But the reflection which Xenophon makes upon the effects of this celebrated peace, viewed merely as a measure of policy, are perfectly just. "And thus, at length," says he, "the first peace was ratified in form between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, and confederates, after the war between them, subsequent to the demolition of the walls of Athens. But though, through the whole course of the war, the scale had generally turned in favour of the Lacedæmonians, yet they made a greater figure than ever, through

[1] Xenoph. Hell. lib. v. c. i.

this peace, which took its name from Antalcidas. For now assuming to themselves the task of executing the peace prescribed by the king, and insisting that every city should be free, they recovered the alliance of Corinth; they freed the cities of Bœotia from their dependence upon the Thebans, a result which they had long desired; they had put an end to that appropriation which the Argives had made of Corinth. All these points being accomplished to their wish, they now came to a determination to chastise such of their confederates as had been untractable during the war, and manifested any good will to their enemies; and so to govern them now, that they should not dare to be refractory in time to come."[1]

The supremacy which the Spartans had acquired by the inglorious peace of Antalcidas, they used to declare war against Mantinea. Not content with this, they despatched an army to control the government of Phlius, and massacred all whom they considered hostile to
B.C. 383. their political system, B.C. 383. The proclamation of war against the Olynthians by the Spartan state was another evidence of her unchecked
B.C. 382, ambition. The Olynthians gallantly resisted the utmost power of the
381, 380. Spartans for three successive campaigns. In the fourth, they were compelled to give way before the overwhelming force directed against them.

[1] Xenoph. Hell. lib. v. c. i.





Death of Epameinondas.

CHAPTER VI.

EPAMEINONDAS.

FROM THE PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS, B.C. 387, TO B.C. 362.

EPAMEINONDAS of Thebes, the son of Polymnis, has received from the writers of antiquity a praise more general, and less divided, than any other individual in the whole range of Grecian story. Nor does he claim our admiration on account of his pre-eminence in only one department. His adversaries, not less than his eulogists—Xenophon, equally with Plutarch and with Nepos—have borne testimony not only to his skill and valour in the field, but to his prudence and wisdom in council; and if he is noted for his extensive erudition as a philosopher, he is also so much famed for the moral integrity of his conduct, that his name remains unsullied by the slightest imputation. So strict indeed was his veracity, that it is related of him by Nepos he was never once known, even in jest, to verge from the path of truth. In his life is contained all that is memorable in the history of Thebes. Under his guidance that republic rose from a state of dependence, almost of insignificance, to hold the highest rank among the cities of Greece; with his death, her career of glory terminated; and, had he not existed, it is probable that her name would have been untraced by the pen of the historian, except for the purpose of bestowing on her the slender commendation of being the faithful ally of the fickle Athenians, or the humble follower of haughty Lacedæmon. It is thus, that not unfre- B. C. 387.

quently the abilities and exertions of one man, are able to accomplish more than the united efforts of a whole commonwealth.

Before we proceed to the detail of the political life of Epameinondas, it is necessary that we should briefly sketch some of the events which immediately preceded the period of which we are about to relate the principal transactions.

Conduct of the Lacedæmonians after the peace of Antalcidas.

After the peace of Antalcidas, which has been variously termed the glory and the disgrace of Lacedæmon, the imperious policy of the Lacedæmonians created universal alarm. Instead of exerting their powers to promote a general tranquillity throughout Greece, which was the professed object of that peace, they set themselves to inquire into the conduct of their allies, and to punish them for their real or alleged offences. The Mantineans were the first to feel their displeasure. The inhabitants of Argos had been supplied by the Mantineans with corn; the proportion of troops required of them for the support of the war, had not been sent; the troops that had been sent had served ill; these were the accusations preferred against them, and they were required, as a proof that these acts were not those of the commonwealth, to destroy and level with the ground the fortifications of their city. As compliance with this haughty command was refused, war was de-
B. C. 385. nounced against them. A Lacedæmonian army, under the conduct of Agesipolis, laid waste their territories, encompassed their city, and finally, by impeding the current of the Ophis below the town, sapped their fortifications. The offer which the Mantineans now made, to comply with the command of the Lacedæmonians, was rejected. The dread of servitude and the pressure of want compelled them, at length, unconditionally, to deliver up their city. Every house was instantly demolished, the leaders of the democratical party, those that were hostile to the interests of Lacedæmon, sought safety in a voluntary exile; and the rest of the inhabitants retired to those villages from which their forefathers had originally assembled to form Mantinea into their common capital.

The same proud supremacy was exercised over the inhabitants of Phlius. And the rulers of that city, how much soever disposed to resistance, felt themselves compelled to yield obedience to a decree of the Lacedæmonians, by which they were ordered to readmit some Phliasian exiles into their city, and to restore to them their property.

Reduction of the Olynthian confederacy.

These transactions were scarcely finished, when the attention of the Lacedæmonians was directed towards Olynthus. The oppression and misery which an almost continual warfare entailed upon the smaller states of Greece, had induced the Olynthians to form the project of uniting the neighbouring cities into a confederacy, in order to protect themselves from those evils. In this plan they had so well succeeded, that the confederacy soon became powerful enough to attract the notice of the larger republics of Greece; and its alliance had been, in particular, solicited by the Athenians and Thebans, who looked with jealousy upon the preponderance of Lacedæmon, were dissatisfied with

the measures that she was pursuing, and were apprehensive of the consequences to which these measures might lead. These circumstances were sufficient to kindle the animosity of the Lacedæmonians; and the imprudent conduct of the Olynthians soon furnished a plausible pretext for commencing hostilities. The Olynthians had, in the prosecution of their views, invited the Apolloniats and Acanthians to unite themselves to their party; but although the well-known inclination of the great majority of the inhabitants of Apollonia and Acanthus had induced the invitation, the hostile disposition of the oligarchical party in those towns had determined the Olynthians to add to that invitation, a threat of war if compliance should be refused. Those in power became alarmed at the danger to which they were exposed, and they sent ministers to Lacedæmon to crave her assistance, and, with that view, to represent forcibly to the Lacedæmonians the injury which their interests would sustain unless their new confederacy were opposed, and unless the Olynthians were prevented from joining their strength to that of Athens and of Thebes. The ministers met with a favourable audience, and it was decreed that an army of ten thousand men should be sent into Thrace. Eudamidas was in the mean time despatched with two thousand Laconians, and orders were given to Phœbidas, his brother-in-law, to collect and conduct the rest of the army with as much expedition as possible. It is foreign to our present purpose to pursue the fortunes of the Lacedæmonians in Thrace. After a spirited opposition, which the Olynthians offered to Teleutias, the brother of Agesilaus, and in which they were successful, they were finally subdued and reduced into subjection by Polybidas; and peace was granted to them upon those terms which the Lacedæmonians uniformly enforced, "that the friends and enemies of Lacedæmon should be those of Olynthus, and that the Olynthians should serve in arms wherever the Lacedæmonians should lead."

Seizure of Thebes. B. C. 382.

But long before this event had arrived, Phœbidas had sown the seeds of disorder, which spread ultimately to an extent of which no one could have then formed a conception. In conducting his army into Thrace, he encamped under the walls of Thebes. Faction, between the democratical and aristocratical parties, had risen to the utmost excess in that city; but so nearly were the parties balanced, that the two opposite leaders of those factions were colleagues in the office of polemarch. Ismenias headed that faction which was averse to the interests of Lacedæmon; and such at the moment was the influence of his authority, that a decree had been passed forbidding any Theban to engage in the expedition against Olynthus. The subsequent conduct of Leontiades may be perhaps justified, from his fear of that violence to which party spirit carried all the Grecian republics; for the consequence of the loss of authority in a popular leader involved, in some cases, the loss of life; in many, the loss of property; and in all, the punishment of exile. As Ismenias avoided all intercourse with Phœbidas, Leontiades courted him. He suggested to Phœbidas the trea-

cherous proposal of introducing a Lacedæmonian garrison into the Cadmea, the citadel of Thebes; and supported it by the specious argument that Phœbidas might then lead with them into Thrace what Theban forces he chose. He easily obtained the consent of that general, to whose weak understanding the possession of Thebes appeared an advantage greatly superior in importance to the ultimate object of the expedition. To give the less suspicion of the plot, Phœbidas broke up his camp, and proceeded on his march towards the north. It was at that season of the year when one of the festivals of Demeter was celebrated; and the Cadmea was, according to ancient custom, given up to the women, and the council sat in the portico of the Agora. During the noon-tide heat, when the streets were deserted, Leontiades pursued with his utmost speed, and overtook Phœbidas, conducted him with expedition to the citadel, and placed the keys in his hands. He then proceeded immediately to the council, and informing its members that the citadel was in possession of the Lacedæmonians, he quieted their fears by assuring them that the Lacedæmonians disclaimed all intention of hostilities. He lost not, however, the opportunity of profiting by the situation of affairs. In such circumstances of danger, his office of polemarch invested him with the power of arresting all who were suspected of treason; and he exercised it by ordering Ismenias, his antagonist, into custody. His confinement no sooner became known, than his friends, to the number of four hundred, fled to Athens, to avoid the massacre which they had too good reason to dread. The whole power of Thebes was thus placed in the hands of Leontiades; and a new polemarch, a favourer of aristocracy, was quickly elected in room of the degraded Ismenias. As soon as these arrangements were completed, Leontiades proceeded himself to Lacedæmon to defend Phœbidas, and the revolution which he had accomplished. This task was one of no great difficulty. He found, indeed, the ephors and the people indignant at the presumption of Phœbidas, in disregarding the commission which had been intrusted to him, and in overstepping the powers with which he had been invested. But Phœbidas met with a powerful friend in Agesilaus, whose rooted and inveterate enmity to the democratical party of Thebes seems to have blinded his better judgment, and to have compelled him, in this instance, to act in contrariety to the equitable principles of his general conduct. When he addressed the assembly, he observed, "that the only subject for their consideration was, whether the actions of Phœbidas had been beneficial or injurious to the commonwealth. If they had been beneficial, both the principles of the constitution and the practice of former ages justified his conduct, and fully warranted his exercise of a discretionary power." The way being thus prepared for him, Leontiades presented himself to the assembly, and enlarged upon those topics which were most likely to inflame the passions of his hearers: he descanted at length upon the known aversion of the democratical party to the interests of Lacedæmon; he mentioned in particular their recent alliance

Movements of Phœbidas.

His defence.

with Olynthus, at a time when the Lacedæmonians were leading their armies against the people of that city; and he suggested the facility with which the measures of Thebes to hold the Bœotian cities in subjection might now be thwarted, by the maintenance of a garrison in the Cadmea, by which the exertions of the friends of Lacedæmon would be encouraged and supported. These alluring arguments, which accorded so well with the interests and prejudices of his audience, completely overcame the better judgment of the Lacedæmonians. Phœbidas was not only acquitted, but praised for his exertions; and it was decreed that a Lacedæmonian garrison should continue to occupy the citadel of Thebes. But these resolutions were moderate when compared with the transaction that followed. Ismenias was brought to trial before a partial tribunal of judges, three of whom were appointed by Lacedæmon, and one by every other city of the confederacy. Charges of treason and of bribery were preferred against him; these he ably refuted, but he was not able to convince those interested judges before whom he was tried of the purity of his intentions, and he was found guilty, condemned, and executed.

Effect which the seizure of Thebes produced in Greece.

Lacedæmon seemed, at this moment, to be possessed of an influence greater, and more secure, than at any former period of her history. The reviving power of Athens was broken; the connexion of Argos and Corinth was dissolved; the plan of the Olynthian confederacy was frustrated; those allies who had displayed an unwillingness to bend to the ambitious and overbearing control of the Lacedæmonians were punished and brought into subjection; and, lastly, Thebes was thwarted in her favourite scheme of extending her dominion over the cities of Bœotia. But the ground on which her security rested was fallacious. Every state in Greece was astonished and alarmed at the audacity of her measures. The peace of Antalcidas had, in terms, secured the independence of every Grecian city; but as it had been procured at the instance and by the means of Lacedæmon, so Lacedæmon had herself been the first to violate it. In profession, indeed, she was the supporter of the Persian treaty; but, in practice, she construed its terms in accordance with her own views. To every alliance which she formed with friendly, to every peace which she concluded with hostile powers, she annexed the condition that they should assist the Lacedæmonians, as well in her offensive as defensive operations. Her late acts, too, showed completely that it was her determination to permit independence only to those cities which favoured her own views; and the fate of Mantinea and of Phlius, the destruction of Olynthus, and the treacherous seizure of the Theban citadel, made each state tremble for her own security, fearful lest she might herself become the next object of Lacedæmonian jealousy or resentment.

Revolution of Thebes. B. C. 379.

The subjection of Thebes, on which perhaps the Lacedæmonians valued themselves more than on any other circumstance, was the event which first shook, and ultimately ruined their authority. Although the aristocratical party of that city were well pleased with the revolu-

tion which had been effected by Phœbidas, these formed but a small portion of the inhabitants; and though the democratical faction, which comprised the great body of the people, were for a time overawed, they were not disheartened; they felt with displeasure, and bore with uneasiness, the control of Lacedæmon; they looked with jealousy upon her authority, and they were ready to rise in rebellion, and avenge themselves upon their oppressors, upon the slightest cause, and on the first opportunity. In these critical circumstances, an occurrence, in itself trivial, gave rise to the most important consequences. On an expedition to Athens, Philidas, who held the situation of confidential minister to Archias and Philippus, the reigning polemarchs of Thebes, met with Mellon, a noble Theban who had been driven into exile by the late revolution, and with whom Philidas had formerly been in habits of the strictest intimacy. Mellon, to his astonishment, discovered, in a conversation with Philidas, that the minister was by no means well pleased with the state of affairs existing in Thebes. Communicating together, they formed the plan of a conspiracy, by which they might overturn the present government. In pursuance of it, Philidas returned to Thebes, there to concert measures for its success; and Mellon, proceeding with only six associates, arrived, under cover of the night, within the Theban territories; but it was not till the close of the succeeding day that he ventured to enter Thebes with the last crowd of returning husbandmen. That night and the following day the conspirators lay concealed in the house of Charon, an associate whom the zeal of Philidas had previously secured. In the evening was celebrated the festival of Aphrodite, which was held, at Thebes, immediately previous to the expiration of the annual magistracies; and it had been fixed upon by Mellon and his confederates as the proper time for the execution of their purpose. The luxurious and licentious habits of Archias and Philippus had induced them to employ the latter as the pander of their pleasures; and he had, in execution of his commission, undertaken to heighten the delights of their evening revel by introducing the most beautiful and the most elegant of the women of Thebes. The nature of his employment afforded to Philidas the easiest means of access; and, at that moment when the polemarchs, in the fullest enjoyment of voluptuous pleasure, were intoxicated with wine, he conducted the conspirators into their presence, three of them habited as ladies, and the rest as their attendants; a suggestion that delicacy, and the respect due to the female visitors required the absence of male attendants, soon procured their dismissal. The plot was now ready for execution; and Archias and Philippus, unattended, alone, and unarmed, fell easy victims to assassination. Leontiades, the projector, the active perpetrator of the recent revolution, was the next object of pursuit with the conspirators. The pretence of urgent business procured for Philidas and his party a ready admittance, and Leontiades was found in an inner apartment, to which he had retired from supper. His wife was seated near him, employed, according to the usual custom

Progress of the revolution.

Death of Leontiades.

of Grecian matrons, in the works of the distaff and the needle. According to the more refined feelings of modern times, in such a place, and in such circumstances, the heart of the most callous might have been touched with pity, and the nerves of the most resolute unstrung; but to the Greeks, the frequency of its occurrence had deprived assassination of half its horrors. The object of the conspirators, the liberation of their country from Lacedæmonian tyranny, was honourable; and we cannot be surprised if they should overlook the foulness of the means, and consider their action more worthy of praise than deserving of execration, when we know that, at an age by centuries more advanced and refined, the crime of tyrannicide is sanctioned and defended by the great orator and philosopher of Rome. The manners of the age, therefore, as well as the urgent necessity of their situation, must plead the excuse of the conspirators for the merciless murder of the husband in the presence and amid the lamentations of the wife.

The conspirators having thus disposed of their enemies, and freed themselves from all danger of opposition, without any further preparation, or any addition of force except the assistance of a few friends whom they had liberated from confinement, proclaimed the destruction of "the tyrants," and summoned the citizens to assemble in arms. They rested their confidence of success upon the general hatred against the late government. Night, and the uncertainty of information, prevented an immediate compliance with the order; but at the break of day, the whole inhabitants, horse as well as foot, appeared in arms, and ranged themselves on the side of the conspirators.

Position of the Lacedæmonian garrison.

The Lacedæmonian governor of the citadel had received the earliest intelligence of the revolution, from the proclamation of the night. He had immediately despatched messengers to Platæa and to Thespia for reinforcement. But the Theban horse repulsed and routed the detachment which had marched from Platæa; and as they re-entered the city, they were joined by the refugees from the border, and by a body of Athenian auxiliaries, to whom intimation of the proceedings had been previously communicated. The governor now considered his numbers inadequate to the defence of the citadel; and the Thebans gladly accepted of an offer of capitulation, upon the terms that the garrison should be permitted to depart in safety with their arms. Their march continued unmolested, till some Thebans, who had been active in the late revolution, were seen among the Lacedæmonians. The fury of the mob then became ungovernable; the objects of their hatred were dragged from their protection, and they and their children were sacrificed to the vengeance of their enemies. Such was the revolution at Thebes. The means by which it was effected cannot meet with unqualified approbation; but, if we except that of Athens, under Thrasybulus, perhaps there was no Grecian revolution so little stained with blood. And we cannot but admire it for the justness of its cause, the ability and vigour of its plan, and the secrecy and rapidity of its execution.

That Epameinondas and his friend Pelopidas were among the principal advisers and promoters of the Theban revolution seems to be generally admitted by the historians of antiquity. It is impossible, however, to ascertain with any certainty the respective shares which they took in its accomplishment; for Xenophon, the only contemporary historian, has left their actions unrecorded, and the doubt which has, on this occasion, been thrown upon the authority of Plutarch by the best modern historian of Greece, appears to be too well founded to permit of the adoption of his account of the transaction.

Operations of the Lacedæmonians; and war on Thebes.

B.C. 387.

As soon as the intelligence of the delivery of Thebes arrived at Lacedæmon, she applied herself with alacrity to support her authority and to defend her friends. To allow the Thebans to go unpunished would be entirely to relinquish all idea of maintaining that supremacy over the Grecian states which she arrogated to herself, and she accordingly resolved to act with vigour. Notwithstanding the season was far advanced, it was decreed that an army should immediately march into the Theban territories. The command was offered to Agesilaus; but for some reasons, which the historian of his life has been either unable or unwilling to explain, he declined the acceptance of it, excusing himself on account of his great age. Cleombrotus was the next object of their choice: he proceeded immediately towards Thebes, by the road of Platæa, and encamped at Cynoscephale. He remained in this position for sixteen days, and then withdrew to Thespia. It seems not to have been the intention of the Lacedæmonians to ravage the territories of Thebes, or to overturn the revolution, but only to overawe those who were at the head of affairs, and to afford protection to such as were friendly to the Lacedæmonian cause. For this purpose it was thought that a small proportion of the army would be sufficient; and a third part of it was, therefore, left under the command of Sphodrias. The remainder were reconducted by Cleombrotus to Lacedæmon, and there disbanded. But although this expedition was bloodless, it was by no means devoid of utility. In Athens, in particular, it produced considerable effect. Those in that republic who were averse to the Theban connexion, and inclined to peace, represented to the Athenians that, as they had already seen a Lacedæmonian army pass from Peloponnesus into Bœotia, they might expect, if they continued their support to their new allies, that Attica itself would next season be ravaged. The fears of the fickle multitude were roused by the dread of danger so near home; they passed a resolution that no farther opposition should be offered to the Lacedæmonian arms; and to such an extent were they carried by their passions, that of two generals who had given their support to the cause of Thebes, one was condemned and executed, and the other saved his life by flight.

We have now arrived at that period when Epameinondas appears as taking an active part in the concerns of his country. He is represented as a man rather retiring from public employment than courting it, and as exerting himself in the transactions of Thebes only at those

easons when his services could be eminently useful. At such a crisis
al his country now arrived, and she demanded his utmost exertions.
: would be a difficult matter for Thebes to contend against the power
f Lacedæmon, and Epameinondas could not hope that she would be
ng able to maintain her opposition; but, on the other hand, there
ere strong reasons to impel him to prefer a state of war to one of
eace. The Thebans had already experienced the miseries of Lacedæ-
onian tyranny, and they fully expressed their opinion of it by almost
nanimously rising in arms in support of the conspirators against the
ne government. Many of the Grecian states had displayed their
alousy of the Lacedæmonian encroachment, and there was, therefore,
ood cause to hope that Thebes would not be long left unassisted;
nd although the Lacedæmonians had, beyond all expectation, displayed
great degree of lenity and moderation in the late measures towards
he Thebans, yet there existed no hopes that peace would come unat-
ended with the destruction or the banishment of Epameinondas, of
Pelopidas, and of their friends; and, in short, of all those who had
een instrumental in bringing about the late revolution. The rulers
f Thebes had no alternative, and, whatever might be their inclination,
hey were forced, by the imperative necessity of their situation, vigor-
usly to apply themselves to warlike exertions.

Renewal of alliances between Thebes and Athens.

Fortunately, however, an event soon occurred which again changed
he wavering policy of the Athenians. From the most unaccountable
ause, so extraordinary, indeed, that it has been ascribed to Theban
nchery, and attributed by Plutarch to the management of Pelopidas,
Sphodrias, the Lacedæmonian general, quitted his station at Thespia,
nd marched into Attica, with the professed purpose of taking the
Piræus by surprise. At Thria, indeed, he abandoned his intention and
eturned to Thespia. But he took no means to conceal the hostility
f his purpose; and on his march he plundered the houses and drove
ff the cattle of the Athenians. When intelligence reached Athens
hat an army of Lacedæmonians was marching towards the city, the
nhabitants were thrown into universal alarm; and three Lacedæmonian
ministers, who were resident in the place, were immediately arrested
nd imprisoned. The unfeigned astonishment, however, which they
iscovered when the news was communicated to them, soon convinced
he Athenians that they were no participators in the designs of the
eneral; and their strong assertions that Sphodrias must have acted
without the sanction of the Lacedæmonian government, and that neither
he nobility of his connexions nor the eminence of his rank would screen
im from punishment, soon procured their release. To a certain ex-
ent their opinion was confirmed; for Sphodrias was summoned home,
nd criminal proceedings were instituted against him. But on this
ccasion, the weak conduct of Agesilaus in sacrificing public advantage
o private feeling, gave beginning to a long train of the most disastrous
ccurrences. A friendship of the strictest intimacy subsisted between
Cleonymus and Archidamus, the sons of Sphodrias and Agesilaus;

and the distress of Archidamus for the father of Cleonymus influenced Agesilaus also to take too much interest in his fate, and checked the operations of his sounder judgment. So conscious was the Spartan general of the magnitude of his offence, and so fearful was he of the consequences it was likely to bring upon him, that he remained at a distance from Lacedæmon. As was usual, however, among the Greeks, his trial proceeded in his absence. His friends did not attempt the justification of his recent behaviour, but they rested his defence upon the merits of his former conduct; and so powerfully had the influence of Agesilaus been exerted, that upon these slender grounds alone his acquittal was procured. But by his acquittal the friendly disposition of the Athenians was converted into an active enmity. Those in Athens who had supported the Lacedæmonian interest, could no longer oppose the influence of the Theban party, who insisted that it was now apparent, from the decision of the Spartan senate, that the treacherous designs of Sphodrias against the Piræus had been previously arranged by the Lacedæmonian government; and that unstable multitude, which had so lately sacrificed two generals for their support of Thebes, rushed with the same ardour and impetuosity into a war with Lacedæmon.

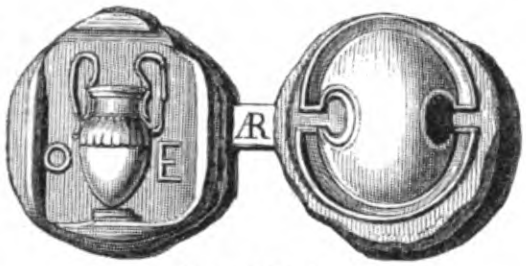
Agesilaus marches into Bœotia.

Agesilaus could now no longer refuse his services to his country, and he yielded to the public voice by assuming the command. The difficulty of passing from Peloponnesus into Bœotia had been increased by the hostile disposition of the Athenians; but Agesilaus provided against the danger by securing the assistance of some Cleitorian mercenaries, and he arrived in the Theban territory without encountering opposition. The Thebans had already fortified their frontier, as the best means of protecting their territory: but their numbers were so inferior to those of the enemy, and so inadequate to the defence of a long line of fortifications, that many parts necessarily remained open to an unopposed attack. Chabrias headed the Athenians, and by his consummate skill he was able to evade a general action. Agesilaus, however, accomplished what was the general object of a Grecian campaign: he broke through the Theban lines, penetrated to the city walls, burnt and destroyed them, and plundered the inhabitants. Withdrawing then his forces into Peloponnesus, he dismissed them, after leaving under the command of Phœbidas a force sufficient to protect the friends of Lacedæmon in Northern Greece.

Second invasion of Thebes by Agesilaus.

In spring the Peloponnesian army was again forced to assemble on account of the defeat and the death of Phœbidas, and the complete success of the Theban arms. In their wars with Athens, the Lacedæmonians had been taught the use and the advantage of light infantry; and this, more than any other circumstance, had given Phœbidas an advantage over the Thebans, who valued themselves upon their heavy-armed phalanx, and disdained desultory warfare. The continual predatory incursions which he made into their territories, roused at length the activity of the Thebans, and compelled them to collect their whole forces in order to oppose and repress his destructive operations.

Thespiæ was invaded; but Phœbidas, avoiding a general action, so harassed with his light troops the flanks and rear of the Theban forces, that the whole were thrown into confusion, and they retreated with precipitation and in disorder. A deep glen impeded their progress, and they were again forced into action. Phœbidas fell in the encounter; the mercenaries, discouraged by the death of their general, betook themselves to flight; and the Lacedæmonians, unable to withstand the firm and spirited attack of the Theban phalanx, were completely overpowered. So complete was the victory on the side of the Thebans, that night alone put an end to the slaughter of their enemies. In consequence of this success, the Thebans became entire masters of the country; instead of having their own territories ravaged, they committed ravages upon those of their neighbours; and they so dismayed their enemies and encouraged their friends, that the adherents of the Lacedæmonians were daily deserting to their side. It was the intelligence of these occurrences that had hastened the return of Agesilaus into Bœotia; and a similar, but more extended ravage of the Bœotian territory than on the former occasion, was the event of the expedition.



Coin of Thebes.

This continued warfare had reduced Thebes to the utmost extremity of distress; for two years she had neither gathered any harvest from her fields, nor had she been able to obtain supplies from the neighbouring states, who were all connected in alliance with Lacedæmon. Before, however, the Theban rulers would make any concession, they were determined to do all in their power to procure supplies by sea. Their triremes were accordingly prepared for commissioners, who were furnished with money for the purpose of purchasing at Oreus in Eubœa, the inhabitants of that part being known to be friendly in their disposition towards the Thebans. For greater security, the commissioners directed their course to Pagasæ, on the opposite coast of Thessaly, in order that they might the more effectually elude the vigilance of the Lacedæmonian garrison in the citadel of Oreus. But the governor had received intelligence of the expedition; and allowing the Thebans to load their vessels without molestation, he waited for their return, and seized the ships at such a distance from the shore that the crews were prevented from making their escape. But this result, apparently so fortunate for the Lacedæmonians, was eventually more serviceable to the cause of the Thebans, than if their ships had been permitted to return in safety to Thebes: for the prisoners being carried to the citadel of Oreus, they found themselves so superior in number and in strength to their conquerors, that they rose in arms upon the garrison. Eubœa being thus relieved from the control of the

Distress of Thebes.

Lacedæmonians, was at full liberty to display, without restraint, her friendly intentions towards Thebes; and she continued for the remainder of the autumn, and during the ensuing winter, most abundantly to supply that city with corn.

Naval assistance obtained from Athens.

B. C. 376.

The next spring, an unsuccessful attempt of Cleombrotus, on whom in the illness of Agesilaus the command had again devolved, to pass from Peloponnesus into Bœotia, called forth from the congress of the Lacedæmonian confederacy expressions of much impatience and discontent. The citizens of the confederated states had now for a long time been subjected to calls for foreign service, and nothing permanent or important had yet been acomplished. The Lacedæmonians possessed a navy greatly superior to that of the enemy, but it was laid up unemployed. Why, they asked, had it not been used for the purpose of transporting the forces into Bœotia, when it was so evident that by such a plan all risk of defeat, similar to that which had lately occurred in an attempt to force the passes, would have been completely avoided? Why, by the employment of it, had Athens not been reduced to famine, when it was so well known that she was solely dependent upon her ships for the greater part of her subsistence? These remonstrances produced instant effect. A fleet of sixty triremes was immediately equipped, placed under the command of Pollis, and finally stationed at Ægina, Ceos, and Andros. Nor had the effect which it was to produce been miscalculated. Fear of the Lacedæmonian fleet detained the corn ships bound for Athens, at Geræstus in Eubœa, a port which they usually made; and the Athenians began to be alarmed by the apprehension of want. But their fears were quickly dispelled. An Athenian fleet was placed under the command of Chabrias, who met and defeated Pollis, near Naxos. In the mean time, the preparations of the Lacedæmonians to transport an army across the Corinthian gulf, had been conducted with alacrity; but these alarming preparations were rapidly checked by the exertions of the Athenians. A fleet of sixty triremes, under the command of Timotheus, the son of Conon, was sent to circumnavigate Peloponnesus; and it was so effectual in overawing the coasts, that it was considered unnecessary that the troops should remain at home to defend their respective territories. As soon as the safety of Bœotia had been thus insured, Timotheus sailed for Corcyra; and he was in a short time enabled, by the assistance of a friendly party, to bring the whole island into an alliance with Athens. The moderation and liberality of his conduct attached the inhabitants completely to himself and to the Athenian cause. Five and sixty triremes, under the command of Nicolochus, were despatched by Lacedæmon to check the alarming influence of the Athenians in the western seas; but the rash admiral, either foolishly despising the Athenians, or thoughtlessly disregarding the small difference of five triremes, scorned to wait for a reinforcement which was expected from Ambracia, and risking an engagement was defeated. A subsequent addition of ten Corcyrean vessels to the Athenian squadron checked the temerity even

of Nicolochus, and the Athenians retained their conquest and continued masters of the sea.

These successes of her Athenian allies by sea, placed Thebes in the most prosperous situation. Her Peloponnesian enemies had been deterred and prevented from invading her small but fruitful territory; concord and wisdom existed in, and guided her councils at home, and she had not only enjoyed sufficient leisure to enable her to extend her power over the whole Bœotian towns, the long-cherished and favourite object of her wishes, but she had acquired such confidence that she had carried her arms into Phocis. The destructive ravages which the invading troops committed threw the Phocians into dismay; they immediately despatched ministers to assure the Lacedæmonians that Phocis must be completely lost as the ally of Lacedæmon, unless she received the most speedy assistance. These representations produced so strong an impression that it was resolved by Lacedæmon to send into Bœotia a larger army than any that had, as yet, entered that territory. Agesilaus was still too ill to conduct the Lacedæmonian forces, and Cleombrotus was again placed in command. The Thebans on the arrival of the enemy in their territories, withdrew their troops from Phocis, and placing themselves in a position to defend the strong posts of their borders, displayed a determination of the most resolute defence. Prosperity of Thebes, and war with Phocis.

In the midst of these prosperous events, Thebes was again thrown into a temporary alarm, by the secession of the fickle Athenians from the alliance which they had formed. The Thebans had, probably from inability, refused to contribute to the support of the Athenian fleet; and those in Athens, who were inclined towards peace, seized the favourable opportunity which this occurrence afforded to enforce upon the Athenian people the advantages which they would derive from a termination of hostilities with Lacedæmon. As both parties were equally inclined to treat, there were few preliminaries to settle, and a peace was speedily concluded.

Lacedæmon had, however, hardly entered into these amicable arrangements with Athens, before she began to repent of her hurried movements. She had been always jealous of the influence of Athens in the western seas; and she looked with suspicion upon the authority which that state had lately acquired in Corcyra. An opportunity of a breach soon presented itself. Timotheus returning home with his victorious fleet, set some Zacynthian exiles ashore on their native islands: the Zacynthians in power complained to the Lacedæmonians; and the Lacedæmonian government declared it to be an injury which called for immediate redress. A requisition to supply ships and forces was instantly despatched by Lacedæmon to all her maritime allies, and so violent were her hostile intentions that she did not neglect to crave the assistance even of Dionysius of Syracuse. War was not openly declared against Athens, but a fleet of sixty triremes was collected and placed under the command of Mnasippus, who was instructed "to take care of the Lacedæmonian interests in the western

seas, and to reduce Corcyra." The Athenians were so little conscious of offence, that they had dispersed their ships and disbanded their crews. As soon, however, as the warlike dispositions of Lacedæmon became known, they despatched for the protection of Corcyra three hundred targeteers, who entered the island by night, and orders were given to Timotheus to collect a naval force with all possible rapidity. The event of some of the recent engagements had taught Timotheus the danger which he would have to encounter if he ventured out without a sufficient force; and as his cautious anxiety made his motions too slow for the national eagerness, he was deprived of his command, and supplanted by Iphicrates. Before Iphicrates, however, arrived off Corcyra, Mnasippus had been already defeated. At first he had been successful, and had reduced the Corcyreans to such a state of famine, that although he had caused it to be proclaimed that he would sell as slaves any deserters who should come over to him, the inhabitants still continued to desert. But with his success his caution forsook him. He allowed his troops an unlimited licence of plunder, and they at last became so disorderly, that, not only his men, but even some of his officers, refused his command. The Corcyreans taking advantage of this circumstance made a sally upon their enemies; and although they were repulsed and driven back to their town, they were so ably supported by Stesicles, the Athenian general, that they renewed the assault, and were finally successful in putting the Lacedæmonian army to flight. Mnasippus was killed, fighting bravely at the head of a small party, who continued to support him. The remainder of the besiegers withdrew to Leucas; and so precipitately did they fly, that they left behind them a large store of corn and wine, equal to supply the immediate wants of the Corcyreans, and a body of slaves sufficient to repair the loss which had been occasioned by desertion and by famine. Iphicrates arrived too late to support the interests of the Corcyreans; but he made himself master of nine out of ten triremes, which had been sent by Dionysius to assist the Lacedæmonians.

Tyranny of Thebes.

Thebes, now freed from all apprehension of danger, began to display that tyrannical conduct which is so usual a concomitant of prosperity. Her designs were no longer directed against the aristocratical party alone; but even those who favoured democratical views felt the oppression of her conduct. In particular the people of Thespiæ and Platæa, who had uniformly shown themselves the inveterate opponents of Lacedæmonian usurpations, became the objects of her displeasure and were driven from their country. This conduct of the able leaders of the council of Thebes has been left unexplained by ancient writers; but if, in the absence of such authority, a conjecture may be hazarded, it is probable that the Platæans and Thespians had not displayed that willingness to accede to the dominion of Thebes over the Bœotian cities, which it was so much the favourite object of that republic to promote. The situation of the exiles from these small states was highly deplorable. They had long been the avowed enemies of Lace-

dæmon, and they had lately suffered severely from her resentment; and, although they had been the constant supporters of the democratical party, and had been formerly connected by habits of friendship with Athens, yet Athens was now the ally and the vigorous supporter of Thebes. There was, therefore, no quarter to which they could apply for the redress of their wrongs with any probable prospect of success. But, in the desperate situation of their affairs, it was necessary that they should attempt something for their preservation; and, in the faint hope that the remembrance of the former amity might incline the Athenians to listen to their petition, they despatched ministers to Athens.

The Platæans send an embassy to Athens.

The representations of the Thespian and Platæan exiles created a much more lively interest at Athens than their most sanguine expectations could have led them to imagine. The Athenian people had already begun to long for peace; for, although the prosperous condition of their naval affairs entitled them to look forward to success, as a circumstance that was almost certain, and not far distant, yet the long continuance of the war and the support of their ships had nearly exhausted their treasury; and if they had, at one time, entertained a well-grounded fear of the encroachments of the Lacedæmonians, they had now equal, if not greater, cause to be jealous of the increasing prosperity of Thebes, which was a nearer neighbour than Lacedæmon, and might, consequently, become a much more inconvenient enemy. Thus the private considerations of self-interest, strongly called into action by the appeal of the people of Thespiæ and Platæa, turned the thoughts of the Athenians from hostile measures, and induced them to form the resolution of endeavouring to promote a general peace. For the purpose of effecting this desirable object, it was decreed that an embassy should be sent to the Lacedæmonians to concert measures for summoning a congress of the different states of Greece, and messengers were in the mean time directed to Thebes to acquaint the people of that city with the measures which had been adopted at Athens, and to endeavour to obtain their concurrence.



Coin of Lacedæmon.

Congress at Lacedæmon.

The congress assembled at the requisition of Athens, met at Lacedæmon, and the Athenian ministers were the first to address it. They

enlarged upon the benefits which would have accrued to Greece, if the Lacedæmonians had preserved inviolate the peace of Antalcidas, in so far as regarded those terms of it, which covenanted for the independence of every Grecian state; and if they had not exacted from all those over whom they possessed or acquired power, the promise that they would follow the Lacedæmonians wherever they should lead; and they concluded by insisting upon the independence of each state as an indispensable requisite to any peace that should now be arranged. If the Athenians had reason in the prosperous state of their affairs to wish to procure peace, the adverse fortune of the Lacedæmonians deprived them of the least inclination to object to terms, which were indeed more just and reasonable, but to which a short period before in the plenitude of their power they would not have listened for a moment. The rest of the members of the congress had no cause to refuse their concurrence. It was agreed, therefore, that a peace should be concluded, in which it should be stipulated that every state should be independent; that the Lacedæmonians should withdraw from all the Grecian cities under their power those governors who, under the name of harmosts, controlled the operations and overawed the deliberations of the citizens; that the armies of the belligerent powers should be disbanded, and their fleets laid up; that, if any state were injured by any power, a member of the confederacy, the other friendly powers should immediately coalesce and redress the wrongs of the injured party; and that neither the Lacedæmonian nor any other community should attempt to force any independent state to join in hostilities against those with whom they were united by ties of amity and friendship. The whole congress, and perhaps the deputies of Thebes, more than those of the other Grecian powers, were surprised and astonished at the facility with which Lacedæmon acceded to the terms proposed; and this surprise, joined to the general satisfaction which pervaded the assembly, led them incautiously into a concurrence which either their instructions did not warrant, or more probably their inclinations did not approve. On the ensuing day, however, they endeavoured to remedy their error, and for this purpose they took advantage of an informality into which, as they alleged, they had been unconsciously and unintentionally betrayed. The ministers of the Athenians and those of their allies had each acceded to the treaty in the name of their respective governments; while the Lacedæmonians had taken the oath, as well for their allies as for themselves. It was in the name of Thebes alone that the Theban deputies had sworn to the faithful observance of the peace; and the error which, as they asserted, had on their part been committed, was that they had not taken the oath on behalf of the whole Bœotian cities; and they now insisted that they should be permitted to rectify their mistake. This device produced the desired effect; for Agesilaus declared, on the part of the Spartans, that he would not allow of the proposed alteration, but that the Thebans were at liberty, if they should think proper, entirely to renounce the treaty.

Stipulations of the Lacedæmonian Congress.

The Thebans persisted in this determination, and Thebes stood alone opposed to the united power of the whole of Greece.

Such is the account of the transactions of the Grecian congress, as narrated by Xenophon, who neither mentions the names of the Theban deputies, nor records any particular address that they delivered before the assembly. The account of later writers is considerably different. Diodorus, Nepos, and Plutarch, concur in placing Epameinondas at the head of the Theban deputation; and Plutarch has further related a speech of Epameinondas, inveighing against the Lacedæmonians, and which, he observes, produced the effect of shaking the attachment of their allies. In this discordance of authority, it seems best again to adopt a middle course, and to give credence only to such parts of the account transmitted by Plutarch, as are either not at variance with the contemporary, and consequently higher authority of Xenophon, or which, being altogether omitted by Xenophon, appear not of improbable occurrence. That Thebes should make choice of Epameinondas, the most able of her counsellors, to attend to her interests at an assembly in whose deliberations she was highly interested, and by whose resolutions she might be deeply affected, is such an event as we should most naturally expect. On the contrary, we feel inclined entirely to reject that oration which is attributed to Epameinondas, not on the ground that the attachment of allies is weakened "commonly by private communication rather than by public harangue," for the history of Greece contains numerous instances of similar effects having been produced by a bold and spirited address; but, for the reason that the account of Plutarch is at complete variance with that of Xenophon. This author narrates that when the Thebans refused to accede to the treaty unless the alterations which they proposed were adopted, the Athenians considered Thebes as lost; and the Theban ministers themselves reflecting on the imminence of the danger which threatened their country from the combined opposition of Greece, departed in much dejection.

Discrepancies of Greek and Latin Historians.

On the part of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, the terms of the treaty were most punctually executed; the Athenians ordered Iphicrates to return home with his victorious fleet; and the Lacedæmonians recalled her military rulers from the cities which they governed, and withdrew her troops from the territories of her allies. The army in Phocis, under the command of Cleombrotus, was alone left without orders; and that general, equally fearful of offending, as well by inactivity as by action, despatched messengers to Lacedæmon for instructions. A meeting of the assembly was summoned, and the result of their deliberations was, that the king received immediate orders to prosecute hostilities, if Thebes would not acknowledge the independence of the Bœotian towns,

Epameinondas and Pelopidas had already declared with firmness their determination not to accede to the treaty, except upon the conditions that they had specified; and their resolution was too strong,

Renewal of the war between Thebes and Lacedæmon

B.C. 371. and it was founded upon reasons too solid to be shaken by the hostile measures of the Lacedæmonians. The conduct of that people which followed the peace of Persia had given them sufficient experience to make them distrust the sincerity with which Lacedæmon was inclined to observe the terms of treaties; and to relinquish their dominion over the cities of Bœotia, would be to weaken their powers of defence. Thebes, indeed, stood alone in the contest, not merely unsupported by any Grecian state, but opposed apparently to the whole of Greece; but she had sufficient grounds on which to found her hopes of ultimate success, as well from the excellent condition of her own country, as from the distracted and discordant state of those republics that constituted the confederacy that opposed her. The Thebans, it is true, had for ages been so notorious for the slowness of their abilities, that notwithstanding that the splendid genius of Pindar had, in some degree, lessened the opprobrium, the name of Bœotian continued to be throughout Greece a proverbial expression to denote stupidity; but, at the same time that their mental energies had been despised, they had been long universally admired for their bodily strength and firmness. Since the death of Pindar, no poet, no orator, no historian, no man of genius in any department of literature or of science, had arisen in Thebes to repel and refute the calumny with which they were assailed, and the Thebans had long neglected the pursuit of mental excellence; but of those exercises which are in a peculiar manner requisite to fit a people for warlike exertions and martial achievements, they had not been negligent. And at the period of which we are now treating, they were eminently famous for the peculiar care with which they cultivated, and for the dexterity and skill with which they performed, the gymnastic exercises; for the superior condition of their cavalry, both in arms and in exercise; and equally for the variety, as for the excellence of the modes in which they ordered and arranged their troops in battle. With such a people there were only wanting, in order to insure their present success and their future fame, a general of talents and skill to lead and direct their operations, and that emulation of superiority, and that enthusiasm and ardour in the cause in which they were engaged, without which, it may be truly said, no army was ever successful. In Epameinondas and in Pelopidas the first requisite was ably supplied; for those generals were men of such talent, intrepidity, and experience, that if they had not surpassed, they had shown themselves fully equal to any of those great characters, who conducted the councils and led the armies of the other states of Greece. In the latter respect, the late events in which they had been engaged had powerfully operated in rousing among the Thebans a spirit which they had not formerly possessed, or which till now had lain dormant in consequence of the want of sufficient excitation. They had spurned the oppression of Sparta, and in desperation had thrown off the yoke of their oppressors: in defensive war success had, as yet, crowned their endeavours; and the former disturbed state of their

Physical and intellectual character of the Thebans.

country had bound many of them by the strictest ties and the closest engagements to live and to die in the defence of their national independence. All these circumstances combined to give such energy and activity to their measures, that it might be said without exaggeration, that the Thebans now sighed as much for the uncertain glory of war, as they had formerly longed for the ease and security of peace.

Difficulties of Spartan policy.

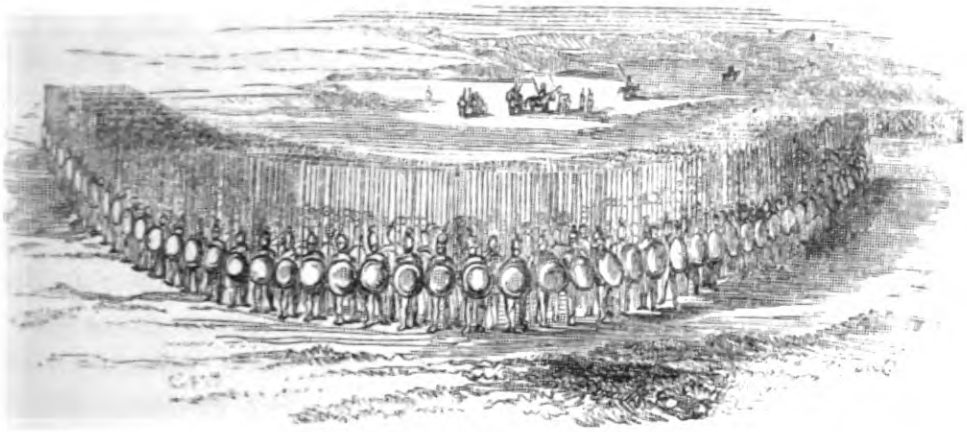
On the other hand, the condition of Greece in general, and of Lacedæmon in particular, encouraged the opposition of Thebes. By the extraordinary regulations of Lycurgus, Sparta had been enabled, so long as she continued with strictness to adhere to those regulations, to gain for herself the fame, of being the most virtuous and the most warlike of the republics of ancient Greece; but those regulations were evidently of such a kind, they were so connected together and interwoven with one another, that it was impossible partially to receive and partially to reject them. While the Spartans, therefore, continued to remain a poor but independent nation, and strictly to follow the maxim of avoiding war, except in so far as it was necessary for the defence and preservation of their territories, she continued to preserve her eminence; but, when she was seized with the desire of wealth, and the ambition of foreign conquest, she ought either to have adopted an entirely new system of policy, or, at least, to have remitted that institution of her ancient lawgiver, which checked commercial intercourse, and forbade the communication of the rights of citizenship to every stranger whatever might be his merits or his claims. But, with the success of the Spartans, their pretensions had increased; and they not only spurned at the idea of conferring equality of rights upon the federal states of Peloponnesus, but they had withdrawn even from the Lacedæmonians their just share in the government, and had confined and limited all exercise of power and authority to the senate and to the people of Sparta. By such conduct, and by conduct similar to this, the Spartans had detached many of those, who were now associated with them in appearance, from any sincere concurrence in their operations, and from that cordiality in their interests, which a more liberal policy would have insured. The Theban leaders were well acquainted with these sentiments of dissatisfaction, which were diffused through the confederated states, and knew that many of them, and that Athens, in particular, would rather rejoice at than deplore the depression of Sparta, and would more willingly assert than control the endeavour of any state opposed to that commonwealth. They had even grounds for believing, that this spirit of discord pervaded the army in Bœotia; and they knew that there were many who had little confidence in the abilities and zeal of Cleombrotus. Epameinondas had, therefore, no cause to be displeased with the force or the disposition of Thebes; he had no powerful danger to dread from the enmity of a confederacy, more nominal than real; but, on the contrary, he entertained, from these complex reasons, well-founded hopes of the ultimate success of that opposition to Greece, in which he had involved his country.

In order to lose no opportunity of defence, the Theban troops were marched to occupy that defile, by which it was supposed that the Lacedæmonians would enter their territories. But Cleombrotus, instead of proceeding by a direct line into Bœotia, led his army by a circuitous route towards the south, and after taking Creusis, a port in the gulf of Corinth, with twelve triremes, which were lying in the harbour, he proceeded without opposition, and encamped in the plain of Leuctra.

Battle of Leuctra. B. C. 371.

The Lacedæmonian army has been estimated at four and twenty thousand foot, and sixteen thousand horse; the Theban forces did not amount to the half of this number. When the Thebans, then, had been disappointed in their expectation of opposing their enemies in the fastnesses which conducted to their territories, where they might have possessed the advantage of superiority of ground, to counterbalance the inferiority of number, they had nothing to hope for but a recurrence of all those calamities, which had been heaped upon their unhappy country by the late expedition of Agesilaus. But, notwithstanding that the disadvantages under which he laboured were great, Epameinondas was determined to risk the event of a battle. The towns of Bœotia were held in subjection by a very precarious authority; many of them were ready, on the first appearance of hostilities, to open their gates to the enemy; and the rest were not only prepared to revolt upon the slightest success of the Lacedæmonian arms, but it was not improbable that even the Thebans would, if hostilities were protracted for any length of time, discover a disposition to yield, rather than submit to suffer the miseries to which want would expose them. With what feelings soever Epameinondas may have been agitated, or how forlorn soever he may have conceived his situation, he was, in these circumstances, determined to exert every nerve in the defence of his country, and to omit no expedient which could by possibility tend to animate and encourage his troops; and it would have been unpardonable in him to have neglected any device, by which his success could be in the smallest degree promoted. The aid of superstition, that powerful incentive to the minds of the lower orders of all countries, but particularly to the imaginative Greeks, was not forgotten. The little village of Leuctra, which was situated in the plain of the same name, where the Lacedæmonians were assembled, was, as yet, famous for nothing but the tomb of two virgins, the daughters of Scedasus, who, in the remote ages of Greece, had been violated by some Spartan youths, and had at once terminated their existence and their disgrace by a voluntary death. The antiquity of the event had not effaced its remembrance; a popular rumour that "a Lacedæmonian army should be defeated at the virgins' tomb," was industriously circulated; and the tomb itself, to augment the effect which such a rumour was likely to produce, was solemnly and ceremoniously decorated. In addition to this, it was reported that all the temples in Thebes had spontaneously opened, and that the priestesses

and interpreted the event as ominous of the success of the Thebans; and that the shield in the temple of Hercules, the tutelar deity of Thebes, had disappeared, and that the god himself was to assist the Thebans in the ensuing battle.



Crescent of Troops.

The infantry of the enemy was drawn up in the form of a crescent, the favourite order of the Lacedæmonians. Along the front of the right wing, which was commanded by Cleombrotus, the cavalry was arrayed in squadrons; and the left wing was composed of the allies, and headed by Archidamus. The Theban cavalry, it has already been mentioned, were the most famous in Greece, well equipped, well trained, and from the late wars experienced in service. Calculating upon the impression which these troops would make upon the Lacedæmonian horse, which were the worst troops in the Lacedæmonian service, Epameinondas placed them in the van of his left wing, which he commanded himself, and which he drew up fifty deep; the more effectually to take advantage of the disorder, into which it was probable that the infantry of the enemy would be thrown, by the retreat of their own horse. Pelopidas, and the sacred band, that body whose members had bound themselves rather to die in the defence of their country, than live under its subjection, occupied the extremity of the Theban right wing. To prevent his troops from being encompassed by the arms of the long-extended crescent of the Lacedæmonians, Epameinondas lengthened, as much as he could with safety, his right wing; leaving it in some parts not more than six deep; and ordering it in an oblique line, so that as they weakened, they gradually receded from the army of the enemy. Position of the Lacedæmonian force.

The battle commenced with the cavalry, and proved, in its continuance, the most bloody action ever known in Greece, or between Grecians. The Lacedæmonian horse were unable to withstand the well-directed attack of the Thebans, and were quickly broken, thrown into confusion, and forced back upon their own infantry. The consequent disorder which ensued in the Lacedæmonian line, afforded Epameinondas an opportunity of performing one of those evolutions

which are generally decisive of the fate of battles. Conceiving that the Lacedæmonians would, when they had sufficiently recovered themselves, renew the attack upon his right wing, which appeared, from its oblique position, ready for flight, he formed the least numerous, but the best and most able division of his army into a compact wedge with spreading sides. He was not deceived in the expectation which he had formed, the Lacedæmonians, whenever they had rallied, directed their attempts against the Theban right wing. Their onset was crowned with a momentary success; but Epameinondas immediately seizing the advantage which this occurrence afforded him, rushed forward with his phalanx, and darting, says Xenophon, like the beak of a galley upon the Lacedæmonians, swept everything before him, and was uninterrupted in his course till he reached that part of the field in which Cleombrotus held his station. The Lacedæmonians rallied in defence of their king; but although they were fortunate enough ultimately to repel the desperate assault of their enemies, they were not able to preserve the life of their leader, who received a mortal wound, and was carried lifeless from the field of battle. When the death of their king became generally known, dismay spread over the Lacedæmonian army. This feeling was but temporary; anger, rage, and despair soon fired every Lacedæmonian bosom, and animated every action; and the contest was renewed with redoubled vigour between the right wing of the enemy and the phalanx of Epameinondas. But the Lacedæmonian left wing composed of the allies, who had never heartily engaged in the action, took advantage of the confusion occasioned by the death of Cleombrotus, and fled in every direction. The Lacedæmonians then no longer able to support alone the firm and steady attack of the Thebans, retreated to their camp, and formed behind its entrenchments. Epameinondas was thus checked in the pursuit of his enemies; for the elevated site of the camp, and the apparent strength with which it was fortified, afforded no expectation of further success. On the side of the Lacedæmonians the loss was great; and Decnon, the polemarch, who was next in command to the king, Sphodrias, and his son Cleonymus, were among the number of the slain.

Defeat of the Lacedæmonians.

The Lacedæmonians had now sufficient time to recover themselves, and leisure to reflect on their defeat; and they looked with mixed feelings of horror and sorrow upon the disgrace which they had incurred. It was the first time since the days of Lycurgus, it was believed, that a Lacedæmonian army had been vanquished by an inferior force; and, at all events, so rare was the occurrence, that it was universally believed to be impossible. A council of war was summoned to consider of the measures which ought to be adopted. A few, and but a few, whom the courageous spirit of their ancestors had not deserted, declared their willingness to die, rather than to survive their disgrace, and expressed it as their opinion, that the Lacedæmonians ought not even now to yield. It was true, they

observed, that they had been greatly reduced, but their numbers still far exceeded those of the enemy; there was therefore yet a hope of victory, and it was unfitting that the Lacedæmonians should crave a truce for the burial of their dead, which would amount to an acknowledgment that they were discomfited; but that, on the contrary, both the dignity and the honour of Lacedæmon, and the ancient glory of her name, required that they should return to the field and recover their dead by their own valour and by the force of arms. But this bold and spirited measure was rejected by the cautious prudence of the majority of the council. When the surviving polemarchs reflected that of seven hundred Spartans, who had, on the commencement of the day, formed part of the army, only three hundred had returned safe from the field of action; that a thousand of those Lacedæmonians, who were not dignified with the name, nor entitled to the privileges of Spartans, had fallen in the battle; and that the allies, although their loss had been comparatively less, were not only unwilling, but had actually refused to renew the combat, and rather discovered pleasure at the disasters of the Lacedæmonians, than condoled with their misfortunes, they were compelled to submit to the necessity of their affairs, and to admit, how reluctantly soever, that they had sustained a complete defeat, and that Epameinondas and his Thebans were the victors of the day. A herald was accordingly despatched by the Lacedæmonians to demand a truce, and to request permission of the Thebans to bury their dead. Thus terminated the battle of Leuctra, the most memorable, perhaps, in the annals of ancient Greece; the most bloody in its engagement, and the most fatal in its catastrophe: and, in its consequences, the most important; for, by it, Lacedæmon was first seriously checked in the tyranny of her course: the charm of her invincibility, by which her allies had been preserved in their allegiance, was broken; and if we look still farther, we may consider it as the primary and leading cause of the dissolution of that confederacy, by which Greece had been enabled to maintain so paramount a pre-eminence among the nations of the ancient world, and by the dissolution of which she finally became the subject of those, whom she had always styled and regarded as barbarians.

Effect which the news of the battle of Leuctra produced at Sparta.

The messengers who conveyed the melancholy news of the victory of the Thebans, reached Sparta at that moment when the inhabitants were engaged in the celebration of the national games. The chorus of men were on the stage, when they delivered their despatches to the Ephors. Without discovering any emotion at the intelligence communicated to them, they proclaimed aloud the names of those who had fallen in the plain of Leuctra, admonished the women to refrain from useless lamentations, and commanded the festival to proceed. On the morrow, the same real or affected apathy, and the same peculiarity of conduct, which was the natural result of the institutions of Lycurgus, were visible in the behaviour, in the manner, and in the dress of every citizen. The stern legislator of Sparta had left but

one alternative to that Spartan whom ignoble flight had carried from the field of battle: he might either retire into banishment, exposed to all the hardships and all the contumely to which the animosity of offended tribes would expose him; or, he might remain, at home, excluded from the public assemblies, incapacitated from holding any office of honour or of power, and driven almost out of the pale of society. The relations of those who had fallen in the cause of their country, appeared in public with countenances beaming with joy, and every action expressed the pride which they felt, and their unfeigned satisfaction, at the conduct of their kinsmen who had yielded up the victory only with their lives. On the other hand, the friends of the vanquished, who had preferred a disgraceful existence to a glorious death, either remained at home, or if they were, through necessity, obliged to walk abroad, their looks were downcast and dejected, their garments disordered and rent, their steps slow and melancholy, their whole appearance indicative of the most deep and contrite sorrow. But, for once, the denunciation of that sentence of perpetual ignominy, which the extreme rigour of the Spartan laws ordained, and which was expected with so much humility and resignation, was suspended by Agesilaus. The criminals were numerous, and many of them of high rank and noble extraction; and Sparta, in her depopulated state, could not well afford to sacrifice three hundred of her citizens, in vindication of the honour of the laws. The Lacedæmonians omitted not, however, any exertion which could contribute to efface the dishonour which they had incurred; they placed under the command of Archidamus all capable of bearing arms, even of those in office who had been, on the former occasion, exempted from marching under Cleombrotus; and they hastened requisitions to the several allies, to furnish, with the utmost expedition, their respective contingents of troops.

Effects which the battle of Leuctra produced in Greece.

Among most of the other states of Greece, the news of the battle of Leuctra made that impression on which Epameinondas had calculated. They rejoiced at the success of the Thebans, they were delighted that a power had arisen, of strength sufficient to curb the imperiousness of Sparta; and, whilst the more powerful indulged the expectation of revenging their injuries upon the haughty senators, those of less strength and feebler exertions looked forward with the most sanguine hopes to the immediate prospect, which the success of Thebes afforded them, of throwing off the dominion, and being freed from the heavy exactions to which they had been for so long subjected. It was in Athens alone, that the defeat of the Lacedæmonians was heard without demonstrations of joy. Immediately subsequent to the battle, the Thebans had despatched ministers to that city, with the view, the more certainly to insure, by the promptness of the communication, the interest and the assistance of her citizens. But, although the transactions of the field of Leuctra could not be unwelcome intelligence to the republican government of Athens, she showed herself

capable of checking the immediate impulse of revenge, and acted with a moderation which discovered a more deep and far-sighted policy. The Theban ministers were not merely received with neglect, but treated almost with insult; and they were dismissed without being even introduced in public: an attention, on such occasions, of the most ordinary and common occurrence. But the feeling of revenge against Lacedæmon had died away in Athens with the depression of that state; and Thebes had risen to an eminence, and might assume a importance among the Grecian states, which excited in the Athenians a cautious but not an imprudent jealousy of her power.

Application of Thebes to Jason for assistance.

At the same time that the Thebans had sent intelligence to Athens, they had despatched ministers to request the assistance of Jason of Pheræ, in Thessaly, who was perhaps the most extraordinary character of his age. Eminent by birth, superior by the endowments both of mind and body, and powerful from popularity, he soon became famous in the factions of his native city; from the diligence with which he trained the mercenary troops which it was common to employ in those factions, from his courage and skill in commanding them, and from the art that he possessed of attaching them to his interest. In process of time he was enabled to extend his authority beyond the narrow precincts of Pheræ, and succeeded in bringing most of the Thessalian towns under that kind of subjection, which was distinguished by the name of confederacy. But his ambition did not rest here. It had been the custom of the different republics of Thessaly, in times of difficulty and danger, to appoint a common general, under the name of Tagus; and to this distinguished honour Jason aspired. In order to his attainment of it, it was requisite that he should procure the assent of every Thessalian state; and in this he had been successful, except in the instance of Pharsalus, where he met with a powerful opponent in Polydamas, whom birth, riches, and hospitality had raised to an authority almost princely. He commanded the citadel of the Pharsalians; he had their revenue at his disposal, and he directed and controlled their councils. But in his opposition to the artful policy of Jason he had been unsuccessful; for, although his utmost abilities and the whole force of Pharsalia had been exerted to protect the city from the encroachments of the ambitious Pheræan, all their endeavours had proved unequal to the task. But the able mind of Jason looked far beyond the renown which could be derived from the petty warfare of two small Thessalian cities: even the reduction of the whole of Greece was an object too small for his enterprising spirit; and he had conceived the vast idea of subjecting the Persian empire to his control. To reduce Pharsalus by force of arms, if he had any hopes of success, by peaceable means, was an exertion unworthy of his talents; and he accordingly sent messengers to request a conference with Polydamas. After asserting his determination to reduce every Thessalian town under his subjection, but if it were practicable rather by negotiation than by violence, he represented how

Vast and comprehensive plans of Jason.

easy it would be for Polydamas to second his intentions by persuading the Pharsalian people; how difficult it would be to oppose them his experience must have already taught him. It was his resolution to become the first man in Greece, and it was in the power of Polydamas to hold the second rank. So far was his project from being impracticable, it presented few, and those but trifling obstacles. In cavalry, in heavy-armed infantry, in targeteers, Thessaly possessed already a formidable force; and he had under his command a body of mercenary troops, more choice and better disciplined than was possessed by any commonwealth in Greece. With the Bœotian states he was on terms of friendship, and Athens herself had courted his alliance; but he wished not to form a connection with the Athenians, for that people considered themselves the first maritime power in Greece, and boasted their pre-eminence; and it was his design to make Thessaly in this respect her successful rival: a project more easy of execution, and more certain of success, than even his designs by land; for Athens was supplied with timber from Macedonia, which was much nearer to Thessaly; in sailors, she had none who could contend with his Penestian subjects; and in revenue, Thessaly was far richer, and her tributary estates incomparably more valuable than the far-scattered islands which acknowledged Athenian dominion.

Gains over Polydamas to his interest.

The force and the justness of the reasoning of Jason were admitted by Polydamas; but Pharsalus was in amity with Lacedæmon, and the integrity of her ruler was inviolable. At the suggestion of Jason, however he consented to proceed to Lacedæmon, to request her assistance. After three days of deliberation, the Lacedæmonians acknowledged their incapacity to protect their ally, and left him and his Pharsalians to consult for their own interest. Polydamas, therefore, on his return, brought the Pharsalians to acquiesce in the appointment of Jason to the title and dignity of the Tagus of Thessaly; and he was himself, at his own request, placed in command of the citadel of Pharsalus.

Such was the situation of the citizen of Pheræ at the time of the battle of Leuctra; and we may form an estimate of the formidable extent of his power from the number of his forces, which amounted to more than twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, eight thousand horse, and a body of targeteers, large enough, says the contemporary historian of Greece, for war with all the world. The battle of Leuctra was an event of that description most likely to excite in the active mind of Jason the liveliest interest; and immediately upon the arrival of the Theban ministers, he ordered a fleet to be equipped, and putting himself in command of his mercenaries, and a small body of horse, he proceeded with this small force with such rapidity through the territories of the Phocians, with whom Thessaly was at war, that, by his own arrival, the intelligence of his expedition became first known in every town through which he passed. Neither time nor opportunity was given to his enemies to collect a force sufficient to oppose him, and

without sustaining loss, he arrived in the territories of Bœotia. But the same motives which had actuated the Athenians, displayed themselves in the conduct of Jason. Satisfied with the humiliation of Lacedæmon, he was not desirous of her destruction; for it accorded not with his political views that Thebes should become too powerful. Instead, therefore, of assisting the Thebans to crush their enemies, he set himself about terminating hostilities; and he was successful in procuring a truce. The Lacedæmonians took advantage of the temporary suspension of warfare, and decamping in the evening, they rested not in their march till they reached Argostheni, in the territory of Megara. Here they were joined by Archidamus, and those troops that Lacedæmon had sent to their relief; and as the remnant of the Lacedæmonian army of Leuctra had now reached a peaceful country, and the object of the expedition under Archidamus was thus accomplished, the troops were conducted to Corinth, where the allies were dismissed, and the Lacedæmonians were marched home to Lacedæmon. His movements.

The subsequent life of Jason is foreign to the life of Epameinondas, and to a history of the Theban wars; but the extraordinary mind of the man seems to deserve some brief notice of his subsequent fortune. A premature death prevented the execution of those extensive schemes which he projected. Whether he would have been able, had his life been spared, to realize his splendid designs, it would now be vain to conjecture; but his hopes were evidently not founded upon a mere dream of ambition. The state of Greece was singularly favourable to his project; and his own talents and resources well calculated for the work in which he intended to employ them. But his career was early interrupted; the last military action of Jason which remains upon record, is the revenge which he exercised against the Phocians, by the reduction of Heracleia, on his return from Thessaly. Powerful by the strength of the forces of his own country, and by his numerous alliances, he was acknowledged to be the greatest potentate of his age; and he resolved to display his magnificence at the Pythian Games, by proposing the reward of a golden crown to that city which should produce the finest ox, and by an easy impost, he was enabled to collect from the various towns which acknowledged the authority of the Tagus of Thessaly, more than a thousand oxen, and ten thousand smaller cattle. After reviewing the cavalry of Pheræ, Jason had attired to give audience to those who wished to consult him. Seven youths approached, under the pretence of receiving his decision upon some matter in dispute; but they had no sooner gained admittance, than they discovered their real object, and Jason was assassinated. Of the perpetrators of this act, two were slain by the guards, and the rest made their escape: the motives of their act are covered by the veil of obscurity. No revolution ensued to mark it as the consequence of political intrigue; but there was sufficient to evince both the popularity of Jason in Thessaly, and the dread which his talents, and the probable success of his projects had created among the rest of He is murdered.

the states of Greece. Of the former we require no stronger confirmation, than that his brothers, Polydamus and Polyphron, were appointed his successors, and that his assassins, unable to secure protection, were forced to fly from Thessaly; and of the latter, the circumstance that these assassins were received by many of the other states of Greece with every mark of respect and of honour, is a sufficient testimony.



Coin of Athens.

Congress at Athens.

It has been already remarked, that it was the policy of the able leaders of the Athenian councils to hold the balance even between the two contending states of Lacedæmon and of Thebes, and to permit neither to acquire the preponderancy. In pursuance of this policy, Athens had, immediately after the battle of Leuctra, refused to assist the Thebans in their plans of annihilating the power of the Lacedæmonian aristocracy; and, with the same view, she now thought it necessary, in consequence of some recent occurrences among the different states of Peloponnesus, to assemble a congress at Athens. The Peloponnesians had, along with the rest of the inhabitants of Greece, and probably in a more forcible manner, experienced the oppression of Sparta, and many of them had rejoiced at the prosperity of Thebes; but, as soon as they found themselves relieved from the immediate presence of Lacedæmonian tyranny, the remembrance of their former alliances, of their ancient glory, returned upon them in their fullest force: and this disposition was somewhat increased by the fear, lest if Thebes, a state beyond Peloponnesus, should become supreme in Greece, the Peloponnesians would lose that importance which the superiority of Lacedæmon, and their connexion with her, had acquired for them, and should sink into a state of insignificance and obscurity. Frequent conferences, promoted by these views, had been, in consequence, held by the members of the different commonwealths of Peloponnesus; and it had been resolved by them, that they would return to their former dependence upon Lacedæmon, and would adhere to their former system of following the Lacedæmonians upon every occasion wherever they should think proper to conduct them. Athens felt alarm lest these measures should revive the now fallen power of Lacedæmon, and raise her to her former stability; and the object she had in view, in summoning the congress, was to renew the terms of the peace of Antalcidas. According to the requisition of the

Athenians, a congress assembled at Athens, and it was attended by deputies from almost every state in Greece. The Athenians immediately laid open their object in summoning the meeting: that of renewing the security of the independence of each state; and they proposed an oath, by which every deputy was required to swear that "he would abide by the terms of the peace which the king sent, and by the decrees of the Athenians and their allies; and that, if any state undertaking in the oath should be attacked, he would assist that state with all his strength." Of all the deputies of the Grecian powers, those of Elis alone refused to accede to the proposals of the Athenians; and they insisted that Elis should be permitted to retain her sovereignty over the people of Megara, Scillus, and Triphylia.

Re-establishment of Mantinea and her senate.

But this congress at Athens, so unanimous in its resolutions, and by which it was intended to secure universal independence, and the general peace of Greece, was the remote cause of a war, which ultimately involved every Grecian state. By the destruction of Mantinea by the Lacedæmonians, after the peace of Antalcidas, the democratical party of the government of that city had been entirely annihilated, while the aristocratical, if it had not been strengthened by the event, had, at least, lost none of its importance or power. In the villages to which they had been forced to retire, the wealthier inhabitants, those constituting the aristocracy, possessed unimpaired the same authority they had enjoyed during the existence of their capital; but the democratical leaders had been, by that event, deprived of the sole means by which they could either maintain or acquire any ascendancy —that of addressing assembled multitudes, and through that medium inflaming their passions, and inspiriting their conduct. With the success of Thebes the hopes of the democracy had somewhat revived; but the resolutions of the congress of Athens, by which provision was again made for a general political independence, incited their activity, and prompted them to propose the re-establishment of their ancient city, and the restoration of their assembly. At a meeting which was convened, the proposal met with a favourable reception; and it was decreed by the Mantineans, that the families forming the old capital should collect together, and that the place should be immediately fortified. Even the influence of Agesilaus, who had not thought that the employment of ambassador to a petty city was, on such an occasion, unworthy either of his rank or his character, was inadequate to impede the progress of their operations, or to prevent the destruction of the power of that party which was favourable to aristocracy; and after much negotiation, probably intrigue, the final answer which they received from the Mantineans was, "that the decree passed by the Mantinean people could not be rescinded." But, although Agesilaus departed not without feelings of disgust and resentment, yet it was with the conviction that it was neither right nor politic, that the Lacedæmonians should be the first to infringe the articles of the late treaty.

Confederacy of Arcadia.

The democratical party of Tegea, encouraged by the success of the Mantineans, resolved next to attempt the restoration of their party, and with it to augment the general importance of their city. But the Tegeans had greater difficulties to surmount; for, as they were ruled by an aristocratical administration, united in its measures, they could entertain but faint hopes that a proposal, limited to the small territory of Tegea, would meet with success. They therefore extended their views, and proposed the bold and intrepid, but ultimately successful plan, of uniting the whole of Arcadia under one government. It is unnecessary for us to trace, with any minuteness of detail, the means by which this object was accomplished: the rejection of the proposed innovation by the general assembly of the Arcadian states, produced by the influence of Hasippus, the leader of the aristocratical party; the events of the war which was waged by Proxenus and Callibius, the heads of the democracy; the temporary success of Hasippus, and the death of Proxenus; his final defeat, and the complete success of the popular party; and the erection, under the name of Megalopolis, of a new city, a common capital, upon the southern bank of Arcadia, and in the vale of the Alpheus—a site which was highly approved and commended by the Theban leaders, who are allowed to have been the principal promoters of the measure, because its situation, in the immediate vicinity of Messenia and Laconia, afforded easy opportunities of either protecting the one, or annoying and harassing the other. It is requisite, however, that we should mention that this revolution was not accomplished without crimes on the part of the Mantineans, who thus became guilty of the first infraction of the treaty of Athens; that Orchomenus alone, of all the Arcadian towns, from an inveterate hatred of the Mantineans, and a dread of their influence, refused to give her concurrence; and that the Lacedæmonians, furnished with but too good an excuse for attacking the reigning party in Mantinea, and of supporting their friends of the aristocratical faction, and provided with too good a title to defend their ancient allies of Orchomenus, discovered no inclination to continue their late prudent temperance of conduct, or to remain any longer inactive and peaceable spectators of events. An expedition, under the conduct of Agesilaus, advanced to the assistance of Orchomenus; but it performed nothing remarkable. The Arcadians and the people of Elis avoided a general battle; and Agesilaus, pressed at last by the season, found it necessary to retire, after laying waste a part of the Mantinean territory, and gaining the advantage in a few skirmishes.

First expedition of Epameinondas into Peloponnesus and invasion of Laconia.

B. C. 370.

Epameinondas had, in the mean time, left nothing undone which could tend to strengthen the cause of his country. The interference of Lacedæmon in the affairs of Arcadia had been made use of to represent the Lacedæmonians as infringers of the general treaty of Greece; and by the money of the Eleans, and the accession of the Phocians and their allies, a numerous army had been collected, over which Epameinondas was placed in the chief command. With so

much secrecy, with such activity, had these operations of the Thebans been conducted, that not only the Lacedæmonians, but even the Arcadians, the allies of Thebes, were ignorant of them; and Epameinondas reached Mantinea, while the Arcadians were actively engaged in the attack and plunder of the Neræans. But, although their preparations had been rapidly completed, the Lacedæmonian army had been before their arrival withdrawn from Arcadia, and the Theban leaders considered their winter expedition at an end. By the representations, however, of the Arcadians and Eleians (who, from their proximity to Sparta, were better acquainted with the weak condition of that city than the Thebans, whose situation was more remote), Epameinondas was persuaded, notwithstanding that the season was so far advanced, to listen to a proposal of leading the united forces immediately into Laconia; and the plan met with his decided approbation, when he found the opinions of his allies fully confirmed by the intelligence of some Lacedæmonian fugitives. It was the ruggedness of the frontier of Laconia that had presented to the mind of Epameinondas the most serious obstacle; and the better to insure success, he suggested that the Arcadian and Theban forces should separate and attempt the ingress by different passes. The Arcadians proceeded by that defile which led by Ion, at one of the sources of the Eurotas, and in the district of Skiritis: Epameinondas made choice of the difficult passage by Caryæ on the Œnus, a brook whose waters, after passing that city, almost immediately mingle with those of the Eurotas. Ischolaus, a Spartan, who had been placed in defence of the pass of Ion, was killed, and his army easily defeated by the Arcadians: and as that entrance which had been chosen by Epameinondas was undefended, the two armies soon joined their forces a little below Caryæ. The combined troops immediately proceeded to the attack of Sellasia, in the vale of the Eurotas; and quickly reduced it to ashes. On the second day of the march from Caryæ, they arrived at the bridge that led to Sparta, which stood at no great distance on the opposite bank; but the passage was so strongly guarded, that the confederate generals thought it prudent not to attempt it, and they continued their march down the river, carrying devastation with them in their progress. These transactions spread such consternation, not merely among the weak and cowardly, but among the wise and courageous of Sparta, that liberty was proclaimed as the reward of those Helots who should be willing to lend their assistance; and six thousand of them were in consequence enrolled. The urgent necessity of the moment, and the imminence of the danger, may have been a sufficient excuse for the adoption of a measure apparently so pregnant with evil consequences; but the temporary relief which it afforded was soon overbalanced by the miseries to which it gave rise; for the Helots having once tasted of liberty, subsequently refused to return to their former state, and the whole body rising in arms against their masters were the most efficient means of producing

The Helots enlisted.

that liberation of Messenia, which we shall soon have occasion to mention, as one of the fruits of this expedition. In the mean time the measure was productive of advantage; for by their assistance, and that of some auxiliaries from Corinth, and a few other towns whose interest bound them to support the Lacedæmonian cause, the alarm which had been excited was entirely stilled. Although the confederate army had been forced to desist from its attack upon Sparta, it had not abandoned the plain; and while these occurrences had taken place among the Lacedæmonians, it had proceeded in its route along the left bank of the river, had crossed at Amyclæ, a little below Sparta, and was now advancing against that town. The horse had already proceeded as far as the horse-course and the temple of Poseidon, in the close vicinity of Sparta; and they were rather encouraged than dismayed by the diminutive appearance of the Lacedæmonian cavalry. But when the infantry, which had been concealed by the temple of the Tyndarid, marched to their support, such was still the power of the Lacedæmonian name, that not only the allied horse, but even the infantry, though much superior in number to that of the Lacedæmonians, retired with most evident symptoms of alarm. Agesilaus adopted the prudent system of not risking an engagement, but was contented with posting his men in advantageous situations. The allied army withdrew and encamped at a small distance, when a council of war being soon after summoned to consult on the plan of operations which should be pursued, it was resolved that any further attempt upon Sparta would not only be useless, but fraught with extreme danger.

The historians of antiquity have transmitted it as their opinion, that the name alone of Sparta saved her, and that she was so weak in force, that she must have fallen before an army so numerous as that of her enemies, if their operations had been directed with vigour and with spirit. But the extent of his army, composed of troops from different nations, and consequently difficult of restraint, was the reason which induced Epameinondas, when his enemy seemed so entirely within his power, to retreat without attempting to accomplish the principal object of his expedition. Implicit reliance on his talents, his courage, and his experience had commanded for him obedience as long as the army continued on its march, and had enabled him to maintain that strictness of discipline which is, in an enemy's country, so essential to the preservation of every army. But the success which had attended his arms, and the little opposition he had encountered, had diminished the fear of danger, and had made his troops less cautious and less inclined to obedience. Among the Bœotians, indeed, his authority was undiminished, and he could still enforce the same severe order, and preserve the same caution in fortifying his camp, as if he had been in the immediate presence of the enemy: but those troops formed only a small portion of the whole; the rest of the army had appeared to consider themselves free from almost every restraint;

Influence of Epameinondas.

and the Arcadians, in particular, refused to relinquish a practice to which they were habituated, of laying aside their arms as soon as they had encamped, and wandering for pillage. It was in such a situation that Epameinondas found himself when encamped before Sparta; and he felt not merely that it would be hopeless in such circumstances to make any attempt against a place so well fortified, but that a complete defeat and total ruin to his cause might ensue, from risking his troops in battle against the well-disciplined army of the Lacedæmonians. He had only one course to pursue, that of directing the impetuous desire of plunder which he could not restrain; and he accordingly conducted his army down the Eurotas as far as Gytheum, the only naval arsenal which the Lacedæmonians possessed, giving his troops during the whole line of their march unlimited license of plunder. Even the assault which he directed against that port, and in which he persevered for three days, proved unsuccessful; and such at last became the state of his army, so anxious were many of the allies to return home with the booty which they had secured, that desertion became so common that he was obliged hastily to withdraw from Laconia.

Conduct of the Athenians.

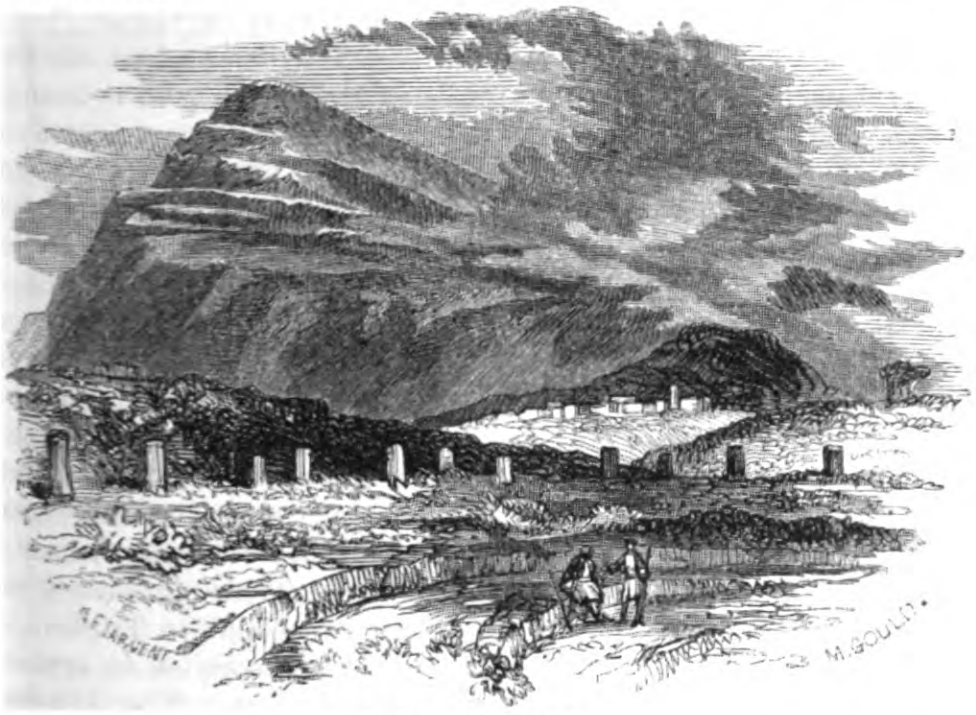
The intelligence of the victories and successes of the Thebans, and the extreme danger which threatened Sparta, created in Athens considerable emotion; arising not from any friendly feelings in that city towards the Lacedæmonians, but from fear lest Thebes should obtain such a preponderance as to endanger the independence of Athens and perhaps of Greece. An assembly was, in consequence, immediately called together, to consider of the conduct which Athens should observe. The Lacedæmonian ministers were first heard in support of their cause, and in defence of their country. When they had finished, the members of the assembly were by no means of one opinion. The aristocratical party contended, that Mantinea had no sooner broken the late treaty by carrying her arms into Tegea, than it became the duty of the Lacedæmonians to assist the Tegeans; and that it was now imperatively required of the Athenians, in conformity with their oath, that they should aid and assist them with all the power they could command. It was urged by the partisans of democracy, on the other hand, that the Mantineans had been guilty of no breach of the late contract, and that by supporting the exertions of the Tegean democrats, they had done no more than enforce that independence which it was the object of the congress of Athens to insure to every state of Greece. The opposite parties seemed so evenly balanced, that the issue of the debate appeared doubtful, when the balance was completely turned by the appeal of the Corinthian and Phliasian ambassadors. Epameinondas, in conducting his army to Mantinea, had passed through Corinth. Corinth refusing to bear arms against her old allies the Lacedæmonians, had declined to join her forces to the confederate army; and Epameinondas had permitted, or rather had been unable to restrain the allies from committing ravages upon her territories.

The unpardonable nature of this outrage upon a neutral country was forcibly urged by Cleitiles, the Corinthian envoy, and the democratical party found it impossible to efface the impression which was produced by his concluding appeal to the Athenians: "Can the Athenians," he observed, "under such circumstances, without perjury, refuse to any country that assistance to which the treaty entitles the injured?" But the victory was complete, when the minister of Phlius followed on the same side, alternately rousing the fears and flattering the vanity of the Athenians. Irritation and impatience seized the multitude; they would listen to no other speakers; the question was immediately put to the vote, and it was decreed that the whole force of the commonwealth, under the command of Iphicrates, should be instantly conducted to the assistance of Lacedæmon. But, had it been in the power of Epameinondas to preserve better discipline in his army, the mighty preparations of Athens would have been useless, and her assistance would have arrived too late to save Sparta from utter ruin. As it was, the exertions of Iphicrates produced no effect; for although he arrived in Arcadia in time sufficient to oppose the retreat of the Thebans, and possessed every opportunity of reducing them to the extremity of difficulty and distress, yet for some reasons which remain unexplained, he first withdrew to Corinth, as if with a view of disputing the passage of the Isthmus, and ultimately allowed the Thebans to pass without molestation into Bœotia.

Revolt of Messenia.

Although by this expedition of the combined forces of Thebes, Arcadia, and Elis, that object had not been accomplished which had been originally intended, yet the power of Lacedæmon received a blow from which she was never able to recover. When the army of the enemy retired, rebellion pervaded the country. The Helots, in particular, having received full proof of the weakness of their oppressors, and feeling assurance in their own strength, determined to make an effort to burst the cords of their bondage, and in a body broke out into revolt. These were circumstances not to be overlooked by Epameinondas and the other sagacious leaders of the Theban assembly. They called loudly upon the relics of the Messenian race to profit by the crisis in the affairs of Lacedæmon, and to return from the several places of their exile, from Rhegium in Italy, Messina in Sicily, and Evesperita in Africa, and taking possession of the country of their forefathers, to become again one of the people of Greece. The Messenians were not deaf to the invitation nor blind to their own interests; they flocked in from all quarters; they disdained not to associate with them the Helots, all of Grecian, many of them of Messenian origin: a new city of Messina was, under the patronage of Epameinondas, founded at the foot of Mount Ithome, which itself became the citadel; and Messenia, the fairest, the richest portion of the possessions of Lacedæmon, was completely and finally separated from the Lacedæmonians. But this was not the only effect of the Peloponnesian expedition: the country of Skiritis, that rugged and mountainous

district, where the Eurotas and Alpheus have their sources, continued in the hands of the insurgents who held Sellasia, at the upper end of the vale; while Pallene, which still continued to adhere to the Lacedæmonians, was carried by assault by Lycomedes, the able general of the Arcadians.



Stadium of Messenia.

The next year a Theban army was again led into Peloponnesus, and, surprising that of their enemies, easily effected a junction with the Peloponnesian allies. But the danger with which the northern frontier of Thebes was threatened by Alexander of Pheræ, terminated the campaign at a time when all Peloponnesus seemed open to the Theban arms. The Thebans were obliged hastily to retire without being able to effect more than ravaging the lands of the Epidaurians, the allies and supporters of Lacedæmon; and laying waste the territories of Corinth after an unsuccessful attempt to seize the city, from which they were repulsed, with some slaughter, by the Corinthians, under the direction of Chabrias of Athens.

Second expedition of Epameinondas into Peloponnesus.

B. C. 368.

Meanwhile symptoms of disunion began to show themselves among the states of the Theban confederacy: and far from being surprised that this should be the case, it is rather astonishing that the confederacy should have subsisted for any length of time; and it is impossible not to admire the abilities of Epameinondas, and of those great men by whom the connexion had been so long preserved. Thebes, rising suddenly into a supremacy almost as extensive as that which had been formerly exercised by Lacedæmon and Athens, had neither the institutions of the former, nor the local advantages of the latter, to insure the duration of her power. It was an authority originating solely from a succession of favourable events, ably directed by a few men of

Disunion of the Theban confederacy.

extraordinary talent, and such as any state of Greece might, in a short time, be again able to command. The first appearance of aversion to the control of Thebes discovered itself in the country of Arcadia. Lycomedes of Mantinea, who has been before mentioned as the leader of the Arcadians, perceiving that it was the object of Thebes not to promote the peace and general prosperity of Greece, but to raise herself into eminence, was determined to check her ambition; and calling an assembly of the Arcadian states, he so well represented to them the former and present importance of their country, that he persuaded them no longer to submit to a dependence upon Thebes, but to insist upon an equality in command. Arcadia still continued, it is true, the opponent of Lacedæmon; but these resolutions could not but excite suspicion and jealousy in the Thebans; and although no actual breach at this time ensued, yet the friendship subsisting between those states became gradually more cool and more precarious. Nor was this all; Elis had, for years, claimed a sovereignty over the Triphylians; and these latter people, whether really suffering under that oppression which is in such circumstances so commonly exercised by one state over another, or whether desirous to free themselves from a subjection which is always irksome, applied to the Arcadians to assist them in asserting their independence. Their application was seconded by the inhabitants of Lasion, a stronghold in Triphylia, in which the Eleians had permitted some Arcadian exiles to establish themselves, with a view to restrain the inhabitants. The Arcadians listened to the application which was made to them, and passed a decree that the Triphylians and their countrymen should receive assistance. Thus commenced those hostilities which gave rise to the contest of Olympia, and ultimately led to the battle of Mantinea, in which Epameinondas lost his life, and Thebes her supremacy, and by which the confederacy of Greece became completely broken.

Interference of Persia to promote a general peace.

Just at this crisis, Philiseus of Abydos arrived in Greece, charged by Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Bithynia, to endeavour to promote a general peace. The events which followed showed that this new interference of Persia in Grecian affairs, had been procured by the Lacedæmonians. A congress of the states of Greece was assembled at Delphi; and it was proposed to them by Philiseus, that a peace should be concluded, but that, as an indispensable requisite to its establishment, Messenia should be replaced under the sovereignty of Lacedæmon. To this condition the Thebans expressed their determination not to accede; and all negotiation being thus abruptly terminated, war was renewed with equal if not redoubled violence.

Attempt of Thebes to acquire supremacy by the interference of Persia.

Events seemed now to be taking an unfavourable course for Thebes, and there was some reason to apprehend that Lacedæmon, notwithstanding that she was at present so much depressed, might recover her supremacy. On the north the Thessalians had gained some advantage against the Theban arms, for the usual success of Pelopidas had failed him: he had been made prisoner, and although his libera-

tion was procured by the able negotiation of Epameinondas it had not been obtained without some concessions. Thebes was therefore pressed on the north by the Thessalians; in Peloponnesus, Arcadia had become cool in her cause, and dissension had occurred between that state and Elis; Athens was still cordial in her support of Lacedæmon; and, to add to all this, a body of mercenary troops, procured by the influence of Philiseus, and paid with Persian gold, was now opposed to her. But Epameinondas, who had shown himself superior to events much more adverse than these, discovered that his mind was still fertile in expedients; and as he had already seen the effects which had been so frequently produced in favour of Lacedæmon by means of negotiation with Persia, he was resolved to have recourse to that expedient, and to endeavour to foil Lacedæmon in negotiation as he had already done by arms. At a congress of the Theban confederacy Pelopidas was chosen as the minister of Thebes, and sent to Susa; and so successful was he in his embassy, that a Persian of rank was appointed to accompany him home, and to bear from the king a rescript of those terms upon which his friendship was to be obtained. By that document it was required "that the Lacedæmonians should allow the independence of Messenia; that the Athenians should lay up their fleet; that war should be made upon them if they refused; and that if any Grecian city denied its contingent for such war the first hostilities should be directed against that city; that those who accepted of these terms would be considered as friends of the king, those who refused them as enemies." A congress of the states of Greece was summoned by the Thebans to meet at Thebes, to learn the terms of the message of the Persian monarch, and it was generally attended. But though the summons had been so readily obeyed, yet the Thebans did not gain from this assembly that advantage which they expected; for when they proposed that an oath, swearing to the observance of the terms of the rescript, should be taken by each deputy, the majority of them refused to accede, observing that they came not to take oaths but to listen to propositions. Nor was this the sole opposition which was offered to the attempts of the Thebans. Pelopidas, for some reasons of policy which have not been satisfactorily explained, had treated Antiochus, the Arcadian minister at the Persian court, with such marked disrespect, that he drew down upon the Arcadian the contempt of the Persians. With whatever view, however, this contempt may have been shown, it was determined that the Thebans should now feel the full effect of it. Antiochus, however unfitted for the delicate management of an embassy, was a man of bravery and of spirit, and, on his return to Arcadia, by rousing the indignation of his countrymen against the Thebans, he prevailed with them so far that they made choice of such deputies as were known to be most opposed to the pretensions of Thebes. When the oath, therefore, was tendered to Lycomedes, he not only refused to take it, but he pertinaciously insisted that Thebes was not the place where

Congress of the Greek states at Thebes.

the congress should have been assembled; and, upon a remonstrance on the part of the Thebans that he was promoting discord in the assembly, he declared his intention of resigning his seat in the congress, and immediately withdrawing himself from it he was followed by the rest of the Arcadian deputies, the congress instantly breaking up without coming to any conclusion. Thebes, being thus thwarted in her object, determined to attempt by private requisition what she had been unable to accomplish by means of a public assembly; but her hopes of success by this means were equally frustrated. The Corinthians, who were the first to declare that they declined the interference and wanted no alliance with the king, were followed by most of the cities of Greece; and the attempt of Thebes to acquire supremacy, through the influence of Persia, completely failed.

Alliance of Achaia with Lacedæmon.

The next disaster which befel Thebes is to be imputed entirely to the impolitic and intemperate cruelty of her own conduct. That extent of country, which in ancient Greece was known by the name of Achaia, was more divided into a number of petty states, under distinct governments, than any other division of Greece; and those states had for ages alternately acknowledged aristocratical or democratical dominion, with the preponderance of the power of Lacedæmon or of Athens. Since the time of the destructive defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, the Achaian states had remained quiet under aristocratical administration, and during the contest between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians they had as yet preserved a strict neutrality. But the ambition of those who were the leaders of the democratical faction in Achaia had been recently excited by the rise and the success of Thebes, and a deputation from those leaders being accordingly sent to the Thebans, at present dejected by their failure at the congress, they not only easily procured assistance, but it was granted to them with an alacrity which discovered the eagerness of the Thebans to seize upon any occurrence by which they might possibly re-establish their credit. In consequence an army of the confederacy, under the command of Epameinondas, was ordered to march to the assistance of the democratical leaders of Achaia; and repelling the opposition which was offered to it by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in the passes of Mount Oneion, it entered Peloponnesus without much molestation. Here it was quickly augmented by the force of the Peloponnesian allies. The principal men in Achaia perceiving the futility of any resistance which they could oppose to so large a body, determined to rely on the magnanimity and throw themselves upon the mercy of Epameinondas, rather than either attempt to contend against his arms or betake themselves to the miserable resource of flight. Nor did they deceive themselves in the expectation of the advantage which they were to derive from this policy. Epameinondas executed, it is true, the trust which had been reposed in him by his countrymen and their allies; he insisted upon the inviolate preservation of the constitution of each city, and he required pledges that the Achaians would be

faithful to the Theban confederacy, and that they would support Thebes with their arms; but he did no more, and neither banishment nor confiscation of property, much less the horrors of judicial assassination, the two usual attendants of revolutions in Grecian governments, followed as consequences of his measures. What might have been the effect of this leniency there are no means of judging, but we shall soon have occasion to see that harshness would not have allied Achaia to Thebes. Although Epameinondas was the able, nay almost the sole director of the councils of Thebes, and the victorious general of her armies, and although he was one of those rare and extraordinary men who have too much firmness of character and integrity of conduct to bend to those mean artifices by which the hearts of the multitude are usually gained, yet he was not always able to insure that approbation of his conduct which his services to his country deserved. In Achaia he had, on this occasion, excited against himself the clamour of all those who expected to have risen upon the ruins of their opponents: many of the confederates, and particularly the Arcadians, were loud in their remonstrances that the interest of Lacedæmon, not that of the confederacy, had been consulted in the settlement of Achaia; and such was the effect of this opposition, aided by the influence of a party within Thebes, that in the assembly of the citizens, Epameinondas was unable to support his own measure. Thebes assumed to herself the character of champion of the liberties of Greece; and persons, under the denomination of regulators, were sent into Achaia to reduce the government of every city to that of a pure democracy, a measure by which every man of property was banished from his country. But this sudden prosperity of the multitude was destined to endure but for a season. The exiles were numerous, and all possessed some influence in their respective towns. Directing their united exertions against each separately, their efforts were effectual; they soon recovered that authority of which they had been with so much violence deprived; their adversaries were, in their turn, persecuted and banished; and the whole of Achaia, previously a neutral power, entered into strict alliance with Lacedæmon, and became the avowed enemy of Thebes.

Policy of the Lacedæmonians.

It is necessary that a brief consideration should now be given to that policy which was at present pursued by Lacedæmon, and a more correct view of it cannot be displayed than by relating her conduct towards the Corinthians. The situation of Corinth, in peace the most enviable in Greece, became in war, from the position of that city between the northern and southern states, the most exposed and the most dangerous of any. Unable by her own power to withstand the attacks of the Theban confederacy, if these should be directed against her, she was forced to rely upon the assistance of some neighbouring power for defence; and cut off, as she now was, from Lacedæmon by the intervention of Arcadia, Elea, and Argolis, she had so entirely reposed for support upon the Athenians, that she incurred the danger of becoming an Athenian dependency. An imprudent speech of one

of those popular orators who were in Greece so frequently undoing the exertions of her wiser statesmen, had excited her jealousy of the Athenian intentions, and had induced her to relieve, not indeed without every degree of care and caution, the Athenian auxiliaries that defended her garrisons, and to refuse the admission of the Athenian fleet within her harbour. But when Corinth threw off the assistance of Athens, it was necessary that she should provide against the dangers to which such a step might expose her; she accordingly directed her views towards Thebes, and communicating with that state, and meeting with every encouragement to send ministers to it, she received full permission to give to her allies information of her intentions, that those who were desirous of peace might have an opportunity of becoming parties to the treaty. The Corinthians then despatched a deputation to Lacedæmon, to represent to the Lacedæmonians that if they could show by what means they might resist the force by which they had been so long and so severely oppressed, they were still anxious to adhere to that alliance with them in which they were now engaged, and to which they were bound by every tie of old and hereditary friendship. That if the Lacedæmonians could not give them this assurance, their first wish was that they would join with them in endeavouring to procure from the Theban confederacy the best terms they could, as the sole means of preventing that ruin with which both were equally threatened; and that if the Lacedæmonians were themselves averse to peace they would release the Corinthians from their obligations, and permit them to make peace for themselves; "for," continued the deputies, "our destruction can bring no benefit to our allies, whereas, if we are preserved, we may still on some future occasion be useful to Lacedæmon." The answer of the Lacedæmonians was highly magnanimous as far as concerned themselves; generous and liberal with regard to the Corinthians; and displayed, as was fully confirmed by subsequent events, a wise and prudent policy. They allowed the Corinthians to make peace for themselves; they declared their willingness to release from their engagements not only the Corinthians, but those of their other allies who might be averse to a continuation of the war; but "for ourselves," they concluded, "leaving the event to Zeus, we will persevere in arms, and never submit to be deprived of Messenia, our inheritance, received from our fathers." The wisdom of the Lacedæmonian policy was apparent from the subsequent conduct of the Corinthians, for although they entered into a peace with Thebes, by which it was conditioned that each party should hold her ancient territories as before the war, yet refusing to take arms against their ancient allies and benefactors, they rejected every proposal of an offensive and defensive alliance. In this recital of the transactions of Lacedæmon with respect to Corinth, is contained a full view of the policy of the Lacedæmonians—a determination not to conclude any peace which should deprive them of their authority over Messenia, and not to force their allies into a reluctant co-operation in

Corinthian deputation despatched to Lacedæmon.

the contest. To conclude a war at this time would be, at once, to deprive themselves of all those hopes of reducing Messenia, which the disposition of Arcadia towards Thebes, of Athens towards themselves, and the disunion among the states of the Theban confederacy, gave them just reason to expect. And although, by permitting their allies to enter into separate treaties, the nominal strength of Sparta was diminished, yet whatever advantage Sparta might in her prosperous days have derived from a forced service, she could expect little from it in the declining state of her affairs; she could afford her allies no assistance, and she could not hope that the mere obligation of oaths would preserve them in fidelity against the pressure of the Theban arms. If she had insisted, therefore, upon their maintaining their obligations, she might have reduced them to the necessity of becoming enemies; whereas by the generous conduct of freeing them from those obligations, if she lost their assistance, she prevented their opposition. At all events Lacedæmon was still supported by Syracuse, now under the dominion of Dionysius the younger, who had determined to continue and to support the plans which had been pursued by his father. When the season of war returned, a body of auxiliaries arrived from that state, by whose assistance, joined to that of their own forces, the Lacedæmonians recovered the important town of Sellasia, which since the Theban invasion had continued in the hands of the insurgents.

Renewal of war between Arcadia and Elis. B. C. 365.

The expectations of the Lacedæmonians, with regard to the probable course which events would take in Peloponnesus, were not fallacious. A dissension between the aristocratical and democratical parties of Elis gave occasion for the interference of the Arcadians in favour of the latter; and the Eleians, already irritated by the conduct of the Arcadians with respect to Triphylia, took arms to revenge their injuries, and were successful in making themselves masters of the Triphylian town of Lasion. In consequence, the collected force of Arcadia was marched to the invasion of Elis: after defeating the Eleians in action it directed its march towards Olympia, and placed itself in a situation to command the Olympian mountain; and it was ultimately successful in besieging Pylus, and in establishing in that town a colony of Eleian exiles. The further progress of the Arcadian arms was stopped by the interference of the Achaians, who saw their own ruin involved in the fall of Elis, which was now threatened by the Arcadians. The Achaians professed their friendly inclination towards Arcadia, but intimated at the same time their determination to protect Elis; and the Arcadians, finding that they gave efficacy to their determination by sending a body of troops to support their enemies, thought it prudent to listen to an intimation so powerfully enforced, and they withdrew from Elis after having ravaged the country, and confirmed the democratical Eleians in their possession of Pylus. In consequence of these occurrences Elis returned to her alliance with Lacedæmon.

In this distraction of their Peloponnesian affairs, the attention of

Conspiracy in Bœotia.

the Theban leaders had been fully occupied by disorders in Bœotia itself. An inveterate antipathy had, almost from the heroic ages, subsisted between the Thebans and Orchomenians; and, although Orchomenus had been at length brought to acknowledge the supremacy of Thebes, yet in that city the aristocratical still continued to be the leading faction. These communicating with the aristocratical party of Thebes, which was still numerous, notwithstanding that its leaders were banished, formed the plan of a revolution, and fixed upon the review of the Bœotian cavalry, which it was the practice of the Theban rulers occasionally to make, as the time best fitted for carrying their plan into execution. But the Bœotians were, in the meantime, informed both of the nature and of the extent of the conspiracy. The Orchomenian cavalry, amounting to three hundred in number, were instantly seized, carried in chains before the Theban people, and executed. Even this cruel measure did not satiate the vengeance of the Thebans. It was decreed by the assembly of Thebes that Orchomenus should be levelled with the ground; an army was in pursuance of that decree marched against it, and Orchomenus, being incapable of offering resistance, yielded herself without opposition to the Thebans. Her merciless victors, instigated more by the remembrance of their ancient enmity against the Orchomenians, than impelled by the fear of any danger which they had occasion to apprehend from them, put every man to the sword, and sold into slavery every woman and child.

War in Thessaly.

After this conclusion of the Orchomenian conspiracy, the Theban rulers, prevented by the situation of Peloponnesus from the prosecution of hostilities against Lacedæmon, directed their attention towards Thessaly, where the oppression of the Tagus, Alexander of Pheræ, had induced new opposition to his authority. Alexander was sufficiently powerful to overbear his opponents, and the malcontents sent to Thebes, with the view of procuring assistance. Pelopidas, the general of their choice, led, in consequence, an army of seven thousand men through the straits of Thermopylæ, but incautiously risking a battle with Alexander, who had both the advantage of numbers and of ground, he fell in the engagement. Whether the Thebans, notwithstanding that their leader had fallen, gained a victory, or whether, the issue of the battle being doubtful, the Bœotian army was still numerous enough to afford protection to the party that remained in opposition to the Tagus, or whether, on a second occasion, a battle was gained by the Theban arms, remains doubtful; but, whatever may have been the cause, it appears certain the event of the expedition was favourable to Thebes, and that an alliance was concluded between the Tagus and Thebes, highly advantageous to the latter.

War continued in the meantime to be carried on between the people of Arcadia and Elis. A defeat of the Eleians had induced Lacedæmon to interfere in favour of her ally, and she had been so far successful as to possess herself of Cromnus, and to establish a Lace-

dæmonian garrison in that town, but she was ultimately defeated; and at the time of the celebration of the festival of the hundred and fourth olympiad, the Arcadians were in possession of Olympia. They determined not to surrender the city to the Eleians for the celebration of the festival; but, as they could not assume to themselves the presidency, they committed the sacred trust to the Pisæans, who had never ceased to claim the right against what they termed Eleian usurpation. The Eleians, on the other hand, resolved not to yield up what they considered as an invaluable inheritance transmitted to them by their forefathers, and engaging the Achaians and their interest they marched to Olympia, surprised the Arcadians in the midst of the celebration of the games, and gained a victory. They pursued them as far as the public and sacred buildings; but the vanquished having there every advantage for defence made a stand, and the victors withdrew to their camp. During the interval of the night the Arcadians had exerted themselves so strenuously in fortifying their position, that the Eleians were afraid to renew the assault, and, as their revenue was not large enough to support them for any time at a distance from home, they were forced to retire to Elis, without having it in their power to reap any advantage from their success.

Continuance of war between Arcadia and Elis. B. C. 364.

On the retreat of the Eleians, the Arcadians found themselves entire masters of Olympia, and at liberty to prosecute any measures that they might deem most proper. But the same cause, the want of sufficient revenue, which had prevented the Eleians from pursuing the advantage which they had gained, now impeded the operations of the democratical leaders of the Arcadians, and forced them into a measure of the boldest nature, that of seizing the Olympian treasury. Their aristocratical opponents, who formed no small party, did not neglect this opportunity of exciting indignation, and rousing popular superstition. The Mantineans, who seem to have been at this time principally guided by the aristocratical party, immediately despatched a deputation to make offer of the proportion of pay due from them, and to protest, at the same time, against any sacrilegious use of the Olympian treasury. In consequence of this procedure, the leading men of Mantinea were cited to appear before the general assembly of the Arcadian states, to answer for conduct which was alleged to be treasonable againit the united Arcadian government. The Mantineans, doubting the impartiality of the tribunal, neglected to appear before it, but they were in their absence tried and convicted, and a body of troops were despatched for their apprehension. Those against whom they were sent, however, had not proceeded so far without being duly prepared for the result; they closed the gates of Mantinea, refused to admit those messengers who came in the name of the Arcadian assembly, and showed themselves determined to act with most resolute opposition.

Seizure of the Olympian treasury by the Arcadians.

During the interval in which these transactions had taken place, time had been afforded for reflection upon the enormity, in the eyes of

Remonstrance of the Arcadian assembly against Theban interference.

a Greek, of the crime of which the democratical rulers of Arcadia had been guilty; and not only the whole of those who professed aristocratical principles, but many even of the democratical party, alarmed by their superstitious feelings, and fearful of the divine vengeance, and the combined enmity of the whole of Greece, were ready to assist the Mantineans. Even the Arcadian assembly passed a resolution, that no further trespass upon the sacred treasury should be permitted. The authors of the sacrilege, alarmed at this change in their affairs, and at the near prospect of being deprived of the only resource on which they had relied for the support of their power, sent ministers to the Thebans to request their immediate assistance; but no sooner was this measure and the favourable answer of the Thebans known to the principal men of Arcadia, than they sent, under the authority of the sovereign assembly, to remonstrate against the march of Theban troops into their country, and at the same time passed a decree that the Arcadians had no right to the presidency of the temple, that religion justly demanded that it should be restored to the Eleians, and that there no longer existed any cause for continuing the war against Elis.

Conduct of the Theban commissioner at the congress of Tegea.

The Eleians heard with joy of the resolution of the sovereign assembly: they were glad to conclude the war in a manner so honourable to themselves. They agreed to send ministers to meet the deputies of the Arcadian towns at Tegea, finally to arrange the terms of the treaty. At this congress, probably by some preconcerted arrangement between Thebes and the democratical Arcadians, a Theban, accompanied by three hundred heavy-armed Bœotians, made his appearance. This occurrence could not fail to excite strong feelings of suspicion and alarm; but these altogether subsided when the Theban, taking no objection to any part of the treaty, swore to the observance of it, along with the members of the assembly. In the evening joy pervaded Tegea; banqueting and every species of festivity marked the universal delight at the happy termination of hostilities, and happiness was recorded in the countenances of all except those who were the guilty perpetrators of the sacrilege. In their ears every peal of gay exultation rung like the warrant of their execution; they pondered in silent sadness over the fate that awaited them, and concerted together the means of their deliverance. They communicated with the Theban; and learning from him that he had received instructions to afford them such support as circumstances might allow, they shut the gates of Tegea; and sending parties round to seize the principal men of every Arcadian city, they succeeded in seizing so large a number that not only the prisons but the town-house itself was filled with their prisoners. But the measures of the Theban and his friends were disconcerted by the spirited conduct of the Mantineans. To Mantinea, distant only twelve miles, intelligence of the violence had been quickly communicated, and heralds were instantly sent from that city to Tegea, requiring that no Arcadian should be executed, or even imprisoned,

or detained in prison, without trial; and intimating at the same time, that the Mantinean state would be security for the appearance before the assembly of all those who might be accused of treason against the united government. In consequence of this spirited remonstrance, the Theban, fearful of the evil effects which his conduct might produce, liberated his prisoners; and on the morrow, assembling as many Arcadians as he could collect, he excused himself by asserting that he had been misled by the false intelligence of a plot to deliver Tegea into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, and of the approach of a Lacedæmonian army. What credit soever his excuse might have met with, it was so far accepted that he was allowed to depart in safety from Tegea.

Conduct of Epameinondas, and reunion of Arcadia, Achaia, and Elis, in alliance with Lacedæmon.

But the Arcadians were determined not to allow so great an outrage to pass without a remonstrance on their part, and they sent ministers to Thebes to insist that the Theban should suffer death as the punishment of his crime. Epameinondas held the office of commander-in-chief, and to him the Arcadian ministers were referred. When they returned to Arcadia they reported, with what degree of truth seems not fully ascertained, that Epameinondas had declared that "the Theban minister at Tegea had done much better when he seized the principal Arcadians than when he released them; for the Thebans having engaged in the war only to serve Arcadia, any negotiation for peace, without communication with Thebes, was treason against the confederacy; that they might therefore be assured that the Thebans would march into Arcadia, and with their numerous friends there, who were faithful to the common cause, would prosecute the war." The report of this answer threw the whole of Peloponnesus into agitation; Arcadia, Achaia, and Elis joined in exclamation against the presumption of Thebes to dictate war to them, against their inclination, within their own peninsula; and these states united in sending messengers first to Athens and then to Sparta, to request their assistance. From both they received the firmest assurances of support; but we cannot help remarking how forcibly the fallen state of the Lacedæmonians is evinced by the terms of the treaty to which they gave their concurrence. It was argued that the combined forces should be commanded by the general under the direction of the government of that country in whose territories the enemy should happen to be stationed,—a measure pregnant with inconvenience, and which the Lacedæmonians, before the age of Epameinondas, would have rejected with indignation, even if it had been in itself less objectionable.

Fourth invasion of Peloponnesus by Epameinondas.

Epameinondas had, in the mean time, been employing himself in making preparations for the execution of that threat which he had given to the Arcadian ministers; and he had been successful in collecting an army sufficient, both in number and in power, to accomplish his object and to satisfy his utmost ambition. All the Eubœan towns, with those of Thessaly and Locris, were united in his interest, and

sent large bodies of auxiliaries to assist him in the promotion of the war. With this army he hastened to cross the isthmus, in order to prevent, as much as possible, any opposition that might impede him in the prosecution of his ultimate and most important object. At Nemea he halted, with the view of obstructing the passage of the Athenians into Peloponnesus; but learning that the Athenian government had anticipated his intentions by transporting their forces by sea to the coast of Laconia, he proceeded on his march to Tegea, where he was joined by his Peloponnesian allies. These consisted of forces from Argos, the constant and inveterate enemy of Lacedæmon; from Messenia, whose very existence depended on the success of the Theban cause; and from Tegea, Megalopolis, Asea, and Palantium—three cities of Arcadia that were in rebellion against the confederacy of their country, and for whose behalf and at whose instigation Epameinondas had undertaken the present expedition. His whole force is stated to have amounted to thirty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry. The army of the Lacedæmonian confederacy, in number much inferior to that of the enemy, assembled at Mantinea. They were composed of the whole of the cavalry of Lacedæmon, a body of mercenaries sent from that city, and a small proportion of Lacedæmonian infantry, Agesilaus having detained the greater part of them to guard against any attempt upon Lacedæmon; and to these were added the troops of Athens, Achaia, and Elis, and those of the most considerable part of Arcadia.

The Lacedæmonian confederates assemble at Mantinea.

Epameinondas remained for a considerable time inactive within the walls of Tegea, that he might the better preserve his own army from attack, and observe with the more facility the operations, and judge of the intentions, of his enemies; that he might afford the longer time for the accession of those hostile or neutral states whom the terror of his name and the force of his army might induce to join the Theban cause, and that he might watch the opportunity of some change in the measures of his enemies, who possessed, in their position at Mantinea, so much the advantage of ground, as not only to forbid the hazard of attack, and to remove the hopes of success, even from his superiority of numbers, but to prevent also the usual work of ravage. The opportunity for which he so anxiously longed soon presented itself. The army of the enemy, it is true, continued to preserve that advantage of position which they had so ably chosen: but the allies became impatient of rest; the quietness of so large an army, even in the command of a general of such ability and such experience as Epameinondas, gave the suspicion of a depth of plan which they could not penetrate, and forced them to dwell with awe and fear upon the destructive explosion which must soon ensue; they felt so dissatisfied that the Lacedæmonian infantry should remain at home, when there was little chance of danger, and should expose them with such inferior numbers to so superior a force; and they became so loud in their remonstrances, that the Lacedæmonian government found it at last

requisite to yield, and they despatched almost the whole of their remaining troops to Mantinea, under the conduct of Agesilaus.

Second invasion of Laconia.

As soon as this event became known to Epameinondas, and he was assured that Agesilaus had reached Pallene, he issued orders to his troops immediately to march towards Sparta. So little expectation had his enemies of this measure, that the Theban general found the best and most direct road from Tegea to Sparta completely undefended; and the Lacedæmonian capital must have fallen without opposition, if Agesilaus had not received, from a Cretan, accidental intelligence of the proceedings of the Theban troops. In consequence of this information, however, the return of the Lacedæmonian troops had been so rapid, that when Epameinondas arrived in front of Sparta, he discovered that Agesilaus had anticipated his intentions, and had made so able a disposition for defence, that he abandoned all hopes of succeeding by a direct attack. He accordingly sent a detachment by a circuitous route, and succeeded in taking possession of a height which commanded the town. But from some cause, so extremely inexplicable that Xenophon has referred it to the interposition of the Deity, when Archidamus advanced to attack the height with less than a hundred men, the Thebans, without waiting for the assault, fled hastily, and some of their principal men were slain; and although the Lacedæmonians, in the eagerness of their pursuit, suffered some loss, yet Archidamus continued in possession of the ground, carried off his dead, and received from the Thebans an acknowledgment of his victory, by a solicitation on their part for the bodies of their slain. This discomfiture convinced Epameinondas of the hopelessness of gaining any rapid success against his enemies; and his want of supplies in a mountainous district, depriving him of all expectation of being able to remain long enough to effect his purpose, he came to the resolution to withdraw from Laconia. But the fertility of his genius suggested to him, on the abandonment of this project, the adoption of a measure which promised ample success. As long as he remained at Tegea, the terror of his arms had kept the Mantineans within their walls, and prevented them from reaping their crops, which were then ripe; and conceiving that they would take advantage of his absence, he determined to proceed by hasty marches to Mantinea, in the hopes that he might be able, by surprise, to possess himself, not only of the produce, but also of the slaves and cattle of the Mantineans.

Return of Epameinondas to Mantinea.

By the extraordinary rapidity of his march, Epameinondas arrived within the Mantinean territories before the enemy had the slightest intelligence of his movements, and he found them exactly in that situation which he had preconceived. The harvest was ready for carrying, and the whole of the slaves, and many of the inhabitants, were in the fields, busily employed in collecting the crops, and unsuspicious of the slightest danger. But the present adverse fortune of Epameinondas had not yet forsaken him. The Mantineans had descried the approach of his cavalry in time to procure the assistance of a

body of Athenian horse that had just reached Mantinea after a forced march of two days; they represented so strongly to their allies the urgency of their situation, that they consented immediately to remount, and to risk an engagement with the renowned, and more numerous, cavalry of Thebes and Thessaly; and, although the skirmish was for some time obstinately maintained by both sides, yet the victory, on the part of the Athenians was, at last, so complete, that they not only received a solicitation from the enemy's cavalry for a truce to enable them to bury their dead, but they frustrated so entirely the plans of Epameinondas, that the Mantineans were able, with safety, to secure their property.

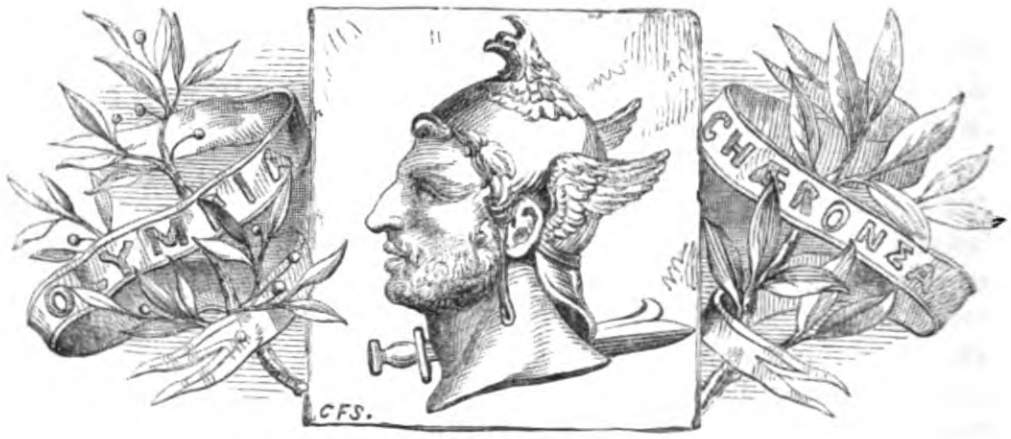
The affairs of the Thebans had now arrived at such a crisis, that it was necessary for Epameinondas to attempt something important; and, as well the situation of his army, as the limited term of his expedition, the situation of his allies, no less than his own honour, and even his safety on his return to Thebes, demanded that he should risk an engagement. The army under his command had already suffered from want: and, as in an enemy's country he had no means of supplying them with provisions, so the revenues of those states, who had assisted them with their forces, was inadequate to maintain those forces at a distance from home. The period was fast approaching when he must resign his command, and terminate his expedition. Epameinondas, therefore, declared, in public, his resolution to encounter the enemy; and the joy of his army was strongly evinced by the alacrity with which they prepared for battle; while the renown of the Theban name was shown by the flattering application of some Arcadians to be admitted into the corps of Theban clubmen, a body, probably, less renowned from their use of the weapon, from which they took their denomination, than from the valour which the remembrance of the deeds of Hercules inspired. An an early hour of the morning, Epameinondas arrayed his troops in order of battle, marched to the foot of Mount Mænalus, and fixing upon a strong position made preparations as if he intended to encamp. By this feint he completely deceived his enemies; who conceiving that he had abandoned all intention of fighting, almost entirely dissolved that order of battle in which they had previously arrayed their troops.

Battle of Mantinea. B. C. 362.

As soon as Epameinondas perceived that his enemies had been completely misled by his feint, he gave immediate orders for his troops to resume their arms, and to prepare for battle. He arrayed them nearly in that order in which he had placed them on the fortunate day of the battle of Leuctra; and as he had now less chance of being encompassed from the superior number of his army, he was enabled, with more safety, to increase the depth of the phalanx. As it was his intention to direct his principal attack against the right wing of the enemy, he posted the Theban column in front of his left wing; and arrayed his cavalry in squadrons on the flanks of his infantry. By increasing, as much as possible, the strength of the cavalry of his left, with which he intended to commence the charge, he so much weakened those of his

ight, that he ordered them to retire to advantageous ground, and not to relinquish their position, unless an opportunity of evident success should present itself. Although the enemy had dissolved their order of battle, they had made no arrangements in case of necessity to avoid an engagement, and they were thrown into the utmost confusion when they observed the approach of Epameinondas. But they had time, before the Theban general could commence the attack, to recover their order; and the Arcadians, according to the previous terms of the treaty, occupied the right as the most honourable post; the Lacedæmonians held the next position, and the cavalry were placed in squadrons on the flank. The action was commenced with the cavalry on both sides. But the Lacedæmonians, being totally deficient in those light troops which were accustomed to act with horse, and in which the Thebans abounded; and being also much inferior in numbers, were quickly repulsed. An engagement then ensued between the Theban and the Lacedæmonian and Arcadian infantry, which was continued for some time with such determined obstinacy on both sides, that the issue was long doubtful. But the firm perseverance of the Thebans at length gave them the superiority; the ranks of the enemy were completely broken; the best part of their line took to flight, and, as had been the case at Leuctra, dismay immediately seized the remainder of the army, and they gave way on all sides. But, at this moment, when victory was complete, Epameinondas received a wound in his breast and was carried from the field. The army of the Theban confederacy, deprived of their general, of the man who alone could command authority over a body composed of troops of so many different states, was seized with consternation, and thrown into confusion. They remained, indeed, in possession of the victory which they had gained; but so great was the panic with which they were seized, that they continued almost motionless, and were rendered totally incapable of pursuing the advantage. The death of Epameinondas is marked with a magnanimity, which was well worthy of the former valour and glory of his life. As soon as he sufficiently recovered, he asked of his attendants if his shield was safe. When he learned from them that it was, he next inquired if the Thebans had gained the victory. And being also satisfied in this respect, immediately gave orders for the spear, with which he had been transfixed, to be withdrawn, and died expressing the utmost joy at the event of the battle.

The consequences of this engagement have been thus briefly but concisely detailed by Xenophon. Universal expectation, he observes, was strangely deceived by the event of so great a battle. Almost all Greece being met in arms, there was nobody who did not suppose that in future the victors would command, and the defeated be forced to obey. But Fate decided otherwise. Although the Thebans were victorious, neither party gained any advantage: territory, town, or dominion, was acquired by none; but more indecision, trouble, and confusion pervaded Greece after that battle than previous to it.



Philip, son of Amyntas.—*Museum Florentinum.*

CHAPTER VII.

PHILIP OF MACEDON.

FLOURISHED FROM B. C. 383 TO B. C. 336.

Philip.

THIS distinguished prince, who was destined to act so prominent a part in the affairs of Greece, ascended the throne of Macedon about three years after the battle of Mantinea.

Origin and

Philip, according to the best authorities, was the third and youngest son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia. The eldest brother, whose name was Alexander, having fallen, in early life, a victim to the ambitious views or vindictive spirit of a powerful relative, who appears to have aimed at the sovereign power, Perdiccas, the second in order, succeeded to a weak and divided government, and would, in all probability, have sunk under the combined weight of foreign and domestic hostility, had not Pelopidas, that just and prudent general, interposed his prevailing authority, and secured, under the sanction of the Theban name, the hereditary throne which belonged to the son of Amyntas. Relieved from the menaces of his opponents, Perdiccas declared himself the friend and ally of Thebes; and as a security for the performance of everything required on his part, he committed to the custody of Pelopidas, as hostages for his good faith, the person of his brother Philip, together with thirty youths of the first distinction in Macedon.

Education.

The confidence thus placed in the noble Theban was not abused. On the contrary, all the biographers of Philip agree, that to this incident in his history may be attributed no small share of his future eminence, and particularly of that extensive influence which he afterwards exerted over the sentiments and politics of the leading Greeks. The young prince was established in the family of Polymnus, the father of Epameinondas; and the same tutors who had formed the

mind of that renowned soldier, were appointed to direct the studies of the interesting stranger. The literature, the manners, and the virtues of Greece were thus rendered familiar to the susceptible genius of Philip; and what was unquestionably the greatest advantage of all, he enjoyed the conversation and example of Epameinondas himself. Spirited and exalted sentiments, and an invincible love of glory, marked, at an early period, the character of the Macedonian prince; and this bias of his nature was encouraged and confirmed by his habitual intercourse with the son of the high-minded Polymnus. From the great Theban, too, he learned activity and vigour in all military operations; address and activity in improving all opportunities, and in turning to advantage every incident which presented itself amid the various fortunes of war. It has, indeed, been observed by Plutarch and others, that it was only in regard to such qualities as constitute a successful general, that Philip lent a ready ear to the instructions of his preceptors, and showed an ardent imitation of the example of his illustrious friend. In justice, clemency, and true magnanimity, says the biographer now mentioned, Philip was not to be compared to Epameinondas.

His travels and studies.

We have no means of ascertaining at what time or from what change in affairs the royal hostage ceased to have his constant residence at Thebes. It appears certain, however, that he was permitted to travel into other parts of Greece, where, under the direction of able masters, he devoted himself to the study of the manners, views, dispositions, and interests of the several individuals or states which, at that period, engaged most of the public attention. The arts, the learning, and elegance of Athens, he seems to have particularly studied and admired. With the learned men of that city, he formed connections which continued the whole course of his reign. He revered the lofty genius of Plato, and was well received by that philosopher in return. He paid due respect to the rising name of Theophrastus, whilst he enrolled the elegant Isocrates in the list of his dearest friends. Nor was the intercourse which he maintained with Athens exclusively devoted to the cultivation of his talents or the improvement of his taste. The political state, also, of that important capital, the passions, the views, and even the corruptions of its inhabitants, were objects which fixed his attention and extended his knowledge of human nature. No man ever knew better than Philip all the weakness and all the strength of the Athenian character: and no one was more ready to esteem the good qualities of that people, to despise their faults, and to derive advantage from their prejudices, violence, and fickleness.

Interview with Olympias.

In the course of his travels, he procured for himself the honour of initiation into the grand mysteries of Ceres, at one of the celebrations of which he first met with Olympias, the second daughter of the king of Epirus, and at that time highly distinguished by the beauty and grace of her person. He is also supposed to have accompanied

Epameinondas in some of those expeditions which raised to such a height the military reputation of that great Theban, and to have studied under him those practical details of the art of war, which can be learned nowhere but in the field of battle.

The time, however, was fast approaching when the exigencies of his paternal kingdom demanded his presence, and gave full scope to the exercise of his natural talents as well as of his acquired skill, in the
B. C. 383. arduous duties of a commander and statesman. The conflict with the Thessalians, in which Pelopidas lost his life, and the still more momentous struggle at Mantinea, where Epameinondas died the death of a brave soldier, had deprived Macedon of her best friends and most efficient allies, and left her almost single handed to maintain an unequal warfare with Athens, as well as with the barbarians who dwelt on her own borders. Bardyllis, the veteran king of the Illyrians, availing himself of the circumstances now mentioned, and having no longer before his eyes the fear of Thebes, or the terror of her victorious generals, seized the opportunity of renewing upon Macedon a claim for tribute, said to have been paid by former sovereigns, and particularly by Amyntas, the father of Perdiccas. A refusal on the part of the Macedonian led to a trial of strength in the field. The valour of each army was equal; but the Illyrians were better disciplined and better commanded, and found no difficulty in gaining a complete triumph. Perdiccas, who endeavoured to make bravery stand in the place of military skill, fell covered with wounds; whilst the poor remains of his army, of whom more than four thousand were cut to pieces, were obliged to lay down their arms and submit to the mercy of the conqueror.

Ascends the throne of Macedon.

The throne of Macedon being thus rendered vacant, Philip was called upon to succeed his brother at the helm of affairs, either in his own right or in that of an infant nephew, the son of the late king. We are assured by Diodorus that Philip was still detained at Thebes in quality of a hostage, when the news of the total defeat of the Macedonians and the death of their king reached his ears. But it is more probable that, as Athenæus has recorded, he was already in one of the frontier provinces exercising a separate authority, or even possessing a portion of royal power, as was sometimes permitted to the younger branches of his family, when the serious reverses sustained by his countrymen opened a path to the painful pre-eminence of ruling a divided people, and of commanding a vanquished army.

Circumstanced as Macedon was, at this conjuncture, a prince whose only virtue was courage must necessarily have completed its ruin; and one who possessed less of this virtue than Philip, would not have attempted to re-establish it. The greater part of its forces had either perished in the field, or been taken prisoners by the enemy; and the Illyrians had scarcely gratified their rage for plunder, when the Pæonians, a barbarous and warlike people, who inhabited the mountains of Macedonia, descended into the plains, to complete the work

of destruction which the others had begun. Ancient pretensions also to the sovereignty of this unhappy kingdom were once more renewed, on the part of two powerful competitors. Pausanias, whom Iphicrates had set aside, openly asserted his right to the throne, and was now ready to invade the country, at the head of a large army of Thracians, who were induced to support his title. Argæus too, the ancient rival of king Amyntas, had a strong party in some of the principal towns; whilst the people of Athens, resenting the conduct of the late king Perdiccas, in joining the Theban confederacy, and opposing the Athenian claim on Amphipolis, sent Mantius to second his attempt, with a strong fleet and three thousand soldiers. Difficulties of his position.

Philip was not dismayed at these formidable preparations to dispute his succession. Deriving from nature great strength of mind, and having rendered himself a complete master of human motives, his first cares were exerted to revive the courage of the Macedonian people, and to restore discipline to their broken and dispirited army. On this occasion, as through the whole course of his public life, he availed himself of the superstitious feelings of his countrymen; and either invented or brought to their recollection the remarkable response of the oracle, which portended that Macedon should rise to the very highest pitch of greatness, under a son of Amyntas, of whose family Philip was now the sole survivor. Having thus identified his own person with that of the prophetic hero, this enterprising prince had no difficulty in rousing his subjects to new efforts. Reminding them of their ancient prowess, he set before them the brilliant rewards of military toils; and by the exertion of an irresistible eloquence, he kindled in their hearts at once the love of glory, the desire of revenge, and the animating glow of ambition. The warlike genius of his character displayed itself in a variety of improvements, applied not only to the constitution of his army, but more particularly to the art of employing their energies in the presence of an enemy: and in a short time the forces of Macedon, so lately vanquished and despised by a barbarian general, struck terror into the best-disciplined ranks, and snatched victory from the most experienced troops of Greece. The phalanx was long a memorial of the fine talents of Philip, and the means of his greatest triumphs. The weight and valour of its files bore down all opposition among the armies of the east; and even the victorious legions of Rome gave way before the impenetrable thicket of spears, and the huge mass of physical strength with which its onset was accompanied. His warlike genius.

The Illyrians having retired, or been driven from a territory which they had nearly exhausted, and the Pæonians showing no disposition to carry on a war merely for the sake of reputation against so active a leader as Philip, there remained in the mean time only the Athenians, with their ally Argæus, to exercise the vigilance and employ the arms of the Macedonian commander: but the power and opportunities of these antagonists were extremely formidable. The Athenian fleet

under Mantius anchored before Methone, a city placed on the Thermaic Gulf, and at that time in subjection to the government of Attica. Here Argæus joined with such forces as he had been able to raise, and proceeded forthwith to lay siege to Edessa, or Egæ, the capital of the Macedonian province of Pieria, hoping that the fall of so important a place would immediately produce the submission of the rest of the kingdom. The name of Philip, however, had already given confidence to his partisans, and prepared them for a vigorous resistance; and accordingly, when Argæus appeared before the walls of the devoted town, he saw so little prospect of success, that it became his immediate care to prevent the destruction of the troops committed to his charge; and with this view he adopted the instant resolution of effecting a retreat to Methone. But this contingency had been foreseen by Philip, who attacked him on his march, and after a smart engagement, in which Argæus fell, succeeded in making prisoners nearly the whole of the army. Such of these as were Macedonians, the prince, without hesitation, incorporated with his own ranks; whilst, in the spirit of a liberal generosity, he sent the Athenians home, loaded with kindness, and full of respect for their youthful conqueror, to lay the foundation of that popularity on which he afterwards built his fame and influence as the ruler of Greece.

Victory over Bardyllis.

To deliver his western frontier from the constantly-menacing attitude of the Illyrians, Philip resolved to anticipate the movements of that active enemy by making an inroad upon them. The veteran Bardyllis, though now passed his ninetieth year, appeared at the head of his forces to oppose the Macedonians; and in a battle which ensued, he acted with a spirit and activity worthy of his former fame, till he fell fighting, surrounded by seven thousand of his bravest soldiers. A victory so signal was attended with the most important consequences. Illyria became a Macedonian province; and instead of being, as formerly, a perpetual source of annoyance, it added greatly to the strength and repose of the rising kingdom of Philip.

Having thus subdued his turbulent neighbours, and extended his sway farther than any of his predecessors had done, the active mind of the youthful king was now fixed upon the aggrandizement of his states, and upon the acquisition of a degree of power which might make itself felt in the remotest parts of Greece. Such projects soon brought him into contact with the leading republics of the south, and, in particular, roused against him all the suspicions and military strength of Athens.

To understand, however, the circumstances in which this youthful prince first tried the fortune of war in opposition to the Athenians, we must revert for a moment to the condition wherein the leading states of Greece found themselves placed, immediately after the battle of Mantinea.

State of Greece.

During the arduous struggle between Thebes and Lacedæmon, the influence of Athens was gradually on the increase, and after the fall

of Epameinondas, the supremacy departed from his country; whilst its rival, Sparta, was too much reduced to have the power of securing the prize for which it had spent its best blood and treasure. But the Athenian people were already beginning to feel the subduing force of a more dangerous enemy than even the sword of Theban or Lacedæmonian; they were fast becoming the victims of effeminacy and ostentation; and in proportion as they had less to fear abroad, they allowed themselves to become more licentious, giddy, and extravagant at home. Devoted to public amusements, they spent much of their time in the theatre, and lavished on such places of public resort, together with the baths, the shows, and the festivals, the greater portion of that wealth which should have been employed in strengthening their interests, and creating means of defence. The toils and privations of actual war could no longer be endured by the soft citizen, the lover and patron of the arts; and mercenaries accordingly were sought on all hands to fill up the ranks of the phalanx, and even to occupy those posts of honour in the field, once so ardently coveted by the brave contemporaries of Cimon and Miltiades. The stern eloquence of Demosthenes, and his moving appeals to their fears and to their pride alternately, produced but weak resolutions or transitory efforts, when the luxurious Athenian, thinking the alarm false, or the danger gone by, returned to his music, his poetry, or theatrical entertainment, leaving the orator to exaggerate and the multitude to applaud. Condition of the Athenians.

Sparta, as we have already observed, had been greatly weakened by the successes of Thebes, and still more by the wise policy of her great leader Epameinondas. He withdrew from Lacedæmon the more powerful of her dependents, by encouraging Argos to turn her arms against her; by exciting the Arcadians to establish their independence, and by enabling the Messenians to rebuild and fortify the city from which their ancestors had been expelled by the unfeeling dictates of Sparta. In this way was she surrounded by many secret or declared enemies, who had felt her oppression, and who therefore were resolved to prevent the restoration of the power; whilst she, regarding them as revolted subjects, showed the utmost desire to reduce them to their former obedience. Hence arose a spirit of discontent and dissension among the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, which it was Philip's interest to keep alive, and from which he afterwards drew no inconsiderable advantage. Position of Sparta.

The Thebans again, whose mental qualities were not of the highest order, possessed little hold upon the reverence or submission of Greece. Obstinate and brave, they were equal to everything under the guidance of Epameinondas, whose talents had rendered them sovereigns of Bœotia, and arbiters of the neighbouring states. But the battle of Mantinea had closed this reign of glory, two summers before Philip ascended the throne; and all that now remained to them of their proud character were only its fierceness and ambition. From them, therefore, the Macedonians had nothing to fear; and it is farther de- Thebes.

serving of notice, that the only general they had, after Epameinondas, was Pammenes, the early and devoted friend of the aspiring monarch whose life is now before us.

Position of the Phocians and Thessalians.

The Phocians and Thessalians were by no means formidable, either for genius or power. The former, indeed, were brave, determined, and persevering; and in this protracted war with the other states of Greece, they displayed a degree of military skill and fortitude which shed no small lustre over their fall. At the period, however, more immediately under consideration, Phocis presented no serious obstacle to the ambitious views of Philip. The people of Thessaly, too, noted for fickleness and the love of change, pursued a line of policy so completely subversive of their independence, as soon to throw into the scale in favour of Macedon the full weight of the power which a clearer view of their own interest would have led them to employ against her. In recompense for the assistance which he lent them to expel the tyrants Tisiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron, they gave to Philip the liberty of using and even of commanding their ports and shipping. Their cavalry too, the best and most celebrated in Greece, was appointed to accompany him in all his campaigns; and thus, by means of a gentle and affable address, and by affecting the greatest moderation amidst the most splendid success, he secured to himself all the advantages of conquest, while he avoided the opprobrium attached to a selfish policy and ambitious views.

Philip's alliance with Athens.

From this brief survey of the several members of the Grecian body, it is manifest that Athens was, in all respects, the most formidable, and possessed of the most extensive influence. The prudence of Philip's administration, therefore, naturally dictated to him the expediency of cultivating peace, in the mean time, at least, with this ambitious though degenerate state. To secure the favour of the Athenians, accordingly, it would appear that he offered the assistance of his arms to repress the power of the Olynthians, and to recover for his new allies the possession of Amphipolis, a city which they had formerly held, and the command of which they now most ardently coveted. Amidst much doubt as to the terms and object of this alliance, it is clear that a plan was concerted between the Athenian and Macedonian governments for the reduction of Olynthus by their combined arms. It is also ascertained, that the first movements made to realize their purpose were attended with success. Potidæa yielded to the attack of Philip, and Torone, a place of importance, submitted to the confederates; both of which received Athenian garrisons, and owned the Athenian power. Olynthus thus hemmed in, and deprived of the principal means of defence, could not long have resisted the united force of two such powerful enemies: and the fact that it did not fall at this epoch, is to be ascribed to the operation of causes which are now imperfectly understood, but which were probably connected with an increasing feeling of jealousy between the confederated powers themselves.

For the next event, the hinge on which the following history of Athens and Macedonia turns, the historian wholly fails us, and the orators to whom we owe certain knowledge of the important fact, have avoided all detail and all circumstances. That the purpose of Athens in the Olynthian war was conquest there can be no reasonable doubt; nor have her orators disguised that intention on her part. The views of Philip, however, are less obvious. To circumscribe the power of Olynthus, long a formidable neighbour to Macedonia, or even to root out that power altogether, might seem expedient to this politic commander; but to establish the reign of Athens over the whole Macedonian coast, without any security or compensation to his own countrymen, is a measure which indicates no trace of the wisdom by which Philip's proceedings were on all occasions distinguished. The event, however, above alluded to, and which took place at this period, threw a strong light on the motives of the one party, and determined finally the conduct of the others. Of Methone and Pydna, the principal seaports in his dominions, the Athenians had long possessed the former, though adjoining both his capitals, Pella and Edessa; the other being the only maritime town which had been retained in subjection to Macedon, was now in the hands of Philip. Upon this important place, also, the insatiable ambition of Athens darted its views; and sending her fleet thither, she encouraged the inhabitants to revolt, promising them the support and protection of the Athenian people.

Ambitious views of Athens.

A more flagrant breach of confidence could not well be committed. It was in vain for Philip to send ministers to Athens to complain of the injury: no redress was obtained. On the contrary, Demosthenes, in his harangues to the people, congratulated them on this accession to their power, as well as on the loss sustained by one whom he was pleased to pronounce their enemy. The fact is thus clearly avowed, though no attempt is anywhere made to justify it, or even to set forth the motives which induced the Athenian admiral to violate, by so unambiguous a measure, the alliance then subsisting between his republic and Macedon.

Having in this manner forfeited the co-operation of Philip, the Athenians relaxed in their efforts against Olynthus. Confining their views in the mean time to Amphipolis, they sent their general Iphicrates against it with a considerable armament; but as this able officer was superseded at the very moment he was arranging terms for a capitulation, the Amphipolitans refused to close the negotiation, and stood again to their arms. The siege was raised, and the troops, now under Timotheus, were directed against some inferior towns on the coast of Thrace, the capture of which but poorly rewarded the labours, and ill answered the expectations, which attended the equipment of fleets and armies.

Siege of Amphipolis raised.

It was reserved for other means than the sword and the battering-ram to reduce Amphipolis. Charidemus, an Athenian general, who had passed over to the Olynthians with the forces under his command,

seems to have induced the leading men of that city to espouse the cause which he himself had appeared to desert. He used his interest so successfully with the Amphipolitans, that they consented to abjure the Olynthian dominion, and to embrace the protection of Athens; but in what manner, or by what argument this revolution was effected, it is now in vain to conjecture, it being a point of honour with the Athenian democrats to conceal and reward every act of treachery which seemed to promote their own views.



Amphipolis.

War between Philip and the Athenians.

Before we proceed to unfold the operations which occurred in the war between Macedon and Athens, we shall record a few of the more interesting events which diversified the domestic life of Philip. Upon his return to Macedon, after his successful campaign against the tyrants of Thessaly, when already regarded with admiration as a consummate soldier and statesman, Olympias, the daughter of the king of Epirus, was conducted with all due honours to his court, where their espousals were celebrated with much pomp and magnificence. The beauty and liveliness of this princess had struck him forcibly, when he first met her at Samothrace, whilst engaged in the mysteries of Ceres; but the fidelity of Philip, as a husband, has been generally called in question; and his irregularities on this head were no doubt the cause of the family quarrels which rendered himself so unhappy, and excited suspicions as to the legitimacy of Alexander's birth. In due time, the birth of an heir gratified the hopes of Macedon; and the news of the queen's delivery reached the ears of the delighted monarch immediately after listening to the account of a victory gained by

his general Parmenio, and of a prize obtained by his chariots at the Olympic games.

Philip had from his earliest years affected or felt a deep respect for learning, and the profounder branches of philosophy; and among the great men to whose precepts he had listened, and from whose fame he had derived lustre to his court, was the celebrated Aristotle. The letter addressed to this sage, by the Macedonian sovereign on the birth of his son, is familiar to every reader of Grecian history, and has been universally regarded as expressing at once his reverence for the great Stagirite, and his sense of the vast importance of giving a right bias to the mind of a youth who was destined to preside over the fortunes of a powerful kingdom. The epistle runs as follows:—



Aristotle.

"King Philip to Aristotle. Health!

"You are to know that a son hath been born to us. We thank the gods, not so much for having bestowed him on us, as for bestowing him at a time when Aristotle lives. We assure ourselves that you will form him a prince worthy to be our successor, and a king worthy of Macedon. Farewell!" Philip's letter to Aristotle.

We pass over the absurd anecdotes which have been preserved by several annalists, relating to the various dreams and omens which shadowed forth the future greatness of Alexander. These, as well as the monstrous fiction which was invented to connect his paternity with a visit of Jupiter Ammon to the chamber of Olympias, were no doubt circulated to feed the contemptible vanity of the prince, at the period when, elated by his numerous triumphs, he thought proper to spurn the recollections of an earthly origin, and to lay claim to the honour of a divine descent. The gossip of Macedonian soothsayers is beneath the notice of history; and although Bayle has gravely dilated on the letter which the queen addressed to her son on the eve of his departure for Asia, we cannot allow ourselves to believe that the ridiculous story of the serpent was ever countenanced by Olympias.

But to return to Philip and the interests of Greece, we may observe that almost immediately after the unsuccessful attempt made by the Athenians on Amphipolis, a revolt took place among their confederates at home, which led to what has been called the Social War. Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, and the newly-established commonwealth of Cos, united together to resist a dominion which they considered not only oppressive but degrading; and they engaged in their alliance Mausolus, king of Caria, who, as well as the others, suffered from Athenian exactions upon the commerce of his subjects. Measures being then concerted, they joined in declaring to the government of Athens, "that Social War.

they were resolved henceforward to protect their own commerce with their own fleets, and wanting thus nothing from the Athenian navy, they would of course pay no tribute for its support." The island of Eubœa, too, actuated by similar motives, was eager to throw off the yoke; and, for this purpose, invited to their aid a small army of Thebans, who crossed over, in order to establish a footing among their allies, before the people of Athens could adopt any measures to shake their independence. All these precautions, however, were in vain. The Athenians, under the prudent command of Timotheus, soon recovered their influence among the Eubœans, and reduced the Theban troops to such distress, that, without coming to a battle, they were glad to accept of a capitulation and return home.

The other confederates were not so easily brought to a concession. But before any decisive steps were taken against them, and just as the victorious general was listening to the congratulations excited by his return from Eubœa, messengers arrived from Amphipolis, with the alarming news that Olynthus and Macedonia were united in a confederacy, to carry their arms against that favourite colony of the Athenian people, so recently restored to their dominion; adding that it must necessarily fall, if not succoured with that speedy support which they were sent to supplicate.

Philip's alliance with Olynthus.

The situation of Macedonia, deprived of sea-ports, and having her central provinces occupied by Athenian garrisons, dictated to Philip the expediency of this alliance with Olynthus. Pydna had been seduced from him by the most unjustifiable means; and he had recently seen Amphipolis transferred to the same people, by the operation of a species of influence which justly excited his strongest suspicions. Potidæa and Methone were likewise subject to Athens; and the remainder of the sea-coast was in the possession of the Olynthians, with whom he had waged a hazardous war, for the sake of his Athenian allies, who requited his services by the seduction and capture of Pydna. Olynthus and Macedonia, indeed, were not likely to remain long on terms of friendship. Their interests were so diametrically opposed, that the rise of the one almost necessarily implied the depression of the other; and yet they had both suffered so much injustice at the hands of the Athenian government, and had been treated with such barefaced iniquity, that they agreed in the meantime to forget their mutual aggressions and individual advantage, and profit by the embarrassment of that people, now engaged in an arduous war with their allies, in order to drive them for ever from the coasts of Macedonia, and the shores of western Thrace.

Nothing was more unexpected at Athens, than a treaty such as this between Macedon and Olynthus. The possibility of it even had never once occurred to the orators and popular leaders of that aspiring city; and the tidings, accordingly, that Philip had joined his victorious arms to those of their inveterate enemies, the Olynthians, spread dismay and confusion through all classes of the republic. This event afforded a

fair opportunity for covering with reproach that unprincipled party, who, by advising the nefarious aggression at Pydna, had forced a valuable ally to become a dangerous enemy. Violent disputes and much conflicting oratory ensued between the antagonist members of administration; of which the result was, according to the mind of the sovereign multitude, that negotiation should be entered into with the Macedonians and Olynthians, and the whole military strength of the state employed for the important purpose of reducing their rebellious allies.

Operations of Philip.

It belongs to the general historian to trace the progress of the war which Athens carried on against the several communities which had dared to throw off her yoke. In this summary, we shall confine ourselves to the operations of Philip and his new confederates in the north, in pursuing the plan which he had adopted for diminishing the Athenian influence in the Macedonian and Thracian colonies.

In pursuance of the decree passed at Athens, envoys were forthwith despatched to Macedon; and commissioners were sent thence in return to treat, on the part of Philip and the Olynthians, in the Athenian capital. Various proposals were made by both parties without any success, and perhaps without any sincere desire of accommodation on either side. In the meantime, the alliance between Macedon and Olynthus was advancing to a conclusion, a measure of which the expediency was rendered more manifest by the negotiation lately attempted with the common enemy. Philip resigned in favour of his allies the city of Anthemus, which originally belonging to Macedon, had twice changed its masters, and now reverted to a people whose dominion was cherished, and who set a high value on the possession.

Capture of Amphipolis.

But all this arrangement and concession on the part of the Macedonian monarch, was only preparatory to the execution of his settled purpose of wresting Amphipolis from the hands of the Athenians. The siege being formed, the skill which Philip had acquired in the science of attack, availed him greatly in his efforts to intimidate the townsmen into compliance; and the influence of a friendly party within the walls contributed, it is thought, not less than his battering engines, to dispose the garrison to listen readily to terms. Diodorus, it is true, informs us that the town was taken by storm; and there can be no doubt that the Athenian faction made a desperate resistance, and lost much blood in defence of their works, as well as in repelling the various assaults which were made, wherever a breach was practicable. At length the determined resolution of the assailants deprived the besieged at once of the hope and of the means of holding out till relief could arrive from the Athenian territory. A surrender took place; and on this occasion the humanity and liberal spirit of Philip were strikingly set forth, and added much to the reputation for magnanimity which he had formerly acquired. No one was put to death for having opposed the views of the king, or for entertaining political attachments inconsistent with his claims. Only the most violent of

the Athenian partisans were banished, because they could not be trusted in a place now held by a different interest, or voluntarily withdrew, as not thinking themselves safe under so complete a change of circumstances. All prisoners of war were freely dismissed. The affability of Philip, and his kind consideration for all, gained every
B. C. 358. heart; and in uniting Amphipolis to the Macedonian kingdom, he did as little violence to the feelings of its inhabitants as to its municipal constitution.

Capture of Pydna and Potidæa.

Having settled the affairs of this important station, the conquerors next proceeded to Pydna. Notwithstanding the revolt which had done so much discredit both to themselves and to the Athenians, there still remained among the citizens, a strong party attached to the interests of Philip, and such an arrangement was privately made with these adherents, as opened the gates of the town at the first approach of the Macedonian army. His next object was the reduction of Potidæa. This place the reader is aware had formerly belonged to Olynthus; and the oppressive nature of the Athenian government had already prepared the minds of most of the people for returning to their ancient allegiance, which the presence of a garrison within their walls alone prevented them from effecting. As soon therefore as the combined forces of the Macedonians and Olynthians appeared before the town, the Athenian party consulted their safety by retiring into the citadel, where they were almost immediately compelled to surrender at discretion.

Generous policy of Philip.

With his usual humanity, Philip instantly provided for the personal security and comfort of the prisoners who thus fell into his hands. Giving up Potidæa to the Olynthians, he reserved nothing for himself but the right of disposing of the Athenians found within the walls; sensible that his interference was absolutely necessary to protect these unfortunate persons from the rage of the natives, who would have made haste to revenge upon them the tyrannical treatment of which they had reason to complain. The generous policy of the Macedonian prince did not confine itself to mere personal security. He liberally supplied the wants of his prisoners in the meantime; and without burdening them with the payment of ransom, or in any way restricting their liberty of action, he sent them to Athens at his own expense.

The effects of this campaign made a deep impression on the Athenians. Every dependency of any consequence, on the northern shore of the Ægæan, from the confines of Thessaly to the Thracian Chersonesus was wrested from them, and added to the strength of their growing enemies. Meanwhile the Confederate or Social War, engaged their whole attention, and occupied all their means, without affording the most distant prospect of a favourable issue. Philip, eager to profit by this embarrassment at Athens, and to derive some advantage from his conquests, directed his thoughts to the gold mines of Thrace, which being at no great distance from Amphipolis, seem to have given to

this colony the great value which it all along possessed in the eyes of the Athenians. At this period Cotys or Sitalces was king of all Thrace; a singular person, and one who affected to exchange the unpolished mode of life habitual to his countrymen, for the soft and enervating luxury of more southern climates. He possessed little of that warlike spirit and savage boldness which had rendered his ancestors so formidable; but appears to have put his chief confidence in the power of Athens, with which he was in alliance, and to one of whose generals, Iphicrates, he had given his daughter in marriage. Indeed, he appears to have laboured under a species of romantic insanity; which led him to forsake the habitations of men, and the protection of cities, that he might plunge into the depth of forests, and hold his court amid the wildest scenery of uncultivated nature, exhibiting his state on the banks of rapid rivers, and receiving perfumes from the flowers which sprang up around his tents. Cotys.

Such was the man against whom Philip conducted his victorious army. The particulars of the expedition, indeed, are not recorded accurately by any historian, whose works have come down to us. It seems, however, perfectly ascertained, that Cotys did not remain to dispute the advance of the Macedonian forces. On the contrary, he fled with precipitation, leaving to the desecration of Philip's soldiers a delightful residence in the woods, called Onocarsis, to which, as the place of his chief enjoyments, the infatuated king had opened several avenues meeting in a centre. Diffident of his power in the field, Cotys was determined to try the effect of his literary powers on the mind of the invader. He despatched an epistle to Philip, the contents of which have unfortunately not transpired; but as the perusal of the piece produced a smile on the countenance of his brother monarch, the Macedonian courtiers caught the feeling which that smile expressed, and burst out into the loudest merriment at the very idea of a letter from the wrong-headed Cotys. Conquest of Thrace.

Advancing into the country, the king of Macedon found a colony of Thæsians situated at Crenidæ, in the neighbourhood of the mines; for it appears that the people of Thasus had derived a lucrative employment from working the veins of gold. This colony he instantly dislodged, and settled Macedonians in their place, giving to the new establishment the name of Philippi, so famous afterwards in Roman history for the defeat of Brutus and Cassius. He next proceeded to examine the state of the celebrated mines. His soldiers descended with torches, and soon discovered a vein which had not been wrought for a considerable time. They found, however, that the former possessors had not been deficient either in art or perseverance. Canals had been contrived with infinite pains to drain off the water, which was directed into what appeared to them to be subterraneous lakes: and, on the whole, though the works bore recent marks of neglect or ignorance, Philip saw abundant encouragement for renewing operations on a large scale. Numbers were accordingly employed, and all the Philip inspects the state of the country. Philippi.

Thracian gold mines.

contrivances which ingenuity could suggest, were immediately put in action, to draw from this fund of wealth greater treasures than it had hitherto yielded. Nor were his labours unattended with success, for the addition which he thus made to his resources was estimated at ten thousand talents, or two millions sterling annually; a sum so improbably large, that we cannot free our minds from the suspicion of a material inaccuracy. The amount has been reduced to a thousand talents, a return not only much more reasonable, when viewed in reference to the means used for obtaining it, but also more commensurate with the wants which Philip had to supply, and the military operations which he had to defray.

While the Macedonians were thus successfully realizing their projects upon Thrace, a rebellion was stirred up against Cotys by Miltocythes, a prince of his own family; and, although this absurd king was in alliance with Athens, and had been honoured by the Athenian people with the freedom of their city and a golden crown, his cause was abandoned by the democratical party headed by Demosthenes, and the views of his unnatural relative encouraged and actively supported. The object of this turbulent and unprincipled body was evidently to create in Thrace an occasion for their interference against Philip, the progress of whose arms had excited no small apprehension in the Athenian republic. But their plans were not crowned with success. Ergophilus, the first commander employed by them, was superseded before he could perform anything which deserved a place in history. Antocles, too, who was sent to succeed him, was not only in like manner soon recalled, but was even prosecuted and condemned for want of zeal in this nefarious project. Still unrewarded by any material impression on Thrace, the popular chiefs at Athens had however

Assassination of Cotys.

the satisfaction to hear that Cotys was assassinated by two brothers, citizens of the Grecian town of Œnus, whose names were Heraclides and Python. The latter forthwith repaired to Athens, where, in the presence of the assembled people, he avowed the murder, and expressing his satisfaction with what he had done, demanded the reward which the Athenians had been accustomed to give for accomplishing the death of a tyrant.

It should seem that Philip, though not an unconcerned spectator of what was going forward, abstained rigidly from all participation in actual hostility, in favour of either side. He saw the Athenians continuing to prosecute their designs against the infant son of the murdered king, and even stirring up new competitors for the Thracian crown; but neither policy nor a sense of equity, nor even the generous humanity upon which he so often professed to act, overcame his determination to remain neutral. He estimated, with sufficient foresight and accuracy, the effects of protracted hostility as well on Athens as on Thrace; and as the great aim of his ambition was to weaken both, and to extend his influence over the whole Grecian peninsula, he beheld, no doubt, with an inward feeling of satisfaction, the waste of

treasure and the effusion of blood, so copiously drawn from the two contending parties.

It belongs to the annalist to detail the sundry movements made by the Athenians to accomplish their ends in the neighbourhood of Macedon, even whilst the confederate war raged in other quarters with unabated fury. These occurrences do not fall under our department, farther than they are connected with the transactions of Philip's reign, and his concern in the affairs of Greece: a consideration which induces us to quicken our steps, to pass over the treaty with Thrace, and the settlement of differences with the confederated powers, and to proceed at once to the Sacred or Phocian War; an event which opened, in the very heart of the Grecian states, a theatre for the talents, the ambition, and the military skill of the Macedonian sovereign.



Coin of Phocis.

The war which we have just designated arose from the deep dislike and envy which Thebes entertained towards Phocis and Lacedæmon. The first of these states was accused of occupying some lands situated on the banks of the Cephisus, which the religion of ancient times had consecrated to Apollo, and thereby consigned to perpetual desolation. The Amphictyonic council, instigated by the intrigues of the Thebans, and professing to act as the guardians of religion and of the rights of the god, whose territory had been violated, found themselves induced to impose on the Phocians a heavy fine for their impiety. A similar punishment was inflicted on Lacedæmon, for a supposed breach of public faith in seizing, at a period of national peace, the citadel of Thebes; but as the decision of the venerable Amphictyons was not in this case so powerfully backed by popular feeling as it was when directed against the sacrilegious Phocians, it seems not to have been very rigidly enforced. These last offenders, however, were pursued with equal zeal and hatred by the partisans of Thebes, and they were on the point of being expelled by their pious neighbours, when the sense of injustice, and a clear perception of the hypocritical motives of their principal persecutors, drove them to extremities, and dictated an appeal to arms. Philomelus, a man of talents and plausible address, was appointed their leader; who by means of certain private resources, and a small donation from Archidamus king of Sparta, succeeded in raising a body of troops, at the head of which he instantly marched to Delphi, took possession of the city, and assumed the custody of the temple with its immense treasures.

B. C. 355. Sacred or Phocian War.

A formal decree on the part of the Amphictyons pronounced the people of Phocis enemies to heaven and to Greece, and an invitation was addressed to all who acknowledged the authority of the council, and who retained any regard for religion, to draw the sword against

Decree of the Amphictyons.

sacrilege, and thereby to discharge the sacred obligations which they owed to the gods and to this country. This summons produced the desired effect. In a moment, the Locrians, Thessalians, Perrhæbians, Dorians, Dolopians, Athamanteans, Achæans, Phthiotes, Magnetes, Œnians and some others, influenced either by indignation at the profane conduct of the Phocians, or by the intrigues of Thebes, rushed into the field to oppose Philomelus and his adherents.

The Athenians employed in watching Philip, or in directing against him the arms of their mercenaries and allies, satisfied themselves with an empty promise to the Phocian general, and with the vain formalities of a treaty. They allowed him to be defeated and killed in a battle by the members of the holy alliance; and soon after this event, their fears were so much engaged by the menaces of the Persian court, that measures of self-defence occupied all their thoughts, and suggested the expediency of a lasting peace with the ruler of Macedonia. A proposal even was made by some of the leading persons in the Athenian administration, to invite Philip to join them in an armed defence against the common enemy of Greece; and it is said, that a deputation was sent to the other states to induce them to acknowledge Macedon as a member of the Hellenic body. This, it is well known, was ardently desired by Philip, and was, there is reason to believe, in order to gratify that monarch, proposed by some one of his partisans at Athens. The suspicions of Demosthenes, however, and a full disclosure of the designs of Persia, which were not directed against Greece but Egypt, frustrated the hopes of the Macedonian faction, and excluded the king from the honour which they had intended for him.

B. C. 353. **Reduction of Methone.**

In the meantime, this prince, ever restless and aspiring, ever attentive to the schemes which his ambition dictated, and ever provided with some pretence to justify his hostilities against those who were obnoxious to him, turned his thoughts to Methone as a city which his interests required he should reduce. The Methoneans prepared themselves for an obstinate defence; and the siege which ensued is chiefly remarkable on account of a wound which Philip received in one of his eyes, and which has given occasion to several fabulous narratives. It was inflicted with an arrow, which, on being extracted, was found to have inscribed on it the following label: "Astor to Philip's right eye." This expert bowman, it seems, had offered his services to the king, recommending himself by the assurance that his skill in shooting was so nice, that he could with his arrows strike down a bird in its flight. "It is well," said Philip, "I shall make use of thee when I wage war with starlings."

The Athenians had sent succours for the relief of Methone; but the siege was pressed with so much vigour, that these only arrived in time to witness the triumph of their active enemy. The city was immediately rased to the ground; the lands were divided among the soldiers: and thus, instead of a station which the marauders of Athens had long occupied for the annoyance and control of the Macedonians

nd Olynthians, a colony was planted to watch them, in their turn, nd to oppose their machinations against the frontier settlements of ther people.

The moderation of Philip on this, as on all similar occasions, added o his character a reputation much more precious and enduring, than he mere fame of conquest. At a time when slavery was the fate of l such prisoners of war, as were not thought deserving of the severer penalty of death, the Methoneans, who had submitted to his mercy, without any stipulation, were allowed to march out of the city, every individual with one suit of apparel, in search of a new habitation. The spirit of party, from which no man has ever suffered more than Philip, will not allow that even here his motives were pure, or his intentions really humane. The democracy of Athens now began to see in the most praiseworthy actions of the Macedonian, nothing besides an insidious desire to extend his influence over Greece, and to gain by hypocritical professions those hearts whom he could not expect to subdue by arms. **Humanity of Philip.**

Philomelus, the Phocian general, was succeeded by Onomarchus, who, with much talent and address, induced his countrymen to continue the war, and to repair the losses of their army. After various success nearer home, this commander at length courted the alliance and co-operation of Lycophron, one of the Thessalian tyrants whom Philip had deposed, and who seems eagerly to have embraced the present opportunity for recovering some portion of his former power. Troops were sent into Thessaly to further his views, and to re-establish him at Pheræ, the capital of his dominions; where he immediately commenced preparations for securing his independence. Philip could no longer remain inactive. He marched into Thessaly; attacked Lycophron; and, notwithstanding the presence of the Phocian army under Phayllus, inflicted on him a severe defeat. Onomarchus, however, was at hand with a large and well-appointed force, determined to revenge the loss sustained by his brother, and to confirm the hopes of Lycophron. Philip made haste to meet him, and to prevent, by a battle, the inroad which the Phocian meditated. The Macedonian phalanx was already an object of dread to the best-disciplined troops, and Onomarchus knowing both its strength and its weakness, practised against it a stratagem, which, on this occasion, succeeded in thwarting the consummate generalship of his opponent. The Phocians gained a victory, the effects of which, in the existing circumstances of Macedon, might have proved fatal to a less determined prince than Philip, but which in his case served only to animate his exertions, and to improve his military tactics, for more successful exertions. **Defeated by the Phocians.**

Onomarchus, after having defeated the Thebans in the heart of their own dominions, appeared once more in Thessaly as the ally of Lycophron, at the head of twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse: being stimulated, it is said, by the promise of undisputed power in that country, and the command of all its resources in prosecuting the **Phocians defeated by Philip.**

war with Bœotia and her confederates. The king of Macedon, unintimidated by the result of the late conflict with the same enemy, instantly took the field to oppose him. The two armies now advanced against each other, equally eager to engage, and equally animated with the hopes of victory. Glory, ambition, and revenge, were the motives which stirred in the breast of Philip, and glowed through all his ranks. His cause was fair and popular: he fought against tyranny and oppression in the person of Lycophron; against sacrilege and profanation as chargeable upon the Phocians; and in defence of liberty, of Greece, and of Apollo, their injured and favourite divinity. He ordered all his men to deck their heads with laurel, a tree sacred to that god; whilst the emblems and instruments of worship were displayed in the standards which accompanied his troops into the field. Many of the Thessalians too, alienated by the oppression of Lycophron, and abhorring the profane alliance in which he had joined, were found in the ranks of Macedonia, burning with zeal for religion, as well as with a desire to revenge their individual rights upon the head of this usurping chief. The army of Philip, therefore, regarded themselves as the soldiers of a pious cause; commissioned by heaven to inflict due punishment on the robbers of temples and the profaners of shrines. The Phocians, on the other hand, came into action the champions of a national quarrel; conscious, indeed of having taken a bold step for securing their ancient rights over the structure at Delphi, but smarting at the same time under the sense of injurious conduct, on the part of the Amphictyons, and of all who attempted to enforce their severe decree. The battle which ensued was obstinately contested, and victory remained very doubtful. The infantry on each side equal in number, and fighting with a resolution which nothing could subdue, kept the issue in suspense till the Thessalian cavalry, led on with their characteristic spirit and effect, broke the lines of the Phocians and decided the fortune of the day. Horror and dismay hurried great numbers of the fugitives into the sea, which was contiguous to the field of battle; and among these their general Onomarchus himself. A fleet was seen approaching the shore, as if to lend succours to the vanquished, or to afford the means of retreat. It was the armament under Chares, sent by the Athenians to support the enemies of Macedon, and which arrived just in time to witness their complete discomfiture. More than six thousand Phocians perished in the conflict, or in the precipitate flight which followed it: the body of their chief was sought out and hung upon a gibbet, as a memorial of sacrilegious crime and divine vengeance: and three thousand of their number, who had fallen prisoners of war into the hands of the enemy, are reported to have been delivered up to the dreadful penalty which was denounced by the general laws of Greece, against the violators of sacred things.

Policy of Philip.

Defeat of the Phocians.

Fear, jealousy, and envy were the prevailing feelings at Athens, excited by the news of Philip's victory. Speeches were pronounced,

nd resolutions were passed, and recrimination between the contending arties was mutually indulged; but no decisive step was taken to heck the rising power of Macedon. Unwilling themselves to take ne field, the Athenian demagogues attempted to stir up new enemies t Philip in his own neighbourhood; and are said, with this view, to have negotiated with the Olynthians, the former allies of Macedon, and to have promised them assistance in whatever enterprise they might undertake against the conqueror of Onomarchus. It was, perhaps, at their instigation too, that fresh troubles arose in Thrace; but whatever might be the source whence they sprang, they only added to the credit of Philip, who strengthened the hands of Cersobleptes, the reigning prince, and completely baffled the designs of the leaders.

The obscurity which hangs over the minor events of ancient times prevents us from ascertaining the exact order in which several of the occurrences of Philip's reign took place. For instance, it is difficult to determine what space of time elapsed, and what transactions intervened between the victory gained over the Phocians, and the descent of Philip into the lower parts of Greece, with the intention of joining the Thebans. It was, however, whilst the memory of his successes was still vivid, and the might of his arms still felt, that he yielded to the impetuosity of his Thessalian allies, and appeared at the Straits of Thermopylæ. Nor does it appear that Philip was much in earnest in this attempt to penetrate into Greece. When Diophantus, the Athenian general, refused a passage, no disposition was shown to force it; and although a slight movement on the part of the Bœotians would have laid open the Straits, by compelling the enemy to retreat, the leader of the Macedonians did not deem it expedient to advance. On the contrary, he quietly withdrew his troops, and, after a short stay in Thessaly on his march homeward, he finally returned to his capital, to watch the progress of events, and to prepare new means for availing himself of contingencies.

High political position of Philip.

Philip had now reached the point at which his ambition had long aimed; the power of influencing the councils of Greece, and even of controlling the measures of the more prominent States. Thessaly and Thrace being now united to Macedon, either as allies or subjects, his dominion extended from the Ægæan sea to the Adriatic; and, having in his possession the principal ports on the eastern and southern shores of the neighbouring provinces, he secured the approach to his capital against any sudden inroad, meditated by the naval forces of the Athenians. His army, the best disciplined and effective in Europe, had an unlimited confidence in his talents and courage, and was ready to follow him wherever he should lead. By the surrounding republics he was regarded as the avenger of sacrilege; the protector of religion; and as alone worthy to take the direction in the expiation of a crime, which ought to have united the whole world to punish and repress it. Nor was the influence attached to his personal

qualities less captivating than the success which crowned his military efforts in the prosecution of a righteous cause. Affable and humane, he tempered the exercise of despotic power with a marked attention to justice and the feelings of individuals; and whilst he used his subjects and their wealth as the means of gratifying his own ambition, he gave to every one of them so direct an interest in following up his views, that they at once admired him as a hero and reverenced him as a benefactor.

Whilst Philip was consolidating his affairs at home, new labours were preparing for him by the restless emissaries of the Athenian republicans. The horror of sacrilege had now lost so much of its force, that the Phocians found several of their confederates perfectly disposed to share with them the treasures of the Delphian god, and to prosecute human ends by means of divine resources. As long as the sacred gold continued to be drawn from the repositories of Apollo, no difficulty was found in raising soldiers to vindicate the sacrilege; and it is accordingly mentioned by Diodorus, that in the spring, after the defeat of Onomarchus, large reinforcements were seen pouring in from friendly states to augment the Phocian army, now under Phayllus, the brother of their late commander. Athens, according to his report, furnished a mercenary force of no less than five thousand foot and five hundred horse; and yet, he adds, the Athenian government from the Delphian treasury, drew pay for a still greater number. Lacedæmon sent one thousand men; Achaia from various towns two thousand; and Lycophron, the former tyrant of Thessaly, presented himself at the head of two thousand. Of these forces, so heterogeneous in their materials, and so discordant in their motives, Phayllus, the Phocian, was appointed commander-in-chief.

Sources of the power of Phocis.

These extensive preparations were not attended with any material result. The Phocians were repeatedly vanquished by the soldiers of Thebes, but apparently with no considerable loss; the former soon appearing again in the field, and even assailing the posts of their victorious enemies. Phayllus soon repaired his losses, and, by a system of rapid movements and sudden attacks, which the more phlegmatic Thebans were not always prepared to meet, made a deep impression on their army, and even reduced one of their principal towns. On the death of this general, however, the Phocians were less successful; for hazarding a battle near Chæronea, under the direction of Mnaseas, they sustained a serious overthrow, and lost many of their best troops.

Thebes and Phocis, the principals in this sacred war, were about this time diverted from the main object of their hostilities, by the attention which each was called upon to pay to the interest of certain cities placed under their protection. The scene of warfare was accordingly transferred into Peloponnesus, where Sparta, assisted by the Phocians, drew out their forces against the people of Megalopolis, who, on their return, were encouraged and reinforced by the presence

f the Thebans. It belongs not to the object of this history to trace ne operations of a subordinate contest; nor to unfold the cause nd progress of the troubles, which about this time arose in Eubœa, nd gave occasion to the interference of the Macedonians. We, herefore, proceed to the third period of the Sacred War, which ad the effect of bringing Philip into more intimate relations with the eading states of Greece, than had at any former juncture subsisted etween them, and during which, Athens and Macedon became the rincipal belligerent powers.

Third period of the Sacred War.

It had all along been the policy of the Athenian party to create work for Philip among his Thracian or Thessalian neighbours, and to give employment to his arms at a distance from their own territory. The Olynthians, at first the enemies and afterwards the allies of Macedonia, were now induced by the popular leaders at Athens to break truce with that prince, and to throw themselves upon the protection of their state. It is not easy to perceive an adequate motive for this revolution at Olynthus. In former times, indeed, the naval power of Athens was predominant throughout the Ægæan sea; and the Macedonians, though victorious on land, had occasionally to endure both insult and loss, from the marauding expeditions which from time to time appeared on the coast, under the flag of that people. Unable to protect his own property, Philip could not extend protection to his dependents or allies; but in order to obviate these evils, he had of late directed his attention so successfully to the establishment of a marine, as to be able not only to ward off the piratical assaults of his enemies, but even to carry the war into their own harbours. Ships bearing his authority had already taken and plundered the islands of Imbros and Lemnos; had forced the sea-port of Geræstus in Eubœa, and captured a fleet of merchantmen richly laden; and, what made a still deeper impression at Athens, the coast of Attica itself was visited by a hostile armament, and the sacred ship Paralus was taken out of the very harbour of Marathon. The Olynthians, therefore, had everything to fear from the power and activity of Philip, as an enemy, when they deserted his interests, and exposed themselves to the fury of his revenge. This politic commander was yet in Thrace, when information reached him of the prevalence acquired by the Athenian party at Olynthus, and the threatened secession of that state from the Macedonian alliance. Without delay he exerted his utmost endeavours to know the cause of so unexpected a revolution; to hear complaints, to remove grievances, if any were felt, and by all means to restore between the governments that unshaken confidence, without which peace could not subsist. This, says Demosthenes, it was the business of the Athenians to prevent; and to effect that object, the measures employed by the popular agents proved in a little time effectual.

Powerful marine of Philip.

Throughout this negotiation, the promises of Athenian aid were so ample, that the Olynthians imagined the war was to be almost entirely

carried on by their new allies. A fleet, with a small land force under Chares, was, no doubt, despatched with due expedition to ravage such parts of the coasts as owned obedience to Macedon, and even to extend a predatory war a little way into the interior. No preparation being made to oppose him, the Athenian commander succeeded so well in his plundering campaign, that at the end of a short period, he returned home to his employers laden with booty, to feast the multitude and boast of his own exploits.

Advance of the Athenian admiral.

It was the close of the year before Philip could collect an army sufficient to chastise the Olynthians, and protect his shores from the inroads of Chares. In the commencement of the following season, the Athenian admiral appeared once more with his ships and light-armed troops, to pursue his wonted exactions upon the defenceless inhabitants of the coast; leaving the Olynthians to fight two battles with their formidable enemy, who, routing them completely, drove them for refuge within the walls of their town. Unable to oppose the progress of his arms, the infatuated inhabitants had recourse to treaty. They sent to him when within a short distance of their gates, expressing their readiness to listen to terms, and to renew the former alliance. Philip replied that "it was now too late; that he had before abundantly and repeatedly expressed his earnestness to treat with them; but now it was become too evident that there was but one alternative —they must quit Olynthus, or he Macedonia."

B. C. 347. Capture of Olynthus.

The town was besieged, and, after some experience of the usual occurrences of assaults and desertions, surrendered at discretion into the hands of the king of Macedon. The interests of his dominions pointed out the policy which it here behoved him to pursue. He demolished Olynthus, annexing the territory belonging to it to the nearest province of Macedonia; and, according to Diodorus, sold by public auction the whole body of the people, without regard to condition, sex, or age. Philip, it is added, was present at the sale, where Aristotle, the philosopher, is accused of assisting, and even of aggravating the misfortunes of a people with whom he had lived in friendship, by pointing out the richest of the inhabitants, and instructing the king how to extort their treasure and procure exorbitant ransoms.

Were we to follow the authorities quoted by Leland, with regard to the Olynthian war, we should allow ourselves to fall into the error of ascribing the defection of that people to the intrigues and corruptions of Philip; who, notwithstanding, seems to have been taken completely by surprise, and to have made no preparation to profit by a revolution which he himself is imagined to have instigated. Diodorus, in this part of his narrative, has evidently derived his information from Demosthenes; whilst this orator, as is well known, drew his principal charges against Philip, from sources tainted by the infusion of party spleen, and pronounced them in language which is more remarkable for its vehemence than its truth.

As every attempt to reduce the power of Philip was found to result

augmented influence, and even in an extension of his territorial dominions, the Athenians were now convinced, that, to render Macedonia harmless, it would be necessary to allow it to revert to the enjoyment of peace. Demosthenes himself gave his countenance to pacific measures. The wiser part of the citizens could not fail to mark the growing power and successful ambition of their great enemy, and to be sensible, at the same time, of the increasing corruption and effeminacy of their own countrymen. From the period that they had attempted to recover Amphipolis, no less a sum than fifteen hundred talents had been expended; one hundred ships had been lost; seventy-five tributary cities had fallen into the hands of the Macedonians; Olynthus was destroyed, and Eubœa had revolted; the several Grecian states having harassed and wasted each other by their foolish quarrels, were now completely alienated by mutual jealousy and suspicion; and, to crown all, Philip was more admired, more dreaded, more ambitious, and more warlike than ever.

Overtures from Athens for peace.

The desire of peace was farther strengthened by the failure of a negotiation which had been entered into with Phocis, now, of course, become the bitter enemy of Athens. The first step, therefore, to be taken in this delicate state of affairs, was to ascertain the dispositions of Philip with respect to peace; and the next was to prepare the minds of the sovereign multitude for entering into terms with a man who, they had been taught to believe, laboured all day and meditated all night, to accomplish their destruction. Two Athenians of some note, Stratocles and Eucratus, had been taken prisoners at the fall of Olynthus; the former of whom, liberated without ransom, returned to his native city full of gratitude and admiration for the generous prince who had set him free; and made known to his countrymen that Philip entertained a sincere desire for a close alliance and a lasting peace with the commonwealth of Athens. A decree had, however, been fulminated at no very distant period, denouncing death to any one who should propose peace with that monarch, and forbidding, under a similar penalty, the appearance of a Macedonian herald on the Attic soil. To try the temper of the people, a motion was made to repeal that stern decree. The proposal was listened to with moderation, and, on the whole, the passions of revenge and of pride were now so completely subdued by the love of security, that a commission was appointed to convey to Macedon the wishes of the Athenian people. The members of this embassy were—Ctesiphon, Phrynon, Philocrates, Nausicles, Cimon, Demosthenes, Dercyllus, Æschines, and Aristodemus.

Whilst Athens was thus employed in thoughts of peace, Philip was pursuing his warlike designs within the Thracian territory. He had already circumscribed within very narrow limits the dominions of the devoted Cersobleptes, whom he had deprived of several important towns; and, at the period when the commissioners passed through Thessaly, on their way to Macedon, they found the celebrated general Parmenio besieging Halus, a town claimed by the Pharsalians, whose

cause Philip had espoused, but which was attached to the Athenians, whose power in that part of Greece Philip had determined to undermine.

Athenian deputation.

Having arrived at the Macedonian capital, the deputies were introduced to the king, and admitted to an audience. As they had agreed to speak in the order of their seniority, Æschines first addressed the king, endeavouring to convince him of the friendly disposition of the Athenians towards his person; of the justice of their claims upon Amphipolis, and certain other possessions of which he had deprived them; and, above all, he laboured to demonstrate the unreasonableness of his hostile views upon the territory of their allies.

Demosthenes, being the youngest, was the last to speak, and had certainly the most difficult task to perform. He was now in the presence of a prince, whom in his absence he had frequently assailed with the most furious invective, to whom he had uniformly ascribed the most impure and selfish motives, and whose actions he had often represented as cruel, treacherous, and unjust. The person whom he was to address was not only a consummate politician but an able orator; a master of the art in which Demosthenes excelled; a persuasive speaker himself, and a perfect judge of eloquence in others. The courtiers of Macedon stood around, full of expectation and curiosity; the reputation of the great Athenian orator, had prepared them for an extraordinary display of talent and address; and even the ambassadors themselves, who had so often heard their distinguished colleague thunder forth from the tribunal his indignation against Philip, were now impatient to witness the effects of his eloquence, and to hear those irresistible arguments and potent remonstrances, with which he had promised to attack, and hoped to confound, the obstinate policy of Philip. All was suspense, and the most eager curiosity; and every man now waited in silence for some splendid specimen of forcible, dignified, and subduing oratory. But Demosthenes, unaccustomed to such an audience, and such a combination of circumstances, lost courage and presence of mind. He who had so often braved with success the tumult and abuse of an Athenian assembly, was, in this new scene, utterly disconcerted and abashed. His faculties refused their office. He began in a hesitating and ungraceful manner; muttered a few unintelligible sentences, till, at length, his terror and embarrassment increased to such a degree, that his recollection quite forsook him, and he stood before the assembly totally unable to proceed. Philip saw his distress and pitied him. With that politeness and humanity which were natural to him, and with that condescension



Demosthenes.

Confusion of Demosthenes before Philip.

which he knew so well how to affect, he encouraged him to go on, reminding him that he was not now before an assembly of his countrymen, whose resentment he had to dread in case of failure; begged him to take time to collect again his scattered ideas and to pursue his intended harangue. Demosthenes, accordingly attempted to resume his speech, but was not able; his confusion continued, his embarrassment increased, and he was once more compelled to take refuge in silence.

The ambassadors being allowed to retire, Demosthenes instantly gave vent to his chagrin and disappointment, by condemning the freedom with which Æschines had addressed the king, and the severity with which he had canvassed his political measures. "What!" exclaimed the baffled orator, "have you forgotten the present state of Athens; how greatly the people have been harassed by war, and how ardently they wish for peace? You have now so irritated Philip, and spoken so harshly, that, instead of ending the war by a happy accommodation, you have only to expect the most violent and hostile resentment, in place of the pacific and favourable disposition in which we found him on our arrival!"

Before Æschines could reply to this peevish invective, the envoys were again called into the presence of Philip. This able sovereign, whose command of temper never forsook him, immediately proceeded to reply to their representations in the order in which he had listened to them, with the utmost force and perspicuity. He addressed himself particularly to Æschines, and went over the several topics of his speech with much fulness and accuracy; but in such a manner, as according to the report of this orator himself, did not implicate him in the intrigues of the war-party at Athens, or express any suspicion of his pacific professions in regard to Macedonia. As to Demosthenes, his harangue conveyed so little, either in the way of fact or of argument, that no reply was necessary. Perhaps, too, it might suit with the present views of Philip to treat the Athenian orator with some degree of slight. He might choose to affect a contemptuous disregard for his powers, as well to mortify his great opponent, as to remind the world that the man who had ever inveighed with the utmost virulence against him in the hearing of a popular assembly, had not been able, on this important occasion, when reasoning and not invective was expected by his audience, to offer anything to their notice which deserved either reply or observation. He then invited them to an entertainment; where, if we may give credit to Æschines, his colleague conducted himself with still greater weakness and confusion than

Reply of Philip.



Æschines.

before. Presiding over the festivities of the banquet, Philip displayed those powers of conversation and wit which at once rendered his society delightful, and gave him a firm hold of the affections of his guests. At table he reiterated his assurances of a pacific disposition towards Athens; expressed his respect and friendship for the government; and declared that as soon as the alliance between them should be confirmed, the Athenian people would have reason to be satisfied with the most substantial marks of his favour.

Demosthenes, sensible that he made a mean figure at the Macedonian court, is said to have conducted himself on the way homeward with excessive obsequiousness and adulation towards the other members of the embassy. Immediately on their arrival, too, when their proceedings were reported to the council of five hundred, the orator, as one of that body, spoke very favourably of his colleagues in general, and moved that, according to custom when the conduct of an embassy was approved, they should be honoured for their services with a public supper in the Prytaneum; and as the business of peace was so successfully begun, he further proposed that they should wear on the occasion crowns of the sacred olive. The motion was acceded to, and the entertainment was given.

Address of Demosthenes to the Athenians.

When the matter came before the people at large, and the ambassadors were introduced, in their turn, to give an account of their proceedings at Macedon, Demosthenes at once relinquished his complimentary tone towards his colleagues, and proceeded so far as to insinuate, that, in their transactions with their countrymen as well as with Philip, they had betrayed either ignorance or incapacity. As the youngest he was as usual the last to appear. He began by observing, that all that the other envoys had said was little to the purpose; and requesting that the decree of the people appointing the embassy might be read, he farther moved, that Philip's letter to the Athenians might be read also. "Here then," said he, "is the substance of the business on hand: and I propose that the herald expected from Macedon be received; that the ambassadors who are to follow him be likewise received; and that two days after their arrival, the people be summoned to consult respecting the terms of the peace which is now contemplated with Philip."

A variety of particulars connected with this occurrence have found their way into the biographical sketches of Demosthenes, some of which, although resting on rather doubtful authority, are strikingly characteristic of that powerful orator. Impatient of all allusion to the conference at Macedon and to the personal character of Philip, "You shall see," he exclaims, in his address to the populace, "how I propose to cut off these superfluous matters. Æschines praises the memory and eloquence of Philip. But so far am I from agreeing with him, that I apprehend any other man in the same rank and circumstances, would not be counted inferior to him in these particulars. Ctesiphon praises his person: I think my colleague Aris-

todemus has a figure no less graceful. Others tell you of his mirth and gaiety at table: I think Philocrates is by far the more jovial companion. One man says, it was left to me to speak about Amphipolis; but this your orator would not willingly suffer either you or me to speak.—But this is all trifling. I shall draw up a decree for entering into a negotiation with Philip's heralds and ambassadors, who are now expected, &c."

It is well observed that it was necessary to collect together all the accomplishments of the several ambassadors, in order to give a just idea of those which centered in the character of Philip: and it is impossible to read the personalities of Demosthenes, on this occasion, without disrespect for the man who could attempt to under-rate the qualities of a distinguished prince, by dwelling on circumstances in themselves so extremely trifling, and to which that individual himself would have been the last to attach any intrinsic value.

Arrival of the Macedonian ambassadors.

The herald and the ambassadors from Macedonia arrived in due time. These last were three in number, and bore names which were, even at that period, respected in Greece, and which have since been celebrated over the whole civilized world, Eurylochus, Antipater, and Parmenio. The first was eminent for eloquence and valour, and is known to have rendered effectual services by each of these endowments to Philip and to his son Alexander. Parmenio joined the merit of an honest courtier to that of a brave soldier; and we may judge of the esteem in which he was held by his discerning master, from the following characteristic remark. Being told on one occasion, that the Athenians had chosen their ten generals for the year: "Happy people!" exclaimed Philip, "who can every year find ten! In my whole life," continued he, with his eye fixed on Parmenio, "I never knew but one." Antipater is said to have been the most respected and most trusted of all Philip's ministers. This prince, we are told used frequently to say at table, "Come, let us drink deep; it is enough for me that Antipater is sober!" And when one morning he came into his audience chamber later than usual, "I have been long a-bed," said he, looking around him, "but it is no matter: Antipater was awake."

Athenian discussion.

Discussions now took place at Athens relative to the peace, and partly in regard to the extent of the alliance to be entered into with Macedon. Philip was desirous of confining the treaty to the Athenians, exclusive of their allies, whilst some of the more moderate party in the government insisted that the interests of these should be provided for and secured. On this point, however, so essential to their public credit and individual reputation, the wavering politicians of Athens showed neither consistency nor stedfastness. To terminate their heartless disputes, it was resolved to send a commission of five persons to Macedon to bring the peace to a conclusion; in which number was Æschines, now the devoted tool of Philip's designs. Demosthenes, under pretence of ransoming prisoners, contrived to

attach himself to the embassy and proceeded accordingly to the head-quarters of the Macedonian ruler.

B. C. 346. It was at Pella where Æschines and his colleagues obtained an audience of Philip, who amidst these numerous negotiations and embassies, was usually employed in directing the movements of his armies. He was, indeed, at that period, on the eve of concluding the conquest of Thrace; an object which he wished to accomplish before he renewed his conferences with the Athenian ministers: and with this view he allowed them to wait nearly a month in his capital, before he could be induced to leave his troops in the active season of a successful campaign. On his arrival at Pella, he found ambassadors not only from Athens, as he had expected, but also from Thebes and Lacedæmon, imploring his interposition to settle some difference between these rival states, and to give the aid of his arms to bring to a conclusion the wasting warfare which was still going on between the Thebans and Phocians.

After granting an audience to the Athenian deputies, in which some remonstrances were made in regard to the warlike attitude in which Philip continued to remain, and some vague explanations and professions on his part were returned to quiet their apprehensions; the king urging the necessity of his presence in Thessaly, where his troops were still investing Halus, proposed to carry the several embassies along with him; in the hope, as he was pleased to express himself, that their mediation might be the means of terminating the protracted contest between the Pharsalians and the inhabitants of Halus.

The treaty ratified.

The treaty with Athens received at length the ratification of Philip. In enumerating the allies of either people, Halus was excluded on the part of Macedon, and Phocis on that of the Athenians. The Phocians assisted and protected by Athens in the commencement of the sacred war, had, it appears, given offence to their proud neighbours by refusing to yield to them certain towns which commanded the straits of Thermopylæ, and were at present so much the objects of their displeasure, that they were specially excluded from participation in any benefit of the treaty between them and the Macedonians. This exclusion of the Phocians is, indeed, ascribed by some writers to the policy of Philip, who still found his interest concerned in representing that people as so completely polluted with sacrilege, and so obnoxious to the displeasure of the gods, as to be altogether unworthy of the faith of treaties or the protection of arms. It does not appear, however, from an impartial review of his conduct, that the king of Macedon was actuated by feelings of bigotry or the desire of revenge. He longed for an opportunity to mediate as an armed umpire in the affairs of Greece; and as he had promised to the deputies of the principal states, that their several views and interests should not be overlooked in the settlement of differences between Thebes and Phocis, he found it expedient to leave the consideration of these differences for future deliberation with the parties most intimately concerned.

To bring the Phocian war to a speedy conclusion, either by conference or by arms, appears to have been an object which engaged the attention of Philip both before and after the peace with Athens. Even whilst the ambassadors were at Pella, preparations were on foot to enforce his mediation with the belligerent states of Greece, and to terminate the destructive contest in which they had for nearly ten years employed their armies and expended their treasure; objects which the king did not disguise. It was probably therefore at the suggestion of this monarch, that immediately after the ratification of the peace, a decree was passed at Athens declaring, that if the Phocians did not duly surrender the temple of Delphi to the Amphictyons, the Athenian people would join in arms against them, and against all who should support them in their contumacy. Philip, indeed, addressed a letter in his own name to his new allies, inviting them in that capacity, and as an Amphictyonic people, to join his other allies, and the whole Amphictyonic confederacy, in a just community of arms and of council, for ending an evil so extensively destructive and still extensively threatening. The wisest part of the Athenians were disposed to accede to this proposal; both because they could not possibly prevent the interference of Macedonia, and also because by becoming parties to the measure of reconciliation, they might secure some advantages in favour of their allies in Phocis and in the revolted towns of Bœotia, whom, notwithstanding some disagreement, they were desirous to protect from the vengeance of Thebes and of the Thessalians. The faction, however, which had ever numbered amongst its ranks the constant opponents of Philip, although finding it expedient to promote the recent alliance with him, was still suspicious of his intentions, and eagerly disposed to thwart his measures: and exerting its influence with the people, finally succeeded in procuring a negative reply to be sent to the proposition of Macedon.

Preparations for concluding the Phocian war.

Address of Philip.

Bent on war, the party headed by Demosthenes appear at this juncture to have renewed their overtures to Phocis, and to have knit themselves in closer alliance with the Lacedæmonians. The project of occupying the three towns which commanded the pass of Thermopylæ, and of garrisoning them with Spartan troops, was again revived; but the Phocians reposing little confidence in Athenian faith, and doubting the sincerity of Lacedæmon, refused to accede to the arrangement. They preferred the chance of obtaining favour in the eyes of Philip, whose regard for their interests they had been led to believe was cordial and firm, although political reasons had induced him to disguise it, during his negotiations with their enemies. Refusing therefore to surrender the towns in question, and yet unwilling to come to a rupture with the Lacedæmonians, they excused themselves, by observing, that "Sparta had too much occasion to look to her own dangers."

The tranquillity of Greece was now once more exposed to the greatest hazard. The popular faction at Athens, ready to sacrifice

Oration of Isocrates.

everything for the maintenance of their own power, were fast precipitating their country into war, without the prospect of any rational means whereby to bring it to a prosperous issue. Philip could not be ignorant of their intrigues at Phocis, and of their tampering with the Lacedæmonians; and as his preparations for advancing into the territory of the belligerent states were already well matured, it was obvious that nothing short of a general combination of the Grecian republics could impede his progress into the heart of their country. It was at this crisis accordingly that Isocrates published his celebrated oration to Philip; which, under the form of that species of address, was in reality an appeal from himself and the moderate party, at Athens, to their fellow-citizens, and to the whole Greek nation. The object of this famous tract was to induce the king of Macedon to assume such a lead among the states of Greece, as would prevent them from imbruing their hands in one another's blood, and enable them, at the same time, to unite in an unanimous and combined exertion against their common enemy, the barbarians of Persia. Taking a cursory view of the actual condition of the several republics around him, he depicts, in lively colours, the misery and humiliation to which they had all reduced themselves by their foolish jealousy and ill-directed ambition; and then, turning his eyes to Philip, he describes that sovereign as in every respect worthy of confidence, and as by far the fittest person of the age to reconcile the Greeks to one another, and to lead their confederate armies against the tyrants of Asia. Encouraging both Greeks and Macedonians with the almost certain prospect of success, the ingenious orator concludes his address to the royal commander in these words:—"The sum of what I advise is this—that you act beneficially towards the Greeks; that you reign constitutionally over the Macedonians; that you extend your sway as widely as may be over the barbarians. And thus will you earn the gratitude of all; of the Greeks, for the good you will do them; of the Macedonians, if you will preside over them constitutionally and not tyrannically; and of all others, as far as you relieve them from barbaric despotism, and place them under the mildness of a Grecian administration. Others must have their opinions of what the times require, and will judge for themselves how far what is here written may be adapted to them; but I am fully confident that no one will give you better advice, nor more accommodated to the existing state of things."

The political objects of the treatise of Isocrates.



Isocrates.

We are perfectly satisfied with the reasons assigned for placing this oration in the interval between the peace with Athens and the

conclusion of the sacred war. And between these two points it farther marks its time as having been put forth, after symptoms of a disposition toward a new breach with Macedonia had been manifested by a party at Athens, and while the Lacedæmonians were apprehensive of an accommodation between the Thebans and Phocians. By Leland and other authors, the date of Isocrates' performance is placed after the sacred war, and even subsequently to the execution of the Amphictyonic decree, which had been passed against the sacrilegious cities of the Phocian district.

Date of Isocrates' Oration.

This calm appeal to the reason of the Greeks, taken in connection with the chances of an unsuccessful struggle against the power of Macedon, had a very considerable effect in preparing their minds for an accommodation. The disposition among the republics, to co-operate with Philip towards the establishment of peace throughout the country, became very general, and was manifested with nothing of the usual republican violence. It does not appear, however, that this personage himself was at all desirous to assume the office which was thus created for him. So little solicitous, indeed, was he to take the lead in settling the troublesome and invidious business of the sacred war, that we have the authority of Demosthenes for saying he invited the Lacedæmonians to charge themselves with its decision, and declared his readiness to submit entirely to their arrangement. What may have been his motives for this moderation, or whether his declarations were really sincere, are points which history has furnished us with no means for determining. It is probable, that he was averse from moving into Greece so long as he had enemies in Thessaly still unsubdued: at all events, he did not proceed to gratify the impatience of his allies in the south, until Halus had surrendered to his arms. That town being garrisoned by Pharsalians, in whom Philip could confide, and the Thessalians at large being devoted to his interests, the warlike Macedonian at length turned his face towards Thermopylæ at the head of an imposing force.

The Phocians, commanded by Phalæcus, the son or brother of their late general, were still in a condition to dispute the pass with Philip, and even to occasion to him considerable delay and loss. Having, however, no confidence in the Athenian government; being suspicious of the designs of Lacedæmon; finding that the Thebans had joined the invader, and that the greater part of Peloponnesus was ready to rise at his nod, they saw the madness of attempting, single-handed, to arrest his progress; and made haste accordingly to profit by the disposition towards mild measures, by which Philip still professed to regulate his conduct. Not daring to entertain the hope that they would be allowed to remain at Phocis, they stipulated with him for leave to emigrate unmolested, and to carry with them their personal property. On these simple conditions, the important military stations of Nicæa, Thronium, and Alponus, were delivered to the king of Macedonia; and Phalæcus immediately after commenced his retreat

The Phocians sue for peace.

towards Peloponnesus, where he found a temporary refuge. Greece was now open to the Macedonians and Thessalians, whose progress in a country, torn by mutual jealousy, occasioned the most painful alarm. The vengeance of Thebes was more dreaded by the Phocians and the Bœotians who had favoured their cause, than the sovereignty of Philip; and it required all the influence and management of this humane ruler to repress the vindictive spirit which actuated his confederates. He succeeded, it is said, in procuring personal safety for all. The higher class of Phocians were content to quit their native soil; whilst the inferior orders, availing themselves of permission to surrender to the king of Macedonia, exclusively, were received, together with their principal towns, into his protection.

Conclusion of the sacred war.

The sacred war was now ended, and the fate of Greece placed almost entirely in the hands of the king of Macedon. The moderation of this sovereign at the period now under review is the most remarkable feature of his character; and whatever may have been the motives whence it sprang, it certainly added not less to his influence as an umpire, than to his reputation as a conqueror. Amidst all the invective of Demosthenes, and the more perplexing partiality of Greek historians, we see clearly that the Macedonian prince, in pursuing the brilliant objects of his ambition, never sacrificed the principles of humanity in the case of a vanquished foe, nor aggravated the sufferings of the unfortunate, whatever might be their rank or condition. His clemency was particularly manifested in the pains which he took to temper the penalty incurred by the sacrilegious Phocians. It was expected, and even demanded of him by his allies, that the Amphictyonic law should be allowed to take its course against that unhappy people. According to that constitution, which all Greece had for centuries acknowledged, though not always, indeed, reduced to practice, the punishment to be awarded should be determined by the Amphictyons alone. But with a sincere desire to promote the ends of justice, and to obtain a milder sentence, as well, perhaps, as in deference to those states which had avowed resistance to the Amphictyonic decrees, on the ground that the judges acted under undue influence, Philip invited a congress of deputies from all the states of Greece.

Absence of Æschines and Demosthenes.

Among the representatives nominated by Athens, were Æschines and Demosthenes; neither of whom, however, found it convenient to attend the congress. The former, about this period, deserted the popular side; while his colleague went over to the party of Phocion, which numbered in its ranks Isocrates, and all the leading characters who exerted themselves for the tranquillity of the republic, and a gradual diminution of democratical power and violence. To take advantage of popular feeling in the meantime, Æschines pretended sickness, that he might be allowed to remain at home; and Demosthenes, to thwart the views of his adversary, declined the appointment with which he was honoured, and kept his station in the assemblies of the people.

The congress appears to have met first at Thermopylæ. The business before them was of the most delicate nature, involving the interests of all Greece, and the life or death of many thousands whose participation in the crime of Phocis had subjected them to the bar of public law. The two main points to which their deliberation would be invited with the greatest earnestness, were, judgment on the Phocians, and a restoration of the funds belonging to the Delphian treasury: and as prejudice, vindictive feelings, and selfish views, actuated most of the deputies then present, it was wisely resolved to come to no determination in the meantime, but to refer these important points to the authority of the Amphictyons to be thereafter assembled.

Philip found his benevolent and liberal intentions in the congress not a little impeded by the unreasonable conduct of his allies, the Thebans and Thessalians. It became necessary therefore to secure, in the second meeting, such a number of votes connected with a different interest, as would check the preponderance of these, and guide their judgment to a more equitable decision. This object seems to have been attained, and partly perhaps by the exertions of Athens, which reappointed her former ministers to represent her on that solemn occasion: but, it must be added that, in regard to the minor details and arrangements arising out of these important transactions, a great degree of obscurity prevails even in the best writers whose works have come down to us.

The contending orators, Æschines and Demosthenes, each giving an account of this interesting meeting, do not give the clear and full information which might be expected. There appears, however, to have been a great deal of discussion and warm debate. According to Æschines some of the Amphictyons, those especially from the smaller republics, were very rude and uneducated men. The rough mountaineers of Œta, who also had a seat in the Amphictyonic council, are said to have exceeded the Thebans themselves, in barbarous fanaticism and vindictive demands; insisting that, in order to appease the anger of the gods against the Greeks, the whole Phocian people should be put to death, by being precipitated from the cliffs of the sacred hills. Against such extreme intemperance the measures already taken would afford a main security: the most guilty or at least the most distinguished of that devoted nation having submitted to a voluntary exile, and thereby removed themselves from the grasp of their persecutors. Nor did the ferocious bigotry which impelled the Œtæans to crave the blood of their countrymen actuate the majority of the congress. On the contrary, the decree which was finally passed by the Amphictyons, and sanctioned by the representatives of the Grecian states, although denouncing a punishment that cannot fail to appear excessive in the eyes of a modern reader, was yet much more moderate than the stern spirit of the law required in the case of a sacrilegious robbery. This celebrated document is given at length by

Cruel demands made in the Amphictyonic council.

Decree against the Phocians.

several authors; and it was in substance as follows: that the Phocians should, in the first place, forfeit all the rights which had belonged to them as federal members of the Amphictyonic council; that the three principal cities of Phocis should be dismantled, and all the other towns destroyed; that the people should live in villages not less than a furlong apart from one another, and none consisting of more than fifty houses; that they should surrender all their heavy armour and their horses, and not be allowed to possess any until the debt to the god should be fully repaid; and that, in order to liquidate the said debt, a rent of sixty talents yearly should be assessed upon the Phocian lands.

The vote of which the Phocians were thus deprived was enforced on Philip by a decision of the Amphictyonic assembly. The greater part of the Greeks viewed this sovereign as the protector of their civil and political rights, the avenger of the gods, and the restorer of natural piety. He was besides descended from Hercules, an advantage which weighed much with this superstitious people, and he was known to set a high value on the rank of an Amphictyon, and the honour of directing in the affairs of the Grecian confederacy. The double vote, therefore, formerly exercised by Phocis was now transferred to the king of Macedon and his successors for ever.

Proceedings of Philip.

The proceedings of Philip as arbiter of the disputes so long pending between Thebes and the Phocians, although characterized by much clemency and moderation, and particularly by the absence of all personal animosity against those who had the most exposed themselves to his resentment, excited at Athens an unaccountable degree of alarm, jealousy, and contention. A violent ebullition of democratic fury succeeded the news, either of Philip's advance through the straits, or of his preponderance in the Amphictyonic council, and sundry precipitate resolutions were adopted in the warmth of the moment, by the leaders of the popular party, which would infallibly have drawn on them the power of Macedon and the allied Amphictyons, had they not been recalled to their reason by a letter, in which he pointed out the folly and injustice of their intentions. We are inclined to think the commotion now spoken of was occasioned by the appearance of the Macedonians after passing Thermopylæ, and not by the judgment pronounced on the Phocians. In truth, the Athenians were so much disobliged by the refusal of Phalæcus to put into their hands the three towns which they wished to garrison, as the means of commanding the straits, that they had ceased to promote the Phocian interest, or even to maintain the friendly relations to which they were bound by the terms of the treaty subsisting between them; on which account the penalty inflicted on the violators of the Delphian repository could not, of itself, give them any uneasiness, nor drive them to those hasty determinations which ensued upon the arrival of their messenger.

It happened that their messenger, named Dercyllus, made his appearance at Athens when the people were assembled in Piræus to transact public business; and such was the effect of his tidings on

their inflammable and vacillating minds, that a decree was instantly voted, commanding all free inhabitants of Attica to remove without delay their families from the country into some one of the fortified towns, and that these places should be immediately put into the best state of defence. Nay, the alarmed and incensed multitude farther decreed, that a sacrifice should be instantly offered up to Hercules, according to the established ceremony usually observed in the commencement of a new war.

The result favourable to peace.

The epistle from Philip and the return of reflection, as well, perhaps, as their total inability to oppose any effectual resistance to the measures now in progress, prevented the Athenian populace from having recourse to actual hostilities. The congress was accordingly held as already described, first, at Thermopylæ and afterwards, as is commonly believed, at Delphi; at which latter place the final judgment of the Amphictyons and their assessors was delivered, for re-establishing the religious peace and political tranquillity of the Grecian states.

This weighty affair being settled, and the utmost efforts having been employed in behalf of the unfortunate outcasts of Phocis, Philip returned home, carrying with him the gratitude and respect of the whole Greek nation, if we except the chiefs of the popular faction and their deluded followers in the city of Athens. To this the testimony of Demosthenes himself is so strong and explicit as to stand in need of no corroboration. In his oration "On the Crown," he admits that even at Thebes the voice of those prevailed, who at the time joined the Thessalians in extolling Philip as their friend, benefactor, and preserver: and throughout Greece the people at large rejoiced in the peace, for which they readily acknowledged themselves indebted to the king of Macedon. With this warrant, the praise bestowed by Diodorus, on the same occasion, will be more easily admitted. "Philip," says that historian,[1] "after concurring with the Amphictyons in their choice for the common welfare of Greece, providing means for carrying them into execution, and conciliating good will on all sides by his humanity and affability, returned into his kingdom, bearing with him the glory of piety, added to the fame of military talents and bravery; in possession of a popularity which gave him great advantage for the future extension of his power."

Having entered so minutely into the transactions of Philip's reign as connected with that progress of events which gave him the supremacy over Greece, we must confine ourselves to a more general outline of the subsequent part of his life. The people of Athens, violent only in their speeches and resolutions, continued to impeach his conduct, excite enemies against his person and government, and prosecute such individuals as were thought to favour his designs or to enjoy his good opinion. It was at this period that Demosthenes pronounced the most splendid of his orations against that monarch, and concerted

Conduct of Athens.

[1] Lib. xvi. c. lx.

measures for the expulsion from Athens of all the creatures of Macedon, as well indeed as of all who did not concur in the intemperate counsels which it pleased him so much to recommend to the degenerate and credulous multitude over whom he presided. It was however in vain for Demosthenes to harangue, or for Chares to practise intrigue. The democratical party in Greece was now too weak to oppose the influence of Philip's name, or to kindle a war among the exhausted republics which had so lately acknowledged the beneficial interposition of that popular monarch. The smaller commonwealths, disgusted with the imperious conduct of their more powerful neighbours, who in their turn had domineered over the rest, and perceiving clearly that Athens, Thebes, and Lacedæmon were no longer able to maintain their own independence, or to extend protection to their allies, gladly committed to Macedon that tutelary ascendancy which had so long been an object of ambition and contest among the Greeks themselves, and which had only passed from one to another to the ruin of the whole. All Peloponnesus courted the alliance of Philip. The Messenians and Argians sent deputies to sue for his countenance, declining the offer of Athenian protection, and treating with neglect the specious arguments of Demosthenes against Macedonian influence.

We pass over the political intrigues and prosecutions which engaged the attention of Athens for some time after the conclusion of the sacred wars, and proceed to accompany Philip to Macedon. Aristotle was now invited to the court of the Macedonian king, and to him was committed the important charge of instructing the heir of the crown. Receiving from the father, as the object and motive of his anxiety to have his son well educated, this sole direction "that he may learn to avoid those errors which I have committed and of which I now repent." To engage him more effectually to a faithful and diligent discharge of this great trust, he loaded the philosopher with presents, worthy at once of the generosity of the giver, and the distinguished merit of him upon whom they were conferred. He caused Stagira, the city which gave birth to the sage, and which had shared the fate of all the Olynthian towns, to be carefully rebuilt; and the inhabitants who were at that time slaves or fugitives to be restored to their original settlements, and to enjoy their former privileges. In addition to this he made a grant of land for a spacious park, laid out in shady walks and ornamented with seats and statues of marble, for the use of the peripatetic philosophers, who were there induced to pursue those studies which have given so much celebrity to this sect, and immortalized the name of their ingenious founder.

Aristotle at court.

B. C. 342.

From the unsettled nature of the surrounding governments, and perhaps, too, from the active character of his own mind, Philip found it necessary to lead an army into eastern Thrace, where a party, adhering to Cersobleptes, was attempting to undermine the influence of Macedon, and to restore that of Athens. The result of this expedition was triumphant to the arms of the Macedonians, and added to

Expedition into Thrace.

their dominions the Grecian townships on the Thracian coast. Provoked, it is said, by Athenian intrigue among the savage tribes which inhabited the shores of the Danube, or desirous to chastise the irregular ambition of those northern hordes which occupied the extreme boundaries of his dominions, Philip felt himself induced to hazard a campaign in the Scythian wilds, at that time the region of fancy, and peopled by chimæras springing from the lively imagination of the Greeks. The details of this interesting expedition are irrecoverably lost. It is certain, however, that the Macedonians, overtaken by an early winter, found the roads towards their own country so completely blocked up with snow, that it was impossible to send even a single messenger to announce their state or to solicit assistance. It was reported in Greece that Philip had been seized with a severe illness, and even that he was dead; but his perseverence and constitution surmounted the numerous difficulties with which he was beset, and on the return of spring, he fought his way back into his own kingdom. It is of this memorable invasion that Demosthenes speaks, when he says that "in quest of glory, Philip freely met all kinds of hardship and danger in every shape; undismayed by wounds, unappalled by sickness, patient under confinement by snow, he was contented to pass the winter, living upon millet and rye, in a Thracian cellar." B.C. 339.

Cruise of the Athenians.

The Athenians taking advantage of Philip's absence in Scythia, fitted out ships to cruise in the Ægæan, with the view of distressing the commercial towns which were in alliance with Macedon, and also of inducing such of them as were not stedfast in their political attachment, to accept the protection of Athens, and to relinquish that which they now found so little efficient. Succeeding in this plundering and treacherous warfare beyond their utmost expectation, the popular party under Demosthenes, not only defended the piratical conduct of their commander, who, in open defiance of a positive treaty, was everywhere levying contributions upon the maritime states in alliance with Macedon, but even proceeded so far as to concert measures for a confederacy of the leading states of Greece; in order, if possible, to repress the formidable power of Philip, and recover that consequence which they had formerly possessed among the inferior republics of Peloponnesus. With this view Demosthenes pronounced his third Philippic; an oration which produced greater effect by the eloquence which pervaded it, than by the justice of the cause which it professed to advocate, or by the weight of the reasons upon which that cause was sustained.

Too impatient to wait for a regular declaration of war, the sovereign multitude at Athens, having Demosthenes now for their political chief as well as apologist, sent positive orders to their commander on the Thracian station to act against Macedonia, whenever a convenient opportunity might be found. Diopithes, accordingly, proceeded to take by storm two Grecian towns of the Macedonian alliance, and

sent as prisoners into the Athenian colony of Chersonesus, all the inhabitants who had escaped the sword. Amphilicus, too, a Macedonian of rank, who was commissioned to remonstrate against these hostile proceedings, and empowered to negotiate for the release of the captives, was himself thrown into prison, whence he was not set free till a ransom was paid of nine talents, or near two thousand pounds sterling. Nor were the admirals, Callias and Aristodemus, less busy at sea. They stopped all ships bound to a Macedonian port, or to such as were in alliance with that country; condemned all on board as enemies to the Athenian people, and sold them for slaves: and when complaints were made by Philip's ministers of these gross infractions of a subsisting treaty, and the matter laid before the ruling faction at Athens, decrees were immediately passed to sanction everything that had been done, and to convey their approbation to the commanders under whose direction hostilities were carried on.

Embargo laid upon Macedonian ships.

To prepare for the conflict with Macedon, which such irritating policy could not fail sooner or later to produce, Demosthenes entered into correspondence with the Persian government, which had also begun to tremble at the ambitious views of Philip; and so well did he know how to increase and turn to his own advantage the apprehensions of that effeminate court, that a considerable sum of money was remitted to him for the purpose of aiding the Grecian confederacy against their powerful neighbour. By liberal conduct towards Eubœa, also, the confidence of that island was once more recovered in favour of Athens. The next object of the great orator was to secure a strong footing in Byzantium, and some other towns, in the entrance to the Euxine; and thereby at once to effect some commercial advantages, and to establish a readier intercourse with the satraps of Persia. In Perinthus, Selymbria, and the city just named, the interests of Athens, aided by the personal pleadings of Demosthenes, obtained a decided preponderancy; and thus, both in Europe and in Asia, a formidable coalition was arrayed against Philip, who, in the meanwhile, was still detained amid the snows of Scythia.

Athenian correspondence with the Persians.

As a biographical anecdote, it is not unworthy of mention, that when the Macedonians were returning from their Scythian expedition, encumbered with the bulky spoil which they had taken from the enemy, and which consisted of arms, chariots, and 20,000 mares, they were attacked in a defile of the Mæsian mountains, by a people called Triballi, who gained so much by the suddenness of their onset that they had nearly discomfited the veteran troops of Philip before it was possible for them to recover from their confusion. In this imminent hazard, the king rushed into the middle of his army, encouraged his soldiers, restoring order, and fighting with the most desperate valour, till at length his horse sunk under him covered with wounds, and he himself fell senseless on the ground, having his thigh pierced with a spear. The young prince Alexander, who was also on this trying occasion performing actions of the most determined bravery, flew with

the noble and gallant attendants who were fighting at his side, to rescue his father, who was now at the mercy of the enemy. He himself covered him with his shield; the barbarians were driven back, and the king was removed from the tumult to a place of safety. Philip dangerously wounded.

Philip's wound occasioned a lameness which continued to affect him through life. He is said to have borne it impatiently; a circumstance which led his son to address to him on one occasion the good-humoured query—"How can you, Sir, be displeased at an accident, which at every step you take recalls your valour to your remembrance?"



Alexander the Great.

Upon his return to Macedonia, Philip directed his forces against Perinthus and others of the Hellespontine cities, which, during his absence, had accepted the protection of Athens; but being deficient in naval strength, and having to sustain the opposition of several maritime states on both sides of the Ægæan, he found it expedient to desist from his undertaking. This disappointment to the Macedonian ruler was unquestionably effected by Demosthenes, who was now at the head of affairs in Athens. Regardless of the treaty which bound the republic in amity with that prince, the great orator employed all the means in his power to annoy Philip, both in his own territory and in those of his allies. He spared no pains, and grudged no sacrifice either of principle or personal consistency, that he might accomplish the two leading objects of his administration, to surround Attica with friends, and Macedonia with enemies.

Greece was again on the eve of being thrown into confusion by an act of sacrilege on the part of the people of Amphissa, who were accused of using the land consecrated to Apollo, not only for feeding their flocks, but even for the purposes of tillage. The matter being referred to the Amphictyons, in whose assembly both Demosthenes and Æschines now occupied seats as Athenian representatives, the Amphissians were punished with a fine, and by the banishment of some of their more guilty citizens. This decision, however, did not at once secure public tranquillity. The war-party at Athens encouraged the men of Amphissa to set at nought the sentence of the most solemn tribunal of their country, and oppose the execution of it by force of arms; and thus another sacred war would have instantly ravaged the finest portion of Greece, had not the designs of the Athenians been in the mean time defeated by the ascendancy of more pacific counsels, and particularly by the election of Philip to be general of the Amphictyons. This event, at least, if it did not altogether prevent an appeal to arms, gave a different character to the People of Amphissa accused of sacrilege.

Philip elected general of the Amphictyons.

hostilities which ensued, and led to a result which Demosthenes and his friends could not have anticipated.



Amphissa.

Revolt of the people of Amphissa.

Whilst the Amphissians were in open rebellion against the whole Greek nation, and setting at defiance the judgment of this supreme court, the popular faction of Athens, by whom that insignificant people were excited to these irregular and violent proceedings, was most actively employed in forming a confederacy of the principal states and their allies against the king of Macedonia. Thebes had been induced to unite with her ancient enemy in this coalition; and Corinth, long disused to martial exercises, and insensible to military renown, showed so much spirit in proposing to encounter the host of Philip, that Diogenes, who was then residing within her walls, ridiculed her unwonted exertions by an incessant rolling of his tub from one spot to another. Being asked why he put himself to this uncommon toil, the philosopher replied, "that for once he would avoid the imputation of singularity, and so would not be the only person in Corinth not absurdly employed."

It was impossible that Philip could be ignorant of the intrigues which Demosthenes was thus practising against his interests, and of the positive injuries sustained by his commerce from the incessant hostility of the Athenian cruisers. It was not yet, however, advisable to repel force by force, nor to avenge upon the people of Athens the unprincipled infraction of a treaty which had been solicited by themselves. Invited by the Amphictyons, he joined them at Thermopylæ, where, in virtue of the office to which he had been lately raised, he issued requisitions to the several Amphictyonic states, to send forth-

with their contingent of troops to serve in the war, about to be waged under his command, with the refractory people of Amphissa.

The crisis was now arrived, when the war-party at Athens would find themselves compelled either to relinquish their favourite project against Philip, or to oppose themselves to the Amphictyonic council. They chose the latter. Having ten thousand mercenary troops at their command, they sent them to assist the Amphissians in the conflict with the confederate army; and in this way lifted their hands against the constitution of the great Grecian republic, in a cause which, even if it had been successful, would only have entailed disgrace upon their politics. The Athenians oppose the Amphictyonic Council.

Of the actual warfare which followed, no details have reached modern times. It is, notwithstanding, evident that the talents of Philip obtained a complete victory over the Amphissians and their allies, and reduced them, in consequence, to a speedy and unconditional submission to the power of the Amphictyons; and it is further manifest that this wise monarch exerted all the influence which belonged to his high rank and successful services, to alleviate as much as possible the heavy penalty denounced against his foes.

The result of this insurrectionary movement having proved injurious to Demosthenes and his party, the ulterior views upon which all the recent measures had been made to bear were becoming more and more impracticable. No means were left untried to accomplish the great object of a confederacy to depress the influence of Philip. To engage his attention in the meanwhile, two embassies were sent, complaining of his hostile proceedings, and reminding him of the treaty which subsisted between Macedonia and Athens; whilst emissaries were actively employed at Thebes and other neutral states, craving co-operation in the war which the Athenians were preparing to direct against the general of the Amphictyons. The reply of the king to one of the embassies is worthy of a place even in this outline of his transactions. It was worded as follows: "Philip king of the Macedonians to the Athenian council and people, greeting: What your disposition towards me has been from the beginning, I am not ignorant, nor with what earnestness you have endeavoured to gain the Thessalians, the Thebans, and the rest of the Bœotians to your party. But now you find them too wise to submit their interests to your direction, you change your course and send ministers with a herald to me to admonish me of the treaty, and demand a truce; having in truth been injured by me in nothing. Nevertheless, I have heard your ambassadors, and I consent to all your desires, nor shall I take any step against you, if dismissing those who advise you ill, you consign them to their deserved ignominy.—So may you prosper." Letter of Philip to the Athenians.

Both Philip and the Athenians exerted themselves to the utmost to gain the Thebans. The democratical form of government which now prevailed among this people afforded ample scope for the eloquence of Demosthenes, who, at length, had the satisfaction of securing them

for his purpose, as allies of Athens. The troops of the confederacy were soon after set in motion, and a large body of Athenian horse and foot were quartered in Thebes, as being nearer than their own city to the expected scene of hostilities: and such was the zeal of the sluggish Bœotians, that to accommodate their allies with a comfortable residence in their houses, they themselves marched out and encamped in the fields.

Philip occupies Elateia.

Amidst these demonstrations, the king of Macedonia, still holding his place at the head of the Amphictyonic contingents, had contented himself with occupying Elateia, a town of great importance as connected with the command of the Thermopylæan pass, and consequently with the safety of the small army whose movements he continued to direct.

It was already drawing towards the close of the year, when no steps had yet been taken by the Athenians to moderate their desire for war. Philip continued in Phocis with his troops; and knowing that there was a large party, both at Athens and Thebes, who deprecated the fatal tendency of the measures pursued by the popular leaders, he was, perhaps, not yet entirely destitute of hope that peace might be preserved. To prevent, however, all possibility of reconciliation, the united forces of Thebes and Athens broke up their encampment, and proceeded forthwith to occupy a position on the Bœotian frontier, a few miles distant from Elateia. It even appears that the sword was immediately drawn by these ardent republicans, and that one or two skirmishes, attended with no material result on either side, were provoked by them, in order to prove their arms, before winter should compel them to quit the field, and retire from the presence of their enemy.

Notwithstanding all that had passed in the council, and in the camp, among the partisans of Demosthenes; even after armies were raised and blood was actually shed in battle, Philip still thought it became him, as general of the Amphictyonic confederacy, to make one more effort to preserve the tranquillity of his constituents, and to ward off the dreadful calamity which seemed to hang over Greece. He did not, therefore, allow the season of military rest to pass by without assuring the Thebans and Athenians of his continued desire for peace, and of his great reluctance to have recourse to extremities. These professions, however, if sincere, had an effect on the popular mind, precisely the opposite of what was intended. The moderation

Defiance of the Athenians.

of Philip was ascribed to his fears; and the Athenian multitude, confident in their own strength, and in the number of their allies, loudly proclaimed defiance, and declared that no treaty should be entered into with the king of Macedon. The Thebans listened to the pacific proposals of the great Amphictyon, with more calmness and deliberation. They even wavered in their resolution with regard to the steps which they had already taken, and still more in relation to the hazardous policy upon which they were about to commence a cam-

paign against the most experienced soldier of the age; but Demosthenes, who was made acquainted with their thoughts, flew to Thebes, ascended the tribunal, and addressing himself to the assembled people, swore by Minerva, "that if any one should dare to say that peace ought to be made with Philip, he would, himself, seize him by the hair, and drag him to prison." He intimidated the pacific and roused the warlike; and had, at length, the triumph of counteracting by his eloquence, all the effects of sober reasoning, and of the soundest political views of the Theban public.

The allies send their contingents.

Nor were the exertions of this distinguished person either smaller or less successful in preparing an army for the field. From the Eubœans, Megareans, Corinthians, Achaians, Corcyræans, Leucadians, Acarnanians, and the Athenians, he collected a mercenary force of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse; besides a liberal supply of money, of which the amount is not exactly known. The Bœotian heavy-armed troops are reckoned at fourteen thousand. Of the Athenians, the number is not anywhere given; but it is understood that the total amount of the confederate army, assembled at the instance of Demosthenes, and ready to contend for the empire of Greece, was not less than fifty thousand.

In his choice of commanders for this important war, Demosthenes was less successful than he had been in the enlistment of soldiers. Having little confidence in the ability of Chares, who had received a variety of defeats, but who was still too great a favourite with the multitude to be entirely superseded, he resolved to divide the chief command amongst several generals, and even to intrust a portion of it to a veteran Theban. On the part of the Athenians, Lysicles and the above-named commanders assumed the main direction, and appear to have formed the array of battle with considerable skill, according to the ground which they occupied, and the probable designs of their formidable antagonist.

Battle of Chæronea. B. C. 338.

Philip led to the field of Chæronea upwards of thirty thousand men, the greater part of whom belonged to the Amphictyonic states. Alexander, now about eighteen years of age, assisted his father in performing the arduous duties of general-in-chief, and is said to have displayed not less valour, whilst fighting hand to hand with the enemy, than consummate knowledge of tactics in directing the movements of the brave Thessalian cavalry which was placed under his immediate command, and which contributed essentially to the fortune of the day.

The issue of this important struggle is well known. Neither courage nor perseverance could balance, in favour of Athens, the great advantage of military talent which belonged to the side of the Amphictyons. The genius of Philip and Alexander bore down the obstinate valour of Thebes, and checked the fiery impetuosity of Athens; and, after a most sanguinary conflict, drove the confederates from the field, covered with the bodies of their bravest troops, as well

as of the noblest of their youth, who had sworn never to yield. The Athenian confederacy was totally annihilated, and the glory of Grecian independence was for ever extinguished on the plain of Chæronea.

The gossip of biographers has made itself very busy in repeating anecdotes of Philip's immoderate levity on the night succeeding the battle; nor has it spared the cowardice of Demosthenes during the heat of the conflict, in which his violent measures had involved so many brave men. That the Macedonian king indulged too freely in the festive banquet after the toils of that eventful day; and that Demosthenes, to facilitate his escape, threw away his shield and fled, may be historically true; but it is of more importance to us to note the political effects of the victory at Chæronea, and to record its consequences in relation to the subsequent proceedings of Philip.



Chæronea.

With that rare humanity and self-command, which distinguished the character of this warlike prince, he gave liberty to all the prisoners of war, and even sent to Athens the bodies of the slain, that they might be interred with that honour and respect, which were due to the remains of gallant men. To soothe the Athenians, and to confirm his assurances of pacific views towards them, he appointed his own son, and Antipater his favourite councillor, to repair to their city, now disturbed by faction, and dreading the full weight of the vengeance which the popular party had taken so much pains to provoke. He invited them, in short, to renew the treaty which they had so shamefully violated, and to enjoy again the blessings of peace, which they so little knew how to value.

Conduct of Demochares.

It is said, that among the commissioners sent to the king of Macedon to ratify the treaty, there was one Demochares, an excessively rude character, and at the same time, one who affected excessive freedom of speech. When admitted to an audience before taking leave, Philip,

in a very obliging manner, asked the embassy if there was anything particular in which he could further gratify the Athenians. "Yes," cried Democharès, "hang thyself." The indignation of all who witnessed this unpardonable rudeness was loud and violent; but the king, with a very proper feeling of contempt for this brutal individual, silenced their demands for punishment, by exclaiming, "Let the ridiculous brawler depart unmolested." And addressing himself to the other ambassadors, he said, "Go, tell your countrymen that they who can utter such outrages, are much less inclined to peace and moderation than he who can forgive them."

We are now approaching the last public transaction in the life of Philip. Peace having been restored to the Greeks, their thoughts were turned by him to the general enemy of their country, the king of Persia; and inducements were held out to the several states of Greece, to enter into a confederacy against that powerful monarch. The motives which influenced the Macedonian in this undertaking were not, perhaps, well understood at the time, and certainly have not been distinctly recorded by any contemporary historian. Diodorus, in the following terms, narrates the circumstances merely in which the sentiments of that prince, as well as the Grecian confederacy, were expressed. "Philip, the king, encouraged by his victory at Chæronea, by which the most renowned states had been checked and confounded, was ambitious of becoming the military commander and head of the Greek nation. He declared, therefore, his intention of carrying war, in the common cause of the Greeks, against the Persians. A disposition to concur in his purpose, and to attach themselves to him, as their chief, pervaded the Grecian people. Communicating then with all, individuals as well as States, in a manner to conciliate favour, he expressed his desire of meeting the nation in congress, to concert measures for the great object in view, which accordingly met at Corinth. This explanation of his intentions excited great hopes, and so produced the desired concurrence, that at length the Greeks elected him generalissimo of their confederated powers. Great preparations for the Persian war were put forward, and the proportion of troops to be furnished by every state was calculated and determined."

Confederation against the Persians.

It is recorded that more than two hundred thousand men were raised for this magnificent expedition against the sovereign of western Asia. But Philip was not destined to lead these troops in the victorious career which they then anticipated, and which Alexander afterwards so fully realized. His last military exploit was already performed.

Upon his return to Macedon, Philip had given his only daughter in marriage to Alexander, the king of Epirus, and was now indulging in those festivities with which royal nuptials are usually accompanied, when a young man, who had thought himself injured or slighted by the king, plunged a dagger into his bosom, and laid him lifeless at his feet. The murderer, whose name was Pausanias, instantly fled towards the

B. C. 336.

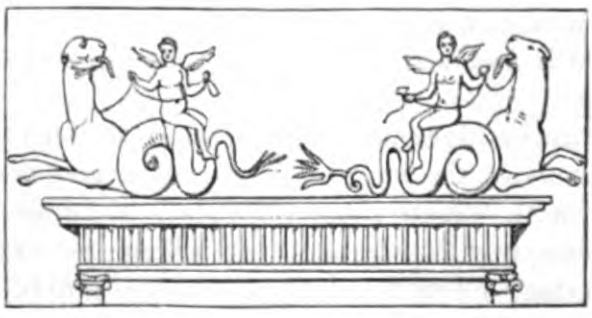
Assassination of Philip.

gates of the city, where a chariot was ready to convey him to a place of safety; but he was overtaken by some of the king's attendants, who, more desirous to revenge the deed than to ascertain the motives which had led to it, despatched the guilty youth with innumerable wounds.

Conjecture has assigned various reasons, and suggested a variety of views, to account for this atrocious crime; and several of these, as might be expected, have had a reference to the vindictive temper of Olympias, the queen, who had, the preceding year, been repudiated, to make way for a more youthful consort, Cleopatra, the daughter of Attalus, one of Philip's generals. The conduct of Olympias, upon hearing of the death of Philip, if it has been at all fairly reported, affords but too much countenance to the suspicions which were entertained with respect to the share which she had in inflaming the resentment of Pausanius, and even in directing it against the life of the king. The death of the assassin placed a seal on all the secrets connected with his bloody enterprise; and the precise share, accordingly, which any of the leading characters of Macedon, Athens, or Persia, may have had in its contrivance or execution, must for ever remain undetermined.

His character by Diodorus.

"Thus," says Diodorus, after relating the circumstances of Philip's murder, "thus fell the greatest potentate of his time. With very small resources in his outset, he acquired the most powerful monarchy that ever existed among the Greeks. His great success arose less from the force of his arms and the greatness of his victories, than from his extraordinary talent for reasoning and conversation, and from his obliging and affable disposition towards every class of men. He esteemed mere physical courage and physical strength in the field as among the lowest qualities in a superior officer. He set an almost exclusive value on military science, as distinguished from personal prowess, and not less on the talent of conversing, persuading, and conciliating those over whom a general might be appointed to preside. Upon these last he founded the only favourable opinion which he entertained of himself; for, he was wont to remark, the merit of success in battle he could only share with those under him, whereas the victories he gained by argument, affability, and kindness, were all his own."





CHAPTER VIII.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

FROM B. C. 336 TO B. C. 323.

Accession of Alexander to the throne. B. C. 336.

WE concluded our biography of Philip with a brief account of his death, as inflicted by the hand of Pausanias. As the assassin was almost instantly despatched, no certain information was obtained, either with respect to the motives which could induce so detestable an act, or as to the number and quality of the persons who were privy to the intention of perpetrating it. The repudiation of Olympias, and the second nuptials, for which that event paved the way, are supposed by some writers to have so deeply irritated the mind of Alexander and of his mother as to have prepared them to take a part in the vindictive counsels of the young Pausanias, and even to have encouraged him in his meditated attack on the person of the king. There is no good reason, however, for admitting the operation of views and motives so highly discreditable to the character of the Macedonian conqueror. It is, on the contrary, much more probable that the murder of Philip was connected with a conspiracy, of which the object was to change the line

B. C. 336. of succession, and to transfer the crown, under the sanction of the Persian monarch, to Amyntas, the son of Antiochus; a member of that branch of the royal family which had formerly laid claim to the throne.

Alexander's generosity and sagacity.

Whilst these things are confessedly matters of mere conjecture, it is clear that the behaviour of Alexander was equally generous and noble on his accession to the kingdom, thus unexpectedly deprived of that rare wisdom and courage by which its affairs had been so long directed. No feeling of animosity, no deed of violence, stained the commencement of the brilliant career which he was about to run. The able and faithful men who had served his father in the cabinet or in the field, were retained by him in their several offices. Neither minister nor general was displaced; and no one had the slightest reason to imagine that Alexander cherished a grudge or remembered an injury, even where he had just ground of complaint; and in cases, too, where measures of severity could only have been regarded as salutary examples or merited punishment. His forgiveness and confidence were extended to all who had candour enough to acknowledge their misdoings, and generosity sufficient in their own hearts to rely on the exercise of it in that of their prince. Even Alexander, the son of Aëropus, who had shared in the treasonable counsels of Amyntas, was received into favour and employed in offices of trust, merely because he showed a seasonable interest in the rising fortunes of his royal kinsman, and confided his life to the noble clemency which marked his character. The first step he took was to recal from exile the young friends, who, on his account, had incurred the anger or suspicions of Philip; and when we find among these the names of Harpalus, Laomedon, Nearchus, and Ptolemy, son of Lagus, we shall be ready to do justice not less to his benevolence than to his singular discernment. It is remarked, however, that no new man, no personal favourite, no person strange to the army or people of Macedonia, was raised, in the beginning of the new reign, to any place of power, honour, or responsibility.

According to the custom of his country, Alexander was conducted with much military pomp to the throne, immediately after his father had expired, and consequently while the most painful apprehensions still prevailed concerning the political motives which might have occasioned that catastrophe. When presented to the assembled Macedonians, the young monarch, relying not less on the popularity of the late government than on the strength of his own character, assured them that no change would take place injurious to their interests or reputation. "The king's name is changed," said he, "but the king, you shall find, remains the same:" a pledge which he fully redeemed, not only by retaining his father's friends, and pursuing his father's system, but by surpassing, in the course of his splendid victories, the most exalted ideas that the other ever entertained of Asiatic conquest and of Macedonian ascendancy.

Noble remark of Alexander.

The confidence and sanguine hopes of Alexander were not, however, we may presume, widely spread among the most experienced and in-

telligent of his followers. The power acquired by the late king had excited no small degree of envy and dislike in the minds of the democratical leaders at Athens, and had awakened in some of the other states a lively apprehension that their independence could not fail to be exposed to hazard by the predominating influence of their ambitious neighbour. The sceptre of western Asia, too, was at that period swayed by a sovereign who had already gained some reputation as a soldier; and who, by his negotiations with the secret enemies of Philip, had afforded ample proof that he was acquainted not only with the quarter whence danger was to be feared, but also with the most effectual means by which it might be averted. The accession of a young king, moreover, encouraged the hopes and favoured the intrigues of all who wished to humble the power of Macedon: and we find, accordingly, that, in concert with the faction of which Demosthenes was the head, the political agents of Darius were everywhere creating such obstacles to the invasion of Asia by the confederated Greeks as no genius inferior to that which now directed their arms could have successfully opposed and overcome. The rapidity and decision which characterised all the movements of Alexander, were fully required to baffle the designs which were now openly contemplated on both sides of the Ægæan: and when he did at length take the field to accomplish the arduous task which he inherited with his father's crown, he found greater opposition to surmount, on the part of the Greeks, than on that of the barbarians. B. C. 336.

Political and military position of Persia.

The first attention of the new government was directed to Thessaly, the oldest and most important ally of Macedonia. There the ambassadors of Alexander had the satisfaction to find on all hands the utmost willingness to continue the friendly relations which had, during the reign of Philip, subsisted between the two powers; and, accordingly, the combined civil and military authority which had been exercised by the father, was, with equal confidence and alacrity, extended to the son. Nor was this all; for the trusty Thessalians farther assured the successor of Philip, that they would exert themselves to the utmost in order to secure his succession also to the chief command of the Grecian army destined to act against the Persians; an appointment which they were well aware could not but gratify the ambition and give play to the warlike spirit of their young protector.

Having secured the good-will and co-operation of his immediate neighbours, Alexander proceeded to Thermopylæ, where the Amphictyonic council was assembled, in which he was readily allowed or invited to occupy the seat to which his father had been raised as the head of that august body. The next step was to obtain the office of generalissimo of the combined army, an object on which it is natural to suppose he set a much higher value than on his mere civil rank among the Amphictyons, and which, moreover, he had the best reason for believing was meant to be bestowed elsewhere, if not altogether abolished. Opposition on the part of Athens could not be concealed; for it was

Alexander at the Amphictyonic Council.

B. C. 336. not without much difficulty that the democratical faction in that city could be induced to pay to the king of Macedonia the customary and very simple compliment of sending an embassy to congratulate him on his accession, and to express their readiness to renew with him the treaties into which they had entered with his father.

In due time, a congress of the Grecian states was announced for consulting on their common affairs, and for deciding on measures relative to the projected invasion of Asia. The place chosen for this important congress was Corinth, a situation which recommended itself both by its local convenience to those within as well as to those without the isthmus; its distance from Macedon was also calculated to remove all apprehension of improper interference with the freedom of election. Arrian, whose narrative commences with this occurrence, briefly informs us that Alexander, on his accession to the throne, marched into Peloponnesus, where, in a grand council of the Greeks, he requested to be made general of the intended expedition against the Persians; and that this request was granted by all but the Lacedæmonians, who alleged that they were bound by an ancient custom, handed down from their ancestors, to yield obedience to none, but rather to claim the command of whatever forces should be sent by Greece to serve in foreign countries. It is certain, at all events, that the king of Macedonia was chosen by a large majority of the republics; the opposition of Sparta having no other effect than to make manifest her pride and her weakness, and to place on record the impotent jealousy towards the successor of Philip which she could no longer suppress. The dissent of this celebrated commonwealth answered perhaps another purpose. It showed that deliberation was free, and suffrage uncontrolled; a state of things altogether irreconcileable with the assertion of Plutarch, that the royal candidate carried with him an overwhelming force into Peloponnesus, and thereby rendered certain his election to the high office which he affected to solicit.

Elected generalissimo of the Greeks.

Whatever might be the difference of opinion as to the wisdom of confiding to a youth, not more than twenty years of age, one of the most important expeditions ever meditated by the Grecian states, there seems to have been perfect unanimity with regard to the expediency of the war itself. Asia had long been a favourite field of adventure to the enterprising republics of Greece; and events comparatively recent had enlisted against the Persians, the powerful passions of jealousy, fear, and revenge. As soon, therefore, as the assembly at Corinth was dissolved, preparations were resumed for the armament of which Alexander was appointed to guide the motions, whilst he himself, after having effected the object of his journey into the south, returned home to equip his hardy Macedonians for the numerous perils and toils into which he had resolved to conduct them.

Warlike preparations of Alexander.

The intrigues of Demosthenes, meantime, and the restless disposition of the barbarous tribes by whom the dominions of Alexander were surrounded, had prepared a field in which to try his troops before he

should cross over into Asia. In the spring of the year, when he was preparing to assemble his army for the great expedition, the young generalissimo was informed that his own kingdom was threatened with an assault on three different points at once: on the west by the Illyrians, on the north by the Triballians and other Thracians, and on the east by that ambiguous class of men who united in their characters the qualities of merchantmen and pirates, and infested during troublesome times the whole of the Ægæan sea. This intelligence roused the active spirit of Alexander, who, leaving the defence of his western borders to Parmenio, hastened with a body of forces against the freebooters and revolted Greeks who dwelt on the coast; and, coming upon them suddenly, he not only defeated their attempts on some of his ports and strongholds along the shore, but forced them to take refuge in the mountains, among their barbarian allies. The ardent genius of the king impelled him to pursue the fugitives even into the rocky defences of Mount Hæmus, and to engage in a species of warfare which was altogether new, even to the veterans who had followed the fortunes of Philip. B. C. 336.

Reduces Thrace.

Arrian, who takes pleasure in narrating the exploits and contrivances of his military hero, gives a detailed account of the battle, which took place in the wild district where Alexander overtook his enemies. The barbarians, he informs us, seized the tops of the mountains, and occupied the only pass through which the Macedonians could advance, with the firm determination of preventing their further progress. Placing themselves on the summit of a rapid declivity, where the road was confined on either side by lofty precipices, the insurgents formed their chariots in front, so as either to use them as a rampart against the attack of the phalanx, or, should an opportunity present itself, to hurl them down the slope in the face of the advancing enemy. Alexander, perceiving their intention, prepared his men for the worst. He ordered them to take every advantage which the nature of the ground afforded for shelter and escape, and directed that the moment they perceived the enemy's machines put in motion, such of them as could, should open their ranks and allow the waggons to run freely through, whilst the rest who were confined by the narrowness of the approach should close their shields and fall flat on the earth, so that when the vehicles passed over them with their utmost velocity they might receive as little injury as possible. The event, we are told, fully answered his expectation; for by adopting the expedients thus pointed out to them, the Macedonians received the shock without losing a single man. The pass being immediately carried, victory was no longer doubtful; for the barbarians, unable to cope with the discipline and perfect armour of the phalangites, sought safety in flight, leaving on the field about fifteen hundred of their number, together with all their women and children, and a large quantity of rude spoil.

Determined to inflict a suitable chastisement on the Triballians, Alexander followed their steps northward of Hæmus into that exten-

B. C. 336. sive country which stretches to the right bank of the Danube. Syrmus, the king of this race of marauders, satisfied that he could not successfully oppose the warlike troops of the invader in the open plain, had recourse to the protection of those immense forests which intersected his territory, having previously adopted the precaution of sending the women and children to a strong island called Peuce, in the river Ister, where great numbers of the Thracians had already taken refuge. Alexander, after defeating a large body of the Triballian forces, advanced to the Danube to attack this island, whither Syrmus and his people had now likewise fled for shelter; but commencing the assault with very inadequate strength, he found himself unequal to the tumultuary army of the barbarian chiefs, now fighting for everything they held dear in the world; he was consequently obliged to retire with some loss.

Advances against the Triballians.

Foiled in this attempt, which he did not think proper to renew, the Macedonian commander directed his attention to the Getæ, a people who dwelt beyond the Danube, great numbers of whom were seen flocking down to the bank of the river, apparently busy in concerting means to oppose his landing, should Alexander resolve on entering their territory as an enemy. The Getæ, however, although evidently more civilised than their neighbours the Triballians, were yet comparatively ignorant of the numerous resources and expedients which a warlike nation can employ against the simple members of an agricultural community. Confident in the defences supplied by the mighty river which washed their southern boundary, they were not aware that the king of Macedon had at his command the means of conveying over it, not only his phalanx, so formidable to the most expert combatants, but also that active cavalry, before whose rapid and overwhelming charges no rude people had yet learned to stand. Ships from the Euxine enabled Alexander to transport, in one night, a large portion of his army, and thereby to effect a complete and speedy conquest of the Getæ. Hence, after destroying their capital, and reducing the inhabitants to a nominal subjection, he returned to the southern bank of the Danube, to pursue his hostile views against the Triballi and their Thracian confederates, whom he had left behind.

The Getæ conquered.

The terror of his arms, however, rendered their farther employment unnecessary. Syrmus sent an embassy to solicit peace, or rather to ask on what terms he might secure that benefit for himself and his people; and shortly after, similar messages arrived from all the neighbouring states, charged with professions of friendship and expressions of respect. Among these, according to Arrian, appeared envoys from the Celts, who inhabited the country near the Ionian bay, a people strong in body and of a haughty spirit; and the same historian informs us that Alexander, addressing himself to the members of this interesting embassy, desired them to tell him what was the principal cause of their apprehensions, expecting, no doubt, to be assured that the terror of his name, and the dread of his arms, had made a deep impression

The Celts.

on their minds, which had suggested their present act of homage and reverence to his person. Their reply, however, could not fail to convince him that the Celts were not finished courtiers, and that if they had fears, it was not to him they were disposed to reveal them. The ambassadors proudly informed him, that "they were afraid of nothing but that the sky should fall upon their heads!" The king suppressed his disappointment, received the Celts into the number of his allies, and satisfied himself with hinting to the envoys that their countrymen were a proud people. B. C. 336.

All things being now adjusted, Alexander was about to return homeward, when intelligence was brought to him that the Autariats were making preparations to oppose his march through their country, and also that the Illyrians, joined by the Taulantians, were meditating a hostile movement on the western borders of Macedonia. Relieved from all fears of the first-mentioned tribe by the seasonable interposition of Langarus, king of the Agrians, the Macedonian prince directed his forces against the revolted Illyrians; and conducting his inroad with his usual rapidity and boldness, he reached Pellion, the capital, before measures could be taken to oppose him, and before the contingent of the Taulantian army had advanced to their aid. As, however, the combined powers, placing their chief confidence in the strength of their ground, acted solely on the defensive, some time elapsed before the Macedonians could bring them to action; and when a battle did take place, the Illyrians and their allies were rather dispersed than beaten, spreading themselves over the mountains, and seeking safety in fastnesses which heavy-armed soldiers could not approach. But it was not the policy of either party to prolong a war from which neither could reap any advantage, and Alexander, hearing of commotions in Greece which more deeply affected his interests, readily withdrew his troops from the mountains of Illyria, while the insurgent chiefs, left to reflection on their weakness and danger, appear to have returned to their duty, and to a renewal of their former relations with Macedon and its young king. Returns to Macedon.

The commotions just mentioned were occasioned by the revolt of Thebes, one of the most important and melancholy occurrences in the reign of Alexander. Whilst this youthful commander was in the north, Demosthenes was most actively employed in exciting against him, not only the powerful hostility of the Persian government, but also every feeling of jealousy and revenge which continued to lurk among the Grecian republics themselves. Among no people were these bad passions more active than among the Thebans, who, long accustomed to aspire to command and influence other states, were, since the battle of Chæronea, reduced to a condition of comparative insignificance, and even of positive vassalage. A strong party, therefore, at Thebes, was always found hostile to the interests of Macedonia, and, indeed, to the principles of the confederacy of which that country was now the head; and it was obviously to subdue the refractory Revolt of Thebes.

B. C. 336. spirit manifested by these discontented republicans, and to maintain the peace of the confederacy at large, that a resolution was passed in the Amphictyonic council, authorising a garrison of the allied army to be placed in the Theban citadel.

Amyntas and Timolaus, the one supposed to be a Theban and the other a Macedonian, were the commanders of this fort at the period in question; who, having no apprehensions of the peaceable disposition of the people, were wont to sleep in the town, instead of taking up their residence at night within the precincts of the garrison. The revolt, for which, it is said, abundant means and encouragement were supplied from Athens, was begun by the murder of the two officers just named; upon which, criers were immediately sent through the city, summoning the people to arms, and assuring them that Alexander had perished in his northern expedition. The conspirators, who consisted chiefly of exiles, who had been admitted into the town during the darkness of the night, reiterated the most positive assurances that the king of Macedon was dead; and exhorting the citizens to throw off the foreign yoke under which they groaned, urged them to begin the glorious work of independence by laying siege to the citadel, and destroying or expelling all the Macedonian soldiers who should be found within it.

Alexander marches upon Thessaly.

These events, when made known in Illyria, hastened the departure of Alexander, who, with a chosen body of light-armed troops, advanced by rapid marches upon Thessaly, where he arrived in seven days, whence, in six days more, he led his forces into Bœotia. So little, says Arrian, did the Thebans dream of his approach, that he was at Onchestus with his whole army before they had heard of his passing the Straits of Thermopylæ; and, even then, the authors of the sedition affirmed that it must be an army newly raised by Antipater in Macedonia, for that Alexander had certainly perished in the northern deserts. Nay, so obstinate were they in their incredulity, that when it could no longer be doubted that the king was at the head of his troops in their very neighbourhood, they maintained it could not be the renowned son of Philip, but that it must be Alexander the son of Aëropus, who was discharging the office of commander under the direction of Antipater. Availing themselves of the delusion which they had thus spread among the people, they succeeded in driving them to the resolution of opposing by arms his advance towards their city; and the more effectually to prevent or to render abortive any change of measures, they sent out a party of horse and light-armed foot to attack the vanguard of the Macedonians, of whom, as they were unprepared for such a sudden attack, they killed a few with missile weapons. The behaviour of Alexander afforded a striking contrast to these furious and unwarrantable proceedings; for even after all that had taken place, he caused a proclamation to be made, inviting all the Thebans, without distinction, to relinquish the infatuated course upon which they had entered, and to partake of the common tranquillity of

Greece. In return for this conciliatory proposal, the leading demagogues in the city gave order that a herald, of powerful voice, should proclaim in the hearing of the Macedonians an invitation to all of them who desired to restore liberty and independence to the Grecian states to join forthwith the standard of the king of Persia and of the Theban patriots. B. C. 336.

Moderation of Alexander.

Satisfied, however, that a large proportion of the people were friendly to the Macedonian alliance, and that they were only prevented from declaring their real sentiments by the violent measures pursued by the agitators within the walls, Alexander was resolved to refrain, for some time at least, from the application of force, and to wait the course of events. With this view, he advanced with his army, the following day, towards that gate of the city which led to Eleutheræ and Athens, still forbearing any assault upon the fortifications, and only placing himself in such a situation, with respect to the citadel, that he might have it in his power to assist the Macedonians who were shut up in it, should they happen to be severely pressed.

Thebes taken by assault.

But matters did not long remain in this uncertain predicament. A party of the Macedonian army stationed near the walls, under the command of Perdiccas, perceiving an opportunity to scale the rampart, were induced, without either orders or authority from the king, to commence the assault; and having effected a breach, they pursued their advantage with so much ardour, that they soon found themselves in close conflict with the Thebans, in the very heart of the city. Here a considerable number of them lost their lives, and among these Eurylotus, the leader of the Cretan bowmen. Perdiccas, too, being wounded, a retrograde movement became necessary, whilst the Thebans, in their turn, drove the assailants from the walls, and, following up their success with thoughtless impetuosity, they advanced so far into the plain as to come in contact with the heavy-armed troops of Alexander's army, whom he had just drawn forth from the camp, in order to remedy the confusion and repair the disaster so unexpectedly occasioned by the rash conduct of his advanced guard. At this juncture the fortune of war changed once more. The Thebans, unable to abide the shock of the phalanx, recoiled from the first onset, and rushing in the utmost disorder and trepidation towards the gates whence they had just issued, the multitude of fugitives so completely choked up the passage, that they not only trod one another under foot, but even prevented all possibility of securing the portals against the victorious enemy. Both parties entered at once, whilst the garrison in the citadel, observing what had occurred, sallied forth from their stronghold, and fell upon the miserable citizens, now no longer capable of resistance or master of their movements, and added not a little to the indiscriminate slaughter which finally disgraced the success of the confederate army. Platæans, Thespians, Orchomenians, Phocians, and others, who composed the army under Alexander, having formerly suffered from Theban tyranny, and dreading a renewal of it, gave a B. C. 335.

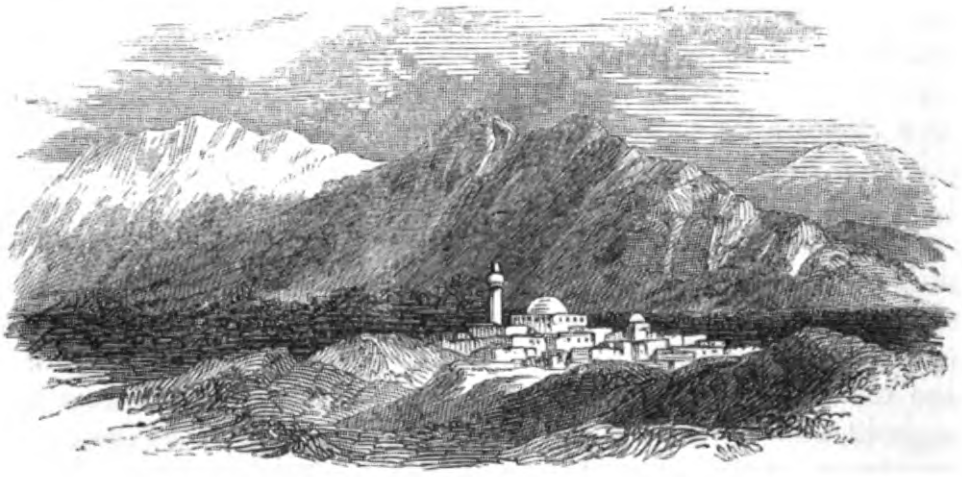
B. C. 335. Massacre of the Thebans.

loose to the most furious passions. Ranging the town, careless of commands, which scarcely any could hear, they slaughtered equally the resisting and the unresisting, not sparing even women and children, not even the sacredness of temples affording protection. A kind of intoxication of fury urged their destructive course, so that, as Arrian remarks, the extent of the calamity exceeded not more all previous apprehensions of the sufferers than all previous purpose of the perpetrators.

Decree for the demolition of Thebes.

Nor was the vindictive feeling of the minor republics against Thebes confined to the first moments of military execution. A solemn council was held, composed of the representatives of the several states, in which a decree was passed, declaring that the Theban name should be annihilated,—the town utterly destroyed,—the surviving women and children sold into slavery; that the territory should become the property of the victorious allies, including the friendly Thebans, and be duly divided amongst them; and that, in order to secure the execution of these resolutions, a garrison from the confederate army should be appointed to take possession of the citadel.

Amidst these scenes of blood and still more repulsive manifestations of revenge and jealousy entertained against one another by freemen and brothers, it affords some relief to find that in executing the horrid decree, of which the particulars have just been detailed, some respect was shown to the claims of literature and genius. Alexander gave orders, that in the general demolition of Thebes, the house of Pindar, the poet, should be spared, and that none of his relations should be subjected to the severe sentence passed upon their countrymen,—an act of clemency, it should be added, for which various motives have been assigned, according to the opinions and prejudices of different writers.



Thebes in Bœotia.

In this manner did Thebes expiate her revolt, with the loss of six thousand of her people slain in the battle, thirty thousand sold into

slavery, and, in a word, with the extinction of her existence as a separate and independent state. Plutarch, who delights in anecdote and in revealing secret thoughts and motives, which he was not likely to know, assures us that the calamities thus brought upon the Thebans, frequently gave Alexander great uneasiness in the subsequent part of his life, and that upon this account he treated others with less rigour. Certainly, says this author, he imputed to the anger of Bacchus, the avenger of Thebes, the murder of Clitus, which he committed in his wine, and the dastardly refusal of the Macedonians to follow him in his Indian expedition. And, he adds, that there was not a Theban who survived the fatal overthrow, that was denied any favour he chose to request. B. C. 335.

When the news reached Athens that Thebes had yielded to the arms of the young king of Macedon, a general consternation seized all classes of the people, and such was the fear of an immediate attack upon their own city by the forces under the commander, who, they knew, could not be ignorant of their intrigues with all his enemies, both in Greece and Asia, that an instant order was issued to stop the Eleusinian mysteries in which they were then engaged. A council was called, and a resolution immediately adopted to send an embassy to Alexander, conveying the congratulations of the Athenian citizens on his safe return from the Illyrian war, as well as on his success in inflicting a speedy and condign chastisement on the seditious Thebans. Although perfectly aware of the motives which had produced this late and rather unseasonable compliment, the Macedonian ruler thought proper to receive it in good part; but, at the same time, he addressed a letter to the Athenian people, demanding that ten of their number, whom he specified, should be delivered up to him, to be dealt with according to the common law of Greece, as being, he added, the authors of all the troubles which had befallen their country, and particularly of the miseries which ensued upon the memorable battle of Chæronea. Among the Athenian leaders mentioned in this famous epistle, Arrian gives the names of Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, Polyeuctus, Charites, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotemus, and Merocles. Such a demand threw the city into greater confusion than ever, and the alarm of Demosthenes, on this occasion, is still spoken of by historians as having afforded a subject for ridicule. It is said that he consented to pay to Demades the sum of five talents to secure the influence of that politician as an intercessor with Alexander, at whose hands he was perfectly aware he had great reason to apprehend the greatest severity. To avert, however, the hard fate which seemed to be in reserve for their orators, the Athenians decreed a second embassy to the captain-general of Greece, beseeching him to extend such a degree of indulgence towards their republic as to allow them to proceed against the accused citizens, according to the forms of their own tribunals. To this request the conqueror acceded, on condition that Charidemus, who had, in the time of Philip, acted as a spy at the

Consternation of Athens.

Demands of Alexander.

B. C. 335. court of Macedon, and who had on other accounts rendered himself disagreeable to the reigning prince, should be forthwith banished from the territory of the Amphictyonic states. Throughout the whole of this transaction, indeed, where a sound policy, as well, perhaps, as the natural temper of the king, dictated moderate measures, the desire to come to a speedy adjustment of affairs in Greece, with a view of being at liberty to conduct the confederate army on the grand Asiatic expedition, is repeatedly mentioned by Arrian as a principal reason for exercising clemency and shortening his discussions with the disaffected Athenians.

Preparations for the invasion of Persia.

Having returned to Macedon and completed the religious festival which had been interrupted by his father's death, Alexander lost no time in equipping the army placed under his command for the invasion of the Persian dominions. The forces with which he entered upon this arduous undertaking did not exceed, in cavalry and infantry, the very moderate number of thirty-five thousand; and at the head of

B. C. 334. these, in the spring of the year B. C. 334, the magnanimous son of Philip advanced to Sestos on the Hellespont, where he had resolved to embark for the opposite shore. After performing sacrifice at the tomb of Protesilaus, he placed himself in a trireme under the direction of Menetæus, and committing his fortune to the care of the gods, he took a final leave of the shores of Europe. Eager to visit the site of ancient Troy, then occupied by a village, he proceeded thither, and finding, in a temple of Minerva, certain consecrated suits of armour, which were said to have been preserved there from the time of the Trojan war, he offered up the usual religious homage, and then proceeding to dedicate to the goddess the arms which he himself wore, he carried away from the holy fane one of the ancient panoplies, to be thenceforth carried before him on all solemn occasions, but more particularly when going into battle.

Of the preparations made by Persia to oppose the invaders, no detailed account is to be found in history. The satraps, who governed the western provinces, appear to have been intrusted each with the defence of his own territory, whilst a considerable force of mercenary Greeks, under the command of Memnon the Rhodian, seems to have been charged generally with the protection of the Grecian cities on the Asiatic coast, which acknowledged subjection to the Persian crown. The want of vigilance or wisdom was, however, strikingly manifested in the absence of the most ordinary means for preventing the descent of a hostile army in a populous part of the country, and at the very point, too, where such a descent was most to be apprehended. Not a ship appeared to dispute the passage with Alexander, or to interrupt his supplies, though the Persian navy greatly outnumbered that which transported the invading forces; and thus, with all the information which the most public proceedings could convey to them, the lieutenants of the great king suffered his empire to be violated by a foreign enemy, with as much indifference as if he had landed merely to present the homage of an ancient and devoted vassal.

To shun the difficulties of a mountainous country, and perhaps,

also, to avoid a premature encounter with Memnon, at the head of his disciplined Greeks, Alexander pursued his march in a north-easterly direction, along the shores of the Propontis. His progress is minutely recorded by the faithful Arrian, who, as every one knows, professes merely to follow the narrative of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, Macedonian generals who served in this campaign; but it is enough for our purpose to mention that, when he had arrived in the lower Phrygia, of which Arsites was satrap, he found himself about to be opposed by a considerable army, suddenly collected from the neighbouring districts. According to Arrian, this army consisted of twenty thousand foot and as many horse; whilst Diodorus, including perhaps the skirmishers and retainers of the camp, makes it amount to a hundred thousand. That the latter number exceeds the bounds of probability is rendered obvious by the counsel administered by Memnon on this occasion, who recommended that the Persians should abstain from battle, lay waste the country, and thereby compel the invader to retrace his steps. This advice, prudent perhaps in any circumstances, when opposed to such an enemy as Alexander, is recommended by the consideration that the Persians were inferior in regular infantry; but Arsites replied that he would not suffer a single house in his province to be burnt, or the property of one inhabitant to be injured, whilst he had such ample means in his power to protect both.

B. C. 334.

Direction of Alexander's march.

As delay was alike incompatible with the plans and the temper of Alexander, he resolved to move forward his troops, and cross the Granicus, at a ford near Zeleia. The Persians, aware that his line of march would be confined to that direction, encamped with their whole force on the opposite side, prepared to dispute with the Macedonians the passage of the stream, and the possession of the rich province which stretched out beyond it. A battle now appeared inevitable, and the contending armies were already arranged for the conflict, when Parmenio, the brave and faithful friend of Philip, ventured to expostulate with his impetuous successor on the great hazard which would attend the crossing of the river, in the face of such a numerous and determined enemy. "Your reflections," said Alexander, addressing the veteran general, "are just and forcible; but would it not be a mighty disgrace to us, who so easily passed the Hellespont, to be stopped here by a contemptible brook? It would indeed be a lasting reflection on the glory of the Macedonians, as well as on the personal bravery of their commander; and, besides, the Persians would forthwith consider themselves our equals in war, did we not, in this first conflict with them, achieve something to justify the terror which attaches to our name."

Passage of the Granicus.

Having thus spoken, says Arrian, he appointed Parmenio to the left wing, and on the right, where he himself presided, he placed Philotas, the son of Parmenio, with the royal cohort, and the archers and pikemen. The historian then proceeds to describe, with much minuteness, the order adopted on the side of the Macedonians at

B. C. 334. large, to secure victory in this important fight. As, however, his military terms are not quite familiar to our apprehension, we shall, for the sake of our readers, avail ourselves of the exact and masterly description which is given of it by another historian, as being at once the fullest and most distinct that has yet been given in our language.

Whilst Alexander was marshalling his army for the hazardous attempt on which he had resolved, the Persian generals, watching from the opposite bank all his movements, were at no loss to gather, from the splendour and dress of the officers who surrounded him, where the king himself was to take his station; and, as far as time and circumstances would allow, they drew their choicest troops towards that point. This movement could not be so made as to be unobserved by the Grecian army; and its purpose being conjectured, Alexander was confirmed by it in the plan which he had formed in regard to the distribution of his troops, and the position where he was to exercise his personal command. Could he defeat that large part of the hostile force so immediately opposed to his wing, he trusted, from the accounts he had obtained of Asiatic armies, that the rest would not long keep the field.

An advanced body, observes the historian, of infantry with cavalry, the former under Amyntas, son of Arnhabæus, the latter under Ptolemy, son of Philip, crossed the river first, and began the battle. The Persian cavalry carried javelins, light enough to be thrown by the arm, in which then, as still at this day, being trained to it from early youth, they were highly dexterous. In closing, they mostly used the scimetar. The Grecian horseman carried a lance for close action, but no missile weapon. The Grecian advanced bodies were received with such firmness, by numbers so very superior, on ground of great advantage, that they were quickly compelled to retire with considerable loss. Nevertheless, the employment they gave enabled the main body, led by Alexander himself, to cross the more quietly; but on approaching the bank it suffered, and on reaching it was so met in stationary fight, that Arrian, following the account of the Macedonian generals, characterises the action by comparing it to a contest of heavy-armed infantry. Alexander's lance was disabled: turning to Teres, his master of the horse, for another, that officer could only show him one equally injured, so warmly had he also been engaged. The extraordinary skill of the Persian horsemen in disabling an enemy's lance is noticed by Xenophon in his account of an action in which he was engaged under Agesilaus. There the Persians, hardly equal in numbers, as the candid historian allows, overbore the Grecian cavalry: but these were Asiatic Greeks, and very recently raised. The very superior practice of those under Alexander, animated by his example, gave prevalence to their superior formation and superior weapons against very superior numbers, and the Persians gave way.

Advance of the Persian light horse.

A short leisure was thus afforded to Alexander; and Demaratus, a Corinthian, of the band royal, was the first to supply him with a sound

lance. No sooner was he thus provided than he observed a powerful body of Persian horse returning to charge, and a leading officer considerably advanced before it. In the eager impetuosity of the moment, he rode onward so hastily that before his attendants could join him he had with his lance killed the leading officer, but almost in the same instant lost part of his helmet, by a stroke from another's sword, whom yet, with his shortened lance, he killed also. Nearly surrounded now by enemies, one of them was aiming a sword-stroke at him which might have been fatal, when Clytus, son of Dropis, one of his lords of the body-guard, arrived so critically as to disable the uplifted arm by a wound in the shoulder. B. C. 334. Alexander in great personal danger.



Passage of the Granicus.

Through the retreat of the Persian cavalry first engaged, and the check in their return to the onset by the death of their principal officers, the right wing of the Grecian army had leisure to gain footing on the plain ground of the meadow. Meanwhile, the left wing under Parmenio had a severe contest with the Persian right. In this contest the Thessalians, always esteemed among the best of Grecian cavalry, particularly distinguished themselves; and the Persians, being weakened, as before mentioned, to strengthen their other wing, were compelled to give way.

The horsemen of the Persian army, being thus broken and put to flight, there only remained a strong body of Greek infantry, who served as mercenaries under the standard of the great king. This division of the enemy's army, if it had been properly commanded, would still have occasioned to Alexander no small embarrassment, and might even have deprived him of that triumph which already appeared so secure. But Omares, who had been appointed to lead them, igno- The Persians defeated with great loss.

B. C. 334. rant perhaps of their discipline and the mode of using their arms, and struck with consternation at the sudden defeat of the cavalry, in which the Persians placed the greatest confidence, remained in his position till Alexander brought up his phalanx, supported by a chosen body of horse, to cut them in pieces or drive them from the field. They defended themselves with bravery; but courage in their circumstances was unavailing. Attacked in front by the formidable phalangites, and in both wings by the Macedonian cavalry, they soon covered with their dead bodies the ground on which they had received the enemy: for, says Arrian, the assault was so furious that they were all slain, not so much as one of their whole number escaping, unless such as concealed themselves among the heaps of slain, and about two thousand who surrendered themselves prisoners.

The amount of the Persian loss.

The loss of the Persians in the battle of the Granicus is estimated by Diodorus at ten thousand men. Plutarch, again, says that the barbarians lost in this battle twenty-two thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse; whilst he reduces the numbers who fell on the Macedonian side to thirty-four, nine of whom were infantry. Arrian does not mention the number of the slain, satisfying himself with a list of the commanders who fell in the action; among whom we find the names of Spithridates, governor of Lydia, Mythrobazanes, president of Cappadocia, Mithridates, a son-in-law of Darius, Pharnaces, the queen's brother, and Omares, the general of the mercenaries. On the part of the Macedonians, the slaughter is usually confined to about one hundred and twenty, of which number, twenty-five, belonging to the royal guard or band of companions, were killed at the first onset, when fighting around the person of their king. Of these brave youths, statues cast in brass, by the masterly hand of Lysippus, were placed in the city of Dium, in Macedonia; whilst, to show his respect for the meanest individual who had fallen in his cause, Alexander granted the freedom of their respective cities to the parents and other surviving relatives of all the soldiers who lost their lives on the banks of the Granicus, and even conferred on their posterity a perpetual exemption from taxes.

With the news of his splendid victory, the generalissimo of the Grecian army sent to the several states a portion of the military spoil gathered on the field of battle, in order to afford to them the means of commemorating their joint success against the enemies of their country. To the Athenians he sent three hundred complete suits of Persian armour, which were dedicated to Athene, their tutelary goddess, and suspended in her temple with the following inscription, dictated by the conqueror: ALEXANDER, SON OF PHILIP, AND THE GREEKS, EXCEPTING THE LACEDÆMONIANS, OFFER THESE, TAKEN FROM THE BARBARIANS OF ASIA.

Rapid successes of Alexander.

After the victory of the Granicus, the progress of Alexander was, for some time, quite uninterrupted; whilst the rapidity with which he reduced into subjection the most important of the towns belonging

to the Persian alliance surpassed his most sanguine expectations. B. C. 334.
Dascylium, the capital of Bithynia, opened its gates at the approach Surrender of Sardis
of Parmenio, who had been despatched against it. Sardis, a place strong by nature, and rendered almost impregnable by art, was given up without a blow: Mithranes, the governor, going out, accompanied by the magistracy of the city, and meeting Alexander, at the distance of seven miles from the walls, to entreat his clemency in behalf of the people. Possessed thus of the capital of the rich and extensive province of Lydia, Alexander next directed his attention to Miletus and Ephesus, in both of which cities he was perfectly aware that the and Ephesus.
friends of Greece were opposed by a strong party, who cultivated the connection with Persia: and in the latter particularly, as he had been recently informed, the fury of the two factions had risen to such a height that a frightful massacre was daily apprehended. The presence of the king, however, prevented that catastrophe; and, assuming the direction of affairs, he mediated so successfully between the democratical leaders and their opponents that he had little difficulty in restoring the wonted form of government and in giving efficacy to the voice of law. Desirous of popularity, and knowing its vast importance to him in the pressing circumstances in which he was then placed, Alexander made, on this occasion, a considerable sacrifice of financial Politic measures of Alexander.
means, in order to secure the affections of his Ephesian subjects. Whilst under the Persian dominion, these Asiatic Greeks were accustomed to pay an annual tribute to the satrap of their province; a burden, it seems, from which they were not exempted even when enjoying the more natural protection of Athens and Lacedæmon. Unwilling, however, to remit their taxes altogether, and doubtful of the expediency of demanding them for the use of his own treasury, Alexander gave orders that the sums formerly set apart for the Persian monarch should now be devoted to the service of Diana, and, in particular, employed in repairing the temple of that goddess, in which the Ephesians had long found so much to gratify at once their pride and their superstition.

Miletus, situated in the province of Caria, still owned the Persian Capture of Miletus.
dominion, and was now become an object of very considerable importance, not only to the present rulers of it, as the means of protecting the extensive territory that lay beyond it, but also to Alexander, whose views upon Asia rendered it a matter of no small consequence to deprive the fleets of his enemy of all ports on the Ægæan sea. A large navy was, indeed, already prepared to act against the confederated powers on the coast of Lydia and Caria, with the intention not only of affording aid to such towns on the sea-coast as might happen to be attacked, but also to intercept those supplies of men and arms on which Alexander partly relied for carrying on his designs in the remoter provinces of the Asiatic peninsula. Having, therefore, settled affairs at Ephesus, the king of Macedonia proceeded forthwith to Miletus, prepared to lay siege to it immediately on his arrival; and

B. C. 334. so vigorously did he ply his battering rams, and the other means of assault supplied by his engineers, that in a few days the fortifications were reduced and the garrison dispersed. It is worthy of remark, too, that this achievement was accomplished in the sight of the Persian fleet, which, although greatly superior to the small armament which the Macedonians had on the coast, allowed an important town to fall without making the slightest effort for its relief.



Halicarnassus.

Halicarnassus taken.

The success which had all along attended the arms of Alexander neither slackened his exertions nor satisfied his ambition. The possession of Miletus only served to remind him that Halicarnassus had not yet submitted to the authority of Greece; and, moreover, that the great talents and zeal of the celebrated Memnon had been some time employed in strengthening its resources, and in adding discipline to the valour of its garrison. According to Arrian, this city was surrounded with a ditch thirty cubits wide and fifteen deep, which, before engines could be advanced against the wall, it was necessary to fill up; an arduous undertaking in the presence of an active enemy, who annoyed, without ceasing, the Macedonian soldiers, by throwing from above every species of missile weapon. The skill and perseverance of Alexander, however, at length prevailed. After a number of sallies by the garrison, attended with various fortune and heavy loss, the commander, Memnon, found himself reduced to adopt the hazardous expedient of withdrawing his troops by night, and of covering his retreat by setting fire to the engines and machinery which he had used in defending the ramparts. A part of the town was involved in the flames; but the citizens, among whom there were

many friendly to the Macedonian cause, were, by the humane policy of the conqueror, saved from the horrors of an assault. The castle, into which Memnon had thrown a portion of his army, was indeed still prepared to resist the arms of Alexander; but the latter, unwilling to waste what remained of the season in reducing a fortress, strong by situation, and diligently supplied with all the means for sustaining a long siege, and satisfied at the same time that the garrison was too small to occasion any danger to the acquisitions which he had already made, immediately directed his attention to matters of higher consequence. He commanded his engineers, says Arrian, to convey the artillery to Tralles, which city he soon laid level with the ground; and marching thence into Phrygia, left a body of three thousand foot and two hundred horse under the command of Ptolemy to keep the province of Caria in obedience—a portion of his conquests, of which he committed the ostensible government to Ada, a native princess, who had at first thrown herself upon his generosity and protection. B. C. 334. Marches into Phrygia.

Determined not to allow, either to himself or to his enemies, the usual respite afforded by the arrival of winter, the King of Macedon made known to the army his intention of advancing eastward to meet Darius on the confines of Syria, should he think proper to take the field in the spring, and, in the meantime, to complete the reduction of all the Persian cities within the boundaries of Asia Minor. To remove, however, the most obvious ground of objection and murmuring among the soldiers in the prospect of a winter's campaign, he allowed such of them as had been lately married to return home to pass that season with their wives, giving the command of this domestic party to three of his general officers, Ptolemy, Cœnus, and Meleager, who likewise happened to have recently entered into the state of matrimony.

Having completed these arrangements, and despatched Parmenio to take post at Sardis, in order to preserve entire the communication between Macedonia and the army during their progress eastward, Alexander commenced his march through Lycia and Pamphylia with the design, as Arrian informs us, of reducing all the towns on the sea-coasts, and by that means of rendering the enemy's fleet useless. Upon his entrance into Lycia, the four principal cities of the country, Telmissus, Pinara, Xanthus, and Patara, readily submitted, and thirty smaller towns almost immediately followed their example. Continuing his march in the very depth of winter, he was met by deputies from Phaselis, the principal town of the Lower Lycia, who, presenting him with a golden crown, solicited his friendship and protection. He then passed, continues the accurate historian of Alexander's expedition, into the province of Phaselis, which he reduced, as also a certain fort which the Pisidians had built there; whence the barbarians were wont, by frequent incursions, to harass and lay waste the country around.

Whilst Alexander was at Phaselis, intelligence was brought to him of a plot against his life, concerted, as it was said, by his name-sake, the son of Aëropus, whom he had so generously admitted into Conspiracy against the life of Alexander.

B. C. 334. his friendship at his accession to the throne, and even appointed to the command of the Thessalian horse. The Macedonian prince Amyntas, son of Antiochus, who had fled to the court of Persia, was also engaged in this conspiracy; and under pretence of sending letters to the satrap of Phrygia, he despatched a nobleman named Asisines to the treacherous Alexander, assuring him that if he would procure the murder of the king, he should have the crown of Macedonia conferred upon him, besides a gratuity of a thousand talents of silver. The Persian messenger, however, was seized by Parmenio, under whose immediate command the son of Aëropus was at that time serving, and having confessed the real nature of his embassy was forthwith sent a prisoner to the head-quarters of the unsuspecting king, that he might reveal in his personal hearing the actual intentions of the conspirators. No doubt being entertained that the general of the Thessalian horse was implicated in the evil intentions of Amyntas and the Persian court, it was resolved in the council which Alexander summoned on the occasion to send a private messenger to Parmenio, with verbal instructions to supersede him in his command and retain his person in safe custody.

Having discharged this unpleasant duty, which, it should seem, he was induced to perform rather in compliance with the wishes of his army than to gratify his personal fears or dislike, Alexander resumed his progress; and, advancing from Lycia into Pamphylia along the line of the sea-coast, he had an opportunity of profiting by one of those natural contingencies which the ancients were much in the habit of ascribing to divine interposition. At a certain part of the road, the mountainous ridge of Taurus projected into the sea, and thereby, except in a particular state of the wind, precluded all passage along the beach; and as it fortunately happened that the wind, which had blown a long time from the south, carrying the waves with great violence into the bay, changed to the north as the Macedonians approached, and thus drove back the billows towards the deep, leaving a clear path between the sea and the rock, the enterprise of Alexander was regarded by all who witnessed this simple occurrence as sufficiently pious to merit the favour of the gods, and as sufficiently important to demand their interference.

Marmareians destroy themselves to avoid punishment.

An occurrence, unnoticed by Arrian, is here mentioned by Diodorus, which serves to throw some light on the character of the people who at that period occupied the hilly country which separates Lycia from the adjoining province on the east. As the baggage and cattle belonging to the Macedonian army were under the protection of a small escort, passing through a valley commanded by the strong town of Marmara, the inhabitants, smitten with the love of spoil, issued forth from their hiding places, and at once possessed themselves of the whole convoy. Halting his troops, Alexander returned to chastise these predatory barbarians; and, having applied his engines to their walls, was on the point of compelling a surrender, when the desperate

plunderers, holding council among themselves, agreed on the horrible resolution to kill all the women, children, and old men, and then, by night, force their way across the besiegers' lines to a place of refuge in the neighbouring mountains. A general feast preceded the execution of this savage expedient. The best provision of meat and drink was produced, and all were invited to partake; when, having just allowed time for a hearty meal, a signal was given for the intended massacre, by setting fire to all the houses. Six hundred of the youth, however, had the humanity to refuse concurrence in the atrocious plot to murder their parents, wives, and children; and no mention is made by the historian to what extent the bloody purpose of the Marmareians was actually realised. The projected sally, however, was performed with considerable success; for it is stated, that the young men who were fortunate enough to execute their design reached in safety the mountain fastnesses. B. C. 334.

Having dispersed this nest of robbers, Alexander pursued his march towards Perga, in Pamphylia. On the way he was met by commissioners from Aspendus, a town situated in the same province, who professed themselves ready to acknowledge his power on the simple condition that he would not burden their citizens with a garrison. To this proposal the king readily acceded; requiring, in return, that the horses annually sent to Persia in the name of tribute should now be sent to him; and, besides, that the Aspendians should advance to him a contribution of fifty talents, or about ten thousand pounds sterling. The deputies yielded their consent to these stipulations on the part of Alexander; but whether the inhabitants of Aspendus thought the terms too hard, or whether their proposals for negotiation were merely intended to gain time and prepare for resistance, certain it is that they refused to deliver either horses or money, and even denied admittance within their gates to the persons whom the Macedonian sent to demand them.

Such conduct could not be allowed to pass without severe punishment. Perga and Sida having been surrendered to him at discretion, Alexander directed his forces against Aspendus, and invested it without delay. Unable to resist, the inhabitants desired capitulation, offering to fulfil the conditions to which their deputies had bound them; but the Macedonian monarch, though unwilling to protract the siege, positively refused to listen to such terms. He required now, together with the horses, double the amount of the sum which he named as a subsidy, a yearly tribute in money, and subjection to a governor whom he should appoint to superintend their affairs.

Intrigues of Memnon and the Lacedæmonians.

But the attention of Alexander was soon after drawn to certain measures concerted by the indefatigable Memnon, who had now obtained command of the Persian fleet, with full powers to carry on a vigorous war in the Ægæan. The Lacedæmonians, still obstinate in their refusal to join the Grecian confederacy, were, moreover, irritated by the success of the Macedonian arms in Asia Minor, and therefore

B. C. 334. not a little disposed to co-operate with the views of Memnon in distracting the councils of the youthful conqueror. To effect this object, Agis, the king of Sparta, condescended to solicit the republican states of Peloponnesus, and had even prevailed with some of them to receive into their territory a considerable land force engaged in the service of the Persian monarch. Meanwhile, too, Darius himself was preparing to take the field with a powerful army, composed as well of Greeks as of Asiatics, in order to meet Alexander if he should advance, or to pursue him should he be compelled to retreat.

B. C. 333. Informed of these circumstances, the Macedonian ruler discovered the necessity of assembling the different divisions of his army, and of meeting the reinforcements which he expected from Greece. Gordium, the ancient capital of Lower Phrygia, was the place appointed for mustering such of his soldiers as had wintered at home, who, according to instructions received, were expected to join early in the spring, bringing with them a body of recruits. To that city he directed his steps, over part of the high grounds of Taurus, where he had to conquer the furious but ill-concerted opposition of several hordes of predatory mountaineers, who attempted to oppose his march through their country. Having reached Celænæ, the principal town of the greater Phrygia, he found the inhabitants ready to acknowledge him as their head, being indifferent whether they paid tribute and owned subjection to a Persian or Macedonian sovereign. This province was accordingly added to his conquests; whilst the rapid progress of his arms, whether employed against the roving barbarians of the Taurian ridge or the more civilised natives of the Lycian plains, had already increased so much the terror and fascination associated with his name that the appearance of his standard was, in many cases, equivalent to a victory.

Adds Phrygia to his conquests.

Before, however, he had completed his march to Gordium, intelligence was conveyed to him of the active proceedings of Memnon in the Ægæan. Chios had already yielded to his powerful fleet; and in Lesbos, Mitylene was the only town which held out against him and prevented the progress of his formidable armament to the Hellespont itself, whence he threatened an immediate attack on the hereditary dominions of Alexander. Antipater, who was left at Pella with the power of regent, employed indeed all the means which he could command, in order to raise such a navy as would protect the Macedonian shores: but had not Memnon died, while as yet he was only beginning to realise his extensive plans, the Grecian confederacy must have recalled their general from his victorious career in Asia to combat the Persian legions within the limits of Europe. The loss of Memnon, however, defeated the views of Darius in the invasion of Greece.

Death of Memnon.

B. C. 333.

Intelligence of the death of Memnon, and of the withdrawal of the Persian land forces from the Ægæan, relieved Alexander from all apprehensions with regard to his own kingdom, as well as the states of his allies; whilst the movement of the Persian Greeks from all

quarters to join the standard of the great king in the east, marked out for him the point to which his attention was to be principally directed. It was now obviously the purpose of Darius to employ his whole strength for the recovery of his lost dominions; and it therefore became the business of Alexander to provide for the maintenance and defence of that great peninsula which he had already overrun; an object which he was most likely to accomplish by meeting the Persian king on its eastern boundary, or even beyond the mountain range which separates it from the plains of Syria and Mesopotamia. Limiting his stay, therefore, at Celænæ to ten days, he proceeded to Gordium, where, as we have already stated, he meant to collect his army, and adopt such measures as might be rendered necessary by the hostile attitude recently assumed by the government of Persia. B. C. 333.

A story is told of the Macedonian hero during his residence at Gordium, which the gravest historians have not disdained to preserve in their pages. Plutarch tells us that, upon taking this town, which is said to have been the seat of the ancient Midas, he found the famed chariot fastened with cords made of the cornel tree; and was informed of a tradition, firmly believed among the barbarians, that "the fates had decreed the empire of the world to him who should untie the knot." This, as most historians state, was twisted so many private ways, and the ends of it were so artfully concealed, that Alexander, finding he could not untie it, cut it asunder with his sword, and made many ends instead of two. But Aristobulus affirms that he easily undid it, by taking out the pin which fastened the yoke to the beam, and then drawing out the yoke itself. Story of the Gordian knot.

This place is also remarkable for an embassy, sent by the Athenians to Alexander, requesting him to release those of their citizens who had been taken at the Granicus fighting under the banner of the king of Persia, and who, according to Arrian, were then with two thousand others detained prisoners in Macedonia. For very obvious reasons the prayer of this petition was refused. He did not, says the historian, think it advisable, while the Persian war yet continued, to remove from the Greeks that salutary fear which would prevent them from taking up arms for barbarians against their own countrymen; on which account he dismissed the deputies with the assurance that, as soon as the war was finished, he would listen to their solicitations in behalf of their citizens who had fallen into his hand.

The news was from time to time reiterated, that Darius, at the head of a large army, had commenced his march westward, and was already crossing the great desert with the intention of repelling the Macedonian invader. To secure his conquests in the Lesser Asia, and to be able to sustain with success the immense pressure of military force which was arrayed against him, it appeared to Alexander absolutely necessary that he should possess the great chain of mountains on the eastern confines, where several strong posts might be occupied, and the advance of the enemy essentially retarded. But within that Darius marches towards the west.

B. C. 333. boundary two important provinces, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, still acknowledged the Persian dominion; the former of which commanded one side of the pass, by which, almost exclusively, a large army could cross the ridge of Taurus, and have free communication between the Lesser and the Greater Asia. To effect this important acquisition, however, there was no need to have recourse to arms. As soon as Alexander had reached Ancyra, an embassy from the Paphlagonians, soliciting his friendship, relieved him from the painful alternative of compelling their subjection; and Cappadocia, in like manner, unwilling to trust to the hazard of war, received a governor appointed by the Macedonians, and owned the confederated Greeks as their paramount sovereigns.

Cilicia subdued.

The province of Cilicia was now the only portion of Asia Minor that owned subjection to the Persian empire; and against this important district, commanding an extensive line of coast on the Mediterranean sea, the Macedonians now resolved to conduct their victorious phalanx. Advancing, with his usual rapidity, to cross the mountains at what was called the Gate of Taurus, Alexander was informed that a strong body of the enemy had already occupied the pass, and were prepared to dispute his farther progress towards the south. Without a moment's delay he made arrangements for attacking them in the course of the ensuing night; but the Persians, intimidated by the fame of his valour and military skill, retreated before the break of day, and left an open passage to his army into the maritime plains of

Surrender of Tarsus.

Cilicia. Tarsus, the capital, soon opened its gates; the governor, Arsames, having fled with the garrison, to meet his master, Darius, and to carry to him the ominous intelligence that the Persians had hardly any longer a foot of ground left, or a stronghold to flee unto, in all the rich provinces of the Asiatic peninsula.

It was at Tarsus that Alexander was seized with that memorable fever which had so nearly proved fatal to him, and which was the

B. C. 333. means of affording to the Persians considerable advantages in the choice of their ground before the decisive battle of Issus. This severe illness is ascribed by Aristobulus to mere fatigue, sustained by the king in his forced march from Cappadocia into Cilicia. Other writers, however, inform us, that it was the consequence of an unseasonable use of the cold bath in the city of Tarsus; for, arriving there greatly heated, and admiring the clearness of the river Cydnus, which flows through the town, and knowing that it was celebrated for its coolness in the summer heats, as coming in rapid course from the snowy mountains of Taurus, he plunged into the current and amused himself some time with swimming. He was soon after seized with the violent fever of which we have just spoken, and was so extremely ill that his life seems to have been despaired of by all except by his able and favourite physician, Philip the Acarnanian. Whilst the latter was preparing a draught for his patient, a communication arrived from the general Parmenio, advising the king to beware of Philip, who, it was

believed, had been bribed by Darius to poison him. Alexander had hardly finished perusing the letter when the physician presented to him a potion; and taking the cup from his hand, the royal patient desired him to read the note which he had just received, and while he was yet reading, says Arrian, the king swallowed the draught, perceiving by the undisturbed countenance of the Acarnanian that he entertained no design against his life. Nor were the skill and honesty of Philip long in doubt; for the rapid recovery of the king proved that Parmenio's information was groundless, and that the alleged infidelity of the physician was a malignant calumny. B. C. 333. Interview between Alexander and his physician.

His first movement upon his restoration to health was to despatch Parmenio with a competent force to occupy the pass which leads into Syria, with the view either of preventing the enemy from entering, or of reserving to himself the power of carrying the war beyond the mountain barrier. In the meantime, with a body of light troops, he turned aside into the hilly country of Cilicia, to consolidate his government over the wandering tribes which inhabited that portion of the province. The first day's march brought him to Anchialus, a town said to have been built by Sardanapalus the king of Assyria, and which, by its extent and the magnificence of its fortifications, continued to bear evidence to the traditionary character of that monarch's mind. A monument representing this luxurious sovereign was still found there, attested by an inscription in the old Assyrian language, to which, whether well or ill interpreted, the Greeks gave the following meaning: "Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxes, in one day founded Anchialus and Tarsus. Eat, drink, play; all other human joys are not worth a fillip." Leaving Anchialus, the conqueror proceeded to Sali, where he imposed a contribution of about forty thousand pounds, and stationed a garrison. Thence he advanced to Megarsus, where he sacrificed to Athene, and afterwards proceeded to Mallus, a colony originally peopled from Argos, where he succeeded in attaching the inhabitants to the Macedonian interest, by granting them an immunity from the tribute formerly paid to the Persian government. Marches to the highlands of Cilicia.

Alexander was still at Mallus when information reached him that Darius had crossed the plain of Syria, and was already encamped near Sochi, about two days' march from that pass in the mountains usually called the Syrian gate. Finding his army eager to meet the Persians, he advanced to the rocky barrier which separated him from his enemy, and, passing the strait now named, near the town of Myriandrus, formed an encampment on the eastern side of the mountains. The king of Persia, who, listening to the counsel of his Grecian officers, had resolved to wait the approach of his antagonist in the open plain, now thought it expedient to yield to the wishes of his own subjects and make a forward movement, so as to meet the Macedonians in their descent from the hills, or to drive them back into the wilds of Cilicia. Aware that the main pass was in possession of the Greeks, Darius moved his army towards a similar strait,

B. C. 333. known by the name of the Amanic gate, through which, as no steps had been taken to oppose him, he pushed on his advanced guard to Issus, and thereby placed himself between Alexander and the countries which he had recently conquered.

Darius moves his army towards the Amanic gate.

It is not concealed by Aristobulus and Ptolemy, the authorities whom Arrian avowedly follows, that this movement on the part of the Persians created some degree of agitation among the Macedonian counsellors who surrounded the king. Decisive measures were obviously necessary to obviate the fatal effects which might result from this neglect to occupy the Amanic pass, and thereby allow their flank to be turned; and Alexander accordingly, with that promptitude and self-possession which characterised all his proceedings, instantly resolved to retrace his steps, and secure at least the command of the pass by which he had entered Syria, and which was now more than ever necessary to maintain his communication with his friends in Greece. To palliate the real motives for this retrograde movement, he told his army that the step which Darius had taken was precisely that which they should most have desired; that he had certainly followed the worst advice which had been offered to him, or rather that some divine impulse had led him to marshal his force in a place where its greatness could neither be displayed nor called efficaciously into action; that his cavalry would be useless, and his light troops, armed with missile weapons, absolutely unserviceable. He concluded by assuring them that the Deity had clearly demonstrated his intention that victory should be theirs, and that the Persian empire should pass into their hands.

Battle of Issus.

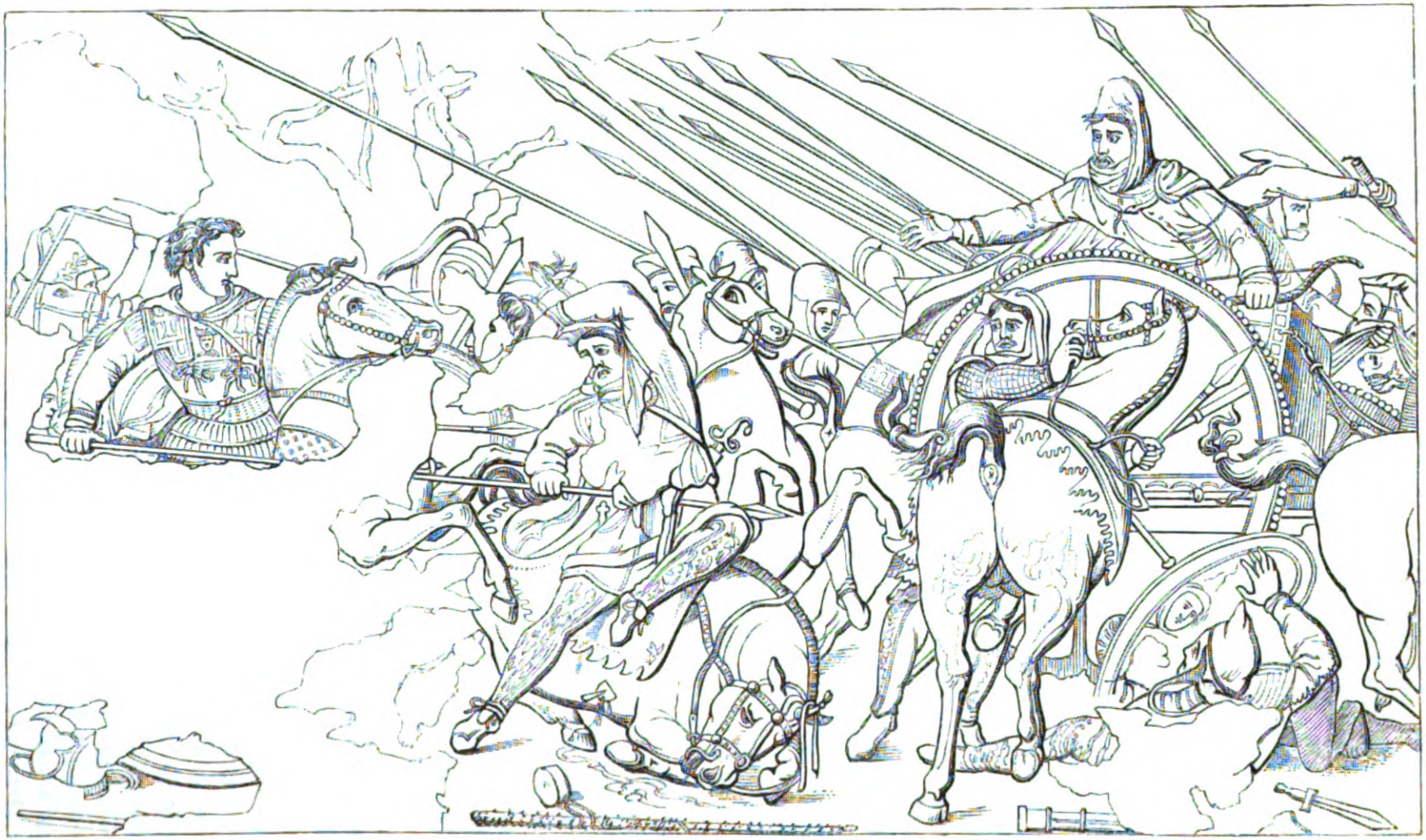
B. C. 333.

The main object contemplated by the Persians was unquestionably to prevent the return of Alexander to Cilicia, and for this purpose they took ground near the Syrian gate, by which they knew he would endeavour to effect his retreat across the mountains, should he finally resolve on that measure. A river, called Pinarus, issues from the highland district in the neighbourhood of the pass now described, and after flowing some distance in a westerly course diverges to the south, and falls into the Mediterranean. On the northern bank of this celebrated stream Darius drew up his army in battle array, his right extending to the sea, and his left occupying a very strong position at the foot of the mountains. Alexander formed his troops on the opposite bank, with his right supported by the high ground which bounded the plain, and his left by the sea, or bay of Issus, which spread out towards the west. It is remarked that as the Persian army occupied the exterior of the curve formed by the river, the interior or shorter curve was left for the Macedonians. Having ascertained his adversary's formation, the hero of the Granicus placed his own formidable phalanx to oppose the Greeks in the Persian service. His republican Greeks he divided on each flank to oppose the Cardacs and the cavalry. The command of his left wing, occupying the ground next the sea, where cavalry might act advantageously on either

side of the stream, and where the powerful charge of the Persian horse might be expected, he committed to the veteran Parmenio. The immediate command of the right wing he took upon himself, with the apparently desperate purpose, it seemed, of forcing the strong position of the enemy's left, should they not be imprudent enough to descend from their vantage-ground and attack him. B. C. 333.

Nothing is more perplexing, when examining the statements of ancient history, than to arrive at correct notions with regard to numbers, and more particularly with respect to the number of men who fought or fell in any given battle. It is recorded in the present instance, for example, both by Arrian and Diodorus, that the Persian army amounted to more than half a million, a computation which, if it apply to the fighting men whom Darius conducted across the Syrian desert, must exceed not a little the bounds of all probability. A celebrated historian, confining himself to the details of the former writer, and summing up the number of the several bodies specified by him as holding a place either in the march or in the battle, reduces the amount to about one hundred and forty thousand combatants, of which nearly one-third was cavalry. The difficulty is nearly as great in attempting to ascertain the precise number of the warriors who fought in the army of the confederated Greeks. In the absence of all documents on which to found an accurate calculation, it has been conjectured with much probability that the forces which Alexander led to the Syrian gate were at least as numerous as those with which he crossed the Hellespont. Taking this computation at the highest, there was still an immense disparity between the contending hosts, for from the concurring testimony of the best authors it seems clearly established that the Macedonians, with their allies, did not exceed forty thousand men. **Numerical force of the Persian army.**

Arrayed as we have described, both armies for some time kept their ground, unwilling apparently by any rash movement to put to unnecessary hazard the fortune of that important day. Alexander, it is manifest, had expected that the Persians would begin the action on their left, and with this view had drawn to his right the most efficient of his cavalry; and it was not till he found that they were resolved to direct the principal weight of their charge against the wing under Parmenio, that he despatched his Thessalian horse and a chosen body of foot to sustain the attack meditated in that quarter, whilst he himself, at the head of his light-armed troops, advanced to drive the enemy from the heights which they had occupied on their left. Crowned with success in this bold manœuvre, he seized the moment of confusion which ensued to march the phalanx of allied Greeks across the stream, and instantly fell upon the Persian line with such determined valour, that the Cardacs who composed it soon turned their backs and left the field. The Macedonian phalanx which was placed in opposition to the Persian Greeks, the best troops which served under Darius, seems to have waited this event as the prescribed signal for advancing to the attack; and accordingly moving forward these **Advance of the Macedonian phalanx.**



Battle of Issus, between Alexander and Darius. *From the Mosaic discovered at Pompeii in* 1831.

renowned soldiers of Alexander dashed into the current, to decide the fate of two powerful sovereigns and to change the empire of the East. The conflict here was singularly obstinate and bloody. The mercenary Greeks, trained under the experienced Memnon, and commanded by approved officers, highly accomplished in the art of war, were formidable adversaries even to the phalangites of Macedonia. These men, says Arrian, solicitous, though in a foreign service, to show themselves worthy of the ancient fame of their nation, as the Macedonians were to maintain their new renown, occasioned to the latter a dearly-bought victory. One general and a hundred and twenty-five officers of inferior rank were killed. But Alexander's first bold measure proved the key to success. On the flight of the enemy's left, the Greeks of the confederacy occupied their ground, and thus placed a powerful division of troops on the flank of the Persian Greeks, now actively engaged with the Macedonian phalanx in front. This celebrated body, sorely pressed and suffering severely in the contest, was now relieved by the seasonable approach of their victorious allies, whilst the brave Greeks on the Persian side, unable to resist the combined assaults of two such masses of disciplined combatants, were nearly all put to the sword. B. C. 333.

Meanwhile Darius was performing everything that courage could dictate to the commander of a mighty army, fighting for the mastery of the Asiatic continent, as well as for the safety of his wives and daughters who were present in his camp. Mounted in his chariot with four horses abreast he appeared conspicuously in the centre of his line, and mixed in the tumult and carnage which the onset of the heavy-armed foot had already carried into that part of his host. Being recognised by the Macedonians, he was so closely attacked and so vigorously pressed upon by the victorious phalanx that his horses were wounded and rendered quite unmanageable, whilst the heaps of dead bodies and arms so impeded and alarmed them, that the king would in all probability have been carried into the enemy's ranks but for the gallant exertion of his brother Oxathres, who at the head of a body of horse charged the confederates with so much impetuosity as to gain time for the servants of the household to bring up another chariot, into which the monarch immediately removed. The fortune of the field, however, being now determined in favour of the Macedonians on the right and centre of their army, the individual exertions of Darius would have been of no avail even had he possessed all the skill and bravery which some authors are willing to ascribe to him; for the Persians, destitute of that degree of discipline which enables soldiers to repair their broken ranks whilst there remains any hope of victory, and to retreat in good order when that hope can no longer be entertained, no sooner saw their ruler turn his back upon the enemy, than they precipitated themselves from the field in a general rout, regardless of everything except their personal safety. The cavalry on their right wing, indeed, attempted to redeem the character of Persian horsemen; having, according to Arrian, maintained a severe conflict

Flight of Darius.

Valour of the Persian cavalry

B. C. 333. with the Thessalians under Parmenio long after the main body of the Macedonians had crossed the river and repulsed the heavy-armed foot, in which Darius seems to have placed his chief confidence; nor was it until they perceived that a total discomfiture had been inflicted on the left and centre of their army, and that their sovereign himself was no longer on the field, that these brave troops relinquished a contest where even the most complete success would have been of no avail.

Owing to the nature of the ground over which they had to pass, the Persians suffered severely in their flight, both from the close pursuit of the enemy and from the confusion and panic which prevailed in their own ranks. It would appear that Darius had left the field some considerable time before Alexander was made aware of his departure, or at least before he deemed it expedient to pursue him. At length, however, when victory was fully secured, the conqueror placed himself at the head of a body of cavalry with the view of overtaking the fugitive monarch, who appears to have retreated as far as the roads would permit in his chariot of state, and afterwards to have mounted a horse and hastened through the Amanic pass which led into Syria. The approach of night induced Alexander to desist from the pursuit, and carrying back with him the chariot of Darius, in which were found his shield, bow, and cloak, he returned to the Persian camp, now in the possession of the Macedonian soldiers, and proceeded to seek repose in the royal tent.

Numerical loss of the Persians.

The number of the slain is so variously reported that it is impossible to ascertain the exact amount, and it is somewhat remarkable at the same time that the Grecian writers, whilst they affect much accuracy in regard to the Persian loss where they had small means of arriving at the truth, abstain from all particulars relative to the killed and wounded of the Macedonians, concerning whose casualties they might easily have obtained information. Arrian relates that of the army of Darius no fewer than a hundred thousand fell, including ten thousand cavalry. Diodorus estimates the loss at a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; whilst Orosius, to ninety thousand slain, adds forty thousand prisoners. The statement of Justin differs considerably from that of all other historians, as he reduces the killed to sixty-one thousand foot and ten thousand horse; agreeing, however, with Orosius in the number of captives. Of commanders possessing the highest rank, Arrian mentions the names of five who lost their lives; three of whom, Arsomes, Rheomithres, and Atizyes, had fought as chiefs of cavalry at the battle of the Granicus.

Considering the obstinacy with which the conflict was maintained on the side of the Persians, particularly by the horsemen in their right wing, the loss sustained by the confederate army could not fail to be severe. Arrian, however, satisfies himself with informing us that in the battle of the Issus the Macedonians had one general killed, Ptolemy the son of Seleucus, and others of no mean account, to the number of one hundred and twenty. This very vague statement is no means

improved by the narrative of Quintus Curtius, who, with an appearance of detail, which only aggravates the improbability of his account, assures us that the loss of the army under Alexander was confined to thirty-two infantry and a hundred and fifty horse. B. C. 333.

There are several anecdotes connected with this memorable fight, which though differently told by the authors who have related them, appear to have a solid foundation in fact. It is said, for example, that upon the return of Alexander from his pursuit of the Persian king, having in his possession, as we have already stated, the shield, bow, and cloak of that unfortunate prince, some one inconsiderately conveyed this intelligence to the wife, mother, and daughters of Darius, who were now prisoners in the camp, and who, concluding that he must have been killed, instantly raised a loud and very piteous lamentation. On learning the cause of their distress, Alexander humanely sent Leonatus, one of his principal officers, to inform them that Darius was not dead, but that, on the contrary, as he had outstripped his pursuers, there was every reason to believe that he had reached a place of safety; adding an assurance on the part of the Macedonian commander that the princesses would be treated by him with the utmost delicacy, and in a manner becoming their royal rank, and that even towards the king himself he entertained no personal enmity farther than was implied in their contest for the dominion of Asia. Humanity of Alexander.



Alexander and the Family of Darius.

It is likewise reported that Alexander, on the following day, taking with him his favourite general Hephæstion, repaired to the tent of the captive ladies to pay them a visit of condolence. On entering the apartment together, without any one to announce him, the mother of Darius, mistaking the attendant for the prince, threw herself, after the Persian fashion, at the feet of Hephæstion, who, it should seem,

B. C. 333. appeared in her eyes the more dignified and gainly person. The general, drawing himself back, pointed to Alexander, who immediately relieved the embarrassment of the aged queen by telling her that she had committed no mistake, for that man to whom she had paid her respects was worthy to be esteemed his equal. Hephæstion, said he, is another Alexander. This passage, adds Arrian, I neither relate as truth, nor condemn as fiction: if it be true, the pity and indulgence shown by Alexander to the women, and the honour bestowed on his friend, deserve commendation; whilst, if we suppose them feigned and only related as probabilities, it is still honourable to him to have had such speeches and actions recorded by the writers of his own times, not only as being generally believed, but as consonant with the character which he bore among his contemporaries.

Anecdote by Arrian.

Arrian further informs us, that soon after the battle of Issus, a confidential eunuch in the service of the captive queen, found means to repair to her unfortunate husband, now returned to his capital. On his first appearance, Darius hastily asked whether his wife and children were alive; and when the messenger assured him that they were not only well, but treated with all the respect due to royal personages, the fears of the unfortunate monarch took another direction. The queen is said to have been the most beautiful woman in Persia; Darius's next question, therefore, was, whether his honour was still entire, or whether she had yielded to her own weakness, or the violence of others? The eunuch, protesting with solemn oaths that she was as pure as when she parted from her husband, and adding that Alexander was the best and most honourable of men, Darius raised his hands towards heaven, and exclaimed, "O great God! who disposest of the affairs of kings among men, preserve to me the empire of the Persians and Medes as thou gavest it; but if it be thy will that I am no longer to be king of Asia, let Alexander, in preference to all others, succeed to my power." So powerfully, observes the historian, does generous conduct gain the affections even of an enemy.

The victory of Issus opened a passage for the confederates into the heart of Asia; but before proceeding eastward, Alexander thought it expedient to subject to his dominion the Persian provinces of Syria and Phœnicia. With this view he despatched Parmenio, with a body of troops, to reduce Damascus, the principal city of the former district, in which, too, Darius had placed his treasury, and whither many of the fugitives, from the late battle, had fled for refuge. In this undertaking the success of the Macedonian general was rewarded, not only with the capture of the military chest, destined to maintain the enemy's army and to secure the fidelity of their Grecian allies, but also with the seizure of several prisoners of importance, who had been commissioned to attend Darius by the party opposed to Alexander at Sparta, Athens, and Thebes. Indeed, one of the greatest advantages resulting from the recent splendid victory over the Persians was manifested in the complete disappointment of the republican faction in the

Collateral advantages attendant upon the defeat of the Persians.

three cities now named, where a correspondence was constantly maintained with the satraps of Darius, in order to distract the operations of Alexander, and even to invade his hereditary states. We have already remarked that a Persian fleet, under the command of Pharnabazus and Antophradates, was sent round to the Ægæan, with the intention of aiding the Lacedæmonian king, Agis, in a descent upon Macedonia, whilst the immense armament, led by Darius himself, was advancing across the desert to repel the conqueror from the confines of Syria. But the issue of the conflict between the grand armies thwarted all the arrangements entered into at Sparta. The Persian fleet almost immediately left the shores of Peloponnesus, and directed its course to the southern coast of Asia Minor; relieving thereby the apprehensions of the king of Macedon in regard to the safety of his native territory, and securing to him the most perfect liberty to pursue his conquests in the Syrian provinces, and ultimately in Egypt. B. C. 333.

Whilst, therefore, Parmenio advanced upon Damascus, Alexander led the rest of his army towards the coast of Phœnicia. The main object of the conqueror in following this route, was to reduce the city of Tyre,—a place of great importance as a maritime station, and whence, as he was well aware, the Persian navies derived their best recruits and most abundant supplies. Before, however, he engaged in the famous siege, by which he found it necessary to subdue the power of this mistress of the seas, a deputation from Darius overtook him at Marathus, charged with offers of friendship and alliance, and with a request, as from a king to a king, that his wife and daughters might be released. The answer of Alexander, it is well known, was extremely haughty and threatening. He accused the Persian monarch of intriguing with the Greeks, and even of having countenanced the conspiracy for assassinating his father Philip. He recounted all the injuries which the Macedonians had sustained, or had cause to fear, at the hands of the Persian faction in the republican states, and concluded by announcing to Darius his pretensions to the sovereignty of all Asia, and his readiness to treat with him as a vassal prince. As lord paramount of the east, the young hero invited the vanquished king of the Medes and Persians to come personally to him and prefer his requests. "If you have any apprehension for your safety, send a confidential person to receive my plighted faith. When with me, ask for your wife and children, and whatever else you may desire, and you shall have all: ask freely; nothing shall be refused. But whenever, hereafter, you would communicate with me, I must be addressed as king of Asia, lord of all you possess, and of all you can desire; otherwise I shall consider myself undutifully treated. If you propose yet to dispute with me the sovereignty of Asia, be it so; prepare for my approach: I shall seek you wherever you may happen to fix your quarters."

Proceeding southward to Tyre, Alexander was met by the son of the governor, accompanied by some of the principal townsmen, offering him allegiance, but refusing, on any account, to allow him to enter

B. C. 332. within their walls. Aware of their disposition, and sensible, at the same time, that it would not be prudent to advance into Egypt, leaving so powerful an enemy behind him, he demanded from the Tyrians an unequivocal avowal of their alliance, and threatened, in the event of their refusal, to compel them by force of arms to open their gates. They refused to comply with these conditions, and defied his power.

Tyre taken by assault.

We cannot enter into the details of the memorable siege which followed. The insular situation of the town, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, gave the Tyrians many opportunities of defence, and numerous advantages in repelling the invader, which, directed by an unusual degree of skill and courage, had nearly baffled all the efforts of Alexander. A mole, stretching from the mainland to the island, facilitated the operations of the conqueror; but it was not till he had obtained a fleet, and trained his men to fight on shipboard, that he found himself a match for the expert sailors of Tyre, who destroyed his works as fast as he erected them, and burnt his towers and machines before they could be brought to act against their ramparts. At length, after a siege of seven months, the Macedonians took the city by storm, putting eight thousand of the inhabitants to the sword, and reducing to slavery not fewer than thirty thousand, who had survived the horrors of the siege and the carnage of the last assault.

B. C. 332. It was while Alexander lay before Tyre, that a second deputation reached him from Darius, bringing the offer of ten thousand talents, about two millions sterling, for the ransom of his family, and proposing a treaty of peace and alliance. To further this last object, the Persian offered the additional inducement of his daughter in marriage, and all the country between the Euphrates and Mediterranean sea in lieu of dowry. The proposal was, as usual, submitted to his council; and it was on this occasion, according to the concurrent testimony of historians, that the Macedonian prince pronounced, in reply to one of his generals, the pithy expression which has been so often repeated, and so inconsiderately admired. "If I were Alexander," said Parmenio, "I would accept the terms."—"And I," rejoined Alexander, "were I Parmenio."

The answer returned to Darius was so harsh, so destitute of feeling, and withal so unlike the romantic generosity of Alexander's character, that we readily participate in the doubts entertained as to the genuineness of the expression in which it is conveyed. He replied to the ambassadors, says Arrian, "that he did not want Darius's money, and that he would not accept of a part of his empire when he had a right to the whole; and as to his daughter he would marry her, if he pleased, without her father's consent; but that if he had a wish to put his humanity to the proof, he might come and see him in person."

Gaza taken by assault.

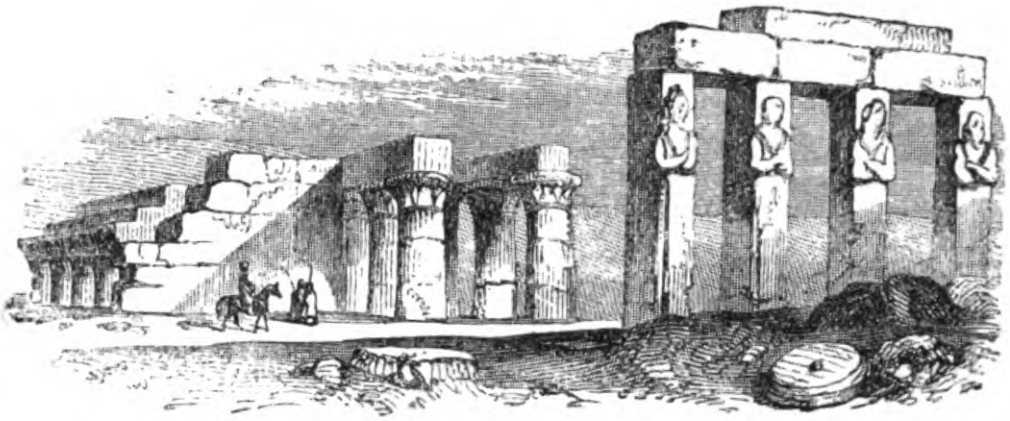
Gaza was now the only town in Syria which intervened between the Macedonian and his views upon Egypt. It occupied a strong position in the midst of deep sand, which rendered approach to it on all sides extremely difficult; but as Alexander was resolved to leave behind him no fortress of any consequence in the hands of the enemy,

he instantly adopted measures for its reduction. The garrison, according to the statement of Arrian, consisted of Arabians, hired for the purpose by Batis, the governor, who likewise had laid up an immense stock of provisions to enable him to hold out during the long siege which the obstinacy of the Macedonians in their investment of Tyre had prepared him to expect. But no precautions were found sufficient against the resolute bravery of Alexander. The place was taken by storm after a gallant defence on the part of the citizens, who, when they saw the enemy within their walls, collected together in a body and fought till every man lost his life on the spot on which he stood. The women and children were, as usual, sold for slaves to reward the toils of the conquerors, and the town itself was bestowed upon the partizans of Macedonia, who forthwith founded a colony amidst the ruins of its buildings. B. C. 332.

The fall of Gaza was rendered memorable by a wound which Alexander received whilst conducting an assault against the ramparts, and which has been recorded by historians with all the accompaniments of credulity and superstition usual on such occasions. Plutarch, whose love of the marvellous had no bounds, relates a variety of particulars concerning it, full of augury and omens, but the only thing which admits of no doubt is the fact that the captain-general of Greece was severely wounded in leading up his men to the enemy's walls, at a period of the siege so extremely critical that personal example and encouragement had become absolutely necessary.

Reduction of Syria, Judæa, Samaria, and Phœnicia.

Syria, including Judæa, Samaria, and Phœnicia, being now added to the conquests of Alexander, he lost no time in directing his march towards the richer and more important provinces of Egypt. Arriving before Pelusium, the key of that country, he summoned it to surrender, upon which the Persian deputy, unable to resist the power of the conqueror of Tyre and Gaza, and finding the Egyptians heartily disposed for a change of masters, immediately delivered that stronghold into his hands, together with the whole of the territory which at that period acknowledged the dominion of the great king. Thus in the course of a few days did the Macedonian chief obtain possession of that wealthy and powerful nation which had so long defied the force of the Persian empire, thereby excluding the navies of the Asiatic monarch from all the shores of the Ægæan and Mediterranean seas, and also securing to himself the command of the vast trade and other resources of which the Arabian Gulf had already become the principal channel. It was perhaps at this period that for the first time his mind opened to the numerous advantages which would redound to his extensive dominions from the establishment, in Egypt, of a regular emporium for the commerce of the east. It is certain, at all events, that from this epoch he turned his attention to those magnificent plans for laying the foundation of a permanent intercourse between India and the states of the west, which reflect so much honour on his discernment and patriotism.



Thebes (Egypt).

Determined to employ the first moments of peace in surveying the vast country which he had so easily acquired, he proceeded up the Nile as far as Heliopolis, and crossing the river at that point, returned by the way of Memphis; where, we are told, he had immediate recourse to all his arts of popularity, with the view of gaining the affections of his new subjects. Having next examined the several mouths of the Egyptian river, and considered the comparative advantages of Pelusium and Canopus, he rejected both as unsuitable for the great object which he had in view. At length, passing to the western side of the branch on which the latter city stood, he made choice of a site between the river and lake Mareotis; and there he resolved to build a town, which in point of magnificence and commodiousness, should eclipse all similar works on either shore of the Mediterranean. To Dinocrates he committed the design and execution of his new city; which, as if he had wished to attach his reputation to the labours of peace and improvement, rather than to those of war and desolation, he named after himself Alexandria.

Alexandria Founded. B. C. 331.



Alexandria.

Alexander visits the temple of Jupiter Ammon.

The resolution of this wonderful man to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon, has never been clearly explained, nor traced to motives such as usually influenced his sagacious mind. Arrian merely informs us that Alexander, about this time, was smitten with a desire of visiting that famous temple, and of consulting the oracle; because Perseus and Hercules had formerly consulted the god, and because he counted these personages among his ancestors. As was to be expected, a number of supernatural occurrences distinguished this expedition.

Rain fell miraculously from heaven to quench the thirst of the exhausted Macedonians whilst travelling through the desert; and when they had lost their way amidst the trackless sand, a couple of dragons, or large serpents, appeared in order to conduct them to the sacred territory of Ammon. It was worthy of remark, that whilst Ptolemy describes these guides as belonging to the species of animals we have just named, his brother officer, Aristobulus, who was also of the party, informs his readers that they owed this seasonable interposition to a pair of ravens. Rooke, in his notes attached to Arrian's history, indulges in much absurd merriment, in regard to these divine heralds, whilst he seems altogether incapable of penetrating the mystery which is occasioned by the use of this figurative language. The learned Bryant, on the contrary, proceeding on the fact that both the serpent and the raven were symbolical of sacred things among the Egyptians, conceives that such names might be given to different orders of priests, who, in their turn, might act as guides to the devotees whose zeal led them to cross the Libyan desert. A more natural explication of the passage has been suggested by an annotator on Strabo, who reminds us, that in a wilderness destitute of water, the flights of birds is commonly held as a sure indication of the existence of woods and fountains in the neighbourhood towards which it is directed. B. C. 331.

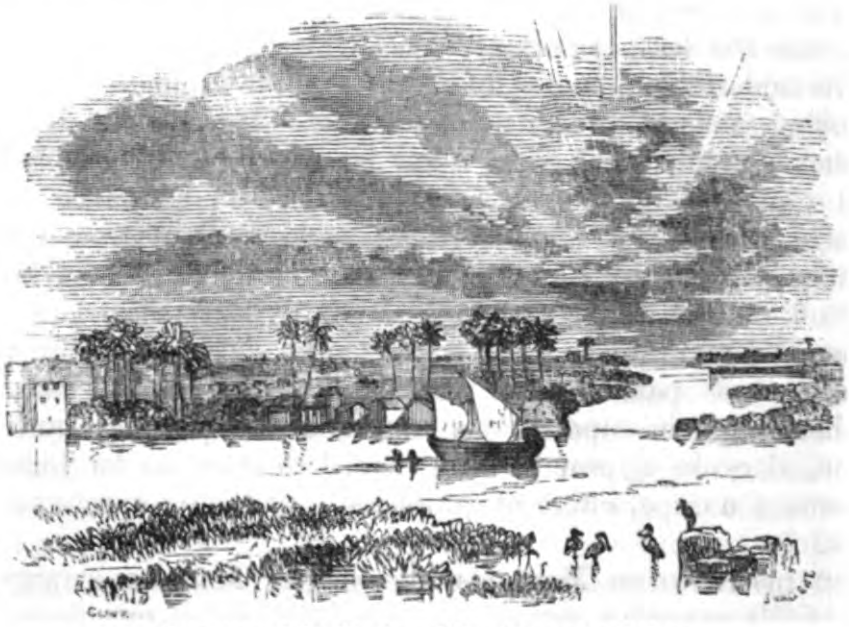
Arrived at the land of Ammon, which is described as a green and pleasant spot in the arid waste, the Macedonian prince was received with the respect becoming his high rank, and with that reverence to which his great piety had entitled him. The answer of the oracle, of which we are told nothing more than that it was satisfactory, seems not to have come down to the time of Arrian; and there is, moreover, much reason to believe that the response to be delivered from the holy shrine, was the least important object which Alexander had in view, when he undertook a march of more than three hundred miles over the moving sands of an African wilderness. It is not to be imagined that such a man as he could allow his mind to fall a prey to the absurd vanity of obtaining from the oracle, an assurance that his parentage was divine; or that there could be any ground for the puerilities narrated by Plutarch and Quintus Curtius as having been played off by the juggling priests to gratify their illustrious visitor. No character of antiquity could employ more successfully than the son of Philip those passions and weaknesses of the human race which have their origin in superstitious fears and anticipations; but, on no occasion, does he appear to have yielded to them so far himself, as to become the dupe, either of prophets or of the interpreters of prophecies. Arrives at the oracle.

Upon his return to Memphis, the king of Macedon arranged the affairs of his extensive government, and appointed presidents of his newly-acquired provinces; keeping in view his great object, the conquest of Persia, which was about to engage all the powers of his active mind, as well as all the resources of the confederated states.

In the spring of the year he proceeded to Tyre, where the naval and military forces which he had raised in Macedonia, or which were intrusted to his command by the Grecian republics, had been ordered to assemble. Having transacted business here with certain commissioners from Athens and other allied cities, he put his army in motion, in order to commence his third Asiatic campaign, and to complete the subjugation of the Persian monarchy.

B. C. 331. Crosses the Euphrates.

In the beginning of June, in the year noted in the margin, the Macedonian hero reached the Euphrates, having performed his march thither without any opposition. At Thapsacus, where he intended to cross that celebrated barrier of the Persian territory, he found the bridges broken down, and about four thousand horsemen manœuvring on the opposite bank; stationed there, however, rather to observe his motions, than to dispute his passage, for they immediately retired upon ascertaining his purpose to transport his troops to the eastern side. Meeting no hostile force, Alexander advanced along the northern border of Mesopotamia: in the course of which march, he learned from certain prisoners taken by his mounted skirmishers, that Darius had already occupied a strong position on the farther bank of the Tigris, where he seemed disposed to await the approach of his adversary. It had been the intention of the confederates, as suggested by Alexander, to proceed at once to Babylon, to strike a decisive blow at the very heart of the empire; but no sooner were they informed of the situation and apparent views of the Persian king, than they yielded to the advice of their able commander, and immediately directed their march towards the Tigris, in order to bring on a battle.



Junction of the Tigris and Euphrates at Chebar.

Pursuing the line of this river, the fourth day brought the Macedonians in sight of the enemy; who appeared to be retreating still

farther into the southern provinces, either with a view of falling back upon his resources, or of exhausting the army of Alexander by fatiguing marches. Darius, however, was so closely pressed, that he could not any longer follow this judicious system. It was now necessary for him to hazard a battle; and he therefore proceeded to make preparations for it, with considerable skill and foresight, and with a due reference to the nature of the ground where he was posted, and the character of the troops under his command. Leaving his heavy baggage and military chest in the fortified town of Arbela, he made choice of a field about six miles off, on the banks of the Bumadus, a stream which falls into the Tigris, where the open plain appeared suitable for the action of his numerous cavalry, and particularly of his armed chariots. B. C. 331.

In estimating the number of troops engaged in this memorable conflict, we are, as usual, puzzled with the various and inconsistent statements of the several Grecian historians. Arrian, indeed, favours us with a very minute muster-roll of the different nations which fought under the standard of the great king, as well as with the names of the respective commanders who conducted them to the war; but he is, at the same time, so extremely negligent in regard to the actual numbers which every tribe brought into the field, that we have no means of satisfying ourselves as to the accuracy of the total amount of the Persian force, with which Alexander had to cope at Gaugamela. This historian relates that the infantry under Darius, was not short of a million; whilst the cavalry, according to his estimate, amounted to forty thousand, the armed chariots to two hundred, and the elephants to about fifteen; a computation which is evidently as much exaggerated, as the Macedonian army engaged in this battle is diminished—the numbers of the latter being reduced as low as forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse. Force of the Persians as enumerated by Arrian.

The invader having granted to his soldiers a rest of four days, began to fortify his camp and make preparations for an attack on the enemy's lines. At the second watch of the fifth night, accordingly he drew out his forces, with the intention, as it should seem, of leading them against the Persians by break of day; but having advanced about half the distance which intervened between the two camps, and reaching the summit of some small hills which had concealed each host from the other, Alexander perceived so many tokens of defensive preparation on the part of his adversary, that he thought it expedient to halt and summon a council of war. The majority of the commanders were for an immediate attack: Parmenio, however, opposed himself to that rash opinion, and advised the king to examine well the nature of the ground on which they were about to risk their safety and reputation, and by all means to postpone the attack till night. The advice of this faithful veteran coincided, in this instance, with the judgment of his royal master; who, repressing his usual ardour and impatience, spent the day in viewing the several bearings of the field, and in

B. C. 331. securing himself against the use of stratagem or any other undue advantage on the side of the Persians. Both armies appear to have remained at their posts, ready for battle, till the next morning; when each, desirous to bring to a decision the momentous interests which were suspended on the fortune of the day, advanced slowly to meet the other.

Battle of Gaugamela, and flight of Darius. B. C. 331.

The action commenced with the cavalry and chariots, and soon became general throughout both lines, and sanguinary in the extreme. Arrian admits that the battle was for some time doubtful. The Scythian horse, well armed and remarkably brave, pressed hard on the Greeks, and even compelled them to give ground; but discipline and skill at length prevailed over numbers and courage. The Macedonian phalanx advancing to the charge, overthrew the Persian foot, and created so much confusion in their ranks, that Darius was carried off the field among the fugitives, and, according to Arrian, set an early example of flight and despondency.

The fortune of the day, however, was not yet quite determined, and the eagerness of Alexander to secure the person of their unhappy monarch, had nearly thrown the victory into the hands of the Persians. Having weakened his left wing in order to make a more efficient attack with his right, he instantly commenced pursuit at the head of his victorious cavalry; leaving the former wing exposed to a furious charge from a large body of the enemy's horse under Mazæus. This officer, who seems to have been one of the most active in the Persian service, broke through a double line of phalangites, commanded by Parmenio, and proceeded forthwith to take possession of the Macedonian camp, which, during the battle, was protected by a very small guard. Overcoming the resistance of this inadequate force, the troops of Mazæus betook themselves to plunder; and having set at liberty such prisoners as they found in the hands of the enemy, they encouraged them to take a share in the booty and massacre, to which they most inconsiderately confined their attention, even at a time when the main body of their army was involved in a total rout, and their king driven from the field.

Fierce conflict of the cavalry.

Messengers were despatched after Alexander to inform him of the precarious circumstances in which Parmenio now found himself. Returning, therefore, with the utmost speed, he charged a body of Persian cavalry, which were still hanging on the left wing, and which had prevented the Macedonian general from sending relief to the camp. A conflict, singularly fierce and destructive, immediately ensued. Sixty of that famous corps called "The Companions" were killed, whilst fighting around the person of their prince; and Hephæstion, Cœnus, and Menidas, generals of high rank in his army, were severely wounded. The tactics and valour of the Grecian cavalry, however, restored once more the balance of fortune: the Persians betook themselves to flight; upon which Alexander gave orders to Parmenio to take possession of their camp, whilst he, at the

head of his indefatigable horsemen, instantly resumed the pursuit of the fugitive king. B. C. 331.

After the delay occasioned by his return to the relief of his left wing, it was not to be expected that the most rapid movement, practicable for troops at the close of an obstinate fight, could bring Alexander within reach of Darius. Arriving, accordingly, upon the approach of night, at the river Lycus, which the Persian had already crossed in safety, the victor issued orders to his men to relinquish the pursuit, and refresh themselves. He himself, however, seemed to require no repose. At midnight he set out for Arbela, and arrived so unexpectedly, that he obtained possession of the town without any opposition; finding in it the rich treasures which had been deposited there for the use of the army, together with a chariot, bow, and shield of the Persian monarch, the second set of spoils of the same description which had fallen into his hands.

The numbers of the slain in the contending armies, as recorded by Arrian, are marked with so much improbability, that it is only surprising they should ever have been received by creditable writers. "The Persians," says he, "lost three hundred thousand men in killed, and a still greater number in prisoners." The loss of the Greeks, according to the same authority, did not exceed a hundred men; a statement, not only grossly improbable in itself, when considered with a reference to the fierceness of the combat, but even quite inconsistent with the details of the battle, as narrated by Arrian himself.

Surrender of Babylon.

Darius having collected some of the scattered remains of his army, turned his face towards the north, and prepared to make, in the provinces of Media, a last effort for the preservation of the empire. Meanwhile, Alexander directed his march to Babylon, with the view of rendering himself master of the fruitful provinces of the south; and arriving there at the head of his victorious forces, was met by the whole population of that great city, who came forth unarmed; the nobles and priests leading a solemn procession, bearing presents in their hands to the conqueror of the east, and prepared to inform him that the town, the citadel, and the treasury, were already placed at his disposal. These fruits of his victory were much more ample than he had expected; and he knew well how to profit by them. He gratified his soldiers with sums of money; received the vanquished into his favour; appointed some of them to offices of trust; soothed the people with demonstrations of his respect for their religious rites; and even assisted at a festival held by his orders in the temple of Belus, the chief of their gods.

During his stay in the capital of Assyria, information was conveyed to him, that the Armenians also were eager to acknowledge his sovereignty; and he was soon after favoured with the intelligence, that the inhabitants of Susa, the principal seat of the Persian government, were likewise willing to change their dynasty of rulers. Ac-

B. C. 331. cordingly, proceeding thither with his army, he was met by the son of the satrap, accompanied by a messenger, who was authorised to assure him that the city would be surrendered immediately on his arrival, and the treasury, containing about ten millions sterling, would be given up into his hands. On the twentieth day, says Arrian, after his departure from Babylon, he arrived at Susa, and entering the town, took possession of all the money, amounting to fifty thousand talents, besides the royal furniture. Many other things, he adds, were found there, which Xerxes had formerly carried out of Greece, and particularly the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, those celebrated tyrannicides, so deeply venerated by the Athenians as the avengers of liberty. These works of art were ordered by Alexander to be sent to the people of Athens, as a testimony at once of his respect for their character, and of his own conquests over their ancient enemies.

Reinforcements from Macedon.

Diodorus and Curtius agree in the statement that Alexander, when at Susa, placed the wife and family of Darius in the palace-royal, and committed the civil government of the town to a native Persian. Whilst here, too, a powerful reinforcement arrived from Macedonia, accompanied by fifty youths of the first families in that country, sent by their parents, and recommended by Antipater to be admitted into the king's guard. Finding his army thus strengthened, Alexander made arrangements for pursuing his conquests in Persia Proper, the birthplace of the famous Cyrus, and the stronghold of the vast empire which that conqueror established in Asia. A range of mountains divided the territory of Susiana from that of Persia, inhabited by hardy and determined barbarians, who thought themselves able to check the progress even of the Macedonian commander, when shut in among the narrow and difficult passes of their rugged country. But they knew not the enemy with whom they had now to contend. The light troops of the invader, deceiving their vigilance, or anticipating their movements, secured the straits, before the rude mountaineers had perceived their advance; and thus, instead of obtaining payment of toll, which they had been accustomed to exact, even from the Persian kings, the Uxian villagers found themselves at the mercy of a foreign sovereign.

A severer conflict awaited Alexander at a pass in the Sogdian mountains, where the satrap Ariobarzanes awaited his approach with a body of troops, amounting, according to Arrian, to forty thousand foot and horse. The Persian had taken his ground so well, and defended it so resolutely, that the best soldiers of Macedon were unable to make any impression upon his lines; and it was not until Alexander had found means to conduct a body of men through another pass, to fall upon his rear, whilst the main body attacked his forces in front, that the gate of Persia was secured for the combined army. The main object of the invader now, was, to get possession of the treasury in Persepolis, before the news of the satrap's defeat could

induce the Persian officers, commanding in that city, to remove or destroy it; and, accordingly, to prevent such a spoliation, (which he had reason to believe, was actually intended,) he advanced with extraordinary rapidity to the capital, and completely defeated the designs of his enemies. B. C. 331.

Destruction of the palace of the king of Persia at Persepolis.

The fatigues and anxieties of war were here followed, as usual, with much festivity and rejoicing; and the destruction of the magnificent palace of the ancient kings of Persia, unfortunately commemorates the intemperance of Alexander during his stay in Persepolis. The celebrated Thais, an Athenian courtesan, was admitted to the banquet at which the Macedonian prince entertained his commanders. Being heated with wine, and stimulated by the recollection of what she had heard concerning the demolition of Athens in former times, by the hands of the Persians, she proposed to avenge the cause of her native land, by reducing to ashes the royal dwelling of its haughty enemies. Some of the Grecian officers, we are told, willing to check in their captain-general the growing partiality, which they could not fail to observe, for Persian luxuries and manners, and afraid, perhaps, that he might be induced to establish his residence in the east, did not think it necessary to refuse their concurrence to the mad proposal of their countrywoman. The hero of the Granicus, accordingly, perceiving that his friends expressed no decided aversion to the frolic, sallied forth with a torch in his hand, and set fire to the gorgeous palace of the great king, the conqueror of Assyria, and lord of the Medes and Persians. He was, however, immediately seized with repentance; and exerting himself to stop the progress of the conflagration, he fortunately succeeded in saving a part of the royal buildings, as well as in preventing the ravages of the flames from extending to the houses of the city.

Confederacy against Macedon, and its defeat by Antipater.

We have already mentioned that Darius, after his defeat at Arbela, conducted the few troops which he was able to collect into the country of the Medes; and it appears from the concurrent testimony of historians, that during the four months the victor spent at Persepolis, the vanquished monarch, in conjunction with the anti-Macedonian party among the Greeks, found the means of exciting an active war against Alexander in his hereditary states. The Lacedæmonians at the head of this confederacy took the field, and offered battle to Antipater, the viceroy of Macedon; who, descending into Peloponnesus with such a force as he could raise, attacked the enemies of his master, and, after a sanguinary conflict, secured for him a complete victory, dispersing the combined army of Spartans, Arcadians, and Achaians, and leaving Agis, the king of Lacedæmon, dead on the field. In consequence of this successful campaign, Alexander had the satisfaction to find that the governors of Sparta, no longer hostile to the allied republics, made haste to send into Asia their contingent of troops, to assist him in the complete subjugation of the Persian empire.

As soon as the season would permit, Alexander commenced his

B. C. 330. fourth campaign in the east, by marching into Media to attack Darius, who was said to have collected such a body of troops as to justify another appeal to arms, in defence of his northern dominions. The defeat of his partisans in Greece, however, and the rapid advance of his indefatigable adversary, produced a sudden change of determination on the part of the Persian, and he fled from Ecbatana, the capital, with an escort of about nine thousand men, carrying with him a mass of treasure valued at a million and a half sterling.

Rapid pursuit of Darius.

The extensive territory of the Medes having thus, without a blow, been added to the conquest of Alexander, he became more desirous than ever to obtain possession of the fugitive monarch's person. Making a selection, therefore, of his most active troops, he set out from Ecbatana in pursuit of Darius; and having during eleven days performed marches of incredible rapidity, he arrived at Rhagæ, near the celebrated pass, called the Caspian Gate, in the mountains of Caucasus; where he learned that the unfortunate king, despairing of successful resistance, had abandoned the strong hilly ground, and was now continuing his flight in the open plains of Parthia. Whilst the conqueror remained at the town just named, in order to refresh his men and collect provisions, information was brought to him by two Persian chiefs, who could no longer accompany their sovereign in his rapid retreat, that Bessus, the satrap of Bactria, with another satrap, and the commander of the cavalry, had conspired against the unhappy Darius, whom they were then dragging along as their prisoner; and whose life would, in all probability, be sacrificed to the accomplishment of their ambitious views, or personal safety.

Assassination of Darius.

Such intelligence could not fail to prove a fresh stimulus to Alexander. Marching, accordingly, throughout the night, he found himself next day, at noon, in a village which the satraps, with their royal charge, had left but the preceding evening; and, again pushing forward across a waterless desert, which presented a nearer road than the one taken by the fugitives, he had the pleasure to discover, with the first light of the morning, the enemy hastening before him in a disorderly retreat. As he continued to gain upon their steps, a few of the more resolute attempted resistance; but finding that they could not possibly convey away their prisoner alive, and afraid, it should seem, that his name and influence might be turned against them, did he fall into the hands of Alexander, the barbarian satraps plunged their swords into the body of their ill-fated prince, and immediately rode off, leaving him mortally wounded. Before the pursuers could reach his chariot, Darius had expired; and nothing now remained of the mighty sovereign of Asia but a bleeding corpse, presenting a silent appeal to the generosity of the youthful conqueror, about to be indebted for the rites of sepulture to the very hand which had deprived him of all the power and splendour belonging to the greatest potentate of the east. Nor did Alexander refuse the claim that was thus made upon him. He ordered the lifeless body to be treated with honour and

respect; and sending it into Persia, gave command that it should be deposited in the royal tomb, with all the pomp and ceremony formerly used at the burial of the kings of that country. B. C. 330.

Conclusion of the war.

The death of Darius may be regarded as the conclusion of the eventful war which the confederated Greeks, under the Macedonian chief, waged with their ancient enemies, the rulers of Persia and Assyria. Bessus, indeed, that faithless and unfeeling satrap, who, upon the murder of his master, assumed the title of Artaxerxes, had the presumption to aspire to the sovereignty of the empire; and was, it is added, already busy in the attempt to gain over to his views the adherents of the late king, and particularly the Greeks who had served in his army. As, however, his ambition was not supported either by power or by talent, it only paved the way for his downfall; and, placing him ultimately in the hands of Alexander, brought upon him that severe punishment by which he atoned for the assassination of his sovereign.

Execution of Philotas and Parmenio.

Whilst engaged in reducing some of the northern provinces attached to the Median dominions, the attention of the king of Macedon was attracted to symptoms of disloyalty among certain of his officers. The first who was brought to trial was Philotas, the son of Parmenio, accused of having engaged in traitorous measures against him. The nature of the charge is nowhere clearly explained; but it appears to have satisfied the military judges who were appointed to inquire into it, for the young general was condemned and executed. The death of Philotas was soon followed by that of his father, Parmenio, the confidential friend of Philip, and reputed the ablest commander in the Macedonian army. This brave soldier was at the head of a body of troops in Media when certain officers were despatched thither to supersede him in his military authority, and to place him before a tribunal. What the crimes or suspicions were which rendered expedient so severe a measure against a favourite old general, we have no means even of forming a conjecture; the narrative of the historian being confined to the simple fact that, in pursuance of a sentence, Parmenio suffered death.

Pursuit of Bessus.

Determined to inflict punishment on the murderers of Darius, the Grecian hero once more directed his course eastward; and having obtained the submission of Bactria, Aria, and Aornos, he continued his progress till, crossing the deep and rapid Oxus, he entered the province of Sogdiana, which was at that period under the command of the satrap Spitamenes. When on the eastern bank of the river now named, Alexander received information that Bessus had taken refuge in a small fort, after being deserted, if not even actually betrayed, by Spitamenes, on whose invitation he had been induced to intrust his life to the fidelity of the Sogdians. This stronghold was summoned by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who promised security to the town and garrison on the sole condition of their surrendering the assassin of Darius into the hands of the king of Macedon. The terms were

B.C. 330. accepted; and Bessus, after being cruelly mutilated, according to the fashion of the oriental barbarians, whose practices Alexander now showed some inclination to adopt, was put to death, either in the capital of Media, or in that of the Bactrian satrapy, his former residence and seat of government.

B. C. 329. Reduces the Bactrians.

The Bactrians and other inhabitants of the remote provinces which extend between the Caspian sea and the river Iaxartes, continued, notwithstanding the death of Bessus and the nominal submission of Spitamenes, to occupy, during several months, the arms of Alexander. Naturally courageous, and smitten with the love of independence, these hardy barbarians yielded with much reluctance to the progress of Macedonian invasion. The fidelity of Spitamenes, too, was seduced by the prospect of kingly power; and he invited the natives of Sogdiana, as well as the roaming Scythians, who fed their flocks on the banks of the Iaxartes, to join his standard, in order to repel the Greeks from their territory, and establish an independent sovereignty in the north. The rude warfare of barbarians, however, proved unequal to the experienced tactics of their invader. Spitamenes was defeated by the Macedonian general Cœnus; and, flying into the desert, was put to death by his own people, who sent his head to the conqueror, as a token that they would no longer continue their resistance, or with the more immediate intention of securing their personal safety.

B.C. 327. Capture of the Bactrian fortress.

There now remained only two fortresses in Sogdiana, or in the adjoining province of Parætacene, which opposed the arms, and bade defiance to the engineers of Macedonia. Into one of these Oxyartes, the Bactrian, removed his wife and children; and as the rock on which the Sogdian stronghold stood was very lofty, and so steep on all sides as to be almost inaccessible, the garrisons usually placed in it imagined they had nothing to fear, except the assault of famine. Having, however, on the present occasion, an abundant supply of provisions for a long siege, and deriving a copious supply of water from the snow which lay deep around their buildings, the Bactrians were so confident in their strength, that when summoned by Alexander to surrender, they contemptuously asked him whether his soldiers had wings. To this extraordinary man difficulties always proved a stimulus to exertion; and being determined, in this instance, to exhibit an instructive lesson to the rude soldiers of the Scythian wilds, he called into action all the means which he possessed, whether of skill or hardihood, in his army, in order to reduce the vaunted castle of Oxyartes. He offered a reward of twelve talents to the individual who should first mount the top of the rock on which it was situated, and smaller sums to those who should immediately follow him in the assault. The place was next day in the hands of Alexander; who found among the captives the beautiful Roxana, a daughter of the revolted chief, and who soon became wife to the renowned conqueror of Asia.

Marriage with Roxana.

This union with the family of Oxyartes, though offensive to the prejudices of his Grecian subjects, was dictated not only by affection for the fair Bactrian, but also by political considerations, affecting the stability of his empire in the east. There is reason to believe that a large portion of his soldiers had been for some time recruited in the conquered states of the Persian dominions, and that his views were now directed to such alliances among his European and Asiatic subjects as might ultimately effect a complete consolidation of his power over the wide regions already traversed by his victorious army. In the mean time the example of Oxyartes, who had submitted to Alexander, and the generous conduct of the latter to those whom he vanquished in war, induced Cherienes, the governor of the fort in the Parætacean hills, to listen to terms of capitulation, and to accept, in like manner, the friendship of the conqueror. B.C. 327.

By such achievements, the great empire of Persia and of the Medes was at length transferred to the Macedonians. The arms of Alexander were already touching the boundaries of India, and were about to disturb the repose of those ancient kingdoms in eastern Asia, of which imagination, and an uncertain tradition, had presented the most splendid pictures to the minds of Europeans. Mean time, we may be allowed to remark, that in the conduct of the eventful war which was now brought to a close, the transcendent abilities of this great commander were conspicuously displayed. His example taught the troops to despise hunger, cold, fatigue, and danger. Neither rugged mountains, nor deep rapid rivers, nor wounds, nor sickness, could interrupt his progress, nor abate his activity. His courage indeed often exposed him to difficulties from which he could only be extricated by such new efforts of bravery as, in any other general, would have passed for unwarrantable rashness. Amidst all the perils and hardships of a military life, too, he still respected the claims of humanity, and practised the virtues of forbearance and clemency. The conquered nations were all allowed to enjoy their ancient laws and privileges; the rigours of despotism were softened; arts and industry were encouraged; and the proudest governors compelled by the authority and example of their chief to observe the rules of justice towards their meanest subjects. To civilise the fierce inhabitants of the hilly country he built a city, to which he gave his name, in the range of Paropamisus; and to habituate the roaming Scythians to the manners of cultivated society, he founded towns and planted colonies on the banks of the Oxus and the Iaxartes. Even his operations in the field, and his extensive campaigns, usually ascribed to restless activity or blind ambition, appeared to his discerning mind as not only essential to the security of the conquests which he had already made, but also as necessary preparations for those more remote and splendid expeditions which he still meditated.

Effects of Alexander's brilliant example.

From this period, indeed, his views have been described as less patriotic, and as being actuated almost solely by personal ambition,

B. C. 329. and the love of military glory. His resolution to invade India, too, has been regarded as a measure of very doubtful expediency; but even by those who are the most severe in their strictures on the policy of his eastern expedition, the wisdom, humanity, and skill which he showed in the war with Persia, have been most unequivocally applauded.

Whilst in winter-quarters in Bactria, two occurrences took place which contributed not a little to disturb the enjoyments of Alexander, as well as to admonish him that the maxims and habits of Orientals would ultimately alienate the affections of his Macedonian subjects, and thereby undermine the foundations of his power. We allude to the murder of Clitus, and the conspiracy of his young guard.

Murder of Clitus. B. C. 329.

This celebrated commander, indignant at the flattery which was poured into the ears of his prince, during an entertainment in honour of Castor and Pollux, thought proper to reprove the sycophants, who abused the rising vanity of the conqueror. The interference was disagreeable to Alexander. He remonstrated with Clitus, who heated with wine, turned fiercely on the king himself, and addressed him in very offensive terms. After a pause, the provocation was renewed; when the monarch, no longer able to restrain his fury, snatched a weapon from one of the guards, and killed the general on the spot. This unhappy event was, we are told, followed by deep remorse. Three days Alexander confined himself to his chamber, and would neither eat nor drink; and it was not until the rash act was ascribed to the anger of Bacchus, that he allowed himself to receive comfort, and to desist from his merited self-upbraidings.

Conspiracy of the band of pages. B. C. 327.

The conspiracy among the band of pages, as they have been called, originated in an affront which one of them received from the king, during a boar hunt, in the neighbourhood of Bactria. Hermolaus, a youth of the class now mentioned, struck the game before Alexander, who was at hand, and was, for this indiscretion, immediately chastised with rods and deprived of his horse, in the presence of all his companions. The wounded pride of the page dictated a terrible revenge. As the band to which he belonged had the duty of keeping watch during the night in the royal bed-chamber, Hermolaus induced four of the number to enter so completely into his vindictive purpose as to agree to murder the king in his sleep. The plot was, however, discovered by means of an old woman, who dissuaded her master from going to bed that night; and the young conspirators being next day put to the rack, revealed all the particulars of their horrid plan, and declared that Callisthenes the philosopher, a turbulent and rude personage attached to the suite of Alexander, was their chief instigator. Punishment was immediately inflicted, according to the usage of the Macedonians; and the king, already tired of the inactivity incident to winter quarters, began his preparations for a march into India.

The spring of the year being somewhat advanced, the conqueror of

Asia set his troops in motion; and crossing the ridge of Paropamisus with an army of more than a hundred thousand men, he descended into the plains which divide Persia from the rich territory that is watered by the Indus. Having reached the banks of the Cophenes, he divided his forces; and, placing a detachment under Hephæstion and Perdiccas who were directed to advance to the river just named and make preparations for crossing it, he himself, with the main body, assumed the more laborious undertaking of subduing the barbarians who should happen to oppose his progress. Alexander's expedition to India. B. C. 327.

After many severe conflicts with a variety of tribes, whose names are now altogether unknown, and the reduction of the strong fortress of Aornus, which was situated on a rock, nearly a mile and a half in height, Alexander led his army southward, into the country between the Cophenes and Indus, where stood of old, the celebrated town called Nysa, said to have been founded by Bacchus, in the fabulous ages of Grecian conquest. He immediately crossed the Indus, and received the submission of the several princes who dwelt on its eastern banks. Among these was Taxiles, a ruler of considerable eminence, who, besides other presents, brought to the Macedonian seven thousand Indian horse; offering, at the same time, the surrender of his capital, the most wealthy and populous city between the Indus and Hydaspes. Alexander, however, still actuated by the same generous motives which marked his conduct towards the vanquished chiefs of Persia, and desirous to have friends rather than enemies behind him, not only restored to Taxiles his dominions, but even added to their extent.

Preparing to pass the Hydaspes with the view of pursuing his conquests eastward, the king of Macedon was informed that Porus, a powerful and warlike monarch, had advanced with a large army to the bank of the river, to dispute his passage. To expose his troops in the face of an enemy so numerous and determined, was a measure, which, viewed in connection with the ultimate objects now entertained by Alexander, and his increasing distance from his resources, he could not fail to regard as extremely hazardous. He therefore had recourse to stratagem. Feigning an attack on Porus, night after night, he at length so far deceived the vigilance of that commander, as to throw a part of his army across, before the break of day, a movement which brought on a general engagement, and obtained for the Macedonians a complete victory. The unfortunate Indian lost both his sons, all his captains, twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and was himself carried a prisoner into the camp of the conqueror. Alexander, it is said, admired his stature and the majesty of his person; but he admired still more his courage and magnanimity. Having asked in what he could oblige him? Porus replied, "By acting like a king." That, said Alexander with a smile, I should do for my own sake, but what can I do for yours? Porus replied, "All my wishes are contained in that one request." Struck with the firmness of the captive prince, Alexander declared him reinstated in his throne, and received him into Is opposed by Porus.

B.C. 327. the number of his allies and friends: and having soon after reduced a people, named the Glansæ, who had thirty-seven popular cities on his eastern frontier, he added this valuable province to the dominion of his new confederate.



Defeat of Porus.

Alexander founds the cities of Nicæa and Bucephalia.

The conqueror, devoting some time here to the refreshment of his army, exhibited on the banks of the Hydaspes the gymnastic and equestrian games of his native country: and before leaving that river he signalised his victories by founding two cities, one of which he called Nicæa, in reference to the battle with Porus, and the other Bucephalia, in honour of his favourite horse, which died there, worn out by age and fatigue.

Intrusting to Craterus a division of his army, which was to be employed in building and fortifying the new cities, Alexander continued his march eastward. He crossed the river Acesines, which is said to be fifteen furlongs broad; and having subdued the feeble opposition of another prince called Porus—a word which seems to have imported a title rather than a mere name—he next passed the Hydraotes, a stream of the same breadth with the Acesines, but flowing with a more gentle current. Arrived on the eastern bank, he received intelligence that several independent tribes were prepared to oppose his progress. A battle ensued, in which the undisciplined courage of the barbarians was, as usual, overcome by the experience and more perfect arms of the invaders; and the former being driven from the field took refuge in their city, Sangala, a place of considerable strength as well by nature as by very laborious fortifications. The Indians, unhappily, resolved to abide the hazard of a siege, and their town, after an obstinate

defence, was taken by assault. Seventeen thousand are said to have fallen on that occasion, and about seventy thousand to have been taken prisoners. The city itself was razed, and the confederates either submitted to Alexander, or attempted, by retiring to the banks of the Hyphasis, to find safety beyond the reach of his arms. B. C. 327.

Refusal of his troops to proceed.

The captain-general of Greece was now master of that valuable country which is at present called the Punjaub, watered by the five great rivers, whose united streams form the Indus. The Hyphasis, the most eastern of the five, was not crossed by the victorious army; for it was whilst this indefatigable chief was preparing for the passage of that current, that his European troops adopted the resolution of returning into Europe, and relinquishing all further conquest in the east. It was with no small reluctance that Alexander yielded to their determination. Misled by inaccurate ideas of Indian geography, he imagined that he was at no great distance from the extreme boundaries of the Asiatic continent; and exhorting his soldiers to proceed, he assured them of a short passage homeward by sea, from the Indian ocean through the Persian Gulf. All his arguments and remonstrances, however, were in vain: and at length finding that even his veteran Macedonians would accompany him no farther, he made a pretence of consulting the gods, and announced to his army, that the will of heaven coincided with their wishes. Proceeding, then, to erect twelve altars on the banks of the Hyphasis, equal in height to the highest towers used in fortifications, he left them as monuments of his victories, as well as to define the extent of his empire towards the east. He committed to Porus the command of seven nations, including, it is said, two thousand cities, and forthwith commenced preparations for sailing down the Hydaspes, to its junction with the Indus, and thence along that majestic stream to the ocean.

Narrow escape of Alexander.

Alexander divided his army into three parts: one of which he intrusted to Hephæstion, another to Craterus, commanding them to proceed along the opposite bank of the river; whilst himself, at the head of the third, embarked in vessels prepared by his Phœnician and Cypriot followers, to drop down the stream in company with the forces ashore. This navigation employed several months, being frequently retarded by hostilities with the natives on either shore, particularly with the Malli, a tribe of warlike and resolute barbarians. Having landed, in order to chastise these active assailants, the king laid siege to their capital; and proceeding to storm it, he allowed himself to be betrayed by his courage into an exploit, which, in any other man, would have been accounted madness. The Mallians, chased from their ramparts, had taken refuge in the citadel; upon which Alexander commanded the scaling ladders to be applied with all possible expedition; but the persons appointed to perform this service, not advancing with a rapidity equal to his impatience, he snatched a ladder, fastened it to the wall, and mounted in defiance of the enemy's weapons. The Macedonians alarmed for their king, followed in such

B. C. 327. numbers, that the ladder broke, just as he reached the top; and for some moments, Alexander remained alone on the wall, conspicuous by the brightness of his arms, and exposed to thick volleys of darts from the adjacent towers. Immediately he sprang into the place: and posting himself with his back to the wall, he slew the chief of the Mallians and three others who advanced to attack him. Meanwhile Abreus, Leonatus, and Peucestes leaped in, to assist his single arm, and, if possible to save his life. The first was instantly wounded and fell; the two others, regardless of their own safety, defended the king, whose breast was already pierced with an arrow, until a larger body of his men succeeded in bursting into the citadel to effect his rescue.

Is rescued by the Macedonians.

The Macedonians at length carried the stronghold, and procured without a moment's delay, such medical aid for their gallant leader, as placed his life beyond the reach of danger.

B. C. 326. Having arrived at the ocean, and provided necessaries for a long march, the Macedonian hero determined to proceed towards the capital of Persia, through the barren wilderness of Gedrosia. His motives to this most arduous undertaking were not those of vainglory, or a wish to surpass in extraordinary exploits the fame of Cyrus and Semiramis. On the contrary, as he had determined that his fleet under Nearchus, should sail on a voyage of discovery, along the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, it became necessary that a land force should proceed by the coast, to supply the ships with water, and to defend the crews when in search of provisions. The fleet and the army mutually assisted each other; and, by the example of their heroic sovereign, both soldiers and sailors were taught to despise toil, danger, and the severest privations. On foot, and carrying his usual armour, Alexander traversed the parching sands of the Gedrosian desert, sharing the fatigue, hunger, and thirst of the meanest soldier; nor was it till after a march of two months, distinguished by unexampled hardships, that the army and their royal leader arrived at the cultivated province of Carmania.

Marries the daughter of Darius.

The king of Macedon had much to reform, and not a little to punish, when he returned to the Persian dominions. The governors of

B. C. 325. Babylon, Persepolis, and Susa, had abused their power during his absence, and oppressed the people; and as all just complaints were listened to and redressed, such of the accused as did not save themselves by flight, were visited with a speedy and condign retribution. It was now, indeed, a leading object with Alexander to conciliate by all the means in his power, his numerous subjects in all parts of his empire; and with this view he encouraged marriages between the Greeks and Persians, and also adopted in his own person so much of the manners and habits of the latter people, as appeared necessary to recommend them to his court, and even to his army. We have observed that he left in the palace royal at Susa, the family of Darius, who had fallen into his hands at the battle of Arbela. He now married the eldest daughter of that unfortunate sovereign, though his wife

Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, was still alive; whilst he gave to B. C. 325.
Hephæstion, his friend and favourite general, the youngest sister of his new queen, as a consort, who, by her rank at least, was worthy of the fame and services of that noble soldier. In like manner he provided wives for about eighty of his distinguished commanders; and it fell to the lot of Nearchus, the celebrated admiral, to receive as his spouse, the daughter of Mentor, that able Grecian officer who so faithfully served the Persian monarch; and who, had he survived to aid the counsels of his brother Memnon, would in all probability have not only sustained the throne of the great king, but have even effected a change in the affairs of the civilised world. All the weddings took place in one day, and were celebrated after the Persian fashion: a compliment which could not fail to be agreeable to the families of the ladies. In short, by imitating the manners and using the language of the vanquished, Alexander gained rapidly in the affections of his eastern subjects; at the expense, however, it must be added, of forfeiting to some extent, the respect of the Greeks, who still continued to regard the barbarians with contempt, and to cherish a rooted dislike for their speech and domestic habits.

Domestic politics of Alexander.

Having arranged matters in Persia Proper, the conqueror proceeded B. C. 325.
to realize a plan which he had formed, for visiting the interior provinces of his empire. Sailing down the river Eulæus, he ascended the Tigris with the purpose of ascertaining the capabilities of those streams, in a commercial point of view, and of introducing such improvements, as an actual survey by experienced officers might suggest to him, in the course of the voyage. Upon his arrival at Babylon, he found the Euphrates obstructed with dams and mounds, drawn across the current; a precaution adopted by the kings of Persia, for defending their provinces from sudden incursions by water, as well as for confining the ambition of their Assyrian subjects to the trade and affluence afforded by the culture of their own fields. But Alexander having nothing to fear from hostile armaments, made haste to open his rivers for fleets of merchantmen. He repaired the harbours, constructed arsenals, and built at Babylon, a dock sufficiently large to contain a thousand ships. By these and similar improvements, he expected to facilitate internal commerce among his central provinces, while by opening new channels of communication, he hoped to unite the wealthy countries of Egypt and the east, with the most remote parts of the known world. Nor was his attention altogether confined to the commercial and military resources of his empire. He promoted likewise the important interests of agriculture. Finding that the Euphrates no longer supplied to the husbandman the usual quantity of water for the purposes of irrigation, whilst an extensive tract of the alluvial soil along its banks was, by the periodical floods, converted into a useless and unwholesome marsh, he employed a great number of men in erecting such works, as might secure to the inhabitants all the advantages of that magnificent river, both as an instrument of commercial intercourse, and as a source of

Promotes the interests of commerce and agriculture of Persia.

B. C. 325. fertility, beauty, and comfort to the extensive regions through which it flowed.

Mutiny of his troops.

Having, after his voyage down the Eulæus to the ocean, ascended the river Tigris, as far as the city of Opis, he gave rest to his troops, and celebrated the usual festival of the Macedonian Olympiad. Here, too, he had to sustain the assault of a mutinous disposition in his army; who, dissatisfied with his attention to his new subjects, and longing to revisit their native country, clamorously insisted on the relinquishment of his eastern conquests, or on obtaining a speedy discharge from the service. The speech, which Arrian reports as having been pronounced by Alexander on this occasion, is not less eloquent than affecting. He brought back his soldiers to a sense of their duty, and even revived in their hearts that love with which they had so long regarded their youthful king, and that implicit reliance which they had so long reposed in the talents and courage of their unrivalled commander. He sent home to Greece ten thousand veterans, loaded with rewards and honour; giving the charge of them during their march, to the sage and popular general Craterus, whom he at the same time nominated to succeed Antipater as viceroy, in Macedon, and his representative in the assemblies of the confederated Greeks.

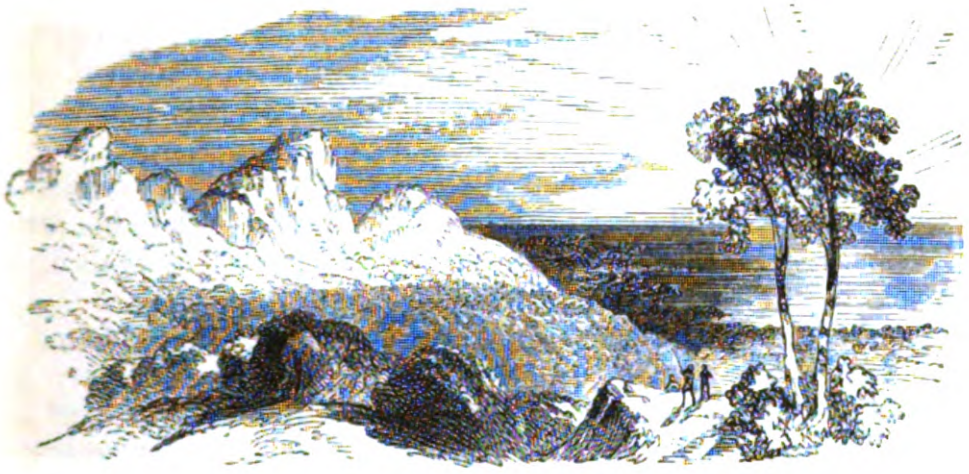
Death of Hephæstion. B. C. 325.

From Opis the conqueror marched into Media, with the intention of reducing to obedience a tribe of fierce, but very warlike mountaineers, who occupied the high grounds between that country and Persia, without owning a regular subjection to either. In the course of this march, Alexander was gratified with the sight of an Amazonian body-guard, supplied to him by one of the Median satraps; composed of a hundred women, mounted and equipped like troopers, but, instead of lances, carrying battle-axes. In the same expedition, too, he lost, by death, his dear friend and favourite officer, Hephæstion, who, at Ecbatana, sunk under the fatigues and privations of war, after an illness of seven days. The grief of the king was inconsolable. He shut himself up three days, indulging in the most immoderate sorrow; and it was not until he had buried the deceased commander in a style of extravagant magnificence, and found occupation for his mind in the mountain warfare with the Cossees, that the attendants of the affectionate monarch ceased to have serious apprehensions, in regard to the effects of the uneasiness which preyed upon his spirits.

B. C. 324.

When in Media, Alexander formed a plan for ascertaining the extent and geographical relations of the Caspian Sea. At the period of which we are writing, that large sheet of water was understood to be connected with the Arctic Ocean, on the north, and to open into the Pacific in an easterly direction; the boundaries of the great continent of Asia being then very imperfectly known, and, as it appears, erroneously considered to be very much contracted towards the pole and the rising sun. To remove all doubt, therefore, respecting the limits of the Caspian lake, the king of Macedon sent, under the command of Heraclides, a body of shipwrights into the forests of Hyrcania, with instructions to

build vessels and provide equipments suitable for a voyage of dis- B. C. 324.
covery.



The Caspian Sea.

Meanwhile, the conqueror of Asia made preparations for his entry into Babylon, the chosen capital of his eastern dominions. The priests of the temple of Belus, to whose hands he committed the management of a large revenue, when he visited that city, after the battle of Arbela, and who were, perhaps, not quite prepared for a minute scrutiny into their disbursements, arrayed against him all the terrors of their superstition, and laboured, by the most frightful predictions, to dissuade him from approaching their walls. A deputation of these Chaldean soothsayers met him at the distance of thirty miles from the gates, and assured him, that he could not at present enjoy a propitious entrance into Babylon; but Alexander was too well acquainted with the various arts of priestcraft to be diverted from his purpose by omens and oracles. He satisfied himself with replying to their extraordinary admonition in the words of Euripides: "He the best prophet is, who guesses best." His entry into Babylon. B. C. 324.

Seated in the palace of the Assyrian kings, whence so many proclamations were issued to all people, nations, and languages of the earth, the victorious son of Philip, far from indulging in the pleasures and pageantry of eastern princes, directed all his thoughts to the improvement of his vast dominions. He resumed his project for improving the river, and for relieving the rich soil which spread out on its banks, from the destructive incumbrance of stagnant waters. He even spent whole days in an open boat under a burning sun, superintending the numerous works which he had planned for the convenience and beauty of his capital. Amidst all these operations, however, he still retained the purpose which he had formed, when on the shores of the Persian Gulf, of surveying the coasts of Arabia and of eastern Africa, and of ultimately carrying his conquering arms to the remotest parts of that continent; and even, it is said, of adding to his dominions, the western nations of Europe, including the British

B. C. 324. Arrival of numerous embassies.

Isles. It is recorded by Arrian, that whilst at Babylon, embassies presented themselves to congratulate the king and to court his favour, from various parts of the African and European shores. He mentions envoys from Libya, and from Brutium, Lucania, and Tuscany in Italy; and alludes, also, to similar representatives from Carthage, from Ethiopia, from European Scythia, and even from the people who inhabited Gaul and Spain.

As preparatory to this great southern expedition, Alexander announced a magnificent sacrifice to the gods, and a feast to his army; with his usual attention to the decencies of religious observance, and with that regard for popularity which no wise commander will ever neglect, the king bore a distinguished part in each; but, whether his health was already impaired by the severe duties of his military life, and by the constant exposure of his person to the excessive heat and marshy effluvia which tainted the climate of Babylon, or whether he had indulged to excess in the enjoyments of the table during the hilarities of that momentous day, it admits not of doubt that he was next morning seized with a fever, which in a short time terminated his career of conquest and discovery. From a diary, called the *Royal Day Book*, to which both Arrian and Plutarch appear to have had access, a very particular account of the symptoms and progress of the disease is given by both these writers; and from the details there exhibited, it should seem that no fear of death was entertained till the eighth or ninth day of his illness. He bathed and attended sacrifice every morning, and even gave an audience to his principal officers, who were still employed in forwarding preparations for the projected expedition.

Death of Alexander. B. C. 323.

On the tenth day there was no longer any hope: and at this period the army, believing that he was already dead, and suspecting that the chief commanders had selfish views to realise, hostile to the common interest, became so extremely impatient to know the fate of their renowned leader, that they proceeded to threats of violence unless they were admitted to see his person, dead or alive. It was, therefore, conceded that a few of their number should, without arms, pass singly through the chamber where the king lay, and thereby receive the most satisfactory evidence that no deceit was practised upon them. Alexander was still able to return their looks with an eye of intelligence. He raised his head a little; held out his hand; but was unable to speak. He expired next day.

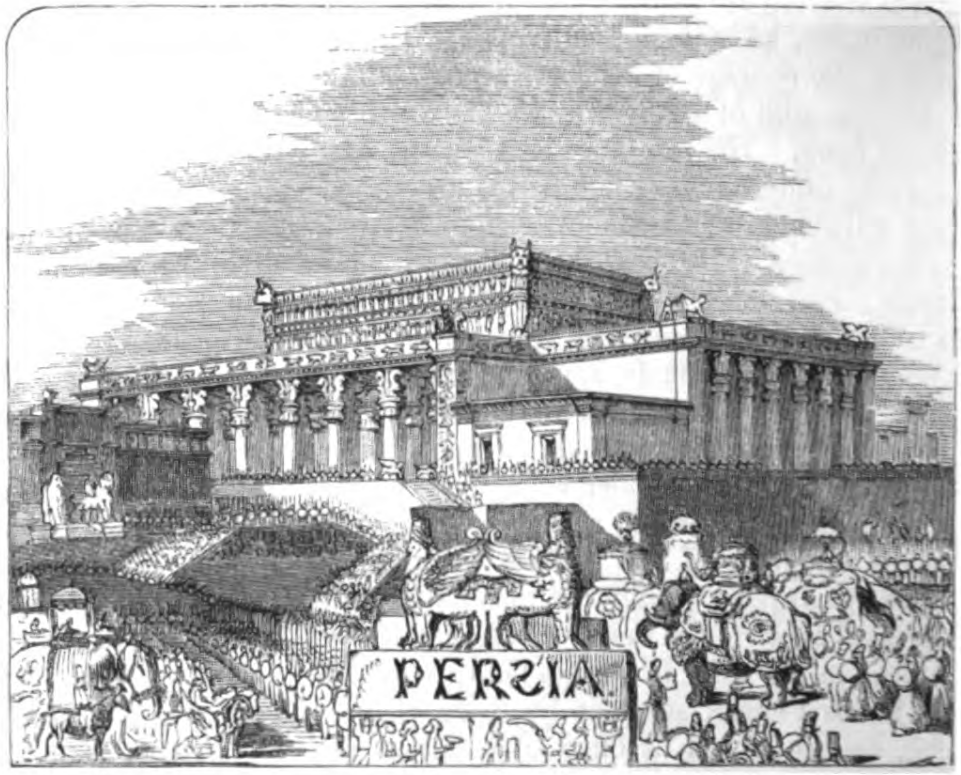
There were many absurd reports spread abroad relative to the death of this great prince, several of which are repeated by Arrian; rather, however, as he himself expresses it, that he might not seem to be ignorant of their existence, than that he imagined them to be deserving of the smallest credit. It is said, for instance, that he was killed by means of a subtle poison, made up by his tutor Aristotle, and forwarded from Greece by Antipater, the protector of his native kingdom. A variety of other incidents was invented to feed the strong desire of

credulous curiosity; but they are unworthy of mention, as having been long rejected by all writers of candour and research. We, therefore, hasten to exhibit, in a very abridged form, the character of the Macedonian hero, as given by the modest and judicious Arrian. B. C. 323.

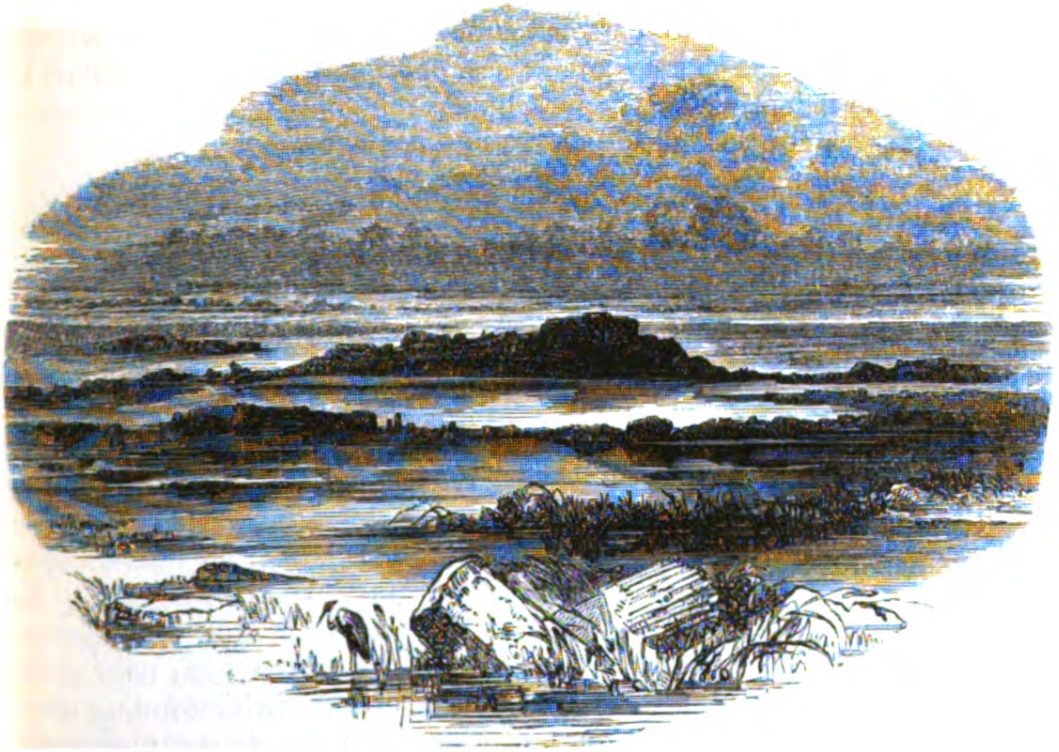
After stating that Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad, at the age of thirty-two years and eight months, he goes on to remark, that his body was very handsome and well-proportioned, his mind brisk and active, his courage wonderful. He was strong enough to undergo the severest hardships, full of alacrity in meeting the most appalling dangers; ever ambitious of glory, and ever attentive to religious rites. As to those pleasures which regard the body, he shewed himself indifferent; but in the desire of fame and honour, he was altogether insatiable. In his councils he was shrewd and penetrating; and by the force of his natural sagacity, arrived at clear views in the most obscure and doubtful matters. In all the arts of a general he was thoroughly skilled; and in arming, marshalling, and commanding an army, he remained unrivalled. He possessed the rare talent of exciting the courage of his soldiers, of animating them with the hopes of success, and of dissipating by his words and his example all their inward fears. His resolution and vigour, too, were equal to the most desperate undertakings; whilst his unwearied vigilance secured to him every advantage that could arise from delay or ignorance on the part of his enemies. He was never imposed upon, either by craft or by perfidy; and never himself used these bad arts against any one. For his own private pleasures he was sparing in the use of money; whilst in presents to his friends, and in rewards to the meritorious, his magnificence and liberality knew no bounds. His character.

The historian then proceeds to apologise for the rash and violent actions of which Alexander was guilty, when his passions were roused by anger or strong drink, as also for his affectation of a divine original, and his adoption of the Persian manners and dress. His claim of kindred to Jupiter, a folly not uncommon in those ages, is ascribed to a political motive, the desire to elevate his wisdom and magnify his auspices in the eyes of his soldiers; whilst the compliment which he paid to his Persian subjects by using their language and natural costume, had an object at once so judicious and so obvious, as not to admit of being misunderstood. Long banquets and deep drinking, he adds, on the authority of Aristobulus, were none of his delights; neither did he prepare entertainments for the sake of the wine, (which he did not greatly love and of which he seldom drank much,) but to maintain a pleasant intercourse among his friends. The authors, therefore, who attempt to condemn or calumniate Alexander, do not ground their accusation on particular actions, which, though worthy of reproof in themselves, are yet capable of receiving some mitigation when connected with the circumstances in which they were performed, but, on the contrary, bring forward a sweeping charge against his character in general, and pronounce a sentence upon his conduct at large; a method

B. C. 323. of proceeding which precludes at once all defence and apology. But let it be considered who Alexander was originally; what success crowned all his enterprises; and to what a pitch of glory he ultimately arrived—that he governed as the undisputed king of both continents, and that his name, even in his own life-time, was spread through every part of the habitable world; let these things be kept in mind, and it will readily be granted, that in comparison of his great character and astonishing exploits, his vices and infirmities were trifling, and ought hardly to be regarded as casting a shade on the bright annals of his eventful reign.



Persepolis.—Restoration of the Hall of Xerxes.—*Botta.*



Babylon.

CHAPTER IX.

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

FROM B. C. 323 TO B. C. 198.

THE death of the Macedonian conqueror, in circumstances so extremely unpropitious to the consolidation of his immense empire in the east, proved, in the first instance, the occasion of a fierce rivalry among his ambitious and enterprising generals, and ultimately led to the dismemberment of all his dominions both in Europe and Asia. Before, however, we proceed to narrate the events which occurred during the struggle for power in which even the most moderate of Alexander's successors soon found themselves involved, we shall take the liberty to invite the attention of the reader whilst we retrace, very briefly, the scheme of policy and government which the king of Macedon seems to have proposed to himself, for confirming his conquests in the Asiatic continent, as well as for securing to his numerous subjects the important benefits of commerce, peace, learning, and civilization. The conduct of Alexander in this respect, and the generosity of his views, have not as yet been sufficiently appreciated by historians; some of whom, in their eagerness to give the details of battles, marches, and sieges, have overlooked the liberal principles to which his wars were only meant to

Retrospective view of Alexander's policy.

B. C. 323. be subservient; whilst others, actuated by a Stoical dislike of conquerors in general, or by a more rational suspicion of the motives of all military sovereigns, have ascribed, without exception, the numerous exploits of this hero to personal ambition, to a bloodthirsty revenge against the ancient enemies of Greece, or to a settled determination to subdue the independence of the turbulent republics, whose confederated army he was appointed to lead.

The policy of Alexander.

It has been imagined that the obstinate resistance which he encountered in the siege of Tyre, first suggested to Alexander the immense resources of maritime power, and the great efficiency of those sinews of war which are supplied by a successful commerce. There is no doubt that, from this period, he directed his attention to the establishment of a commercial intercourse between his European dominions and those vast territories, which, stretching beyond the Persian empire, continued to gratify the luxury and the avarice of all the western nations who had enterprise enough to secure a share in their trade. It was to divert into a new channel, at once more ample and convenient than the Tyrians could command, the rich manufactures and precious staples of India, that the Macedonian prince built his famous city at the mouth of the Nile. With such admirable discernment was the situation of it chosen, that Alexandria soon became the greatest trading city in the ancient world; and notwithstanding many successive revolutions in empire, continued, during eighteen centuries, to be the chief seat of commerce with India. Amidst the military operations to which, in his campaigns with Darius, he was soon obliged to turn his attention, the desire of establishing this lucrative trade, and the more liberal wish, perhaps, of extending the acquaintance of Europe with the geography of the wide regions beyond the Indus, were never for a moment relinquished by the provident mind of Alexander.

In no part of his military career do the proceedings of this renowned commander resemble the subjugation and bereavement inflicted on such nations as have been overrun by the armies of a barbarian soldier. On the contrary, he built towns, formed stations for the purposes of trade and revenue, improved the soil, and laboured to refine the habits of the people. By exercising a clemency heretofore unknown in Asiatic wars, he endeavoured to convert his enemies into friends, and by intrusting power to native magistrates and governors, he secured for his new subjects an equal administration of justice, as well as the right of property, according to the maxims by which their notions, on these important points, were wont to be regulated.

His early hopes of heading a Greek confederacy.

When Alexander became master of the Persian empire, he early perceived that with all the power of his hereditary dominions, reinforced by the troops which the ascendency he had acquired over the various states of Greece might enable him to raise there, he could not hope to retain in subjection, by force alone, territories so extensive and populous; that to render his authority permanent, it must be established

in the affections of the nations which he had subdued, and, in fact, must be maintained by their arms; and that in order to acquire this advantage, all distinctions between the victors and vanquished must be abolished, and his Asiatic and European subjects incorporated and made one people, by obeying the same laws, and by adopting the same manners, institutions, and discipline. Soon after his victory at Arbela, accordingly, Alexander himself, and by his persuasion, many of his officers, assumed the Persian dress, and conformed to several of their customs; whilst, with the same liberal intentions, he encouraged the Persian nobles to imitate the manners of the Macedonians, to learn the Greek language, and to acquire a relish for the beauties of the writers in that tongue, who were then studied and admired. It was in like manner, with the view of rendering this union more complete, that the conqueror resolved to marry one of the daughters of Darius, and chose wives for a great number of his principal officers from among the most illustrious families in Persia. B. C. 323. His conciliatory policy.

The liberality of Alexander's conduct is the more remarkable as it was founded on maxims which were in direct repugnance to the notions and prejudices of his countrymen. The Greeks, it is well known, had so high an opinion of the pre-eminence to which they were raised by civilization and science, that they seem hardly to have acknowledged the rest of mankind to be of the same species with themselves; and, proceeding on this assumption, they asserted a right of dominion over all other nations, in the same manner as the soul sways the body, and men govern irrational animals. Extravagant as such ideas now appear, they found admission into all the schools of ancient philosophy. Aristotle, full of this opinion, in support of which he employs in his *Politics* a variety of plausible arguments, advised Alexander to govern the Greeks like subjects, and the barbarians like slaves; to consider the former as companions, the latter as creatures of an inferior nature. But the sentiments of the pupil were more enlarged than those of the master; and his experience in governing men had taught the monarch that which the speculative science of the philosopher did not enable him to discover.

From the choice of the situations in which he founded his cities, it is obvious that he meant them to serve as channels of communication with India, not only by land, but by sea. It was chiefly with a view to the latter of these objects, that he examined the navigation of the Indus with so much attention; and that upon his return to Susa he surveyed in person the courses of the Euphrates and of the Tigris, and gave directions to remove those artificial obstructions with which the ancient monarchs of Persia had shut up the mouths of their finest rivers, in order, as it should seem, that they might at once prevent their subjects from engaging in distant commerce, and might defend their extensive territories from sudden invasion. By opening the navigation in this manner, he evidently intended that the valuable commodities of India should be conveyed from the Persian Gulf, Commercial views of Alexander.

B. C. 323. into the interior parts of his Asiatic dominions, while, by the Red Sea, they should be carried to Alexandria, and distributed to the rest of the world.

To realize these extensive and magnificent schemes, Alexander had employed means so judicious, and had calculated so wisely on the co-operation of his new subjects, whose interests he had combined with their fidelity to his government, that he was justified in entertaining the most sanguine hopes of ultimate success. He had secured so firm a footing in India, that his return to it would have been extremely easy, whilst his farther conquests would have been promoted by the very arms and courage which had retarded his progress when advancing, in his first expedition, to the banks of the Hydaspes. Taxiles and Porus, won by the humanity and beneficence of the young conqueror, continued steady in their attachment to him; insomuch, indeed, that even after his death, neither of these sovereigns declined submission to the authority of the Macedonians, nor made any attempt to recover independence.

Changes resulting from his death.

But all those splendid schemes, so ardently cherished in the mind of Alexander, were defeated by his untimely decease. There was no one to succeed him of equal authority and genius, to fulfil the great objects on which his attention had so long been fixed. The mighty empire which had been kept united, and which had increased in power, by the sole effort of his superior talents, fell in pieces as soon as his superintending care was withdrawn; and yet, amidst all the convulsions and revolutions which that event occasioned, it was found that the measures adopted by him for the preservation of his conquests had been concerted with so much sagacity, and his confidence so wisely placed, that, upon the restoration of tranquillity among his ambitious generals, the Macedonian dominion continued to be established in every part of Asia, and not one province had shaken off the yoke. Even India, the most remote of Alexander's conquests, quietly submitted to Pytho the son of Agenor, and afterwards to Seleucus, who subsequently extended his government over that portion of the east.

These facts, however, while they illustrate the sage policy and extraordinary talents of the king of Macedon, display, with equal clearness, the difficulties which must have presented themselves to his commanders, when standing by his death-bed at Babylon; and the perplexity in which all their deliberations must have been involved when consulting on the affairs of so large a part of Europe and Asia. The system which was actually adopted, and the momentous consequences which ensued, from the ambition and jealousy of the great men to whom we have just made allusion, it is now our business to set forth, with as much conciseness as the intricate relations and brilliant exploits which characterised their proceedings, in peace and in war, will permit us to employ.

In entering upon this portion of Grecian history, we have to regret the want of our faithful guide Arrian, whose authority, as a narrator of

facts, is deservedly very high. This regret is not a little increased by the knowledge that he wrote, in ten books, a full account of the transactions which followed the death of Alexander,—a work which is no longer to be found but in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, where we are presented with an abridgment of the principal occurrences which marked the first steps of the Macedonian generals after the loss of their great leader. B.C. 323.

As the children born to Alexander by Asiatic women were not held entitled to enjoy the sovereignty of his European states, that monarch is said, by Diodorus, to have died childless. His son by Barcina, the widow of Memnon, was already five years of age, and Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, the Bactrian chief, was in the sixth month of her pregnancy; but, besides the disqualification which we have just mentioned, the reign of an infant king promised very little security to the wide dominions which now owned the subjection of the confederated Greeks, and seemed still worse calculated for realizing the splendid projects to which the arms and learning of that renowned people were meant to be directed. Alexander had a half-brother, the son of Philine, a Thessalian actress, and two sisters, Cleopatra and Cynna,—the former being the daughter of Olympias as well as of Philip, the latter born to this monarch by Eurydice, an Illyrian lady, who was distinguished by masculine habits and the most warlike propensities. The claims of the females being overlooked, if, indeed, they had any right to the succession, the eyes of the army were turned to Arrhidæus, the brother of their late commander,—a youth of the feeblest intellect, ignorant of affairs, and altogether unambitious, as it should seem, of the honour and power which were now placed within his reach. Family of Alexander. Arrhidæus.

Perdiccas, who had been intrusted by Alexander with his ring and signet, together with the following eight generals, who were present in Babylon at the demise of the king, namely, Leonatus, Lysimachus, Aristonous, Python, Seleucus, Eumenes, Meleager, and Nearchus, assembled forthwith to deliberate on the measures which it behoved them to pursue, in a crisis so extremely important and perplexing. We have already mentioned that the army made choice of Arrhidæus; but it is necessary to add that this expression of respect to the house of Philip was, in the first instance, confined to the soldiers of the phalanx, who being for the most part Macedonians, were more naturally interested in the disposal of the crown, and in the support of that dynasty to which their country was indebted for so much of its glory. It would almost appear, too, that during the deliberations which passed at Babylon, on this momentous occasion, the cavalry and the infantry were actuated by different motives, and represented, to a certain extent, the feelings and interests which belong respectively to an aristocracy, and to a powerful body of commons; for, whilst the foot soldiers were desirous that the reins of government should continue to be held by a constitutional sovereign, there is reason to suspect that the horsemen would not have been displeased to behold the supreme power vested

B. C. 323. in one of their chiefs, and the extensive empire of Alexander subjected throughout all its provinces to a military despotism. This dissension soon came to an open rupture. The chief military leaders, attended by the cavalry, encamped without the city of Babylon, threatening to cut off the supplies and to starve the inhabitants. An attempt made upon the life of Perdiccas had compelled that general, in self-defence, to pursue the same policy with these military seceders, and he accordingly took up his position with them.

Council of the generals.

It was on the day immediately after the death of the king that his generals assembled in the great hall of the palace, which was on all sides thrown open so as to display in its centre to the surrounding multitude the throne, the diadem, and the armour of their lamented sovereign. The character of Perdiccas, still more than his rank, entitled him to act a distinguished part on this solemn occasion; for he had long held a high place in the estimation of his prince, had given proofs of the greatest talents and disinterestedness in his service, and had consequently acquired that degree of influence with the army, which would have disposed even the most refractory to listen to his counsel. At his first departure from Macedon, we are told that, when Alexander divided his whole property amongst his friends, and said that he reserved only hope for himself, Perdiccas alone declined the bounty of the young king; intimating to him at the same time, that as he was determined to share his dangers, he was entitled also to participate in his hopes. Nor was his conduct ever found unworthy of the noble sentiment with which he entered into the service of his magnanimous master. In the most trying scenes of that eventful and very arduous war which was waged with Persia, Perdiccas acquitted himself with equal courage and address; and such was the confidence which Alexander reposed in his wisdom and faithfulness, that he was raised to the first place in his council, and received from the dying hand of that renowned leader the symbols even of royal authority.

Perdiccas named Regent.

Possessed of such reputation and advantages, it cannot appear surprising that Perdiccas should have aspired to a share of the power, which no individual was great enough to exercise alone, and which, whoever should be named the successor of Alexander, was eventually to be divided among a number of his followers. Accordingly we find that, after a variety of projects had been discussed in the assembly of the chiefs, Aristonous of Pella, a companion and life-guard, ventured to suggest the expediency of intrusting to the favourite general of their deceased master the supreme administration, under the title of Regent. If indeed we yield to the authority of Curtius, we must admit that the views entertained by the friends of Perdiccas were even somewhat more ambitious, for the words which this historian puts into the mouth of the orator of Pella, claim openly, for the commander now named, the right to exercise all the prerogative of a king.[1]

[1] Alexandrum consultum, cui relinqueret regnum, voluisse optimum deligi: judicatum autem ab ipso optimum Perdiccam, cui annulum tradidisset. Neque enim

The elevation of one individual, however worthy, could not fail to excite the deepest envy and alarm in the minds of such as did not enjoy his countenance, or were unaccustomed to co-operate in his views of policy. Meleager, the general of the infantry, was in the predicament now described. He dreaded the ascendency of Perdiccas, and, in order to obstruct his plans, he infused into the phalanx the strongest suspicions against his patriotism, as well as against his fidelity to the house of their ancient kings, and thereby urged the generous feelings of the soldiers to declare themselves more loudly for the accession of Arrhidæus. Thus the intemperance of the one party, and the ambition of the other, had nearly brought the victorious troops of Alexander to stain their arms in the blood of one another,—a catastrophe which, it is said, was prevented chiefly by the resolute conduct of the unfortunate youth who had just been raised to the throne. Perceiving that the phalangites were about to attack the horsemen, who still opposed their choice, Arrhidæus threw himself into the midst of their body and entreated them to relinquish their sanguinary intentions. "If this diadem," he exclaimed, "can be possessed only by the wounds and death of Macedonians, I will instantly divest myself of the pernicious ornament! Take back," he continued, "the fatal present; give it to some one worthier than I am, if he can preserve the splendid deposit unstained by the blood of his countrymen!" This spirited behaviour produced the desired effect. The army unanimously acknowledged the sovereignty of the new monarch, and submitting to the authority of law under the direction of a military regency, they allowed condign punishment to be inflicted on a few of the most factious of their number, who seemed to meditate still more dangerous innovations.

B. C. 323.

Division among the troops.

Checked by Arrhidæus.

The imbecility of Arrhidæus and his total ignorance of business dictated at once the necessity of a regency, which consisted at first of Perdiccas and Leonatus, and afterwards of these two commanders with Meleager, the general of the foot, as a colleague. During these arrangements, too, provision was made in behalf of the child of Roxana, should she happen to have a son. It was declared that the infant should be associated in the government with his uncle; and as the event soon answered their expectations, the boy was honoured with his father's name, and ordered to be treated with all the respect and care which were due to the coheir of so powerful an empire.

Birth of Alexander, the son of Roxana.

These preliminaries being settled for the official administration of the regal authority, the more important business of assigning to the several commanders the provinces which they were to govern, became the next subject of discussion. The cautious policy of the son of Lagus showed itself in the choice which he made of Egypt, a country which was at once detached from the dominions of his colleagues, so soon to

Distribution of the provinces.

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unum eum assedisse morienti, sed circumferentem oculos, ex turba amicorum delegisse cui traderet. Placere igitur summam imperii ad Perdiccam deferri.

B. C. 323. become his rivals and enemies, and also easily protected from invasion, owing to the impracticable nature of the territory by which it was surrounded. The veteran Craterus, who had been sent from Babylon to relieve Antipater in the government of Macedonia, was now associated with him in the care of the hereditary states. The Thracians were confided to the charge of Lysimachus, who, from his bold and warlike character, was thought to resemble the spirited barbarians over whom he was placed. Eumenes was appointed to Cappadocia, Antigonus to the Greater Phrygia, and Leonatus to the Lesser. The imperial district of Persis was continued to Peucestes, whilst Python received the important province of Media, in which he might exercise his vigilance and military skill against the faithless and predatory tribes who occupied its mountainous frontiers. Seleucus remained at Babylon as lieutenant to Perdiccas, in his capacity of chief of the equestrian companions; and Aristonous, the personal friend of the regent, continued likewise at the seat of government, without charging himself with any special command. The minor provinces and military stations were provisionally committed to the officers who happened to hold them at the death of the king,—a measure which contributed not a little to the tranquillity of the remoter parts of the empire, as well as to the consolidation of that system of mild and popular ascendency over the Asiatics, of which Alexander set so distinguished an example, and which was unquestionably the principal means of establishing in Persia the dynasty of Grecian sovereigns, founded by Seleucus.

Preparations for the funeral of Alexander.

During the time that these appointments were under consideration, the body of the prince, to whose successful enterprise and commanding genius they were all due, was allowed to remain neglected in the putrifying climate of Babylon. Orders were at length given by Perdiccas to have the royal corpse embalmed, and preparations were set on foot for a pompous interment of it in the sacred ground attached to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, situated in one of those green and luxuriant spots which cheer, at intervals, the solitude of the Libyan desert. It was not, however, until after the lapse of two years, that the funeral obsequies were actually celebrated, and the great Macedonian hero was then committed to the ground, not within the precincts of the African temple, as he is said to have commanded, but in his own city of Alexandria, a monument of his talents and beneficence, which conferred upon his name far greater glory than his imaginary descent from the king of the gods. "This late honour to his memory," says Dr. Gillies, "could ill reconcile his indignant shade to the dereliction of the vast and beneficial schemes which had long occupied him,—the improvement in his fleet and army, his discoveries by sea and land, the productive and commercial industry which he had made to flourish, and that happy intercourse of sentiment and affection in which he had laboured to unite distant and hostile nations. After his controlling mind had withdrawn, the system which he had formed and actuated fell in pieces; yet during the distracted period of twenty-two years

preceding the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, which finally decided the pretensions of his followers, many great events deserve commemoration, and many splendid characters will attract regard. Their brightness, indeed, was hitherto dimmed by the matchless effulgence of Alexander, and their individual renown is still lessened by their shining together in one constellation. To a hasty and impatient survey, their history presents a wild maze of crimes and calamities; but in a full and connected narrative their transactions will interest the statesman, the general, and above all, the philosopher; who knows that by just delineations of guilt and misery, men are more powerfully restrained within the bounds of duty, than by the most engaging pictures of virtue and of happiness." B. C. 323. Achievements of his successors.

As affairs were at first conducted under the auspices of Perdiccas, we shall, in the early part of our narrative, confine the attention of the reader to such events as were connected with his direct government, or influenced by his more concealed policy. It has been conjectured, and not without much appearance of probability, that the generals who departed from Babylon as governors of provinces, entertained, from the first moment that they were invested with power, the intention of rendering themselves independent sovereigns, and even of enlarging their dominions at the expense of one another; whilst, on the other hand, Perdiccas has been suspected, and apparently not without reason, of the wish to employ them as his tools, as long as he should require their service, and of designing, ultiamtely, to seize the sceptre of Europe and Asia, as the sole successor of the Macedonian conqueror. The worst of these suspicions appear to be confirmed by the conduct which was actually pursued on the one side and the other; and an occurrence soon took place which showed, in no favourable light, the principles on which the regent exercised authority, and the motives from which he was served, even by those who professed to be the most devoted to his interests.

Revolt of the mercenary Greeks in Media.

When Alexander had succeeded in reducing to obedience the warlike inhabitants of the hilly country which stretches to the north and east of Media, he stationed, at the several military posts which he erected in that strong ground, about twenty thousand mercenary Greeks, who were to act in the double capacity of colonists and soldiers. No sooner, however, did these exiles hear of the death of the king, than they came to the resolution of placing themselves under the direction of Philon, a commander of their own choice, and of commencing a laborious march westward into their native Greece. Perdiccas instantly resolved to defeat their intentions. Draughting about four thousand horse and foot from the army at Babylon, he issued orders for an immediate expedition to check the migratory colonists; and in order to increase the alacrity of the troops employed in this disagreeable service, he gave them leave to choose the commander to whose skill and sagacity they might be disposed to commit themselves. They unanimously fixed on Python, who being approved by the regent,

B. C. 323. received a commission to act against the devoted mercenaries, and to demand from the provincial governors, through whose territory he was to pass, a reinforcement of ten thousand foot and nearly as many cavalry.

Treachery of Python, and massacre of the Greeks.

Python finding himself at the head of so large a force, gave way to the temptation which then, perhaps, for the first time, assailed his fidelity, of employing their arms not only in rendering his Median government independent of the controlling power at Babylon, but even of adding to it the important provinces of Upper Asia. The vigilance of Perdiccas, however, was not to be deceived. Suspecting the views of the general, or being apprised of his real intentions, he sent orders to Python of so public a nature that they could neither be concealed nor evaded, to put all the Greeks to death, and divide their property among his Macedonian soldiers. The device succeeded. The circumstances of the massacre, as related by Diodorus Siculus, are too horrible to be believed, were not the fact itself somewhat confirmed by the subsequent conduct of Python, who, when he at length turned his hand against Perdiccas, is supposed to have avenged the cause of the Greeks, as well as to have gratified his own resentment.

Revolt of Ariarathes.

The attention of the viceroy was soon after attracted to the affairs of Asia Minor, where he had to oppose the ambitious designs of Antigonus and Leonatus. When Alexander passed through that country, with the view of meeting the numerous host of Darius on the confines of Syria, he satisfied himself with reducing to temporary submission the warlike chiefs who commanded in the upper provinces; convinced that, if his arms were crowned with success in his approaching campaigns against the great king, all the western dependencies of the Persian empire would necessarily fall into the hands of the allied Greeks. Cappadocia, both Upper and Lower, still remained unconquered; and although these rich provinces, together with Paphlagonia, were, upon the death of Alexander, assigned to Eumenes, the arduous task of compelling them to own the supremacy of Macedon, was yet to be accomplished under the auspices of the new governor. The natives of the northern shores of Asia Minor were remarkable for courage, strength of body, and the love of independence; and the Paphlagonians, in particular, had acquired so much fame as skilful and intrepid horsemen, that they were usually honoured by the Persians as allies, instead of being viewed in the light of tributaries. At the head of a powerful force of these hardy barbarians, Ariarathes, their prince, proud of his lineage and jealous of his rights, was prepared to dispute the claims of any Macedonian captain, who should advance into his territory.

Disobedience of Antigonus and Leonatus.

Perdiccas, aware of the opposition that Eumenes might have to encounter in taking possession of his government, had issued an order to Antigonus and Leonatus, the commanders of the two Phrygias, to assist him with their arms. The former of these officers refused to obey the protector; alleging that as he had received his province from Alexan-

der himself, he owed no fealty to the mere representative of his imbecile brother. Leonatus on the other hand, was seduced by views still more ambitious, having projected a marriage with Cleopatra, the sister of the late king, and the subsequent occupation of the throne of Macedon, which he hoped to possess, in his own right as well as in that of his wife. He therefore declined to assist Eumenes with forces, which, in pursuance of the plan now stated, he intended to employ against the Greeks, who were already endeavouring to shake off the yoke imposed on them by Philip, and afterwards against Antipater, or even Perdiccas, should these wary generals oppose his succession to the crown of Alexander. B. C. 322.

Defeat of Ariarathes.

Eumenes, disappointed in his hopes of assistance from the governors of the two Phrygias, threw himself on the protection of the regent, who instantly moved with the royal army towards Cappadocia. Ariarathes immediately took the field to repel his formidable invaders. He is said to have had thirty thousand foot and above fifteen thousand horse; but valour, unaided by discipline, exerted itself in vain, when it had to contend with the veteran troops of Macedon, led on by Perdiccas and Eumenes, two of their most accomplished generals. The Cappadocians were routed with great slaughter, and their gallant prince, with his family and kindred, who unfortunately fell into the hands of the enemy, were put to death with every circumstance of pain and ignominy. Eumenes was established in the satrapy which was thus rendered vacant; and by his wisdom and courage contributed, for a time, to support the authority of his patron the regent. B. C. 322

War in Pisidia and Isauria.

The flame of rebellion next burst forth in the wild mountains of Pisidia and Isauria. Laranda, the capital of the former district, was soon taken by assault, and the inhabitants were either put to the sword or sold into slavery: but the defence of Isauria was attended with a series of incidents, so characteristic of barbarian warfare, that we are induced to narrate them at greater length. Finding, after a continued assault of two days, that their walls and armour could no longer avail them, the besieged came to the desperate resolution of burning their houses, wives, and children, and parents, with the most precious of their effects; and having, by the execution of this purpose, secured from the indignities of conquest the persons whom they held most dear in the world, they again mounted their tottering ramparts, and repelled the besiegers with a degree of fierceness and hardihood bordering on frenzy. Astonished at the resistance which he encountered, and unable to account for the dreadful conflagration which he beheld, Perdiccas withdrew his troops from the walls to wait the issue of so strange an event. The Isaurians, it is said, having no longer any enemy upon whom to avenge the cause of their country, rushed from the walls to precipitate their bodies into the midst of the flames, leaving to the ambition of the Macedonians, nothing except the burning ruins of their town, and such articles of gold and silver as the fire did not consume.

B. C. 322. In all the arts connected with war, in rapidity of movement, decision, military skill, and personal bravery, Perdiccas was inferior to none of the able captains who had served under the standard of Alexander. But, in the management of the passions, and in the application of motives, among men of high spirit and aspiring views, he was not, perhaps, a match for the sagacious Ptolemy, or the intriguing Antigonus. To secure his interests and increase his popularity with the Macedonians, the governor of Egypt proposed to form a matrimonial union with the daughter of Antipater; and it was not till Perdiccas was awakened to a perception of the numerous advantages likely to attend this alliance, that he resolved to defeat the designs of Ptolemy, and to solicit the hand of Nicæa for himself. But as policy dictated this marriage, it cannot seem surprising that it should almost instantly have been dissolved upon the same unwarrantable ground. It was suggested to the regent that, as Cleopatra, the sister of the late king, was still disengaged, he ought to strengthen his claim to the supreme power, by connecting himself with a princess so nearly allied to the throne; a measure which would at once further his own views, and disappoint the numerous intrigues which were already forming against him, both in Egypt and the two Phrygias.

Intrigues of Perdiccas.

But the intentions of Perdiccas being known, they were vigorously opposed by a body, to whom he was compelled to yield. The Macedonian army, attached to the house of their ancient kings, and preferring an hereditary monarch, though unwarlike, to the ablest general, who had no other claim than his talents, felt alarm and suspicion upon discovering the ambitious designs of the viceroy. To thwart his intentions, they resolved to strengthen the reigning branch of the royal family, by a marriage between Arrhidæus and Eurydice his niece, the widow of his cousin Amyntas; a lady of a singularly romantic disposition, and opposed, as it should seem, to the interests of Perdiccas. Cynane, the half-sister of Alexander the Great, and the mother of Eurydice, had trained up that princess, upon the model of her own education, in martial exercises. The influence of Cynane was considerable, and alarmed the fears of Perdiccas. The jealousy of this great general being excited by the interference of the troops, as well as by the bold pretensions of the mother of the intended bride, he is said to have procured her murder under the most revolting circumstances; a suspicion which, whether well or ill founded, continues to inflict a stain on his character, and to arraign the purity of his motives in every subsequent act of his government. The immediate consequences were alarming in the extreme: the soldiers displayed the most violent symptoms of mutiny; the spirit of insurrection was everywere loud and violent; and Perdiccas, urged by these expressions of public discontent, appears to have postponed his union with Cleopatra, whilst he forwarded that of his royal rivals.

Marriage of Arrhidæus.

Having crushed the mutinous disposition which had shown itself among the Macedonians, and conciliated the contending interests of his

domestic retainers, the regent turned his eyes towards Phrygia and Egypt, where an ambition equal to his own, and talents in some respects superior, were busily employed in concerting plans for undermining that power, which he was labouring so sedulously to enlarge and consolidate. The means that he possessed were considerable; and the ability and zeal which he could command for employing those means were such as to promise the most ample success. Besides his brother Metas, and Attalus the husband of his sister, both men of courage and address, and sincerely devoted to his service, he had in his interest Seleucus, a young officer of the greatest talents; Aristonous, a life-guard and companion under the late king; Python, a brave though unsteady commander; and Eumenes, whose powerful mind, stimulated by gratitude, bent all its exertions in favour of the regent, as well in the council as in the field. B. C. 322.

Jealousy of Antigonus.

The refusal of Antigonus to assist Eumenes in making good his claims upon Cappadocia was not forgotten; and Perdiccas now summoned that governor to appear before him, in order to justify his conduct in the presence of the Macedonian army, the judges of all military offences, or to submit to the penalty which they might see fit to award. The governor of Phrygia, perceiving the object of the regent, instead of answering his summons, made haste to court the alliance of Antipater and Craterus, who resided at Pella, as joint tutors to the king, and protectors of his European dominions. Nor were the representations of Antigonus alone urged on this momentous occasion. Ptolemy, also, alarmed at the projects of Perdiccas, had sent a pressing embassy to Macedon, recommending the expediency of a coalition, in order to check the growing power of the protector, and to defeat his aims, now no longer ambiguously asserting exclusive dominion both in the east and west.

Alliance against Perdiccas.

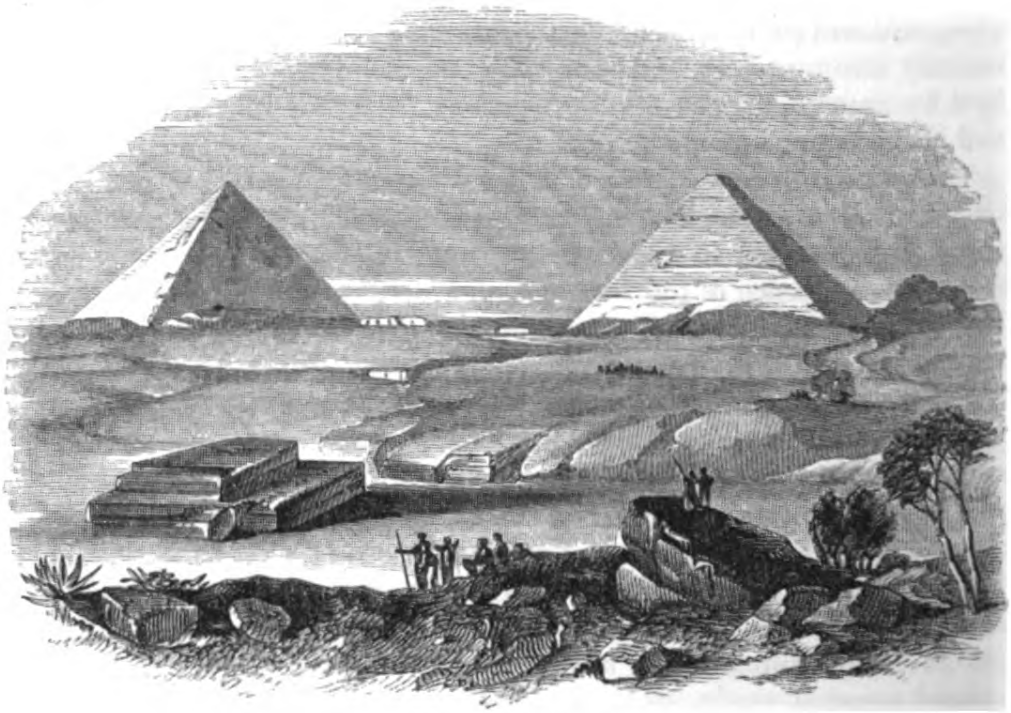
A treaty was forthwith concluded among these vigilant commanders; the object of which was, first, by force of arms, to restrict the authority of Perdiccas, and then to establish their own, in their several provinces, by adding to their territory, where that was practicable, and by abjuring all dependence on the central government. In pursuance of this scheme, Antipater and Craterus were to march into Asia, at the head of an army, to co-operate with Antigonus; Ptolemy was to continue in possession of Egypt, and to strengthen his resources in the neighbouring parts of Africa, and, by means of a maritime force, in the Mediterranean; and in the mean time, till Antipater could return to Macedon, to resume his charge as viceroy, the government in Europe was to be exercised by Polysperchon, one of the oldest captains that had served under Alexander. B. C. 321.

It was not to be expected that Perdiccas could remain uninformed of these proceedings. Aware of the quarter whence the main opposition to him had arisen, and jealous of the increasing influence of Ptolemy at home and abroad, he resolved to invade Egypt, and thereby make the intriguing governor sustain the first pressure of the war which

B. C. 321. he had so industriously provoked. Meanwhile, to punish Antigonus, to whose disobedience he was disposed to ascribe the revolutionary spirit which now animated the other generals, he stripped him of all his satrapies, and joined them to the valuable provinces already intrusted to the faithful Eumenes.

Operations of the rival generals.

Both parties set themselves in motion, with the view of striking a blow which each hoped would crush the pretensions of the other; and thus whilst Perdiccas marched towards Syria, on his way to Egypt,



Pyramids of Egypt.

Antipater and Craterus were making arrangements for a descent into Asia. The order of events requires that we should attend, in the first instance, to the occurrences which took place in the latter country, where Eumenes, at the head of a considerable force, was left by the regent to defend his provinces against the insurrectionary generals and their adherents. Perdiccas was not disappointed in the skill and bravery of this celebrated commander; and yet it ought to be observed that the success of Eumenes, in this memorable campaign, arose not more from his own talents, than from the foolish measures which his antagonists were induced to pursue. Neoptolemus, a young Macedonian of royal blood, having taken offence at the preferment of Eumenes, abandoned the cause of Perdiccas, and went over to Antipater with a small body of troops, which he was eager to employ against his former patron. But his pernicious counsel more than countervailed the additional strength which he brought to his new allies. By repeated assurances that the army commanded by Eumenes

consisted of a mere rabble, hastily collected, and destitute alike of courage and discipline, he prevailed on Antipater and Craterus to divide their forces; and thus, whilst the latter, in the fullest confidence of victory, took the field against the lieutenant of Perdiccas, the former proceeded towards the Cilician passes, with the view of distracting the operations of Perdiccas himself, and of thereby affording aid to the Egyptian governor, now threatened with an inroad in the direction we have just described. B. C. 321.

Victory of Eumenes over Craterus.

Craterus, assisted by the advice of Neoptolemus, advanced against their antagonist, who had now encamped near the plain of Troy. The infantry on either side, did not fall short of twenty thousand. The troops of Eumenes were a mixture of Europeans and Asiatics. Those of Craterus consisted almost entirely of the former. This difference, however, was not accompanied with any corresponding effect, since, through the dexterity of Eumenes, the engagement was decided without the necessity of bringing the masses of foot into close action. On the day of battle, he posted his Asiatic horse in opposition to the enemy's right wing, commanded by Craterus. The left, headed by Neoptolemus, he determined to combat in person with his select band of cavalry, only three hundred in number; hoping, whatever might be the fortune of the day, to chastise the insolence and treachery of that haughty youth. As soon as the enemy came in sight, descending from a hill in Hellespontian Phrygia, the barbarian cavalry rushed forward to a desperate conflict, in which they had been ordered by Eumenes neither to listen to terms, nor to give quarter. Craterus, astonished at the regularity and fierceness of their assault, and upbraiding, it is said, the fatal confidence of Neoptolemus, exerted a degree of obstinate valour, worthy of a favourite of Alexander, in order to check this barbarian onset, and bring his phalanx to the charge; but being dismounted in the midst of the enemy, either by the fall of his horse, or by the stroke of a sword, he was trampled under foot, and lay undistinguished among the crowd of wounded. B. C. 321.

Death of Neoptolemus,

Meanwhile an extraordinary spectacle had been exhibited on the opposite wing. Eumenes and Neoptolemus no sooner beheld each other, than their old animosity, inflamed by recent injuries, transported them into mutual fury. They darted forward with such impetuosity, throwing the reins from their left hands, that in the shock or subsequent struggle, their horses escaped from under them. Neoptolemus was first on foot, but this seeming advantage only exposed him to a thrust, by which he was hamstrung, and disabled. The combat continued fiercely, Neoptolemus supporting himself on his knee, until Eumenes inflicted a mortal wound on his antagonist, who expired in the exertion of retorting it.

and of Craterus.

In this engagement, two of Alexander's generals were defeated and slain. Their conqueror, too, was severely wounded: yet, wounded as he was, Eumenes mounted his horse, and as the opposing wing of the enemy was totally routed, hastened to that part of the field where

B. C. 321. Craterus lay struggling with death. He arrived in time to bestow the last cares on an ancient and respected friend, and to testify to him the utmost regret that ambition and the chances of war had ever set them against each other.

The loss of the two commanders determined the victory in favour of Eumenes; for, though the phalanx remained still unbroken, there was no longer any one to guide its movements, or to make another effort to recover the fortune of the day. The greater part of that body fled across the mountains to join Antipater in the south; whilst the victor, satisfied with the unexpected success which he had obtained, fixed his head-quarters at Celænæ, and prepared to communicate with Perdiccas.

Expedition of Perdiccas into Egypt.

But the fate of this renowned general was already sealed. Having reached the confines of Egypt, he summoned Ptolemy to appear before the royal army, and answer the various charges which they had to urge against him. Ptolemy appeared, and justified his conduct on all the points wherein he was accused. A pretence, however, was all that was wanting, and Perdiccas could not fail to find one. He impeached the governor of Egypt on the ground of his having arrested the funeral convoy, whilst proceeding to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and of having committed the remains of Alexander to a tomb in the new city at the mouth of the Nile. To punish this breach of authority, Perdiccas dragged his army through the desert, and appeared before Pelusium, a fortress which was at that time esteemed the key of Egypt.

His defeat before Pelusium.

The preparations of Ptolemy were equal to the emergency in which he found himself placed. He had employed all the resources of nature, as well as of art, to check the advance of his able adversary; and so skilfully were his measures for this purpose concerted and pursued, that all the experience of Perdiccas, seconded by the veteran troops of Macedonia, was found unavailing, and his most vigorous efforts were completely baffled. A nocturnal attack on a fortress named the Camel's Wall, led to the defeat of the invader. Crossing the Nile in the dark, more than a thousand men were lost in the stream; whilst the rest of the army, divided by the river, and unable to afford assistance to one another, when assailed by the disciplined soldiers of Ptolemy, fell an easy prey into the hands of their enemies. The policy, as well, perhaps, as the natural disposition of the conqueror, dictated gentleness and humanity towards the unfortunate invaders. The Macedonians, it is said, were struck with the contrast between him whom they came to attack, and the sterner master whom they had undertaken to serve. Other circumstances, too, had contributed to lessen the popularity and power of Perdiccas. Deprived of the wise counsels of Eumenes, he had recently appeared haughty and self-willed; insomuch, that Python, Seleucus, and Antigenes, a celebrated leader of the Hydaspists, are all reported to have become disgusted with his government, and even unfriendly to his person. Accordingly, after his defeat on the Nile, and whilst he was

B. C. 321.

meditating new measures for reducing Egypt, a conspiracy was formed against his life, headed by Python, a faithless and unprincipled satrap, who, as we have already suggested, had likewise a private grudge to revenge on his patron. The tent of Perdiccas was entered in the night, and he who had, during three years, wielded the immense power of Alexander's empire, became the victim of his perfidious followers. B. C. 321. Assassination of Perdiccas.

With the exception of high personal courage and military skill, there are no qualities calculated to raise our opinion of the regent. His career, subsequent to the death of his royal master, was cruel, tortuous, and designing; a course of action that ultimately wore out the patience, and excited the apprehensions of those who had at one time been his firmest adherents.

Two days after this event, the army received intelligence of the victory obtained by Eumenes over Craterus and Neoptolemus; which, had it arrived forty-eight hours sooner, would probably have prevented the meeting of the troops, and, consequently, that new position of affairs, which ultimately proved so favourable to Ptolemy, Antipater, and to the greater part of those who adhered to their interests. B. C. 321.

GREECE.

We now return to the affairs of Greece, which, immediately after the death of Alexander, assumed an aspect extremely threatening to the Macedonian ascendency, and employed for some time all the wisdom and military skill of Antipater. The republican party at Athens, although much weakened by the banishment of Demosthenes, as well as by the unparalleled successes of the confederated army in Asia, had nevertheless obtained such a degree of influence as was sufficient to influence the passions of the multitude and revive their ardour for war. Preparatory to a league among the Grecian states, for throwing off the control of Macedon, the great orator was recalled to Athens. Embassies were sent to all the surrounding republics, inviting their co-operation; and, in the meantime, the Athenians raised about six thousand native troops, which, together with eight thousand mercenaries, who had just returned from Asia, they placed under the command of Leosthenes, a citizen of great ardour, and considerable military talents. To this respectable force was added, by the Ætolians, a contingent of seven thousand youths, the flower of their country: and a few recruits appear to have been sent, to augment the republican army, from the mountainous district of Doris, Phocis, and the wild valleys bordering on Pelion and the famed Parnassus. Thebes was now no more. Sparta declined to act a part under Athens. The Achæans and Arcadians listened to the dictates of prudence, and shrank from the hazard of unsuccessful hostilities. The Athenians, therefore, were the principal parties in the Lamian war, usually so called from the name of a town where the leading events of the campaign occurred, and before which Leosthenes fell in battle. B. C. 323. Affairs of Athens. Lamian war.

Antipater, informed of these preparations, advanced into Thessaly

B. C. 323. with fourteen thousand horse and foot; sending messengers, at the same time, to Leonatus, the governor of Lower Phrygia, and to Craterus, who was at the head of ten thousand veterans, with a request that they would accelerate their reinforcements. Upon his arrival at the straits of Thermopylæ, Antipater found that the Athenians had already taken post at that famous pass. He attacked them, and was defeated; and being unable either to renew the combat, or to make good his retreat, he threw his troops into Lamia, a well-fortified town, at the distance of about six miles from the Malian gulf. Leosthenes, the Athenian general, blockaded the place with all his forces, and even attempted repeatedly to storm it, before the expected succours could arrive. The besieged were neither less active nor less vigilant. They made a sally upon the enemy's lines; in repelling which, the brave Leosthenes received a mortal wound: his services were rewarded with a magnificent burial, and the honours of a funeral oration.

Defeat of Antipater.

Leonatus, meanwhile, approached at the head of twenty-three thousand men, of whom two thousand five hundred were cavalry. Antiphilus, who now commanded the Greeks, immediately relinquished the works before Lamia, and proceeded to meet the governor of Phrygia; carrying with him an army nearly equal to the Macedonians in foot, and somewhat exceeding it in excellent horsemen. A furious conflict ensued on the northern confines of Thessaly, in which the Athenians were once more successful. Leonatus was among the slain. The cavalry whom he led to the charge suffered greatly from the impetuous valour of the Thessalian horse; and the phalanx itself, broken and confused, sought refuge in the neighbouring mountains.

Defeat and death of Leonatus.

This disaster was, however, soon repaired. Antipater joined the fugitives with his troops from Lamia, and Craterus was at hand with ten thousand of the best troops of Macedon, eager to recover the reputation of their arms, and to chastise the vanity of the Greeks. The whole army under Antipater exceeded forty thousand heavy-armed foot, besides three thousand archers and five thousand cavalry. Antiphilus, on the other hand, had sustained a considerable diminution in the numerical strength of his warriors: the Ætolians having returned home to attend to their private affairs, whilst others of the confederates, satisfied with the glory which they had already acquired, had gone to join in the triumphal exhibitions in which their exploits were represented to the women and children of Athens. The Macedonian generals, aware of their advantages lost no time in bringing the enemy to battle; in which, after a smart engagement with the Thessalian cavalry, they gained a complete and very easy victory over the allied Greeks, and thereby re-established the ascendency of their kingdom throughout all the republics, as well within as without the isthmus.

Final success of Antipater.

When a herald was sent to Antipater, craving the bodies of the slain, the victorious general declared that he would receive no message from the Greeks in common, but that he must treat with them as

Athenian embassy.

members of the several states. The object of this distinction being perfectly understood by the Athenians, they with the Ætolians ventured to refuse compliance; but the appearance of the Macedonian at the head of his army, soon subdued their opposition, and drove them to the opposite extreme of compliance, and the most submissive entreaty. They formed an embassy, consisting of Phocion, a commander of great genius and equal moderation, of Demades, an old and steady partisan of the Macedonian interest, and of Zenocrates, the successor of Plato in the labours of the academy, and, moreover, a person of such a grave and austere demeanour, as was likely to insure the respect of the most haughty conqueror and potentate. B. C. 323.

Severe terms imposed upon Athens.

But all that could be obtained from Antipater, even by such envoys as these, was peace on the following conditions: namely, that the Athenians should new-model their dangerous democracy; should make pecuniary compensation for the expenses incurred by the war; that they should surrender their turbulent demagogues, Demosthenes and Hyperides, and receive a Macedonian garrison into their fortified harbour Munychia. Hard as these terms must have appeared, the people of Athens were induced to accept them. The necessity of their condition left them no alternative: and yet there is much show of truth in the remark of Antipater, that the severest of the stipulations were the most beneficial to the peaceable citizens of that ambitious and restless republic.

Flight and death of Hyperides,

Demosthenes and Hyperides fled on the approach of the Macedonian general; but being pursued, they were both taken, the first in the island of Calauria, the second in the small island of Ægina. Hyperides was put to death by the command of Antipater, with accompaniments of cruelty and insult, which, it is to be hoped, are at least exaggerated: whilst it is reported of Demosthenes, that rather than allow himself to fall into the hands of an enemy, from whom he could not expect liberal or even humane treatment, he swallowed poison, which he always carried about with him, and which, it is added, soon produced its effect.

and of Demosthenes.

The death of Demosthenes and Hyperides, says Rollin, made the Athenians regret the reigns of Philip and Alexander, and recalled to their remembrance the magnanimity, generosity, and clemency which these two princes retained, even amidst the emotions of their displeasure; and how much they had always been inclined to pardon offences, and to treat their enemies with humanity. Whereas Antipater, under the mask of a private individual, in humble attire, with all the appearance of a plain and frugal life, and without affecting any title of authority, proved himself to be a rigid and imperious master. It is, however, admitted, even by the same author, that Antipater exercised his government with great justice over the Athenians; that he bestowed the principal posts and employments on such persons as he imagined were the most virtuous and honest; and that he contented himself with removing from all authority such as he thought were

B. C. 323. most likely to excite troubles. He was sensible that this people could neither support a state of absolute servitude nor of entire liberty; for which reason he thought it necessary to take from the one whatever was too rigid, and from the other all that was excessive and licentious.

The Ætolians obtain a favourable peace.

After the submission of Athens, the Macedonian arms under Antipater and Craterus were immediately directed against the refractory Ætolians. Aided in their defence by a strong mountainous country, this gallant people set at defiance the skill of the generals, and the enterprise of the soldiers; but, as it was whilst Antipater and his colleague were engaged in this arduous service, that Antigonus arrived from Asia to solicit their protection against the dangerous machinations of Perdiccas, the Ætolians were favoured with peace on much easier terms than they could otherwise have expected. The reader is already acquainted with the events which followed the coalition of the three governors against the regent, and of the fatal issue of the Egyptian expedition in which that policy involved him. We therefore prepare to resume the thread of the narrative where it was interrupted by the fall of Perdiccas,[1] and to detail the leading occurrences to which that catastrophe gave birth.

On the day succeeding the murder of Perdiccas, the governor of Egypt crossed the river to the enemy's camp, with a large supply of provisions, addressed the soldiers as his fellow-countrymen, and saluted the commanders as his ancient friends. In the character of Ptolemy, magnanimity and prudence had an equal sway; and as his conduct was remarkably consistent as well as moderate, he never failed to secure the affections of all with whom he acted, even when his views were different, and his interests incompatible. On the present occasion his humane attentions were so much extolled by the royal army, that he would have been appointed regent by acclamation, had he not made known his determination to decline so mighty an office, and recommended Arridæus, a general present in the camp, as the fittest person to succeed Perdiccas.

Regency of Arridæus. B. C. 322.

Arridæus, whose name was seldom mentioned during the more active part of Alexander's reign, had the honour to be nominated to conduct his funeral, and to convey his body to the temple of the African Zeus. Two years were spent in preparations for this splendid procession; and as it had been predicted that the city which should receive the royal remains would rise to an unwonted eminence in point of wealth and power, almost all the considerable towns in the empire strove for the honour of the precious deposit. Perdiccas, a native of Pella, who perhaps cherished the hope of soon exercising kingly authority in that capital, insisted that the bones of Alexander ought to be laid amongst those of his royal ancestors, in their ancient seat of government. His arguments, however, did not prevail. Arridæus proceeded to conduct the pageant through Syria,

[1] See page 241.

on his way to the destined mausoleum in the Libyan desert. He was met by Ptolemy, who entreated him, in the first instance, to grant repose to his followers at Memphis, before they entered the sands of the wilderness; and who afterwards prevailed upon him to erect the royal tomb at Alexandria, the favourite city of the great conqueror whose name it bears. B. C. 322.

It was this service, perhaps, which recommended Arridæus so powerfully to the patronage of the Egyptian governor. At all events, the elevation to the protectorate of the officer just named, in conjunction with Python, who had paved the way for the ruin of Perdiccas, was the work of Ptolemy, who, in this arrangement, consulted his own greatness and the welfare of his province, much more effectually than if he had allowed himself to be invested with the precarious rank and invidious authority which he thus conferred upon others.

Indignation of the Egyptian army against Eumenes.

It was whilst these proceedings occupied the attention of the royal army on the Nile, that the victory of Eumenes, and death of Craterus, were confirmed by the most certain intelligence. The effect of this news on the soldiers was violent in the extreme. Bewailing the loss of a favourite general, who had fallen whilst fighting against the ambitious schemes of Perdiccas, whom they were now disposed to pronounce a tyrant and foe to Macedon, they forthwith resolved to inflict the severest vengeance on all his family, his friends, and relatives. They declared Eumenes a public enemy; proscribed, by name, more than fifty of the principal adherents of the late protector, at the head of whom was his brother Alcetas; and having, in this manner, given vent to their fury, they immediately advanced from Egypt towards Syria, in order to realize the punishments which they had denounced.

Influence of Eurydice.

When arrived at Triparadus, in the latter province, the new protectors found their power so completely annihilated by the aspiring genius and active spirit of Eurydice, the wife of king Arrhidæus, that they deemed it expedient to resign their office; and when Antipater, who was speedily informed of what had taken place, had arrived at the camp, in which the bold and warlike Perdiccas was wont to issue his orders, he saw the veterans of Macedonia actually commanded by a woman! Nor did the appearance of their aged general produce at once the effect which was expected. The soldiers, instigated by the queen who seems to have promised them a full payment of all their arrears, as well as immediate preferment to the most deserving of their body, would have put him to instant death, had not his person been protected by Seleucus and Antigonus, whose intrepidity and presence of mind contributed mainly to quell the sedition. Smitten with regret at this undutiful conduct towards an old and faithful commander, the leaders of the army almost instantaneously followed the bent of their passions into the opposite extreme. They raised Antipater to the supreme authority, as protector of the empire, and afforded him the means of subduing the restless mind of Eurydice,

Resignation of the regents.

Regency of Antipater.

B. C. 322. whose devices had so nearly proved fatal to the discipline of the troops and the life of their general.

The great age of the protector, and his constant residence in Europe, disqualified him in no small degree for the government of a kingdom, whose subjects and whose interests were now chiefly Asiatic. A stranger to the manners and policy of the east, he resolved to fix the principal seat of power at Macedon, and to issue from thence such orders as might seem necessary for the purposes of administration, throughout the immense provinces washed by the Euphrates and Tigris.

MACEDONIA.

New distribution of the provinces.

With these views he arranged, before the army quitted Triparadus, a new distribution and settlement of the empire. The posthumous son of Alexander by Roxana was now formally associated in the government with the feeble-minded Arrhidæus, and both were declared the legitimate heirs of the crown, as the nearest male relatives of the late sovereign. As to the command of provinces, no material alterations were made, but such as had been rendered necessary by actual change of circumstances. Eumenes having been declared an outlaw and an enemy, the satrapy of Cappadocia was conferred upon Nicanor. Lydia was intrusted to Clytus, and Cilicia was given to Philoxenes; but as these extensive districts were all in the hands of Eumenes, they were to be reconquered before they could be possessed. To Seleucus, who had performed an important service in quashing the late sedition in the army, was granted the splendid government of Babylonia, an object of the most eager desire, it is said, to that young and ambitious chief, who, of all Alexander's officers, best understood the views and appreciated the magnificent designs of his master. Media had formerly been granted to Python, but he had not yet entered upon the discharge of its duties. A native adventurer, in the meantime, seized the upper division of the province, inhabited by a race of hardy mountaineers, who flocked to his standard, and whose warlike propensities rendered them formidable even in the plains. The services of Arridæus were rewarded with the satrapy of the Hellespontic Phrygia, vacant since the death of Leonatus, who had fallen in the Lamian war.

Measures against Eumenes.

The great object with the protector, in the circumstances wherein recent events had placed him, was evidently to subdue the refractory force of Eumenes, who being declared a public enemy, and affording at the same time an asylum to the adherents of Perdiccas, could be viewed in no other light than that of a powerful rebel. A large division of the army was accordingly committed to Antigonus, who was charged with the arduous task of reducing to submission the disaffected districts of Asia Minor. Meanwhile the commander-in-chief returned into Macedon, leaving his son Cassander at the head of the cavalry, to co operate with the troops which were to act against Eumenes.

In the war which ensued for the conquest of Cappadocia, both parties had reason to complain of treachery, and to guard against the stratagems of even their most confidential officers. Antipater had scarcely crossed the Hellespont on his way homeward, when he was admonished by Cassander of the disloyal ambition which already appeared to actuate the selfish mind of Antigonus, and of the necessity which existed either to watch his motions very closely, or to reduce his power within narrower limits. Unwilling to entertain suspicions on the suggestions of a mere youth, Antipater used no other precaution than to withdraw a part of the army which served under Antigonus, and to replace it by a body of troops on whose dispositions he could depend. B. C. 322. Intrigues of Antigonus.

On the side of Eumenes a treason still more dangerous infected the minds of several chiefs, and eventally exposed that able and faithful commander to a severe discomfiture, in a battle which was soon afterwards fought between him and Antigonus. This latter general having taken the field with a large force, speedily brought the other to an engagement, in which he had previously insured success. Antigonus had seduced the commander of his opponent's cavalry, as well as several inferior officers of the foot, who deserted during the conflict. Eumenes, finding it impossible either to provide for his troops, or to meet his rival on equal terms, came to the resolution of disbanding the greater part of them, and of shutting himself up with the remainder in Nora, one of the strongest fortresses in Cappadocia. The place was immediately blockaded by Antigonus; but this crafty chief, more intent on establishing his own power than on serving his country, endeavoured rather to gain the vanquished leader to participate in his ambitious views, than to induce him to lay down the arms of rebellion. He proposed a conference with Eumenes; in which, after explaining his intentions, and setting forth the terms on which he was willing to purchase the co-operation of so able a commander, he left no room for doubt that his main object was to seize upon the empire, and set Antipater at defiance. The reply of Eumenes was brief, but decisive. He declared that as long as he carried a sword, he never would acknowledge a superior, except in the royal house of Alexander. The interview being ended, the faithful secretary returned to his fort, upon which the blockade was resumed with greater activity than before, without however producing any remarkable occurrence. Blockade of Nora. Fidelity of Eumenes.

Plutarch, who, with Didorus Siculus, is our principal authority in this part of the narrative, adds a variety of circumstances with regard to the conference with Eumenes, which give it very much the air of a romantic fiction. He tells us, what is indeed very probable, that the Macedonians were extremely desirous to see the person of this ancient counsellor of Alexander—for that, after the death of Craterus, no one was so much talked of in the army as he; but, he adds, Antigonus, fearing lest they should offer him some violence, called to them to

B. C. 322. keep at a distance; and, as they still kept crowding in, he ordered them to be driven off with stones. At last, says the biographer, he took Eumenes in his arms, and holding the multitude in check with his guards, with some difficulty got him safe again into the castle.

B. C. 320. Death of Antipater.

The siege of Nora was not brought to a close when news arrived that Antipater had paid the debt of nature at Macedon. Antigonus, who had been kept somewhat in awe by the high character of the regent, was roused to indignation when he learned that the last act of that statesman's life was to appoint Polysperchon to the government of the empire, and to commit to his charge the custody of the two kings, who appear to have resided at Pella ever since the death of Perdiccas. That Antigonus expected those important charges to devolve upon himself is evident from all his councils and actions, from the time that he was nominated lieutenant of Asia Minor; not to mention his proposals to Eumenes, nor his arbitrary conduct in the reduction of Pisidia, and certain strongholds in other parts of the peninsula, which he secured, obviously with the view of ulterior operations on a larger scale. Nor was he inclined to relinquish a prize on which he had set his heart, and which fortune seemed now to place within his reach. On the contrary, he had immediate recourse to the means which he had formerly employed to effect his objects, when moving in a humbler sphere; and he attempted once more, by decisive movements in acting, and by deep dissimulation in consulting, to overpower his enemies and overreach his friends.

Regency of Polysperchon.

Rise of Cassander.

In carrying on his designs he was supplied with an instrument whose assistance he had the least reason to expect. Cassander, the son of Antipater, who had, as we have stated above, very early penetrated the intentions of Antigonus, and who had, moreover, in disgust, actually retired from his situation as general of the horse in the Asiatic army, was now prepared to court his alliance by opposing the government of Polysperchon. The views of this young soldier were not less ambitious than those of his superiors, which he was so forward to condemn; but, instead of arms, he had intended to accomplish his purpose by the insinuations of gallantry, and the power of female intrigue. He had, some time previously to the death of Antipater, gained the affections of the high-minded Eurydice, for whom he undertook to secure the appointment of regent in the behalf of her husband; not doubting but that he himself, by means of the hold which he had upon her heart, would subse-



Cassander.

quently obtain possession both of the lady and her delegated authority. B. C. 319.
The discovery of this plot by Antipater is said to have incensed him so greatly against his son, that he bequeathed to him no share in the government; the old general having contracted a strong antipathy to the interference of females in matters of state, for which he regarded them as totally disqualified both by talent and temper. To recover the ground which he had lost, and to pave the way for future success, Cassander did not think it unworthy of his character to apply to Antigonus for assistance. In pursuance of the same views, he had also, before the news of his father's death could reach Greece, given secret orders to Nicanor, a zealous and enterprising officer, to take the command of the Macedonians who garrisoned the fortified harbour of Athens; thereby securing for himself an important stronghold, either to check the Athenians, or to invite their co-operation.

Progress of Antigonus.

Whilst Cassander was thus indirectly weakening the authority of Polysperchon, Antigonus had resorted to more open and effectual means to accomplish the same end. He passed through the greater part of Asia Minor, taking possession of the most important fortresses, placing in them governors devoted to his interests, and raising large sums of money, under the name of contributions. The smaller satraps, who could not fail to perceive his intentions, expressed their alarm, without being able to oppose any effectual resistance. Asander in Caria, and Arridæus in the Lesser Phrygia, were gradually confined within narrow limits, and almost totally divested of power; whilst Clytus, who held the important province of Lydia, was compelled to leave his government, and seek refuge with a few ships in the presence of Polysperchon. Ephesus was next seized by Antigonus: in this city he almost immediately committed an act of open rebellion. Four ships having entered the harbour with six hundred talents, destined for the service of the empire, or, as some historians write, for the personal use of the kings and their establishment, the money was detained by order of the lieutenant-general, under the pretence of paying the army under his command. At this juncture of affairs he made another attempt on the fidelity of Eumenes, who was still shut up in the castle of Nora. His success, however, was not greater than on the former occasion; for no consideration could induce the Cardian to entertain the friendship of Antigonus, or to listen to the terms which he so eagerly pressed upon his acceptance, without first obtaining from him a positive assurance that their joint services should be devoted to the support of the royal line. In one respect, indeed, this negotiation was attended with an important result. The vigilance of the besiegers being somewhat relaxed, Eumenes seized a favourable opportunity, and escaped; carrying with him his faithful adherents on swift-footed horses, which appear to have been kept and exercised within the fortress for this very purpose.

Escape of Eumenes from Nora.

The projects of Cassander kept pace with the more serious designs of Antigonus; whilst the ends kept in view by these intriguing

B. C. 319. Union of Antigonus with Cassander.

generals agreed in nothing but the extinction of royal authority, and the humiliation of Polysperchon. Antigonus granted to his youthful ally thirty-five galleys, and four thousand veterans; trusting to his impetuous character that they would not be long unemployed, and having sufficient confidence in his military skill to rest satisfied that they would materially distract the councils of the regent, and confine his principal cares to the European portion of the empire.

B. C. 318. Union of Polysperchon and Eumenes.

To thwart the designs of Antigonus, which were no longer veiled even with the appearance of patriotism or moderation, Polysperchon found himself compelled to have recourse to measures, of which some were injudicious, and others positively hurtful. The only wise step which he took during this emergency was an alliance with Eumenes, whom, in the name of the kings, he appointed sole general of the army serving in Asia, and invested at the same time with the uncontrolled disposal of all the resources of the eastern empire. The provincial governors were ordered to place themselves under his command, at the head of the largest force they could raise; whilst the protector himself began preparations in Macedon, for conducting across the Hellespont the veteran soldiers of the royal army, with the view of completely quashing the rebellious spirit which Antigonus and his partisans had so industriously raised.

Return of Olympias.

Desirous, by all possible means, to increase the popularity of his cause at home, and to check the influence of Eurydice, who had still a powerful party in the army, Polysperchon advised the recal of Olympias, the mother of Alexander, into Macedon, where it was intended she should once more enjoy a share of that authority in the government, of which, during the regency of Antipater, it had been necessary to deprive her. He had soon reason to repent of this resolution; for Olympias, still untaught by events, and thirsting for revenge, returned to the Macedonian capital only to gratify her worst passions, and to disturb the tranquillity of private life.

Ill effects of the decree of Polysperchon establishing democracy.

But of all the measures into which Polysperchon was driven by the pressure of affairs, none was more questionable than his weak attempt to re-establish the Hellenic popular government. Eager to retain the Greeks in his interest, and to defeat the plans of Cassander, who had already anticipated him with regard to Athens, the regent published an edict for re-establishing democracy in all the states which owned the protection of Macedon; reserving to himself in the very deed by which he granted this imaginary privilege the power of enforcing its stipulations, and of commanding obedience to the authority whence it proceeded. The policy of this step was, as we have already said, not less wicked than its effects were pernicious; but as the object of it, according to the avowed intention of Polysperchon, was to prevent the Greeks from co-operating with Antigonus in his meditated attack on the royal house, it must be admitted that to a certain extent he effected his purpose. The boon of democracy created such a degree of contention and popular licentiousness in most of the states, that the

arms of the citizens were for a time employed against one another. B. C. 318.
Almost every individual, distinguished by rank or merit, was stripped of his property, banished, or put to death; the very lowest of the people having been instigated by the emissaries of the protector to take vengeance on the rich, whom they chose to describe as the inveterate enemies of their liberty and laws.

State of Athens.

The condition of Athens, controlled by the garrison in Munychia under Nicanor, prevented the people of that city from partaking of the benefits held out to them by Polysperchon. Impatient of the restraint so long imposed upon them by Macedonian soldiers, they sent repeated embassies to the regent, entreating that he would send an army for their relief, expel the creatures of Cassander from their forts, and secure to them the free exercise of that species of administration with which he had been pleased to favour the Grecian commonwealths. Polysperchon, whose views in this instance coincided with the wishes of the Athenians, sent a body of troops under the direction of his son Alexander; whilst himself, at the head of the royal guards, descended more slowly towards Attica, hoping to enjoy the fruits of victory in the establishment of a faction wholly devoted to his measures, as well, perhaps, as in the permanent occupation of the Munychia and the Piræus.

No sooner, however, had the young Macedonian reached Athens, than his councils were moderated by the sensible advice of Phocion, who succeeded in convincing him that, in no respect whatever, would the restoration of democracy prove advantageous to that state; but that it would, on the contrary, weaken at once the power of the laws, the security of property and life, and even the just influence of the regent himself. But the public feeling was already too much excited to admit of restraint, or to allow Alexander to deviate in any material degree from the course pointed out to him by his father. The democratical party, emboldened by the presence of the army, summoned the whole city, strangers, slaves, convicts, and outlaws, to attend a national assembly, and there to give their votes respecting the form of government which it behoved them to adopt. The result could not be for a moment doubtful. Aristocracy was abolished, and a law immediately passed, condemning to exile or death any person who had held any share in the former administration; penalties which attached, in particular, to Conon, Phocion, Callimedon, and Pericles. Flight saved the greater number of the proscribed; but Phocion and a few others, hoping, by means of Macedonian interference, to save their country from absolute ruin, had recourse to Alexander, who, it would seem, was throughout averse to democratical ascendency. The events which immediately ensued are surrounded with some degree of obscurity. Phocion, and a Corinthian orator, named Dinarchus, proceeded to meet Polysperchon; but whether with the view of representing the grievances of the better order of citizens, or merely to solicit personal protection for themselves, is a point which neither

Popular assembly for the choice of a government.

B. C. 318. Diodorus nor Plutarch has stated with sufficient clearness. The latter author gives the detail of a trial which was got up by the regent, to gratify certain messengers sent by the popular party at Athens, who arraigned Phocion, and demanded justice on him and his partisans. The circumstances attending this solemn mockery were revolting in the extreme, and only equalled by the ferocious conduct of the Athenian democracy when Phocion was sent back to them, as a victim to gratify their revenge. Some, on his return, even proposed that he should be tortured. Finally, however, the sentence of death was unanimously carried, and the intrepid statesman was at once led forth to execution. His dignified and composed bearing never once forsook the veteran Athenian general; while his last command to his son, not to avenge his death upon the Athenians, was conceived in the noblest spirit of philosophy. After enduring every sort of contumely which unprincipled orators and an enraged multitude could inflict upon him, this excellent man was condemned to drink the juice of hemlock, after he had reached the eighty-fifth year of his age, and had been forty-five times elected general of the Athenian state.

Unjust execution of Phocion.

Movements of Polysperchon

Four days subsequent to this disgraceful occurrence, Cassander returned to Athens with the naval force granted to him by Antigonus; and having fortified the Piræus as well as the Munychia, kept the democratical citizens in awe, notwithstanding the presence of twenty-five thousand men, with the Asiatic accompaniment of sixty-five elephants. Polysperchon finding his large force useless in the blockade of a harbour, which could only be commanded from the sea, left his son before the town with a part of the army, and proceeded in person to reduce the Arcadian city Megalopolis, which refused to obey the royal edict for the establishment of democracy. The most vigorous efforts of his troops, aided by the physical strength of the elephants, were found utterly unavailing against the ingenuity and courage which were opposed to them by the townsmen. It was fortunate, therefore, for the military character of the protector, that an apology for his sudden retreat into Macedon was afforded by the violent conduct of Olympias, who had already embroiled that part of the kingdom so seriously as to endanger the life and power of the elder king.

and Cassander.

Before he left Attica, however, he sent Clytus, at the head of a powerful fleet, to assist Arridæus, the governor of the Lesser Phrygia, who still held his province under the royal warrant, and was consequently hard pressed by his ambitious neighbour Antigonus, who was extremely desirous to possess that important key to the passage of the Hellespont. Cassander was not inattentive to this movement on the part of the enemy. Detaching what portion of the fleet he could spare from the Athenian harbours, he sent Nicanor in quest of Clytus, with orders to prevent any material diversion in favour of Arridæus. The Thracian Bosphorus soon became the scene of a naval battle, memorable alike for variety of success, and for its important consequences to the Macedonian empire. In the first act of this

Sea-fight in the Bosphorus.

bloody drama, Nicanor was defeated, about one-half of his ships were taken, and the remainder were happy to find refuge in the neighbouring harbour of Chalcedon, directly opposite to Byzantium. But Antigonus, who at the head of an army watched the proceedings of both fleets, converted, to use the words of a modern historian, this heavy disaster into the means of signal and brilliant success. Having despatched proper agents to Byzantium, he collected, in the first part of the night, the small craft and merchantmen lying in that port. In these vessels, having hastily embarked the choicest of his light-armed troops, he assailed before dawn the unsuspecting victors, who had presumptuously landed on the Thracian coast, encumbered and fatigued with the care of their booty and their prisoners. Clytus, unprepared to fight, ordered his men to fly to their ships. Part of them put to sea, but encountered there a new danger; for Nicanor, whom Antigonus had reinforced with a select band of mariners, was ready for their reception. Their whole fleet was taken, except the admiral's galley; and he himself, having landed on an obscure part of the Thracian coast, and attempting to escape secretly into Macedon, was put to death by some deserters, who sought to avenge their cause on the person of this unfortunate chief.

B. C. 318.

Battle of Byzantium.

The victory of Byzantium decided the fate of the Athenians, who immediately surrendered to Cassander, on the simple conditions of retaining possession of their soil, their ships, revenue, and laws. The government of the city, and management of the finances, were confided to the wisdom of Demetrius Phalereus, who with much honour to himself, and great advantage to the commonwealth, continued in office during the long period of ten years.

B. C. 317.

Surrender of Athens.

Whilst the rival generals in Attica and Asia Minor were committing their claims to the arbitration of war, the two queens, Olympias and Eurydice, were likewise on the point of making an appeal to arms. We have already remarked that the latter princess, attached to Cassander by the bonds of an unlawful affection, laboured to second his views, as an aspirant to the supreme authority; whilst Olympias, acting as the tool of Polysperchon, as well as in pursuance of her own ambitious projects, exerted the utmost force of intrigue in support of her grandson and his mother Roxana. Having acquired a momentary ascendancy over the affections of the Macedonian soldiers, she compelled Eurydice and Arrhidæus her husband to seek safety in flight; and afterwards, upon getting possession of their persons, she ordered them both to be despatched by assassins. The imbecile Arrhidæus, who from respect to his father was usually called Philip, had occupied the throne of Macedon six years and four months; a mere pageant of royalty when a public appearance was deemed necessary, and a mere name used by his tutors when furthering their own views, or transacting the business of the empire.

Rivalry of Olympias and Eurydice.

Murder of Arrhidæus and Eurydice.

B. C. 317.

But the rage of the inexorable Olympias was not supported by an adequate force. The presence of Cassander in Macedonia, who flew

B. C. 317. Flight and death of Olympias.

thither to avenge the death of Eurydice, struck such a panic into the breast of the aged queen, that she immediately shut herself up in Pydna, carrying with her the young Alexander Ægus, the interesting Roxana, and a large attendance of females of the first rank and quality. The strength of the fortress long resisted the impatience of Cassander. Famine at length, aiding his endeavours, reduced the garrison to the greatest extremity, and compelled even the stern Olympias to sue for terms. A trial followed her release from the miseries of a siege; but the forms of justice in such a case are the mere instruments of power, and thus, although not regularly condemned, she was soon after put to death.

B. C. 316. Marriage of Cassander with Thessalonica.

The fall of Pydna rewarded the labours of Cassander, not only with the gratification which he received in the condemnation of Olympias, but also with the possession of the illustrious persons who had shared the fortunes of that celebrated queen. Alexander Ægus, now the sole heir of the crown, Roxana his mother, Deidamia, daughter of the king of Epirus, and Thessalonica, the youngest daughter of Philip of Macedon, and half-sister of the conqueror of Asia, fell into his hands as prisoners of war. The prince and his parent were sent to the castle of Amphipolis; whilst Thessalonica, still more nearly connected with the royal house than the ill-fated Eurydice, was selected by Cassander to be the instrument of his ambition, and the partner of his bed. The nuptials were celebrated in a style of the greatest magnificence; and the active governor chose to mark his accession to power by building Cassandria, on the isthmus of Pallene, and by restoring to its ancient splendour the renowned city of Thebes.

B. C. 321.

Whilst these things were going on in Europe, similar ambitious projects were pursued in other parts of the empire by the several satraps into whose hands the largest share of power had fallen. Ptolemy, who had at an early period added Cyrene to his dominions, afterwards carried his arms into Syria, reduced the more important strongholds in the maritime provinces, took the city of Jerusalem, and sent into Egypt, as captives and slaves, more than a hundred thousand of the Jews.



Captive Jews.

After the death of Antipater, when the authority of the central government was greatly relaxed, the satraps in all the remoter provinces ceased to turn their eyes towards Macedon, either for authority or for approval. Egypt had, in fact, become an independent sovereignty; Babylonia, and the fine country of the Medes, no longer acknowledged any other ruler than Seleucus and Python; and Antigonus had, for some time, openly avowed the intention of rendering himself master of the whole of Lesser Asia. Eumenes, at the head of the royal army, was the only obstacle to occasion either delay or uncertainty in the accomplishment of this object; and as the able general now named was merely the lieutenant of Polysperchon, an unpopular and unsuccessful viceroy, Antigonus found no difficulty in confederating against him the commanders of all the principal provinces, whether in Asia or in Europe. It was therefore reserved for Eumenes, upon finding himself at liberty after his escape from Nora, to direct his single genius against the combined talents of Antigonus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, and even Python: the two latter, however little disposed they might be to second the ambitious designs of the satrap of Phrygia, could not permit themselves to obey the commands of the royal general; because the king being a mere puppet in the hands of Polysperchon, the orders issued in his name were, in fact, the orders of the protector, or of his substitute at the head of the army. We are accordingly informed by Diodorus, that when Eumenes, who had already recovered a great part of Syria from the grasp of Ptolemy, sent a message to Seleucus and Python, desiring them, in the name of the kings, to join him forthwith against Antigonus, bringing with them the largest force they could raise, these governors replied that they were ready to assist the kings in their lawful wars, but that they would have no transactions with himself, as being a person who had once been proclaimed a public enemy, and whose authority, even though he showed them the royal commission, in virtue of which he acted, they were determined not to acknowledge. Resolved to be independent of the protector, they found no difficulty in refusing obedience to his command when conveyed by his lieutenant, though that refusal evidently implied the abnegation of their allegiance, and even an overt act of rebellion.

B. C. 321.

State of the provinces.

In stating the disadvantageous circumstances in which Eumenes was placed, we must not neglect to mention the reluctance which some of the high-minded nobles, who had fought under Alexander, manifested to obey the orders of a foreigner and a man of obscure birth. The battalion of Argyraspides, or Silver-shields, joined his standard, indeed, in compliance with the royal mandate; but they could not conceal their scorn when they spoke of the Cardian general, who had carried an inkhorn in the camps where they had gained the most splendid triumphs. Eumenes was aware of their prejudices, and adopted the following expedient in order to remove it. Plutarch, who is our principal authority on this point, informs us that the

Policy of Eumenes.

B. C. 321. general assured his officers that he had been favoured with a communication from Alexander, in a vision of the night, and that the deceased king, showing him a pavilion with royal furniture, and a throne in the middle of it, declared aloud: "That if they would hold their councils, and despatch business there, he would be with them, and prosper every measure and every action which commenced under his auspices." This apparition was readily believed by the superstitious Macedonians; and accordingly the two chiefs of the Argyraspides, Antigenes and Teutamus, who had refused to wait upon Eumenes, or to receive his orders, expressed no further reluctance to appear before him in the pavilion of Alexander, and to participate in his councils. This symbol of royal power and divine influence was religiously conveyed from place to place wherever the army moved; and whenever unforeseen difficulties occurred, or new measures were to be adopted, the "throne of Alexander" was set up, a species of adoration was performed, and the warlike counsellors proceeded to deliberation in the faith that they were to be directed by the spirit of their invincible monarch.

Antigonus marches in pursuit of Eumenes.

Antigonus had no sooner gained the ascendency in the west, by the destruction of the royal fleet under Clytus, than he determined to march in pursuit of Eumenes, who, in the mean time, had been successfully employing his arms in Phœnicia and Palestine. Not being in a condition to oppose the disciplined and numerous forces of his antagonist, Eumenes retreated towards the Euphrates; sending messengers before him to the several satraps, exhorting them to join his standard with their contingents, and prepare to defend the provinces committed to their care.

Seleucus, who continued to command at Babylon, gave no encouragement to Eumenes, and even attempted to obstruct his progress eastward. He inundated the camp of the royal general, by opening certain sluices in the Tigris, which poured its water over the adjacent country, then occupied by the Macedonians, and thus greatly endangered the whole army. Eumenes, however, found means to cross into Susiana, where he was strengthened with considerable supplies of arms and money; resolving to consolidate his forces in that province, and to await the approach of Antigonus, who was already in Mesopotamia.

Python, the governor of Media, was as little disposed as Seleucus to co-operate with the royal lieutenant in punishing the rebellion of Antigonus. On the contrary, he himself had just attempted not only to render his province independent of the regency, but even to add to it the smaller satrapies with which it was surrounded. In an attack upon Parthia, he had shown so much cruelty, as well as ambition, that the neighbouring governors flew to arms, drove him from Media, and compelled him to seek for refuge, across the Tigris, in the court of Seleucus. This condition of things, so little expected by Eumenes, and apparently so unfavourable to his hopes of assistance,

Forces under Eumenes.

was nevertheless the means of bringing to his camp a considerable body of active soldiers. The confederated satraps, who had driven away Python, were eager to secure the alliance of the royal general; being perfectly aware that the governor of Media, aided by the troops of Seleucus, would soon make another attempt to recover his dominions, and to inflict a signal vengeance on those by whom he had been expelled. Actuated by these motives, Peucestes, the satrap of Persis, joined the standard of Eumenes, with thirteen thousand foot, and one thousand horse; Tlepolemus of Carmania, Siburtius of Arachosia, and Stasander of Aria, brought about four thousand foot, and two thousand three hundred cavalry; Androbazus, the deputy of Oxyartes, led from the heights of Paropamisus twelve hundred infantry and four hundred horsemen; whilst Eudamus, who commanded in the district which is watered by the Five Rivers, advanced from the east with three thousand five hundred horse, and a formidable array of a hundred and twenty elephants. To these reinforcements, more valuable for quality than number, Peucestes is said to have afterwards added ten thousand Persian archers, summoned by him from the rugged mountains which extend from the bay of Ormus. B. C. 317. B. C. 316.

Forces under Antigonus.

Antigonus, informed of these occurrences, resolved in like manner to halt, and endeavour, by new levies, to render his force equal to that of his adversary. He was soon joined, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, by Python, who commanded fifteen hundred horsemen, and by a detachment from the army of Seleucus, who, anxious to remove the war from his own country, strongly recommended Antigonus to cross the Tigris, and beat up the quarters of Eumenes, in the fertile province of Susiana. Eastward of the river now named there is another large stream, called Coprates, over which Antigonus had, in like manner, to convey his army; and here he sustained so severe a loss, inflicted upon him by an act of superior generalship on the part of his rival, that he deemed it expedient to decline a more decisive engagement until he had again recruited and refreshed his army.

For this purpose, he resolved, for the present, to leave Eumenes in undisturbed possession of Susiana, and to proceed northward into Media; where Python had still a considerable degree of influence, and where his partisans could supply the means of subsisting his troops and conveying their stores. To effect this object, however, either a long or a very dangerous march was inevitable; and, preferring the latter, he had to sustain a destructive warfare with the Cossæans, amid their mountain fastnesses; who during nine days assailed his line so successfully, that they killed a great number of his men, and completely exhausted with fatigue and suffering, those who escaped with life. This foolish enterprise was undertaken, it is said, in imitation of Alexander, who determined to chastise rather than court the proud and savage mountaineers, who asked him to purchase a free passage through their narrow valleys—a practice first introduced by the Persian

B. C. 316. kings, when leading their armies into the northern provinces of the empire.

Dissensions in the army of Eumenes.

Could Eumenes have trusted to the disposition of his army, he might have followed up with material success, the advantages which he had gained on the banks of the Coprates. But no sooner was Antigonus out of their sight, than the Argyraspides involved the camp in dissension; insisting that their commander should retrace his steps to Asia Minor, and seize the rich prize which the other had relinquished; whilst Peucestes and his neighbouring satraps, who had joined the army after it had crossed the Tigris, maintained the policy of defending the more important provinces of the east, and particularly the imperial district of Persis; upon which, they predicted, Antigonus would be ready to pour down with resistless fury, after having repaired his strength in Media. Eumenes, yielding to the counsel of the latter, directed his march towards Persepolis; in the vicinity of which, Peucestes entertained the army with a splendid festival, the object of which, however, was not so much to reward their exertions against the invader of Asia, as to seduce their affections from their great and faithful commander. Eumenes foresaw the plot, and defeated it. Having forged letters, as if written by Orontes, who was the governor of Armenia, and a warm friend to the satrap of Persis, he caused them to be read aloud, stating, "That the kings and Polysperchon had fully re-established their authority in Europe; that Cassander their most formidable enemy was dead; and that a Macedonian army had crossed the Hellespont to co-operate with the exertions of a general, in whose courage and conduct the lawful successors of Alexander continued to repose the utmost confidence." This stratagem produced the desired effect: Eumenes was confirmed in authority, and one of the seditious satraps was obliged to consult his safety by a sudden flight.

Battle between Eumenes and Antigonus.

Confidence was hardly restored, when news arrived at the camp that Antigonus had begun his march from Media, and was already on the frontiers of that province. Eumenes, although his health was somewhat impaired by fatigue or intemperance, made immediate preparations for meeting his enemy; and, in the space of twenty four hours, brought his vanguard within sight of the hostile camp, at the foot of the Parætacene mountains. A variety of manœuvres preceded the battle, which, in the eyes of both armies, had now become inevitable; for each general, knowing the talents and resources of his adversary, put in exercise all the devices which science and a matured experience could suggest, for securing victory, or diminishing the evils of defeat. The conflict was severe and the success various. The fortune of the day was first determined in favour of Eumenes; but an opportunity which presented itself, was instantly seized by Antigonus, who, with the skill and presence of mind characteristic of the officers formed in the school of Alexander, attacked an exposed part of the enemy's line, and completely checked their ardour in pursuing their momentary advantage. The fruit of this masterly movement was dis-

played in the facility with which Antigonus was enabled to withdraw his army from the Persian frontier, and reoccupy the commodious quarters afforded him by Python, in the rich plains of Gamorga, a town of Media. B. C. 316.

After the interruption occasioned by the winter, Antigonus endeavoured to surprise the royal general, by performing in the greatest secrecy, a forced march of nine days, through a country, hilly, barren, and difficult. Information, forwarded by a peasant, saved the army of Eumenes, who, in the course of a few hours, made such able arrangements as set his indefatigable rival at defiance. In this crisis, the merit of the commander only excited the envy of the satraps who served under him; and though in the presence of an enemy, and in the expectation of an eventful battle, Peucestes, who had been disappointed in a former plot, conspired with Teutamus, a turbulent chief, to take away the life of Eumenes, as soon as he should have conquered the opposing army. The conspiracy was revealed to him by some of the other generals who had been invited to accede to it; and who, says Plutarch, were restrained from taking a share in that diabolical measure, not by the affectionate duty which they owed to Eumenes, but merely through fear of losing, by his death, the money which they had lent to him at high interest. The effect on the mind of that great commander was deep and distressing. Lamenting that it was his hard lot to live among wild beasts, he retired in low spirits to his tent, where he wrote his testament, and burned such of his papers as might have endangered those who had given him secret intelligence, or corresponded with him on matters of state policy. Regardless of the consequences to himself, he determined still to resist Antigonus, the enemy of his master's house; and in pursuance of this resolution, he went forth with a cheerful countenance to inspect his troops, and make arrangements for his last conflict with that unprincipled satrap.

Conspiracy against Eumenes.



Antigonus.

The details of the battle are known to every reader of ancient history; and can only be interesting to those who wish to compare the tactics of the Macedonians with the art of war as practised in modern times. The armies were considerable, both for their number and the quality of the troops; that under Eumenes amounting to thirty-six thousand seven hundred foot, six thousand horse, and a hundred and fourteen elephants; and the other consisting of twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand cavalry, with a body of Median skirmishers, and sixty-five elephants.

Victory of Antigonus.

B. C. 316. The Argyraspides and the phalanx gained an easy victory over the foot soldiers of Antigonus. Not one of the battalions could sustain the shock, and most of them were cut to pieces; but the cavalry were more successful, and by their bravery and perseverance contributed not a little to equalize the fortune of the combat. As the engagement took place in a sandy soil, the motion of the horses raised such a cloud as prevented either party from seeing beyond a few paces; a circumstance which suggested to Antigonus, the propriety of attacking the enemy's baggage, which was slenderly guarded by a body of raw troops, at a little distance from the scene of action. The device succeeded beyond all expectation; for the brave Phalangites and Silver-shields, as soon as they found that their property, their wives and children, and all that they held dear upon earth, were ravished from them at the moment when they imagined themselves in possession of a great victory, broke out into the most violent insubordination, and actually turned their arms against their own general. It was in vain for Eumenes to exhort them to return but once more to the charge, and they would recover everything they had lost, and amply revenge their momentary grief on the vanquished enemy. The haughty Argyraspides would not listen. Treachery, too, it is obvious, was at work; for Peucestes had already left the field, with all the troops that he could induce to follow him: and now, to complete the disgrace of the whole army, it was proposed by the seditious and faithless satrap Teutamus, to conciliate the victorious Antigonus, by giving up into his hands the person of their gallant commander. The suggestion was acted upon: and Eumenes, after being seized like a felon, and bound with his own belt, was delivered up to his implacable enemy who had long thirsted for his blood. As he was carried through the Macedonian phalanx, on his way to the camp of Antigonus, the unfortunate general is said to have addressed the soldiers, entreating them to despatch him. "Kill me, soldiers," he exclaimed, "kill me yourselves, I conjure you in the name of all the gods; for though I perish by the hand of Antigonus, my death will be as much your act as if I had fallen by your swords."

Betrayal of Eumenes.

Eumenes put to death.

He was soon afterwards deprived of life in prison, in the forty-fifth year of his age; after having served Philip and Alexander, in the honourable capacity of secretary about twenty years, and fought for the royal house after every other general of rank had begun to establish his own interests, on the ruins of allegiance and fidelity. Nor were his excellent qualities confined to military skill and unimpeachable honour. He was also an elegant scholar, evincing by his writings a pure taste and the most exalted moral feeling, an ardent philanthropy and a steady friendship. A strong proof of the favour with which Eumenes was regarded by Alexander, is to be found in the fact, that, notwithstanding the enmity of Hephæstion, Eumenes continued to maintain his ground in the affections of the Macedonian prince. Though employed in the specific office of secretary both of

Philip and his son, he was by the latter intrusted with important military commands, and ultimately appointed to the post of commander of a cavalry brigade. A collection of his letters is said to have been preserved till the second century of the Christian era; affording ample proof that the eulogies conferred on his character by ancient biographers and historians, were fully merited by the uniform tenour of his life, and by the liberal, manly tone of sentiment which adorned his principles and animated his writings. In his death, the royal house of Macedon lost one of the greatest ornaments of its court, in its best and proudest days, and one of its most faithful supporters, in the lowest ebb of its power.[1] B. C. 316.

Antigonus, Protector of Asia.

It was in the first year of the hundred and sixteenth Olympiad (B. C. 316), that Antigonus thus rid himself of the formidable opposition so long directed against him by Eumenes. At this period, Polysperchon was still nominally protector of the empire, and tutor of the young king Alexander Ægus; but after the triumph of Cassander over the partisans of Olympias, and the marriage of that general with Thessalonica, the power attached to his office was utterly annihilated, and he found himself compelled to retire into Peloponnesus, where he appears to have exercised, during several years, a very limited authority among the remaining adherents of the royal cause. In the East, again, there was no longer any one to represent the youthful monarch, or even to maintain his rights in the name of deputy to his protector. The privilege of governing was now determined by the sword; and Antigonus, being at the head of the largest army, assumed the protectorship of Asia, which he knew none of his rivals were in a condition at that moment to dispute with him. Flight of Polysperchon.

Having gained an accession to his forces from the discomfited army of Eumenes, the new governor of the East returned into Media to concert measures for the stability of his power in the surrounding provinces. To avoid the snare which had proved fatal to the renowned general whom he had lately put to death, he resolved, in the first place, to break up the celebrated battalion of the Argyraspides, who had shown too great a disposition to interfere in political arrangements; and, secondly, to despatch the turbulent Python, whose ambition and treachery had undermined not only the rigid government of Perdiccas, but also the mild and loyal sway of the unfortunate Eumenes. The former part of this intention he realized by sending the gallant Silver-shields on severe service, where their strength would Measures of Antigonus.

[1] "De quo," says Nepos, "quanta fuerit omnium opinio eorum qui post Alexandrum Magnum, reges sunt appellati, ex hoc facile potest judicari, quod nemo, Eumene vivo, rex appellatus est, sed præfectus. Iidem post hujus occasum statim regium ornatum nomenque sumpserunt; neque quod initio predicárant, se Alexandri liberis regnum servare, id præstare voluerunt, et, uno propugnatore sublato, quid sentirent aperuerunt."

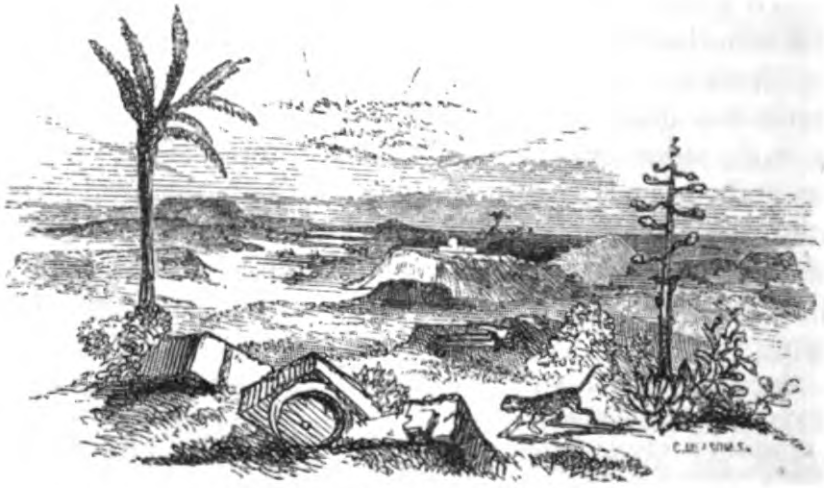
B. C. 316. Fate of the Argyraspides.

be wasted by fatigue and privation; and where, in fact, that famous band of veterans to which Alexander owed so much of his success, was ultimately worn down, without ever revisiting their native country. As to Python, he was at length made the dupe of that atrocious deceit which he had so frequently practised against others. Antigonus had heard of his projects for recovering Media; but affecting to disbelieve such reports against a faithful partisan, he invited him to join his standard, giving him reason to expect a still higher reward for his services than the province from which he had been recently expelled.

Python put to death.

The ambitious satrap complied, joined the camp of Antigonus, and was immediately accused, condemned, and put to death.

The next measure pursued by the self-appointed protector was to reduce the power of Peucestes, who had repaired to his camp after the battle with Eumenes, at the head of his ten thousand Persian bowmen. Antigonus having accompanied him to Pasargada, the capital of his province, chose to take offence at the popularity with which the satrap was everywhere received, and immediately superseded him, by nominating to the government of Persis his own faithful tool Asclepiodorus. After this stretch of authority, to which the Orientals seem formed by nature to submit, Antigonus was pleased to confirm in their satrapies the governors placed in the more remote parts of the empire; sending friendly letters to the rough old chieftain, Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, as well as to Stasander and Tlepolemus, the rulers of Bactria and Caramania, though their armies had served against him under the standard of Eumenes. He was, moreover, induced to add Susiana to the province of Babylon, under the government of Seleucus, to whom also he forthwith proceeded to pay a friendly visit on the banks of the Euphrates. When at Susa, the commander of the citadel, following the orders of Seleucus, presented to the protector the keys of that fortress; from which, as being one of the chief treasuries of the empire, he carried away with him the very considerable sum of fifteen thousand talents.



Site of Susa, the capital of Susiana.

At Babylon he was received by the governor with the greatest magnificence. Royal presents were made to him, and his whole army was splendidly entertained. But amidst all these demonstrations of friendship, there was hatred on the one side and fear on the other. Seleucus soon perceived that the fate of Python or of Peucestes awaited him, and that his safety could only be secured by flight. With about forty horsemen, accordingly, on whose speed and fidelity he could depend, he set out for Egypt, to throw himself on the protection of Ptolemy; and, after travelling with the utmost expedition not less than nine hundred miles, he arrived at Alexandria, already become the capital of the flourishing country to which it belonged. Ptolemy received the fugitive governor with open arms, and entered readily into all his views, whether of reprisals or of mutual defence; for policy now combined with personal regard in the breast of the Egyptian governor, to dictate vigorous measures against the monstrous ambition and atrocious cruelties of Antigonus, who obviously grasped at universal empire. The proposal of Seleucus, therefore, to send an embassy to Cassander and Lysimachus was warmly seconded by his host, who likewise joined with him in arraigning the tyranny of the protector, as the common enemy of all who were invested with power.

B. C. 315.

Alliance of Seleucus and Ptolemy.



Ptolemy Soter.



Berenice.[1]

Antigonus, meanwhile, having committed the provinces recently held by Seleucus to Python, the son of Agenor, and having drawn from the fortress of Huinda, and other treasuries in the East, upwards of twenty thousand talents, found himself prepared either for war or negotiation. Knowing that his lieutenants in Asia Minor had lost ground during his absence beyond the Euphrates, he was desirous to gain, in the first instance at least, sufficient time for re-establishing his ascendency in that important part of the empire, by subduing Asander, the governor of Caria, who had continually refused to acknowledge his

Negotiations of Antigonus.

[1] Berenice, the third wife of Ptolemy Soter, became the mother of Ptolemy Philadelphus and of Arsinoe, the wife of Lysimachus.

B. C. 315. government. With this view he sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, desiring a continuance of their friendship, and explaining in the most plausible manner possible his proceedings at Babylon and Pasargada. The confederated satraps, anxious to avoid war, or desirous to procure for themselves the praise of moderation, met his proposals with a statement of terms, which he was requested to view as the price of their amity, and, perhaps, of their forbearance. Ptolemy insisted that his right to Syria should be acknowledged, and he also joined with Seleucus in the demand that the latter should be restored to his provinces on the Tigris. Cassander declared himself satisfied with Macedon and Greece, provided he received a share of the money abstracted by Antigonus from the royal treasuries, a condition which was likewise urged by all the other contracting powers. Lysimachus, the ruler of Thrace, required that the Lesser Phrygia should be annexed to his dominions, that he might be enabled to command both sides of the Hellespont; whilst Asander, who had acceded to the confederacy on the approach of Antigonus, stipulated that he should be allowed to retain his conquests in Lycia and Cappadocia.

Demands of the confederates.

Reply of Antigonus.

These conditions suited neither the temper nor the ulterior objects of the ambitious protector; and he is said, accordingly, to have dismissed the envoys with the following brief reply, addressed to their masters in common:—"That he was actually marching against Ptolemy, and after he had settled his differences with that satrap, he would proceed in due time to deal with his perfidious and insolent confederates." "This transaction," says Gillies, "though conducted with little formality, was attended with momentous consequences, whether we regard the vastness of their extent, or the length of their duration. In Antigonus's answer to the embassy of the allied princes, the knot was tied of a memorable drama, involving the fortunes of mankind from the Adriatic to the Indus, and from the frozen banks of the Danube to the scorching sands of Libya. The conflict, after being maintained a dozen years, with no less dexterity than energy, terminated in the establishment of four independent monarchies, Syria, Egypt, Thrace, and Macedon, whose transactions with each other, and with foreign nations, until their successive reduction under the Parthian and Roman power, serve to impress some of the most useful lessons and salutary warnings that are to be found in the whole series of ancient or modern history."

His preparations for war.

Antigonus lost no time in attempting to realize his threatenings. He marched into Syria and Phœnicia, which, with the exception of Tyre, Gaza, and Joppa, the three principal strongholds on the coast, offered no material resistance. He next proceeded to restore his navy, which had been greatly reduced in the war with Asander, in order that he might be able to cope with the fleets of Greece, and particularly with that of Egypt, which, under the wise government of Ptolemy, had become the largest and best equipped of any in those seas.

The war was soon transferred to Lesser Asia, where the satrap of Caria continued a brave resistance to the arms of Antigonus, in which he was greatly assisted by the Egyptian fleet, under Polycleitus and Seleucus. But Asander was at length compelled to yield to the overwhelming force which was brought against him from all quarters, and directed by the consummate skill of the protector himself. The views of the conqueror were next turned to the state of Greece, the greater part of which was still subservient to Macedon, and aided its power. By means of his emissaries, who carried large sums of money into that country, Antigonus not only formed a strong party in Peloponnesus, which was in some measure under the influence of Polysperchon and his son Alexander, but even stirred up several of the barbarous tribes of Ætolians, Epirots, and Triballians, to wage a direct war with the Macedonians, and thereby to further his intentions against Cassander, a principal ally of Ptolemy and Seleucus. He artfully enlisted on his side, too, the better feelings of the Macedonian people themselves, by representing Cassander as the assassin of their royal family, and by denouncing vengeance upon him unless he instantly delivered from confinement the young Alexander Ægus and his mother Roxana. B.C. 315.

These professions, seconded by some political concessions in favour of the republics, and also by the gallant conduct of his nephew Ptolemy, effected such a revolution in favour of Antigonus, that he finally succeeded in stripping Cassander of all his possessions in Greece, with the exception of Thessaly, and in reducing his military resources within very narrow limits. In Thrace, likewise, the arms of the protector were crowned with the most flattering success. Lysimachus had acceded to the confederacy against him, and had even, whilst his arms were employed in Asia Minor, made a descent into the Hellespontian Phrygia. To revenge these aggressions, Antigonus stirred up the barbarous tribes which occupy the Thracian mountains to assail his establishments in the north, and, at the same time, seduced from their allegiance the Grecian cities on the Euxine, which this satrap, after the example of Ptolemy, had founded for the purposes of commerce. At this juncture, in short, the protector might have consolidated his power on a broad and lasting basis, had he listened to any other counsellor than his ambition. Syria was completely subdued, for Tyre had already surrendered to the skill and perseverance of his son Demetrius, after a blockade of fourteen months. Greece was wholly in his power; the satrap of Macedon having no longer either money or troops sufficient to control the State of the confederates.



Demetrius Poliorcetes.

B. C. 315. ascendency of the two factions which had been recently formed in that country. Thrace was kept at bay by the internal commotions so artfully excited in it; as well as by the savage hordes which dwelt on the Danube, and which incessantly threatened to inundate with their countless multitudes the more fertile fields which stretch along the Euxine. Ptolemy, the most formidable of his enemies, had, ever since his accession to the government of Egypt, manifested a strong desire for peace; being obviously unwilling to suspend, upon the hazard of a protracted warfare, the improvement of the very important province which had fallen to his charge.

They wish for peace.

Influenced by these circumstances, as well, perhaps, as by a sincere wish to promote the tranquillity of the empire at large, the confederates made known to Antigonus their desire to listen to terms for a general pacification. His late successes, however, had opened to him the most ambitious views. He hoped to be able to reduce his rivals, one by one, to an unconditional submission, and was, on that account, altogether averse to shackle himself with treaties, which he could not afterwards break, without incurring much odium and suspicion. With a degree of honesty, therefore, greater than the wisdom or moderation of the policy which he thought proper to pursue, he declined all negotiation; leaving to the confederate chiefs the alternative of yielding to his ambitious designs, or of seeking redress in an appeal to arms.

Antigonus declines negotiation.

B. C. 312. The first blow was struck by Ptolemy. Aware of the aspiring views and insatiable ambition of Antigonus, he had spared no pains in increasing the number of his ships, and in adding to the skill and discipline of his sailors. Having completed the conquest of Cyprus, he made from that island a descent on the coasts of Syria and Cilicia; in both of which provinces he reduced several towns, enriching his army with an immense booty, and a great number of captives. Demetrius, the son of the protector, a youth of much spirit and military talent, had been appointed to govern Syria, upon its being wrested from the hands of Ptolemy. Impatient of the insult inflicted upon him by the plundering of so many cities, and the reduction of several important fortresses, he took the field with a considerable force to chastise the Egyptian governor and his predatory bands. Ptolemy, who had likewise raised a powerful army, marched his troops across the desert, from Pelusium to Gaza, and presented himself in the territory of Demetrius, ready to dispute with him the palm of victory, as well as the possession of his valuable province.

Victory of Ptolemy and Seleucus at Gaza.

The battle which followed added to the renown of Ptolemy and Seleucus, who gained a complete victory over the brave but rash son of Antigonus. The numerical force of the armies engaged was nearly equal, amounting to about twenty-five thousand on each side; but the caution and science displayed by the generals of Alexander, gave a decided preponderancy to the standard of Egypt, and added immensely to the discomfiture inflicted on their youthful antagonist. Demetrius

lost about five thousand horsemen killed in the field, together with eight thousand foot soldiers who were taken prisoners; and as the fugitives, who directed their flight to Gaza, were so hotly pursued that the troops of Ptolemy entered the gates together with them, the whole baggage and treasures belonging to the army, as well as a great number of captives, were added to the spoils gained by the victors, and served as trophies to commemorate their success. B. C. 312.

A remarkable circumstance, mentioned both by Diodorus and Plutarch, adds somewhat to the celebrity of this fight, and affords, at the same time, an interesting and rather characteristic view of the mental qualities of Demetrius. Upon sending a herald to Ptolemy, soliciting the usual permission to bury the slain, he was surprised to find that not only the boon which he had asked was granted, but that his camp equipage and personal effects were restored, and also, what he valued much more, his few surviving friends who had fallen into the hands of the enemy. A message, too, from the victorious general, still farther increased his amazement. "Tell the youth," said the noble companion of Alexander, "that with the son of my old friend and ancient partner in arms I contend only for glory and empire." Demetrius received the kindness with becoming grace; but he prayed to the gods that they would put it in his power to relieve himself from a burden of gratitude, which he felt oppressive, as being imposed by an enemy of his father. Generosity of Ptolemy.

The consequences of the defeat at Gaza were not a little disastrous to the interest of Antigonus in Syria; and they became somewhat more momentous than they would otherwise have been, inasmuch as they afforded to Seleucus an opportunity of returning to Babylon, and of resuming possession of his fine province. In the meantime, the principal cities on the shores of the Mediterranean opened their gates to Ptolemy; and Tyre, the most important of them all, soon declared for the same cause, and compelled its governor Andronicus to surrender. Having, therefore, placed garrisons in the chief fortresses, and committed the greater part of his army to Cilles, with orders to prosecute the war against Demetrius, the ruler of Egypt returned to Alexandria, in order to resign himself to the more agreeable pursuits of internal improvement, navigation, and commerce. Consequences of the battle of Gaza.

Cilles proved unequal to the charge reposed in him. Allowing himself to be surprised by Demetrius, who had performed a wonderful march over a large portion of Asia Minor, whither he had gone to recruit his army, he was totally defeated with the loss of seven thousand prisoners. It is said that, when Antigonus heard of the reverse experienced by his son, he exclaimed. "Ptolemy has indeed beaten boys, but he shall soon have to do with men:" and it is probable that the protector himself meant forthwith to march into Syria to repair the losses which his cause had sustained. Demetrius, however, entreated that he might be allowed to try his fortune once more, as he was still confident of success. His father complied; and the Success and gratitude of Demetrius.

B. C. 312. youth accordingly, proceeding towards Syria with a degree of speed and secrecy not surpassed by Alexander himself, appeared in the heart of that province, before the Egyptian lieutenant was aware of his approach, and redeemed his pledge by defeating the best soldiers of Ptolemy. The young victor, finding himself now in possession of a large booty, seven thousand prisoners, the person of the commander, and all the furniture of the camp, called to mind at once the conduct of the Egyptian sovereign, and his own prayer to the gods in relation to it. He resolved, therefore, immediately to send back Cilles, who was the friend as well as the general of Ptolemy, together with all the officers of distinction who were in his hands, loaded with presents, and charged with expressions of respect for their warlike master.

Retreat of Ptolemy,

The defeat of his lieutenant induced Ptolemy to withdraw his army from Syria. As Antigonus was himself advancing towards that country, it no longer appeared possible to protect the extensive line of coast exposed to his attack; and the same reason rendered it necessary for the Egyptian government to strengthen their frontier towns, and repair their fortifications on the banks of the Nile.

Accompanied by the Jews.

The army of Ptolemy was accompanied in its retreat by a vast number of the Syrians, and particularly of the Jews, who, wearied of revolutions, and apprehensive of still more alarming changes, preferred to their own country the tranquil residence of Alexandria, already become a considerable and very flourishing capital. The emigrants rose into reputation and some degree of authority under the mild administration of the Grecian sovereigns; and it was from them that Hecatæus collected materials for his history of the Jewish nation—a work composed under the patronage of Ptolemy, and repeatedly mentioned by subsequent authors as a performance of great talent and impartiality. We need not add that it has long been numbered among those valuable productions of antiquity which no industry can restore; the loss of which is deplored as well from the feeling of their great importance, as from the impossibility of finding an adequate substitute.

Preparatory to his meditated invasion of Egypt, Antigonus determined to subdue the migratory tribes of Arabs, who claimed possession of the desert which divides that country from Syria. Descended from Ismael, through his eldest son Nabaioth, the ancient people now alluded to are known to have carried on, during many generations, a trade in spices, and other eastern products, between Egypt and the western provinces of Asia; deriving a hardy subsistence from the milk of their camels and sheep, aided by the honey and wild fruits, which are occasionally found scattered over the wilderness. In a large cavern at the rock Petra, the Nabathæans were wont to deposit their myrrh and frankincense, to be afterwards conveyed to the markets of Phœnicia or of Egypt, whence they were again distributed to merchants from more distant countries, who thereby supplied with the luxuries of Arabia, or even of Hindostan, the dwellers on the Caspian,

the Danube, and the Tiber. Accustomed to a life of great freedom, the Ismaelites dreaded nothing so much as dependence; and their contempt of danger was only equalled by the fear with which they inspired all their neighbours. B. C. 312.

Athenæus surprises the Nabathæans,

Such is the character of the wandering people whom Antigonus thought it expedient to subdue in order to facilitate his operations against Egypt. Having committed to Athenæus a large body of horse and foot, he despatched him to attack the rock Petra, at a time when the greater part of the tribe were absent, engaged in the pursuits of traffic. The surprise succeeded; the rock was taken, and the victors, loaded with treasure, prepared to return to Gaza. But a signal reverse awaited them. The Nabathæan merchants, informed of what had taken place, urged their dromedaries across the desert with such incredible swiftness, that they overtook the Macedonian plunderers before they could reach the Syrian plain; and attacking them in the night with all the fury of incensed savages, put them all to the sword, with the exception of about fifty horsemen, who escaped covered with wounds.

and is afterwards defeated by them.



Battle with Arabs.

Expedition of Demetrius against the Nabathæans.

A second expedition was undertaken against those formidable Arabs, and placed under the command of Demetrius, whose youthful ardour, mingling with motives of policy, impelled him to a task which could not fail to appear equally hazardous and romantic. The rock Petra, on this occasion, was emptied of its treasures, and strongly defended by intrepid warriors. The son of Antigonus led his men to the assault; but making no impression on the rude fortress, and having lost a great number of his followers, he found it necessary to draw off the remainder, and prepare for the attack on a larger scale. Next day, when about to renew his attempt, he was addressed from the rock by a Nabathæan chief, who remonstrated with him on the folly of invading a territory where neither honour nor advantage was to be obtained. "Our country is burnt with the sun, and is barren and desolate. We alone are born to inhabit it, because we prefer

B. C. 312. Address of the Nabathæan chief.

freedom to all other enjoyments. So deeply rooted is our love of independence, that should you enthral our bodies, you never could subdue our minds. All that you could obtain by conquest would be a few obstinate spiritless slaves, incapable of enduring any other form of society than that in which, from the very earliest times, they have constantly continued to live."



Pass in Petra.

Diodorus, who puts the above speech in the mouth of the Arab patriarch, goes on to inform his readers, that it produced such an effect on the mind of the Macedonian captain, as to determine him to relinquish the object of his expedition, to accept of some presents and hostages, and retrace his steps towards the Dead Sea.

This petty and unsuccessful warfare was the means of saving Egypt from the horrors of invasion. When Demetrius returned to his father in Syria, it was only to be informed that Cassander and Lysimachus, in the west, had again become formidable, and that Seleucus, in the

east, had already recovered the province of Babylonia and defeated the governors of Media and Persia. B. C. 312.

We have already stated that Seleucus had availed himself so far of the defeat inflicted on Demetrius at Gaza, as to march through the Syrian desert, with about a thousand infantry and three hundred horse, which were confided to him by Ptolemy, with the view of relieving Babylon from the tyranny of Antigonus, and of re-establishing himself in his former government. The success of this enterprise exceeded his most sanguine hopes. The strongholds opened their gates at his approach; the troops revolted from their commanders and flocked to join his standard; and the populace of the great city poured out to meet him, rending the air with acclamation and shouts of triumph. 1st October, B. C. 312.

Victory of Seleucus.

Evagoras, the governor of Persia, and Nicanor, the governor of Media, aware that their power depended on that of Antigonus, made haste to unite their forces, in order to check the progress of Seleucus. This last commander, who had learned under Alexander the importance of despatch in the commencement of a war, met his adversaries on the east bank of the Tigris; where, attacking their camp in the night, he gained a victory so complete that only one of the satraps, with a few followers, escaped destruction by flying into the desert; while Evagoras lay dead on the field, and all the treasures of both provinces, together with several thousand Macedonian soldiers, fell into the hands of the conqueror.



Accession of the Seleucidæ.

Accession of the Seleucidæ. B. C. 312.

This battle, the successful issue of which contributed so materially to the restoration of Seleucus, has served to mark the era of the Grecian kingdom in Asia, and the commencement of that dynasty, which, under the name of Seleucidæ, governed the upper provinces so long and so happily. It took place in the first year of the hundred and seventeenth Olympiad, and in the year before Christ 312.

Whilst these things were going on, Demetrius, at the head of fifteen thousand foot and four thousand horse, was already on his

B. C. 312. march to recover Babylon and chastise Seleucus. The latter, drawn into Media after Nicanor, where he gained another victory and slew his antagonist with his own hand, was still at too great a distance to meet the invader and defend the city. Patrocles who commanded in his absence, but without sufficient force either to hazard a battle or to protect the place, proposed to the inhabitants to abandon their houses, and to take refuge wherever they could, until the return of Seleucus with his victorious troops should enable them to repel the son of the tyrant, and to avenge themselves upon their enemies. Babylon, accordingly, when Demetrius entered it, was found desolate and empty. There was neither a foe to combat, nor booty to reward his soldiers. The forts on the Euphrates engaged his attention for some time; but the period having arrived at which his return into Syria had been fixed by his father, he left Archelaus with five or six thousand men to pursue the object of the war, and departed homeward to give an account of his expedition.

The return of Seleucus to Babylon decided the fate of Archelaus; who, having taken refuge in a stronghold which had yielded to the arms of Demetrius, was obliged to surrender at discretion.

Treaty with the confederates.

B. C. 311. This change of affairs in the east, which Antigonus foresaw was about to engage his undivided attention, induced him to listen to terms of accommodation on the part of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander. A treaty was accordingly concluded; in which it was agreed, that Egypt, with its African dependencies, should be secured to the first of these three generals; that Thrace should be assigned to the second; and that the last should be guaranteed in the possession of Macedon, till Alexander, the son of Roxana, should be of age to reign. Antigonus retained for himself the government of all Asia; a condition which implied that Seleucus was to have no part in the succession, should his opponent prosper in his attempt to expel him from his rich provinces on the Euphrates and Tigris; a condition which soon after gave rise to events, of which the ambitious protector had no anticipation. As a sort of supplement to the treaty, it was stipulated that the Grecian states should be declared independent, and forthwith restored to the exercise of their ancient liberty.

B. C. 310. These fair appearances, however, were altogether unproductive either of peace or confidence. The Macedonians, it is said, eager to behold the son of their renowned prince on the throne, proposed to Cassander that he should be brought forward prominently in connection with the duties of the state, and be made acquainted with the business and arts of government. In this proposal, Cassander saw the termination of his own power; and, therefore, to prevent for ever its fulfilment, he caused the young Alexander and his mother Roxana to be murdered in the castle of Amphipolis, where they had long been confined. To thwart the views of this cruel satrap, the ancient protector, Polysperchon, who still retained some portion of authority in Peloponnesus, and who had recently affected

Cassander murders Alexander and Roxana.

great zeal for the royal house of Macedon, contrived to get into his possession the person of Hercules, another son of Alexander, by Barcina, and placing him at the head of a small army, prepared to march with him into Macedon, and assert his right to the crown. This project was met on the part of Cassander, not with force, but with the surer instruments of bribery and deceit. He dazzled the eyes of the old governor with the hope of succession in his family, and actually prevailed on him to put to death both the prince and Barcina, whom he had beguiled into his hands. B. C. 312.

In defiance of the treaty, which indeed all the parties had shown themselves ready to violate, Ptolemy was already employed in Asia Minor, at the head of his army, reducing certain cities belonging to Antigonus, and endeavouring to strengthen his interests by political connections. Having afterwards sailed into the Ægæan, where he subdued Corinth, Sicyon, and other places of less note, he embraced the opportunity of entering into a correspondence with Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great, with the view either of asking her to become his wife, or of inducing her to abjure the cause of Antigonus and to devote her exertions to his own party. The vigilant protector, informed of what was going forward, issued orders to the governor of Sardis, where she then resided, to have her put out of the way by assassination; taking care, a short time afterwards, when he found it expedient to throw the veil of hypocrisy over his cruel deed, to prosecute and punish all who had any share in the murder of that unfortunate princess. B. C. 309. Violation of the treaty. Murder of Cleopatra.

We have mentioned above, that one of the conditions of the treaty entered into by Antigonus and the confederate satraps was, that the Grecian states should be restored to the enjoyment of their independence. Cassander, however, in direct contravention of this article, still maintained his garrisons in Athens and Megara; whilst Ptolemy kept his navy at sea, avowedly to enforce the observance of peace, but, in fact, to extend or secure his conquests in Asia Minor and Peloponnesus. To punish this glaring infraction of a solemn compact, Demetrius, with two hundred and fifty galleys, and five thousand talents, set sail for Athens, with the determination to expel the Macedonian troops, and to restore the democratical government. The city and harbours were at once surrendered to the invader, who acted with the greatest clemency and generosity to all, but particularly to Demetrius Phalereus; who had ruled the Athenians wisely and beneficially during the long period of ten years that he discharged the office of Cassander's lieutenant. The Phalerian, who reposed no confidence in the fickle people of Athens, was escorted to Thebes by order of the son of Antigonus, where he passed his time in the pursuits of literature and in labours of humanity. Surrender of Demetrius Phalereus. B. C. 307.

The gratitude of the Athenians to their deliverer passed all bounds, or was only equalled by their fulsome and impious adulation. But Demetrius was soon summoned by his father to leave the flattery of

B. C. 307. orators and demagogues, in order to resume the combined duties of an admiral and an engineer in the reduction of Cyprus.

Transactions in Cyprus.

That island had recently been the scene of a miserable tragedy, perpetrated by the troops of Ptolemy, under the command of his brother Menelaus. The royal family of Nicocles, the descendants of Ajax and Achilles, charged with no other crime than a wish to throw off the Macedonian yoke, were attacked in their palace, where they could find no means of escaping an ignominious death but by the dreadful resolution of dying by their own hands. The monarch himself set the example: and his queen, disdaining to survive him, first put to death her own daughters, and then, inviting the other ladies of the court to imitate her conduct, fearlessly deprived herself of life. The brothers of the king next set fire to the royal building, and obliterated at once every monument and symbol of ancient power and regal dominion.

Suicide of the family of Nicocles.

Siege of Salamis.

To take vengeance on a policy which admitted of such atrocious cruelties, as well as to deprive Ptolemy of the principal means of renewing his attacks on the maritime towns of Asia Minor, Demetrius was directed to proceed to Cyprus, at the head of a large body of both land and sea forces. After a slight engagement with Menelaus, in which he was successful, the son of the protector laid siege to Salamis, the ancient capital of the island.

The occurrences of this siege occupy a prominent place in history, not so much on account of the determined resistance opposed to the assailants, and the great importance attached to its issue by the heads of the belligerent parties, as for a new species of warlike engine invented by Demetrius, and first employed by him against the town of Salamis. The instrument in question was called *Helepolis*, or Town-taker, and was itself an immense tower, consisting of nine stories, gradually diminishing as they rose in altitude, and affording accommodation for a great number of armed men, who discharged all sorts of missiles against the ramparts of the enemy. Plutarch, in his life of Demetrius, gives way to his love of the marvellous in describing the *Helepolis*; informing us that the inventor employed one of them at the siege of Thebes, so extremely large and unwieldy, that, though placed on four wheels, it could not be moved at a greater rate than a quarter of a mile in two months!

Defeat of Ptolemy.

Ptolemy dreading the fall of Salamis, which he was sensible would pave the way for the entire conquest of Cyprus, had already made formidable preparations for compelling Demetrius to raise the siege. A memorable sea-fight ensued, in which the satrap of Egypt was completely defeated, with the loss of nearly all his fleet, and thirty thousand prisoners. The fruits of this victory were very important to Antigonus. Salamis and all the other walled towns in the island opened their gates to his army; his navy was largely increased by the addition of about a hundred captured ships; and his settlements, on the Asiatic shores, were now secured against the fear of invasion from the ports of Egypt and Cyprus.

Surrender of Salamis.

The siege of Salamis is farther remarkable for the following circumstance, which all ancient historians agree in connecting with it. Demetrius, it is said, chose for his messenger, to carry to his father the news of his success, a buffoon called Aristodemus, who, finding the aged protector at his new city on the river Orontes, approached him with a theatrical step and solemn look, exclaiming, Hail, king Antigonus! He then proceeded to give the details of the victory which Demetrius had just gained. From that period the regal title was assumed by all the successors of Alexander, with the exception of Cassander, his brother-in-law, at Macedon; who, it is feigned, from the respect which he felt for the ashes of the royal family entombed in his province, would neither use the royal signet nor allow himself to be called king. B. C. 307. Assumption of the regal title by the successors of Alexander.

Determined to follow up his advantage against Ptolemy, the royal Antigonus prepared once more to invade the kingdom of Egypt. The fleet under his son Demetrius consisted of a hundred and fifty galleys, besides a hundred ships of burden for conveying engines, missile weapons, and other instruments of assault. The army, too, greatly exceeded in numerical strength the usual armaments of the Macedonian princes, consisting of about eighty thousand foot, ten thousand horse, upwards of eighty elephants, and an immense number of camels, collected from Arabia, and laden with provisions, stores, and treasures. But the king of Egypt was fully prepared to resist this formidable host. The natural defences of his country, at all times strong, were rendered next to impregnable by the skill and labour of Ptolemy; and the people, now become sensible of the innumerable benefits of his wise rule, were heartily disposed to second all his endeavours for the protection of their rights and independence. The fortune of war, too, seemed to smile on his exertions. The immense flotilla of his adversary was greatly damaged at sea before it could reach his shores; and many of the galleys with their crews were driven on the sand-banks at the mouth of the Nile, and presented an easy conquest to the experienced Egyptians. The land force, again, under Antigonus himself, could make no progress in the face of the thousand obstacles, which nature and art had opposed to him. Deep marshes and resolute garrisons disputed every step he meditated; which difficulties were materially aggravated by the discontent that already prevailed in his camp, and by the numerous desertions which had already thinned his ranks. To persevere was to insure his own destruction. Antigonus, therefore, at length professed himself ready to listen to counsel; when his most experienced officers, aware at once of his inclination, and of the necessity of his circumstances, advised him to postpone the conquest of Egypt till a more favourable season of the year. He retraced his march towards Syria; upon which Ptolemy thanked the gods for his deliverance, and sent an embassy to his confederates, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, acquainting them with the signal and disgraceful reverse which had befallen their common enemy. B. C. 306. Antigonus invades Egypt. Retreat of Antigonus.

B. C. 305. Siege of Rhodes.

Unable to affect Egypt by any direct attack, Antigonus resolved to employ his powerful fleet and army against Rhodes; the people of which not only persisted in their alliance with Ptolemy, but had even refused to assist Demetrius at the siege of Cyprus, and subsequently had driven from their coasts a squadron of his ships. To gratify his resentment, therefore, as well as to annoy the king of Egypt, Demetrius approached the island with two hundred ships, and fifty thousand men, with the usual proportion of battering engines, missiles, and other stores, and forthwith engaged in the siege of the principal town, which had set his mighty host at defiance. The operations of this distinguished commander before Rhodes, and the resolute defence of the place by the inhabitants, present, perhaps, the most remarkable examples of skill and heroism that are to be found in the annals of ancient warfare. The *Helepolis* employed on this occasion, resembled in form, but greatly exceeded in dimensions, that which was used at the siege of Salamis. Its towers were a hundred and fifty feet high; it was supported on eight enormous wheels, and propelled by the labour of three thousand four hundred men. Its sides were plated with iron; the port-holes were defended with valves of raw hides, thickly covered with wool; and it was prepared to resist fire, by an ingenious device for distributing water throughout every part of the huge fabric. For more than a year however, the talents and bravery of Demetrius were exerted in vain against the courageous Rhodians. Ptolemy, indeed, had assisted them with men, and Cassander and Lysimachus had supplied their magazines with corn; but the honour of defending their city, during twelve months, against an armament at once so large and so ably directed, belongs almost exclusively to the people of Rhodes themselves, who, without one exception, preferred death to the condition of slaves, or even to that of tributaries.

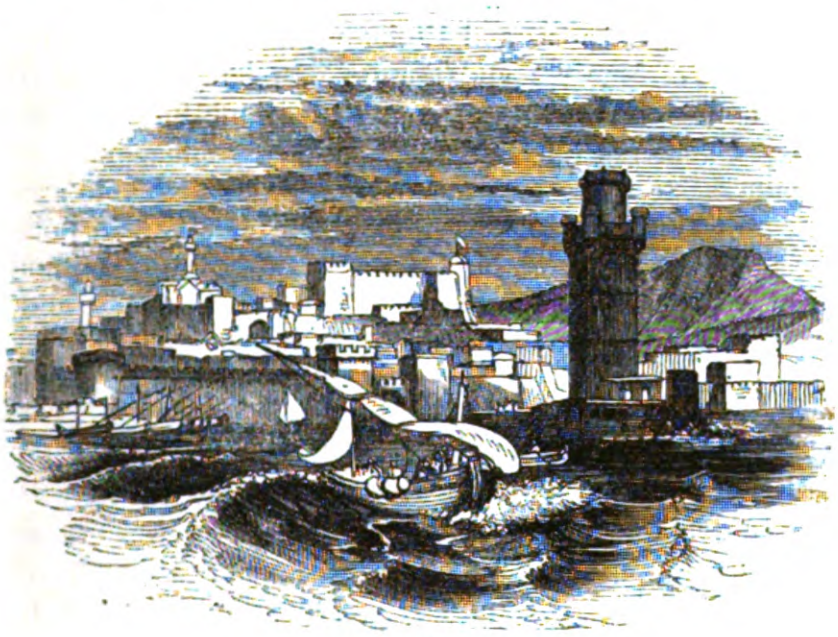


Coin of Rhodes.

Treaty with the Rhodians.

At length the voice of the civilized world was lifted up in their behalf. Ambassadors from numerous states in Europe and Asia interceded for them with Demetrius; but the envoys who had the greatest influence on this occasion were the Athenians, who represented to him that their city was again subjected to Macedonian thraldom, and begged his speedy interference to save them from the machinations of Cassander. A treaty was accordingly concluded, the conditions of which were, that the Rhodians should enjoy their independence, that they should be at liberty to continue their alliance with Ptolemy, and, at the same time, should be regarded as the allies

of Antigonus; terms which left them precisely on the same footing as before the war, and which of course, reflected disgrace and disappointment on the standard of the invader. The people of Rhodes, however, liberal as well as brave, whilst they conferred the title of *Soter*, or *Saviour*, on Ptolemy, and erected statues for Cassander and Lysimachus, refused to demolish those which had been formerly raised in honour of Antigonus and his son. They had too much generosity to indulge in a revenge so unmanly and contemptible. B. C. 305.



Rhodes.

The several repulses sustained by the arms of Antigonus did not by any means dispel from his mind the phantoms of ambition, and dreams of universal empire, with which his imagination had been so long haunted. In the meantime his son, on whose great abilities he chiefly reposed his hopes, had repaired to Greece in order to rescue that country from the domination of Cassander. In this undertaking he was so successful, that in the course of nine months he recovered his ascendency in almost all the states north of the isthmus; and, in the following spring, descending into Peloponnesus, he reduced the fortresses of Corinth, Sicyon, and Ægium, and ultimately spread the terror of his arms over the whole peninsula. Next year, upon summoning the states of Greece to the great representative council of the Amphictyons, he heard himself declared their generalissimo; and he was now invested with the same authority and honours which had formerly been conferred upon Philip and his immortal successor. B. C. 303. **Ascendency of Antigonus in Greece.** B. C. 302.

Demetrius thought it not necessary to conceal the fact, that among subordinate projects, the main object contemplated both by his father and himself, was the final subjugation of Macedon, Egypt, and the east. With this view, peace was refused to Cassander, and the dominions of Lysimachus were threatened with immediate invasion. **His projects.**

B. C. 302. Seleucus and Ptolemy, though at a greater distance, knew that they were by no means secured against the ambitious designs of The King, as Antigonus was now called. The confederacy of the four chiefs was therefore once more renewed; and Lysimachus, with a considerable army under his command, crossed over into Asia, and was the first to take the field against Antigonus.

Renewal of the confederacy against him.

Events of the campaign.

The campaign which ensued in Asia Minor was attended with various fortune; though, on the whole, less favourable to Lysimachus than to his adversary. Meanwhile Demetrius hurried from Greece to join his father, and Seleucus and Ptolemy put themselves in motion to assist their allies of Macedon and Thrace. Ptolemy, there is reason to believe, had no wish to waste his resources in a doubtful war; and therefore, upon a rumour reaching him in Syria, that Lysimachus was utterly routed, made haste to fall back towards the impregnable swamps of the Nile. Seleucus avowed a less ambiguous policy. He poured into Cappadocia with twenty thousand chosen foot, twelve thousand horse, a hundred armed chariots, together with four hundred and eighty elephants, which he had received from Sandrocottus,[1] a powerful prince, who at that period reigned between the Indus and Ganges.

Both sides now exerted their best talents in preparing for that momentous conflict which was, in all probability, to decide the empire of Asia. Antigonus, now in his eighty-first year, had long been distinguished by resolution and energy, and Demetrius was not surpassed by any living commander in the principal qualities which constitute an expert and efficient general. It would seem, however, from the concurrent testimony of historians, that the old protector was oppressed with an invincible presentiment that the fortune of the day was to incline to his rivals. He stumbled when walking from the door of his tent on the morning of the battle, and immediately regarding that accident as an omen, he prayed that he might either be blessed with victory or be rendered insensible of defeat. The engagement took place near a village called Ipsus, and Antigonus fell covered with wounds. Demetrius, whose impetuosity in pursuing a body of Seleucus's horse had carried him too far from the field, returned to the scene of action only to learn the death of his father and the total overthrow of their army. Retreat was his only resource, and accordingly, after a precipitate flight of two hundred miles, he regained his fleet, carrying with him, of all the mighty host which he had marshalled at Ipsus, about four thousand infantry and as many horsemen.

Battle of Ipsus.

B. C. 301.

Death of Antigonus.

New partition of territory.

The death of Antigonus and the total defeat of his army gave immediate occasion to a new arrangement of territorial dominion among the victorious confederates. Ptolemy, indeed, had not appeared in the field at Ipsus, nor is it certain that any Egyptian troops were engaged in that memorable action, yet this monarch obtained as the reward of his counsels and former services the secure possession of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, a province on which he set a very high

[1] The Chandragupta of Sanscrit authorities.

value, as securing to him the command of the sea, and a convenient channel of communication with the rich islands and seaport towns of Asia Minor. To Lysimachus was conceded nearly the whole of the Asiatic peninsula; the fine district of Cilicia being reserved for Cassander, who immediately confided the government of it to his brother Pleistarchus. B. C. 301.

Demetrius, in the meantime, was exerting himself at Ephesus with his characteristic activity and zeal, in order to raise such a force as might enable him to retrieve his affairs and check the progress of his adversaries. Sailing with a considerable armament to Athens he was informed by the fickle inhabitants that a decree had been recently passed, prohibiting any of the kings from entering within their walls; upon which the son of Antigonus, finding that all Greece had again submitted to the influence of Cassander, made a descent on the coast at Corinth for the mere purposes of plunder and revenge, and afterwards committed similar ravages along the whole shores of Thrace. He was, however, soon to be indebted for a temporary revival of his fortune to a very different cause. Proceedings of Demetrius.

Seleucus, jealous of the power of Lysimachus, whose territories now extended to the Syrian frontiers, resolved to fortify his own dominion by forming an alliance with the family of Demetrius, which was still possessed of considerable claims and interests. He therefore made proposals for Stratonice, the accomplished daughter of his former rival, and finally induced him to conduct her into Syria, where their nuptials were to be celebrated. The marriage festivity was hardly over when Demetrius invaded the province of Cilicia, and wrested it from Pleistarchus, the brother of the Macedonian monarch. Being still master of Cyprus, as well as of some important towns on the Grecian and Syrian coasts, he already appeared formidable in the eyes of his aged son-in-law, who began to tremble at the power which he himself had been the means of reviving. An alliance too with Ptolemy, who gave to Demetrius his daughter Ptolemais in marriage, added not a little to the apprehensions of Seleucus with regard to the safety of his political connections. It was therefore not without satisfaction that he saw the father of his young wife set sail for Athens, with the view of chastising the ingratitude of that unprincipled city. B. C. 299. New alliances of Demetrius.

Having compelled the Athenians to open their gates and receive a garrison, Demetrius proceeded to attack Sparta, the possession of which seemed necessary to secure his ascendency in Peloponnesus. He had not, however, put to the test the long disused arms of the Lacedæmonians before he received intelligence that the eldest son of Cassander, who had succeeded his father about two years before, was dead, and that the throne was now disputed by his two brothers, Antipater and Alexander, both sons of Thessalonica, the daughter of Philip. The mother, favouring the pretensions of the latter, was murdered by Antipater, the elder brother, who seized the crown in defiance of the indignant anger of the Macedonians, excited by the atrocious act of B. C. 295. Attacks Athens and Sparta.

B. C. 295. parricide with which he had just stained his hands. Alexander, aided by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, soon afterwards succeeded in dethroning his brother, who being son-in-law to Lysimachus fled to that prince for protection. Dreading the resentment of the Thracian monarch, the new king of Macedon entreated the assistance of Demetrius, who instantly relinquishing the siege of Sparta hurried his troops into Macedon, prepared, it should seem, to promote his own views, whether in co-operation with Alexander or in direct opposition to him. The current of events determined him to adopt the latter alternative. Alexander, who was supposed to meditate guile against his ally, was cut off by his orders at an entertainment given by that prince; and thus the throne of Macedon was again without an occupant, and presented a fresh stimulus to the ambition of the son of Antigonus.



Pyrrhus.

B. C. 294. Demetrius, it is well known, had married Phila, the favourite daughter of Antipater; and as all the male descendants of that able minister were now dead, with the exception of the murderer of Thessalonica, the claims of his son-in-law to the crown were not without a plausible foundation. He was accordingly proclaimed king, and conducted in triumph to Pella, where he had soon after the happiness to receive his wife, who had been made prisoner by Ptolemy at the reduction of Cyprus.

Demetrius declared king of Macedon.

Seated on the throne of Macedon, the restless genius of Demetrius projected new conquests both in Europe and Asia. Hearing that Lysimachus was a captive in the hands of the Getæ he determined to invade Thrace, but being diverted from this undertaking by the sudden return of the king he directed his arms against Pyrrhus, whom he drove from Thessaly, part of which had fallen to him in a former war, and then marched to Thebes, which he took by assault, and filled with a garrison devoted to his interests. About the same time, also, he built the town of Demetrius on the Pelasgic gulf; and in order still further to increase his naval power he formed a matrimonial union with the daughter of Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse, a prince whose warlike exploits occupy a prominent place in the annals of ancient Europe. Bounding his ambition only by the limits of his paternal dominions, Demetrius employed all his means to raise armies and equip fleets; and at length, it is said, his endeavours were crowned with so much success, that his ships of war amounted to five hundred galleys, many of them having fifteen or sixteen banks of oars, whilst

his land forces considerably exceeded a hundred thousand, of which more than twelve thousand were cavalry. B. C. 288.

The kings of Thrace and Egypt could not behold such preparations without concern. Ptolemy accordingly advanced towards Greece with his fleet, whilst Lysimachus, with his ally, the young king of Epirus, put his army in motion to attack Macedon in two different points at once. Demetrius took the field with his usual alacrity, but whilst approaching the camp of Pyrrhus, disaffection showed itself in his ranks, and when he arrived in sight of the invader he found himself deserted by the greater part of his troops. Leaving Macedon therefore a prey to Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, and giving the command of the Grecian cities to his son Antigonus, the active Demetrius passed over into Asia Minor with a body of his best troops, resolved to assail his adversary in the most vulnerable quarter. This enterprise was at first attended with the most splendid success. In a short time, however, a check was imposed on his career by Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, who followed him so closely with a powerful army, and showed so much talent in cutting off his resources and intercepting his movements, that he was obliged to apply for protection to Seleucus, who was at that time guarding the frontiers of Syria. His cautious son-in-law yielded to his solicitations only so far as to grant him permission to pass two months within his territory; and was subsequently induced by his courtiers to rid himself of so dangerous a guest, by sending him a prisoner to a strong fortress on the Syrian coast, about sixty miles south of Antioch, where at the end of three years he fell a victim to chagrin, sloth, and intemperance. The remains of Demetrius were conveyed to Thessaly, and solemnly interred by his son in the city founded by himself on the Pelasgic gulf, the funeral rites being conducted with a degree of sumptuous splendour, much more suited to the grandeur of his ambition than to the circumstances in which he closed his career.

Reverses

and death of Demetrius.

Macedon was now divided and governed by Lysimachus and the adventurous king of Epirus, in whose hands it continued with partial changes until Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, succeeded in recovering the abdicated throne.

Meanwhile the affairs of Egypt, under the wise government of Ptolemy, had attained to a high degree of prosperity and glory. Desirous to secure a peaceful succession, the king, now in his eightieth year, nominated his son Ptolemy, afterwards Philadelphus, to share with him, during the remainder of his life, the power which he meant should devolve upon him at his demise. The coronation and enthronement of the young prince, which were performed in the most splendid manner possible, could not fail to give umbrage to his elder brother, Ptolemy Ceraunus, who immediately left Egypt in disgust to find an asylum in the house of Agathocles, the accomplished son of Lysimachus, who had become his brother-in-law by marrying his sister Lysandra. The renowned king of Egypt lived two years after this occurrence, and

Ptolemy Philadelphus.

B. C. 284. then left the sovereignty of his new kingdom to the judicious prince whom he had associated with him in the government.

Cruelties of Lysimachus.

Lysimachus, who had married the Egyptian princess Arsinoe, sister of Ptolemy Philadelphus, was impelled by this unprincipled woman to murder his son Agathocles. The friends of the prince, filled with resentment and horror at his death (and among others his wife Lysandra and Ptolemy Ceraunus, the brother of Arsinoe), fled into Assyria, seeking protection at the court of Seleucus. Many of the governors of Lesser Asia, too, who admired the character of Agathocles, and lamented his unhappy end, seemed ready to throw off their allegiance altogether, or to transfer it to the milder authority of the eastern monarch. Among these the most determined was Philetærus, the keeper of the royal treasures in the castle of Pergamus, who wrote to Seleucus inviting him to send an army into the peninsula, and promising powerful aid in men and money.



Seleucus Nicator giving his wife Stratonice to his son Antiochus Soter. *G. F. Sargent, from a picture by Gerard Lairesse.*

Operations of Seleucus.

The king of Syria lent a ready ear to the proposal, for being now advanced in age, and having delivered his Oriental dominions, together with his young wife Stratonice, into the hands of his son Antiochus, he seemed willing to resign the splendour of Asiatic sovereignty, in order to gratify the very natural desire which had sprung up in his heart to revisit his native land. Ambition, undoubtedly, mingled deeply with this simple affection; for he who had reigned more than twenty years the undisputed monarch of the Persian empire, could not consent to share, as a subject, the soil which was once honoured by the sway of Philip and Alexander, and was now disgraced by the domination of a murderer and a tyrant.

B. C. 281. Actuated by these motives, Seleucus advanced into Asia Minor.

Meeting with little resistance, his conquest of that important country was marked with no signal occurrence, and it was not till he had pitched his camp on the shores of the Hellespont that he found his progress disputed by an adversary worthy of his arms, or at all likely to exercise his military talents. Lysimachus himself now appeared in the field at the head of such a force as might check his ambitious rival, or at least make him pay more dearly for the triumphs which he still meditated. The battle of Corupedion decided their respective claims, and was the last scene in which the companions of Alexander the Great were opposed to one another. The old generals on this occasion renewed the valour and strength of their youth, and meeting in the front of their armies they engaged in single combat with the greatest fury, till at length Lysimachus fell under the hand of his former friend.[1] A faithful dog watched his corpse till it was solicited from the conqueror; after which it was conveyed for interment by his son Alexander to Lysimachia, where the citizens honoured the memory of their founder by a stately mausoleum, which continued in the second century of the Christian era to attest their gratitude to a master who, except as a soldier and the patron of their rising power, had nothing to recommend his example, or to attract the veneration of posterity.

B. C. 281.

Battle of Corupedion.



Lysimachus.

Defeat and death of Lysimachus.

"The age of Lysimachus," observes an excellent authority,[2] "at the time of his death, is variously stated. Hieronymus, of Cardia, probably the best authority, affirms that he was in his eightieth year. He had reigned twenty-five years from the period of his assuming the title of king, and had governed the combined kingdoms of Macedonia and Thrace during a period of five years and six months. The accounts transmitted to us of Lysimachus are too fragmentary and imperfect to admit of our forming a very clear idea of his personal character; but the picture they would lead us to conceive is certainly far from a favourable one. Harsh, stern, and unyielding, he appears to have been incapable of the generosity which we find associated in Pyrrhus and Demetrius, with courage and daring at least equal to his own; while a sordid love of money distinguished him still more strikingly from his profuse but liberal contemporaries. Even his love for Amastris, one of the few softer traits presented by his character, did not prevent him from sacrificing her to the views of his interested

[1] Other accounts state that he fell by the hand of Malachon, a native of Heracleia.
[2] E. H. Bunbury, M.A., late Fellow of Trin. Col. Cam., in Smith's Class. Biogr.

B. C. 281. ambition. Self-aggrandisement, indeed, seems to have been at all times his sole object; and if his ambition was less glaringly conspicuous than that of some of his contemporaries, from being more restrained by prudence, it was not the less his sole motive of action, and was even farther removed from true greatness."

Meanwhile Seleucus urged by an impatient desire to revisit the scenes of his youth, from which he had been now absent fifty-two years, made haste to cross the Hellespont, on his way to Macedonia.

Ptolemy Ceraunus.

He was accompanied by Ptolemy Ceraunus, who had taken refuge in his court after the murder of Agathocles; and this ferocious youth, seeing the throne of Macedon vacant, and remembering that himself was the grandson of Antipater, by his mother Eurydice, and bearing, in fact, by his father, the same relationship to Philip, the former king of that country, conceived the horrible design of assassinating Seleucus,

B. C. 280. and of seizing the crown. Nor did he allow the intervention of delay to cool his resolution, or awaken the feelings of humanity. Observing his benefactor intent on the examination of an uncommon altar, which, as a remnant of remote antiquity, had attracted his notice, he stepped

Assassination of Seleucus.

behind him and stabbed him to the heart. Hastening to Lysimachia, the murderer announced himself to the inhabitants as the avenger of their late king and founder of their city; and having gained, by means of gifts and promises, a large proportion of the Asiatic army which had followed from Babylon the standard of Seleucus, he placed himself on the Macedonian throne, where he exercised an inglorious power during the space of three years.

Character of Seleucus.

It consists not with our limited plan to describe minutely the characters of the distinguished individuals, whose actions and fortunes present such a variety of historical incident, in tracing the reigns of Alexander's successors. Of Seleucus, however, we may be permitted to observe, that, with the exception of Ptolemy, he pursued more assiduously than any of the great captains who fought under the banners of the conqueror, the enlarged and benevolent designs which that renowned prince combined with all his military triumphs. After the example of his master, he gained the love and esteem of his eastern subjects, by governing them according to their established principles and habits. His zeal for improvement induced him to build many cities, both on the shores of the Mediterranean and on the banks of the Euphrates. Babylon, Seleucia, and the famed city of Antioch continued long to bear witness to his great exertions for promoting the best interests of his people; the former having existed as the capital of the Asiatic empire till near the middle of the seventh century, whilst the latter continued to be illustrious, during a still longer period, as the seat of Syrian kings, Roman governors, and Christian bishops. It was in Seleucia, the port of Antioch, that the remains of this great monarch were deposited, after having been purchased by Philetærus, the governor of Pergamus, from the base mercenary assassin who had imbrued his hands in his blood. A temple erected in the same place,

and called Nicatorion, in reference to his title of Nicator, recalled, in successive ages, to the memory of his Syrian subjects, the mild virtues, the genius, and the numerous exploits of the great general who founded amongst them the kingdom of the Greeks. B.C. 280.

The court of Ptolemy.

A better opportunity will occur for describing the character of Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, and for setting forth the numerous obligations which literature and philosophy continue to bear to that distinguished sovereign.[1] His establishment of the Alexandrian library, and his marked encouragement of men of letters, are too well known to require mention; and, perhaps, the royal munificence which he displayed in providing so splendid an asylum for learning, was more than equalled by the discrimination which he manifested in the choice of individuals to preside over its interests and to promote its progress. Whilst inviting to his court, and placing in his schools, those individuals who were the most distinguished by their scientific acquirements, Ptolemy, nevertheless, showed himself the greatest philosopher that adorned Alexandria. To the knowledge of books he joined the more valuable knowledge of men and of business; and was thus qualified to direct the pursuits of science to practical objects, and to withdraw the speculations of the learned from the inane metaphysics in which they were wont to indulge, in order to engage them in the more profitable studies of criticism, history, geometry, and medicine. As, however, it belongs to a different branch of our work to examine the annals of ancient philosophy and art, and to trace the connection of these, as they were cultivated in the schools of Alexandria, with their more improved condition in the present times, we shall hold it enough to have made this reference, and we shall proceed with our historical sketch of civil and military affairs.

Course of Events subsequent to the Death of Alexander's Generals.

State of affairs after the death of Seleucus.

The immediate successors of Alexander being now all removed by death, the events which follow are marked with less talent and brilliancy than those which attended the foundation of their several kingdoms. Upon the death of Seleucus, the government of Asia fell into the hands of his son Antiochus, whose abilities were soon found unequal to the arduous task of maintaining an hereditary ascendency in the rich provinces of the east, together with the regal power of Macedon, which he was likewise taught to claim as the right of his family. Amidst the delay and indecision, which characterised his first proceedings, several nations in Asia Minor, which had recently owned the sway of Lysimachus, asserted their independence. Pergamus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus, reassumed once more the exercise of a separate government, and placed themselves under the

[1] See Encyclopædia Metropolitana, the volume on Early Oriental History, article Egypt.

B. C. 280. rule of princes, some of whom make a conspicuous figure in the subsequent histories of Italy and Greece. We think it proper to state these facts at present, because frequent reference will be made to them afterwards; but as we must abstain from all minuteness of detail inconsistent with the compression which our plan requires, we shall confine ourselves to such leading facts as will connect the affairs of Alexander's successors in Greece, Syria, Egypt, and the Lesser Asia, with the history of that rising power in the west, which was, at no great distance of time, to subdue and supersede the whole. We begin, then, with Macedon and the Grecian states.

B. C. 279. Ptolemy Ceraunus having seated himself on the throne at Pella, which the aged Seleucus had been so eager to occupy, set at defiance the claims of that monarch's son, as well as those of Antigonus, the son of Demetrius. To secure his ascendency, he murdered his nephews, the sons of Lysimachus; and having thus rendered himself the heir of the Thracian throne, he proceeded to attack Antigonus, and added his northern dominions to those of Macedon. After the murder of her sons, Arsinoe fled to Egypt, and was subsequently married to her brother, Ptolemy Philadelphus. A powerful enemy soon appeared to avenge on Ceraunus the wrongs of the house of Seleucus, and the manifold injuries inflicted on the family of Lysimachus. The Gauls, who had some time before passed into Italy, now found their way into Thrace and Macedon; spreading themselves in vast multitudes over the territory of Ceraunus, and committing the most frightful devastations in his richest provinces. The usurper, who was not deficient either in courage or activity, took the field against his barbarian invaders: but, despising too much their undisciplined valour, he rushed into battle without due precaution, and was slain.

Crimes of Ptolemy Ceraunus.

B. C. 278. The Gauls, after much hard fighting and various fortune, settled at length in the Lesser Asia; giving the name of Galatia to the district which they occupied. The effects of their invasion on the power of Macedon were, however, so considerable, that Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius, found little difficulty in possessing himself of the throne; although opposed by the formidable competition of Pyrrhus, and of Antiochus, the son of Seleucus. In his defensive operations against the latter, he was assisted by Nicomedes, the new ruler of Bithynia; and the policy and vigour of Antigonus were rewarded with such success, that Antiochus not only yielded to his pretensions, but also gave him in marriage his half sister Phila, the daughter of Seleucus and Stratonice.

Affairs of Macedonia after the invasion of the Gauls.

B. C. 277. The war that ensued with Pyrrhus was more disastrous and eventful; the particulars of which are given in our life of that distinguished prince of Epirus.[1] Antigonus seems to have relinquished, for a short time, the occupation of the throne, which he had found himself unable to protect against Pyrrhus and his fierce allies, the Gauls; and even to have retired into Peloponnesus till his warlike rival was slain at the

Antigonus.

[1] *Vide* History of the Roman Republic, page 130.

siege of Argos, and his barbarian followers scattered over the plains of the Lesser Asia. This happy turn of affairs replaced him at the head of his government; over which, from this period, he reigned twenty seven years, with little molestation at home, and without embroiling himself in the contending claims of Egypt and Syria. His attempt on the independence of the Grecian states, indeed, gave occasion to the Achæan league, and involved him in a war of craft and stratagem, which redounded little to his honour. Aratus, of Sicyon, directed so successfully the energies of the confederated republics, that Antigonus at length relinquished his object in despair, and, retiring to Macedon, died at the age of eighty, and left the crown to his son Demetrius, two hundred and forty-two years before the Christian era. B. C. 277. Demetrius. B. C. 240.

The united power of the Achæans continued, during the whole of this reign, to oppose the ascendency of Macedon. The accession also of Corinth to the league, contributed greatly to enfeeble the exertions of Demetrius, in pursuit of that dominion over Greece, which was first secured by Philip, the father of Alexander, and had become the main object of war and policy with all succeeding princes. After holding the sceptre ten years, a period distinguished by no remarkable event, and filled up only by a petty warfare with the Ætolians, Thracians, and Illyrians, Demetrius died, bequeathing the crown to his son Philip, a child only three years of age. Philip.

The government was administered by Antigonus, surnamed *Doson*,[1] brother of the late king, at first as guardian to his nephew, and afterwards in his own right as sovereign of Macedon, till the boy should be qualified to succeed him. The character of this monarch was at once pacific and warlike, cautious and determined, and acquired for Macedon a greater degree of power than she had enjoyed since the early years of Cassander, or perhaps of Antipater. Antigonus Doson. B. C. 222.

Cleomenes, the young king of Sparta, being resolved to revive the liberty and martial glory of his country, took up arms against the Achæan states. These republics lost no time in applying to Antigonus for aid, who, yielding to their solicitation, marched into Peloponnesus with a large army, where he gained several advantages over the Spartans, and took a number of their towns. Cleomenes, on his part, showed himself worthy of commanding Lacedæmonians, and of meeting in the field a successor of Alexander the Great. The sanguinary battle of Sellasia, however, in which Antigonus gained a complete victory, not only ruined the cause of Cleomenes but drove him into Egypt, to solicit from Ptolemy Euergetes, then on the throne of that kingdom, protection for his person, and a reinforcement to his arms. His victories.

The moderation of Antigonus was extremely honourable at once to his principles and his motives. Upon his arrival at Sparta, he treated the inhabitants with singular generosity; allowing them to enjoy the most entire national independence, with permission to adjust, according

[1] So called because he was said to be always "about to give," which he never did.

B. C. 222. Antigonus Doson. to their own pleasure, the arrangements of their internal government. At Argos, whither he went to attend the Nemæan games, he was hailed as the pacificator of Greece: and he continued to be the object of universal gratitude and applause, both among those he had conquered and those whom he had gone to assist, till news arrived that the Illyrians were already in the heart of Macedon, burning his towns and desolating his fields. He flew to the defence of his country, engaged the predatory barbarians, and completely defeated them in the first battle. But it was at the expense of his life. The vehement exertions of his voice, in the tumult of the fight, occasioned the bursting of a blood vessel, of which he almost instantly died; leaving the crown to his nephew Philip, now in the seventeenth year of his age, who was doomed, in a short time, to sustain the hostility of the Romans, and thereby to form the connecting link between the history of Alexander's Macedonian successors and the annals of the western Republic.

His death.

Philip.

We are informed by Polybius that the victory of Sellasia procured to the members of the Achæan confederacy the enjoyment of peace during only a very short period; for that the Ætolians, being now relieved from the fear of Antigonus, and despising the youth of his successor, gave themselves up to their natural love of war, and commenced their ravages by an attack on the territory of the Messenians. Aratus, the protector of the league, marched out against them and sustained a signal defeat; upon which the Achæans resolved to apply once more to Macedon, and to entreat Philip to interpose his arms with the view of saving their states from the fury of the Ætolian robbers. Unwilling to come to a rupture with so many powerful republics, as were likely to take part against the Achæans, Philip set out for Corinth, accompanied by a large escort; to which city he invited deputations from all the states, to concert with him the measures most proper to be pursued in the convulsed situation of Greece. His attention was in the mean time engaged by the affairs of Sparta; which, besides being torn by civil discord, was disposed to follow the counsels of its fugitive king Cleomenes, and to join the Ætolians in their attempts on the tranquillity of the whole peninsula. Philip spoke in favour of conciliation and mildness; and, in opposition to the views of almost all his advisers, he recommended that the Lacedæmonians should be heard in their own behalf at the approaching congress.

With such men as the Ætolians, moderation was altogether fruitless. War was their trade, and plunder their principal revenue; and as they had already drawn the sword, they were determined to admit no other arbiter to settle their quarrel with the Achæan states. Hence the origin of the social war, so destructive to many parts of Greece, and finally subversive of its independence.

B. C. 221.

Social war.

In the spring of the following year, Philip appeared in the field at the head of a large force, and gained many advantages. Wintering in

Peloponnesus, he signalized his next campaign by the reduction of Elis, which had joined his enemies, and by taking nearly all the strongholds belonging to that state. But whilst he was thus employed, a detached party of the Ætolians had made an inroad into Macedon, where they sacked the city of Dium; a place highly venerated by every native of that country as a principal seat of their religion, and as being adorned with the statues of Alexander's companions who fell in the battle of the Granicus, as well as with the monuments of a long series of their kings. To revenge this insult, Philip surprised the capital of Ætolia, called Thermæ or Thermum, which he not only stripped of everything valuable, sacred and profane, but even burnt their temples, desecrated their holy places, and loaded the impious pirates with every indignity that he could devise. B. C. 217.

After four years of ruinous hostility, the belligerent states were not more disposed to listen to negotiation than at the moment at which they first took up arms. The fifth campaign had already begun, and Philip had reduced some fortresses belonging to the Ætolians on the southern frontiers of Thessaly, when the Nemæan games called him to grace with his presence the city of Argos, where that solemnity was usually held, and whence the kings of Macedon had derived their origin. It was whilst engaged in this ceremonial that the news reached him of Hannibal's victory gained over the Romans at Thrasimenus; an event which their recent intercourse with Italy instructed the Greeks to believe could not be indifferent to their interests; and which, according to the wisest of their counsellors, ought to induce them to compose their quarrels and unite their means for the common defence. "Consider," said Agelaus of Naupactus, "consider the great and ambitious powers that have arisen in the west, and the vast exertions that they have been able to make by sea and land. They are actually engaged in a second and more desperate conflict; and whichever party prevails, think not that the victor will be contented with the spoils of the vanquished. He will look round him for new enemies that may furnish him with greater riches and more glorious triumphs. Let us, then, hasten to conclude a lasting peace." These views, acting upon minds influenced by other motives, made a deep impression, insomuch that even the Ætolians declared their readiness to listen to terms, and to promote a general pacification. B. C. 218. Policy of the Greeks towards Rome and Carthage.

Syria and Asia Minor.

The main inducement with Philip to compose the differences of the Grecian states, and to secure their alliance, arose from the opportunity which then seemed to present itself, as connected with the successes of Hannibal, of checking the progress of the Romans in Illyricum, and even of expelling them from the eastern shores of the Adriatic. That powerful people had already established themselves in several parts of the country just named; had formed an alliance with Apollonia, one of the principal cities; and had pushed their outposts to the very B. C. 216.

B. C. 216. frontiers of Macedon itself. As, however, an account of the skirmishing and negotiation that took place in Illyricum, between Philip and the Roman consuls who were sent to guard that province, is properly an introduction to the Macedonian war, which speedily ensued, and produced such memorable effects on Grecian independence, we prefer giving the details under the history of Rome. We now, therefore, return to the history of Alexander's successors in Syria and Asia Minor, till the series of events in these countries also unite their fortunes with the destiny of their Roman conquerors.

B. C. 280. On the death of Seleucus who, as it has been already related, was murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus, the kingdom of Syria fell into the hands of Antiochus, surnamed *Soter*, the eldest son of the late monarch. In narrating the occurrences which immediately succeeded the accession of Ceraunus to the throne of Macedon, we mentioned the attempt made by Antiochus to depose that usurper, and to place on his own head the crown which his father had so ardently desired, and which the latter had, in fact, conquered for his family by his victory over Lysimachus. The young king of Syria, however, was obliged to relinquish his undertaking, and even to resign his pretensions in favour of Ptolemy, to whom he likewise gave his sister in marriage.

Affairs of Syria after the murder of Seleucus.

Antiochus Soter.

Origin of his title.

For several years of this sovereign's reign, history has little to record that could prove either interesting or instructive. Some time after his unsuccessful expedition to recover Macedon, the Syrian monarch was recalled into Asia Minor, to defend that part of his empire against the Gauls; and it was in recompense for a great victory gained by him over those warlike barbarians that he was saluted by his grateful subjects as "saviour" of their country, and is known in after times by the distinguishing epithet of Soter.



Antiochus Soter.

We have mentioned that, during the relaxation of authority which took place in Asia Minor on the death of Lysimachus, several satrapies, or provincial governments, asserted their independence, and appeared in the form of separate kingdoms. Amongst these, Bithynia, Pergamus, Pontus, and Cappadocia were the most important, and make the most conspicuous figure in the subsequent history of the Asiatic peninsula. As, however, these states were thus severed from the empire of Antiochus, he was induced to make more than one effort to subject them to their former condition of dependence, and to recover the revenue which had been usually drawn from the rich provinces which they comprehended. His general, Patroclus, accordingly attacked the Bithynians, as rebels against the Syrian government; but he was

defeated and obliged to withdraw his troops. On the death of Phile- B. C. 280.
tærus, who had founded the kingdom of Pergamus, the monarch of the east again appeared in Asia Minor, at the head of a large force, with the view of re-establishing his authority in that ancient stronghold of royal power. But Eumenes, the successor of Philetærus, was prepared to repel the invasion. He had raised such an army as enabled him, not only to gain a decisive victory over the veteran forces of Antiochus, but also to enlarge his dominions very considerably at his expense. According to Strabo, this battle took place in the neighbourhood of Sardis; but the particular scene is not described, nor are the details of the conflict narrated with the scientific precision which we admire so much in the works of Arrian and Xenophon.

Antiochus was still farther unfortunate in a war which he provoked B. C. 266.
with Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. This latter sovereign had a half-brother named Magas, who was appointed by him governor of Cyrene. Having married a daughter of the king of Syria, Magas allowed himself to be seduced by his ambition from the duty which he owed to Ptolemy; for, raising the standard of rebellion, he engaged his father-in-law to assist him in his unjustifiable views upon Cyrene, which he proposed to erect into an independent kingdom. Antiochus had reason to repent of this injudicious alliance. The fleets of Ptolemy, powerful in all the adjoining seas, inflicted a severe blow on the Syrian ships and towns, as well as on all the maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, which still acknowledged the sway of the eastern empire. Hostilities continued during several years, in the course of which the Egyptians appear to have wrested from their adversaries the valuable provinces of Lycia, Pamphylia, Caria, and Cilicia; whilst Antiochus reaped no other advantage from his exertions and expenditure than to see on the temporary throne of Cyrene, a rebellious viceroy whom he had admitted into his family.

Misfortunes of Antiochus Soter.

But a greater misfortune was about to visit his dominions in the B. C. 262.
form of a Gallic invasion. Those fierce barbarians, who had still retained a footing in the Lesser Asia, were now joined by such a powerful reinforcement of their countrymen, that Antiochus found it necessary to lead against them the royal army, that he might by one blow put an end to their ravages, and deter them from ever again approaching his shores. He met their numerous bands under the walls of Ephesus, where a dreadful battle immediately ensued, and where the physical strength and fearless valour of the invaders gained a complete triumph over the more disciplined ranks of their Asiatic opponents. The king was slain and his army routed; leaving to the Gauls a copious theme of ridicule and insult, in reference to the title of Soter, which he had borne as a trophy conquered from their arms.

He is defeated and killed by the Gauls at Ephesus.

Antiochus was succeeded by his youngest son, of the same name, B. . 261.
the eldest having, according to Trogus Pompeius, paid the penalty of rebellion some years before. Upon hearing of his father's defeat and death, the young king hastened from the east, where he had already held,

Antiochus Theos.

B. C. 261. for a considerable time, the reins of government, and presented himself in Syria, in order to retrieve, if possible, the affairs of his western provinces. But his arms appear not to have been more successful than those of his predecessor against their formidable enemy the Gauls; for after a variety of battles, of which only very faint traces have reached us in the page of history, the barbarians appear to have maintained their settlements even in the interior parts of the peninsula. It was with somewhat better success, however, that he directed his attention to the recovery of those provinces which the king of Egypt had subdued in the south. He defeated the troops of Ptolemy, and vanquished a rebel chief who had seized on the government of Caria in despite of that monarch; for which trivial exploits he was accosted by his sycophantic subjects with the title of Theos, or the god. His triumphs, however, were never of long duration. Engaging the whole forces of his monarchy in a more regular system of hostility against the Egyptian king, he sustained many serious reverses, and ultimately forfeited all that he had recovered in Asia Minor, together with the important provinces of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia.



Antiochus Theos.

B. C. 254. In order to maintain the disastrous warfare which we have just mentioned, Antiochus had found it necessary to withdraw his best troops from Asia, and to leave his garrisons in the north much weaker than a just view of their importance would have demanded. The defenceless condition of Bactria and Parthia suggested to the governors of these provinces the idea of asserting their independence. Theodotus raised the standard of rebellion in the former; and by combining the skill of a soldier with the artifice of a practised statesman, he subdued those adherents of Antiochus, whom he could not gain by gentler means. In Parthia, again, the resentment of the fierce and hardy natives was excited to the highest degree, by an indignity offered to the person of one of their countrymen, by Agathocles the royal lieutenant. Having slain the tyrannical governor, Arsaces and Tiridates, two noble brothers (the latter of whom was the subject of this indignity), summoned the warlike Parthians to take arms in defence of their country, and to repel the haughty Greeks from the provinces of Upper Asia. Nor was the summons disobeyed. The Parthians having strengthened their ranks, by calling the brave and athletic Scythians to their aid, defied the power of Antiochus, and even spread the flame of rebellion so extensively over the northern parts of the empire, that the latter soon perceived he could no longer carry on war with Egypt but at the expense of all his Assyrian dominions.

Revolt of Bactria and Parthia.



Castle of Tiridates.

These considerations induced the king of Syria to make peace with Ptolemy. To cement their union the latter induced him to marry his daughter, the Egyptian princess Berenice, and to settle his crown on the issue of that marriage, although Antiochus had already two sons by his wife Laodice, whom he had espoused in the very commencement of his reign. But this violent proceeding defeated the object which it was meant to promote; for, upon the death of Philadelphus, which happened soon after, the Syrian monarch repudiated Berenice, and restored his former queen and children to the full enjoyment of their rank and prospects. To secure the position they had thus regained, Laodice determined to prevent her mercenary husband on any future occasion from bartering herself and children for political concessions or personal aggrandizement. She poisoned Antiochus, had her son Seleucus proclaimed successor to the kingdom, and finally procured the murder of Berenice and her infant son, although this unfortunate princess had fled for safety to the precincts of the Daphnean temple.

B. C. 252.

Murder of Antiochus.

Accession of Seleucus Callinicus.

In the same year did Ptolemy Euergetes and Seleucus, surnamed Callinicus, ascend the thrones of Egypt and Syria, to engage in a war destructive to both. Euergetes felt himself constrained to avenge the quarrel of his sister, who had been deprived of life under circumstances the most atrocious and appalling; whilst Seleucus, who had assumed the sceptre, put into his hand by Laodice, the author of the sacrilegious murder, which Ptolemy was about to avenge, prepared an army for the field in order to maintain a dignity which had been thus surreptitiously placed within his reach. During the protracted contest which ensued, the Gauls continued their ravages in Asia Minor, and the Parthians extended the spirit

B. C. 246.

Accession of Ptolemy Euergetes to the throne of Egypt.



Ptolemy Euergetes.

B. C. 246. of disaffection in the east; by which means the magnificent empire left by Alexander was torn in pieces, year after year, and became gradually a prey more and more easily to be seized by the powerful nation which was already rising up in resistless strength.

Ptolemy III., surnamed EUERGETES, the eldest son of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who now succeeded to the throne of Egypt, was a prince singularly liberal in his patronage of literature and science, in which he nobly emulated the fame of his father. The vast additions made by Euergetes to the Alexandrian Library gave rise to the erroneous idea that he was the founder of that magnificent institute. On the death of Philadelphus, his father, Euergetes, had peaceably succeeded to his extensive patrimonial possessions. The ambition and cruelty of Seleucus, however, were destined to break in upon this brief season of repose. No sooner did the Syrian king, Antiochus Theos, learn the death of Philadelphus, than he hastened to divorce his consort Berenice, the daughter of that monarch, at the same time recalling his former wife Laodice, who, in virtue of the treaty made with Ptolemy Philadelphus, B.C. 249, had been divorced; the same agreement recognising the issue of the Egyptian princess as the only legitimate succession to the throne. Laodice, notwithstanding this act of strong partiality in her favour, soon after her return basely poisoned her husband. Terrified at this atrocious act, and justly fearing for herself a fate not less terrible, Berenice, accompanied by her son, fled to the city of Daphne. Her worst fears were here realised. Being closely besieged by the merciless satellites of Laodice, they were speedily captured, and, together with all their attendants, were inhumanly slaughtered. No sooner had Ptolemy received an account of the imminent peril of his sister than he took up arms in her defence. His energetic preparations were too late to save that unhappy princess. To avenge her fate, however, Ptolemy immediately took the field at the head of a numerous army, and, assisted by a large body of Greeks, who, disgusted at the murder of Berenice, no longer owned the government of Seleucus, poured into Syria with such an overwhelming force, that he immediately gained possession of the greater part of the territory of all the principal towns. The arms of the Syrian king on this occasion were greatly weakened by the rebellion of his brother Antiochus, afterwards called Hierax, who, availing himself of the unpopular feeling attached to the accession of Seleucus, had received the allegiance of several provinces in Asia Minor, and evidently watched the progress of events, in order to seize an opportunity for placing himself on the

War between Syria and Egypt.



Coin of Ptolemy Euergetes.

throne of the east. The Egyptian, meantime, not satisfied with his conquests in Syria, conducted an expedition into the heart of the Assyrian empire: and, pursuing his victorious course to the Oxus and Indus, overran rather than subdued the vast provinces of Media and Babylonia; his ardour all the while being directed to the acquisition of wealth rather than to that of glory or of permanent power. The plunder with which he returned is said to have amounted to forty thousand talents of silver. In addition to this valuable treasure he restored to Egypt between two and three thousand of her gods, whose ponderous figures had encumbered the cities of Susiana and Persis from the period that Cambyses had searched the temples of the Nile. For this remarkable benefaction he was honoured with the title of Euergetes—a token of gratitude on the part of his subjects which would have been worse applied had it respected solely his fruitless expedition into the dismembered satrapies of the eastern empire. Returning from his pious toils on the banks of the Tigris, whence, it is said, he sent his gods by water carriage to the shores of Arabia, the king of Egypt, when arrived in Palestine, insisted upon offering a sacrifice of thanksgiving to Jehovah in the temple at Jerusalem, where he sought to gratify His priests with suitable gifts.

B. C. 246. Expedition of Ptolemy to the Indus.



Seleucus Callinicus.

B. C. 244.

Whilst Ptolemy was exhausting his army by long marches in the east, Seleucus was straining every nerve to raise, in the Lesser Asia, a competent force for the defence of his remaining territory, as well as for the recovery of that which he had lost. The Greeks in that country, alarmed at the measures of Hierax, who had formed an alliance with the Gauls, flocked once more to the standard of their king, and thereby enabled him to garrison his principal forts in Syria, and even to meet Ptolemy in the field at the head of a considerable army. The two kings met, and fought a bloody battle, in which, after great loss on both sides, victory declared for Ptolemy. The vanquished prince shut himself up in Antioch, which had been strongly fortified: and now, finding his affairs in a desperate condition, he resolved to strengthen his army by an accommodation with his brother Hierax, who, as we have already mentioned, had enlisted a powerful body of Gauls. A treaty, originating in necessity on the one side, and on the other acceded to by ambitious intrigue, was not likely to be durable: and accordingly, when the king of Egypt, who seems to have confined his wishes to the simple act of conquest, without attempting to derive any profit from his military successes, had withdrawn his army from Syria to engage in an enterprise of a very different nature, the two brothers renewed their suspicions of each other's sincerity, and determined on an appeal to arms.

Defeat of Seleucus.

A destructive war, of three years' duration, was the consequence of

B. C. 242.

B. C. 242. this mutual distrust. The only memorable battle, however, of which
Battle of Ancyræ. authentic details have reached us, is that which was fought at Ancyræ, where Hierax, chiefly by the means of his Gallic mercenaries, gained a triumph over his royal brother. His success, it is said, had nearly proved fatal to himself; for his barbarian allies, giving credence to a rumour that Seleucus had perished in the field, instantly resolved to despatch the victorious Hierax also, and thereby procure for themselves the sovereignty of the Asiatic kingdoms, to which their ambition had all along aspired. He escaped, indeed, the dreadful fate which was intended for him; but he was compelled to ransom his life at a high price from the very soldiers who fought under his command, whose maintenance was derived from his stores.

B. C. 240. The war which had desolated Syria and a large portion of Asia Minor was soon after transferred to the province of Babylonia. Hierax, accompanied by a hundred thousand of the most ferocious of the Gauls, directed his march towards the capital of Assyria, where he hoped to enrich himself with the plunder of that flourishing city, and perhaps to found a new kingdom on the same auspicious spot in which the dynasty of his paternal house had been first planted. But his hopes were soon blasted, and all his plans rendered completely abortive. Seleucus pursued him with a large army, which, being reinforced by the Macedonian inhabitants of the province, and, it is added, by eight thousand Babylonian Jews, attacked the predatory Gauls, and defeated them with so great an overthrow, that their chief was indebted for his safety to a speedy flight. Escaping first into Cappadocia, where he found a temporary retreat, Hierax next threw himself upon the protection of Ptolemy; but this monarch, so far from aiding him in his ambitious designs, detained him thirteen years a prisoner in Egypt, from which country, at the end of this period, he contrived to procure his liberation, only to lose his life whilst crossing the desert into Syria by the hands of Arabian robbers.



Antiochus Hierax.

Defeat and captivity of Hierax.

Relieved from the war with Egypt, and from the still more harassing hostility with his brother, Seleucus immediately directed his thoughts to the condition of Upper Asia. The Parthians, who were now closely allied to the Bactrians, had availed themselves of the interval during which Seleucus was employed against Hierax and Ptolemy to strengthen their forts and augment their arms, so that when the king marched to their borders he found them prepared to burst down upon Media, the finest province of his empire. A tedious and wasteful warfare now began, which continued with various success during four years, until at length a decisive battle was fought, by which the confederates placed their independence on a sure basis, in

which Seleucus lost both his army and his liberty. He was taken B. C. 239.
prisoner by the Parthians, who spared his life; but, actuated by an Defeat and death of Seleucus.
obvious regard for their own security, they sent the royal captive into one of the wildest districts of Upper Asia, where, after enduring a restraint of ten years, he is said to have been killed by a fall from his horse.

The surname of Callinicus is not to be found on the coins of Seleucus, which are with difficulty distinguished from those of his son, in consequence of their bearing no date. Towards the close of his eventful reign, the island of Rhodes, which had been greatly distressed by an earthquake, was especially the object of his princely munificence; vast quantities of corn, and various other supplies, as well as large stores of timber, with an armament of ten quinquiremes, being despatched to the scene of disaster. Every step now taken by the historical student will portray more and more strongly the evils resulting, not only from many-sided ambition, but from the absence of that comprehensive control and sagacious policy which characterized the rule of the great Macedonian hero.

The empire of Darius was already fast passing away from the suc- B. C. 225.
cessors of Alexander. Two independent states in the upper provinces exposed to constant hazard the rich countries of Babylonia, Media, and Persis; whilst a powerful enemy in the west, whose numbers had no limits, and whose ambition appeared altogether insatiable, had gained a permanent footing in the centre of Asia Minor, and obviously meditated the conquest of the whole. There was still, however, a strong bond of loyalty in the Syrian provinces, which attached them to the house of Seleucus.

Upon hearing of the king's captivity among the Parthians, they Seleucus Ceraunus.
immediately placed on the throne his eldest son, Seleucus III., who, to the name of his father was soon after invited to add, for what exploit it does not appear, the formidable title of Ceraunus, or thunder. The most probable accounts, however, inform us that he derived this title from the soldiery as a term of contempt, in reference to his physical and intellectual weakness. His actual name was undoubtedly Alexander; and it was not till after the demise of his father that he assumed the title of Seleucus: his official style, it appears, was that of Soter. His cousin Achæus, a soldier possessed of considerable energy and talent, assisted Seleucus in carrying out the plans of the deceased monarch. An army was speedily equipped for the purpose of expelling Attalus from his recently acquired possessions in Asia Minor; and it had already passed over Mount Taurus, when the king fell a victim to assassination, being murdered by Apaturius, a Gaul, and one of his own officers, by name Nicanor. Thus perished ingloriously, after a brief reign of three years, Seleucus III., in the twentieth year of his age.

Seleucus Ceraunus was succeeded by his brother Antiochus, afterwards surnamed "the Great," whose life was diversified with a suc-

B. C. 223. Antiochus the Great.

cession of important events, which, in the close of his reign particularly, brought him into such close contact with the Romans, as to identify the future history of Syria with that of the western republic.

Fidelity of Achæus.

Antiochus happened to be at Babylon when the throne was rendered vacant by the murder of the reigning prince; and being still in early youth, and consequently unable to maintain his right, he was indebted for a quiet accession to the generous and steady conduct of the general Achæus. This faithful soldier, himself of the royal line, and possessed of the entire devotion of the army, might have seized the crown of Seleucus, now about to descend to a child; and he seems even to have been invited to perpetrate this act of treason by the mixed and mercenary crowd which composed his ranks. But Achæus, disdaining the bribe, and chiding the disloyal sentiments which prevailed among his troops, conducted the young king to Antioch, which had for some time become the more usual residence of the Seleucidæ.

Treachery of Hermeias.

Antiochus had no sooner reached the capital of Syria than he was assailed by the treacherous wiles of Hermeias, a minister to whom the late king, on his departure for the east, had committed the care of that part of the empire. The main object with this unworthy person, was to aggrandize his own family at the expense of his sovereign; for which purpose he secured the appointment of his own two brothers, Molon and Alexander, as governors of the very important provinces of of Media and Persis, from the inexperienced and unsuspicious Antiochus.

Revolt of Molon and Alexander.

Hardly were they established in their satrapies, when the treasonable spirit by which they were actuated began to show itself. They seduced the troops, embezzled the public property, and, as soon as their arrangements were matured, Molon displayed the standard of rebellion in Media, whilst his brother followed his example in Persis.

The young monarch, impatient to punish his faithless satraps, would have marched instantly to the Euphrates at the head of the royal army, had not the crafty Hermeias dissuaded him from the undertaking, as less suitable for a king than an expedition which he proposed against a Syrian province still in the hands of the Egyptians. He distracted his mind, too, with groundless fears respecting a meditated rebellion on the part of Achæus, who had been appointed to command some of the more western provinces of the Lesser Asia. It was resolved, therefore, that two creatures of the minister, Xenon and Theodotus, should proceed against the rebels, while the king made preparations for a safer triumph nearer home.

The royal generals defeated.

But the activity of the rebels far surpassed the ignorant and ill-concerted movements which were made by the royal lieutenant for the purpose of reducing them. Molon, having already overrun Media, had compelled the king's forces to take refuge in the strongholds of Babylonia, and even threatened the capital itself. Xenætas, another weak commander, was despatched with a fresh army to sustain the empire, and to punish the traitorous chiefs of Media and Persis: but he, allowing himself to be surprised in the night, was cut in pieces, with the

greater part of his men, by the indefatigable Molon, who immediately took possession of Babylon, and gave law to the surrounding country.

B. C. 222. Upon being made acquainted with these disasters, Antiochus would no longer be restrained from proceeding into his eastern dominions, and fighting his battles in person. His expedition into Cœle-Syria had only redounded to his disgrace; and he was now resolved to retrieve his fortune in a more spacious field, or to perish in the attempt. The intrigues of Hermeias could now prevail no further than to detain at home, and afterwards destroy, the brave, honest general Epigenes, whose counsel would have greatly assisted the inexperience of the king in the important war he was about to wage. Deprived of this valuable aid, the royal commander, nevertheless, conducted his armament with considerable skill; and having crossed the Tigris, in defiance of all the stratagems practised by his enemies in the field, and by his still more dangerous enemies in the cabinet, he soon found himself in a condition to compel Molon either to hazard a battle or to abandon his province. The rebellious satrap was extremely desirous to shun an engagement with the king in person. He attempted, therefore, to surprise his camp in the dark; and proceeding for this purpose with a body of chosen desperadoes, by secret paths, would probably have effected his object, had not a few youths, whose feelings of loyalty opposed the perpetration of such an atrocity, deserted from his side to give intelligence of his design. Molon, as soon as he ascertained that some men had left him, conjectured the true cause of their departure, and immediately returned to his army to prepare for a general action.

Antiochus takes the field in person.

B. C. 221. Early in the morning Antiochus was in the field, marshalling his troops, and confirming their resolution to avenge his cause on the heads of the rebels. Molon, though still unwilling to put all his conquests and hopes to the hazard of a battle, could not retreat in the presence of the royal army, being perfectly aware that in the disposition which then prevailed in his ranks, as well as among the native inhabitants of the countries which he had subdued, a retrograde movement would be equivalent to the most disastrous defeat. The armies advanced as if to determine the contending claims of their masters by their swords. But no sooner did the Asiatics behold the graceful person of the young Antiochus leading on his right wing to the conflict, than they almost with one consent abjured the cause of the traitor, whom they deserted without striking a blow, and passed over to the standard which they had marched out to oppose. Such as did not join the king were dispersed over the adjacent provinces. Molon, with his brothers Alexander and Niolaus, preferred a voluntary death; and Hermeias, whose complicated villany was at length detected, paid the penalty of his treason and numerous perjuries.

Molon and Alexander deserted by their troops.

Of all the iniquities chargeable upon that wicked minister none is more to be deplored, on account of its melancholy consequences, than the alienation which he effected between Antiochus and the generous Achæus. The king had been induced to treat the latter as a rebel;

Revolt of Achæus.

B. C. 221. and the feeling of self-defence had suggested to the abused governor the necessity of fortifying his interests even against his royal master. During the absence of Antiochus in the east, Achæus assumed sovereignty in the provinces which he had been appointed to command; and accordingly, when the victorious army returned into Syria, it was expected that its next service would be directed against the usurping satrap of Asia Minor.

Views of Antiochus on Egypt.

But the ambition of Antiochus prevailed over his resentment. An opportunity now presented itself for the recovery of Cœle-Syria, a conquest which he had formerly attempted without success; and the acquisition appeared to him of too much importance to be either neglected or postponed. The same commander, who had so skilfully defeated all his measures in the former campaign, having become disgusted with the treatment which he received from the court of Egypt, was now prepared to surrender the province to him, together with a considerable fleet stationed in one of the ports. Antiochus, on this occasion, succeeded to the utmost extent of his wishes; for he not only reduced the greater part of the strongholds in Cœle-Syria, but also expelled the Egyptian troops from Seleucia Pieria, a place which they had garrisoned ever since it was first conquered by Ptolemy Euergetes.

Preparations of Ptolemy Philopator.

Ptolemy Philopator, who was now on the throne of Egypt, and surrounded by the most selfish and unprincipled advisers, could not fail, nevertheless, to perceive that his kingdom was threatened with a very serious danger. Antiochus, at the head of a formidable army, had not scrupled to make known his intention of invading his territories; and no obstacle intervened to save his subjects from that dreadful visitation except the desert which separated Egypt from the Syrian dominions. The sand of the wilderness, however, had often, in former times, protected the fertile fields of the Nile; and the counsellors of Ptolemy advised him to have recourse to its aid in the present emergency. They began by destroying all the wells between the Nile and the frontiers of Palestine; after which they opened the floodgates of the river to inundate the adjacent country, so as to completely



Ptolemy Philopator.

B. C. 220. prevent the approach of any considerable force. Meanwhile a negotiation was entered into by the belligerent powers, which was vigorously seconded by an embassy from Rhodes and Byzantium, states in alliance with Egypt, who could not but suffer severely from a pro-

tracted war between the two principal maritime kingdoms on the shores of the Mediterranean. B. C. 220.



Overflow of the Nile.

The Egyptians did not, however, devote all their attention to the pending treaty. On the contrary, they employed all the means in their power for raising an army to check the pretensions of Antiochus, whose ambitious views were not a little encouraged by the knowledge which he possessed of their defenceless condition, as well as of the king's indolent and voluptuous character. They collected troops from their colonies in Africa, from the shores of Asia Minor, where they had still a number of garrison towns, and above all from the Grecian republics, which could at all times supply a large body of good soldiers, ready to serve the most liberal master.

Having protracted the negotiation until they had collected, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, an army of seventy-five thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy elephants, the ministers of the Egyptian king assumed a higher tone, and retracted their concessions. They demanded that Cœle-Syria should be forthwith restored to their master, as having been delivered up to Antiochus by the hands of a traitor; whilst, with very little regard to consistency, they claimed for Achæus, who was actually in arms against his sovereign, all the benefits of the pacification which they were about to establish between Syria and Egypt. As these terms could not be admitted, both parties prepared for battle. The army of Antiochus was not much inferior to that of Ptolemy in numerical strength, whilst its deficiency in foot soldiers was amply compensated by cavalry and elephants.

B.C. 220. The Egyptians were the first to take the field. Having crossed the desert, they came in sight of the enemy's advanced posts, who had already pitched his camp at Gaza, where he finally mustered his forces. Whilst the two armies were thus opposed to each other on the borders of the wilderness, it occurred to Theodotus, the former governor of Cœle-Syria, who was now in the ranks of Antiochus, that he might render his new master an essential service were he to succeed in a private attempt on the life of Ptolemy. Favoured by the darkness of the night, and his knowledge of the Egyptian dress and language, both of which he assumed for the occasion, he found little difficulty in reaching the pavilion where the king was wont to feast and to enjoy the society of his particular friends. Ptolemy, however, was accustomed to sleep in a more private tent, a circumstance which had escaped the inquiry of the vindictive Ætolian; the latter, therefore plunging his dagger into the breast of the royal physician, and wounding two other attendants, some one of whom he mistook for Ptolemy, returned to the Syrian lines without having effected his object. The Egyptians, enraged at the murder of Andreas, and still more at the meditated assassination of their sovereign, became impatient for battle; and as the commanders were willing to take advantage of the indignation and eager desire for revenge which prevailed throughout the camp, they made haste to lead forth their troops, with the view of compelling Antiochus to a combat.

Positions of the two armies.

Attempted assassination of Ptolemy.

B. C. 218. It is impossible not to observe that the Macedonian system of fighting was now greatly modified by the introduction of Asiatic evolutions, and more especially by the cumbrous movements of elephants. At the battle of Raphia there were nearly two hundred of these animals in the field, creating, as usual, a groundless confidence, and a still more groundless terror. The fortune of the day declared at first for Antiochus, who commanded one of his wings in person. Misled, however, by the ardour of pursuit, he soon afforded such an advantage to his adversary as enabled him not only to repair his loss, but even to gain in the end a most complete victory. Fourteen thousand Syrian footmen and three hundred cavalry are said to have been left dead in the field, whilst the number of prisoners exceeded four thousand. Cœle-Syria, Palestine, and Phœnicia were immediately restored to Egypt; on the basis of which concessions a peace was soon afterwards concluded between the two kingdoms.

Battle of Raphia.

Defeat of Antiochus.

Peace.

Increased power of Achæus.

Relieved from the pressure of the Egyptian war, Antiochus forthwith directed his attention to the affairs of the Lesser Asia, where Achæus, profiting by circumstances, had greatly extended his power, and enlarged his dominions. Phrygia and Lydia constituted the main body of his kingdom, whence he had made encroachments on Bithynia and Pergamus, whose kings, Prusias and Attalus, had been compelled to purchase his forbearance by surrendering a portion of their territories. He had likewise further strengthened himself by an alliance with Mithridates, the king of Pontus; receiving in marriage a princess of

that nation, whose name was Laodice, and whose heroic and devoted attachment during the siege of Sardis has given her a just celebrity in the annals of Phrygia. B. C. 218.

The power of Achæus, however, soon gave way before the combined forces of Antiochus and of Attalus, who, to revenge himself upon his inveterate enemy, had joined the standard of the king of Syria. In one campaign Achæus was driven from the field, and compelled to take refuge in the strong citadel of Sardis. Anticipating the worst that might befal him, he had accumulated within the walls a large supply of provisions and military stores; and as the town was sufficiently extensive to accommodate the greater part of his army, he was fully prepared to sustain the casualties of a lengthened siege. B. C. 216.



Attalus I.

But his hopes were disappointed by the success of a stratagem which was practised against the city. It was taken in the night, and subjected to all the horrors which attend an assault on a town in the occupation of rebels—an event which confined his confidence of resistance to the strength of the citadel, in which his remaining troops were now shut up. B. C. 215.

The ministers of Ptolemy, who had encouraged Achæus in his rebellion, learning that he was now hard pressed by his victorious master, bethought themselves of an expedient whereby at once to save their ally, and even to embroil Syria in a civil war. They employed one of their tools, Balis, a Cretan, to seduce some of Antiochus's soldiers employed in the blockade of Sardis to assist in the escape of Achæus. It was intended that the rebel satrap should proceed to Antioch, should proclaim himself king of Syria, and, by the help of Egypt, should dispute with the successor of Seleucus the possession of the throne. The crafty Balis, however, betrayed his employers, and delivered up Achæus into the hands of Antiochus, who caused him to be put to death, and his body, wrapped in an ass's skin, to be fixed upon a cross. A herald soon announced to the citadel that Achæus had paid the penalty of his treason, and exhorted the besieged to surrender. Stimulated by Laodice, the wife of their general, they preferred to abide the chance of an assault, which, however, being renewed from time to time, at length subdued their spirits, and induced them to listen to the terms proposed by Antiochus.

Betrayal and death of Achæus.

Having chastised the spirit of rebellion in Asia Minor, Antiochus

B. C. 214. Expedition against Bactria and Parthia.

immediately prepared to carry his arms against the Bactrians and Parthians. More than thirty years had now elapsed since those hardy Asiatics had refused to pay tribute, and to acknowledge allegiance to the descendants of Seleucus, being firmly resolved to support their liberty, and to maintain, on their respective thrones, the dynasty which they had been pleased to invest with the royal power and honours.

Arsaces III.

Arsaces, the third of the name, reigned at this period over the Parthians; whilst the Bactrians were governed by Euthydemus, who was likewise the third sovereign from the new era of their independence.

Victory of Antiochus.

Of the campaign which followed in those remote countries, the details furnished by Polybius are neither numerous nor particular. It appears that the first movements of Antiochus were attended with so much success, that Arsaces was glad to purchase peace on the hard condition of joining the army of the conqueror against his neighbour Euthydemus. The latter, confident in his strength, or wishing to save his people from the ravages of actual war, marched forth to meet the king of Syria in a contiguous province. A battle took place on the banks of the Arius, where the arms of the Syrian monarch obtained a signal triumph, in which the monarch himself displayed much courage and address. The loss of his horse, which was killed under him, and a severe wound in the face, which dashed out his teeth, could not shake his resolution. He remained at the head of his troops, receiving charge after charge from the barbarian cavalry, until he had completely checked their impetuosity and thinned their ranks.

Euthydemus was more successful in negotiation than in the field. He represented to Antiochus that he had never personally rebelled against the king of Syria, but that he had mounted the throne of Bactria in right of conquest achieved over an usurper or the son of an usurper; that it would be bad policy in the sovereign of Asia to weaken the kingdom of the Bactrians, whose power might be rendered extremely useful in defending the northern frontiers, and in checking the inroads of the savage tribes, which were ever ready to pour down upon its central provinces; and, finally, that the victor ought to grant such terms to the chiefs whom he had just subdued as would make it their interest to support him as an ally, and to court his favour as their natural protector. Antiochus was not deaf to this plausible reasoning; and being much pleased with Demetrius, the son of the Bactrian king, he acceded to the proposals of which the prince was the bearer, assuring the youth that his father should be allowed to retain his royal title and independence, and that to himself he would give one of his daughters in marriage.

The affairs of the north being thus amicably settled, Antiochus applied his experienced mind to other departments of government, restoring confidence and happiness to his numerous subjects in the east. During the seven years that he spent at this time in Asia, he appears to have ratified treaties and confirmed alliances with several kings on

the banks of the Indus. Both his wealth and power received considerable accessions, for we are told by Polybius that he returned to Babylon with immense treasures and a hundred and fifty elephants. After another successful expedition to the mouth of the Euphrates, where he dislodged a band of Arabian pirates who infested the commercial city of Gerra, he proceeded to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, laden with honour, riches, and warlike reputation. It was at this the most brilliant period of his reign, B.C. 202, that the title of GREAT was conferred upon him. B. C. 214. B. C. 202.

The same year in which Antiochus returned from his eastern triumphs, Ptolemy Philopator, the king of Egypt, brought his life to a close by a series of vicious indulgences. Ptolemy IV. (Philopator), the eldest son of Euergetes, was a prince far inferior in talent to his father; and the very opening of his reign (B. C. 222) had been marked by crimes of the deepest dye. The murder of his mother Berenice, his brother Magas, and his uncle Lysimachus, were fitting preludes to the deep debauchery which closed his existence. To Sosibius, his minister, a man totally incapable of the cares of government, he intrusted, without scruple, the political management of the state. The ruin of military discipline and the distraction of the kingdom rapidly demonstrated the ill-omened nature of the appointment. Death of Ptolemy IV. (Philopator.)

At length, after a succession of political and military enormities, a body of Greek mercenaries, and a force of Egyptian troops, trained upon the Macedonian model, marched from Alexandria under the command of Philopator himself. In the battle of Raphia, already noticed, fortune declared for Ptolemy; and the success of the Egyptians might have been still more signally continuous, had not the indolence of Ptolemy induced him to hasten homewards to a life of luxury and inglorious ease. The vice and the effeminacy of Philopator mark the commencement of the decline of the kingdom of Egypt, which from this period experienced a rapid fall. Notwithstanding his degraded moral position, Philopator encouraged the literary institutions of Alexandria. To the Romans, during their struggle with Carthage, he sent large supplies of corn. While ambitious of exhibiting his wealth, he was one of the first who constructed ships of vast magnitude, one of which was propelled by forty banks of oars. His successor, Ptolemy Epiphanes, was a mere child —a circumstance which appears to have suggested to the king of Syria and to Philip of Macedon the ungenerous project of seizing upon his dominions. The former, at the head of a victorious army, and the latter having under his command the finest fleet at that time on the sea, proceeded without delay to accomplish their scheme of partition. Antiochus met but little resistance in his

Ptolemy Epiphanes.



Ptolemy Epiphanes.

B.C. 202. invasion of Cœle-Syria and Palestine; and Philip reduced the greater part of the cities in Asia Minor which belonged to the crown of Egypt, as well as several of the islands on the Grecian coast, which had now during a long period of time acknowledged the sway of the Ptolemies. In the prosecution of his ambitious plans, however, the Macedonian excited the enmity of the Rhodians, who, inviting the co-operation of Attalus, the king of Pergamus, put to sea with a large navy, and engaged his fleet in the bay of Casyste. Their success, indeed, was not equal to their zeal; but the interference of the Romans, who already affected to act as the protectors of Greece, repressed the selfish policy of Philip, and called his attention to the safety of his paternal dominions.

B. C. 198. As Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Egyptians were all in alliance with the Romans, the late unprovoked war on the kingdom of the young Ptolemy, and the subsequent aggression on the territory of Pergamus, afforded a sufficient pretext to the republicans of Italy for interfering with the projects of Antiochus, as well as with those of Philip. Attalus, indeed, entreated his powerful allies to send their legions into Asia Minor to protect his country against the Syrians, or else to relieve him from the pressure of the war with the Macedonians. But the Romans were not yet quite prepared to accept the invitation. They pretended to consider Antiochus as their ally, and remonstrated against the use of arms until the more gentle methods of conference and solicitation should have been tried. An embassy was accordingly despatched to Antioch, informing the Syrian monarch that his hostilities in Asia Minor were far from being agreeable to the republic; that the enemies of Syria were the friends of Rome, and must be protected; and that if he wished to avoid the resentment of the Roman senate and people he must forthwith recal his troops from Pergamus, as well as from all the Grecian dependencies of Egypt.

Antiochus defeats Scopas.

Antiochus complied so far with the request of these warlike umpires as to withdraw his army from Asia Minor. His motive, however, for this important step was not to gratify the Romans, nor to relieve the fears of their client, the king of Pergamus. He had heard of preparations in Egypt for depriving him once more of his favourite provinces, Palestine and Cœle-Syria. Scopas, an Ætolian chief, had been sent to raise an army among his hardy countrymen, and was now on his march to attack the colonies which we have just named, at the head of a considerable force of Greeks and Egyptians. Antiochus did not give them time to extend their ravages, or to increase their ranks among his Syro-Phœnician subjects. He advanced against Scopas, defeated him in a memorable battle, near the foot of Mount Panius, compelled him to take refuge in Sidon, a place of some strength, and afterwards to surrender with his army at discretion.

B. C. 197. Antiochus, unwilling to relinquish his claims on the provinces of Asia Minor and the cities of Greece, which seemed still to belong to

him as the successor of Seleucus Nicator, prepared, in the spring, a large fleet and a powerful land force, to pursue his designs on the shores of the Ægæan. He sent his army to Sardis under the command of his two sons Ardyes and Mithridates, whilst he conducted in person a hundred galleys to Ephesus, where he established his head-quarters. To prevent all interruption that might arise on the part of Egypt, he entered into a friendly correspondence with that kingdom, and concluded with the regency a treaty of marriage between the young Epiphanes and his daughter Cleopatra, binding himself to transfer with the bride, when the parties came of age, the long-disputed provinces of Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria. B. C. 197.

No sooner had Antiochus collected his forces in the Grecian sea, than he proceeded to attack certain strongholds in Mysia and Caria, which had formerly belonged to Macedon. He next directed his generals to besiege Smyrna and Lampsacus, whilst he himself, crossing the Hellespont, advanced into Thrace, and made himself master of the Chersonesus. Finding Lysimachia in ruins, he began to rebuild its walls, and to repair its fortifications, that, as the heir of Seleucus, he might thence issue his commands to the warlike Thracians, who had long been accustomed to acknowledge a ruler in one of Alexander's successors. **Attacks the fortresses of Mysia and Caria.**

Whilst these things were in progress, the Isthmian games were announced at Corinth, and were attended, as usual, by representatives from all the kings and states which claimed any connection with Greece. The Roman proconsul appeared in the name of his republic, as the liberator and protector of the whole Grecian commonwealth, and made known that he was ready to hear the ambassadors from the several powers which were either at actual war, or had controversies to determine. The envoy of Antiochus was heard at considerable length in defence of the measures which his master was pursuing; but the Roman replied to his numerous arguments by a declaration that the conduct of the king of Syria was offensive to the people and senate of Rome, that his conquests must be relinquished, and his troops withdrawn within the limits of his Asiatic dominions. A conference was afterwards held in the camp of Antiochus, in which he renewed the reasoning which his ambassador had employed at Corinth, and in which his arguments were again met, on the part of the Roman commissioners, by the same declarations and threatenings which had been used on that occasion. As nothing was to be gained from men who had been instructed to make no concessions, and to put their chief confidence in the power of the sword, which they knew was about to be drawn, whatever might be the result of their deliberations, Antiochus broke up the meeting with an expression of displeasure, intimating that he had no intention of submitting his interests to the Romans either as judges or as umpires. B. C. 196. **Discussions between Antiochus and the Romans.**

We take leave of Antiochus for the present, to resume the narrative of events in connection with Egypt.

EGYPT.

B. C. 283. Ptolemy Philadelphus had been somewhat accustomed to the exercise of power before the reins of government were entirely left in his hands by the death of his father. The insulated position of Egypt, and its great natural defences, protected it successfully from the devastation of the Gauls, whose power was so terribly felt in Macedon and in the Lesser Asia; whilst the wise policy pursued by the first Ptolemy had secured for his kingdom a vast accession of inhabitants, of commercial industry, and of military power. Philadelphus, therefore, upon ascending the throne, found himself one of the greatest monarchs of his age, having, besides the kingdom of Egypt, properly so called, the provinces of Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Cyrene, the island of Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the greater part of the Cyclades, subject to his dominion. The son of the renowned Soter was not, however, a warlike character. He cultivated the arts, and gave great encouragement to learning; but throughout his whole reign he appears to have been unwilling to attempt anything by arms which could possibly be obtained by treaties, or even by moderate concession. Upon hearing, for instance, of the great successes of the Romans against Pyrrhus, he sent ambassadors to them to congratulate them on their success, and to desire their friendship. The people of Rome, gratified by this mark of attention, and eager to gain a footing on the southern shores of the Mediterranean, made haste to despatch envoys to the court of Ptolemy, ostensibly to return the civilities of so great a monarch, but, in fact, to lay the foundation of that influence over the affairs of Egypt, which, at no distant period, rendered that kingdom an obedient ally, and afterwards a humble tributary to the republic of the Tiber.

History of Egypt.

Ptolemy Philadelphus.

The first war in which the forces of Philadelphus seem to have been employed, was that provoked by the ambition of Antigonus Gonatas in his attempt to reduce the Grecian states to the power of Macedon. The Egyptian fleet failed, indeed, of success in its endeavour to relieve Athens; but the armament gained considerable credit by adding to the dominions of its master some valuable towns, situated on the Thracian coast, as well as several islands in the Ægæan sea.

B. C. 264. The revolt of Magas, the governor of Cyrene, engaged the peaceful Ptolemy in a series of warlike operations, both against his rebellious brother and against Antiochus, whose sister, Apama, Magas had married. The occurrences which took place in the contest with Syria have been already described; and it has also been mentioned that the insurrection of Magas was finally compromised by a treaty, by which Berenice, the infant daughter of the governor of Cyrene, was betrothed to Ptolemy Euergetes, the son of Philadelphus. According to this arrangement, the young Euergetes received with his cousin Berenice the allegiance of Cyrene, and some dependent districts on the coast of Libya—a consummation which, by restoring peace at home, enabled

his father to devote his undivided attention to the pursuits of science, the decoration of his cities, and the internal improvement of his kingdom. There arose, after this, indeed, a war of considerable length between Syria and Egypt, excited by the violence of Apama, the mother of Berenice; but as Ptolemy did not take the field in person, the movements of his armies did not materially interfere with his benevolent schemes for extending commerce and agriculture among the industrious classes, and for promoting literature among the studious and wealthy. The great canal which he constructed between the Red Sea and the Nile proves at once his zeal and the high perfection to which the mechanical arts had attained; whilst his magnificent libraries, his schools, museum, and academies, and the numerous poets, historians, and philosophers who occupied or adorned them, attest his liberality and discernment of character. After a prosperous reign of thirty-eight years, Ptolemy Philadelphus yielded to the infirmities of nature, and left a powerful and very flourishing kingdom to his successor Euergetes.

B. C. 264. Advancement of the arts under his reign.

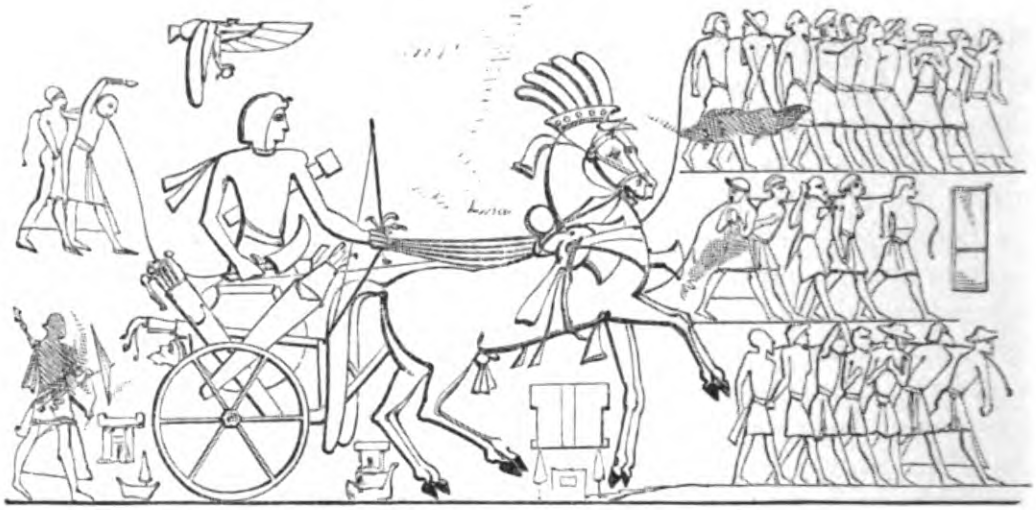


Berenice.

The new reign was clouded by a dark occurrence at Antioch, which again involved Egypt and Syria in war. It has been already related, that when peace was concluded between Antiochus and Philadelphus, the latter gave to the former his daughter Berenice in marriage, stipulating that the offspring of that union should succeed to the Syrian throne, though Antiochus had, by his wife Laodice, a son, already arrived at the age of manhood. The repudiated queen murdered her husband, and placed Seleucus on the vacant throne; who, in order to remove all competition on the part of Berenice and her child, made no scruple to deprive them both of life. Euergetes could not behold such proceedings unmoved. Advancing into Syria at the head of a powerful army, he took possession of the greater part of the country, which seems not to have been defended, and of the cities, the majority of which opened their gates at his approach. The important town of Seleucia Pieria, the seaport of the capital, fell into his hands: in the neighbourhood of which he was still further gratified with the apprehension of the cruel Laodice, at whose instigation his sister and nephew had lost their lives. The punishment of that unprincipled female seems, however, to have completely satiated his resentment; for, instead of securing his conquests in Syria, and achieving the entire humiliation of Seleucus, he led his army on a plundering expedition into the remote provinces of Asia, whence, as we have already stated,

B. C. 246. Succession of Ptolemy II. (Euergetes).

B. C. 246. he returned to the shores of Africa in triumph, laden with spoil and encumbered with Egyptian idols.



King returning with Captives.

B. C. 224. Soon after his reappearance in Egypt, Euergetes was solicited by Cleomenes, the king of Sparta, to grant the assistance of his arms in the struggle which that republic was then supporting with Antigonus, the ruler of Macedon, and with the members of the Achæan league. But the battle of Sellasia proved that the aid afforded was inadequate. Cleomenes fled to the banks of the Nile, where he found his august ally reposing under the successful banners of a numerous army, which he had just led home from the savage mountains of Æthiopia, whither his love of romantic conquests had conducted them. He appears to have penetrated into the interior provinces of Abyssinia, and to have subdued the rude tribes which dwelt on the shores of the Red Sea, levying on the unfortunate natives the most oppressive contributions in cattle, gold, perfumes, and other articles belonging to that valuable merchandise which the Æthiopians and Arabs had long carried on with their Egyptian neighbours. At Adulis, the principal seaport of Abyssinia, he collected his victorious troops, and pronounced to them a speech on the wonderful exploits which they had achieved under his auspices, and on the numerous benefits which they had thereby secured to their native country. The throne on which he sat, composed of white marble and supported by a slab of porphyry, was consecrated to the god of war, whom he chose to claim for his father and patron; and that the descendants of the vanquished Æthiopians might not be ignorant of their obligations to Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt, he gave orders that his name and principal triumphs should be inscribed on the votive chair. These inscriptions, it is worthy of remark, are still preserved, and constitute the only historical account that has reached these times of the Æthiopian warfare of this Egyptian monarch. About seven hundred years after the reign of Euergetes, they were

Conquest of Abyssinia.

first published in the *Topography* of Cosmus Indicopleustes, a Grecian monk, by whom they were copied on the spot. The traveller Bruce, moreover, informs that the stone containing the name of Ptolemy Euergetes, serves as a footstool to the throne on which the kings of Abyssinia are crowned at this day. Among the ruins of Axum, too, the ancient capital of that country, various fragments of marble have been found, bearing the name and title of the same Egyptian sovereign. This empty fame, however, is the only return that ever recompensed the toils of Euergetes among the fierce barbarians of the south.

B. C. 224. Existing memorials of this conquest.

About this period three kings succeeded to their respective thrones, all of which had been founded by the successors of Alexander; namely, Philip IV. to the Macedonian, Antiochus III. to the Syrian, and Ptolemy Philopator to the Egyptian kingdom. The two last, whose dominions were almost contiguous, and whose interests were frequently opposed, soon found themselves in arms against each other. The king of Macedon was again fully occupied with the Gauls and Romans, and with such of the Grecian states as adhered to those invaders. Our historical notices, however, are in connection with Philopator, who appears soon to have confined his hostility against Antiochus to the encouragement which he afforded to Achæus, the rebel satrap, who had usurped the sovereignty of certain provinces in Asia Minor. It was not till the Syrian monarch returned from his expedition into Media, and had obtained from the treachery of Theodotus possession of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, that the military power of Egypt was called into exertion.

B. C. 221.

We have already given an account of the battle of Raphia, which at once saved the kingdom of Ptolemy, and checked the growing ascendency of Antiochus. The victorious king remained several months in the provinces which he had thus regained, in which he seems to have been received with submission and loyalty by a people who, being accustomed to change masters according to the issue of a campaign or an intrigue, could not be supposed to entertain any deep sentiment of affection either for Syrian or Egyptian prince. The only remarkable event which occurred during the residence of Philopator in Syria, is the visit which he paid to the temple at Jerusalem. Struck with the solemn appearance of the holy fane, and still more with the veneration which was entertained for it by every pious Israelite, his curiosity was so far excited, that he insisted upon being admitted into all parts of the house, even into the holy of holies. The sequel of the story partakes somewhat of the marvellous; and the only part of it which admits of no doubt is the violent resentment which inflamed the breast of the king against the whole Jewish nation, as being implicated in the affront which he had sustained. He visited all Jews with the severest punishment, and disgraced his capital with criminality the most atrocious, and with the grossest vice. A civil war was the result, and thousands of his people perished under the hands of mercenary soldiers. The suppression of these tumults only paved the

B. C. 228. Ptolemy Philopator.

B. C. 228. way for a conspiracy against the royal advisers; and during the massacre that ensued Ptolemy Philopator was carried off by death, leaving his kingdom to a child about five years of age.

The minority of the young king was disturbed by several attempts and rumours of conspiracy, none of which appears to have had any foundation, except that which originated with Scopas, the Ætolian.

Ptolemy Epiphanes.

Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia had once more acknowledged allegiance to Antiochus; and the Egyptian ministers, as usual, entered into a resolution to take advantage of that monarch's absence in Thrace, in order to recover those disputed provinces for the crown of Alexandria. This attempt led to the battle of Panius, in which the forces of the regency sustained a signal defeat; but as the subsequent proceedings of Antiochus were modified by the ascendency of Roman influence, which, in like manner, gradually extended itself to Egypt, the history of Alexander's successors may now be regarded as concluded. From this time new views and new interests occupy the theatre of politics and of war in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The auspices of the Roman generals and proconsuls supersede henceforward the fortunes of Macedon, and the genius of Athens and Lacedæmon. The descendants of Æacus give place to the sons of Flaminius, Crassus, and Æmilius; and the glory of the legion is destined to eclipse the proud splendour of the phalanx. Even the fame of Alexander himself is almost equalled by the renown of Cæsar, as a skilful warrior and an expert politician; and the wide range of territory which was won by the Macedonian hero is surpassed by that which acknowledged the sway of the imperial eagle.

Battle of Panius. B. C. 198.





Corinth, from Acrocorinthus.

CHAPTER X.

ARATUS.

FROM B. C. 268 TO B. C. 213.

Constitution of the Grecian republics.

THERE is, perhaps, nothing in the whole compass of literature which so violently distracts the feelings of the reader between admiration and disgust as the history of the Grecian republics. The patriotism, the courage, the enterprising genius, the consummate ability which distinguished them in war; the activity and acuteness, the industry and taste displayed by them in all the arts of peace, have established them as the subjects of panegyric, and the models for imitation among all succeeding nations; while discord, rapine, and violence of every kind, proscriptions the most unjust, and revolutions the most bloody, continually occurring, excite a just horror in every virtuous mind, and reconcile to their lot those people who enjoy a less splendid reputation and less cultivated faculties under the peace and security of more settled governments.

The miserable prevalence of sedition and domestic warfare, which proved the scourge and the disgrace of Greece, is unquestionably attributable to the defect of her political constitutions: it is the inevitable result of a number of small independent states, in close contact with each other, yet united, for the most part, by no perceptible

B. C. 268. common interest, and stimulated to hostility by the predatory habits of the age, and by jealousies respecting the purity of their descent from the founders of the Hellenic family. Federalism is the only system which can, in any degree, bind the restless spirit of democracy; and so far was this system from being generally understood or desired in Greece, that the fundamental laws of almost all its republics tended directly to prevent its adoption. The ξενηλασία of the Spartans was, more or less, the recognised principle of every state; and all connection by marriage, or by the possession of property, with any adjoining city, was forbidden under severe penalties.

Project for its amendment.

The evil was seen and deplored by the wisest and best men of all ages; and great pains were taken, at various periods, to compose the jarring interests of the petty towns, by including them all under the supreme direction of two or three powerful states, with the title of allies. But the continual efforts of these greater powers to seduce or to compel the smaller republics from their allegiance to their rivals, and the violent political dissensions which thence arose in every town between the advocates of the opposing interests, proved a source of mischief no less extensive and fatal than the jealousies of the independent villages; and at length satisfied the impartial and reflecting portion of the people, that nothing but a confederacy on equal terms could ever produce lasting peace, and unite the whole Grecian name in one invincible league against foreign enemies. This liberal policy was of course opposed, and its success, in a great measure, defeated, by those overbearing states, which had long exercised an oppressive empire over the smaller republics, and which regarded with indignation every attempt to deprive them of their supremacy. The Olynthians, whose project for a free confederation appears to have been ably and generously planned, were almost immediately suppressed by the vigilant and ambitious power of Lacedæmon; and the Achæans had long been labouring to unite the interests of all Peloponnesus, before they could succeed in completing the celebrated League which bore their name. They met with determined opposition from Sparta, and still more from Macedon, now openly aspiring to the empire of Greece; and they had no statesmen among them of sufficient talents and courage to surmount these formidable obstacles.

Origin of the Achæan League.

B. C. 371.

Achæa was first reduced to the form of a kingdom by Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, who was expelled from Sparta on the return of the Heraclidæ. The crown descended regularly in the same family to Gyges, whose sons, according to Polybius,[1] aiming at absolute power, instead of being contented with the constitutional monarchy of their forefathers, occasioned a revolution, in which the government became democratical, and so continued, during all the changes in its foreign relations, until the power of Philip and of Alexander overwhelmed the freedom of Greece. The commonwealth comprised twelve towns, named Patræ, Dyme, Pharæ, Tritæa, Leontium, Ægira, Pellene,

[1] Lib. ii. 41.

Ægium, Bura, Ceraunia, Olenum, and Helice, the last of which was swallowed up by the encroachment of the sea. "They were governed by the same laws, administered by magistrates, counsellors, and judges elected in common; they used the same weights, measures, and coins; and, in short, might all have passed for one city, had they been contained by the same wall."[1] B. C. 371.

The supreme power of the League resided ultimately in the general assembly of deputies from each of the constituent states, which met twice every year, in the spring and in the autumn, and as often at other seasons as the exigency of affairs demanded. In this assembly was vested every function, both legislative and executive, as well as the appointment of all the officers of state. The first of these might be called the general or *stadtholder* of the League; he was elected annually, and could not hold his office more than twelve months consecutively. He was assisted by a cabinet of ten members, entitled Demiourgoi, without whose advice he could lay nothing before the assembly, and who formed a council of regency during his absence on military service. A similar constitution, on a smaller scale, was established in every town of the League, to administer its individual government, and to provide for the due execution of the laws. Its constitution.

It appears probable that these laws did not essentially differ from those of the "twelve tables," in their general spirit; but of their particular provisions we have only very vague and uncertain intimations. Some of those which regulated foreign relations and matters of state, appear to have been judiciously contrived to expedite business, and to preserve the purity of the administration. Among other ordinances it was provided, that if any person or city included in the League should accept a bribe, or enter into a negotiation, or contract an alliance with any foreign potentate, without the consent of the general assembly, the offender should be excluded from the confederacy; that no state should be admitted a member of the League without the unanimous approbation of the several cities; that the general assembly should not be specially convened to receive any embassy which had not been previously approved by the stadtholder and the Council of Ten; that no special meeting of the assembly should be competent to deliberate upon any business besides that for which it was convened; that every speaker in the house should furnish an abstract of his arguments in writing, that they might be reconsidered the next day; and that no discussion should be prolonged beyond three days.

The civil constitution of Achæa was not formed at one period, nor were all its provisions the result of a comprehensive general plan; it arose, like other useful and permanent systems, rather from circumstances than from design, and it was changed and modified as occasion required, or as inconveniences presented themselves. Its beneficial results were not so much produced by its form and regulations, as by that spirit of liberality and moderation with which it was long admi- Its extension.

[1] Polyb. lib. ii. 37.

B. C. 371. nistered; and when, after the death of Alexander, the Achæans became tainted by the spirit of mad ambition which desolated Greece, the union of their cities was speedily dissolved by the factions which prevailed among them. Some were garrisoned with Macedonian troops, and became dependent upon a foreign power; others were seized by a succession of military despots, who imitated, on a small scale, the ambitious schemes of the Macedonian tyrants. Under these unhappy circumstances the Achæans looked back, with bitter regret and repentance, to the peace and security of the ancient republic; and in the
B. C. 281. 124th Olympiad four of the principal towns, Dyme, Patræ, Tritæa, and Pharæ, formed a combination to restore it. About five years afterwards, the Ægians seized an opportunity of expelling their foreign garrison, and joined the League. The Burians, having risen upon their tyrant and put him to death, followed the example. Iscas, the despot of Carynia, observing the signs of the times, made a virtue of necessity, and, abdicating his sovereignty, united his city with the federalists; and thus the original constitution of Achæa was partially restored, and continued unchanged for five-and-twenty years, governed by one civil magistrate, called the Grammateus[1] (town clerk), and two military commanders, elected by the people for a limited period. At length some inconveniences having arisen from dissensions between the civil and military officers, the Achæans determined to lodge the whole power of the state in the hands of one chief magistrate, who should preside over all their affairs, both in peace and war; and their first
B. C. 259. choice fell upon Marcus of Carynia, who had been chiefly instrumental in inducing Iscas to lay down his usurped power.

B. C. 268. It was about nine years before this event that, during the troubles which agitated and almost destroyed the city of Sicyon, Abantidas, a popular demagogue, having assassinated Clinias, the chief of the aristocratical interest, and made himself master of the republic, endeavoured to confirm his power by extirpating the family of his rival.

Birth and childhood of Aratus.

But in the confusion which ensued, the son of Clinias, by Aristodama, a child seven years old, made his escape into the house of Soso, his uncle's widow, who was the sister of the usurper, but who espoused the political party of her late husband. Through her kindness the young Aratus was safely conveyed to Argos, to be there educated by the friends of his family, who took care to imbue him early with a rooted detestation of the opposite faction and of monarchical government, and to form him by all those athletic and active exercises which might qualify him to become a formidable avenger of his father's blood. And such was his youthful reputation for vigour and hardihood, for high spirit and love of enterprise, that the exiled Sicyonians of the aristocratical party began to entertain hopes of his ultimately achieving their restoration; and Nicocles, who had become tyrant of Sicyon, kept a watchful eye upon his movements.

His first design was to engage in his cause the states which had

[1] Polyb. lib. ii. 43.

been the allies of his father's administration; and he found means to apply to Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon, and to Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, for assistance. But though these princes entertained him with specious promises, they showed no disposition to take any active part in his restoration to his country; and he gave up the negotiation in disgust, not without showing some symptoms of juvenile petulance. B. C. 268.

He resolved, therefore, to depend upon his own resources, and upon the disaffection which was known to exist in Sicyon towards the government of Nicocles, who appears to have been of a weak and suspicious character, though, probably, not guilty of all the vices which historians, attached to the opposite faction, have thought fit to impute to him. In every state of Greece there was always a party ready to assist in effecting a revolution at home or abroad; and Aratus found no difficulty in engaging a considerable number of Argians in his service. With the exiles of Sicyon he had not equal success. They were principally persons of rank and family, who were unwilling hastily to commit their cause to an adventurer, scarcely twenty years of age, who had been, from his childhood, a stranger to his country. Of nearly 600 Sicyonians who lived in banishment, one only, of any note, appears to have joined him, and his example was followed by few even of the lower orders.

Conquest of Sicyon.

The genius of Aratus was more adapted for surprise and stratagem than for open warfare; and the present exigency of his affairs was calculated to exhibit his talents to the greatest advantage. With the trifling force at his disposal, of which slaves armed for the occasion



The Testudo.

B. C. 255. formed the greater part, he resolved on a daring attempt—no less than that of scaling the walls of Sicyon by night, and of proclaiming liberty to the citizens in the morning; trusting to the favourable disposition of the populace, and to the panic which would be excited among the troops and in the palace. The circumstances of the expedition detailed by Plutarch[1] are so improbable and puerile that it is a matter of astonishment how any writer could be induced to repeat them after him. Aratus must have had better assurance of co-operation within, and more friends among the guards of the city, than his biographer has chosen to acknowledge; and by these means he succeeded in introducing his followers into the town during the darkest portion of the night, and disarmed the household troops of the tyrant without resistance. At daybreak all was bustle and confusion; the citizens scarcely knew what had happened, or how to act; all rushed eagerly for information to the places of public resort; while Aratus was busy in proclaiming, "Liberty to Sicyon—Liberty achieved by Aratus, the son of Clinias—Liberty to the citizens!" Nicocles hearing this cry repeated, and observing that his guards were withdrawn from their posts, hastily quitted the palace, and by some subterranean passage effected his escape.

B. C. 255. The success of Aratus was now decided. No opposition was offered to him; and, if we may believe Plutarch,[2] not a life was lost. The fire which had been thrown into and had partly consumed the palace was speedily extinguished, and the plunder of the royal abode rewarded the enterprising followers of the expedition; but the wealth accumulated in the treasury was declared to be public property, and was preserved inviolate; the statues, paintings, and all other decorations of tyranny, were doomed to destruction; and among these are said to have been some specimens of art so exquisite that Aratus, who was a lover of painting, hesitated to order them to be defaced, whilst his friend Nealices the painter implored him with tears to spare them: but the spirit of party prevailed, and the pictures were destroyed.

The exiles were of course immediately restored to their country, but not to their property, which had passed into other hands, and could not be recovered from them without violence. The task of reconciling these discordant claims imposed such difficulties upon Aratus, to whom all looked for satisfaction, that he found his situation becoming every day more embarrassing. Discontent and faction prevailed in the city, and threatened a counter-revolution; whilst Antigonus, offended by the subversion of the monarchy, fomented these disorders, and watched for an opportunity to make himself master of the liberties of Sicyon.

B. C. 251. Aratus retires into Egypt. In this perplexity Aratus resolved to withdraw himself, for a time, from Sicyon, and to endeavour, by awakening Ptolemy's jealousy of the designs of Antigonus, to engage him to provide for the distresses

[1] Vita Arati. [2] Ibid.

of the citizens. But, previously to his departure, he was anxious that his country should become a member of the Achæan League, in order that if any attempt should be made upon it, in his absence, means of defence might be at hand. The Sicyonians, being of Doric origin, entered readily into his views, and the cities of the League were glad to increase their strength, in order to protect their independence against the encroachments of Antigonus, whose power in Greece, and especially in Peloponnesus, was daily becoming more formidable. Having carried this important measure without opposition, Aratus, previously to his departure, enrolled himself in the Achæan cavalry, and took an opportunity of showing his skill and discipline in a subordinate capacity, that he might lay a solid foundation for future power upon a reputation for military prowess, which his natural temper, rather delighting in intrigue than in personal conflict, little qualified him to maintain. Conceiving that he was now in no danger of being forgotten in his absence, he prepared for a voyage to Egypt, in order to solicit for his countrymen the liberality of Ptolemy, with whom, as a lover of the fine arts, he had held some intercourse concerning paintings and statues, which had led to warm professions of mutual regard. B. C. 251.

His misfortunes.

His voyage to Egypt was attended with unforeseen difficulties: he narrowly escaped being shipwrecked; and was near falling into the hands of the Macedonian garrison at Andria, which, he was apprehensive, might detain him till the pleasure of Antigonus should be known. After various delays, however, he at length landed safely in Egypt, and succeeded in obtaining from the liberality of the king, a hundred and fifty talents (about thirty thousand pounds) for the settlement of the claims of the Sicyonian exiles. Upon his return, he was appointed sole commissioner for the decision of all the numerous and perplexing causes arising out of claims, some of which were of fifty years' standing; but he declined to undertake singly so heavy a responsibility, and associated with himself, as assessors, fifteen of the most independent and popular citizens, with whose assistance he adjusted all the disputes between the contending parties to their entire satisfaction. Plutarch[1] asserts that, in addition to the vote of thanks bestowed on him in the national assembly, the restored exiles honoured him with a statue[2] of brass, bearing the following inscription:—

He returns to Sicyon.

Βουλαὶ μὲν καὶ ἀεθλὰ, καὶ ἃ ὑπὲρ Ἑλλαδὸς ἀλκὰ
Τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς στάλαις πλάθηται Ἡρακλίοῦς·
Ἄμμες δ' εἰκόν' Ἄρατι τιὰν, νόστοιο τυχόντες,
Στάσαμεν ἀντ' ἀρετᾶς ἠδὲ δικαιοσύνας
Σωτῆρος, σωτῆρσι θεοῖς ὅτι πατρίδι τᾷ σᾷ
Δαίμον' ἴσον, θείαν τ' ὤπασας εὐνομίαν.[3]

Plutarch, Vita Arati.

[1] Vita Arati.

[2] This statue, with that of Philopœmen, fell afterwards into the possession of Polybius. Excerpt. xxxi.

[3] The wise counsels, and patriotic labours, and the bravery displayed by this

B. C. 251. Difficulties of chronology. It is confessedly impossible completely to reconcile the chronology of Polybius with the narrative of Plutarch; and the attempt would only lead to interminable confusion. The Achæan historian compiled that portion of his history, which relates to the affairs of the League, from the *Commentaries* of Aratus himself; and he is remarkable for that accurate fidelity, in matter of fact, in which the biographer is so peculiarly deficient. From Polybius we learn that Aratus liberated Sicyon in the fourth year from the election of Marcus as sole general of the united states, that is, twenty-nine years after the restoration of the commonwealth; and that eight years afterwards he was "elected General the second time;" from which it has been hastily inferred that eight years intervened between his first and second election; whereas Plutarch[1] asserts that he was chosen two years consecutively. There is, however, nothing in the short sentence of Polybius[2] which necessarily contradicts the assertion of Plutarch; for the historian's meaning may be that Aratus was chosen general of the League, for the second time, eight years after the expulsion of Nico-
B. C. 248. cles; and if it be true that he served that office the first time in the year in which the Ætolians defeated the Bœotians at Chæronea, and
B. C. 247. the second time, eight years subsequently to the liberation of Sicyon, it will appear that the biographer is not in this instance at variance with the historian.[3]

Nor is it probable that the union of Sicyon with the League, the voyage to Egypt, the settlement of the exiles' claims, and the correspondence which ensued with Antigonus and Ptolemy, could all have occurred in so short a space as one year; or that so young a man

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man in defence of Greece, reach the pillars of Hercules, *i. e.* reach the highest point of human glory; and we, who have gained our return to our country through you, oh Aratus, have raised this statue of you, in reward of the valour and justice of our saviour; dedicating it to the gods our tutelar saviours, because you have given the same fortune to your country that you have to us, and divine excellence of laws.

In v. 2, πλάρεται has been altered to πλάθεται, I believe without MS. authority: but the one word is only a different form of the other. In v. 6, δαίμον' ἴσον has not much meaning, and Jacobs proposes ἁρμονίαν, *concord.*

[1] Vita Arati.

[2] Ὀγδόῳ δὲ πάλιν ἔτει στρατηγὸς αἱρεθεὶς τὸ δεύτερον. Polyb. ii. 43.

[3] In the year 268 B. C. Aratus was seven years old, and he conquered Sicyon when he was twenty, *i. e.* in 255 B. C. Now Marcus was elected general in 259 B. C., and Polybius tells us that it was *four* years after this election that the conquest of Sicyon took place; this therefore happened in 255 B. C. These dates correspond exactly. Two years were probably consumed by Aratus in effecting the junction of Sicyon to the Achæan League, in serving in the cavalry, in voyaging to Egypt, being shipwrecked, &c., so that he would return in 253 B. C. The duties of his commission would occupy time, so that the statue would not be erected before 252 B. C.—Query, might he not have been elected *general* for *this year*, and does not the inscription (τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς, &c.) somewhat show this? If he was elected a *second* time, *eight* years after the *first* appointment of Marcus, it would have been in the year 251 B. C.; in which case he would have been made *general* in *two consecutive years*, and Plutarch and Polybius agree.

as Aratus should have been elected to preside over the League, before his character as a statesman and general was known beyond the walls of his own city. It seems more likely that the accession of Sicyon to the Achæan confederacy took place B. C. 251,[1] four years after the expulsion of Nicocles; and that Aratus, whose reputation became, in consequence of that event, greatly extended, was chosen general, for the first time, three years afterwards. B. C. 247.

However this may be, it is admitted that the first year of his command was distinguished by no achievement of any importance. In the second he formed the bold and fortunate design of surprising the Acropolis of Corinth, at that time occupied by a strong Macedonian garrison, and guarded by Antigonus with that vigilance, which its importance, as the key of Peloponnesus, merited. Having corrupted the fidelity of some soldiers of the garrison, who had accidentally resorted to Sicyon, he prevailed upon one of them to accompany him as a guide, and setting out by night with four hundred men, who were kept in ignorance of the object of their march, he commanded the main body of the army to bivouac at a convenient distance from the scene of action. B. C. 243.

Surprise of the Acropolis of Corinth.

The enterprise was unquestionably attended with extreme hazard. It was necessary first to scale the walls of the lower town; and, after passing through the streets, to ascend, by a steep, narrow, and winding path among the rocks, the height on which stood the strong fortifications of the citadel. Aratus, whose chief military excellence was in the conduct of nocturnal expeditions, surmounted all these difficulties with extraordinary address. He posted three hundred men at the temple of Juno which stood near the eastern gate of the city; and as soon as the sea fog had obscured the brightness of the moon, he applied his ladders to the wall, and directed the party with him to ascend barefooted, in order to avoid noise, and to prevent them from slipping. In the meantime the confederates within had secured the guard of the gates and the patrol of the lower town, so that the whole party passed unobserved to the foot of the rock. At this moment they perceived four of the garrison patrol advancing towards them with a light; upon which Aratus concealed his men under the shadow of a wall, and suffered them to pass, intending to strike them down as they went by; but one of them, not being mortally wounded, escaped into the city as soon as the Sicyonians had passed on, and gave the alarm. Instantly the town was in an uproar, lights glanced in all directions, men half-armed ran to and fro, inquiring what had happened, women fled screaming to the temples, trumpets sounded to arms, but no one knew the extent of the danger, nor the place in which the enemy was to be found. The three hundred men, meanwhile, who were posted at the Heræum, had been admitted into the city by the conspirators, and were making their way after the general,

Perilous position of the ambuscade.

[1] Lempriere's Chronological Table. Lempriere, however, as well as Langhorne, places the reduction of the Acropolis B. C. 243.

B. C. 243. when the alarm, suddenly given, placed them in a situation of extreme difficulty and danger. They contrived, however, in the general confusion, to screen themselves from observation under the shelter of a projecting rock, where they waited, in anxious suspense, for some intimation which might direct their advance or retreat. Nothing could have proved more fortunate than their accidental position; for as Archelaus, the captain of the guard, passed hastily by in pursuit of Aratus without observing them, they fell upon his troops as from a concerted ambuscade, and routed them with considerable slaughter. Aratus was consequently enabled to follow the craggy and intricate path which his guide pointed out to him, and ascend without interruption to the fortifications above, which, however, there could no longer be any hope of taking quietly: the garrison had been roused by the tumult in the town below, and a severe action took place upon the low part of the wall, which Aratus attempted to scale. He instantly despatched his guide to order the remainder of his party to come up, who flushed with their recent good fortune, and animated by the warlike cries of their comrades on the citadel, hastily climbed the rock, and joined in the combat. The garrison, astonished at this accession of numbers, and pushed with redoubled vigour by the assailants, gave way on every side; and "the first rays of the morning sun," says Plutarch,[1] "gilded the victory of Aratus," who obtained possession of the citadel at the same moment that the main body of the army, arriving according to his orders at the gates of the lower town, was admitted, and thus prevented the escape of the fugitives.

The garrison is surprised.

This is perhaps one of the most brilliant exploits of the kind recorded in history; and the Corinthians were fully sensible of the merit of the general, and of the value of their deliverance from a foreign yoke. They overwhelmed him with tumultuous applause; and it was long before he could obtain a hearing in the theatre, where the whole body of the people had assembled to see him. As soon as order was, in some measure, restored, he gave up to the popular assembly the keys of their city, of which they had not been possessed for nearly a century, and earnestly recommended that they should unite themselves to the Achæan League. The proposal was readily adopted by all the parties concerned, and an Achæan garrison took possession of the Acropolis.

The consequences of this success were immediately felt throughout Greece. Megara, throwing off its connection with Macedon, joined the confederacy; Trœzene and Epidaurus made overtures of alliance; and the isthmus being commanded by Aratus, he was enabled, at pleasure, to ravage the territory of the adverse states, and to extend the connections of the League, both on the mainland and in the Peloponnesus. The spirit and energy of the Achæans rose in proportion as they felt emancipated from the narrow boundaries to which

Advantages resulting from it to the League.

[1] Vita Arati.

the jealousy of Antigonus had confined them; and the general was so popular that they resolved to elect him every alternate year.[1] B. C. 243.

Aratus, thus in effect at the head of the League, though Ptolemy, king of Egypt, was for some time complimented with the title of patron or protector, exerted himself to comprise in it as many of the states of Greece, and especially of Peloponnesus, as could be prevailed upon to dismiss their petty tyrants, and to adopt a popular form of government. He was particularly desirous to effect a revolution in Argos; but it is evident, even from the admissions of Plutarch, that the Argians were by no means generally disaffected to their existing government, and that the zeal of Aratus prompted him to very unjustifiable measures in order to subvert the monarchy. In the war which ensued with Aristippus, the sovereign of Argos, Aratus, though ultimately victorious by means of a successful stratagem, still lost considerable reputation by his want of personal courage and of presence of mind in danger; and the confidence of his troops in his ability fell in proportion. In negotiation he had better fortune. The city of Cleonæ was added to the confederacy; and Lysiades, tyrant of Megalopolis, observing that he was likely to become the next object of attack, voluntarily abdicated his power, and associated the Megalopolitans with the League: in consideration of which good example he was thrice chosen general; but, by his ill-timed ambition, he involved the united states in hostilities with Sparta, by which his own country was inevitably the greatest sufferer.

Ætolian invasion.

The restless spirit of the predatory Ætolians, at this time, afforded an opportunity to Aratus of recovering his military reputation. The enemy having marched towards the isthmus in a strong body, he was earnestly pressed by his own officers, and by his allies, to engage before entering into Peloponnesus; but he was resolved, since the harvest was nearly over,[2] to suffer the invaders to divide their strength and relax their discipline in pursuit of booty, and then to attack them at advantage. Accordingly, having learned that they were engaged in sacking Pellene, he hastened thither with extraordinary expedition, and arriving before they had time to close the gates against him, put seven hundred of them to the sword, and restored the town to the inhabitants. The prudence, vigour, and activity which he displayed in this enterprise have been highly and justly commended,[3] and the exploit formed the subject of one of the finest pictures of Timanthes.

Attempts on Athens.

Repeated attempts had been made, both by negotiation and by force, to induce Athens to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and to become one of the united states. Aratus, in his 'Commentaries,'[4]

[1] From this arrangement it appears that there must have been a revival of the ancient law that no stadtholder should continue in power more than twelve months. On what particular occasion it was revived does not appear; but that it had been for some time disregarded is clear from Polybius, who states that Marcus was in office four years.

[2] Plutarch, Vita Agidis.

[3] Polyb. lib. iv. 8; Plut. Vita Arati.

[4] Plut. Vita Arati and Vita Cleomenes.

B. C. 243. dwells upon the hazards and fatigues which he underwent in endeavouring to surprise the Piræus, and acknowledges that the Athenians seemed to rejoice in his discomfiture. At length he discovered that the Macedonian governor was accessible by bribery; and he induced that venal officer to suffer the democratic party at Athens to seize the fortifications, by a douceur of a hundred and fifty talents (about 30,000*l.*), of which the greater part was paid by Aratus himself, who had already incurred large expenses in the reduction of Corinth.

B. C. 243. After the death of Demetrius, who had succeeded his father Antigonus on the throne of Macedon, Antigonus the Third (being declared protector of the kingdom during the minority of his nephew Philip, the son of Demetrius) married the queen dowager and usurped the crown. The influence of the Macedonian court being weakened by these changes, the petty tyrants of Greece, who had depended upon Demetrius to support them in power, became alarmed for their safety; and Xenon of Hermione, Cleonymus of Phlius, and even Aristomachus of Argos, were induced to follow the example of Lysiades, and to unite their several cities to the Achæan League. The last of these princes, however, availed himself of the first opportunity which offered to resume his power and to renew his former political connections; for which offence he, some years afterwards, suffered a cruel and ignominious death by the order of Aratus.

Intrigues against the League.

This rapid progress of the League, and the power and prosperity which the united states enjoyed under their present administration, began to excite a very extensive feeling of jealousy, not only throughout Greece, but among the adjoining nations. The Ætolians, who, during the life of Demetrius, had been in close alliance with the Achæans, and were indebted to them for prompt and effectual assistance at the time of the Macedonian invasion, began now to be apprehensive that the peace and good order introduced by the federal principle might prove an obstacle to those predatory excursions to which they were peculiarly addicted; and though the memory of recent services kept them from acts of open hostility, they are said[1] to have negotiated with Cleomenes, king of Sparta, and with the young prince Antigonus, with a view of forming an extensive combination for the suppression of the confederacy. In order to open a way for this negotiation, the Ætolians not only suffered the violation of their frontier by the troops of Cleomenes without remonstrance, but even yielded to him three most important places, Tegea, Mantinea, and Orchomenus, that he might be better prepared to cope with Aratus.

Measures of Aratus for its support.

These circumstances were not likely to escape the sagacity of so profound a politician as Aratus, who felt the importance of the conjuncture, and endeavoured to provide against the danger. He saw that, notwithstanding the recent accession of several states to the League, the Achæans were by no means strong enough to contend against so many enemies at once; and he could not but be aware

[1] Polyb. ii. 45.

that, in the event of hostilities with Sparta, the local situation and the interests of Megalopolis would, in all probability, detach it from the confederacy, and throw the power of that state into the scale of the enemy. B. C. 243.

Alliance with Antigonus.

He resolved, therefore, if possible, to throw the Achæans into the arms of Antigonus; and to persuade that young prince that his interest plainly required him to forget family feuds, and to check the avaricious temper of the Ætolians, and the still more dangerous ambition of the Spartan king, which otherwise would not fail to drive him entirely out of Greece. Many reasons, however, concurred to render Aratus unwilling that overtures towards an alliance with Macedon should appear to originate with himself; and he had recourse to that indirect policy for which his wily nature peculiarly fitted him. He prevailed upon two young Megalopolitans of rank, with whom he was intimately acquainted, to move the authorities of their own city to send them as deputies to the general assembly of the Achæans, with instructions suited to his purpose; and, upon their arrival, he so contrived with the leading men of the League, that the same persons were despatched, with permission to treat with the Macedonian court for the protection of Megalopolis. Tutored by Aratus, they found little difficulty in gaining over Antigonus to their wishes, and they returned, charged by him to assure the Achæans, and Aratus in particular, of his eagerness to cultivate their friendship. Having secured this important point, Aratus felt less unwilling to encounter the bold and enterprising genius of Cleomenes, who, having a design to restore the ancient Spartan discipline, and to recover the original prerogatives of the crown, was making rapid strides towards the re-establishment of the former supremacy of Lacedæmon in Peloponnesus. Among other unequivocal marks of determined hostility to the Achæans, he had seized and fortified the temple of Minerva, near Belbina, in the territory of Megalopolis, for the avowed purpose of annoying that people, in retaliation for their having joined the League; and Aratus was prevailed on by Aristomachus, at this time general of the Achæans, to support a resolution of the assembly for declaring war against Sparta. The Megalopolitans moved that Antigonus should immediately be requested to send an army into Peloponnesus; but Aratus, who knew that the Macedonian prince would require terms extremely humiliating to him, and injurious to the honour and interests of the League, was anxious to dissuade them from so hasty a measure; and he represented to them that, since they had succeeded in detaching Macedon from the coalition against them, they had no longer the same reason to distrust their own resources; and that it would be impolitic to expose themselves to the ambition of their new ally, till they should find that they were unable to defend themselves without his assistance.

War against Sparta.

B. C. 227.

Defeats of the Achæans.

But, notwithstanding all this caution and duplicity, it could not be concealed from Ptolemy that the Achæans, while they affected to

B. C. 227. honour him with the title of their patron, had, in effect, placed themselves under the protection of a rival power; and he was consequently induced to send succours and supplies to Cleomenes, which enabled him to take the field with a more numerous and well-appointed army than Aratus had anticipated. The result was such as might have been expected. Aratus proved no match for Cleomenes in open war. The Achæans were everywhere defeated. At Lycæum they were so completely routed, that Aratus was missing and reported among the killed; but, with his usual adroitness, he took advantage of this circumstance to collect a few troops, and to surprise Mantinea; of which, however, Cleomenes did not long suffer him to retain possession. In a pitched battle, which occurred soon afterwards, in the Laodicean district of Megalopolis, he refused to support Lysiades, who had commenced a successful attack upon the enemy's camp, and who was in consequence cut off with the whole of his detachment, and fell, fighting gallantly to the last, while his superior officer looked on without attempting to relieve him. In a third action, at Hecatombæum, in the Dymæan territory, the Achæans, who had brought their whole force into the field, were entirely cut to pieces, and left without an army. Aratus incurred great odium on account of these miscarriages, and especially for having suffered the destruction of Lysiades, which was attributed to private pique as well as to personal cowardice; and Plutarch[1] asserts that a strong vote of censure was passed in the assembly upon his conduct.

The time had now arrived for calling in the aid of Antigonus; but Aratus felt extreme unwillingness to acknowledge that the condition upon which it must be obtained was the surrender of the citadel of Corinth, the taking of which from the Macedonians had been the most glorious achievement of his life. Whilst he was hesitating to propose this measure to the assembly, he sent his son, the young Aratus, into Macedonia, to assure the king of his readiness to comply with his terms, and to give hostages for the fidelity of the Achæans. In the meanwhile, the people of Corinth took the alarm from the recollection of the former tyranny of the Macedonians, and having hastily ordered the Achæans to march out of their city, they invited Cleomenes to take the command of their fortifications. On this occasion, according to Plutarch,[2] Aratus effected his escape, not without difficulty (so incensed were the Corinthians by what they deemed his treachery), and his property was protected from plunder only by the generous interference of the Spartan king. Afterwards, when the people ascertained that the young Aratus had remained as a hostage in Macedonia, they insisted upon confiscating this property, and making a grant of the estate to Cleomenes.

Indignation of the Corinthians.

Power of Sparta.

The Spartans, meanwhile, partly by force, and partly by the reputation of their splendid success, had become masters of several of the most important places in the confederacy. Caphyæ, Pellene, Pheneus,

[1] Vita Arati. [2] Ibid.

Phlius, Cleonæ, Epidaurus, Hermione, Trœzene, and even Argos, had submitted to the conqueror; who having, besides, gained possession of the lower town of Corinth, and having blocked up the Achæan garrison in the citadel, was in a condition to give laws to the whole of Peloponnesus. The political sagacity of Aratus, however, prevented the consolidation of that power which seemed threatening to overwhelm Greece; by his advice, Antigonus, who had been refused permission to march through Ætolia, embarked his army in transports, and sailing by Eubœa,[1] landed unexpectedly near the isthmus, whilst Cleomenes was laying siege to Sicyon. B. C. 227. Advance of Antigonus.

Aratus is severely censured in this place by his biographer,[2] first, for declining the office of general, which he had been in the habit of filling every other year; and, secondly, for not conferring it upon Cleomenes, who, by this expedient, would have become the ally and protector of the League. But upon reflection, the impartial historian must acquit him of blame, in having declined to contend with a rival who had, in every rencontre, been an overmatch for him. To have made the king of Sparta general of the united states, would have been to restore at once the ancient supremacy of that domineering power, and would have given an irrecoverable blow to the liberties of Achæa, which Antigonus could never feel it his interest entirely to destroy, as long as the Achæans continued at enmity with Lacedæmon.

When Cleomenes was informed that the Macedonians were advancing towards the isthmus, he instantly raised the siege of Sicyon, and marched to defend Corinth; but Aratus, though inferior to him in the field, was enabled to atone for this deficiency by his vigilance and skill in negotiation. He made overtures to the democratical party at Argos, offering to depose Aristomachus, who had been restored to the tyranny, if they would admit a Macedonian garrison into their city; and the scheme was so well concerted with Aristoteles, the leader of the party, that the Lacedæmonian garrison was besieged in the citadel, and fifteen hundred Macedonians, under Aratus, were transported by sea to Epidaurus, on their way to Argos, before Cleomenes was aware of his danger. His operations against Antigonus had, upon the whole, been attended with considerable success; but, by this masterly manœuvre of Aratus, he found himself in danger of being completely surrounded, and of having all his communications cut off and his supplies intercepted. With his characteristic promptitude he quitted his lines, and hastened to relieve his garrison at Argos. By a forced march he arrived there before Aratus, and obtained some advantage over him; but perceiving that Antigonus hung upon his rear, he was under the necessity of retiring to Mantinea; where, finding his troops greatly disheartened by his failure, he broke up his camp and marched home. Antigonus, left without an opponent, placed a garrison in the Corinthian citadel, and proceeded to Argos; and everything having succeeded to his wish, he led his army into Arcadia, and, storming Recapture of Corinth.

[1] Polyb. ii. 52. [2] Plut. Vita Arati.

B. C. 227. the Lacedæmonian fortresses recently erected there, delivered them up to the Megalopolitans. Thence he hastened to attend the convention of the general assembly at Ægium, and by his eloquence and liberal sentiments he gained so much popularity with the Achæans, that he was chosen commander-in-chief of all their forces; upon which he placed his troops in winter quarters at Sicyon and at Corinth.

Antigonus chosen general of the League.

As soon as the season for action commenced, the Macedonian troops were led into the field, and joining the Achæans at Tegea, compelled that city to surrender. Antigonus, leaving a garrison to secure the Tegeans in obedience, advanced by rapid marches into Laconia (where Cleomenes was expecting his approach), and avoiding a general action, he harassed the Spartan army by continual skirmishes, with the view, according to Polybius,[1] of ascertaining what impression could be made upon it by his Macedonians. Having learned, in the midst of these operations, that Cleomenes was assisted by the Orchomenians, this active general marched to surprise Orchomenus, and took it by assault.[2] Encouraged by this success, he laid siege to Mantinea,[3] which surrendered, after a short resistance; and he then proceeded to invest Herea and Telphusa, the inhabitants of both which cities opened their gates at his approach. The autumnal assembly of the states was now at hand, and Antigonus returned to Ægium to be present at their meeting. So great was the confidence produced by his late achievements, and by the recovery of so many cities to the League, that he dismissed his Macedonian army, and ordered them home for the winter, whilst he remained to conduct the deliberations of the Achæan council, and to command their troops.

His continued successes.

No sooner was it known that the Macedonians were gone, than Cleomenes prepared to surprise Megalopolis, which, from its great extent and reduced population, was generally ill-guarded. In this bold attempt he succeeded, though not without great difficulty and danger; and whilst the impression of so unexpected an event was fresh on the minds both of the Spartans and of the enemy, he pushed forward almost to the gates of Argos, where Antigonus resided, and ravaged the country, hoping to provoke him to an engagement on very unequal terms. But his own prudence, or the cautious counsels of Aratus, preserved the Macedonian king from falling into the snare, and he suffered the Lacedæmonians to return home unmolested, having gained little real advantage by their hazardous expedition. In the spring the Macedonian troops returned in great force, and being joined by the Achæans from their various winter quarters, Antigonus put himself at their head, and defeated Cleomenes in the celebrated battle of Sellasia, where the power and glory of Sparta were for ever extinguished, and all the apprehensions of the Achæans from that quarter were finally set at rest.

Battle of Sellasia.
B. C. 222.

[1] Lib. ii. 54.

[2] Of this city and of Corinth he retained possession as long as he lived.—Polyb. iv. 6.

[3] From this period called Antigonea.

This gallant and high-minded prince, to whom they were so deeply indebted, appears to have entertained no designs hostile to their liberty. He was too candid to conceal his prepossessions in favour of monarchical government, or his ardent admiration of some of those brave and enlightened princes, whose statues, destroyed by the republican zeal of Aratus, he took pleasure in restoring. But, though these differences of sentiment created some temporary uneasiness, Antigonus left Greece, carrying with him the sincere esteem of Aratus, and the grateful attachment of all his allies.[1] Unhappily for all parties, he carried with him also the seeds of a mortal distemper, which he too rashly disregarded; and soon after his return, cheering his men in a victorious charge against the Illyrians, he ruptured a large vessel in the lungs, and died from the effusion of blood.

B. C. 222. Character of Antigonus III.

His death.

On the death of Antigonus, his nephew Philip succeeded to the throne of Macedon; but no immediate change took place in the political relations of Greece. This prince had been intimately connected with the younger Aratus, and had professed for him the warmest regard; but he had always entertained a distrust of the father, whose republican principles offended his pride, and whose tergiversation excited his suspicion. On his accession he became cold towards his Achæan friends, who had accustomed themselves to place too much reliance on foreign protection; and the Ætolians, who had been compelled to sue for peace after the defeat of Cleomenes, now ventured to resume their predatory habits, and to make incursions into the territories of the neighbouring states. They began by seizing Clarium, a fortress in the Megalopolitan country, which they made their headquarters, and thence infested the neighbourhood with perpetual robberies; but Timoxenus, the general of the League, with the assistance of Taurio, who had been appointed lieutenant by Antigonus, stormed the place and dispersed the garrison. After this commencement of hostilities, Dorimachus and Scopas, who commanded the Ætolian forces, thought fit to suspend their operations till the term for which Timoxenus held his office was nearly closed: intending to take advantage of that inactivity which usually prevailed in the army while the command was passing into new hands. Accordingly, a few days before Timoxenus resigned his staff, they commenced a violent and sudden attack upon the lands of Patræ and Pharæ, and extended their ravages to the precincts of Messene; the inhabitants not venturing to offer any resistance. When the states assembled as usual at Ægium, deputies from all these towns attended to complain of the injuries they had received; and the assembly issued orders to their general to repress the insolence of the Ætolians. Timoxenus, unwilling to hazard, on the event of a battle at the close of his year, the reputation which he had previously gained, declined to march against them; but Aratus, who was appointed to succeed him, indignant at the conduct of the enemy, and commiserating the sufferings of the Messenians, antici-

Coldness of Philip towards the League.

B. C. 220.

The Ætolians renew their incursions.

[1] Polyb. ii. 70.

B. C. 220. pated, by five days, the legal period of his command, and taking the staff of office from Timoxenus, issued his orders to the Achæan troops and their allies to assemble at Megalopolis.

As soon as he found himself at the head of a considerable army, he sent a herald to Dorimachus and Scopas, desiring them to quit the territory of the united states, on pain of being treated as enemies. The Ætolian generals, perceiving that Aratus was in great force, sent for their vessels, and prepared to embark the booty they had collected; and Aratus, after waiting only two days, became the dupe of appearances, and disbanding the main body of his army, marched, with three thousand infantry, three hundred cavalry, and the detachment under Taurio, for Patræ. The Ætolians, who instantly perceived their advantage, marched in pursuit, and pitched their camp at Methydrium. Upon this, Aratus inconsiderately altered his route, and encamped at Caphyæ, and upon seeing the enemy advance towards Orchomenus, he drew up his line in order of battle upon the bank of a river, in a strong situation. The enemy, not daring to assail his position, endeavoured to gain some high ground in the neighbourhood; an advantage which Aratus despatched his cavalry and light infantry to prevent: an action ensued, in which the Achæans were defeated with severe loss, and escaped entire destruction only by taking refuge in the neighbouring fortified places. The Megalopolitans, who arrived the next day to their assistance, were employed in burying the dead; and the Ætolians pursued their march through Peloponnesus in triumph, plundering the country as they passed.

They defeat the Achæans.

Upon the news of this disaster the states were convened, and several charges were preferred against Aratus for conduct unworthy of a general. First, that he had assumed the command of the army before he was legally entitled to it. Secondly, that he had disbanded his troops in face of the enemy. Thirdly, that he had risked an action with so small a force, when he might easily have withdrawn into Orchomenus or Caphyæ, and waited for succours. The last and weightiest charge was, that in the battle he had neglected to advance his heavy-armed troops, of whom the enemy stood in dread, and had trusted the event of the day to his cavalry and light infantry, whom he sent into action upon unfavourable ground.

Trial of Aratus.

To these charges he replied generally, that whatever might have been his errors of judgment he was free from criminal intention or negligence; and he concluded by reminding the states of his past services, and entreating that they would not judge him in a vindictive spirit. The assembly, sensibly touched by this appeal, acquitted him of blame, and again intrusted the direction of their affairs to his guidance.

During several seasons which followed, the Ætolians continued to make incursions into Peloponnesus; and though the assembly of the states sent for succours to Philip, and to their other allies, and enabled Aratus and other generals to appear at the head of very formidable armies, nothing effectual was done to repress the invaders.

At length Philip, ashamed of this inactivity, came in person to Corinth to take the command of the allied army. He found Peloponnesus divided into parties, and Sparta, which had been reduced, after its capture by Antigonus, to the form of a republic, torn by intestine faction. The Ætolians, professing the most peaceable dispositions, omitted no opportunity of plundering the allies; and the Achæans were more willing to purchase the assistance of Macedonian troops by disgraceful concessions than to undergo the fatigues and dangers of an irregular campaign. The young king exerted himself with great spirit to remedy these disorders, and exhibited many indications of vigour and generosity; but he failed to produce any permanent change in the state of affairs. His inexperience and his evil counsellors led him to distrust Aratus, whose prudence and sagacity would have extricated him from many of the difficulties in which he became involved; he openly quarrelled with the younger Aratus, recently chosen general of the League, whose wife he had basely corrupted,[1] and he entered into the schemes of interested persons in order to make himself absolute throughout Greece.

B. C. 220. Conduct of Philip.

Matters were in this situation when the two Arati determined to seek an explanation with the king, in which, after a violent altercation with Apelles, his prime minister, they succeeded in opening his eyes to the falsehood and treachery of the party by whose advice he had acted; and Aratus had the satisfaction of persuading him to dismiss his Macedonian army, and to spend the winter with his Grecian friends at Argos.[2] A cordial reconciliation was the result, and preparations were made for active operations in the ensuing spring. Eperatus was chosen general of the League; but he was a man of no talents nor energy of character, and the whole resources of the states were placed at the disposal of Philip, who, assisted by the experience and sagacity of Aratus, conducted the campaign with distinguished address and courage, and obtained a decisive advantage over the Ætolians, the Eleans, and the Lacedæmonians, who were combined against him. His success would have been more brilliant, had it not been in part frustrated by the cabals of Apelles and his faction, whose jealousy of Aratus at length led them to such outrageous behaviour that their deep-laid treachery was discovered, and the principal authors of the mischief were put to death.

Intrigues of his minister Apelles.

Frustrated.

The next year Aratus was again elected to the command. For some time all things succeeded to his wish, and the states of the League enjoyed comparative security under the protection of Macedon; but as Philip advanced in age, his ambitious passions became developed, and his pride could not brook the unpolished manner of Aratus, who frequently offended him by the freedom with which he expressed his opinions. Men not unusually profit by the admonitions which they resent; and though the king was for some time dissuaded from his impolitic intention of making war against Rome, he never forgave

[1] Livy, xxvi. 31; Plut. Vita Arati.

[2] Polyb. iv. 87.

B. C. 220. Aratus for having predicted his final overthrow in that contest. On one occasion Philip was advised by Demetrius of Pheræ[1] to place a garrison in Ithome, a fortress belonging to the Messenians; and having sacrificed to Zeus, he held the entrails of the victim in his hand, and turning to Aratus, who was present, asked his opinion of the will of heaven. Demetrius, interrupting him, exclaimed scornfully, "If you have the soul of a priest, lead away your troops; but if you have the spirit of a king, keep possession of the citadel, for you will never have such another opportunity of getting hold of the bull by both horns." By the bull, says Polybius,[2] he meant Peloponnesus, and by the two horns the citadels of Corinth and Ithome. Aratus remained silent; but the king pressing for his opinion, after some hesitation, he said, "If you can hold this fortress without violating your oath to the Messenians, it is unquestionably expedient. But if, in taking possession of it, you should lose that best guard of all your fortresses, the faith of treaties, which you inherited from Antigonus, it would be incomparably better to be true to your allies, and to relinquish the present object." Philip felt the force of the appeal, and yielded to it; but he felt also the censure which it conveyed, and his temper was irritated.

Jealousy of Philip.

Death of Aratus.

The ambition which he entertained to make himself master of Messenia now became the source of frequent altercations with Aratus and with his son, and produced at length so much mutual dislike that Philip desired nothing more than to be freed from their importunities; but there does not appear sufficient ground for the suspicion expressed by Aratus, and apparently believed by Polybius,[3] that the death of the Achæan prætor, which happened not long afterwards, was occasioned by a slow poison administered to him by Taurio at the instigation of the king. He died of a lingering distemper, accompanied with hæmoptoe, at Ægium, in the sixty-second year of his age, having served the office of general of the Achæan League seventeen times. The states vied with each other in evincing their sense of his merits and his services by the respect which they displayed for his memory; and his countrymen, according to the preposterous custom of the times, paid him divine honours as a saviour, and instituted annual games and solemnities, which were celebrated near his tomb in the most public part of the city. Some vestiges of these festivals remained in the time of Plutarch.

B. C. 213.

Polybius, who was himself an Achæan, and intimately acquainted with the friends and family of Aratus, has left a very impartial judg-

[1] In Thessaly.

[2] Lib. vii. 3.

[3] Lib. viii. 9. Plutarch, not content with this story, adds that the younger Aratus was also drugged with potions which deprived him of his intellect and inflamed his passions, so that his early death was counted a happy deliverance. But Polybius states that Aratus, son of Aratus the Sicyonian, was joined with his father Lycortas, and himself, in an embassy from the Achæan states to king Ptolemy, on account of the ancient friendship which had existed between his family and the Ptolemies. Excerpt. Polyb. lvii. Livy makes Aristænus say that Philip murdered both father and son, xxxii. 21.

ment of his talents and character. He represents him as superior to all the statesmen of his day in sagacity, penetration, and application to affairs, and singularly expert in concerting stratagems or planning a surprise; but in the field tardy and irresolute, apt to be deceived, and easily intimidated. His virtues and his vices were those of the age in which he lived. He was disinterested, patriotic, and generous, liberal to his friends, and faithful to his allies; but he was withheld by no scruples from the pursuit of his favourite political objects, and he deemed nothing cruel nor unjust which could be effected against tyrants. As an historian his reputation stood high with his contemporaries; and the reliance which Polybius places on his fidelity and accuracy, renders the loss of his 'Commentaries' a subject of profound regret to the lovers of history. B. C. 213.



Achæa.



Cleomenes, King of Sparta.

CHAPTER XI.

CLEOMENES.

FROM B. C. 235 TO B. C. 219.

State of Sparta at the accession of Agis.

THE institutions of Lycurgus, which had rendered Sparta at one time the most powerful state in Greece, were scarcely compatible with any considerable advancement in civilization, or any extended views of foreign policy. In the long wars with Persia, which sprang out of the impolitic ambition of the court of Sardis, the kings and the soldiers of Lacedæmon necessarily spent much of their time in Asia, and gradually acquired that taste for luxury and expense which distinguished their companions in arms. The insufficiency of their own resources obliging them to cultivate the alliance of Greeks and barbarians, and to employ mercenary troops, brought upon them the necessity of raising a revenue, and taught them the value of property and the uses of money. The consequences were a relaxation of ancient discipline both at home and abroad, neglect of the laws, and a contempt for those simple habits and that independent poverty which had once been the boast and the glory of Sparta. The corruption was not at first rapid, nor were there wanting men of virtue and abilities who strenuously resisted its progress; but the result was inevitable. The Agrarian law, which long preserved the aristocracy of Sparta distinct from the servile classes as a proud armed nobility disdaining mechanical employments or mercantile speculations, was repealed by the influence of Epitades, one of the Ephori, who is said to have been actuated by some private motive.[1] The habits of expense which had been introduced immediately occasioned many of the nobles to avail themselves of the power thus acquired to alienate their family estates, which were purchased by others who had been enriched by plunder in war, or by foreign

[1] Plutarch, in Agide.

connections. Property became engrossed by a few enormously wealthy families, whose sons were enervated by refinement; whilst the descendants of the impoverished aristocracy were confounded with the inferior classes, and were excluded, by the necesssity of earning a livelihood, from the liberal pursuits and the warlike exercises of their forefathers. When young Agis[1] came to the throne, there were, according to Plutarch,[2] no more than seven hundred families of the ancient Spartan race remaining, and of these scarcely a seventh part retained their patrimonial estates. The discontent and faction, inseparable from such a state of affairs, occasioned violent commotions and crimes formerly unknown to Lacedæmon; and the constitution was so much impaired that the kings had lost even the shadow of regal power, and were insulted and deposed, banished and recalled, at the pleasure of the Ephori,[3] who exercised the whole authority of government. Agis, who was himself among the richest individuals of Lacedæmon, and whose family enjoyed even larger possessions than himself, was inspired, from his early youth, with a noble ambition to distinguish himself by restoring the laws and the discipline of former times; and upon coming to the throne, he instantly began the work of reformation, and set the example not merely of a plain appearance and diet, and of hardy habits of life, but proposed to throw into the common stock the vast sums of money possessed by himself and his relations, and to give up his land to be divided according to the provisions of the Lycurgan law. In this design he was frustrated, and lost his life by the intrigues of the Ephori and the opposition of Leonidas, his partner on the throne, who had imbibed, during a long residence in Asia, sentiments more suited to the corruption of the age. B. C. 236. Murder of Agis.

The Ephori having murdered Agis in prison, his brother Archidamus saved himself by flight from the designs which Leonidas entertained against his life. His wife Agiatis, scarcely yet recovered from her confinement, was seized in her own house, and conducted to the palace of the king, who had resolved upon forcing her to marry his son Cleomenes, at that time not eighteen years of age. Agiatis was a woman of true Spartan spirit, full of courage and generosity, but at the same time capable of the most tender conjugal affection. She resisted, by every means in her power, the will of Leonidas, and desired nothing more than to be permitted to cherish the memory of her late husband; but her great fortune was too splendid an object to be relinquished, and the king insisted upon her obedience. Her beauty and her misfortunes soon made a powerful impression upon the young prince: he entered with great delicacy into her feelings, and endeavoured to engage her in conversation. This circumstance induced her to hope that, by complying with the commands of Leonidas, she Marriage of his widow Agiatis with Cleomenes.

[1] Son of Eudamidas.

[2] Vita Agidis.

[3] The office of the Ephori was instituted to prevent warlike princes and great commanders from erecting a military despotism at home. It existed, under the same name, in other states besides Sparta, and produced similar effects.

B. C. 236. might lay a foundation for carrying into effect the reformation begun by Agis, and for restoring the ancient glory of her country; and she consented to become the wife of Cleomenes that she might wean him from the principles of his father.

In this design she was completely successful. The young prince, naturally romantic, generous, and ambitious of glory, was at an age when the character is easily moulded by the influence of a beloved female. His imagination was fired, and his feelings were touched by the descriptions which his wife delighted to give him of the character and conduct of Agis; and he was animated with an enthusiastic desire to imitate, and, if possible, to surpass him, that he might fill his place in the affections of Agiatis. Such an attachment was happily calculated to soften that severity of character which he derived from the Stoic philosophy instilled into him by Spherus, the disciple of Zeno, who had been the preceptor of his early years, and was the source of that amiable temper in domestic life which Polybius[1] seems to think inconsistent with the ardour and vehemence so conspicuous in his public conduct.

Influence acquired by Agiatis.

B. C. 235. Upon his accession to the throne on the death of his father, Cleomenes resolved to lose no time in commencing the great work of reformation which he had been so long meditating; and for this purpose he held frequent consultations with his friend Xenares, and desired to be informed by him of the steps taken by Agis, and of the causes of his failure. Xenares, suspecting his design, and averse to its execution, withdrew himself from his intimacy; and Cleomenes, perceiving the danger of having his intentions prematurely discovered, resolved to form his plan with no adviser besides his wife, whose talents, fidelity, and fascinating manners had deeply rooted his early prepossession. The great obstacle to reform was removed by the death of Euridamides, his colleague, which occurred so seasonably that it has been attributed to poison administered by Cleomenes. But the Ephori, who, in time of peace, possessed the entire executive power of the state, still stood in his way, and held in complete subjection the friends whose support was indispensable to his success. Observing, therefore, that Agis had failed by engaging in an unequal contest with these magistrates, he determined to rid himself of them before he should attempt the restoration of the laws and discipline of Lycurgus.[2] For this purpose it was necessary to involve the country in war, that the command of the army might give him power, and that a successful campaign might gain popularity among the people. Besides these reasons, he was eager to make war upon the united states of Achæa,[3] conceiving them to have usurped in Peloponnesus the supremacy so long exercised by Lacedæmon; for, by the able negotiations and military manœuvres of Aratus, the whole peninsula, excepting Laconia, Elis, and a few inconsiderable towns of Arcadia, had joined the League; and, upon the death of Leonidas, he had made some hostile attempts

Accession of Cleomenes.

[1] Excerpt. ix. [2] Polyb. ii. 47. [3] Id. eod.

against the Arcadian cities remaining in the Lacedæmonian interest, which, though not successful, formed a justifiable ground for commencing a system of reprisals. B. C. 227.

War against the Achæans.

With these views Cleomenes listened willingly to the invitation of the Ætolian Ephori to join with them and with Macedon in an extensive combination against the united states; and he accepted from them the possession of three important fortresses, Mantinea, Tegea, and Orchomenus, at that time not merely in alliance with the Ætolian republic, but actually members of the confederacy.[1] The Achæan general, alarmed at this turn of affairs, exerted himself to detach Antigonus from the new allies, and made an attempt to surprise Tegea and Orchomenus by night, a mode of warfare in which he had been singularly successful. But the conspirators, who had undertaken to assist him in the enterprise, were secured by the vigilance of Cleomenes, who, exulting in having disappointed the wily veteran, sent him a jocular note,[2] inquiring, "Whither he had been rambling about the country by night?" Aratus replied that his last movement had been designed to prevent the seizure of the fortification of Belbina, a post in the Megalopolitan territory, which the Ephori had commanded their king to occupy, and to fortify the Athenæum which stood near it. Cleomenes, who knew the real object of the nocturnal expedition, returned for answer that "he was perfectly satisfied with the account which the general had given of his own movement, but begged to be informed where all the scaling ladders and lanterns had been marching." Aratus was disposed to laugh at this sally; but an old Lacedæmonian in his army, who knew the character of Cleomenes, gravely observed, "If you have any great design in hand, make haste and complete it before the spurs of this cockerel are grown." B. C. 227.

The Ephori recal Cleomenes.

The Ephori of Sparta, meanwhile, always vacillating in their councils, became apprehensive of the consequences of a war, and recalled the king home; upon which Aratus immediately seized Caphyæ, and was preparing to extend his success when the same magistrates sent Cleomenes against him with five thousand men. The command of the Achæan army, consisting, according to Plutarch,[3] of twenty thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry, had, in the interim, devolved upon Aristomachus, lately tyrant of Argos, who having abdicated his sovereignty, and united his city with the League, was, for this service, chosen general. Notwithstanding the great disproportion of numbers, Cleomenes offered him battle, gaily reminding his troops of the saying of an ancient Spartan king, that "the Lacedæmonians do not ask the numbers of the enemy, but where they are." Aristomachus was eager to accept the challenge; but Aratus, intimidated by the daring spirit of the young king, refused his consent, and prevailed upon him to retire.

The Achæan army then moved to attack Elis, which was in alliance with Lacedæmon; but Cleomenes, marching hastily to its relief, over-

[1] Polyb. ii. 46. [2] Plutarch, in Vita Cleomenis. [3] Vita Cleomenis.

B. C. 226. took and defeated them with great slaughter at Lycæum; and Aratus himself escaped with so much difficulty that he was for some time missing, and reported to be slain. Taking advantage of this error, he found means to surprise Mantinea; and the Ephori were so alarmed by the loss of that important place that they refused Cleomenes the means of continuing the war. Upon this, he resolved to attempt the restoration of the royal authority, and proposed to supply the place of his late colleague by sending for Archidamus, the brother of Agis, to share the throne. The Ephori dared not oppose a measure so agreeable to the constitution and to justice; but they took care to defeat it by procuring the assassination of Archidamus immediately upon his arrival.[1] The king, finding himself unable to contend against their power, was compelled to resort to bribery, and being largely supplied with money by his mother Cratesiclea, who was an enthusiast in reform, he purchased the consent of the Ephori to the renewal of hostilities.[2]

Defeat of the Achæans.

Having gained this point, he marched out with the intention of seizing Leuctra,[3] a town belonging to Megalopolis. Aratus hastened to its relief, and was joined by Lysiades with a body of Megalopolitans. A brilliant action was fought on the Laodician plain, near the walls of the city, in which the Achæans had, at first, the advantage; but Aratus, either envying the glory of Lysiades, or infatuated by timidity, refused to support the pursuit which had commenced, and the eagle eye of Cleomenes, instantly catching the moment of advantage, turned upon his pursuers. Lysiades and his light troops, entangled in the enclosures, were cut to pieces, the Spartans returned to the charge, and the whole Achæan army fled in disorder. The slaughter was very great, and Aratus was glad to obtain a truce with permission to bury his dead; but Cleomenes, admiring the gallantry of Lysiades, who had lately abdicated the sovereignty of Megalopolis and united it with the League, insisted upon doing honour to the corpse, and arraying it in royal robes, with a diadem on the head, he conducted it with military honours to the gates of Megalopolis.

Removal of the Ephori, and revolution in Sparta.

Conceiving that by this success he had established his military character, Cleomenes returned to Sparta, and having communicated with some of his friends, and engaged them to assist him, he determined, since no other means had proved successful, to remove the Ephori by violence, and to restore at once the power of the crown and the laws of Lycurgus. Plutarch[4] details, with amusing minuteness, the circumstances which attended the destruction of these corrupt magistrates, and the very speech which Cleomenes made to the people afterwards. But a strenuous advocate for the system of Lycurgus was not likely to have imitated the orators of Athens; and nothing can be so improbable as that one of the Ephori should relate to

[1] Polybius, somewhat inconsistently, imputes this infamous action to Cleomenes (lib. v. 37).

[2] Plut. Vita Cleomenis. [3] Al. Leuctrum. [4] Vita Cleomenis.

Cleomenes a dream, of which the obvious interpretation was that heaven had decreed their removal by his hand. The revolution appears to have excited little commotion; the richest of the citizens were prepared to approve it, and followed the example of the king, who resigned his whole property to the public, and the poor were little inclined to question the legality of a transaction by which they alone were to be the immediate gainers. The vacancy on the throne was filled by Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes, the only instance, it is said, in which the two kings were from the same branch of the Heracleid tree. The next measure was to put in force the Agrarian law; and Cleomenes generously commanded that eighty lots of land should be set apart for those citizens whom the exigency of the moment compelled him to banish, but whom he declared that he would recal to their country as soon as tranquillity should be established. He had now leisure to enforce the restoration of the ancient simple and hardy mode of life, which he had himself uniformly practised; and in this he was greatly assisted by his former tutor, the Stoic philosopher Spherus, who, having long held his school at Sparta, possessed great influence among the younger nobility. The example of the king himself was, however, the most prevailing argument. Cheerful and affable in his manners, liberal in his conduct, and peculiarly agreeable and entertaining in conversation, he won the affections of all who approached him, and every one who was ambitious of being thought fashionable imitated the king. The same severity of discipline was carried into the camp, and soon became popular among the soldiers, who were delighted with the frank familiarity of behaviour which Cleomenes knew how to combine with the most absolute authority. That the enemy might not suppose his attention wholly engrossed by his plan of reform, he made repeated incursions into their territories, and extended his ravages as far as Argos, by means of which his troops became accustomed to their new discipline and were prepared for more serious encounters.

B. C. 226–225.

Reform of Cleomenes.

B. C. 226–225.

An opportunity was not long wanted for proving the effect of these changes. The Mantineans, dissatisfied with Aratus, made overtures to Sparta. The king, marching by night, entered the town, and, with the assistance of the inhabitants, dislodged the garrison from the citadel with so much expedition that he withdrew the next morning into Tegea. After refreshing his troops, he passed through Arcadia without interruption, and made a demonstration against Pheræ, a city of Achæa, belonging to the League. Hyperbatus, at this time general of the states, encamped the whole force[1] under his command at Hecatombæum, near Dymæ, so that Cleomenes could not advance upon him without leaving that city in his rear, and exposing himself to a sally of the garrison. This secure position is strongly characteristic of the cautious tactics of Aratus, who, in effect, guided all the operations of the campaign; but the Spartan king, relying upon the rapidity of

Renewal of hostilities.

[1] Παυδημεὶ κινδυνεύοντες. Polyb. ii. 51.

B. C. 224. his movements, instantly attacked the Achæan lines and put the entire army to the sword,[1] with scarcely any loss of his own men.

Aratus, after this defeat, which was attributed to his want of conduct, refused to take his turn as general during the ensuing season, not caring to meet Cleomenes again in the field; but he still retained so much influence in the Achæan councils that he directed all the negotiations which ensued, in which Cleomenes offered, upon being declared general of the League, to restore the places he had taken during the war, and to set at liberty all his prisoners without ransom. But Aratus, who foresaw that these conditions would not only eclipse his own glory and annihilate his power, but would also at once restore Lacedæmon to the empire of Peloponnesus, and eventually of Greece, preferred taking refuge under the protection of Macedon, even at the price of surrendering to Antigonus the Acrocorinthus, the scene of his most celebrated exploit.

The discussion was interrupted by the illness of Cleomenes, which obliged him to return suddenly to Sparta; and, upon his resuming the negotiation, he was so rudely treated by Aratus, that, after a good deal of mutual recrimination, all hope of peace was at an end, and the Lacedæmonians, having sent a herald to declare that the war was renewed, soon made themselves masters of nearly all Peloponnesus. Cleomenes, encouraged by the extraordinary success of his arms, came suddenly upon Argos, while the Achæans were there assembled to celebrate the Nemæan games, and, with little resistance, obtained possession of that city (of all others the first object of Spartan ambition), compelling the Argians to receive a garrison, and to give hostages for their fidelity to the Lacedæmonian alliance. The Corinthians now became eager to follow the example of their neighbours, and sent deputies to invite Cleomenes to enter their city, while they commanded Aratus and the Achæans to quit the frontier. The general, mounting his horse, made his escape; but the Achæan garrison kept possession of the citadel, and it was found impracticable to dislodge them.

Successes of Cleomenes.

The Spartan king drew a line of circumvallation round the Acrocorinthus, which completely prevented all communication between the garrison and their commander; and he then again tried the effect of negotiation, and offered liberal terms to Aratus if he would surrender Corinth, and make an alliance with Lacedæmon: but the general sent an evasive and churlish reply, "that he was not master of events, but events of him;" and pressed Antigonus to hasten his march that he might save the citadel from being taken. In retaliation of this affront, Cleomenes ravaged the territories of Sicyon, and laid siege to its capital.

Operations of the Macedonians.

In the meanwhile, the Macedonians, having been refused permission to march through Pylæ by the Ætolians, arrived by sea near the isthmus, and passing Mount Gerania, prepared to enter Peloponnesus. Cleomenes, who saw the impossibility of meeting Antigonus in the

[1] Ὁλοχειρῶς ἐπταίσαν (Id. eod.), which Casaubon renders "universam pubem amisissent."

field with the force then under his command, threw up a line of fortification connecting the Acrocorinthus with the Oneian range,[1] and made his position so strong that the Macedonian king dared not attempt to force it; and in an attempt to get into his rear by the port Lechæum, one of the harbours at Corinth, he was repulsed with considerable loss. But the artifices of Aratus achieved what appeared impracticable to the forces of Antigonus. A revolution was unexpectedly brought about in Argos, and means were contrived for sending a large body of Macedonians, commanded by Aratus, to support the insurgents, who were besieging the Lacedæmonian garrison in the citadel. Cleomenes, upon being apprised of the revolt, detached Megistonus, in great haste, to relieve his garrison; but that general was killed in attempting to enter the town, and his men were dispersed and slain. The Lacedæmonians in the citadel were now severely pressed, and despatched messenger after messenger to the king, imploring him to come to their assistance. His situation was extremely perplexing; for if he should leave his lines, Antigonus was certain to gain possession of Corinth, and to open a way into Peloponnesus; or, if he should lose Argos, the enemy would be in his rear, and might either force his lines, or march into Laconia without opposition. The latter danger, at length, determined him to abandon his post, which fell immediately into the hands of the Macedonians; but Cleomenes made so rapid a march to Argos, that he arrived there before Aratus, and finding the walls of the city too well guarded to be scaled, he broke open some vaults under the suburbs, and, by subterranean passages with which he was acquainted, introduced a division of his army into the citadel, and joined the garrison. Aratus, in the meantime, arriving at the gates, was admitted into the town; but Cleomenes, by means of his archers and slingers, so galled the Macedonian troops that they dared not appear in the streets, and the Spartans were rapidly gaining possession of the city. At this moment the vigilant eye of the Lacedæmonian king saw the numerous army of Antigonus pouring down from the isthmus; and, aware of the impossibility of contending against such superiority of numbers, under the conduct of so able a commander, he made a timely and masterly retreat; and, conducting his men along the walls of the city, joined the main body of his army, and retired in good order to Mantinea. On the road he was met by a messenger, who informed him of the sudden death of his wife Agiatis, to whom he was most ardently and tenderly attached; but though this event, occurring at so inauspicious a moment, clouded all his hopes of consolation under reverses, he neither forgot the duties of a general, the dignity of a king, nor the manliness of a Spartan; but having calmly provided for the security of the outposts, he withdrew his army into Sparta. Here, in the privacy of his own family, he gave vent to the bitterness of his feelings, deprived as he was, in a few days, of the fruit of all his glorious achievements, and, of what he

B. C. 224.

Difficult position of Cleomenes.

Death of Agiatis.

[1] Polyb. ii. 52.

B. C. 223. valued still more, of his domestic happiness. But though his own heart was shut against hope, he felt all that he still owed to his country; and rousing himself from despair, he looked around him for the means of defending Lacedæmon against the expected invasion. In preparing to meet this danger, fresh trials awaited him. Ptolemy Euergetes, at this time king of Egypt, jealous of the progress of Antigonus in Greece, was easily induced to promise succours and supplies to Cleomenes; but it was upon condition that his mother and his son should be sent to Egypt as hostages for his fidelity. The heroic descendant of Hercules hesitated not to deprive himself of his last treasure to save Sparta; but though resolved to sacrifice his own affections, he could not command resolution to break the business to his mother. Cratesiclea, however, perceived that a secret weight hung upon the mind of her son, and with some difficulty drew from him the cause of his uneasiness. No sooner was it explained, than the Spartan spirit of this noble lady prevailed over every other sentiment, and she exclaimed with generous enthusiasm—"Is this all?—let me embark without delay; and thank the gods that, old and helpless as I appear, I may yet be of service to Sparta!"

Alliance of Cleomenes with Ptolemy Euergetes. B. C. 223.

Fortitude of Cratesiclea.

Cleomenes immediately prepared for her departure, and conducted her, with a train suitable to her rank, to the port of Tænarus. But when he was about to part with her and his child, his emotion overcame even his hereditary firmness, and he began to weep aloud. Cratesiclea, who had resigned herself to her fate, as a victim sacrificed to her country, remained calm, and leading her son aside into the temple of Neptune, she said, "King of Sparta, when we go out hence, let no man see a tear, nor any weakness unworthy of that exalted title. This is in our power. Events are in the hands of God." Ashamed to be thus surpassed in resolution by a woman, Cleomenes suppressed his grief, and led his mother, with the child in her arms, on board the ship, with a firm step, and a kindling countenance, appearing, in the eyes of his followers, to realize the proudest visions of Spartan virtue. He soon afterwards received intelligence of the safe arrival of the hostages, and their favourable reception at the court of Alexandria. Cratesiclea wrote to him in a cheerful manner; but at the same time laid her commands upon him to act, on all occasions, for the honour and advantage of his country, without regard to the safety of a useless old woman and a child in the hands of Ptolemy.[1]

Successes of Antigonus.

Antigonus remained during the winter in quarters at Corinth and Argos; but early[2] in the spring he led his forces to Tegea, and besieged it with those warlike engines, in the use of which the Macedonians were singularly expert. The Tegeans, seeing little expectation of relief from Cleomenes, who was in no condition to take the field against so powerful an enemy, surrendered after a very slender resistance. Antigonus, upon this, advanced to the frontier of Laconia, where the Lacedæmonians were encamped, with a desperate resolution

[1] Plut. Vita Cleomenis. [2] Polyb. ii. 53.

to defend their country from invasion. He was too prudent to put B. C. 223.
the advantages he had gained to the hazard of a battle under such circumstances; but, by frequent skirmishes, he tried the strength of both armies, and kept the attention of Cleomenes employed, whilst he made himself master of Mantinea and Orchomenus, and of almost all the places which lay between Laconia and Argos. In the autumn, he retired to Ægium, and dismissed his Macedonian troops for the winter.

When the Spartan king was informed of this confident measure, he conceived hopes of being enabled to seize Megalopolis,[1] which was now distant three days' march from the enemy's head-quarters, and had been deprived of the flower of its own population in the bloody battles of Lycæum and of the Laodician plain. Having gained over to his interest some Messenian exiles, who resided in the city, he entered it unperceived by night, and took possession of all the strong posts within the walls. In the morning, however, the Megalopolitans hastily assembling their men, made so gallant an attack upon the Lacedæmonian forces, that the king himself was exposed to imminent hazard, and the contest appeared long doubtful. Numbers at length prevailed, and the inhabitants, hastily collecting their most valuable property, decamped with their women and children to Messene, the armed party effectually covering their retreat. Megalopolis was thus left to the conquerors.

In his account of the events which followed, Polybius[2] is at great pains to prove that the historian Phylarchus, from whom Plutarch[3] appears to have borrowed his narrative, wrote more in the character of a dramatist, whose object was to panegyrize Cleomenes, than in that of a sober and authentic historian. He represents the Spartan king as having acted with great violence and inhumanity; "And I think," he adds, "that he was induced to this, because at no time, in his extremest need, could he ever find any one among the Megalopolitans, who would espouse his cause, or become a traitor for his sake."[4] The simple fact admitted on all sides is, that Cleomenes being in possession of the city, sent a herald to the Megalopolitans, who had taken refuge in Messene, proposing to restore them their town and the property within it uninjured, and to abstain from plundering the country, on condition that they would enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Lacedæmon, would admit a Spartan garrison into their citadel, and give hostages for their fidelity to their engagements. Among the citizens, to whom this offer was addressed, was the celebrated Philopœmen, afterwards general of the Achæans, who had, from his childhood, nourished the strongest prejudices against the Spartan yoke. By his representations these unfortunate people were induced not only to reject the terms proposed to them, but to insult Cleomenes, by committing a most unwarrantable outrage upon his herald and attendants.

[1] He had before failed in a similar attempt. *Vide* Polyb. ix. 17.
[2] Polyb. ii. 55 to 64. [3] Vita Cleomenis. [4] Polyb. ii. 55.

B. C. 223. Destruction of Megalopolis.

The king, highly incensed, sold all that remained in the city and neighbourhood for slaves, seized the property of the citizens, gave up the country to plunder, and entirely demolished the city, which is said to have been one of the finest in Peloponnesus. It was built by Epameinondas as a check to the power of the Spartans, and had been the object of their unceasing enmity to the hour of its fall.

The amount of the plunder was considerable (though Polybius[1] has shown that it could not equal the sum mentioned by Phylarchus, which exceeds all the wealth at that time in the peninsula); and it was a most seasonable supply to the exhausted resources of Lacedæmon. The news occasioned the utmost consternation at Ægium. Plutarch[2] affirms that it was communicated to the assembly of the states by Aratus, who appeared before them overwhelmed with grief, hiding his face in his cloak; and, being entreated to inform them of the cause of his sorrow, could only utter, "Megalopolis is ruined by Cleomenes!" Antigonus would instantly have marched to avenge its fall; but his troops were all in winter quarters, and his impatience served only to increase the alarm of his allies. Cleomenes having laid waste the lands about Argos, and having offered the enemy battle before its gates, dislodged some small garrisons in Arcadia, and returned home with his army in high spirits, leaving a formidable impression of his genius and resources upon the minds of the Achæans.

But, with the approach of spring, Antigonus drew together his formidable and well-disciplined army, to the number of twenty-eight thousand infantry and twelve hundred cavalry; of which ten thousand were heavy-armed Macedonians, trained to form that irresistible heavy phalanx, so destructive to the smaller bodies of Grecian troops. Cleomenes had endeavoured to provide against the impending storm by fortifying all the passes into Laconia, by constructing trenches, felling trees, and posting guards in commanding situations.[3] Himself, with all the forces he could raise, about twenty thousand men, encamped near Sellasia, a frontier town, by which, as he rightly conjectured, Antigonus would attempt to force his way to Sparta. Two hills, called Eva and Olympus, command the vale through which flows the river Ænus,[4] along whose bank runs the road to Lacedæmon. Cleomenes drew a trench in front of each eminence, and posted the allies upon Eva, under the command of his brother Euclidas, while the Lacedæmonians and the mercenaries, commanded by himself in person, occupied Olympus. In the plain below, on both sides of the stream, was stationed the cavalry, supported by a small body of light infantry. Antigonus, having reconnoitred his position, was struck with admiration; and admitted that the king of Sparta had evinced the most consummate knowledge of military tactics, and the most minute attention to every point both of attack and defence. After

B. C. 222.

Positions of the Macedonians and Spartans.

[1] Loco citato.
[2] In Cleomene.
[3] Polyb. ii. 65, *et seq.*
[4] Al. Æonus, Liv. xxxiv. 18.

some deliberation, he resolved that it would be imprudent to attack him in his present situation, and withdrawing to a convenient distance, pitched his camp behind the river Gorgylus, in face of the enemy, where he remained several days on the watch for some opportunity to surprise Cleomenes, or to get into his rear. But the unremitting vigilance and the able dispositions of that consummate general defeated his expectations, and convinced him that he must hope for success only from the superiority of his army. B. C. 222.

Never, perhaps, were two generals more equally matched, or more dependent, for all their future prospects, upon the event of a battle. As for Cleomenes, he knew that the security, if not the very existence, of Sparta hung upon the fate of that day: and though Antigonus was not informed, till after the action, of the full extent of the danger to his government in Macedonia (for if he had received the intelligence[1] two days earlier he would have marched home, and would have left the Achæans at the mercy of the enemy), he was sufficiently aware of the state of affairs in the north to feel that a defeat, at this juncture, might be attended with the most ruinous consequences. He prepared, therefore, to exert all his skill and courage, and to decide the contest by one decisive blow. The disposition of his line evinced that he had, during the time of his inaction, successfully studied the nature of the different troops of which the enemy's army was composed. To the allies under Euclidas, posted upon Mount Eva, he opposed the Macedonian corps called Chalcaspids (Brazen-shields), alternating between their companies bodies of Illyrians, commanded by Alexander, son of Acmetus, and Demetrius of Pheræ;[2] the light troops, Acarnanians and Cretans, were ranged behind this front; and a reserve of two thousand Achæans were stationed in the rear. His cavalry were drawn up opposite the enemy's horse, on each side of the Ænus, having the right flank covered by a body of a thousand Megalopolitans, and the left by an equal number of Achæans. The king, in person, took the command of the heavy-armed Macedonians and mercenaries, who were to attack Cleomenes on Mount Olympus. The Illyrians had crossed the Gorgylus during the night, and had taken up a position at the foot of Mount Eva, and they had received orders to open the attack upon seeing a white flag hung out in the opposite wing of the army; the cavalry and the light troops, who supported them, were to wait till a red one should be elevated.

The signal being given, the Illyrians advanced boldly up the hill, and by this movement too great an interval was interposed between them and the Achæan reserve in their rear; upon which Cleomenes, whose keen sight instantly detected the error, detached the light infantry, which he had posted with his cavalry on the plain, to take them in the rear, while Euclidas bore down upon their front. Antigonus did not perceive what had happened, and the Illyrians would, in a few minutes, have been cut to pieces, had not Philopœmen, who B. C. 222. Battle of Sellasia.

[1] Plut. in Vita. [2] Al. Pharæ, in Thessaly.

B. C. 222. Skilful generalship of Philopœmon.

was among the Megalopolitans, but who held no command, prevailed upon his countrymen to fall upon the enemy's horse, thus deprived of their light troops, without waiting for the king's signal. By this manœuvre, the Illyrians were delivered from the enemy in their rear, who returned to their post in order to support their own cavalry, and were enabled to bear up against Euclidas, who (instead of taking advantage of the hill to break the enemy's line as they advanced, and to keep the higher ground behind him, in the event of his being partially repulsed), chose to await the attack on the very summit, so that the enemy ascended the steep in good order, and having made an impression upon his line, they gained the higher ground, and drove him down the declivity on the other side. The horse, meanwhile, were furiously engaged on the plain below: the Achæan cavalry did good service, and the Lacedæmonians were thrown into confusion.

On the other wing a smart action had commenced between the light infantry and mercenary troops, who were nearly equal on both sides, and who fought, under the eye of their commanders, with animated valour. But Cleomenes, seeing his brother driven down the hill in disorder, and his cavalry on the plain ready to give way, resolved, if possible, to retrieve the fortune of the day by one decisive blow. Breaking down one side of his fortification, he led through it the whole of his heavy-armed troops, formed in phalanx, directly towards Antigonus. The sound of the trumpet now recalled the light troops on both sides, and the charge of the phalanx was tremendous. The Macedonians at first yielded to the desperate valour of the Spartans, and were driven back to some distance, but recovering themselves, by their superior weight and strength, they made a stand, and the Spartans wavered. At this moment Antigonus[1] ordered the Macedonians to serry their spears, and to form in double phalanx; and the Lacedæmonians, unable to resist the weight of the enemy, were driven from their trenches with prodigious slaughter. The rout became complete. Euclidas was surrounded and slain, after displaying more personal courage than generalship; the light troops fled in all directions; and of the heavy-armed phalanx scarcely two hundred, out of five, or, according to others, out of six thousand, survived. Cleomenes himself, with a small party of horse, reached Sparta in safety.[2]

Flight of Cleomenes.

Having assembled the citizens, and having informed them that all was lost, he advised them to make no farther resistance, but to open their gates to the conqueror, and to surrender themselves to his discretion; for himself, he said, life and death were alike indifferent to him, and he would embrace that which should appear best for Sparta. So saying, without disarming, or taking either rest or refreshment, he set out with a few friends for Gythium,[3] at which port he had previously

[1] Casaubon's translation of this obscure passage is singularly loose.

[2] Plutarch's account of the battle, slight as it is, differs considerably from that of Polybius, which is here principally followed.

[3] Al. Gytheum, a seaport at the mouth of the Eurotas.

ordered some vessels to be in readiness against the chances of war, and embarked for Alexandria. "So fortune delights," observes Polybius, "to balk the expectations of mankind! for if Cleomenes had delayed the battle a few days, or, even after he was beaten, had he remained in Greece, he would not have lost his kingdom. For Antigonus, very soon after the action, received intelligence which compelled him to hasten homewards with all possible expedition."[1] These circumstances induced Antigonus to conclude his arrangements at Sparta in as summary a manner as possible, and to avoid giving offence to any party in Greece. Polybius and Plutarch agree that he restored to Lacedæmon its ancient constitution; and other writers have said, that he bestowed freedom upon the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans, meaning, no doubt, that he established the democracy in power. But whatever he might do in passing through Tegea[2] on his return, it is evident from Polybius[3] himself, that the Spartans were left at liberty to make their own domestic arrangements. From attachment to Cleomenes, they declined, as long as he lived, to elect any king, and the supreme power was administered by the Ephori; but no sooner was the intelligence of his death received at Lacedæmon, than both the people and the council of regency[4] became anxious to supply the vacancy of the throne, and chose Agesipolis and Lycurgus kings of Sparta.

B. C. 221.

Retreat of Antigonus.

Cleomenes, if we may believe his biographer, did not proceed direct to Egypt, but landed on several islands for refreshment. On one of these occasions his friend Therycion, in a set speech, exhorted him to die by his own hand rather than to become a captive and an exile. But the hero reminded him that there are more fortitude and virtue in enduring life from a sense of duty, than in fleeing from misfortune by a voluntary death; and declared that he would live as long as there remained any hope of serving his country.

This story, which bears strong marks of having been got up for the school disputations, may, perhaps, be thought to derive some confirmation from the manner in which Polybius[5] eulogizes Cleomenes for "his patience under the evils of life, while the least shadow of hope remained; and for his manly resolution at last rather to die like a warrior than to live like a slave."

Upon his arrival at Alexandria, he was received by Ptolemy Euergetes with great professions of kindness, and a liberal pension[6] was assigned for his maintenance. But the old king did not live to fulfil these promises, and he was succeeded by Ptolemy Philopator, who was so far from taking any interest in the affairs of Greece, that he could scarcely be induced to attend to the most urgent business of his own kingdom; so absorbed were the slender faculties with which nature had endowed him in every species of luxury and debauchery.[7]

Treatment of Cleomenes in Egypt.

B. C. 221.

[1] Polyb. ii. 70.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Lib. iv. 35.
[4] Τὸ τῶν Ἐφορῶν ἀρχεῖον. Eod.
[5] Lib. xvii. 34.
[6] Plutarch says twenty-four talents, above 4,500*l*.
[7] Polyb. v. 35, *et seq.*

B. C. 221. Cleomenes solicits permission to leave Egypt.

Cleomenes, impatient of delay, having in vain urged the king to supply him with men and money, at length solicited permission to depart with only his own family and friends; but he found it impossible to obtain an answer to his request; for though Ptolemy entirely neglected everything but his pleasures, Sosibius, his minister, was a keen and wily politician, and was perfectly aware of the change which must take place in the politics of Greece after the death of Antigonus. He saw that it was no longer an object for the king of Egypt to break the power of Macedon; but that great danger might ensue if a prince, of such abilities as Cleomenes, were to become master of Greece, after gaining a perfect knowledge of the defenceless state of Ptolemy's dominions; and he perceived also that to send him away without providing him with the supplies so long promised would only be to insure his enmity. So much terror did the talents and intrepidity of one man, deprived of all other resources, inspire into the councils of a mighty monarchy, at that time, probably, the richest in the world!

An incident occurred, about this period, which raised still higher the opinion that had been formed of Cleomenes, and which drew a declaration from Ptolemy that to keep him in Egypt was little better than to pen a lion in a sheepfold. The administration was extremely desirous to destroy Magas, the king's brother, and the celebrated queen-dowager Berenice, whose spirit and popularity with the army rendered her formidable to the court. Sosibius, who apprehended that the mercenary troops were devoted to the prince and to the queen-dowager, consulted Cleomenes, and desired his advice. The Spartan, imagining that the scheme for assassinating these royal persons originated simply in a dread of their influence with the military, replied, "Make yourself perfectly easy, and fear nothing: the mercenary troops will never act against you; but will, on the contrary, support you. Do you not observe that three thousand of them are Peloponnesians, and a thousand Cretans, who upon the least signal from me, will take any part that I may direct? Being secure of these, why should you stand in awe of a set of Syrian or Carian soldiers?"[1]

But the encouragement afforded by Cleomenes operated otherwise than he had intended it. Sosibius, freed from his apprehensions, resolved on the death of Berenice; and conceived, at the same time, a still greater dread of the extraordinary power which the Spartan exile possessed over the soldiers; so that he only waited for a favourable opportunity to imprison or to destroy him.

Intrigues of Sosibius.

Such an occasion was not long wanted. A Messenian horsedealer, who had formerly been employed by Cleomenes, happened to land at Alexandria with a cargo of horses for the king. Cleomenes, meeting him upon the quay, recognised him as an old acqaintance, and said, in a jocular strain, "You would have found a better market at the palace for a cargo of females and rope-dancers, than for these war-

[1] Polyb. v. 36.

like animals." The sarcasm was reported to the minister, who easily prevailed upon the merchant, by some trifling presents, to enter into his views, and to act any villany he thought fit to dictate. Whilst Ptolemy was still out of humour with Cleomenes for his jest, a letter arrived from Nicagoras, the horse-dealer, who had left the port, stating that, during his stay at Alexandria, he had discovered a plot formed by the Spartans for effecting a revolution in Egypt. Upon no better evidence of a tale so incredible, was Cleomenes confined by an order of council within the walls of a castle, sufficiently spacious indeed, but strongly and vigilantly guarded. Being thus treated like a criminal, he felt himself released from all the obligations of hospitality, and resolved to attempt a most daring exploit, rather with the hope of meeting a glorious death, than with that of extricating himself from the difficulties with which he was surrounded. In the absence of the king, who had gone to Canopus, he intimated to his guards that he had received a promise of being liberated, and intended to hold a festival on the occasion, in which he desired that they would partake. Provisions, wine, and garlands were accordingly sent them in abundance; and, believing that it was no longer necessary to watch their prisoner, they indulged in the grossest excess, and lay senseless from intoxication and sleep. Cleomenes, with his little band of faithful adherents, then sallied from the castle; and each with his drawn sword rushed into the town, proclaiming "Deliverance from the tyranny of the Ptolemies!" The captain of the guard, who met them at the gate, was so startled by their audacity that he fell from his chariot; and while his attendants, in the utmost consternation, shifted for themselves, he was trampled to death. The same panic prevailed among the citizens, none of whom either joined or opposed the conspirators; though Polybius[1] insinuates, that they wished well to the design of overthrowing the reigning dynasty. Cleomenes and his friends, finding no support in the city, hastened to the citadel with the intention of breaking open the prison, and reinforcing their party with the criminals confined in it; but the prefect of the watch, hearing a tumult, had manned the approaches to the walls, and this last desperate hope vanished. Nothing now remained for Cleomenes but to die, as he had lived, like a true Spartan. He fell upon his own sword, and all his attendants followed his example.[2]

B. C. 221.

Imprisonment of Cleomenes.

His death. B. C. 221–220.

[1] Polyb. v. 36.

[2] Polyb. v. 39. Plutarch, who delights to fill up the scenery in historical painting, adds many romantic circumstances respecting Cratesiclea and her grandchildren, and the ladies of the exiled Spartans; and concludes the whole, as usual, with a prodigy.



The Assassins of Philopœmen sacrificed at his tomb.

CHAPTER XII.

PHILOPŒMEN.

FROM B. C. 252 TO B. C. 183.

Skill displayed by Philopœmen at the battle of Sellasia.

In the celebrated battle of Sellasia, in which a mortal wound was inflicted on the power and glory of Lacedæmon, Antigonus, king of Macedon, commander-in-chief of the allied forces, committed a capital error. He ordered his left wing to cross the Gorgylus and attack the enemy's position, whilst the reserve remained posted behind the river; and the Spartan king instantly took advantage of this fault to fall upon their unprotected rear with a corps of light infantry, which attended his cavalry in the centre. The consequences which must have ensued were perceived by no one in the allied army, except by a young Megalopolitan knight, who held no command, but who felt justified by the imminent danger to which his country was exposed, in quitting his ranks, to expostulate with the officers near him. Finding his remonstrances disregarded, he returned to his place, and urged his companions to charge the enemy's horse, without waiting for orders, that they might oblige the corps of light troops, detached by Cleomenes, to return from their attack upon the rear of the left wing, in order to support their own cavalry. Without farther hesitation he spurred his horse to the charge, and was followed by most of his countrymen. The other Achæan horse would not be left behind;

Alexander, who commanded the centre, yielded to necessity, and the action became general. The young man, who had occasioned it, displayed uncommon personal strength and courage, and when his horse was killed under him, he fought on foot till he was pierced through both thighs with a javelin.[1] B. C. 222.

When the action was over, Antigonus, who had observed the effect produced by the unauthorized charge of the cavalry, and was highly pleased with their gallant behaviour, called Alexander, and, in order to sound him,[2] asked, "How he had presumed to engage without the appointed signal?" The general replied, "That it was not his fault; that it had been occasioned by the rashness of a young Megalopolitan, whom nobody knew, notwithstanding his efforts to prevent it." —"Then," said the king, "that youth played the part of an able commander, and you of a raw recruit."

Family and education of Philopœmen.

The victory in effect was, in a great measure, to be attributed to the fortunate impetuosity of Philopœmen; for he it was who thus early distinguished himself, by remedying the oversight of one great general, and counteracting the keen promptitude of another not less celebrated. He was by birth, as has been stated, a Megalopolitan; and Polybius[3] informs us that he was descended from one of the noblest families in Arcadia. He was brought up, in his childhood, by Cleander,[4] a Mantinean nobleman of the highest rank, the intimate[5] friend of his deceased father,[6] who was then an exile from his country, and had taken up his residence at Megalopolis. But when he ceased to be a child, he was placed under the care of two guardians, Ecdemus and Demophanes,[7] who were disciples of that philosophy termed the middle academic, which they took great pains to instil into the young Philopœmen, together with the practical and political principles derived from it. They were natives of Argos, banished for their opposition to the tyranny of Aristodemus; they had taken an active part in the revolution, both in their own country and at Sicyon, and they had shown their readiness to interfere in any state in which there was a plot against monarchical government.[8] Under their tuition, Philopœmen early imbibed what were called the principles of liberty, and became an enthusiastic admirer of Aratus; but the great object of his imitation was Epameinondas, whom he regarded, not without reason, as the finest model of virtuous patriotism afforded in history. He was early accustomed to frugal habits, active bodily exercises, and a contempt of all sensual indulgences: for his preceptors held that no man

[1] Plutarch relates that the javelin, having a thong attached to it, could not be extracted: but that Philopœmen broke it by a violent motion of his legs, drew out the pieces, and continued to fight with unabated activity. (Vita Philopœmenis.) Polybius, whose account is less romantic, is here followed. Lib. ii. 67, 68.

[2] *Φασὶ καταπιμπάζοντα πυνθάνεσθαι.* Polyb. ii. 68.

[3] Excerpt. x. [4] Al. Cassander. [5] ξενὸς. Polyb. loc. cit.

[6] Craugis sive Crausis; Plutarch; Pausanias.

[7] Polyb. loc. cit. Ecdelus et Megalophanes. Pausanias.

[8] E. g. at Cyrene. Plutarch, in Vita Polyb.

B. C. 222. can be a good public servant whose private life is not irreproachable; and that habits of luxurious expense are incompatible with integrity in administration.[1] When he became his own master, he is said to have adhered rigidly to the same system; and though possessed of large property, he fared no better than his own labourers, accustoming himself to lie on a pallet, and to support every kind of fatigue and exposure to which the severest campaign might subject him.[2] In intellectual cultivation he does not appear to have been equally assiduous. He selected such parts of the writings of poets and philosophers as tend to inspire a love of warlike achievements, and a contempt of danger; and he studied with attention the best books on military tactics; but even in this pursuit he preferred practical illustrations of the theory of war, amid the bold and rough features of the surrounding country, to maps and plans executed on parchment.[3] He is said[4] to have been obstinate and violent in temper, implacable in his resentments, and disdainful of all the arts of peace, and of the refinements of civilized life; so that he was generally thought better qualified to fight than to negotiate. In person he was rather athletic than graceful, and his countenance was vulgar and forbidding.[5]

Hardihood and military habits of Philopœmen.

His biographer[6] asserts that he was thirty years of age when Cleomenes surprised Megalopolis, the year before the battle of Sellasia, which was fought in the third year of the hundred and thirty-ninth Olympiad; but the term "stripling,"[7] applied to him by his commander in that action, seems to imply that he was considerably younger. He was old enough, however, to take a leading part in the desperate defence of that city, as well as in the brave and able conduct of the retreat to Messene; and he had sufficient influence with his fellow-citizens to procure the rejection of the liberal terms offered by the Spartan king, who would have restored to them their town and territory uninjured, if they would have entered into alliance with Lacedæmon. When peace was re-established in Greece, Philopœmen resolved to improve his military experience in foreign service; but he declined the proposal made him of a command under Antigonus, from that stubbornness of temper which rendered him as unwilling to obey as he was imperious in the exercise of power; and he preferred a petty warfare in Crete, where he was certain to have no competitor. After having seen considerable service in that island, the prospect of a war with the Ætolians induced him to return to his own country, and he brought home a reputation which obtained for him the command of the Achæan army; though Plutarch mentions him in this place not as prætor of the League, but simply as general of the cavalry. His first care was to reform the discipline and accoutrements of his men. The cavalry was formed entirely of young men of fortune, who submitted unwillingly to control, and were more studious of ease than ambitious

B. C. 222.

B. C. 221.

[1] Polyb. Excerpt. x. [2] Plutarch, in Vita. [3] Ibid.
[4] Plutarch, Flaminius and Philopœmen compared.
[5] Plutarch, in Vita. [6] Id. eod. [7] Polyb. ii. 68, μειράκιον.

of glory.[1] They were excessively attentive to the fopperies of dress at their feasts and public assemblies, but appeared on parade in imperfect and rusty armour, with insufficient horses of mean growth, little better than ponies; and they displayed as much awkwardness in their evolutions as indifference to the advantage of the service.[2] B. C. 210.

He reforms the military discipline of the Achæans.

Philopœmen, who was studiously exact in all his accoutrements, and whose only expensive habit was an excessive fondness for costly armour and fine horses,[3] resolved, before he should undertake any enterprise of importance, to inspire the men under his command with a similar taste; and he possessed that stern unbending spirit which alone could have accomplished such a change. In a few months, the young nobility of Achæa learned to place their chief pride in being well mounted, and to bestow that care on burnishing their weapons which had before been employed at the toilet; they became emulous to excel each other in riding and in martial exercises, and they obeyed the word of command with alacrity. The ladies, says Plutarch,[4] felt the warlike inspiration, and spent their time in working crests for helmets, or in embroidering gorgets. The general had observed the great superiority of the Macedonian heavy-armed horse, formed in close phalanx, over the light cavalry of Greece fighting in square battalions, of which the form could not be varied according to circumstances, and was easily penetrated and broken. He therefore taught the Achæans to adopt the complete armour and serried file of the north; and he exercised them incessantly in changing from the spiral, or orbicular, to the wedge-shaped phalanx, till it was remarked that they moved like one compact and well-jointed machine.

He was now anxious to meet the enemy in the field, and his success corresponded to his exertions and his hopes. The allied army of the Ætolians and Eleans was defeated with prodigious loss near the banks of the Larissus; and the victory was principally achieved by the bravery and discipline of the Achæan cavalry. In this action the Elean general of horse, jealous for the equestrian reputation of his country, challenged Philopœmen to single combat, and fell by his hand. His troops, who regarded him as the mirror of chivalry, fled in consternation; and the Achæan horse, instead of wasting their strength in the fruitless pursuit of the racers of Elis, fell upon the rear of the infantry, threw them into confusion, and literally cut them in pieces. Thus, in the short space of a few[5] months, by the energy and talent of one man, the character and even the physical powers of the Achæans seemed to have undergone a total change; and they were considered among the most efficient troops in Greece.

The Elean general slain by Philopœmen. B. C. 209.

Machanidas, King of Sparta.

But Sparta did not acquiesce in her degradation without some efforts to regain her ascendency, at least in Peloponnesus. Machanidas, who had succeeded to the throne, was a prince of great ambition and

[1] Polyb. Fragmenta, xxiv.
[2] Plutarch, in Vita.
[3] Polyb. xi. 7.
[4] In Vita.
[5] Polyb. xi. 8. Polybius does not agree with Plutarch in this part of the history.

B. C. 208. courage, and by no means wanting in ability. He had so far repaired the ruined resources of his country as to be at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, and he was on the watch to seize every occasion of acting against the Achæan interest in Peloponnesus. Opportunities could not fail to occur between parties jealous of each other's growing power, and mutually desirous of hostilities. Philopœmen, chosen general against Lacedæmon, assembled his forces at Mantinea. Machanidas, not sufficiently aware of the improvement which had taken place in the Achæan discipline, nor of the advantages which always attend the popular cause in a warfare among petty states, conceived that he had the enemy completely in his power, and led his army from Tegea in battle array, promising it an easy victory. The king himself commanded on the right wing of the Spartan main body, having his flanks protected by detachments of mercenaries, and his baggage and *matériel* thrown into the rear. The allied troops advanced from the town[1] to meet him in three divisions; Aristænetus of Dyme had the command of the Achæan cavalry on the right, while the mercenaries on the left, formed in platoons, were led by Philopœmen in person, who addressed them in a short characteristic speech,[2] setting forth the glory and divine protection which attended the defenders of liberty, and the eternal disgrace of their enemies, who fought in support of tyranny and oppression. Machanidas, in the mean time, advanced, as if to attack the right of the allies; but when at a convenient distance from their line, by a skilful evolution, he changed the form of his phalanx, and falling back upon his own right wing, displayed a tremendous train of military engines arranged between platoons of mercenaries. The Achæan general saw that if he gave these formidable projectiles time to take effect, his whole army must be thrown into disorder; he therefore immediately ordered his Tarentine soldiers to dislodge the spearmen who guarded the artillery. These mercenaries, however, not only kept their ground, and repulsed the attack, but advancing against the left of the allies, threw them into disorder, and chased them to the gate of the city; the young king incautiously joining in the pursuit, with the whole of the mercenaries on his right wing. Philopœmen was not slow to improve this unexpected advantage. He sent Polybius[3] of Megalopolis, to collect such of the scattered fugitives as had escaped the general rout, and with them to watch the return of the pursuers, while he himself led the Achæan infantry to charge the Lacedæmonian main body, whose flank was left exposed. The Spartans, flushed with the apparent success gained by their mercenaries, without waiting for orders, eagerly advanced to meet him, not being aware of a deep and uneven ravine which lay between them and the allies. Philopœmen, who had formed his line with reference to this obstacle, moderated his pace, so as to

Battle of Mantinea. B. C. 208.

The troops rallied by Polybius of Megalopolis.

[1] Polyb. xi. 9. Plutarch's account is somewhat different.
[2] Polyb. xi. 7, 10.
[3] He was probably grandfather of the historian Polybius.

allow the enemy to reach the ravine first, into which, as the declivity was not steep, and the bottom was nearly dry, they rushed impetuously, and they fell into disorder. The Achæans coming up at this moment, and descending carefully with their spears in the rest, completed the confusion; and the Lacedæmonians, after sustaining severe loss, fled in all directions. B. C. 208.

The king, returning from his rash pursuit, saw the victory snatched from his hands, and his own person in danger of being surrounded and taken. In this emergency, he retained all his courage and presence of mind, and exerted himself to retrieve the error he had committed. Forming the mercenary troops around him into a wedge-shaped phalanx, he marched towards a bridge, which crossed the ravine, in order to rejoin his main body, and, if possible, to rally it; but finding the passage already in possession of the enemy, who were anxious to secure so important a captive, he rode along the ravine to find a convenient place for crossing it. Having reached a spot where the bank was low, he spurred his horse forward, and was in the act of gaining the other side, when Philopœmen, leaving the bridge to the care of his attendants, rushed to oppose his landing. Both parties stood in breathless expectation of the result; but the Achæan general, keeping the level ground, wounded Machanidas with the point of his javelin, whilst his horse was leaping, and, instantly turning his hand, knocked him down with the butt-end.[1] He fell into the ditch, and his head and armour, raised upon a long spear, displayed to both armies the fate of the day. His attendants were all cut to pieces; and his men, without a leader and entirely broken, made no farther resistance. The loss of the allies was trifling; that of the Lacedæmonian army is stated by Polybius[2] to have amounted to four thousand slain, and a still greater number of prisoners. Philopœmen, advancing to Sparta, pitched his camp on the banks of the Eurotas.

Defeat and death of Machanidas.

The consequence of this brilliant and complete victory was the accession of Sparta, for a time, to the League; but Nabis, who succeeded Machanidas, entertained the most rooted hostility to the democratic party, and was resolved, at all hazards, to reassert the ancient supremacy of his country in Peloponnesus. For this purpose, having collected a considerable body of mercenaries, he took the opportunity, when Philopœmen went out of office, and Cycliadas,[3] a man of no talent, was general of the League, to ravage the territories of the Achæans, and even to threaten some of their towns which lay near to Laconia. Among other places, he endeavoured to surprise Messene, where, according to Plutarch,[4] he was favoured by the treachery of Dinocrates, and admitted within the walls; but by the timely though unauthorized appearance of Philopœmen, who came with a body of Megalopolitans to its relief, the town was saved. A few years subsequently, Philip, king of Macedon, who had renewed the war with Rome, was

Measures of his successor, Nabis. B. C. 207.

[1] Polyb. xi. 16.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Livy, xxxi. 25.
[4] Vita Flaminii.

B. C. 201. extremely anxious to get the Achæans on his side;[1] and he attended in person the assembly of the states at Argos, to offer his assistance against Nabis, whom he undertook to keep in check, on condition that the Achæans should, in the meanwhile, reinforce his garrisons to the north of Peloponnesus, hoping, by these means, to involve the united states in hostilities with the Romans. But Cycliadas, who had hitherto been considered as of the Macedonian party, alarmed at the consequences which he foresaw, affirmed that it would be unconstitutional to discuss any proposal except that upon which the states were summoned to deliberate, and dismissed the assembly.

Plutarch's account of Philip.

Plutarch,[2] who omits no opportunity of heaping odium upon royalty, asserts that Philip had attempted to pave the way to this measure by the assassination of Philopœmen. But Polybius[3] has clearly shown that the party of Philopœmen was constantly in opposition to the friends of Aristænus,[4] who were in the Roman interest; and consequently that nothing could be more important to the king of Macedon at this juncture than to strengthen the hands of the very man whom he is accused of designing to murder. It appears that the friends of Aristænus had not only sufficient interest at this time to procure the rejection of Philip's proposal, but to make Aristænus himself general of the League, when Cycliadas went out of office.[5] Philopœmen, who would never consent to serve in any subordinate capacity, was again induced to accept a command in Crete; and his countrymen were so much offended by his deserting them in the present exigency, Megalopolis being more than any other state of the League exposed to incursions from Sparta, that they were disposed to pass a sentence upon him equivalent to banishment for life, with confiscation of property; but Aristænus generously interfered to prevent a decision so injurious to the welfare of the states.[6]

Offers of the Romans to the States.

B. C. 200.

This state of things afforded an opening for the Romans to interfere in the affairs of the united states, which that wily and ambitious people was not likely to overlook. Their fleet now lay at Cenchreæ,[7] with the allied forces of Attalus and of the Rhodians, for the purpose of taking Corinth from Philip; and they thought it a fit opportunity for detaching the states from the alliance of Macedon, by the tempting offer of putting that key of Peloponnesus into their hands. Ambassadors were accordingly sent from the allied powers, and an assembly of the League was convened at Sicyon to deliberate on their proposal.[8] The

[1] Vita Haminii. [2] Vita Philopœmenis. [3] Excerpt. Leg. xli. &c.

[4] Plutarch calls him Aristænetus; Livy, Aristænus. Polybius mentions Aristænetus of Dymæ in the action with Machanidas (xi. 10), in a passage, which may perhaps have misled Plutarch; but he agrees with Livy in the name of the Prætor Aristænus.

[5] Livy seems to imply that Cycliadas was turned out of office before his time and banished by the Roman party, to make room for Aristænus. Cycliadem, principem factionis ad Philippum trahentium res, expulerant, xxxii. 19, 32.

[6] Plutarch, Vita Philopœmenis.

[7] Now Kenkri. [8] Livy, xxxii. 19.

deputies were, at this period, very much divided in sentiment. Some B. C. 200.
of them, those especially from the southern states, were chiefly influenced by apprehension of the Spartan arms; others, among whom were the Megalopolitans, Dymæans, and Argives, were bound, by many obligations and strict friendship, to Macedon; an equal number, with the Prætor Aristænus, saw no prospect of safety but under the protection of Rome, and were willing to purchase it on any terms.[1] The debate was prolonged to the third day, and the Council of Ten was equally divided; but when it appeared that violent measures had been adopted to procure a majority in favour of the Roman alliance, the deputies on the other side left the assembly, and it was deemed unconstitutional to enter into a formal treaty without their concurrence. Measures, however, were taken which answered all the purposes of the party. Attalus and the Rhodians were declared allies of the united states; the Achæan army was ordered to march towards Corinth, and to co-operate with them; and it was resolved to despatch ambassadors to Rome as soon as the forms of the constitution would permit.[2] In the meantime a friendly intercourse was kept up with the Roman general by three commissioners, who attended in his camp.

The first operations of the allies were unsuccessful.[3] They failed in their attempt upon Corinth; and the Argives, always strongly in the Macedonian interest, massacred the Achæan garrison placed in their city, and delivered the citadel to Philocles, the Macedonian general, who admitted Nabis to take possession of it, and to levy contributions on the inhabitants.[4] But the hopes which Philip entertained of expelling the Romans from Greece were soon found to have arisen from erroneous calculation of the vast resources of that growing empire; and when Philopœmen returned, three years afterwards, from his command B. C. 194.
in Crete, in which he had earned great military glory,[5] he found the king of Macedon reduced to the most abject condition, having been defeated at Cynocephale, by Titus Quintius Flamininus,[6] and compelled to sue for peace; the Achæan states declared free under the protection of the senate and people of Rome; and Nabis still maintaining his ground in an unequal contest with almost the whole power of Italy and of Greece.

Decline of Philip's power.

Philopœmen, now in his sixty-fourth year, was immediately elected B. C. 192.
general of the League, and received directions to prosecute the war against Lacedæmon,—the Romans having committed to the Achæans the protection of all the maritime towns of Peloponnesus,[7] which were infested by the emissaries of Nabis. To effect this he manned a fleet equal in number to that of the enemy, and made Tiso[8] of Patræ his commodore, putting him on board the flag-ship, an old[9] decayed man

[1] Polyb. Excerpt. xxi. [2] Livy, xxxii. 25. [3] Polyb. Excerpt. li.
[4] Livy, xxxii. 40. [5] Plutarch, in Vita Philopœmenis.
[6] Al. Flaminius. [7] Livy, xxxv. 13.
[8] Livy, loco citato, says eighty years old; Plutarch, forty; the old copies of Livy read eighty. [9] Livy, xxxv. 26.

B. C. 192. Naval defeat of the Achæans.

of war, utterly unfit for service. Tiso advanced to meet an experienced admiral, in a new ship, with all the rashness of a man confident in his own powers, and ignorant of the difference between naval and military tactics. The result was such as might have been anticipated; the flag-ship was sunk, and all hands on board captured; the rest of the fleet was dispersed, as each thought best for his own safety; and Philopœmen himself, in a light pinnace, with great difficulty escaped, and landed at Patræ.

Attempted relief of Gythium. B. C. 192.

But he had seen too many reverses to be easily discouraged; and finding himself unequal to conduct the war by sea, he immediately set about the relief of Gythium, then besieged by the enemy on the land side. The Spartan king, trusting to the effect of his naval victory, had withdrawn part of his troops from the siege, and had thrown up intrenchments at Elia[1] with a design of reducing Leucæ and Acriæ, which were both commanded by the eminence on which he had encamped. Few of his men being accommodated with tents, the greater number contrived to shelter themselves from the heat of the sun by constructing sheds with reeds gathered from the adjacent meadows. Philopœmen, having reconnoitred their position, procured some small craft in the neighbourhood, and embarking his light troops, arrived by night at the foot of the promontory on which the camp was pitched. Ascending the hill, by well-known paths, he surprised the guards asleep, and set fire to the combustible dwellings of the soldiers, many of whom perished in the flames, and more fell unarmed by the weapons of the assailants; a very small party reached Gythium, and took refuge under cover of their main body. Philopœmen hastened to Tripolis, and, laying waste the country, made an immense booty of cattle and captives, and retired in safety before succours could arrive from the camp at Gythium, for the protection of the Laconian territory.[2]

The siege, however, was not raised; and Philopœmen resolved to assemble his army at Tegea, and make a demonstration upon Lacedæmon, in order to draw Nabis from his lines. That this might be effected without the previous knowledge of the enemy, he despatched couriers to those towns of the League, which were situated farthest from the rendezvous, bearing sealed packets addressed to the chief magistrate, in which directions were given for assembling the militia, and for conducting them, with five days' rations, to the town next on the road to Tegea, where they were to be left under orders of the chief magistrate of the place, with a sealed letter which had been enclosed in the former. This letter commanded the magistrate to forward the men, together with his own, in a similar manner, to the next town, and it contained a similar enclosure; so that the whole military force of Achæa was gathering towards Tegea, and actually arrived there, before any person, beside the general, knew either their destination or the object of the expedition.[3]

[1] Livy, xxxv. 27. Al. Pleiæ; *vide* Polyb. v.; Strabo, viii.
[2] Livy, xxxv. 27.
[3] Polyb. xvi. 20.

Advancing from Tegea, he pitched his camp at Caria, in the enemy's territory, and on the same day, Gythium surrendered; but intelligence of this event not reaching the Achæan head-quarters, Philopœmen mached the next day to mount Barbosthenes, only ten miles from Lacedæmon.[1] In the meanwhile Nabis, having left a garrison in Gythium, passed by forced marches through Sparta, and arrived at a place called the Camp of Pyrrhus, which he rightly conjectured would be the first object of the Achæan general. By this movement Philopœmen was completely surprised; for he had not only calculated upon reaching the camp without difficulty, but was marching along a ravine, with his troops formed in column, and his principal strength in the rear, in which he expected to be attacked, when he suddenly saw the enemy about half a mile in front of him, threatening to fall upon his heavy troops, embarrassed in uneven ground, without the protection of light infantry or cavalry. It was in situations of this kind that the genius of Philopœmen became most conspicuous; his eye saw, at a glance, all the advantages afforded by an unequal surface; and he availed himself of his skill, in the present emergency, to protract his manœuvres till darkness precluded both parties from action. During the night he prepared an ambush; and in the morning, after a smart conflict, by a feigned retreat, he drew the enemy into the snare, and defeated them with very great loss.[2] They fled to their camp; and such was the ardour of the Achæans, that had not the general prudently sounded a recal, they would have attempted to force the lines. In the evening, he sent a pretended deserter with false intelligence, to alarm the king and to hasten his retreat to Sparta, which was attempted the next morning in so much confusion, that the Achæan light infantry and the Cretan archers harassed their rear the whole way, and at last, falling upon them as they descended a narrow road between two hills, created so general a panic that great part of the army threw away their accoutrements, and sought safety in separate flight among the woods and fastnesses. Nabis, with his body guard, and a few only of his heavy-armed mercenaries, arrived at Sparta. Philopœmen advanced to the Eurotas, and there pitching his camp for the night, he ordered his men to light their fires and cook their suppers. Himself, meanwhile, singling out a small corps of active and daring young men, armed only with falchions, occupied the paths which led from the mountainous country towards the city. The disarmed fugitives, as soon as they saw the lights in the Achæan camp, began to descend from their hiding places, and to seek the road home; but so completely was their return intercepted by the swordsmen, that not a fourth part of them ever returned to Sparta. Philopœmen spent a month in plundering the country, and then led his forces home, where he was received with unbounded applause, and his achievements were extolled even above those of Flamininus;[3] a pre-

B. C. 192. Brilliant generalship and success of Philopœmen.

[1] Livy, xxxv. 27, &c.

[2] Ibid. 28, 29; Polyb. xvi. 21; Plutarch, in loco.

[3] Livy, xxxv. 30.

B. C. 192. ference which, according to Plutarch, proved extremely mortifying to the Roman general.[1]

It was never the policy of the Roman senate to suffer any one state in Greece to preponderate over the rest so as to consolidate the whole into one empire; on the contrary, by taking part with the weaker, they contrived that every contest should contribute to wear out both parties, without giving a decided ascendency to either.[2] No sooner was Nabis sufficiently humbled, than Flamininus hastened to conclude a peace with him on terms rather favourable to Lacedæmon than agreeable to the Achæans: but Philopœmen, shortly afterwards, took advantage of a sedition, in which Nabis was murdered and the city plundered by a party of Ætolians, to persuade the Spartans to unite themselves with the League, and to adopt the constitution of the other united states. In the management of this delicate business he displayed so much diplomatic talent, that it is surprising to find Plutarch and even Polybius representing him as inferior to Aratus and Aristænus in negotiation, as much as he was their superior in the field. And it deserves remark, that while the policy of one of these statesmen preserved the states from ruin at the expense of making them subservient to Macedon,[3] and the only resource of the other was to submit implicitly to all the decrees of Flamininus,[4] Philopœmen alone was enabled to maintain their independence without any derogatory concession to a foreign power; for though he was too prudent to involve his country in hostilities with so irresistible an enemy as Rome, he always contrived to set aside every measure, however strongly supported, which militated against the laws and constitution of the Achæan league. When Dinocrates, a worthless and intriguing Messenian, had formed a plan for withdrawing his native city from the union, and for restoring the Lacedæmonian exiles who were of the seditious party, and Flamininus, like a true Roman diplomatist, was ready to promote any scheme for sowing the seeds of division among the allies,[5] Philopœmen, by his temperate and judicious adherence to the ancient laws of the League, which forbade an assembly of the states to be summoned unless the precise nature of the proposal to be laid before them were previously stated, entirely defeated the design of the Roman general, who, having no authority from the senate to act in the affair, dared not hazard a premature disclosure of his intentions.

Sparta unites with the Achæan League.

B. C. 191.

Prudence of Philopœmen.

During the war which followed between the Romans and Antiochus, the Achæans, though occasionally called upon for inconsiderable reinforcements,[6] enjoyed comparative repose; and Philopœmen was contented to remain quietly in a private station, watching, however, with anxious eye, every turn of fortune, and providing, by every means in his power, against the overwhelming ascendency of Rome.[7] During

[1] Plutarch, in loco; Livy, xxxv. 47.
[2] Prideaux, part ii. lib. iv.
[3] Plutarch, in loco.
[4] Polyb. Excerpt. xxi.
[5] Polyb. Excerpt. leg. xlvii.
[6] Ibid. leg. xx.; Livy, xxxvi. passim.
[7] Plutarch, in Vita.

this time, Plutarch[1] relates that the Lacedæmonians showed symptoms of disaffection to the League; and Diophanes, who had studied the military art with great success under Philopœmen, in the former war with Nabis,[2] and who was now prætor of the League, marched with the Roman general to reduce them by force. Philopœmen, who had in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from so hasty a proceeding, threw himself into the city, shut the gates against a Roman consul and an Achæan general, and, by his able negotiations, restored order and reconciled all differences. B. C. 191.

The Spartans renounce the League.

But the Lacedæmonians could not brook being deprived of all their seaport towns, which, by order of the consul, were garrisoned with Achæan troops; and, after the expulsion of Antiochus from Greece, and the subjugation of the Ætolians, they were so imprudent as to seize upon Las, a small maritime port within the borders of Laconia. Philopœmen was, at this time, again prætor of the League, and he immediately issued his order to the Lacedæmonians to deliver up to justice the authors of this violence, and all the persons concerned in the transaction.[3] Fired at the imperious tone of this mandate, the Spartans seized and executed the leaders of the Achæan faction in their city, renounced the League, and sent deputies to the consul[4] at Cephallenia, offering to put him in possession of Lacedæmon, and to become subjects of the Roman empire if he would march to their assistance. The Achæan council, upon this, declared war against Sparta; and though the season prevented the immediate marching of the troops, so violent was the animosity excited, that predatory incursions and reprisals threw the whole peninsula into confusion. These disorders brought the consul into Peloponnesus, who appointed a meeting at Elis to hear both parties; but, after studiously fomenting their mutual discontent, he peremptorily commanded a cessation of hostilities, and referred the adjudication of the cause to Rome. The ambassadors of the Achæans, chosen on this occasion, were, Diophanes, the ex-prætor, who adhered strictly to the line of policy pursued by Aristænus, and Lycortas, father of the historian Polybius, who had adopted the sentiments of Philopœmen, and who now urged before the senate, in firm but respectful language, the right of the Achæan commonwealth to regulate its own domestic affairs. The senate, whose object it was to prolong the contest and to weaken the union of the League, returned an evasive answer, which each party interpreted in its own favour. Philopœmen, whose command was prolonged for the purpose, marched with the whole Achæan army into Laconia, and renewed his demand to have the authors of the late seizure of Las given up to him. The Lacedæmonians had no longer any hope of being enabled to resist the combination against them; and the obnoxious individuals, eighty[5] in number, marched out on the assurance B. C. 188.

[1] In Vita.
[2] Polyb. Excerpt. xxi.
[3] Livy, xxxviii. 31, &c.
[4] M. Fulvius.
[5] Livy, xxxviii. 33; Plutarch, in loco. Others make the number 350.

B. C. 188. of the prætor that they should not be condemned without a hearing. Some of them were immediately stoned, in a tumult which arose between them and the exiles, in front of the army; and the rest were executed the next morning with little ceremony. The Lacedæmonians were ordered to throw down their walls; to banish all mercenary soldiers beyond the limits of Laconia; to oblige all freedmen to quit the country by a set time, on pain of being seized and sold for slaves; to abolish for ever all the laws and institutions of Lycurgus; and to adopt the democratic constitution and the statutes of Achæa. Nothing, observes Livy, of these conditions was so willingly obeyed as the destruction of the fortifications; nothing so hardly borne as the abrogation of the discipline of Lycurgus.[1] A great number of mercenary soldiers and freedmen, found wandering about the country, were apprehended and sold; and, by a decree of the Achæan council, assembled at Tegea, the celebrated piazzas of Megalopolis, formerly ruined by the Spartans, were rebuilt with the profits of the sale. And thus, after a lapse of seven hundred years, the extraordinary fabric of Lycurgus was finally crushed by the hand of Philopœmen.[2]

Abrogation of the laws of Lycurgus. B. C. 188.

B. C. 183. After forty years[3] of active life, Philopœmen was again chosen general of the united states, in the seventieth year of his age, having lately recovered from a severe and lingering illness. He had scarcely assumed the command, when he was informed that his ancient enemy, Dinocrates, now chief magistrate of Messene, had withdrawn his country from the League, and had marched to seize Corona,[4] a small town in the Messenian territory. Philopœmen immediately set out to relieve the place; but was surprised in an uneven defile by the activity of the enemy.[5] It is reported that he might easily have effected his escape under cover of his Thracians and Cretan archers; but he disdained to provide for his personal safety, whilst the cavalry, the flower of the Achæan nobility, were exposed to be cut in pieces. He therefore put himself at their head, and attempted to retreat by a narrow pass, in which his horse fell and rolled over him. The violence of the shock rendered him insensible; and when he recovered, he found himself in the hands of Dinocrates, who could scarcely credit the evidence of his senses, overjoyed in the possession of so illustrious a prisoner. A courier was instantly despatched to Messene with the news—"The Achæan cavalry are routed, and Philopœmen is taken;"—but so incredible did the story appear, that the messenger was not only disbelieved, but was treated as a madman. The intelligence, however, was soon confirmed, and Messene was literally emptied of its inhabitants, persons of every age and sex crowding through its gates to behold "the last of the Greeks" a captive. The magistrates, apprehending some violence, in the recent agitation of men's minds, and in the compassion naturally excited by so sad a spectacle, led him

Capture of Philopœmen.

[1] Livy, xxxviii. 34.
[2] A partial attempt was afterwards made to restore it, but with little effect.
[3] Polyb. Excerpt. xxi. [4] Pliny, iv. 5. [5] Livy, xxxix. 49.

hastily to the theatre, and, having exhibited him to the multitude at a safe distance, conducted him to a place of security, Dinocrates crying out that he must be examined, touching the cause of his commencing hostilities, before the council. On his arrival at the town-hall, the magistrates, overawed by his presence and long-established reputation, were unable to put to him a single question; and as the night was approaching, they were greatly at a loss where to confine their formidable prisoner, for whom no one chose to be responsible. At length it was agreed to put him into a strong stone chamber under the public treasury, closing the door with an enormous mass of rock, and trusting the custody of so great a man rather to the strength of the jail than to the fidelity of the guard.[1] B. C. 183.

The deliberations were continued during the night. Fear and the influence of Dinocrates prevailed over every other consideration; and early in the morning an executioner entered the dungeon with a cup of hemlock-juice in his hand. The general, without any change of countenance, took the cup from the officer, and inquired whether Lycortas had escaped in the action of the preceding day, and whether the cavalry had effected their retreat? Both questions being answered in the affirmative, he replied, "Then all is well," raised the deadly draught to his lips, and composing himself, as if to sleep, shortly expired. His death. B. C. 183.

The authors of this atrocious crime were not permitted long to enjoy their guilty triumph. The nobility of all Achæa felt at once ashamed of having left their leader in the field, and indignant at the cruel treatment with which he had met: they assembled from every quarter at Megalopolis, and encouraged each other in a determination to avenge the affront. Lycortas, notwithstanding his youth,[2] was chosen general; and so admirably had he profited by the lessons of Philopœmen, that the army seemed still to be conducted by the spirit and experience of their veteran commander. Messene soon yielded to his skill and impetuosity. Dinocrates and his principal adherents avoided his vengeance by committing suicide; but the magistrates, who had voted for examining Philopœmen by torture, were reserved to be executed upon his tomb.[3] The funeral was celebrated by the whole body of the Achæan assembly;[4] and so anxious were they to omit no honour which can be conferred upon the memory of man, that they scrupled not to pay him marks of respect which are proper only to divinity.[5] His statues were erected in all the cities of the League, and were pointed out for many years afterwards as the "images of the last of the Greeks."

Thirty-seven years after his death, he was publicly denounced as an

[1] Livy, xxxix. 50.

[2] Plutarch states that he was only twenty years of age; but, as Lycortas had previously been sent as ambassador to Rome, and had pleaded the cause of the Achæans before the senate, it seems probable that he was much older.

[3] Plutarch, in loco.

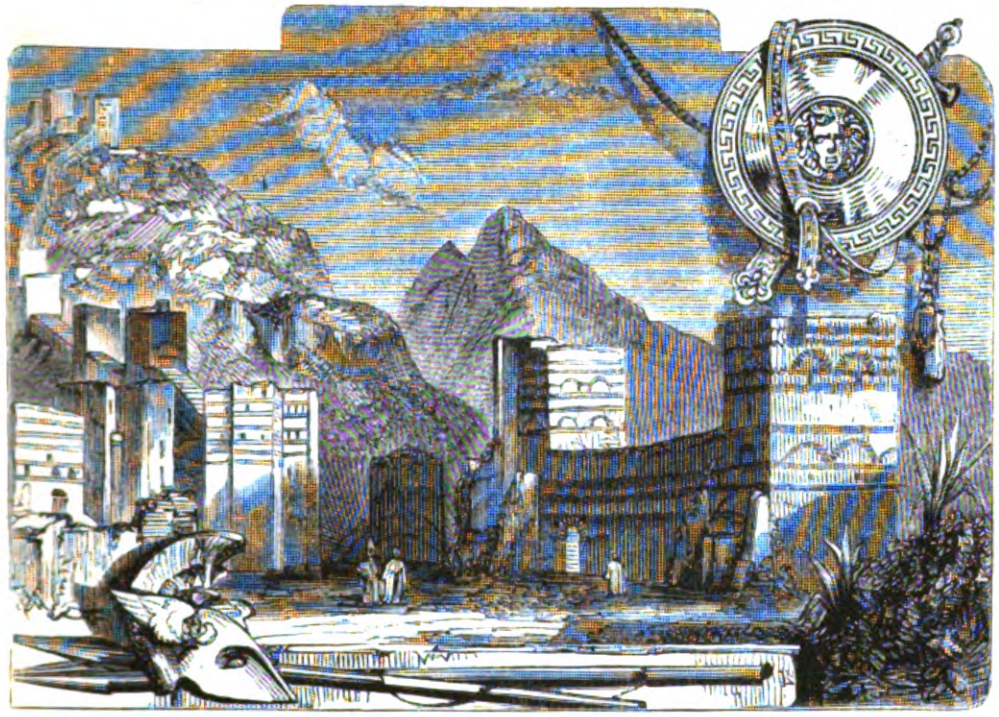
[4] Livy, eod. universo Achaico concilio.

[5] Id. eod.

B. C. 183. enemy to the Roman name, and it was proposed that his statues should be thrown down. But his cause was so ably and boldly defended by Polybius, the historian, son of the gallant and accomplished Lycortas, that Mummius forbade any violence to be offered to the memory of a man, who had never opposed to the ambition of Rome any policy but truth and disinterestedness, nor any arts of war but honour and courage.[1]

[1] Polyb. xi. 7.





Palace of Seleucus at Antioch.

CHAPTER XIII.

SYRIA, FROM THE REIGN OF ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT TILL THE TERMINATION OF THE DYNASTY OF THE SELEUCIDÆ.

FROM B. C. 193 TO B. C. 64.

BETWEEN the complete establishment of the Seleucidæ on the throne of Antioch, and the final overthrow of that family by the Romans, there is a brief period in ancient history during which the affairs of Syria appear to claim a distinct and separate narrative. The influence of the Macedonian name, and a knowledge of the great objects which had animated as well as ennobled the ambition of Alexander, continued for some time to support the reputation, and to direct the policy of his successors; on which account, as well perhaps as on the ground of their common origin and connection, it has been usual to give a combined view of the history of those powerful kingdoms which were founded upon the



Antiochus the Great.

B. C. 193. conquests of the renowned son of Philip. But the lapse of a few generations dissolved the bonds of this political consanguinity. The Grecian kings of Syria and Egypt lost by degrees all remembrance of their extraction as Macedonian chiefs, and relinquished, amidst the splendour of confirmed sovereignty, those high objects of glory or universal dominion which the respective founders of their dynasties had never ceased to contemplate. The reign of Antiochus the Great may be regarded as marking with sufficient accuracy the limits of that federal attachment, or historical unity, which characterised the earlier proceedings of Alexander's successors. We, therefore, proceed to narrate, under the names of this monarch and of his immediate descendants, the more important events which paved the way for the final annexation of Syria to the Roman empire.

Policy of the Romans.

The cautious policy pursued by the republicans of Italy with regard to the Grecian states, had already extended the influence of the senate to the remotest parts of Thrace and of Peloponnesus. The proconsul Flaminius, who knew well how to throw the veil of moderation, and even of generosity, over the ambitious designs of his countrymen, had returned to the banks of the Tiber, carrying with him the rare praise of having at once conquered and liberated a large portion of Greece. He had not, indeed, disarmed the power of Antiochus, nor removed all danger that might arise from the claims of Syria upon certain towns situated on the western shores of the Hellespont; but he had materially strengthened the enemies of that monarch, and had made preparations for opposing him which could hardly fail of success.

We have already mentioned the repeated conferences which were held in Greece between the Roman deputies and the representatives of the great king, and stated the grounds on which the contending parties rested their respective claims. No adjustment having been effected when Flaminius withdrew his troops into Italy, Antiochus, either with the intention of gaining time, or of seriously attempting to secure the neutrality of such powerful mediators, thought it expedient to send two ambassadors to Rome. The discussions which ensued were attended with no material result, besides an increase of irritation on both sides, and a more determined resolution to persevere in those particular measures from which each party laboured to dissuade the other. The Romans loudly condemned the restless policy of Antiochus, who, not satisfied with his immense territories in Asia, never ceased to prefer some antiquated claims upon the independence of the Grecian cities; which, as the friends of liberty in all parts of the world, and more especially as the allies of the free states whom he wished to oppress, they were determined by all the means in their power, whether by arms or negotiation, to protect and support. The Syrian envoys, on the other hand, did not affect to conceal their suspicions of the insidious conduct and hypocritical professions of the Roman senate. They set forth the ancient and hereditary right of their master to all those cities, both in Thrace and Asia Minor, over

Conference at Rome. B. C. 193.

which he was desirous to extend his dominion; they magnified his services to the Greeks, whose walls he had repaired, and whose wealth and security he had increased; and they concluded by observing, that his honour not less than his interest was concerned in maintaining the authority of the Syrian crown. These deliberations were terminated by a proposal on the part of the Romans to send to the head-quarters of the king, in the character of ambassadors, the three persons who had treated with him the preceding year in his camp at Lysimachia.[1] B. C. 193.

The king of Syria carries on war in Asia Minor.

Meanwhile Antiochus was at the head of an army in Asia Minor, prosecuting hostilities in person against his rebellious subjects in the province of Pisidia. Another division of his forces was occupied in besieging Smyrna and Lampsacus; two towns of great importance to his future views on the opposite coast of Thrace. This vigorous activity, during the whole period that the negotiation was pending at Rome, was enough to convince the enemies of Syria, that the king had either no desire or no expectation that peace could be secured. But whatever might be his views on this head, it admits not of any doubt that the Romans had already resolved on war. The conquest of Carthage made such an accession to their power, as well as to their ambitious designs, that they could no longer tolerate a rival influence in any part of Europe; and whatever might be wanting to their pretexts, on more general grounds, was amply supplied by the following considerations.

The Romans urged to warlike counsels by the fear of Hannibal.

No sooner had the Syrian deputies departed from Rome, than messengers arrived at that city from Carthage, to inform the senate that Hannibal was already concerting measures with Antiochus for carrying back the war into the heart of Italy. The Romans, whose fears were renewed at the very name of their late invader, succeeded in driving him from the head of affairs, in the capital of Africa, and compelled him to seek an asylum among the people of Tyre; whence he soon after proceeded to Antioch, and subsequently to the camp of the king, in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, where a conference was to be resumed with the Roman ambassadors, on the great question of peace or war.[2] The advice of the Carthaginian commander confirmed the resolution of Antiochus to trust his cause to the decision of arms; and as this determination could not fail to be made known to the Romans, it may be regarded as affording a reasonable excuse for the warlike attitude which they forthwith prepared to assume.

Plans of Eumenes in co-operation with the Romans.

Another motive which induced them to declare war against Antiochus, may be found in their political connection with Eumenes, the king of Pergamus. Foreseeing that a rupture would in all probability take place between the Romans and his Syrian neighbours, this cautious prince had refused to co-operate with Antiochus in his designs upon Greece, and had thus exposed himself to an unequal conflict with a very powerful enemy. Eumenes, therefore, actuated by the very obvious view of self-defence, as well, perhaps, as by the dictates of a

[1] Livy, lib. xxxiv. 57. [2] Ibid. xxxiii. 33.

B. C. 193. more profound and less justifiable policy, pressed upon the Romans the expediency of war; promising, at the same time, the assistance of his arms and counsels, should the scene of hostilities be eventually transferred into the provinces of Asia Minor. The Roman commissioners, accordingly, who were sent to negotiate with Antiochus, deemed it proper to pass through Pergamus, in order at once to inform themselves of the precise relations which subsisted between the Asiatic sovereigns, and to communicate to Eumenes the strongest assurances of support from the senate, should they finally resolve upon a war with Syria.



Eumenes II.

The peace of the Grecian states, and the interests of Rome were threatened from another quarter also, which, if not so formidable in point of power, was more to be dreaded in respect of the implacable revenge and desperate counsels with which the renewal of war was meditated. The Ætolians, who had been the most active in inviting the interference of the Romans in the affairs of Greece, were the first to discover the mischievous effects of that short-sighted policy; and now finding themselves disappointed in all their hopes, and contemptuously dismissed whenever they sought compensation, or claimed a share of the advantages obtained by their own arms, they everywhere indulged in the most furious invectives against their late allies, and invited an open confederacy of the more independent states to throw off for ever their odious dominion. With this view, they despatched embassies to Nabis of Sparta, to Philip of Macedon, and to Antiochus, the king of Syria; and as the last of these sovereigns was already disposed for war, the intemperate counsels of Ætolia were not urged in vain.

Warlike disposition of the Ætolians.

Such measures, openly pursued by some of the leading republics of Greece, and not less openly countenanced by others, could not fail to alarm the vigilant policy of Rome. It was immediately resolved to adopt such precautions as might obviate the danger to which the interests of the Roman people appeared to be exposed from the hostile intentions of Antiochus and the Ætolians; and also, in the mean time, to add to the number of their commissioners already despatched into Asia Minor, that they might the more certainly become acquainted with the real views of the Syrians, and watch the motions of their wavering allies. A small force of men and ships was sent under Flaminius, who seems in this, as in the former expedition, to have been charged with the superintendence of diplomatic as well as of military affairs; and that wary general found, immediately upon his arrival in Achæa, the most unambiguous proofs that a second and more decisive crisis was impending over the Grecian republics, and threatening with important change the whole of Asia Minor.

Resolution adopted by the Romans.

B. C. 192.

When the invitation to assist in the liberation of Greece reached Antiochus, he appears to have been still resident at Ephesus, and to have permitted at his court the attendance of the Roman envoys, Sulpicius and Villius. These functionaries continued to use the language of peace, and to cover the designs of their country by the usual professions of moderation, and of a conscientious regard for the interests of their Grecian allies. The reply of Minio, the minister of the Syrian potentate, addressed on this occasion to these haughty and insidious republicans, conveyed at once a merited reproof, and also the sentiments which were then generally entertained in regard to the protection vouchsafed by the Romans to the Greek commonwealths. "Your conduct," said he, "where you are in a condition to act without disguise, is a much better evidence of your intentions, than any professions you may think proper to make in Greece or in Asia, where, by assuming a popular character, you have so many parties to reconcile to your interest. Are not the inhabitants of Naples and of Rhegium Greeks, as well as those of Lampsacus and Smyrna? You are extremely desirous to set the Greeks at liberty from the dominion of Antiochus and Philip, but have no remorse in subjecting them to your own."[1]

B. C. 192. Professions of their ambassadors.

Remonstrances of the Syrian minister.

War being no longer doubtful, nothing remained for the king of Syria but to determine whether to attack the Romans in their own country, or to wait their arrival in the territory of their allies. Han-



Hannibal.

nibal, who had never ceased to hold the opinion that the Romans could only be conquered in Italy, recommended with the utmost earnestness and force of reasoning the manifest advantages of an invasion, as the sole means whereby the king could effectually weaken the power and

Advice of Hannibal to Antiochus.

[1] Livy, xxxv.

B. C. 192. distract the counsels of that warlike people. Soliciting from Antiochus an armament of no more than a hundred galleys, ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, he offered his services as the commander of the expedition; assuring him that, with this small force, together with the troops and supplies which he could raise at Carthage, he would be able to effect a descent on the Italian coast, and thereby create a powerful diversion in his favour.

Opposite counsel of the royal flatterers.

This wise counsel was overruled by the influence of the Ætolians, and the jealousy of the Syrian courtiers. Such a monarch, said the latter, stood in no need of foreign aid or direction; his own forces and his own talents were sufficient to vanquish the Romans in any part of the world; the liberation and recovery of Greece ought to be the first object of his arms, and there everything promised success. Antiochus is himself a Greek, and his appearance on their shores will be hailed by his countrymen with transport and affection: the Ætolians are already in arms: Nabis longs for an opportunity to recover the possessions of which he has been despoiled by the Romans; and Philip of Macedon, who smarts under the indignities which he has suffered from that encroaching people, will obey the first signal to retrieve his wrongs, and will join his standard to that of the great king.[1]

Antiochus invades Greece. B. C. 192.

The Ætolians, who had already made some hostile movements against the Achæans and inhabitants of Eubœa, were extremely urgent in their entreaties that Antiochus would pass over into Greece. At length he complied with their request; for, leaving the blockade of Smyrna and Lampsacus to the care of his lieutenants, he sailed into the Pelasgic gulf at the head of ten or twelve thousand of his best troops. His reception on the European shore was marked with that ardent enthusiasm which distinguished the ancient Greeks. The Athenians themselves were shaken in their fidelity to Rome. The Bœotians were prepared to extend their services to the invader; and none of the states remained steady in their allegiance to the Roman republic, except the members of the Achæan league, and the small commonwealth of Eubœa. The opposition of the latter body provoked the first act of hostility on the part of Antiochus. He reduced their capital, and subdued their island; in which achievement he gained, at the same time, a partial triumph over the allied arms of the Achæans, as well as those of Eumenes, the king of Pergamus, who had so early taken the field on the side of the Romans. This trifling conquest was the only event which occurred to crown the preparations and boastful promises of the Syrian monarch and his confederates; after which he retired to pass the winter in negotiation, and to await the more important transactions of the ensuing summer.

Weak and unsteady conduct of Antiochus.

The vigour of Antiochus's mind proved unequal to the mighty contest in which he was about to engage; and his weakness nowhere showed itself with more fatal effects than in his contemptible jealousy of Hannibal, who still administered to him the most valuable counsel.

[1] Livy, xxxvi. 7.

In direct opposition to the advice of this consummate statesman and soldier, the Syrian king not only neglected to secure the friendship of the Macedonians, but even by affording unseasonable countenance to a rival prince, who had pretensions to the throne, he provoked the open enmity of Philip, and drove him into a new alliance with the Romans. It was to dissuade Antiochus from the pernicious policy which he was now pursuing, and to remove from his mind the unhappy suspicion which he saw the king entertained in regard to his fidelity, that Hannibal related to him the interesting anecdote of his early life, so familiar to every schoolboy, and which is recorded by Polybius, Livy, and Cornelius Nepos. But remonstrances and protestations were now alike in vain. The infatuated Syrian wasted his time in concluding obscure treaties, and in besieging unimportant towns, till he was roused to a momentary activity, and to a sense of the manifold dangers which gathered around him, by the sight of a Roman encampment, whose fires already blazed on the hills of Thessaly. B. C. 192.

Vigilance and activity of the Romans.

No sooner had Sulpicius and the other ambassadors reported at Rome the unsuccessful issue of their negotiations with the great king and his Ætolian allies, than active preparations were ordered by the senate to meet all the contingencies of the approaching war. Aware of the offensive measures recommended by Hannibal, the Romans stationed forthwith a powerful army of observation at Tarentum; provided for the safety of Sicily and the shores of the republic, by fitting out two numerous fleets; and, above all, gave directions for assembling a large armament, early in the spring, at a convenient port on the Adriatic, that it might be transported into Illyricum, upon the first signal of a hostile operation on the part of the enemy. B. C. 191.

Zeal of their allies against Antiochus.

The allies of Rome seconded, with unwonted zeal, her preparations against Antiochus. Carthage, in order to wipe off all suspicion that Hannibal acted with the concurrence of his native government, offered large supplies of corn. Ptolemy, actuated by personal resentment, and the more justifiable motives of national security, volunteered his aid against the conqueror of Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia: whilst Philip of Macedon, enraged at the threatened violation of his territory, professed his readiness to join the standard of the consul with a considerable force of men, and large supplies of money and provisions.[1]

The Romans march into Thessaly and raise the siege of Larissa.

The army which subsequently passed over into Greece, under the command of Manius Acilius Glabrio, amounted to twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and about fifteen elephants. The siege of Larissa by Antiochus was held to be a declaration of war; and accordingly, at the request of the Macedonians, Appius Claudius, at the head of a powerful detachment, marched into Thessaly, as well for the relief of that city, as to apprise the invader that his ravages in the territory of a Roman ally would not be allowed to pass unavenged. This demonstration was more than sufficient to disconcert the hasty and ill-provided inroad of the Syrians. Antiochus immediately

[1] Livy, xxxvi. *ab initio.*

B C. 191. retreated to Demetrias, and afterwards to Eubœa; in which latter place, it is said, he gave himself up to the pursuit of an unequal love, and renewed for a time the sensuality and voluptuous indolence which had disgraced the earlier part of his life. Most historians agree in fixing the date of his marriage with the daughter of Cleoptolemus after his retreat from Thessaly: but there is reason, we think, for placing this amorous transaction among the occurrences which fell out at Chalcis, during his first residence there; as it is hardly possible to imagine that he would allow himself to indulge in the protracted absurdities with which he celebrated his nuptials, immediately after being repulsed by one army, and whilst threatened by another still more powerful. However this may be, we are not permitted to doubt that Antiochus was in the field before Acilius landed his troops in the gulf of Ambracia.

Battle of the straits of Thermopylæ, and defeat of Antiochus.

The commencement of the war was signalized on the part of the Romans by the reduction of Pelinnæum, a Thessalian city, which had been garrisoned by the Syrians, and committed to the charge of Philip, commonly called the Megalopolitan, and whom we have already described as a pretender to the throne of Macedonia. But the main object contemplated by Acilius was to drive Antiochus out of Europe; and with this view he pursued his retreating phalanx until he succeeded in shutting him up on the narrow shores of the Malian Gulf. Here the Syrian determined to make a stand, in order at least to protect the entrance into Greece, and gain time for the assembling of a more numerous army. But the straits of Thermopylæ were no longer esteemed impregnable. The Persians and Gauls had undeceived the Greeks as to the imaginary strength of that celebrated defile; and the Romans, as Antiochus well knew, were not inferior to the troops either of Xerxes or Brennus, in point of enterprise, courage, and perseverance. It was in vain that the Ætolians occupied the narrow passes in the neighbouring mountains. Cato, the celebrated censor, then in the prime of life, exercised a subordinate command under Acilius; and being on this occasion detached with a body of active soldiers to dislodge the Ætolians from the high ground, he effected his object so completely, as to afford the most essential aid to the principal attack on the enemy's camp and lines, against which the consul advanced in person. The Syrian army was cut in pieces: the king himself, not without some difficulty, escaped, with a few hundred men, to Elatia, and afterwards to Chalcis; whence he was escorted to



Cato the Censor.

Ephesus by a small squadron of scattered ships, which had succeeded in assembling at Eubœa. B. C. 191.

Resistance and distress of the Ætolians.

After the defeat of Antiochus, and his flight from Europe, no enemy remained in Greece to dispute the ascendency of the Romans, except the fickle people of Ætolia, who now found themselves at the mercy of a victorious foe, whom they had provoked by a long course of insolent invective, and by the most selfish and traitorous disaffection. The consul advanced into their country, laid siege to Naupactus, and having reduced them to considerable distress, agreed to a cessation of arms, which was to last only whilst their deputies were proceeding to Rome, to implore forgiveness, and to make their peace with the senate. Their mission to the banks of the Tiber was, however, attended with little success. No terms were promised, except on the condition of unlimited surrender, and the payment of a thousand talents. The Ætolians, therefore, made haste to resume their arms. Naupactus was strengthened so much as to bid defiance to the renewed attacks of Acilius; who, that he might achieve something memorable before his command should expire, removed his army to the siege of Amphissa.[1]

Lucius Scipio appointed to the command in Greece, accompanied by his brother Publius, the victor of Zama. B. C. 190.

Affairs were in the posture we have now described, when news arrived that Lucius Scipio was appointed to conduct the war against Antiochus, aided by the counsels of his brother, the renowned Africanus, who had accepted of an appointment under his command. The new consul carried with him into his province a powerful army, reinforced by the addition of five thousand veterans, who were desirous to renew their laurels under the banners of a captain, whose name was at once extremely popular, and had long been auspicious to Roman glory. The fleet, too, was greatly augmented under Livius, already become a successful commander: and ample supplies of money and military stores were furnished by the king of Egypt, who, at this momentous crisis, appears to have confined his narrow views to the humiliation of Syria, overlooking the more formidable ambition, and still more formidable arms of his new allies. Philip, likewise, exerted all his powers of civility and accommodation to further the views of the consul Scipio for carrying on an Asiatic war. He granted a free passage through Macedonia; was delighted to report that his roads and bridges were in excellent order, and that his magazines were amply replenished with everything that might be found necessary to promote the comfort and expedition of the Roman soldiers. The siege of Amphissa was no longer regarded as worthy of delay: the army of Acilius joined the ranks of Scipio; and the latter, cheered by the enemies of Antiochus, and unobstructed by his friends, performed an easy and rapid march to the shores of the Hellespont.[2]

Situation and measures of Antiochus.

When Antiochus had reached Ephesus, after the defeat at Thermopylæ, his fears were not alleviated when he heard from the faithful lips of Hannibal, that he would soon have to contend with the

[1] Livy, xxxvii. 5.

[2] Ibid. c. 7.

B. C. 190. Romans *for* Asia *in* Asia. Roused to a sense of his danger, the king resolved to make a vigorous effort to recruit his army, and to strengthen his interests by negotiation, before his active enemies could cross the Ægæan sea. He reinforced his garrisons at Chersonesus, equipped a powerful fleet under Polyxenidas, and despatched ships of observation to guard the coasts, or to give early notice of such hostile movements as it might be necessary to oppose. He relied with undiminished confidence on the boundless resources of his Asiatic provinces; and though Lampsacus and Smyrna still refused to acknowledge him as their master, the greater part of the maritime towns were open to his forces, and well stored with magazines to meet the various contingencies of war. His matrimonial relations with Pontus and Cappadocia, afforded to him the ground of a reasonable hope that the arms of these kingdoms would be joined to those of Syria in defeating the schemes of the Romans against the independence of the Lesser Asia. He likewise courted the alliance of Prusias, the warlike prince of Bithynia, and entered into a treaty with the inhabitants of Galatia, the descendants of those formidable Gauls who had filled with terror the most powerful states of Greece, and conquered an independent settlement from one of the most vigorous of Alexander's successors. In this way he made arrangements for encountering in Asia the redoubtable armies of Rome, and for meeting the exigencies of the momentous struggle in which he had involved the interests of his hereditary dominions.

Defeat of his fleet at Corycus.

The first events of the war proved rather unfavourable to his hopes, and weakened considerably one of the main supports of his ascendency in Greece. His fleet was defeated by the Romans near Corycus, and pursued into Ephesus, where it was afterwards blockaded. A temporary advantage gained soon after over the Rhodian navy, was dearly purchased by a gross breach of faith committed by his admiral, and by a renewed declaration of hostility on the part of those hardy islanders, who were in this instance the victims of his guile.

The territory of Pergamus invaded by Seleucus.



Attalus II.

Whilst the Romans were employed in an unsuccessful expedition against the sea-ports of Lycia, the plans of Antiochus began to be developed, in the invasion of Pergamus by an army under his son Seleucus. Eumenes, although thus taken by surprise, was not altogether unprepared for resistance. His capital sustained a protracted siege, carried on by the whole united army of the Syrians, until it was relieved

by a seasonable reinforcement of troops from Achæa. The forces of Eumenes were commanded on this occasion by his brother Attalus, who subsequently (B. C. 150) succeeded him on the throne as Attalus II. An assault on Adramyttium by Antiochus in person was in like manner defeated; after which the arms of the contending parties appear to have been for some time employed in mutual ravages of each other's fields, and in pillaging defenceless towns. B. C. 190.

A more severe disappointment than he had yet sustained was soon announced to Antiochus. A large fleet, conveying to him an important supply of men and stores, and commanded by Apollonius and the faithful Hannibal, had just left the shores of Phœnicia, when the Rhodians, informed of its approach, prepared to intercept its progress and defeat its object. The memorable fight off the coast of Pamphylia ensued, in which the Carthaginian general displayed so much ability as a naval commander, and so nearly retrieved, by a signal victory, the depressed fortunes of Antiochus. But the skill and activity of the Rhodians baffled all the efforts of the Syrian ships; which were at once unwieldy from their size, and encumbered with a heavy loading. Hannibal had the mortification to behold once more the rising fortunes of Rome bearing down his hopes, and thwarting his utmost endeavours. He witnessed the total discomfiture of his friends; saw the Phœnician fleet driven on the rocks, or scattered on the surface of the deep; and after a useless display of courage, and a partial success in the division which he personally commanded, he was compelled to join the general flight, and to seek for safety on the neighbouring shore. Sea-fight near Pamphylia.

To recover the power which he was thus daily losing at sea, Antiochus resolved to make a vigorous effort with the fleet under Polyxenidas, before the consular army, led by the two Scipios, could gain a firm footing in Asia. But the Romans, with their vigilant allies the sailors of Rhodes, were fully prepared to meet the Syrian admiral. The hostile squadrons encountered near Teios, a city of Ionia, when victory once more declared for the confederates, who destroyed or captured more than thirty of the enemy's ships. The command of the Ægæan was now entirely in the hands of the invaders; the Syrian garrisons were hastily withdrawn from Chersonesus, and the king retreated in no small panic to Sardis, where he expected a contingent of troops from Cappadocia, furnished by his son-in-law, Ariarathes. It is said that the reverses which he had already sustained even affected the reason of Antiochus. His conduct was marked with an unmanly trepidation and fickleness; and upon finding that he could not secure the alliance of Prusias, the sovereign of Bithynia, his rage and fear gave themselves vent in the most unbecoming terms of reproach and despair.

The progress of the consul at the head of the invading army had been somewhat delayed by the necessity of celebrating the festival of Mars at the appointed season. Africanus, who was himself a priest of that god, took an important share in the religious ceremonies in The Scipios observe the festival of Mars.

B. C. 190. which the soldiers were employed; being resolved to carry with him into Asia all the aids which the military system of the Romans was wont to derive from their warlike superstition, particularly when entering upon a new soil, and about to expose themselves to the untried powers of foreign divinities.

The Romans visit Troy, as the cradle of their ancestors.

When they had crossed the Hellespont, the Romans, who now delighted to cherish the recollection that they were descendants of Æneas, proceeded with great solemnity to visit the remains of ancient Troy, that famed and venerated seat of Phrygian sovereignty. The inhabitants of Dardanus and Rhœteum met the Roman soldiers on the plain which surrounded the old capital of Priam; whence they ascended, hand in hand, to the temple of Minerva, to perform sacrifice to their tutelary goddess, who still enjoyed divine honours amid the ruined walls, which she had not been able to protect, and spread the sanctity of her mild worship over the neighbouring fields, on which her heroes had fallen under the swords of their enemies. The soldiers of Africanus felt the auspicious influence of this interesting commemoration. They had come to claim with their affections, not less than with their arms, the country of their progenitors; and having conquered Europe and Africa, they were now about to add to their triumphs the third great division of the habitable world.[1]

Proposals for a treaty by Antiochus.

Availing himself of the delay occasioned by these repeated halts, Antiochus sent an ambassador to the camp of the Romans, in order to propose terms of peace. It was hoped by this monarch that Scipio Africanus, as his glory could receive no accession from the reduction of a few provinces in Asia, which were always ready to change their master in the presence of a superior force, would not be ardently bent on the prosecution of a distant war. He expected much, too, from the paternal feelings of that renowned commander, whose son had fallen into the hands of the Syrians, and was at that time a prisoner with the king, who is said to have treated him with the utmost kindness. Heraclides, the envoy employed by Antiochus, represented to the Roman chiefs that his master had already made great concessions with the view of maintaining amity with their republic; that he had relinquished several strong positions and valuable towns on the Chersonesus; and that he was willing, rather than desolate his country with blood, to renounce also his just right to Smyrna and Lampsacus. The consul informed the ambassador, that peace was not now to be retained at so mean a price. Antiochus, says he, whose ambition and restless spirit have drawn the Roman eagles across the Hellespont, must consent to



Scipio Africanus.

[1] Livy, xxxvii. 33.

resign all the territory which he holds westward of Mount Taurus, and also to defray the whole expense which the Romans have incurred in preparing for war. It was in vain that Heraclides applied more private arguments to the individual interests of Africanus, and promised that his son should be immediately delivered up to him, were the views of Antiochus promoted in regard to a treaty with Rome. The conqueror of Zama returned for answer, that he was less surprised that the envoy of the Syrian king should be ignorant of the character of the Romans than that he should not be acquainted with the condition of his own master. After relinquishing his defensive positions on the Hellespont, and having allowed his enemies to pass quietly into Asia, Antiochus, says he, may be compared to a horse, which has not only admitted the rein, but has patiently received a rider. Alluding, then, to his own concerns, Scipio continues: "I shall accept my son from his hands as the highest personal favour; I will hold myself ready to repay him by the highest personal service in my power. But as to public affairs, I can do nothing for his interest, except by giving him this one advice, that he accede to any terms of peace proposed by the Romans, however hard and unreasonable they may appear to him."[1] B. C. 190. Rejected by the Romans.

Preparations were now made, on both sides, for battle. Eumenes joined the Romans with a considerable force, eager to share in the merit, and to brave the danger of a conflict which he perceived was now altogether inevitable. Nor was Antiochus less active than his formidable opponents. With seventy thousand infantry and twelve thousand horse, he made haste to occupy a strong post near Mount Sipylus in Ionia; defending his camp, by means of ramparts and other fortifications, against any sudden attack on the part of the Romans, who had already assembled in considerable strength on the frontiers of the Pergamenian territory. Both sides prepare for battle.

Scipio Africanus had been obliged to leave his brother on his march, and to yield to the pressure of a severe indisposition, which confined him at Elæa. Whilst in that city, an embassy reached him from Antiochus, restoring to his arms his captive son. The gratitude of the Roman general was ardent and sincere; and as the only return which he could make to the Syrian king, he entreated him not to commit his affairs to the hazard of a battle until the father of the youth whom he had just set at liberty had rejoined the camp of the consul. The son of Scipio restored.

But Antiochus did not follow this advice, which was unquestionably meant for his advantage. The Romans having advanced within two miles of his lines, provoked him to the combat by every demonstration of martial ardour and of personal contempt. They even prepared to attack his intrenchments, and drive him from his position; when at length, yielding to necessity, to his own impatience, or to the demands of his army, he descended into the plain to meet the insulting confederates. The fortune of the day was various, and the conflict obstinate and bloody. The phalanx and a select body of cavalry, trained accord- Decisive battle of Magnesia. B. C. 190.

[1] Livy, xxxvii. 36.

B. C. 190. ing to the exercises and discipline of the renowned Alexander, constituted the main strength of the Syrians; whilst they were opposed by four legions of Roman soldiers, well armed and full of courage, by a large body of Pergamenians, commanded by Eumenes, and by several thousand Macedonians, sent into the field by Philip. The celebrated horsemen called the *Agema*, vindicated on this occasion their ancient fame; for, breaking through the Roman cavalry, they carried Antiochus a victor to the very gates of the enemy's camp, and threw a momentary consternation into the various ranks of the consular army. But the tribune Æmilius, at the head of the reserve, checked, after a severe contest, the victorious Syrians. The aspect of the field immediately changed. Antiochus returned to his infantry only to witness their total discomfiture; and the utter impossibility of recovering the ground he had lost, induced him to set an example of flight, which he continued, surrounded by a few horsemen, until he reached, about midnight, the walls of Sardis.

Flight of Antiochus into Syria.

But the strongest fortress in Asia Minor could no longer inspire confidence or insure safety to the vanquished king. Leaving Sardis, he accordingly hastened his retreat into the plains of Cilicia, whence he pursued, in great dejection, the road which led to Antioch. Destitute of defence, the principal cities in Ionia and Lydia opened their gates to the conquerors, or anticipated their arrival by sending offers of submission. There was now no hope in arms, as the whole Syrian host had been either slaughtered at Magnesia, or dispersed by the active pursuit of the Romans; and the only resource which remained for Antiochus was placed in the moderation of his powerful enemy, the jealousy of their allies, and the personal gratitude of the elder Scipio.

Embassy to the Romans at Sardis.

No time was to be lost in this critical and arduous predicament. Antiochus immediately selected for his ambassadors to the Roman generals the experienced Zeuxis, who had long held an important command in Lydia, and his nephew Antipater, who had probably been the companion of the son of Africanus. The head-quarters of the consul were already advanced to Sardis, where he appears to have been joined again by his illustrious brother; and it was in this capital of the Lydian province, that the deputies of the great king presented themselves before the victorious soldiers of the western republic, to implore their clemency in behalf of one of Alexander's successors, and to entreat that the throne of Seleucus might be allowed to stand.[1]

Peace granted, and the terms of the treaty.

Scipio Africanus replied to the speech of Zeuxis, who, in his address to the conquerors, had used the humblest language, and employed the most submissive arguments, that the crouching spirit of an Asiatic could dictate. The Roman, not less mindful of the wise policy which had everywhere seconded the vigour of his country's arms than of his private obligation to Antiochus, made haste to assure the Syrians that the recent success of the consul did not at all affect the moderation of his demands. The events of war, said he, depend upon the will of

[1] Livy, xxxvii. 44, *et seq.*

the gods, but the sentiments of the heart, and the generosity of our intentions, belong to ourselves. The king of Syria, instructed by misfortune, must henceforth confine his pretensions to a more limited territory, and resign, not only his claim upon all Grecian states and cities, but also upon that portion of Asia Minor which lies westward of Mount Taurus. To defray the expense of the war, he must pay, by successive instalments, the sum of five thousand talents; and, to secure the performance of the conditions thus imposed, he must surrender into the hands of the Romans twenty hostages, such as they shall require. To remove from him the temptation to enter anew upon a destructive war, or to annoy, by menace of hostilities, any of the allies of Rome, he must likewise consent to give up his elephants, and all his navy, with the exception of ten ships; and even these are not to be allowed to extend their progress at sea beyond a certain point on the coast of Cilicia, unless when they shall carry ambassadors, hostages, or tribute. B. C. 190.

Stipulation with regard to Hannibal.

The severity of these terms was mixed with a becoming degree of generosity and self-denial, inasmuch as the Romans could have stripped Antiochus of all that they chose to leave him, and as they conferred upon Eumenes, and their other allies, the whole of the valuable provinces which they thus wrested from the Syrian crown. The stipulation with regard to Hannibal was the only one which indicated either fear or revenge; and fortunately for the fame of Africanus, as well as for that of Antiochus, it was not in the power of the latter to fulfil it, by delivering up the renowned Carthaginian into the hands of his enemies. It was reserved for another sovereign, and another Roman general, to employ the vile arts of perfidy and deceit against one of the greatest commanders of antiquity; and Hannibal, a few years afterwards, received from the hands of Prusias the mean, cruel, and disgraceful treatment which the treaty of Sardis failed to inflict.

Death of Antiochus. B. C. 187.

Antiochus did not long survive the battle of Magnesia, which had so entirely denuded him of power as a king and of reputation as a military chief. The last act of his life continues to cloud his memory. Compelled by the pecuniary claims which pressed upon him to have recourse to violent measures, he formed the resolution of robbing one of those sacred emporia, in which the caravans of Media and Persis were wont to deposit their goods and to perform the stated acts of their religion. The assault, conducted by the monarch himself, was made in the night; but meeting with greater resistance than had been expected, the royal troops were repulsed by the fierce barbarians who guarded the temple; a great slaughter ensued, and Antiochus was numbered amongst the slain. A various and eventful reign of thirty-seven years was thus closed in a paltry attempt to pillage a few travelling merchants; and a king, to whose name the epithet "Great" was attached, sacrificed his life in a nocturnal brawl, whilst fighting against the commerce, the arts, and the religion of his subjects.

The throne of Antioch was immediately filled by the eldest son of

B. C. 187. Accession of Seleucus Philopator.

the late sovereign, Seleucus Philopator. The younger brother, Antiochus, who had been selected by the Romans as one of the twenty hostages which they demanded upon the peace of Sardis, was now in that condition of honourable captivity, learning the language and arts of his conquerors on the banks of the Tiber.

Fifteen years elapsed after the accession of Philopator, during which nothing of material consequence occurred to employ the pen of history. He appears to have paid punctually to the Romans the annual tribute with which they had burdened the crown of his father, and to have enjoyed, in uninterrupted security, the inglorious peace of which that tribute was the price. But, like his predecessor, he was driven by his necessities to perpetrate, or to attempt, an act of sacrilege. The treasurer, Heliodorus, being informed that the Temple of Jerusalem concealed a rich treasure, proceeded, at the command of his master, to demand from the high priest a portion of his wealth for the use of the Syrian government. Onias, who at that time filled the highest office in the sanctuary, represented to the treasurer that the gold and silver in question, of which the amount had been greatly exaggerated, was a charitable deposit, reserved for their widows and orphans. Heliodorus was not satisfied with this explanation, but proceeded to enter by force the holy gates of the temple. His progress was arrested by supernatural means, which the reader will find described with much minuteness and animation in the second book of the Maccabees.

Sacrilegious attempt to pillage the temple of Jerusalem. B. C. 176.



Heliodorus driven from the Temple.

Treason of Heliodorus.

The disappointment of the Syrian king in this nefarious attempt was soon afterwards followed by his death. The miraculous interpo-

sition which saved Heliodorus from the guilt of sacrilege did not, it should seem, impress his mind with any salutary religious fear, or with the love of justice and fidelity. Upon his return to Antioch he contrived the murder of his sovereign, whose throne he meant to usurp, in the absence at once of Antiochus the brother, and of Demetrius the son of Seleucus. This young prince was on his way to Rome to succeed in quality of a hostage his uncle, Antiochus Epiphanes, who was now to be relieved from that irksome restraint; and the opportunity thus presented to the treasurer of seizing upon the government, impelled him to perpetrate the horrid crime to which we have just alluded, and to remove his master by a cup of poison. But the speedy appearance of Antiochus with an army prevented the complete consummation of the treason and the full success of the traitor. Heliodorus was expelled, and the brother of Seleucus Philopator, with the concurrence of Eumenes and Attalus, assumed the reins of authority, to the prejudice of his nephew Demetrius, whose juster claims were overlooked.

B. C. 176. Murder of Seleucus and accession of Antiochus Epiphanes.



Antiochus Epiphanes.

To supply the deficiency of his right to the throne, the new king is described as having descended to the lowest arts of popularity. He adopted, in the streets of Antioch, the dress and manners of those who, at Rome, announce themselves as candidates for public offices; he saluted the meanest of the people, joined in their amusements, solicited their suffrages, and scattered amongst them handfuls of money. The highest orders of Syrians despised alike the meanness of his character and his unseasonable imitation of foreign customs; and, using their wit as the instrument of their revenge, they substituted for Epiphanes, the "illustrious," Epimanes, the "fool:" an alternative of epithets, of which neither can be held as truly descriptive of his conduct or character.

Trifling behaviour of Antiochus.

No sooner had he recruited his army and re-established the finances of his kingdom, than he turned his thoughts to the enlargement of his territory, and in particular to the safety of his Egyptian frontier. His sister Cleopatra directed, at that period, the government of her son, Ptolemy Philometor; in which delicate office she displayed so much wisdom and prudence, that no pretence could be found for involving the country in war. Upon the death of the regent, however, Antiochus opened his ears to a rumour, which spread from Alexandria, that his nephew had been advised by his ministers to renew the claims of Egypt upon Cœle-Syria and Palestine; and accordingly, without attempting to ascertain by inquiry, or to avert by negotiation, the warlike intentions ascribed to the young king, he marched an army across the desert, and forthwith commenced hostilities. His fears or his ambition being

He declares war against Egypt. B. C. 168.

B. C. 167. gratified with some important advantages in the first campaign, he renewed his invasion in the following year, defeated Philometor in battle, and even took him prisoner.

Siege of Alexandria; and the arrival of Roman commissioners.

The people of Alexandria, who alone had successfully withstood the irruption of Antiochus, chose for their king the younger brother of Philometor, on whom they conferred the surname of Euergetes. The Syrian monarch soon after laid siege to Alexandria; whilst, to distract the counsels of the new government, he restored the captive prince to the titular sovereignty of his kingdom. But the Egyptians had already despatched an embassy to Rome, describing their wretched condition, and imploring the aid of the senate. Returning to complete his intention on the besieged town, in which the chief strength of Euergetes was placed, Antiochus was met at Eleusine by the ambassador Popilius Lænas, who, with Decimus and Hostilius, had been sent from Rome to remonstrate against his unprincipled aggressions. The Syrian king, to whom Pompilius was personally known, expressed his delight at seeing an old acquaintance in so distant a country; but the Roman declined all compliment until he should be informed whether Antiochus would instantly relinquish his views upon Egypt, and comply with the request of the senate. The king glanced over the letter which was put into his hand, and said he would immediately proceed to consider its contents, and give an answer without delay. Nay, exclaimed the envoy, drawing a circle with his staff around the person of Antiochus, you shall answer it before you stir out of the narrow space which I have now circumscribed! The king then consented to follow the instructions of the senate, and to withdraw his troops: upon which the haughty republican condescended to exchange civilities, and to revive his friendship for the Syrian hostage whom he had formerly known at Rome.

Submissive conduct of Antiochus, and conclusion of the war.

Philometor and Euergetes agree to reign in common.

The Roman commissioners next employed themselves in negotiating a peace between the two brothers, who agreed to hold a common sceptre, and to share the honours of royalty together. Proceeding next to Cyprus, which had just been reduced by the sea forces of Antiochus, and wrested from the Egyptian dominion, they dismissed the Syrian fleet with orders to return to their own shores, and restored the allegiance of the island to its former masters.

In following the traces of the most authentic annals, we find Antiochus, soon after his humiliating repulse from Egypt, engaged in war with the Jews; but as we have narrated the principal events connected with that unhallowed enterprise under its proper head, we shall rest satisfied here with referring the reader to our article on JEWISH HISTORY.[1]

The wars of Antiochus against the Jews.

Leaving his general Lysias in Palestine, the king, in person, undertook an expedition into Upper Asia, for the purpose, it is thought, of collecting tribute, as well as of checking the turbulent spirits of his barbarian subjects. Nothing remarkable is recorded in regard to the

[1] *Vide* History of the Jews, in this edition of the Encycl. Metrop.

events of this campaign, if we except the sacrilegious assault which was made upon the temple of Elymais, the same emporium of eastern merchandise which had tempted the cupidity of Antiochus the Great. The gods were thought to protect, in this instance as in the former, the wealthy votaries who had confided to their keeping the treasures of Media and of the Indus; and the Syrians, baffled and disappointed, found it necessary to secure their safety by a speedy retreat before the bands of the enraged mountaineers, in whose district the temple was situated. Antiochus himself reached Ecbatana, smarting under the wounds he had received at Elymais; and it was in this capital that the news was conveyed to him that his armies in Palestine were utterly discomfited, that Jerusalem was retaken and fortified, and that the affairs of his enemies were everywhere greatly improved. In his rage he swore that the ruins of the Jewish cities should soon bury all their inhabitants; and setting out in haste, to realize his impious threats, he died at an obscure village on the road to Babylon; his demise being accelerated partly by his wounds, and partly by a fall which he had suffered from his chariot.

B. C. 167.

His expedition into Upper Asia and death.

B. C. 164.

The throne of Syria was immediately filled by the young Antiochus, the fifth of the name, who is also known in history by the cognomen Eupator. Being only nine years of age, the cares of government were intrusted to the veteran Lysias, who had, indeed, been appointed by the late king both regent of the kingdom during his absence in the east, and also guardian to the prince, whose education he was to direct.

Accession of Antiochus Eupator.

But the reign of this boyish sovereign was of very short duration, though acknowledged by the Romans and even supported by their influence. Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Philopator, who had been sent by his father as a hostage to Rome, and had remained in that city during the long usurpation of his uncle Epiphanes, no sooner heard of the death of the latter than he made preparations for returning to Antioch. Unable to obtain the consent of the senate, he contrived, with the help of the celebrated Polybius, and the Egyptian ambassador Menyllus, to procure the means of escaping from Italy; and embarking in a Carthaginian vessel at Ostia, he succeeded in deceiving the vigilance of his enemies, and reached in perfect safety the coast of Phœnicia. His appearance at Antioch was the signal for a revolution. The army secured the persons of Lysias and his royal ward, whom, to please Demetrius, they immediately put to death: and the nation at large, conceiving that the son of Seleucus could not have left Rome without the concurrence of the senate, hailed his accession to the throne with expressions of the greatest respect and attachment.

Escape of Demetrius Soter from Rome.

B. C. 162.

The beginning of the reign was embroiled with a Jewish war, of which, as usual, the events were various, and the conflicts most obstinate and bloody. But Demetrius, dreading the power of Rome more than that of Palestine, and finding that no reasonable concessions could procure the countenance of the senate, resolved to court the

B. C. 162. alliance of the Greek kings in Asia Minor; whose arms, if united, might still, he hoped, oppose a permanent barrier to the ambition of



Demetrius I. and Laodice.

Intrigues and death of Demetrius. B. C. 151.

the haughty republic. His success, however, was not equal either to his expectation or to the strength of the arguments which he employed. In his attempts upon Cappadocia he added guile to reasoning, and, by the instrumentality of an intriguing woman, carried his designs so far as to change the succession to the throne. His designs were, however, ultimately defeated, and he very soon fell a prey to the craft of his enemies, who, in planning his destruction, had recourse to the same kind of stratagem, and to the use of the same weapons, which he had employed against Ariarathes, the Cappadocian prince. A Rhodian youth named Balas was induced to personate the character of a son of Antiochus Epiphanes, who, in fact, had been some years dead, but who was said to have been only concealed.



Alexander Balas.

Stratagem and accession of Alexander Balas.

Balas was taught to claim the crown of Syria. His pretensions were listened to by the Romans, who had not yet forgiven the flight of Demetrius; and, accordingly, assisted by that warlike people, as well as by the Jews, he took the field with an army, to dispute the throne

of Antioch with the son of Philopator. Victory crowned his attempt. Demetrius was killed in the first battle, and the sceptre of the Seleucidæ passed into the hands of a Rhodian impostor. B. C. 159.

Alexander Balas soon proved himself unworthy to reign. Combining vanity with boundless voluptuousness and profligacy, he disgusted his subjects, who began to turn their thoughts to the sons of Demetrius, their late sovereign, who were enjoying an honourable retreat in the city of Cnidus. The eldest, who bore the name of his father, being encouraged by some of the governors and other leading men throughout Syria, hired a body of troops, and passing into Cilicia instantly raised the standard of rebellion against the usurper. But Balas had a powerful support in the alliance of Egypt, the king of which country had given him his daughter in marriage; and had the spirit of the Rhodian been at all equal to his means, and to the high destiny which he pretended to vindicate, the efforts of the young Demetrius must have been crushed at the very outset. It was not long, however, before Ptolemy discovered that his son-in-law was utterly undeserving of his protection. He found him equally pusillanimous and faithless; upon which, after having himself refused the Syrian crown which the people of Antioch had solicited him to accept, he espoused the cause of the rightful heir, and offered to Demetrius at once the assistance of his arms and a bride in the person of his daughter Cleopatra. Balas, at length roused by danger and shame, resolved to make one effort to secure his throne. He advanced towards Antioch at the head of some Cilicians whom he had gained over to his interests, and meeting in a field near the capital with the forces of Ptolemy and Demetrius, he rushed into battle with thoughtless and ignorant impetuosity. The young king gained at once an easy victory and the surname of Nicator, by which he was thenceforth distinguished; and, to complete his success against the enemy of his house, he was presented in a few days with the head of the fugitive Balas, who had in vain sought for safety among the treacherous hordes of the Arabian desert. But the joy attending this good fortune was somewhat clouded by the death of Ptolemy Philometor, who sunk under his wounds about a week after the battle.

Unworthy conduct of Balas: his death.

Accession of Demetrius. B. C. 146.



Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius Nicator.

The royal house of Seleucus had now lost all the virtues which during several generations supported the Grecian throne of Syria, and was fast sinking into the voluptuous effeminacy of the Persian dynasty which it had displaced. Demetrius on the throne disappointed the hopes of his friends, and afforded to his enemies, by his feeble and versatile conduct, at once an apology and the means for plotting his ruin. The son of Alexander Balas was set up in opposition to him by

B. C. 146. The son of Balas is proclaimed king, and defeats Demetrius. B. C. 144.

Diodotus, who had served, in the quality of minister, that weak and unfortunate Rhodian. Demetrius found it necessary to take the field against this pretender; but being defeated in a battle which was fought near the walls of Antioch, he had the mortification to learn that his rival was proclaimed king of Syria by the title of Antiochus the Sixth, whilst he himself was compelled to seek for refuge in the fortress of Seleucia Pieria.

Usurpation of Diodotus, and death of Antiochus the Sixth.

Diodotus, who administered the government in the name of the youth whom he had raised to its head, endeavoured to strengthen his interests by gaining the Jews, as well as by creating, on the coast of Cilicia, a powerful body of seamen, who soon thereafter degenerated into the character of piratical banditti. At length he aspired to the throne, which he had thus professed to strengthen for the family of Balas. He betrayed Jonathan the Jewish chief, whose zeal and activity had contributed much to the elevation of the young king, and after depriving that veteran of his life, he proceeded to the murder of the unfortunate boy himself, who occupied for about a year the name and seat of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Demetrius makes war on Parthia.

This usurper assumed the name of Tryphon, and maintained during four years the ascendency to which his crafty ambition had raised him. Demetrius sought in indolence and dissipation a solace for the loss of power; and it was not until the complaints of the Greeks in Upper Asia reached his ear, representing the sufferings and indignity to which they were subjected by the domination of the Parthians, that he shook off his contemptible habits, and resumed the character of a soldier. Leaving to a lieutenant the care of his native states, or rather of the war against Tryphon, whose authority was almost universally acknowledged, he placed himself at the head of the Asiatic Greeks, and prepared to meet in battle the Parthian Mithridates. After various success, the king of Syria was taken prisoner by his formidable opponent, and sent into Hyrcania, where he sustained ten years of captivity, mitigated, indeed, by the most humane attentions, and by the enjoyment of every indulgence that was not incompatible with his safe keeping.

He is taken prisoner.

The Syrian crown meanwhile was placed on the head of his brother Antiochus, called Sidetes, or the Hunter. Cleopatra,[1] the wife of

[1] One of the greatest difficulties encountered by the historical student is to be found in the numerous repetitions of the same name in the royal dynasties into which the vast empire of Alexander was broken up; of which Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cleopatra, and several other princely titles, furnish copious illustrations. Of the latter celebrated name, there occur no less than twelve representatives. 1st. Cleopatra, niece of Attalus, a general of Philip of Macedon, whom that prince married on his divorcing Olympias, B. C. 337. 2nd. The daughter of Philip and Olympias, and sister of Alexander the Great; married to Alexander, king of Epirus, B. C. 336. 3rd. Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, who married Ptolemy V., Epiphanes, B. C. 193. 4th. Cleopatra, a daughter of the above Cleopatra and Epiphanes. 5th. Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy VI., Philometor; she was married first to Alexander Balas the Syrian, and then to

Demetrius, upon learning that her husband was a captive among the Parthians, where he had espoused one of the daughters of Mithridates, immediately invited to her bed and the throne of his ancestors the young prince already named. Antiochus the Seventh listened to her proposals, and acceded to her conditions; and being joined by a large body of his countrymen, he took arms against Tryphon, whom he defeated in battle, pursued into Phœnicia, and thence into Apamea, where the tyrant soon breathed his last.

Accession of Antiochus VII. and death of Tryphon. B.C. 138.

The brother of Demetrius, either to avenge the dishonour of his family, or to secure his eastern frontiers against an active enemy, employed the resources of his kingdom in fitting out a mighty expedition, which he prepared to conduct in person into such of the Syrian provinces as were afflicted by Parthian invasion. His progress was at first marked with brilliant success; but at length, yielding to his own rashness, or to the guile of his foes, he was attacked to great disadvantage, and either killed on the field or driven to an act of suicide.

Antiochus VII. slain among the Parthians.

Demetrius, whose escape from Parthia may be ascribed either to accident or to intention, presented himself at Antioch upon the death of his brother, to resume his troubled reign, which had been interrupted by so many circumstances of treason and misfortune. His marriage with the Parthian princess Rhodogyne alienated the affections of his wife Cleopatra, and gave great offence to her powerful friends in Syria. Involving himself in a war with Egypt, in order to support the pretensions of the queen-regent against her husband Physcon, he gave an opportunity for a conspiracy at home, which ultimately deprived him both of his crown and his life. The Egyptian king fomented the turbulent humours of the Syrians, supplied them with troops, and sent to them a competitor for the throne in the person of a youth who was taught to claim his descent from Antiochus Epiphanes, though he was in reality the son of an Alexandrian of humble birth. A battle, as usual, determined the contending claims. Demetrius was defeated, and upon taking refuge in Tyre was cruelly massacred, at the suggestion of his profligate wife, who eagerly sacrificed to ambition and revenge all the duties and sentiments of the female heart.

Demetrius is defeated by the intrigues of Egypt, and murdered at Tyre. B. C. 126.

The Egyptian impostor assumed the honours of royalty under the title of Alexander the Second, and disputed the occupation of the throne with the sons of Demetrius for nearly six years. Seleucus,

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Demetrius Nicator (see page 385). 6th. Cleopatra, another daughter of Ptolemy VI., Philometor, married to her uncle Physcon. 7th. Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Physcon, married to her brother Ptolemy VIII., then to Antiochus IX. (Cyzicenus). 8th. Cleopatra, another daughter of Ptolemy Physcon, married to her brother Lathyrus. 9th. Cleopatra, daughter of Lathyrus, usually called Berenice. 10th. Cleopatra, third daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, born B. C. 69, so celebrated in connection with Julius Cæsar and Mark Antony. 11th. Cleopatra, daughter of Antony, born B. C. 40. 12th. Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates, married to Tigranes, king of Armenia (see page 389).

B. C. 121. the eldest of these youths, was greeted as king by a large party in the nation; but not being submissive enough to his mother, he fell a victim to her jealousy and to the aspiring wishes of a younger brother. Antiochus the Eighth, surnamed Grypus, was acknowledged the sovereign of Syria; who, receiving in marriage a daughter of Physcon, was immediately secured in his hereditary right by a powerful army of Egyptian mercenaries. A battle ensued. Alexander was worsted, and put to flight; and in an attempt, now become very common among Syrian rulers, to rob a temple of its treasures, he was either killed on the spot, or despatched by his pursuers at a small distance from Antioch.



Antiochus Grypus.

Antiochus Grypus ascends the throne, which is disputed by his brother.

The tranquillity of Grypus's reign was soon disturbed by the claims of a brother whom Cleopatra had borne to Antiochus the Hunter, during the captivity of Demetrius in Parthia. From the town of Cyzicus, in which he was educated, this pretender is known in history by the name of Cyzenicus; and relying on the assistance of the Jews, whilst he was impelled by the intriguing and vindictive genius of his Egyptian wife, he raised an army with which he marched to Antioch, and soon precipitated the son of Demetrius from the throne. The victor assumed the vacant diadem under the title of Antiochus the Ninth, and insulted by his vices or silly pursuits the kingdom of Syria during several months. Grypus, at the end of a year, advanced from Pamphylia with a formidable body of troops; upon which Cyzenicus retreated into Cœle-Syria, being unable to oppose the progress of his brother, and entertaining no hope of an accommodation. The heir of Demetrius, however, instructed by misfortune, and diffident in regard to the chances of war, agreed to a partition of the kingdom; and reserving to himself the Greater or Upper Syria, of which Antioch was the proper capital, he granted to Cyzenicus the sovereignty of the province into which he had fled, with the power of fixing his seat of government at Damascus.

A partition of the kingdom is agreed upon. B. C. 111.

Grypus murdered and Cyzenicus slain. B. C. 95.

This amicable arrangement, which promised peace and security to Syria, was interrupted after a short period by the murder of Grypus, perpetrated by an ambitious retainer, who seems to have aspired to his master's place. Cyzenicus embraced this opportunity to reunite the kingdom under one crown; but his nephews, the sons of Grypus, thwarted his intentions, challenged him to the field, and defeated him in a decisive battle. The king of Damascus lost his life, either by the sword of his enemies or by his own hand, leaving one son to inherit his claims and to avenge his death. This youth, who reigned under the name of Antiochus the Tenth, and was, from the filial spirit with which he entered upon the war, saluted "Eusebes," succeeded in collecting to his standard a considerable force, with which he vanquished,

in the first conflict, his cousin Seleucus, the conqueror of his father, and drove him into Cilicia, where he soon after perished. But Grypus had five sons, of whom four still survived to participate in the last honours of their expiring dynasty. Antiochus the Eleventh and Philip the First had recourse to arms to punish the murderers of their brother Seleucus, as well as to vindicate their own rights; but Antiochus Eusebes, having obtained the assistance of the Parthians, set their efforts at defiance, and maintained his seat on the throne of Antioch. Demetrius, the fourth son of Grypus, who had issued from the retirement of Cnidus to support the claims of his house, fell into the hands of the Parthians, and was led by them into captivity beyond the Euphrates, where he sank under the load of his disappointment. B. C. 95.

Antiochus XII. ascends the throne of Damascus. B. C. 85.

As soon as the fate of this unhappy youth was known at Damascus, his youngest brother, the last in order of the five sons of Grypus, ascended the throne of Cœle-Syria. He was the twelfth who inherited the family name of Antiochus, to which, in his case, the cognomen of Dionysius was added; and his popular character, aided by some talent for war, enabled him to maintain during two years the independence of his provincial government, not only against his kinsman Eusebes, but also against his brother Philip, and the predatory bands of Arabs which issued incessantly from the Nabathæan desert. The hostility of these barbarians was more to be dreaded than the divided arms of the rival cousins. Dionysius, whose impetuous valour led him to attack their camp on the edge of their own wilderness, fell pierced with numerous wounds, surrounded by the greater part of his followers; leaving the crown of Damascus to deck for the first time the brows of an Arabian chief.

Tigranes of Armenia invited to assume the government of Syria. B. C. 78.

The dynasty of Seleucus Nicator, the founder of the Greek kingdom of Syria, was now about to become extinct. Disgusted with their weakness, their folly, and their crimes, and exhausted by their interminable disputes and rivalry for power, the people of Antioch directed their eyes to a neighbouring nation, in search of wiser rulers and a more potent protector. They elected for their sovereign Tigranes, the king of Armenia, whose rising fortunes and vigorous administration appeared to promise to them the peace and security of which their whole nation had long been deprived. The sons of Grypus had, it should seem, already disappeared from the scene of conflict. Eusebes saved his life by a seasonable flight into Cilicia; and his wife Selene, daughter of Ptolemy Physcon, retired into a fortress of Commagene, to superintend the education of her two infant princes, and to await the chances of fortune.



Tigranes.

Tigranes governed Syria with more vigour than mildness for the space of fourteen years, after which period the country of the Seleu-

Syria reduced into a Roman province by Pompey. B. C. 64.

cidæ ceased to be a kingdom. The sovereign of Armenia, vanquished by Lucullus, yielded all his territories into the hands of the Romans. The conqueror, it is true, listened to the claims of the elder son of Selene, and even meditated his restoration to the throne; but the plans of Lucullus were thwarted by the more rigid policy of Pompey, and Antiochus Asiaticus, the name of the youth in question, was dismissed from the tent of the Roman general as unworthy to reign, and even as unentitled to any compensation for the loss of his hereditary dominions. The authority of a proconsul, who united civil to military powers, directed henceforth the affairs of Syria, until the decline of Roman ascendency, under the successors of Augustus, opened a path for other conquerors to avenge the cause of the Seleucidæ, and to establish a barbaric government on the ruins of the western republic.



Cleopatra Selene.





Perseus, King of Macedon.

CHAPTER XIV.

PERSEUS, KING OF MACEDON.

FROM B. C. 178 TO B. C. 167.

We avail ourselves of the name of this monarch to bring down the annals of his country until the period at which it finally merges into the Roman republic; since the history of Alexander's successors cannot be esteemed complete so long as the kingdom of Macedon remains, and the sceptre is swayed by a member of the royal house of Pella.

Recapitulation.

It is no doubt true that, from the moment the generals of Rome crossed the Adriatic, and carried their victorious arms into Illyricum and Epirus, the events which follow are at least as closely connected with the history of the Romans as with that of the Greeks; and it was under this impression that we paused in our narrative of Macedonian affairs at an early epoch in the reign of the fifth Philip, and referred the reader, for an account of subsequent transactions, to our sketch of Roman history,[1] and to the biography of those great commanders who ultimately conducted the legions to the eastern boundaries of Europe, and established there the supremacy of the senate. It will, however, contribute not a little to the lucid order and arrangement which we are desirous of maintaining, if we devote a short article to the closing years of Macedon, and set forth its expiring efforts for a separate and independent existence under the last of its kings.

Battle of Cynocephale.

The battle of Cynocephale broke down the strength of Macedon, and gave a decided and permanent ascendency to the Romans in the affairs of Greece. The Rhodians, encouraged by their powerful allies, attacked Philip both by sea and land; whilst the other states, more disposed to cherish the remembrance of occasional despotism on the

[1] *Vide* History of Rome, in this edition of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana.

Effects of the peace which followed.

part of their Macedonian protectors than to listen to the wise counsels of those who already foresaw in their Roman auxiliary the designs and temper of their future masters, refused to accede to such a confederacy as might have at once defeated the ambitious views of Rome, and restricted within safe limits the dreaded power of their northern neighbour. The terms of the peace which were granted to the solicitations of the vanquished king, disarmed his hands whilst they lowered his dignity. He was commanded to surrender every city in Greece which was occupied by his troops, and to disclaim all authority over the minor commonwealths and free towns, which lay scattered in different parts of Thrace, and on the shores of the Bosphorus. He was compelled to give up his ships of war, and to pay, for the indemnification of his conquerors, a thousand talents of gold; whilst, in order that these conditions might be observed and strictly fulfilled, he was required to send his younger son, Demetrius, a hostage to Rome. Nay, so far was the spirit of Philip subdued and his fears alarmed, that when the Romans were about to be embroiled with the king of Syria, he thought it expedient to send an embassy to the capital of these republicans, to assure them of his strict neutrality in regard to Antiochus, as well as of his readiness to assist with supplies and furnish with guides such divisions of their army as might happen to pass through his dominions.



Philip V.

The miserable policy of the Syrian monarch was no doubt one of the principal means of driving Philip into a closer alliance with Rome, than either his personal inclination or the interests of his kingdom would otherwise have induced him to form. The pretensions of Antiochus himself to the throne of Macedon, and the open countenance which he afforded to the prince of Athamania, who was also taught to fix his eyes on the same lofty object, had induced the king to adopt the very questionable measure of assuming arms in co-operation with his formidable conquerors. For we find that, whilst the Scipios were preparing to conduct their troops across the Hellespont, and to attack the Syrians in their hereditary provinces, the Macedonians were actively employed, in conjunction with the Romans, in expelling from certain strongholds in Thessaly the inconstant but warlike Ætolians, who had already forfeited the esteem or despised the protection of the senate. Acting in the capacity of an ally of Rome, Philip, it is true, succeeded in recovering a portion of the territory, as well as of the influence, of which he had been deprived by the fortune of war; but his talents, both in respect of diplomacy and the more important resources of the military art, were much too moderate to justify the hope which he seems to have cherished in his own bosom, and to have inspired into the minds of others, in regard to the re-establishment of Macedonian independence on a new and lasting basis.

Subserviency of Philip.

The recent additions made to his power on the borders of Thessaly and Thrace alarmed the vigilant jealousy of the Romans. A commission was appointed to hear complaints, and award redress; and Quintus Cæcilius, who had been named to direct the movements of that migratory court, proceeded to the Thessalian territory, to meet the king of Macedon, and to confront him with his accusers. In reply to the charges of violence and aggression, which the deputies of the injured district urged against him, Philip pronounced a speech full of recrimination and contempt; retorting upon his enemies the ambitious motives and unjust procedure with which they attempted to load his character; and, glancing at the selfish policy of the Romans, he concluded by reminding them, that "the sun of all his fortunes had not yet set." It was in vain, however, for the Macedonian sovereign to give vent to his indignation, or to console the impotence of his rage by uttering useless threatenings. The commissioners gave sentence that he should immediately withdraw his garrisons from all the cities of which he had lately taken possession; whilst, as to other matters in dispute, they reserved to themselves the power of pronouncing a decision whenever a proper court should be appointed, and due inquiry instituted at the several localities in question. Cæcilius acted on the same principles, when discharging the duty of umpire between Philip and Eumenes. The claims of the latter to certain towns, seized upon and garrisoned by the Macedonians, were tacitly allowed, though no right could be shown on the one hand, and no violence proved on the other. Philip was again commanded to withdraw his troops. He yielded to an authority which he could no longer resist; and satisfied himself with an appeal to the senate, in whose presence he intended to sue for his rights, thus unjustly questioned, and to claim compensation for the numerous sacrifices which he had been compelled to make by the arbitrary proceedings of Cæcilius and his colleagues.

Ambitious views of the Romans, and their hostility to Macedon.

It could not, meanwhile, escape the penetration of Philip, that he would soon have to contend with the overwhelming power of Rome, for the possession of the narrow territory of ancient Macedonia. It was, therefore, the principal object of his administration, during the peace which followed the disastrous battle of Cynocephale, to strengthen the internal resources of his kingdom by improving agriculture, by extending commerce, and by introducing within his confines the first stock of a hardy peasantry from the neighbouring fields of Thrace. He laboured also to form new alliances with the warlike barbarians who dwelt on either side of the Danube. The tribes of Scythians, and those numerous branches of the great Gothic family, who were destined afterwards to avenge the successors of Alexander, and to humble the Roman power, had already formed themselves into communities of considerable extent and regularity; and from the growing intercourse of war and treaties, they had learned to respect the superiority of civilized life, to reverence the fame of the Macedonian arms, and even to court the benevolence and council of the Macedonian

Grand project of Philip.

government. With such allies, devoted to enterprise, and delighted with the hazards of war, Philip thought it not altogether impracticable to direct into the bosom of Italy, from the countries north and east, a torrent of invasion, which would withdraw the consuls from the shores of the Ægæan, and engage the attention of the senate in measures of self-defence. But time was necessary for maturing an undertaking at once so arduous and full of peril. To effect his object, therefore, with greater security, Philip sent to Rome his son Demetrius, who was to plead the cause of Macedon, and to maintain, if possible, the pacific relations which subsisted at that period between the two countries.

Defeated by the discord which prevailed in his family.

These schemes of conquest and revenge were ultimately defeated by the domestic discord which rent the royal family of Pella. The favour with which Demetrius was received at Rome excited at once the jealousy of his father, and the more dangerous envy of his brother Perseus. The latter saw reason to apprehend, that the right of primogeniture would not secure his succession to the throne, if the popular pretensions of Demetrius should be supported by the influence of the Roman senate: and Philip himself allowed his hatred and suspicion of his public enemies to poison the paternal sentiments of confidence and affection towards a deserving son, whose only fault consisted in the openness of his character. The treachery and deceit of Perseus at length prevailed. Demetrius was murdered; and the anguish which preyed upon the heart of Philip, joined to the resentment excited by the cruel baseness of his elder son, hurried this unfortunate king into his grave.

Almost immediately before his death, the Macedonian monarch had sent an embassy to his rude allies northward of the Danube, with the view of hastening their movements towards the upper boundaries of the Roman commonwealth. A whole people obeyed his summons, and advanced into Thrace, on their way to the Adriatic; but his death distracted the counsels of their savage chiefs, and ultimately occasioned their complete overthrow. Wasted by war, and enfeebled by hunger and the severity of the climate, thousands perished before they could reach Illyricum. Nor was their return less disastrous; for, trusting to the ice of the Danube, which they overloaded with their cattle and waggons, they were precipitated into the stream, in which the greater part of them lost their lives: a fate which did not deter their warlike descendants from renewing more fortunate expeditions against the masters of the south, and from impressing the terror of their name on every province which acknowledged the Roman government, from the Rhine to Mount Atlas, and from the Euxine Sea to the Pillars of Hercules.

Accession of Perseus. B. C. 178.

The accession of Perseus to the throne of Macedon turned aside, for a time, the calamities of war, as it calmed the jealousy, or allayed the fears of the Romans. The son of Philip, however, received but a feeble sceptre, inasmuch as the untimely death of Demetrius alienated

the affections of the nation from his cold-hearted, treacherous brother, B. C. 178.
and confirmed in the Roman senate a unanimous determination to visit that murder on the head of him who had contrived it. The barbarian confederates of his father, too, had reason to complain of his weakness or defection, as he afforded them no assistance in their unfortunate expedition into Dardania, and supplied them with no means to facilitate their return, when the object of that expedition was found impracticable.

His wise measures.

To repair the mischief he had done, and to recover the moral influence which he had lost at home, Perseus employed the beginning of his reign in conciliating the affections of his subjects; in restoring to their country and possessions such persons as had fallen victims to the resentment of his predecessor; and in granting to all orders and parties the benefits of equal government, and of impartial preferment.

Attempts to gain allies.

His fear of Rome was chiefly shown in the assiduity with which he courted her allies in Greece. He was obsequious, in the highest degree, to the Athenians and Achæans, whose fugitive slaves he offered to give up, and to whose tribunals he promised to deliver every such person as had fled from justice, and found an asylum in any part of his dominions. He cultivated with unceasing earnestness the alliance or neutrality of almost all the Grecian states. He applied his solicitations to the people of Thessaly, Bœotia, and Ætolia, and thought his pains amply rewarded, wherever his good offices were not positively rejected or disdained. He formed a close connection with the small states of Epirus, negotiated with the king of the Illyrians, and brought over to his views the chief of the Odryssians, the most warlike leader in Thrace. The Rhodians, already not a little disaffected towards their Italian allies, showed themselves inclined to listen to the proposals of Perseus. The king of Syria entered into treaty with him, and strengthened this alliance by yielding his daughter in marriage. Prusias of Bithynia, at the same time, manifested a desire to oppose the formidable encroachments of the Romans; and as a pledge of his sincerity in this point, he solicited the hand of a Macedonian princess.

But these acquisitions were of small weight, when compared with the anger of Rome, and the hostile disposition of the most powerful B. C. 172.
states in Asia Minor. Eumenes was still the avowed and implacable enemy of Macedon. Instead of sending an embassy to the banks of the Tiber, that monarch proceeded thither in person, with the view of laying before the senate an exaggerated account of the warlike preparations made by Perseus, and of the menacing and formidable attitude which Macedonia had assumed. Her army, he asserted, could now muster thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse; her magazines were full of corn, and her treasury well stocked with money, and the recruits which her own territory could not supply, would be amply furnished by the hardy natives of Illyricum and Thrace. When, in reply to these inflammatory statements, the Macedonian deputies were

Eumenes stirs up the Romans against him.

B. C. 172. allowed to speak, the senate could hardly refrain from expressing their hatred of Perseus, and their hostile intentions against his country, by the most indecent impatience and ungracious gestures. Such treatment could not fail to arouse indignation in the breasts of the ambassadors; and accordingly giving way to a sentiment so natural and patriotic, they declared that their master having done everything in his power to prove that his intentions were pacific, would no longer sacrifice his most obvious interests, to preserve the forms of peace with a haughty and unaccommodating republic; and should the Romans persevere in seeking a pretext for war, he would employ his best resources in defence of himself and kingdom, and trust to the determination of fortune for the result.

The Romans prepare for war.

The senate could not be ignorant of the ulterior designs of Perseus, whose independence, dignity, and safety were equally concerned in counteracting the growing ascendency of Rome. But their arms, meantime, were engaged in Spain and Liguria; and no occasion sufficiently provoking or plausible had yet presented itself, for turning them directly against the Macedonians. An attempt on the life of Eumenes at length furnished an apology for hostilities, which could not, under any circumstances, have been long averted. Perseus was accused of an intention to murder his rival, as well as of practising by poison against the safety of certain distinguished Romans, who were employed in the public service. Preparations were accordingly made on the shores of the Adriatic for the invasion of Macedon; and two legions of unusual strength were immediately levied, and placed under the command of Licinius Crassus the consul, to whom the charge of the war was committed. Nor did the Romans neglect to have recourse to their usual expedient of embassies. Deputies were sent to the Rhodians to recover their wavering affections, and also to several states in Epirus and Thrace. No one, indeed, was commissioned to the court of Perseus; but that monarch, still unwilling to put his fortunes to the hazard of war, solicited an interview with Marcius Philippus, who had been sent to Epirus, in order to exculpate himself from the foul charges with which he had been loaded in the senate. The king was amused and deceived. Marcius listened to his defence, pronounced it satisfactory, and proposed a truce; but the interval was employed in accelerating the march of the legions, and in rousing the activity of the allies. The fraud of the ambassador prepared the triumph of the general; and the ruin of Perseus was planned by the son of his father's friend, the individual whom he himself selected as most worthy of his confidence.

B. C. 171. Licinius Crassus invades Macedon.

Publius Licinius Crassus left Brundisium, at the head of more than twenty-five thousand horse and foot, expecting to be joined by a large body of allies from Achæa, Ætolia, and Pergamus. Perseus likewise took the field with a powerful army, determined to inflict the first miseries of the war on those perfidious Greeks, who invited and sustained the Roman invaders. But the advance of the enemy into Thessaly

Perseus takes the field.

prevented the revenge meditated by the Macedonians. The hostile armies encamped on either side of the Peneus, the one so nearly equal in strength to the other, that their commanders seemed more inclined to be guided by contingencies, than to hazard a decisive battle. The events of the first campaign were, on the whole, favourable to the cause of Macedon; and if Perseus had possessed any share of the military talent which had been displayed, on so many important occasions, by his royal ancestors, the invaders of his country would have deeply deplored their ambitious enterprise. Winter, however, put an end to the movement of the troops, and the chiefs retired to mature their plans for more effective operations upon the return of the year. B. C. 171.

Aulus Hostilius assumed, with his consulship, the command of the army in Thessaly. But his character, deficient in almost every civil and military virtue, only strengthened the interests of Perseus, and alienated the allies of Rome. The Macedonians gained several important advantages in the field, and made still greater progress in securing the good will and co-operation of certain active confederates; and this year, like the last, without producing any decisive event, left the son of Philip in more prosperous and hopeful circumstances than it had found him. The expedition of A. Hostilius. Success of Perseus.

The third campaign opened, on the part of the Romans, under the auspices and direction of Quintus Marcius Philippus, now enjoying the rank of consul, and known to the reader as the person who, when discharging the office of ambassador, had deceived the confidence of Perseus at an interview which the latter solicited. But the craft of diplomacy has nothing in common with the ingenuity, firmness, and penetration which command success in war. Marcius achieved nothing in the field that is in the smallest degree worthy of remembrance, if we except a laborious march through certain defiles in the hills of Macedonia, and a retreat equally full of toil and disaster. The ignorant presumption of the Romans saved Perseus, and the groundless fears of the latter saved the former. Had the Macedonians acted with decision, the invading army must either have perished from hunger, or have fallen an easy prey to their enemies; and had the consul proceeded with firmness, the panic of the king would have resigned into his hands the capital and the best provinces of his dominions, and have conferred on Marcius Philippus the laurels which were afterwards secured by the less questionable merit of Æmilius Paulus. Third campaign under Marcius Philippus. B. C. 170.

Another year was thus added to the war, without furthering the object which the senate had contemplated. The consular armies had been baffled in the attempt to subdue Macedon, and to confirm the ascendency of Rome among the Grecian states; and the hopes of the Roman people were already turned into the bitterest invective, and the most gloomy forebodings. The appointment of Lucius Æmilius to the command of the army employed against Perseus gave, indeed, new vigour to the war, and revived the expectation, that the legions would finally triumph over the Macedonian phalanx. But so sarcastic and Appointment of Æmilius Paulus.

B.C. 169. virulent were the remarks of the military critics at home, that the consul immediately upon his election, addressed the assembled people; assuring them, that if any individuals in their number thought themselves qualified to give such counsel as would enable him to bring to a fortunate issue the ensuing campaign, he would defray the expense of their journey into Macedon, and retain them near his person as his guides and advisers. If, however, they did not think it expedient to accept his invitation, he hoped they would reserve their strictures on the proceedings of the army till the expiration of his command.

The exertions of Perseus, kept pace with the danger to which his kingdom was exposed from the renewed preparations of the Romans, and particularly from the character of the new consul. He repeated his efforts to rouse the jealousy of the Greek princes in Asia, whose territories, he assured them, would be the next object of cupidity to his rapacious invaders; and he urged Eumenes, the Cappadocians, Syrians, and Egyptians, to join his standard, in order to repel the ambitious republicans of the west from the shores of the Ægæan. But his efforts to obtain allies were attended with little success. His sincerity was doubted, and his selfishness precluded all hearty co-operation; and he was accordingly left to combat, single-handed, with an enemy who had never yet concluded a war but as conquerors.

Battle of Pydna. Perseus taken, and carried to Rome.

Æmilius employed some time in restoring the discipline, as well as in increasing the numbers of his army. His vigilance prevented those casual encounters, in which the natives of a hilly country are sure to gain the advantage; and he even repressed the ardour of his troops, by declining battles on terms apparently equal, intending thereby to increase the confidence of Perseus, who had already begun to deride his cautious policy. But the king of Macedon soon discovered that the delays of the consul did not proceed from fear. A successful movement of the legions compelled the presumptuous monarch to fall back upon Pydna, whither Æmilius instantly followed him, and in one decisive conflict stripped him of his kingdom, put an end to his dynasty, and blotted Macedonia from the list of nations. A rapid flight conveyed Perseus from the immediate pursuit of the conquerors; but he was soon afterwards taken, with his family and treasures, and compelled in the following year, accompanied by his two sons, to grace the triumph of the victorious consul.

The last of Macedonian sovereigns survived this melancholy change of fortune about the space of four years, which he spent in ungenerous restraint at Alba. Only one of his sons outlived him; and the royal youth it is said, was reduced to the necessity of earning his maintenance in the humble occupation of a carver and turner, from which he was subsequently raised, by his proficiency in the art of writing, to the appointment of scribe or secretary in one of the public offices.

Settlement of Macedon as a Roman province.

Vanquished in war, and deprived of their leaders, the people of Macedon waited, with patient humility, the decision of the conquerors with regard to the future destiny of their country. The deputies from

the principal cities and districts met at Amphipolis, where Æmilius, now vested with the authority of proconsul, proceeded to unfold the will of the senate. He informed them, that the kingdom was thenceforth to be divided into four separate states or provinces; that the principal city in each of these was to be considered as the capital, in which a local government would be exercised, laws administered, and the revenue collected, under the superintendence of an authority appointed by Rome. He farther instructed them, that it was the pleasure of the senate that no troops should be maintained in Macedon, beyond such a force as might be found necessary for the defence of the frontier exposed to the barbarians; that no timber fit for ship-building should be cut down without permission from the proconsul; and that the working of the gold and silver mines should be entirely discontinued.

B. C. 167. Decrees of Æmilius.

In this manner was the country of Alexander the Great reduced into the form of a Roman province by a soldier of fortune; and a successor of that renowned prince was dragged at the chariot wheels of a private citizen, sprung from a race of barbarians, of whose existence the Greek historians had but recently discovered the traces, and whose exploits had but lately reached the ears of Grecian warriors. The ascendency of Rome was now complete, from the remotest point of Peloponnesus to the northern boundaries of Illyricum and Macedonia; and henceforward for a while, the history of the world is comprised in that of the Roman republic.





Tope of Manikyala.

CHAPTER XV.

THE INDO-MACEDONIAN KINGDOM.

Preliminary view of Hellenic and Roman resources.

BETWEEN the struggles of Rome with the conqueror of Cannæ, and the acquisition of her choicest European and Asiatic conquests, a period singularly brief elapsed. Previous to this conflict, century after century had passed, and her political existence had not extended beyond the Italian peninsula. Her fiercest opponents, however, the Samnites, had been, after a long series of warfare, effectually subdued, and the consolidation of her power among the Latin states was so opportunely effected as to oppose the most formidable resistance to the Carthaginian invasion. The issue of that great contest gave a new tendency to her political career. It had already compelled her to form a powerful navy, and she was now prepared to become the inheritor of much of the Carthaginian commerce, and of all those colonial possessions, in the establishment of which, the ambitious African republic had spent successive years of conquest or of laborious navigation. On the west, Spain—to the north, Gallia—had been rapidly falling before her victorious arms; the undying animosity of Hannibal, her greatest enemy, now brought her in collision with the successors of those military chiefs who had divided among themselves the Asiatic dominions of the Macedonian conqueror.

The magnitude of Alexander's conquests will be at once apparent, by a reference to the Roman scale of victories through centuries of

warfare. The two centres of military power, Italy and Macedonia, display results widely different when viewed in connection with the time required to produce their respective acquisitions, and an attentive study of the political and warlike elements wielded by both countries will still further enhance our admiration of the genius of the Macedonian hero. Yet, all that commerce had effected for Carthage, all that conquest had achieved for Macedon, but too surely laid a broad and a smooth path for the advance of Roman aggrandisement. Under the imperial government the widest triumphs of Rome were attained. And yet to her victorious legions the eastern kingdom of Alexander's successors remained a land almost unknown. While she had subdued the provinces of his Syrian, and held in subjection, more frequently nominal than real, much of his Persian empire, her strength never enabled her to reach the banks of the Indus, there to cope with the principalities founded by the sagacious policy of the Macedonian autocrat.

Magnitude and true value of Alexander's conquests.

These important settlements, indeed, remained almost unrecorded by either Greek or Roman historian, and it is principally to the ingenuity and learning of our countrymen in the east that we are indebted for precise and authentic accounts of this singular and interesting empire. The existence of numerous láts or columns, with inscriptions in an ancient character, the interpretation of which had long been lost to native Brahminical learning, and had repeatedly foiled the sagacity of European scholarship, at length gave way to the genius of an Englishman, whose sagacity was as penetrating as his acquirements were accurate and multifarious.[1] The connection, religious and political, which, at an æra coeval with the antiquity of these ancient columns, had subsisted between India and the Greek dynasties, now became apparent; and records which possibly had perished in the ordinary process of transmission, were thus indelibly preserved for the pages of history. But it was not to recording columns alone that these important facts had been transferred. Not only policy, but religion, was to be the guardian of the treasury of time. The Buddhistic faith established in Magadha, the ancient Bahar, B.C. 588, by Gotomo Buddho, found a powerful patron in Asoko, the supreme sovereign, B.C. 309.[2] His connection with "Antyoko Raja Yona" (Antiochus the Greek king) is recorded on one of the Indian láts; and the pages of the Mahavanso[3] notice the third convocation of the Buddhistic hierarchy, B.C. 307, when the missionaries of that body were sent into foreign countries for the propagation of the faith. It had been customary to bury in the mausolea, styled "Thupo," or Tope, not only some corporeal relic of the successive saints which headed the Buddhistic body ecclesiastic, but coins and other objects of interest in connection with the era during which these monuments

Anglo-Indian discoveries by Prinsep and others.

[1] J. Prinsep, Esq., late Secretary to the Asiatic Society.
[2] Then in the eighteenth year of his reign, *vide* Mahavanso, Introd. p. xxix.
[3] In the twelfth chapter.

were raised. It is from these and various other sources, and chiefly the numismatic antiquities scattered over Afghanistan, Balkh, and the Punjab, that a mass of valuable historical information has been evolved. It was, however, the investigation of the tope of Manikyala that gave the chief impulse to these inquiries.

Discovery of the tope of Manikyala.

In 1808, the embassy to Cabul, conducted by Mr. Elphinstone, when upon their return to India, arrived at a part of the country between the Indus and the Jhelum, in which, according to the notions of Colonel Wilford, the capital of Taxiles, the ally of Alexander, was situated.[1] A party left the camp to explore the neighbourhood for relics of antiquity, in confirmation of this opinion; and they met with this edifice, the tope of Manikyala, a solid, circular building of masonry, surrounded by a dome, and resting upon a low artificial mound. It was built of brick, cased with stone, but the casing was in some parts apparently unfinished. Some broad steps led up to the base, which was encircled by a moulding about eight feet high. Above this, rose a perpendicular wall for about six feet, and thence the building ascended in a spherical form.

Manikyala is situated on the high road from Attock to Lahore, and it appears to be built upon the ruins of an ancient city whose origin is unknown. The topical importance, however, of the site, and the quantity of coins discovered in its immediate vicinity, mark this relic of early civilization as the capital of the region lying between the Hydaspes and the Indus.

The massive cupola of Manikyala, rising to a height of eighty feet, and taking in a circumference of three hundred and twenty feet, is conspicuous at a great distance. The architecture is, as the reader will observe,[2] simple; nor is there any other ornament than a range of columns near the base, whose capitals are now with difficulty to be distinguished. The interior of the masonry is granite and a porous limestone; while the exterior surface, once so smooth as to defy any ascent to the central part of the dome, is now so worn by time as to present no material obstacle to gaining the summit. Such is the tope, the discovery of the contents of which, in connection with the inscriptions on the ancient láts of western India, gave an impulse to Indo-Hellenic archæology as vigorous as it was successful.[3] It is from these and similar sources that much light has been thrown upon the otherwise forgotten dynasties founded by Alexander and his warlike viceroys in the distant regions of Ariana, the Parapomisus, and the Jaxartes. The scope and tendency of these settlements it will now be well to examine.

He who should take so contracted a view of the ultimate objects of

[1] *Vide* Professor Wilson's Ariana, p. 31. [2] See the engraving at page 400.

[3] This tope was opened by General Ventura, a French soldier of fortune in the service of Runjeet Singh. Monuments of a similar nature are to be seen in the Hazara country, Rawul Pindi, Jellalabad, Cabul, Bamean, and the Khyber. Not a few of these have been opened by Mr. Masson. See Wilson's Ariana.

the Macedonian conqueror as to imagine that the lust of empire and the gratification of imperial pride formed with him the dominant rule of action, may soon arrive at a more just and a more comprehensive insight into political motive, by a consideration of the localities selected by Alexander at once for the seats of empire and of mercantile enterprise. War had severed, commerce was to unite, the scattered races of mankind. Had the enlightened pupil of Aristotle deigned to rest satisfied with the vulgar resources of the conqueror, he might easily have spared himself much obloquy and avoided no inconsiderable peril from the warlike Macedonians. The policy of conciliation, by the amalgamation of national customs—the peaceful union of the conquerors and the conquered—the blending of hostile races by intermarriage, by noble schemes of education and of mercantile advantage, however in accordance with the enlightened views of the philosophic politician, excited the scorn and the hostility of the Macedonians, a race whose only trade had hitherto been war. Macedon, Egypt, Babylon, and India were destined to form so many centres of civilization, whence the onward progress of the human race was to receive an important acceleration. Nor must we rashly conclude that because from the three former proceeded for a long series of years a succession of desolating warfare, the comprehensive views with which these imperial viceroyalties were established were the less the characteristic of the true statesman and legislator. This progressive development of the history of our species—this accelerated intercourse of the races of the Nile, of south-western Asia, and the Pentopotamic highlands of the Himalaya, even while the hostile forces of the two former were in constant collision—must have been attended with no mean results. Nothing less than an organic vitality of existence was contemplated by the new cities so frequently founded by Alexander; and the length of time that elapsed between the battle of the Granicus and the Scythic irruption into the Indo-Greek empire bears ample witness to the interesting as well as the durable nature of Grecian civilization, transplanted from the Hellenic world to the regions of the Punjab. How rapid was the movement, and how energetic the mind, that effected these great results! "In the short interval of twelve years there followed successively the expeditions into western Asia and Syria, with the battles of the Granicus and of the passes of the Issus; the siege and taking of Tyre; the easy possession of Egypt; the Babylonian and Persian campaign, in which at Arbela (in the plain of Gaugamela) the world-wide dominion of the Achæmenides was annihilated; the expedition to Bactria and Sogdiana, between the Hindoo Coosh and the Jaxartes (Syr); and, lastly, the daring advance into the country of the five rivers (Pentopotamia) of western India. Alexander planted Greek settlements almost everywhere, and diffused Grecian manners over the immense region extending from the temple of Ammon, in the Libyan Oasis, from Alexandria, on the western delta of the Nile, to the northern Alexandria, on the Jaxartes, to the present Kodjend, in

The real views of Alexander in founding the Punjabee settlements.

Favourable commercial position of the Alexandrian cities.

Striking observation of the author of Cosmos.

Fergana."[1] The admirable author whom we have just quoted has truly observed that the Macedonian expedition, which opened so large and so fair a portion of the earth's surface to a single nation of such high intellect and cultivation, may be regarded, in the strictest sense of the term, as a scientific expedition; and, indeed, as the first in which a conqueror surrounded himself with learned men of all departments of knowledge—naturalists, historians, philosophers, and artists.

That a Greek dynasty should subsist for a period of above one hundred and fifty years in the heart of strange nations, swaying with the commanding vigour of the Hellenic genius, not only the wild tribes of the Punjab, but making itself respected by the nomade Tartars of the vast plateau of central Asia, is indeed a subject of gratification to the philosophic mind which would contemplate the victory of civilization over the forces of brute matter. We can scarcely conceive a more instructive or interesting position than that of a people cut off from community of race occupying the vanguard of European civilization, at a distance from its native resources—a distance far surpassing the utmost point reached by the march of their indomitable ancestors the "Ten Thousand." Those eruptive elements, however, which broke loose in the days of Camillus, of Marius, of Attila, and still later of Genghis Khan, sweeping over the fair surface of European civilization, and leaving in its track the impress of savage desolation, at length overwhelmed this eastern frontier of Hellenic valour. The vast Scythic tribes, whose nomadic constitution rendered them alternately scattered shepherds or concentrated hosts of war, often, in proportion to the absence or the presence of the Arian element of ambitious leadership,[2] at length burst in upon the Greek Bactrian kingdom, displacing the Hellenic sway by Turushca dynasties, whose relative barbarism is at once evidenced by those numismatic discoveries, which in the most forcible manner demonstrate, by the rugged coinage of the Scythic princes, the decay of art and the fall of Hellenic influence and taste.

Intimations of the decay of the Greek dynasty.

It has been too often the case that the educated man, from the cultivation of views too exclusively specific, is apt to entertain a false estimate of, or rather totally to neglect, those processes of the human mind which have not failed to draw in their train results invariably uniform. The student of history broadly marks down the Roman type as embodied War; with him, the Greek is the psychologic representative of Grace and Art. And yet the grasping negotiator of Italian quæstorship, and the hardy Greek trader of the Euxine and Mongolia, were the wheels respectively of two vast machines, without the aid of which the physical conquests of the first and the intellectual superiority of the latter people could hardly have been achieved. With the first, often virtually lay the supply of armies, while the second procured the more costly materials for the works of a Phidias, and, in

[1] Humboldt, Cosmos, p. 152.

[2] Khouli Khan and Genghis Khan were of Arian parentage by the mother's side.

conjunction with the marine of Athens, helped to form the basis of that wealth which in Greece, as in all countries, constituted either the national or the private award to distinguished artistic merit.

Insinuating influences of the Greek trader.

The versatile talent of the Greek made him the successful denizen of every clime. His adventurous spirit enabled the Hellenic trader, from his advanced post on the Euxine, to penetrate to the sterile regions of the Calmuck;[1] and, though no linguist himself,[2] he had the consummate art to derive all the practical advantages to be gained by sevenfold polyglot accomplishments.[3] The golden riches of the Uralian chain, which have been recorded by Herodotus long before the mining operations of Philip in Macedonia, and the wealth of the Attic Laureium, had formed the keen stimulant which first incited Greek enterprise and subsequently rewarded Greek genius.

From the mountain barriers of the northern sea-board of the Euxine to the lofty uplands of Bactria and Marcanda,[4] the Greek opened and maintained a mercantile connection by tribes that formed one continuous concatenation of busy and gainful barter.

Thus, in effect, the Hellenic spirit of commerce had attempted, and in part solved, the mercantile problem which, centuries later, the Macedonian hero successfully investigated. Commerce and conquest had now passed over the same tracks; and yet there was an exclusiveness in the mental organization of the Greek that turned his view too much inward for him to devise any comprehensive scheme of commercial progress. An enlightened autocrat to originate and to enforce juster views was yet requisite. He at length arose in the person of Alexander. The profound views of the great author of Cosmos are so much to the point on this subject, that I shall avail myself of his valuable remarks:—"After the dissolution of the great Macedonian empire," observes our author,[5] "comprising territories in the three continents, the germs which the uniting and combining system of the government of Alexander had deposited in a fruitful soil began to develop themselves everywhere, although with much diversity of form. In proportion as the national exclusiveness of the Hellenic character of thought vanished, and its creative inspiring power was less strikingly characterized by depth and intensity, increasing progress was made in the knowledge of the connection of phenomena, by a more animated and more extensive intercourse between nations, as well as by a generalization of the views of nature, based on argumentative considerations. In the Syrian kingdom, by the Attalidæ of Pergamos, and under the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, this progress was favoured and promoted everywhere, and almost at the same time, by distinguished sovereigns. Grecian Egypt enjoyed the advantage of political unity, as well as that of geographical position; the influx of the Red Sea through the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb to Suez and Akaba (occupying one of the S.S.E. N.N.W. fissures, of which I have elsewhere

View of the Greek centres of civilization.

[1] Herod. iv. 24.
[2] *Vide* Col. Mure, Hist. Gr. Lit. vol. i. p. 50.
[3] Herod. ut ante.
[4] Samarcand.
[5] Humboldt, Cosmos, p. 166.

spoken), bringing the traffic and intercourse of the Indian Ocean within a few miles of the coasts of the Mediterranean.

" The kingdom of the Seleucidæ did not enjoy the advantages of sea traffic which the distribution of land and water, and the configuration of the coast line, offered to that of the Lagidæ; and its stability was endangered by the divisions produced by the diversity of the nations of which the different satrapies were composed. The intercourse and traffic enjoyed by the kingdom of the Seleucidæ was mostly an inland one, confined either to the course of rivers or to caravan tracks which braved every natural obstacle—snowy mountain chains, lofty plateaus, and deserts. The great caravan conveying merchandise, of which silk was the most valuable article, travelled from the interior of Asia, from the high plain of the Seres, north of Uttara-Kuru, by the 'stone tower' (probably a fortified caravanserai), south of the sources of the Jaxartes, to the valley of the Oxus, and to the Caspian and Black Seas. In the kingdom of the Lagidæ, on the other hand, animated as was the river navigation of the Nile, and the communication between its banks and the artificial roads along the shores of the Red Sea, the principal traffic was, nevertheless, in the strictest sense of the word, a sea traffic. In the grand views formed by Alexander, the newly-founded Egyptian Alexandria in the west, and the very ancient city of Babylon in the east, were designed to be the two metropolitan cities of the Macedonian Universal Empire. Babylon, however, never in later times fulfilled these expectations; and the flourishing prosperity of Seleucia, founded by Seleucus Nicator on the lower Tigris, and united with the Euphrates by means of canals, contributed to its complete decline.

Overland traffic of the Seleucidæ.

" Three great rulers, the three first Ptolemies, whose reigns occupied a whole century, by their love of the sciences, by their brilliant institutions for the promotion of intellectual cultivation, and by their uninterrupted endeavours to promote and extend commerce, caused the knowledge of nature and of distant countries to receive a greater and more rapid increase than had yet been achieved by any single nation. This treasure of true scientific cultivation passed from the Greeks settled in Egypt to the Romans. Even under Ptolemy Philadelphus, hardly half a century after the death of Alexander, before the first Punic war had shaken the aristocratic republic of Carthage, Alexandria was the post of greatest commerce in the world. The nearest and most commodious route from the basin of the Mediterranean to south-eastern Africa, Arabia, and India, was by Alexandria. The Lagidæ availed themselves with unexampled success of the road which Nature had, as it were, marked out for the commerce of the world by the direction of the Red Sea or Arabian Gulf, a route which will never be fully appreciated until the wildness of eastern life and the jealousies of the western powers shall both diminish. Even when Egypt became a Roman province, it continued to be the seat of almost boundless riches: the increasing luxury of Rome

Felicitous position of Alexandria.

under the Cæsars reacted on the land of the Nile, and sought means for its satisfaction principally in the universal commerce of Alexandria.

Egyptian sources of physical and topographical knowledge.

" The important extension of the knowledge of nature and of different countries under the Lagidæ was derived from the caravan traffic in the interior of Africa by Cyrene and the Oases; from the conquests in Ethiopia and Arabia Felix, under Ptolemy Euergetes; and from commerce by sea with the whole western peninsula of India, from the Gulf of Barygaza (Guzerat and Cambay), along the coasts of Canara and Malabar (Malaya-vara, territory of Malaya), to the Brahminical sanctuaries of Cape Comorin (Kumari), and to the great island of Ceylon (Lanka in the Ramayuna, and called by Alexander's cotemporaries Taprobane, by the mutilation of a native name). An important advance in nautical knowledge had previously been obtained, by the laborious five months' voyage of Nearchus along the coasts of Gedrosia and Caramania, between Pattala, at the mouth of the Indus, and the mouths of the Euphrates. Alexander's companions were not ignorant of the existence of the periodical winds, or monsoons, which favour so materially the navigation between the eastern coast of Africa and the northern and western coasts of India. At the end of ten months, spent by the Macedonians in navigating and examining the Indus, between Nicea on the Hydaspes, and Pattala, with the view of opening that river to the commerce of the world, Nearchus hastened, at the beginning of October, B. C. 326, to sail away from the mouth of the Indus at Stura, because he knew that his voyage to the Persian Gulf along the coast, running on a parallel of latitude, would be favoured by the north-east and east monsoon. The farther knowledge acquired by experience of this remarkable local law of the direction of the wind subsequently emboldened navigators sailing from Ocelis, in the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, to hold a direct course across the open sea to Muziris, the great mart on the Malabar coast (south of Mangalore), to which, internal traffic brought articles of commerce from the eastern coast of the Indian peninsula, and even gold from the remote Chrysa (Borneo?). The honour of being the first to apply this new system of Indian navigation is ascribed to an otherwise unknown mariner, Hippalus; and even the precise period at which he lived is doubtful.

Nautical skill of Nearchus.

Voyage of Hippalus.

" Whatever brings nations together, and, by rendering large portions of the earth more accessible, enlarges the sphere of man's knowledge, belongs to the history of the contemplation of the universe. The opening of a water communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, by means of the Nile, holds an important place in this respect. At the part where a slender line of junction barely unites the two continents, and which offers the deepest maritime inlets, the excavation of a canal had been commenced, not indeed by the great Sesostris (Ramses Miamoun), to whom Aristotle and Strabo ascribe it, but by Nechos (Neku), who, however, was deterred by oracles given by the priests from prosecuting the undertaking. Herodotus

Magnificent canal of Nechos.

saw and described a finished canal which entered the Nile somewhere above Bubastis, and which was the work of the Achæmenian Darius Hystaspes. Ptolemy Philadelphus restored this canal, which had fallen into decay, in so complete a manner, that although, notwithstanding a skilful arrangement of locks and sluices, it was not navigable at all seasons of the year, it long aided and greatly promoted traffic with Ethiopia, Arabia, and India, continuing to do so under the Roman sway as late as the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and perhaps even as late as that of Septimus Severus, a period of four centuries and a half. With a similar purpose of encouraging intercourse by means of the Red Sea, harbour works were sedulously carried on at Myos Hormos and Berenice, and were connected with Coptos by the formation of an excellent artificial road. All these different enterprises of the Lagidæ, commercial as well as scientific, were based on the idea of connection and union, on a tendency to embrace a wider whole, remoter distances, larger masses, more extensive and varied relations, and greater and more numerous objects of contemplation. This direction of the Hellenic mind, so fruitful in results, had been long preparing in silence, and became manifested on a great scale in the expeditions of Alexander, in his endeavours to blend the eastern and western worlds. In its continued extension under the Lagidæ it characterized the epoch which I here desire to portray, and must be regarded as having effected an important advance in the progressive recognition and knowledge of the universe as a whole."

These profound yet comprehensive observations have so direct a bearing upon the whole scheme of civilization in every æra, that they cannot fail to commend themselves to the enlightened judgment: whilst, viewed as a compendium of the specific objects and results of Greek intellect and enterprise, as the pioneers of science and of commerce, they offer a masterly exposition of political causes and effects, which lie beyond the ken of ordinary sagacity. While the ethnic affinities of our race have suffered innumerable shocks, and while Europe itself often felt, and finally succumbed to, perturbations communicated by the wild hosts of eastern Asia, influences of a regenerating nature have been ever the characteristics of the Hellenic and Italic peninsulas. Institutes of political organization and jurisprudence have emanated from their shores, which have given a powerful impulse to that freedom and commercial enterprise which exist at the present day among the enlightened communities of Europe; and not only so, they have innervated with the same healthy vigour the younger families of nations, who, in another hemisphere and in more distant lands, have borne aloft the high name of the great Arian family. Of this distinguished stock, the Hellenic tribe was a remarkable scion. That its original habitat, long before the name of Hellas was heard in Greece, was the vicinity of the Hindoo Coosh and the highlands of Ladakh and Cashmire, as a section of the noble race of the Arii, who

Regenerative influences of the Hellenic and Italic races.

gave a name to the province of Ariana, is clear both from topical and ethnic demonstrations. It will thus be evident that the descendants of an uncultivated but nobly intellectual people, which had in distant ages colonized Greece from these lofty regions, returned, after centuries of national and mental progression, to the cradle of their race, to enlighten and to sway their parent land with the arts of peace and of war.

But the evidences of Grecian civilization and its decay have not only been found scattered over the Punjab and the highlands of Balkh in a fortuitous manner, nor is the tope of Manikyala the only repository of forgotten historical facts; other structures of a somewhat similar character have also given forth important revelations, either in connection with dynasties purely Greek or of Indo-Scythic origin. Of such a nature is the tope of Bimaran, of which the reader is here presented with a view. It is situated to the west of Jellalabad.[1] It is in refer-



Tope of Bimaran.

ence to these and other similar sources of information, that Professor Wilson has justly observed that "few inquiries of an archæological purport have been attended with so abundant a harvest of discovery

Value of Indo-Greek Archæology.

[1] This tope is of the second class, and has a circumference of one hundred and twenty-six feet. Its embellishments comprise a succession of arches supported on pilasters, enclosed with double lines of mouldings. The relics consist of a good-sized globular vase of alg or steatite, with a carved cover or lid, both of which were encircled with lines of inscriptions scratched with a stylet or other sharp-pointed instrument. The characters were Bactro-Pali. In the centre was standing a casket of pure gold. Within the casket and steatite vase were contained a small metallic plate. Without were deposited four copper coins, in excellent preservation, having been inserted new. They were the most useful part of the discovery, as enabling us with some certainty to assign the monument and its æra; they were of the horseman type, and bearing Greek legends on the obverse, corrupt indeed, but allowing the titles ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ to be distinguished on them. Wilson's Ariana, p. 70.

as those of which India has been recently the field. The results do not extend to so remote a period as is necessary for the illustration of antiquities purely national, or for the determination of the origin and æra of the religious or political institutions of the Hindus; but they fill up in the most satisfactory manner an extensive blank in the history of an important part of India at an interesting period, and dissipate the clouds that have hung over the invasion of Alexander and that of Mahomed Ghori, in regard to the provinces which were the seat of their respective aggressions. They give us for fifteen centuries a variety of important circumstances relating to the political and religious condition of the kingdom of Bactria and the conterminous regions of Persia and Hindustan, of which we have hitherto had but few and imperfect intimations, and which were heretofore altogether unknown."[1] Our knowledge of Bactrian India was, until a very recent period, extremely contracted; and although it was known that independent sovereignties, under Greek dynasties, existed in that country after the death of Alexander, yet it was only by dint of singular learning and industry that these *disjecta membra* of forgotten history were extracted from fragmentary classical notices and a few rare coins. In union with these authorities, Chinese writers of great historical weight had been adduced by the oriental scholarship of France, who narrated the fall of the Greek power before the attacks of Scythian princes, whose dominion stretched from the Parapomisus to the mouths of the Indus. These accounts were still farther corroborated by the writings of the historians of Persia and Rajpootana, who recorded the overthrow or dethronement of the Hindu chieftains, who were the existing rulers of Afghanistan and Sindh, at the æra of the Mahomedan invasion; whence it is obvious that both Greek and barbarian dynasties had been already displaced by Hindu princes. But though we have thus seen that the legitimate boundary of Bactrian history was enlarged from classical, Chinese, and Mahomedan sources, it was still rather of an inferential than of a direct nature—more hypothetical than positive. But this is now happily changed: details of an authentic and interesting nature, form in no insignificant degree a concatenation of events connected with those prime æras of Bactrian rule, the Macedonian, Scythian, Hindu, and Mahomedan dynasties. Such are the deficiencies supplied within a comparatively recent period, that the "barrenness of events has been changed to abundance."[2] Skilful research has not only corroborated all that was imperfectly known, but has filled up the meagre outline with circumstances and persons of historical truth and importance. The hitherto unnamed or unknown members of successive or synchronous dynasties, now pass before our eyes as well-defined individuals and in connected order; and revolutions of a religious as well as a political origin may be discovered, if not with all the minuteness we could wish, yet with a distinctness that demands unquestioning reliance. The means by which these additions to our

The sources of our knowledge of Bactria,

and their important tendencies.

[1] Ariana, p. 2.

[2] Ibid. p. 3.

knowledge of the past have been effected are the numerous monuments and coins which have been found within the period above specified, in Turkestan, Afghanistan, and the Punjab."

The Arians, or the "Noble Race," as they emphatically termed themselves, were known as Medes. Of the same distinguished stem was the family of Darius, who in the inscriptions so wonderfully deciphered by Major Rawlinson called himself "an Arian of the race of the Arians." In ancient Indian chronicles, the "Aryā Varta," or Noble Land, is the country extending from the eastern to the western sea, and bounded on the north and south by the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains. In the classical acceptation of the term, it embraces the countries lying within the Parapomisus on the north, the Indus on the east, Parthia and Carmania on the west, and the Indicum Pelagus on the south. The exact boundary and ultimate extent of the Bactrian kingdom, either before or immediately subsequent to its conquest by Alexander, does not appear to have been clearly defined. "The extent of the kingdom founded by the successors of the Greek governors of the province of Bactria," observes Professor Wilson, "considerably exceeded the limits assigned to the province by classical geographers. Its precise boundaries cannot be satisfactorily determined, but the numismatic illustrations which the history of the Bactrian kings has received render it likely that, at different periods and under different dynasties, the Bactrian monarchy comprised not only Transoxiana, but the country to the south and south-west, to the confines of Persia on the one hand, and of India on the other. It is not likely, indeed, that the whole of this tract was at any one time under any one sovereign; and the coins to be hereafter described, show that there must have been several distinct dynasties of more or less contemporary existence. The country was therefore, no doubt, partitioned amongst different branches from the original stem; but, in its undivided form, it was, in all likelihood, coextensive with the modern kingdom of Caubul, and with the Ariana of the ancients, in the widest acceptation of the term. It is therefore advisable, before describing the coins of the several dynasties which held domination in this quarter of the globe, to attempt to determine what that designation imported, and what was the ancient condition of the countries over which the sway of the Bactrian Greeks was for a short season extended. . . . Ariana is not mentioned by Herodotus, though he speaks of the Arii: he seems, however, to have had some imperfect intimation that this appellation, or something similar to it, was susceptible of a more comprehensive application than to the people of a single district, as he mentions that the Persians formerly called themselves Artæi, and that the Medes were originally denominated Arii. At a later date, the distinction was better understood; and although Ptolemy takes no notice of Ariana, it is fully described by Strabo, and is mentioned as including the Arii, with other people, by Pliny. It may therefore be inferred that it was known to their chief authorities, the contemporary

The Arians or Noble Race.

Extent of the Greek Bactrian kingdom.

Ariana and the Arii.

narrators of Alexander's expedition, and that they derived it from the natives of the country, amongst whom it was always familiar, being, in fact, the same as IRAN, the proper appellation of ancient Persia."[1]

That the same linguistic and ethnic peculiarities distinguished in high antiquity the people of the Bactrian provinces that marked them in the time of Alexander and in the present day, may be considered as capable of satisfactory proof. Even up to the Oxus and the chief Turcomanian regions, the language of the Taujiks, a species of aboriginal Persian, is not only well understood, but is a principal agent in the commercial transactions of these regions.

The early and intimate connection of Bactria with Persia has been so ably and distinctly traced by the learned author to whom the history of the Indo-Greek empire is so much indebted, that his remarks upon this subject will be found peculiarly instructive and weighty :—" The first occasion on which the Bactrians make a figure in Grecian history is not irreconcileable with the oriental traditions, which represent them as little, if at all, different from the Persians. They were invaded, it is said, by Ninus, king of Assyria, with an army which bespoke the arduousness of the enterprise against their independence. According to Ctesias, as quoted by Diodorus Siculus, his forces amounted to two millions. Oxyartes made head against this host with indomitable courage, but was compelled to retreat into his capital, and was there besieged. This city was strong and vigorously defended; and Ninus despaired of its capture, when Semiramis, who had joined her husband Menon, an officer in the Assyrian army, proposed a plan of attack by which the city was taken. Her share in the exploit introduced her to Ninus, and she became his queen and successor. Bactria continued to be a dependency of the Assyro-Persic empire, and there, it is said, Semiramis fitted out her expedition against India, which, notwithstanding the enormous extent of her preparations, terminated in her discomfiture."

Early notices of the Bactrians.

And again :—" The inclusion of Bactria amongst the provinces of Persia is confirmed by the statements of Herodotus, to whom we may now have recourse, not only for such particulars as were known by the Bactrians in his day, but also for all that can be ascertained of their neighbours, the people comprehended within the limits of Ariana, taken in its widest extent, or those upon its immediate confines. Of the tribes so situated, the geographical position cannot always be satisfactorily determined, but in some instances it can be verified from incidental notices in the same writer, on which conjecture may be based, or from the recurrence of the names in other authors, accompanied by indications, more or less positive, of the site of the people whom they designated."[2]

Bactria, a Persian province.

We have, unfortunately, no distinct notice of the exact position of the Greek military colonies planted by the Bactrian viceroys in the Trans-Oxianic regions, which must have been indispensable as the

Brief military notices of Arrian.

[1] Wilson's Ariana, pp. 119, 120. [2] Ibid. p. 126.

vanguards of the new Hellenic dynasties. A flash of light seems to spread for a moment over the track of the Macedonian conqueror in northern India, succeeded by darkness profound and long continued. The pages of Arrian, forming more of a hasty military sketch-book than a detailed history, present us with tracts, cities, tribes, and rivers, whose local interest too often fades away as soon as the steps of the royal warrior of Macedon have quitted the Asiatic highlands. We are left to fortuitous or analogous conjectures relative to the external defences or the internal organization of the royal dynasties which, on the north-east, had to repel the Tartarian hordes and Turcoman tribes; on the west and south-west, to conciliate the warlike Bactrians, and to mould them into powerful allies. The position occupied by the princely captains of the Macedonian kingdom was one which, but for the intellectual rank to which they had been elevated by Hellenic civilization, could never have been maintained in such a country as Bactria. The brief season allotted both to conquest and consolidation of power, in consequence of the early death of Alexander, left no means of devising a scheme which should make the distant viceroys amenable to a great central and controlling power. Hence, after the death of Alexander, there is but too much reason to apprehend that the same struggles for power which distracted the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and the Seleucidæ, must have been the characteristic of not a few of the Indo-Bactrian sovereignties.

Deficiencies in the histories of Alexander.

It has been truly observed by Prinsep,[1] that "there is nothing like a philosophical history, or even a true account in detail, of Alexander's exploits and proceedings, in all the literature of Greece and Rome; for assuredly the works of Arrian and of Quintus Curtius do not deserve that character." In tracing, therefore, the history of the colonies which Alexander planted in the east, the first difficulty experienced arises from the very imperfect notices handed down to us of the means by which he established those colonies, of their number and position, of the arrangements made for their internal government, and, what is even of more importance, of their relation with the natives of the regions in which they were placed. It is well remarked by Professor Lassen, that Bactria and Aria, that is, the countries lying on either side of the Hindoo Koosh, between the Oxus and Indus rivers, are on the high-road of Asiatic conquest, and have been the battle-field of every tribe or nation that has risen to dominion in the east. "The history of this tract, therefore," observes the same high authority, "if we had it complete and continuous, would tell more of the history of the world, and of the great revolutions in language, religion, civilization, and government, which have been brought about by conquest, and by the admixture of races resulting from conquest, than that of any other country on the face of the earth. For the want of this history, even for the period when Greek dominion and the Greek language gave means and facilities for preserving it, the

[1] Prinsep's Historical Results.

modern learned are driven to speculation and conjecture, groping their way in dark uncertainty, and putting together facts gathered here and there, at wide intervals, or drawing inferences from vague analogies of language, of features, and of customs, whereon they build theories which are overturned as fast as they are constructed. It is now a little more than a century (1738) since Bayer wrote his treatise in Latin on the Greek colonies of Bactria, and proved to conviction, as the same Professor observes, the neglect these regions had experienced from writers of antiquity, by the meagreness of the details which his industry and learning could discover in their works. He gave the names of not more than six kings of Greek origin whom he found incidentally mentioned as having reigned in these countries, but the dates of their accessions and deaths—even the localities of the dominion of several—were left, and still remain, in uncertainty. It is only through coins since discovered, or by means of relics and inscriptions obtained in topes or tumuli, that we have made, or can hope to make, any advance in the knowledge of the past history of these regions beyond the point reached by Bayer; and the advance yet made is confined to a lengthened list of names, derived from coins of kings before unheard of and unknown. But the coins, either by their execution, or by their type and emblems, or by the titles and superscriptions, afford circumstances from which to draw conclusions as to the connection of the kings with one another, or with known dynasties of the west. Moreover, the number and localities in which the coins are found are circumstances from which to deduce arguments as to the length of reigns and seats of government. Next to inscriptions, therefore, coins are the best evidence we can obtain to support or supply the want of history. We have a few inscriptions, likewise, but they are in the new Arian language, and the deciphering of them remains to be accomplished."[1]

Bayer's history of the Greek colonies.

Inferential historical results.

When the Greeks first indulged in the favourite idea of carrying back into the heart of Persia those invasions and indignities which Greece had endured at the hands of the Achæmenidæ, they could scarcely have anticipated the realization of the fact that lands still more distant would fall beneath the resistless phalanx of Macedon. Though Macedon led, it was Greece that gave the impulse. If the royal pupil of the Stagirite was the supreme chieftain of Hellenic civilization, his father was equally the scholar of the great Epameinondas. How few are the royal families that have enjoyed the advantages of a continued training, at once profoundly political and warlike!

Speculation might busy itself in the attempt to solve the amount of topical information at the disposal of the captain-general of Greece before he entered upon his arduous eastern campaign. But from two quarters only could the difficulties of his onward progress in, and ultimate conquest of, India be ascertained. The first lay before him in

Sources of Indian topography and ethnology accessible to Alexander.

[1] Prinsep's Historical Results, p. 5.

the shape of such reports as could be obtained from the hardy Greek traders of the Euxine, whose ancestors, for centuries before the reign of Philip, had been accustomed to brave the perilous hardships of the north-east Bactrian trade in peltry and in the Permian and South Uralian products. As to the southern section of the Punjab, information of a trustworthy nature might very probably be obtained from the Persian satrapies in its more immediate vicinity. Alexander's line of conquest on the northern Indus had probably been planned by means of intelligence gained from the Indo-Scythic chiefs who had served in the army of Darius. Even as early as the time of Herodotus, the Indian satrapy was the richest province under the sway of the invader of Hellas, yielding, as Herodotus informs us, six hundred talents of gold. Like Napoleon, none exhibited, when it pleased him, greater tact in conciliating and selecting hostile talent of a high order than Alexander. Hence it is not improbable that detailed topical, ethnic, or political knowledge of the last importance to the success of the invading force, may have been communicated to Alexander previous to his grand eastern expedition. That tract of country lying between the Hindoo Koosh and the Jaxartes, or modern Syr, was the scene of the northern campaign of the Macedonian king. Through the rich and important possessions once thickly dotted over this region lay his line of march. Justin is our authority for the fact of its containing a thousand populous cities; and whether we look upon this amount either as a round number or as a rhetorical flourish, the plain fact will not be the less evident, that it was undoubtedly a country of busy, stirring traffic, of great wealth, and the grand point where not a few of the varied ethnological types of our race met in the vast congress of the barbaric and civilized world.

Importance of the northern campaign.

Fifteen thousand disciplined troops held this important line of possessions, in the midst of tribes as wild as they were various. Whilst this force was left under the command of Amyntas, to keep in check any symptoms of insurrection, and to maintain his communications, Alexander did not hesitate boldly to advance on India. It was soon after the rapid pursuit and the subsequent assassination of Darius that the conqueror returned to the Caspian. Here, in June and July, B. C. 330, he subdued the Mardi and the rugged province of Hyrcania; nor, eighty years afterwards, had the first of the Arsacidæ any stronger support for the Parthian sovereignty than the colonies planted at this time and place by the Macedonian prince. Immediately after the conquest of the Mardi, Alexander marched (August and September) into Ariana. Susia, its then capital, received a garrison under the command of a Persian satrap. The winters of B. C. 330–329 found the cantonment of the invading army of India on the champaign land of Beghram, nearly forty miles to the north of Cabul, not far from Charikar, a spot where the coins of the Greek Bactrian kings have been found in such abundance as to leave little doubt of its having been the capital of the district of Cabul Proper.

Storm of Drapsacus and march along the Oxus.

In the spring of B.C. 329, after traversing the Parapomisus with his usual rapidity, and storming Drapsacus, he pushed forward along the course of the Oxus, establishing garrisons between the Hindoo Koosh and that river. Here it was that, as he fled across the Oxus, Bessus was seized by Ptolemy. In the winter of 329 B.C. Alexander halted at Ariaspe, the modern Hazarasp. No sooner was the season suitable for action, than early in B.C. 328 the indefatigable soldier marched out of his cantonments, prepared by one well-organized plan to act upon such a base, as should enable him not only to subdue, but to hold, the extensive highlands of the Oxus and Jaxartes, which embraced the direct lines of northern Asiatic and European commerce. His execution of this project was as complete as his plan was comprehensive. "In the spring of B.C. 328," observes Prinsep,[1] "Alexander took the field, in five divisions, to reduce the entire country between the Oxus and Jaxartes. Spitamenes was defeated and slain at the beginning of the campaign, after a vain attempt to surprise Ariaspe, which confirms its identity with Hazarasp, a place well in advance, and therefore subject to such attack. The rest of the season was devoted to the reduction of the numerous strongholds in the upper part of Sogdiana and Mâwar-oon-nuhur, and to the establishment of colonies and garrisons to hold the country subdued. The winter 328–27 B.C. was passed at Nantaka or Karshi, and in the spring of the year 327 B.C. Alexander recrossed the Hindoo Koosh, and from Alexandria *apud* Caucasium commenced operations to reduce the country between that range and the Sofed-Koh, that is, in the Kohistan and Cabul valley to the Indus. Alexander himself commanded to the north of the Kophen or Cabool river, and Hephæstion, with Taxiles the Indian king, took the route to the south. The latter, arriving first at Attock, built there the bridge of boats by which Alexander's army passed into the Punjab. Professors Lassen and Wilson follow these operations in considerable detail, adopting Arrian's report of them, which is confirmed by what we now know of the geography of the entire tract. For our present purpose, it is sufficient to state briefly that this entire country was subdued and colonized like Bactria, in the months of April and May, 327 B.C. In July, 327 B.C., Porus was defeated on the banks of the Jhelum, and the months following were spent in colonizing and reducing the Punjab, and in building a fleet for the defence of the Indus.

Settlement of colonies in Sogdiana.

Return of Alexander.

The greater part of 326 B.C. was passed in the passage down that river, and in operations to reduce the different races which occupied its banks. At the close of the rainy season, that is, about September or October, 326 B.C., Alexander commenced his return march in three divisions. The first, with the heavy baggage, he sent by Kandahar and Seestan, under Craterus. The second he led himself, by the sea-coast, through Baloochistan and Makran, to Karmania (Karman). A third he sent by the then unexplored sea route to the Persian Gulf,

[1] Historical Results, p. 17.

under Nearchus. All met at Susa, towards the close of 325 B.C., the greatest hardships having been encountered by Alexander himself, in passing the arid deserts of southern Persia. The result of these operations was not merely that the conquering army swept over Asia, leaving, like Timour, Chungeez Khan, and Attila, marks of ravage and desolation only in the regions traversed, but that the whole of the wide tract of country from the Mediterranean to the Indus, from the Jaxartes and Caspian to the sea, was subdued, garrisoned, and colonized—made, in short, part of the Grecian empire, thus completely established in the east. We do not hear that anywhere the native population rebelled and threw off the Grecian yoke, or overpowered the garrisons left to maintain possession of the country, excepting only in the Punjab, nearly twenty years afterwards, during the troubles which followed the decease of Alexander. Everywhere else the government and the armies were Greek; Hellenism was the system upon which the administration was organized and conducted, and society and religion yielded to the ascendency of this dominant principle.

Death of Alexander in Mesopotamia.

"Alexander died in the spring of the year 323 B.C., that is, in the second year after his return to the ancient capitals of the Persian and Assyrian kings, leaving only a posthumous son. He caught a fever in the marshes of Mesopotamia, while planning a fresh capital for his vast empire in that central region. Consequently, we can only conjecture what might have been the result if his life had been spared to the ordinary average of human existence, or if an able successor had been left to perfect the arrangements he had so auspiciously commenced, and to consolidate, secure, and completely Hellenize this wide dominion. But Alexander's empire, though only of ten years' growth, was by no means transient. His colonies, and their institutions, manners, and language, had struck deep root even in this short period, and we shall find that the impulse towards Hellenism had a lasting action in central Asia, the effects of which were felt for at least five hundred years after the decease of the conqueror."

We have presented the reader with this rapid but masterly survey of Hellenic action and prolonged influence, because it points out, in the most forcible manner, the necessity of viewing these extreme eastern settlements as the offshoot of the grand, vigorous, and comprehensive views of a master-spirit, centuries in advance of the commercial and political ideas of his time. In casting a glance over the successors of Alexander's kingdom on the lines of the Indus and Jaxartes—for our limits will not permit us to enter into detail—the complicated nature of the dynasties in connection with these regions will be found an obstacle to so clear a comprehension of the subject as the historian could desire. Thus, no sooner had Bactria revolted from the Syrian kings, than we find Ariana involved in the same insurrectionary movements; and, henceforward, the specific allotment of sovereigns to those countries separately, or the eras of supreme autocracy over the confederated whole, becomes exceedingly difficult to determine. Thus the historical inquiry

into "Ariana" draws in its train the history, more or less, of Parthia, Bactria, and the rise and fall of the Arsacidæ. Hence it has been justly remarked, that not only was the establishment of that dynasty contemporaneous with the revolt of Ariana and Bactria, and the relations between the three countries always intimate, but many of the Parthian kings and "kings of kings" amongst those whose coins and relics are the materials upon which we have to build the new fabric of history, which is the result of recent discoveries. These obscurities, moreover, have been not a little increased by the conflicting terminology of Greek geographers and historians; and the extraordinary development of power over the Transoxianic nations exhibited by these warlike plantations of Alexander gave a fabulous appearance to facts whose difficulties have been found to have arisen from an entire misapplication of geographical terms; and so much so was this the case, that this predominant influence of the Greek-Bactrian and Arianic power, has been, by several writers, extended throughout the vast range of territory lying between the Jaxartes and the Chinese empire. With this fact full before us, it is not impossible to account very satisfactorily for those cases in high antiquity where a mistaken ethnological title laid the foundation for an absurd mythology. The learned author of Ariana has observed,[1] that "the extension of the sovereignty of the Greek-Bactrian kings over people termed by Strabo Phryni and Seres, has much perplexed the most eminent scholars, some of whom have carried the Bactrian supremacy to the Chinese, on the one hand, and the Phœnicians, on the other. By the Seres, however, Professor Lassen observes, may be understood the people of the Serica of Ptolemy, which may be identified with Kashgar and Yarkand, and then there would be nothing improbable in their having felt the Bactrian power; and the position is confirmed by the passage he cites from the Periegesis of Dionysius, in which the Phryni and Seres are associated with the Tokhari, or people of Tokharestan. This leaves little doubt that some of the Bactrian princes attempted to establish their authority over the nations to the north-east of Transoxiana, although the precise extent of their conquests in that direction was not very distinctly defined. Whatever accessions to their territory they may have thus acquired were not long enough in their possession to become familiar to their historians.

Obscurity of Indo-Bactrian terminology.

The Seres and Serica.

"In the first century of the Christian era the Greeks had been dispossessed of the countries along the Indus by the Scythians; and, accordingly, by the geographers and travellers of that period, we find the Indo-Scythi located in this direction, and the denomination Scythia applied to the province of Sindh. It would seem, however, that, by the time of the author of the Periplus, some other political revolutions had been effected, as he describes the government of the country as being in the hands of a tribe of Parthians, divided into two parties: each party, as it prevailed, chose a king out of its own body, and

[1] Page 212.

drove out the king of the opposite faction. The account may, perhaps, admit of correction upon the evidence afforded by the coins of this period; and, instead of two factions of Parthians, we may rather suspect that the contest alluded to was a struggle between Parthian and Scythian princes for the possession of Sindh."

We have considered it necessary to make these prefatory remarks, supported by the highest authority, which we have here given at considerable length, because the materials for forming a full, regular, and consecutive history of the external or internal history of the Indo-Greek kingdom, do not yet exist, notwithstanding the wonderful light recently thrown upon portions of that dynasty, which, till recently, were in a state of total obscurity. Bearing in mind these observations, we would now enter on a survey of the chief

GRÆCO-BACTRIAN DYNASTIES,

SUBSEQUENT TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER.

Artabazus, governor of Bactria.

The officer appointed to the command of the important province of Bactria, on its subjugation by Alexander, was Artabazus. As early as B.C. 356, we find this Persian the powerful satrap of western Asia; so powerful, indeed, as to refuse obedience to Artaxerxes the Third. After a continued course of vigorous warfare, in which he contrived to gain the aid of Athenian and Bœotian allies, by whose assistance he succeeded in defeating the royal lieutenants in two great battles, he was at length obliged, by the secession of his allies, to take refuge with Philip of Macedon. In B.C. 349, we find Artabazus again restored to favour at the Persian court, at the earnest entreaties of Mentor. Notwithstanding his disgrace in the reign of Artaxerxes the Third, Artabazus proved himself a devoted partizan of his successor, Darius Codomannus, distinguishing himself at the battle of Arbela, B.C. 331, and accompanying Darius in his flight. It was after the death of that unfortunate monarch, B.C. 330, that Alexander committed to his charge the satrapy of Bactria, his daughter becoming, by the Macedonian prince, the mother of Heracles. The Persian satrap, however, did not long enjoy his new dignity, which, in consequence of his advanced age, he resigned B.C. 328. Arrian informs us that his viceroyalty was given to Cleitus; by others we are told that he was succeeded by Amyntas, the son of Nicolaus. Though authorities are not agreed as to the name of the governor of Bactria after the death of Alexander (June, B.C. 323), we are informed by Arrian that Stasanor, a native of Soli, in Cyprus, received that appointment from Antipater, together with that of governor of Sogdiana.[1]

Subsequent to the general peace between Alexander's successors,

[1] Diodorus calls him Philip, (the governor of Parthia, according to Arrian); and he assigns Aria and Drangiana to Stasanor, in which Dexippus concurs. Justin and Orosius term the governor of the Bactrians, Amyntas. Whoever it might be that was intrusted with the charge, he was, during the contests among Alexander's generals, but little interfered with, and enjoyed real if not nominal sovereignty.

B. C. 311, Seleucus, being left in peaceable possession of his dominions, began to make preparations for the recovery of the Indian conquests of Alexander. This expedition, however, does not appear to have set forward till somewhere near the year B. C. 302—in fact, only a short period previous to the contest with Antigonus.

How far Seleucus penetrated into India is not known, though the expedition itself is acknowledged to have been a total failure. Seleucus ceded to Chandragupta (the Sandracoptus of classical authors) his conquests in the Punjab and in the Parapomisus, receiving in return five hundred war elephants. A matrimonial alliance between the Indian and Syrian princes cemented the peace.

Alliance of Seleucus and Chandragupta.

"When Seleucus engaged in his Indian expedition," observes the author of Ariana,[1] "which ended in his alliance with Chandragupta, he took that opportunity of recalling the governor of Bactria to a sense of subordination, and very probably recruited his army with the martial inhabitants of the country. The victory over his competitors, which soon followed his return to Babylon, gave him the undisputed mastery of Asia; and Bactria continued for about fifty years to be, as it had before been, a province of Persia. In confirmation of this dependence, the coins of Seleucus and Antiochus have been found in some numbers at Balkh and Bokhara."

In the reign of Antiochus Theos, the third prince of the Seleucidan dynasty, B. C. 261, he became engaged in war with Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, which lasted for a considerable time, greatly weakening the Syrian power. Hence, taking advantage of this political feebleness, we find Arsaces establishing the formidable Parthian empire, B. C. 250. Another remote province soon added to the distraction of the Seleucidan councils, by throwing off its allegiance to the Syrian kingdom. It was the basis of the

INDO-GREEK DYNASTY.

THEODOTUS, B. C. 256–250.

Theodotus, governor of Bactria.

Theodotus, or, as he is called by Strabo, Diodotus, the governor of Bactria, was the founder of a Greek dynasty that continued to exist for a period of more than one hundred and fifty years. The peculiar position, both political and geographical, in which Theodotus was placed, gave unusual facilities for the acquisition and consolidation of his power. "The death of Antiochus," observes Professor Wilson[2] (of whose perspicuous and learned account of this dynasty we avail ourselves to the period of Eukratides), "and the hostilities in which his successor, Seleucus Callinicus, was at first engaged with Ptolemy Euergetes, and then with his own brother Antiochus Hierax, afforded to Theodotus an opportunity of gathering strength; and he was possibly in some sort confirmed by Seleucus, as an inducement to him to combine in operations against the second Arsacidan king, Tiridates.

[1] Page 215.

Whether he assisted Seleucus in that invasion of Parthia by which Tiridates was compelled to become a fugitive, is nowhere stated; but it seems not unlikely; and his death may have been one of the causes which facilitated the recovery of Parthia by Tiridates, as is intimated by Justin. These transactions enable us to form a plausible conjecture as to the termination of his reign, which has been placed B.C. 243. This may be a very few years too soon, for as Seleucus Callinicus ascended the throne only B.C. 246, it may be doubted if in three years subsequent he was at leisure to prosecute schemes of conquest on his eastern frontier. The difference, however, cannot be considerable; perhaps B.C. 240 may be taken as an approximation.

THEODOTUS II., B.C. 240.

Theodotus II.

" That the accession of the second Theodotus took place in the interval between the first and second expedition of Seleucus into Parthia cannot be doubted, from the change that has been recorded of Bactrian policy in the commencement of his reign. Seleucus having been recalled to Syria by new commotions, afforded Tiridates the means of recovering his dominions. In this he was aided by the second Theodotus, who made common cause with the Parthian, and probably enabled him to defeat and take prisoner the Seleucidan monarch. It has been conjectured that the captivity of Seleucus took place in the middle of his reign, or B.C. 236, and continued to the end of it, or B.C. 226. There is no sufficient authority for these dates, but it seems not unlikely that the capture of Seleucus took place after the earlier of the two.

Seleucus recalled to Syria.

" That Tiridates availed himself of his triumph over Seleucus to extend and consolidate the Parthian monarchy was no more than was to have been expected from his vigorous character and long reign; and there is no improbability in the assertion that his alliance with Theodotus II. did not long continue uninterrupted, and that he deprived his former ally of a portion of his possessions. It was chiefly, however, to the west and south, in Hyrcania and Media, that Parthia spread at this season; and Bactria was not seriously endangered. The hostile disposition of Tiridates may, however, have favoured, and his policy may have fomented, discontents in Bactria which cut short the reign of its king, and led to an interval of domestic anarchy which ended in the accession of a stranger to the throne.

EUTHYDEMUS, B.C. 220–190.

Euthydemus

" It has been affirmed in a passage from Strabo, that Euthydemus was the founder of the Bactrian kingdom, but this is irreconcileable with the positive assertions of other authorities; and the passage probably refers only to his having founded a new dynasty, by wresting the sovereignty either from Theodotus II. or some of his descendants, a transaction which, when hard pressed by Antiochus the Great, he pleaded in deprecation of that prince's resentment.

"Although not in possession of any connected account of the reign of Euthydemus, various interesting circumstances relating to it have been preserved by Polybius; and as he flourished but a few years subsequent to the events he records, he may be regarded as sufficient authority, as far as the imperfect remains we have of his writings extend. According to him, Euthydemus was a Magnesian who, upon being defeated by Antiochus, sent to him to represent that the king acted unjustly towards him in seeking to dispossess him of his dominions, for he was not the author of the revolt in Bactria, but had acquired that kingdom by overcoming the descendants of those who had first rebelled. This serves as a satisfactory comment upon the text of Strabo.



Euthydemus.

Antiochus advances against Bactria.

"After the partial subjugation of Artabanus, the third Arsacidan prince, Antiochus, moved eastward against Bactria. Euthydemus stationed a body of horse to guard the banks of the Arius, and encamped with his main army at the city of Tapanria. In this we have, no doubt, some trace of the modern name of the province of Taberistan, whilst the Arius is the river of Herat, showing that the kingdom of Bactria extended in this direction to the Alburz mountains at least, and in all probability it had been, prior to the invasion of Antiochus, carried into Drangiana and Arachosia. Antiochus marched to the river, and in an action with the Bactrian cavalry was wounded in the mouth: but he defeated them, and Euthydemus, alarmed, fell back upon Zariaspa, the capital of Bactria. Hence he sent the remonstrance above cited, and a solicitation to be permitted to retain the name and authority of king; urging that his independence was of political importance to Antiochus, as well as to himself; as, if his principality was enfeebled, it would no longer be able to act as a barrier against the nomadic Scythians on the frontier, and the provinces of Persia would speedily be overrun by them, thus indicating the perilous position of the Bactrian princes, and the proximity, even at this early period, of the enemies by whom they were subsequently overpowered. Antiochus admitted the reasonableness of the plea, and, having demanded from Euthydemus all his elephants, crossed the Caucasus, on his expedition to India, where he formed an alliance with Sophagasenus, a name undeniably of Indian origin, although not identifiable with any in the usual list of kings. The accession of Euthydemus, as calculated by Bayer and adopted by Visconti, is B.C. 220. M. R. Rochette would carry it a few years further back, but he proposes no fixed limit, and offers no positive objection. Professor Lassen, on the other hand, reduces it as low as B.C. 209; but this is scarcely reconcileable with the invasion of Antiochus, which must have been prior to this date, and which found, apparently,

Euthydemus fully in possession of the sovereignty of Bactria. There is nothing improbable in his having been king for some years at that period. That he reigned also for a like term subsequently is also probable, as the return of Antiochus to western Asia in B.C. 205, and his engaging in schemes for the extension of his dominions towards Egypt, must have first favoured, or indeed permitted, the attempts of the Bactrian king to extend his authority in the direction of the Paropamisus, either in person or by the instrumentality of his son.

DEMETRIUS, B.C. 190.

"After the negotiations between Euthydemus and Antiochus had been carried on for some time, the former sent to the camp of the latter his son Demetrius to bring them to a conclusion. Antiochus, according to Polybius, was much pleased with the youth, and pronounced him, from his appearance and manners, worthy of royalty; he also promised to give him one of his daughters in marriage. We have, therefore, full evidence of the relation borne by Demetrius to Euthydemus, and that about the year B.C. 210 he was very young, probably little more than a boy, and not of marriageable years.

"The place filled by Demetrius in the history of Bactria is a subject of some difficulty. The notices of him by classical writers are few and scanty, and connect him less with Bactria than India. Bayer, therefore, concludes that he never reigned in the former country; in which he has been followed by Visconti and other eminent scholars. Now these conclusions are proved to be wholly erroneous, for all the coins of Demetrius designate him as 'king,' and represent him with the fillet of royalty; and hitherto they have been almost wholly found in Bactria Proper. He was, therefore, undoubtedly 'king,' and was as certainly king of Bactria, after his father.

Notices of Euthydemus in classical writers.

"But there is positive testimony that he effected conquests and held sovereignty in India, that is, on the south of the Hindu Kush. Strabo, speaking of the extension of the territories of the Bactrian kings towards India, says, some of them were acquired by Menander, some by Demetrius, the son of the king of Bactria, Euthydemus; and Justin terms Demetrius king of the Indians, who besieged Eukratides for five months in vain, and in the end was deprived by that prince of his Indian possessions.

"It has been concluded from the first passage that Menander was contemporary with Demetrius, and that he usurped from him the succession to the Bactrian kingdom; but this by no means follows from Strabo's text, which simply states that the two princes specified were conquerors in India, without regard to their chronological order. It may, indeed, be inferred that the conquests of Demetrius were made, not whilst he was king, but in his father's lifetime, since Strabo designates him as the 'son of the king;' and this will explain why none of his coins have been found even at Begram, where those of his father are comparatively not uncommon. That the Indian victories of

Allusions to the Indian conquests of Demetrius.

Demetrius are alluded to upon his coins, by the peculiarity of his helmet, which is found in imitation of the head and trunk of an elephant, is not improbable; but the use of the elephant in war was not unknown to the Bactrian kings, as Euthydemus is said to have been compelled to relinquish all his elephants to Antiochus. No great weight, therefore, can be attached to this peculiarity. If any extension of territory in India was effected by Demetrius during the lifetime of Euthydemus, it must have been towards the close of that king's reign, as the prince would have been too young to have been sent upon such an expedition at an earlier period. There was also, at this time, additional inducement to an invasion, not of India Proper, but of the countries on the west of the Indus, south of the Paropamisus. Antiochus, on his return to India, had ceded these provinces to his ally Sophagasenus, and the Greek princes of Bactria must have looked on this cession with uneasy feelings, as it was a mutilation, not only of their own dominions, but of the general body of the Greek eastern empire, and it was to be expected that they would endeavour to effect their recovery. It is likely, therefore, that the Paropamisus, Arachosia, and Drangiana would have been the direction to which the arms of Euthydemus and Demetrius were chiefly carried; and the persevering attempts of the latter to recover their southern provinces may have afforded an opportunity to Eukratides to dispossess him of Bactria itself. After a short reign, therefore, in his patrimonial possessions, he was driven to fix himself to the south of the mountains, as Bayer suggests, and where it is said stood the city of Demetrias, of which he was possibly the founder. In this position he remained for the rest of his life, persisting in fruitless attempts to harass Eukratides, especially when the latter also crossed the mountains, and established his authority in the Kohistan of Kabul."

Paucity of direct historical information.

It is obvious, although a great and increasing light has been thrown upon Indo-Greek history, by the profound learning of the eminent scholar to whose writings we have been so deeply indebted, that the induction of facts from a numismatic basis, aided even by the scattered notices contained in classical authors, must increase rather than assuage the thirst that is felt for that information, that is alone to be supplied by the detailed accounts of the historian. The loss of this kind of invaluable authority is, perhaps, nowhere to be more regretted in the Indo-Greek dynasties, than in that of Eukratides. We learn quite sufficient, through the media of coins and of slight historical notices, to feel satisfied that Eukratides must have been a prince of no ordinary political and military power. Though authorities differ considerably as to the termination of his reign,[1] that fixed upon for its

[1] For the commencement of the reign of Eukratides there is no reason to dissent from the date conjectured for it by Bayer, or B. C. 181. The close of it is less satisfactorily appreciable: if the conquests of Mithridates occurred in his reign, it must have extended to some period between B. C. 160 and 135; the former is pre-

commencement by Bayer, and adopted by Professor Wilson, whose system we here follow, is as follows:—

EUKRATIDES, B. C. 181.[1]

This prince, though totally unconnected with Euthydemus, is uniformly acknowledged to be the successor of Demetrius. The original seat of his government, in which he first appears more in the capacity of a partizan chief than a powerful monarch, seems to have been Bactria. The title of "Maharajasa," or "Great King," which is found upon his coins, must have been assumed subsequent to his conquests to the south of the Hindoo Coosh. Eukratides was the first sovereign who, if we are to be guided by the numismatic discoveries hitherto made, issued a coinage of bilingual character. Justin notices the successive conflicts—nearly all of them favourable—in which Eukratides was engaged. On his final victory over Agathocles, his rival, his conquests assumed a truly formidable character. He became the undisputed autocrat of the vast countries embraced by the Punjab, Sind, Parthia, and the Indus, at which time, also, he seems to have annexed to his Arian territories additional Indian districts. It was on the homeward march of Eukratides that he met his death from the hand of his son; but neither is the name of the parricide recorded, nor have we any means of arriving at the exact date of the tragical event. If we may credit Justin, however, the traitorous prince appears to have been associated in the imperial throne, which, in fact, seems to convey the idea that the assassination was perpetrated with the object of gaining a more early possession of the entire sovereign dignity than would, by the course of nature, have fallen to his lot.



Eukratides the Great.

Extensive possessions of Eukratides.

"That the reign of Eukratides was a long one is evidenced by the abundance of his coins. They are found plentifully in Bactria Proper, and in immense numbers at Beghram, affording evidence both of his Bactrian and his Indian sovereignty. According to Strabo, his authority extended beyond the Indus, where he was lord of a thousand cities. This has not been confirmed by the discovery of his coins in the Punjab, but undoubtedly he was sovereign of the country west of the Indus, and may have held possession on the east of the river.

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ferred by Lassen. M. R. Rochette suggests 155, and Bayer 147. If, as is most likely, the Indian victories of the Parthian occurred in the reign of his successor, and after the captivity of Demetrius Nicator, the latter will be the least exceptionable date.

[1] Contemporary with Arsaces VI. (Mithridates I.), the Parthian king.

According to classical authority, his Indian conquests were amongst the last acts of his life, as upon his return from them he was put to death by his son. It is not likely, however, that he would have engaged in such enterprises, if Mithridates had not been pressing upon him in a different direction; and still less is it possible that he and the Parthian at the very same time subjugated the very same country. The Indian victories of Eukratides must have been effected before Mithridates advanced so far to the east; and if he died on his return from them, he died some years earlier than his Parthian contemporary."

Heliocles, b. c. 147 or 155.

Heliocles, the successor of Eukratides, who now succeeded to a throne stained by a parent's blood, is said not only to have perpetrated but to have gloried in the perpetration of his base and inhuman act. Possibly, the ruling motives which induced the commission of this crime may have been, not only the early possession of the crown, but a vehement desire to rescue from the grasp of Parthia some of the western satrapies which had been given up to Mithridates. It was subsequent to this parricide that Heliocles assumed the title of "Dikæus." Heliocles, however, if we may infer from events, was not possessed of either the warlike or political abilities of his father; for it is ascertained that the Parthians increased in their invasive progress from the west, while the great Scythic tribes began to press upon the resources of the Bactrian kingdom from the north; so much so, that it is extremely improbable that the Greeks held any possessions to the north of the Parapomisus for any considerable time after the death of Heliocles. Nor is there any doubt but that the Greek Bactrian rule was as violently shaken by intestine commotions from within as from barbarian incursions. The existence of numerous Greek princes of this era, preserved in not a few coins, form an ample testimony to this fact.

Heliocles assumes the title of Dikæus.

"We have," says Professor Wilson, "for the period of probably about a century, at least twelve princes of genuine Greek nomenclature, of some of whom it may be inferred that they governed for many years extensive territories. They cannot, then, have reigned in succession; some of them must have been contemporary from the time of Eukratides, and even earlier. They were, no doubt, often hostile, setting up and pulling down dynasties: which of them were connected, which distinct, it is no easy matter to conjecture; and all conjectures hazarded on the imperfect data in our possession must be liable to so many sources of error, that they cannot be offered with courage or confidence."[1]

We are now entering upon a period barren of any strictly historical information. Meanwhile, however, the chronological position of successive Greek princes is closely marked by the valuable numismatic

[1] Wilson, Ariana, p. 266.

discoveries which oriental enterprise and sagacious research have placed within our reach. By this means we hold a record of—

Lysias, B. C. 147.
Agathoclea (her date not known).
Antimachus, B. C. 140.
Philoxenes, B. C. 130.
Antalkides, B. C. 135.
Archelaus, B. C. 125–120.

Menander, B. C. 126.

Here history steps in to the aid of numismatic science. Menander appears to have been distinguished among those Bactrian princes by whose valour the eastern limits of the Indo-Greek settlements were considerably extended. He not only pushed forward his conquests to the Jumna and the Sutlej, but he seems to have been equally successful in his victories on the southern Indus, since his coins were current on the coast of Guzerat during the first century of our era.

Victories of Menander on the southern Indus.

The numismatic discoveries, however, in connection with this prince, though not strictly authorizing us to style Menander a king of Bactria (though he is spoken of both by Arrian and Plutarch under that designation), yet lead us to infer his rule over an extensive region, varying from the Hindoo Coosh to the sea-board of Scinde. "That Alexander," observes Professor Wilson, "was never king of Bactria, is to be inferred from the total absence of any tetrachdrams, or any other coins, silver or copper, with a monolingual inscription."[1]

Plutarch is our authority for an anecdote, in connection with Menander, which would be still more entitled to credit, did not the whole scope of the narrative merge so completely into the counterpart of Buddhistic practice. So much was this prince beloved, we are told, that, on the occurrence of his death in camp, not a few cities contended for the possession of his remains. This dispute, which appears to be the mere reflex of the history of Sakya Sinha, was at length accommodated by a mutual agreement to divide among the eight cities, which disputed the charge of the princely relics, the ashes of Menander. Each of these cities raised magnificent topes, in which the remains of their prince were respectively enshrined.

Menander was the first king of the oriental Greek dynasties that assumed the title of Soter, a name not improbably prompted by that of Demetrius, the Syrian Soter. The coinage of Menander is decidedly of a warlike cast, and coincides with the inferences to be drawn from various intimations of extensive conquests in India.

Apollodotus, B. C. 110,

always stands connected inferentially, from the same authorities, in the same order of time with Menander. "Soter" is a title also borne by Apollodotus as well as by Menander. The Scythian costume, how-

[1] Ariana.

ever, and the style and title of "king of kings," demonstrate the rapid tendency to a barbaric period.[1]

Numismatic chronology.

As we are now rapidly approaching that period when the contracted domains of the Greek Bactrian empire fade from the historical horizon, it is simply necessary for us to maintain the same connection of numismatic chronology which we have already observed, which will then bring us in contact with the barbaric period. The incidents standing in connection with these relics of the Greek name and power are so few and indistinctly recorded, that the bare notice of the name alone will be more satisfactory than any inferential process of restoration, which might possibly lead to error. The two following princes, therefore, may be thus tabulated in succession to Apollodotus:—

Diomedes, B. C. 100.
Hermæus, B. C. 98.

Followed by

The Barbaric Kings, B. C. 90.

The same vast impulsive shocks which, from the extreme east, were communicated to southern Europe in the days of Attila, had, at irregular intervals, overthrown Arian civilization, centuries previous to that era of Italian devastation; and this ruin was, by the same perturbation, extended to distant lands. Though the superiority of the intellectual race never omitted to vindicate its just position as the ruling political element, still the temporary possession of power by the nomadic tribes of Eastern Asia rarely failed to produce a retrograde civilization. The convulsions of central Asia, by which barbarous hordes were impelled upon the nomadic races who had for a succession of ages occupied the regions of the Jaxartes, at length affected in their turn the Greek Bactrian kingdom. Chinese authorities, taken in combination with classical and Indian sources of information, give us almost a synchronistic view of these Scythic warlike progressions.



Coin of the Kanerkos Dynasty.

[1] The copper coins of Apollodotus present a figure of Apollo, and on the obverse is the tripod.

About B.C. 200, the Yu-chi, a people of the upper Hohang-ho, and the territory to the west of Chen-si, were expelled from these their ancient possessions by the Hioung-nou, or Huns. Pressed by the rapid pursuit of their savage foe, the Yu-chi fled in two divisions: while the majority of the race took a westerly direction, the remainder turned to the south, seeking refuge in Thibet. The great western band now encountered, near the river Ili, a people whom the Chinese historians have called the Szu, or Sai, supposed to be the Sakæ of European historians. The Sakæ were driven across the Jaxartes, and the Yu-chi, following them, divided with them the regions lying to the south of that river. The U-siun, another nomadic race, after pressing on the Yu-chi, seized on the regions lying between the Caspian and the Oxus. In the Hindu records there are notices of a great Turushka, or Turkish dynasty, ruling in Cashmire at an era of great antiquity; nor is it improbable that the victorious settlements of the Scythic races in Bactria and Parthia, may have been mainly indebted for their success to the fact of some ethnical affinity between the old and new possessors of the trans-Himalayan regions. A union of these people would necessarily have made them resistless. The great western movement gave off a section of the race that nearly about the Christian era laid the foundation of a sovereignty that corresponded with the territories of the kingdom of Cabul.

Influences of the nomadic races.

"This extension," observes Professor Wilson,[1] "was facilitated by the essential identity of the different immigrant tribes, who, although distinguished by various denominations, and often at variance with each other, were branches of that great Turkish race which, according to Persian tradition, occupied Turan, or central Asia, from the Caspian to China. It seems most consistent with the historical facts which are derivable from the Byzantine writers and Indian traditions, to believe that, in the series of irruptions from the north-east which commenced about a century before our era, the Sakas took the lead; that they were repelled from the frontiers of India, and fell back towards Persia, with which kingdom they are found connected as late as the third and fourth centuries.

Turushka dynasty.

"After them came the Yu-chi, who established themselves along the course of the Indus, between the Sakas and India, where they were in power for several centuries, constituting the Indo-Scythi of the classical geographers, and not improbably leaving traces of their designation as Getæ, in the Jits, Jats, or Juts, who are found in western Hindustan, and particularly on the Indus."[2]

The Yu-chi.

The conquests of the Scythians would undoubtedly have taken place at an earlier period, had they not encountered a formidable foe in the Parthians. The contest with Phraates continued for a period of two years, at which time (B.C. 128) this monarch was slain. Artabanus, his successor, shared the same fate, B.C. 125. In Menander the Scythians found a formidable enemy.

[1] Ariana, *ut ante*.

[2] Ibid. p. 305.

contradiction to the precepts of Islam, and still more to its spirit, they preserved the symbols of the Hindu religion upon their coins. Even the Mahomedan kings of Delhi were shown to abandon this practice, and it was not until the accession of the dynasty of Ghilja that it was totally relinquished. From this time forward, the principal currency of India became entirely Mahomedan; until, in our own days, the coinage of the East Indian Company, with European blazonry and with English inscriptions, has supplanted the texts of the Koran and the pompous titles of the Mogul; the numismatic records of Indian history thus faithfully following the destinies of the country for more than two thousand years."

RETROSPECT.

Retrospective view of Greek history.

We have now taken an extensive Survey of the most purely intellectual nation with which history has made us acquainted. That portion of the inner life of the Hellenic race, whose record, seen through the dim haze of antiquity, has been denominated "Mythology" and "Heroic Legend," has been the subject of keen scrutiny in the earlier part of this work. There is a vitality and a substantiality in not a few of these agencies that forbid the reflecting mind to class them with the results of inventive psychology. It may not, however, be unimportant to the sound comprehension of inductive truth, to state briefly, and in a simple form, a canon which may enable the inquisitive student of truth to discriminate between a pure mythus and history ill recorded.

Guided by the plain axiom that "like produces like," the historical student will at once see that physical and political substantialities, wherever they have existed, must have proceeded from substantial agencies. Hence, whenever the names of towns, tribes, and mountains, are found to have had an existence alike in the mythologic, legendary, and historical eras, whenever architectural relics are found associated in the same triple form, it matters not what fantasies of imagination may have overlaid the temple of Time with exuberant ornament, the names, the races, and the buildings are historical truths, not to be shaken by brilliant though harmless coruscations of fancy. It matters little whether, following genealogy, we be called mythologists for believing that there ever existed a King Hellen, Ion, or Italus,

Historial canon.

—that with which we are concerned is purely historical, viz., the reality of Hellenes, Ionians, and Italians. Even if Taygete be called a favourite of Zeus and the mother of Lacedæmon, and is thus the eponymus of Mount Taygetus, this physical feature of southern Greece is a fact too historical and too geographical to be affected by the

poetic form in which it appears before us. It remains an irrefutable truth. So the terms Asia and Europe are perfectly historical in their apex, and their bases must be equally so, and the tribes which first gave these names were as real as the title of these their settlements was historical. Argos, Orchomenus, and the treasure-house of the Minyæ, may be classed in the same category.

Many of the heroic agencies are placed in an historical position by the foundation of colonies, by new political systems, and by the substantialities of architectural relics. Historical details indeed may be wanting to fill up these broad outlines, around which imagination or garbled tradition may have thrown a dim mist; but still these outlines are as essentially facts as the people standing in connection with them. "When history," observes the great author of Cosmos, "so far as it is founded on certain and distinctly-expressed testimony is silent, there remain only different degrees of probability; but an absolute denial of every fact in the world's history, of which the evidence is not perfectly distinct, appears to be no happy application of philologic and historic criticism."[1] Opinions of Humboldt on imperfect evidence.

He who reflects that the only nations who have ever possessed consecutive chronicles of vast relative antiquity, have been those whose government was based upon theurgic or mytho-theurgic principles, such as the Hebrews and Egyptians,[2] will easily perceive that the absence of all collegiate dogma in the ruling power, necessarily implies action rather than record.[3] Hence the deficiency of minute detail in early Greek and Roman nationality. There is however, in the life of nations as of individuals, an involuntary record. On this the pen of the historian has never busied itself;—it lies it is true, somewhat below the surface, but it is not the less valuable that we are obliged to dig for the treasure.

The races of men who formed the populations of Southern Europe antecedent to the Hellenic and Roman stocks, may from topical and tribal designations be as distinctly referred to the Caucaso-Turanian family, as the Greek and Latin may be to the pure Arian: nor is it a fact of trifling import that many of the genealogic titles of Greek and Roman divinities have a closer connexion with the Tibetan than the Caucasian dialects; and what is still more singular, these divinities nearly always represent vanquished and detested agencies. Here, then, the student will remark a more ancient historical terminology, which in its turn formed the basis of a less ancient mythus. Agency therefore preceded invention. In other words, historical identity was antecedent to deification.

The inquisitive mind, may not unprofitably be employed, by the contemplation of a process taking place upon the shores of the Medi-

[1] Humboldt's Cosmos, p. xxxvi, notes.

[2] To these may be added the Chaldæans, Etruscans, and Brahmins, whose records have either been swept away by conquest or obscured by invasion.

[3] Quia negotisissimus quisque agere quam dicere malebat.—Sallust.

teranean at a very ancient period, similar to that which, thirteen centuries before our era, marked the advent and political progress of the Eastern branches of the Hellenic family, on the great northern barriers of the Himalaya. An analogy of no trivial weight would point to a similar conquest and headship of the Western Arians in Greece—and the conquest and expulsion of the aboriginal Turanian stock. Such an analogy would rationally explain the non-Hellenic vocables belonging to the mythological and geographical system of Greece.

The historical period of Greece ranges from the chronological stadium of the Olympiads. But the most distinct chronological data did not prevent, nearly a century after the Olympiads, the singular record of events connected with the Messenian wars, and its hero Aristomenes —records as completely romantic as many of the details of the Trojan war, the Argonautic expedition, or the siege of Thebes. The same rigid canon then, that would exclude from the page of history the Trojan war, because it possessed ultra-romantic incidents, must equally exclude from the same page the long conflict of Messenia for her independence. The other great landmarks of Hellenic existence have been successively noticed in these volumes under the heads of the Persian invasion of Greece, the Peloponnesian war, the expedition of the ten thousand, the autocracy of Alexander, the empire of his successors, the Roman supremacy, and the Indo-Greek kingdom. It is impossible for the contemplative mind to survey the varied fortunes of the Greek branch of the Arian family, without emotions of the most lively sympathy and without instruction of the most valuable nature. The statesman, the warrior, the historian and the poet,—the lover of the fine arts and the admirer of physical perfection, will find in this noble people the psychological representative of the richest endowments of nature. The first will, however, at the same time, have contemplated a noble race, who though individually possessing the most admirable qualifications, physical and mental, yet fell a political victim to isolated jealousies, and to a government as decentralized and ruinous, as that which, on the other hand, swallows up all independence, by centralizing in a single city the entire power and patronage of a whole country. Ancient Greece and modern France exemplify, on totally opposite principles, the perils of a political régime productive on the one hand of extreme weakness and on the other of extreme despotism.

The history of Greece, a political text-book.

Nor is it the least interesting subject of reflection, to have remarked the unambitious inner life of Hellas, as contrasted with the vast external power wielded by Alexander—to have observed the small war-cloud that rose on the north-eastern shores of the Mediterranean, expanding in breadth and deepening in intensity, till it finally burst with destructive power over the ancient kingdom of the Achemenidæ, spending its last strength on the banks of the Indus,—sweeping away the traces of barbaric power, and leaving a tract propitious for the cultivation of Hellenic art and science.

To the Briton these reflections are doubly interesting. To him has fallen the distinguished lot of ruling from shores more distant than the Macedonian, the political destinies of the eastern empire of Alexander. And ere the proud emotion created by this thought has subsided, the page of the ethnologist unfolds a fact not less interesting in the national unity of the Greek, the Hindu, and the Briton; a truth not less calculated to make him humane than just, towards "the subject nations of his mighty sway."



Tumulus of Koti-Khail.

CHRONOLOGY OF GREECE.

B.C.
403 Thrasybulus overturns the government of the "Ten" at Athens.
Euclides, archon at Athens. Return of Thucydides, Andocides, and Lysias.
Aristophon has the law of Pericles, for limiting the number of citizens in Athens, re-enacted (444.)
New Greek (Ionian) Alphabet settled at Athens, by its adoption in public acts.
402 Andocides, Archinus, and Cephalus, orators.
Prize in comedy to Cephisodorus.
401 War between Lacedæmon and Elis.
Lysias, the orator, of Athens, flourishes.
Death of Chærilus, of Samos, at the court of Archelaus, king of Macedon.
Ctesias, the historian, flourishes.
400 Return of the 10,000; the Cyreans enter the service of the Seuthes, of Thrace (424.)
War between Sparta and Persia.
Lysias, the orator, restored to the privileges of an Athenian citizen (405, 403.)
Laws of Lycurgus modified; the Spartans consent to form a public treasury.
399 Wars of Thimbron and Dercyllidas.
The Cyreans join Thimbron (400.)
Melitus, the tragedian, with Lycon, a poet, and Anytus, the orator, impeach Socrates.
Death of Socrates (by poison), aged 70.
[His most eminent disciples were Æschines, Cebes, and Xenophon.]
Plato withdraws to Megara.
Assassination of Archelaus, and accession of *Orestes* and *Æropus* at Macedon.
398 *Agesilaus* II. succeeds Agis II. in Sparta.
Zeuxis, the painter, flourishes.
Astydamus, the comedian, first exhibits.
The poet Philoxenus, of Cythera, fl.
Cotis succeeds Seuthes in Thrace (424.)
War between Thrace and Macedon.
396 Agesilaus supersedes Dercyllidas in Asia.
The sect of Cynics founded by Antisthenes.
Sophocles, the tragedian, exhibits.
Birth of Xenocrates.
395 *The Corinthian war:* the Spartans opposed to the confederated states of Corinth, Thebes, Argos, Athens, and Thessaly.
Bœotia invaded by the Spartans.
Lysander slain at Haliartus.
Mission of Timocrates into Greece.
Plato returns to Athens (age, 34.)
Aëropus reigns alone in Macedon (399.)
394 Battle of Coronea; Agesilaus victor.
Eclipse of the sun.
Sea-fight off Cnidus; Peisander defeated and slain by Conon, the Athenian.
Xenophon retires to Scyllus.
Agesipolis I. king of Sparta.
Pausanias rules in Macedon.
The seventeen years of Greek history by Theopompus ends with this year.
Philyllius, the comic poet, flourishes.

B.C.
393 Conon is enabled to rebuild the walls of Athens with the booty obtained at Cnidus.
Pharnabazus and Conon make descents on the Peloponnesian coasts.
Sedition at Corinth.
Battle of Lecheum; the allies defeated.
Murder of Pausanias, and accession of *Amyntas* II., king of Macedon (394.)
Illyrians compel Amyntas to quit Macedon.
Leucon, king of Bosphorus (438.)
392 Agesilaus attacks Corinth.
Iphicrates victorious over the Spartans.
Origin of the Cyrenaic sect of philosophers.
391 Ecdicus, sent with eight ships to Rhodes, is obliged to remain inactive.
Plato, comic poet, exhibits.
Andocides' oration in favour of peace; for which he is banished Athens.
Acarnania invaded by Agesilaus.
390 Submission of the Acarnanians.
Agesipolis invades Argolis.
Athenian reverses in Asia Minor.
389 Agyrrhius succeeds Thrasybulus in Asia.
Iphicrates commands in the Hellespont.
Plato, the philosopher, visits Sicily.
Æschines, the orator, born.
388 Return of Plato, the phil., to Athens.
He founds the Academic school.
Antiphanes, of middle comedy, flourishes.
Contest of Nicophon and Nichochares, comic poets, with Aristophanes.
387 Peace of Antalcidas; Evagoras excepted from the treaty.
386 Platæa restored; and the independence of Bœotia declared.
385 Alcæus, the comic poet, flourishes.
Siege of Mantinea; Agesipolis imposes severe conditions upon the inhabitants.
The orator Androtion begins to flourish.
Eubulus, Anaxandrides, Alexis, Araros, and Philippus, of middle comedy, fl.
Sea-fight btwn. Evagoras and the Persians.
384 Birth of Aristotle at Stageira.
Alcetas II. king of Epirus.
383 Amyntas II. recovers the Macedonian throne.
Antiphanes, the poet, first exhibits.
382 *The Olynthian war:* first campaign.
Teleutias commands the Spartan forces.
The Spartan Phœbidas seizes Cadmea.
Epaminondas, the Theban statesman, fl.
Birth of Philip, father of Alexander, the Great, of Macedon.
Birth of the orator Demosthenes.
381 The second campaign of the Olynthian war; Teleutias slain.
Agesipolis succeeds Teleutias (382.)
380 Olymp. 100; victor, Dionysidorus.
Agesilaus lays siege to Phlius.
Death of Philoxenus, of Cythera, dithyrambic poet, aged 55.
Death of Agesipolis, of Sparta, of fever.

380 Polybiades succeeds to the command.
Treatise on conic sections by Aristæus.
Aristippus, founder of the Cyrenaic school, and Antisthenes, founder of the Cynic school of philosophy, fl. (? 396, 392.)
379 Close of the Olynthian war; surrender of the Olynthians to Polybiades.
Surrender of Phlius to Agesilaus.
Pelopidas and the Theban exiles regain Cadmea; Cephalus, the orator, moves the Athenian decree for their assistance.
378 Cleombrotus and Agesilaus in Bœotia.
Descent of Sphodrias upon the Piræeus.
Confederacy of the Athenians and Thebans against the Lacedæmonians.
Death of Lysias, aged 80 years.
377 Agesilaus again in Bœotia.
376 Cleombrotus repulsed at Cithæron.
Naval defeat of the Spartans off Naxos by Chabrias; their fleet is totally destroyed by Timotheus.
Demosthenes, seven years old, an orphan.
Anaxandrides, the comedian, fl.
375 Cleombrotis proceeds against the Thebans in Phocis, now invaded by them.
Exhibition of Eubulus, and Araros (son of Aristophanes), poets of middle comedy.
Age of Euclid, founder of the Megaric school, of Phœdo, founder of the school of Elis, and of Menedemus, founder of the Eretrian school.
374 Peace between Athens and Sparta.
Corcyra falls into the hands of Timotheus; who restores the Zacynthian exiles at Athens to their own country; this leads to another rupture.
373 Timotheus prosecuted by Callistratus and Iphicrates; he is acquitted.
Spartan expedition to Corcyra unsuccessful; Mnasippus the commander slain.
Iphicrates, the Athenian commander, conducts the war in the Ionian seas.
372 Earthquake in the Peloponnesus which swallows up Ellice and Bula.
Timotheus sent into Asia.
Astydamas, tragic victor.
The orators, Aristophon, Diophantes, Leadamus, and Thrasybulus, flourish.
371 Congress at Sparta; Athens negociates a peace; Thebes excluded from the treaty.
The orators, Callistratus and Melauspus, present at the Congress.
Invasion of Bœotia by the Spartans.
Battle of Leuctra; Epaminondas defeats the Spartans—Cleombrotus, their king, is slain, and Thebes becomes independent.
Megalopolis founded.
Alexander II., king of Macedon.
370 Death of Jason, of Pheræ.
Polypheron and Polydorus succeed.
Polypheron murders Polydorus.
Agesilaus in Arcadia.
Death of Democritus, aged 90.
Plato's first voyage to Sicily since he became a public teacher (see 389, 388.)
[Some authorities place this event in 368.]
369 War between Thebes and Sparta; Laconia invaded by the Thebans; 50,000 appear before Sparta.
Philip, of Macedon, a hostage in Thebes.
The Messenians restored to independence.
Treaty between Athens and Sparta.
369 Alexander II., of Macedon, murdered by Ptolemy Alorites.
Perdiccas III. succeeds—Macedon.
Polypheron, of Pheræ, murdered by his nephew, Alexander (370.)
368 Second invasion of the Peloponnessus, by the Thebans, under Epaminondas.
The intrigues of Alexander, of Pheræ, cause them to retire.
Pelopidas imprisoned by Alexander.
Antisthenes, the Cynic, fl. at Athens (388.)
Congress at Delphi; negociation of Philiscus, ambassador from Persia, for peace; the Thebans refuse that Messina should be restored to Sparta.
Eudoxus, the philosopher, flourishes.
A "celestial globe" first seen in Greece—having been brought from Egypt.
Aphareus exhibits tragedy.
Plato's first voyage to Sicily (see 370.)
367 The "Tearless" battle; Archidamus, the Spartan, defeats the united army of Argos, Arcadia, and Messenia.
Mission of Pelopidas to Persia.
Aristotle comes to Athens (18 years of age.)
Dionysius, the Elder, tragic victor.
366 Expedition of Epaminondas into Achaia.
Treaty between Corinth and Phlius.
365 War between Arcadia and Elis.
Return of Plato to Athens (? 367.)
364 Invasion of Arcadia by Archadamus.
Battle of Olympia.
Pelopidas slain at Cynocephale.
Perdiccas slays Ptolemy Alorites (369.)
Demosthenes' oration agnst. Aphobus (382.)
362 Battle of Mantinea; the Thebans victorious; Epaminondas slain on the point of victory.
Decline of the Theban supremacy.
Xenophon's history extends to this date.
361 A general peace mediated by Persia, in which the Messenians are included.
Banishment of Callistratus, the orator.
Dinarchus, the orator, born.
Agesilaus is sent into Egypt, where he dies.
Plato again visits Sicily; his mission—to reconcile Dionysius and his uncle Dion—proves abortive; he returns the next year.
[Plato's disciples included, among others, Aristotle, Chabrias, Heracleides, Hestiæus, Hyperides, Iphicrates, Isocrates, Lycurgus, Philippus, Phocion, his nephew Speusippus, and Xenocrates of Chalcedon.]
360 The Athenians and Olynthians at war.
Defeat of Timotheus at Amphipolis.
Assassination of Cotys, king of Thrace.
Isæus, the orator, flourishes (436.)
Commencement of Theopompus' history.
359 The Macedonians and Illyrians at war.
Perdiccas III. k. of Macedon, slain in battle.
Philip the II. succeeds (see Macedon.)
Death of Xenophon, aged 90.
Battle of Methone; Argæus and the Athenians defeated by Philip of Macedon.
The Athenians seize Pydna; against which outrage Philip vainly complains.
[By this act they forfeited his co-operation.]
Murder of Alexander of Pheræ.
Tisiphonies succeeds him.
358 Amphipolis besieged and taken by Philip.
Athenian expedition into Eubœa.
Siege of Amphipolis by Iphicrates and Timotheus; raised by the latter.

358 Charidemus induces the Amphipolitans to join the Athenian interest.
357 *Agathocles*, archon at Athens.
Revolt of Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium from the Athenian yoke.
The Social War; Chios besieged by Chares and Chabrias; death of the latter and failure of the expedition.
Delphi seized by the Phocians, and the temple plundered of 20,000 talents of gold and silver.
The Thebans and the Locrians unite against the Phocians.
Dion leaves Zacynthus for Sicily.
Death of Democritus, aged 109; and of Hippocrates, aged 104.
356 *Second Sacred War*—against the Phocians.
Second campaign of the Social War.
Philip, of Macedon, wins a horse-race at the Olympic games.
Alexis, the comic poet, flourishes.
Callistratus returns to Athens, and is put to death (see 361.)
355 Third campaign of the Social War.
Peace; end of the Social War; Athens acknowledges the independ. of her allies.
Prosecution of Iphicrates and Menestheus by Aristophon and Chares.
354 Trial, condemnation, exile, and subsequent death of Timotheus, aged 97.
Demosthenes begins his public career.
353 Death of Philomelus, of Phocea.
Onomarchus, his brother, succeeds.
Era of the celebrated Grecian courtesans.
Spartocus II. king of Bosphorus (438.)
352 Philip, of Macedon, occupies Methone.
Onomarchus drives him out of Thessaly.
He attempts to pass thro' Thermopylæ into Greece, but is prevented by the Athenians.
Philip distresses the Athenian fleet.
The first Philippic of Demosthenes.
War between Sparta and Megalopolis.
Athenian colony sent to Samos.
Defeat and death of Onomarchus.
His brother Phayllus succeeds.
The poetess Erinna flourishes; also,
The painter and statuary, Echion.
350 Phocion, the Athenian general, in Eubœa;
Battle and victory of Tamynæ.
The celebrated courtesan Lais at Corinth.
349 The Athenians aid the Olynthians in their war with Philip.
The sculptor Scopas flourishes.
348 Philip besieges Olynthus.
The poets Heraclides and Alectryon fl.
Parysades, king of Bosphorus (438.)
347 Philip takes Olynthus, and expels the Athenians from Eubœa.
Death of Plato, the philosopher, aged 82.
Aristotle retires to Atarnæ.
Speusippus succeeds Plato in the Academy.
Anaxandrides, the comic poet, exhibits.
Era of Diogenes the Cynic.
346 Athenian embassy to Philip at Pella.
Peace between Athens and Macedon.
The Phocians expelled the Amphictyonic council, at the instigation of Philip.
All the Phocian cities destroyed by Philip except the city of Abæ.
End of the Sacred or Phocian War.
Orations of Isocrates and Demosthenes.
345 Æschines prosecutes Timarchus.
Æschines treacherously furthers the views of Philip against the liberties of Greece.
344 Sparta subdued by Philip.
Expedition of Timoleon to Sicily.
Aristotle removes to Mitylene.
Praxiteles, the painter, flourishes.
[The courtesan Phryne sat as a model for his "naked Venus." His colossal Venus has been esteemed as the most perfect specimen of Greek art; it was found at Milo in A.D. 1820.]
343 Athenian expedition into Acarnania, against Philip of Macedon.
Orations of Demosthenes and Æschines.
342 Thrace invaded by Philip, who entertains designs upon the Greek settlements on the Hellespont.
Diopeithes, the Athenian, opposes him.
Menander, of new comedy, born.
Aristotle invited to Macedon by Philip.
341 Defence of Diopeithes (commander at the Chersonessus) by Demosthenes.
Birth of Epicurus, the philos., the founder of the Epicurean philosophy, according to which Pleasure is the "*summum bonum*."
340 Byzantium, &c. besieged by Philip.
Ephorus ends his history this year.
339 *The Second Sacred War*—agt. the Locrians.
The Athenians compel Philip to raise the siege of Byzantium, &c.
Speusippus is succeeded in the Academy by Xanthippus (347.)
338 Philip obtains the appointment of General of the Amphictyons.
Philip occupies Elatea.
Athens and Thebes unite against Philip.
Battle of Chœronea; the confederated Greeks defeated; Grecian liberty lost.
Congress at Corinth; war declared against Persia in the name of Greece.
Death of Isocrates, orator, aged 98.
337 *Alexander* of Epirus, brother-in-law of Alexander the Great, reigns.
336 Philip is slain at Ægæ.
Timocles, the comedian, flourishes.
Calippus, the Athenian, first calculates the revolution of eclipses.
Dinarchus begins to flourish.
335 The Thebans revolt from Macedon; Alexander defeats them and destroys their city.
He demands certain Athenian orators to be delivered up; Demades pacifies him.
Aristotle removes from Macedon to Athens.
Philippides, the comic poet, flourishes.
Caustic painting invented by Gausias, of Sicyon, about this time.
332 Æacides, son of Arymbas, succeeds Alexander, king of Epirus.
Stephanus, the comic poet, flourishes.
331 Defeat and death of Agis in battle with Antipater.
330 Antipater's pacification of Greece.
Orations of Æschynes and Demosthenes.
Æschynes withdraws to Athens.
Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, of new comedy, about this time.
The Peripatetic school founded by Aristotle; he had been a disciple of Plato.
328 Lysistratus invents moulds for the casting of wax figures.
Crates, the Cynic philosopher, flourishes.
Apelles, the painter, flourishes.

324 Olymp. 114; Micinas, victor.
Proclamation at the Olympic games for the restoration of the exiles.
Hegisias, archon at Athens.
Harpalus is admitted into Athens.
He bribes certain of the orators—Demades, Charicles, Demosthenes, &c.
Demosthenes, accused of having accepted a bribe, is fined 50 talents; he leaves Athens.
Timocles, the comic poet, flourishes.
Death of Lycurgus.
Athens mistress of the sea.
323 *The Lamian war*; Greece agnst. Macedon.
Leosthenes defeats Antipater, and shuts him up in Lamia.
Death of Leosthenes before the walls.
Return of Demosthenes to Athens.
Demades impeaches Demosthenes, Aristotle, and Hyperides of corruption.
Epicurus comes to Athens, aged 18.
Death of Diogenes at Corinth.
Epicurus removes to Colophon.
322 Death of Leonatus (see 323, Asia Minor.)
Battle of Cranon; the Greeks defeated.
Submission of Athens; and
End of the Lamian war.
Flight of Aristotle from Athens to Eubœa, where he soon after dies.
Hyperides, oratr., put to death by Antipater.
Death of Demosthenes.
321 Departure of Antipater and Craterus from Ætolia into Asia Minor.
Dinarchus, the philosopher, flourishes.
Menander, "prince of middle comedy," fl.
319 Cassander puts Demades, the Athenian orator, to death (323.)
Aristoxenus, a Greek writer of music, fl.
318 Nicanor seizes the Piræus.
Cassander marches towards Athens.
317 Phocion is condemned unheard, and immediately put to death.
Cassander conquers Athens.
Demetrius Phalereus, governor of Athens.
Census of Athens taken: citizens, 127,660; slaves, 400,000.
316 Thebes rebuilt by Cassander.
315 Xenocrates succeeded by Polemon at the Academy in Athens.
314 Death of Æschines, aged 75.
313 War between the Ætolians and Cassander.
312 *Pyrrhus* II., king of Epirus.
310 Ptolemy espouses the cause of Greece.
Satyrus II., king of Bosphorus (438.)
Agathocles lands in Africa.
309 *Prytanis*, king of Bosphorus (438.)
308 Ptolemy's expedition into Greece.
Pyrrho, the philosopher of Elis and founder of the Sceptic school, flourishes.
Eumulus succeeds in Bosphorus.
307 Athens freed by Demetrius Poliorcetes; Demetrius Phalereus expelled, and democracy restored.
Exile of Deinarchus, the orator.
306 Demetrius departs for Asia.
Epicurus comes to Athens a second time; he is now 35 years old.
304 *Spartocus* III., king of Bosphorus (438.)
303 Return of Demetrius to oppose the progress of Cassander.
Demetrius Polyorcetes, is appointed general of the Grecian states.
302 Demetrius gains upon Cassander.
302 Exile of Democharcs.
Archedicus, the poet, supports the Macedonian party in Athens.
301 Recall of Demetrius into Asia.
300 The Epicurean philosophy founded about this time, by Epicurus of Gargettus (341.)
Berosus, the Babylonian historian, flourishes till about 280.
299 Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school of philosophy, which teaches that Virtue is the *summum bonum*, is born at Citium in Cyprus about this time.
297 Unsuccessful attempt of Demetrius upon Athens.
296 Demetrius besieges Athens.
295 Athens taken by Demetrius.
294 Defeat of Pyrrhus at the walls of Sparta.
293 Apollodorus and Posidippus, of new comedy, flourish about this time.
292 Deinarchus returns to Athens (307.)
291 Death of Menander.
290 Demetrius celebrates the Pythian games at Athens.
289 Posidippus, the comic poet, flourishes.
288 Death of the philosopher Pyrrho.
287 Athens revolts from Demetrius.
286 Demetrius, of Epirus, expelled his kingdom by Lysimachus.
Theophrastus, the philosopher, flourishes.
285 The kingdom of Bosphorus annexed to the Bithynian kingdom.
284 The Ætolian league against Macedon.
283 Lysimachia destroyed by an earthquake.
282 The Peloponnesus invaded by Ætolians.
280 Olymp. 125; the Achæan league; renewal of the federation of Patræ, Pharæ, Tritæa, and Dyme (joined by other cities in 276, 256, 243, 204, and 191. See also 146.)
Pyrrhus invades Italy.
The orator Cineas accompanies Pyrrhus.
Gorgias, archon at Athens.
Aristarchus, of Samos, Duris, Lynceus, and Sotades, flourish.
Statue of Demosthenes.
279 Irruption of the Gauls under Brennus; they are defeated, and Brennus killed, at Delphi.
Anaxicrates, archon at Athens.
Timon, Phliasius, Colotes, Idomeneus, and Manetho, flourish.
The Gauls pass over into Asia.
278 Democles, archon at Athens.
Homerus, Philiscus, and Sositheus, fl.
Zeno, of Citium, being shipwrecked off the Piræus, settles in Athens (299.)
Arcesilaus founds the Middle Academy.
277 League betwn. Athens, Sparta, and Egypt.
Death of Metrodorus, the Epicurean.
276 Union of other cities in the Achæan league.
The Four Schools of Philosophy:—
The *Peripatetic* school is presided over by Strato, the *Stoic* by Zeno, the *Epicurean* by Epicurus, the *Academic* by Arcesilaus.
274 Birth of Euphorion, the grammarian, at Chalcis in Eubœa.
273 Death of Polemo, the Platonic philosopher.
272 Siege of Sparta and Argos by Pyrrhus.
Pyrrhus falls before Argos.
Alexander II., king of Epirus.
Aratus and Theocritus flourish.
271 Pytharatus, archon of Athens.
Aratus, of Sicyon, born.

271 Zenodotus, of Ephesus, flourishes.
[He was a celebrated grammarian, and the first superintendent of the great Library at Alexandria.]
270 Death of Epicurus, the philosopher, aged 72.
Theocritus, Antagoras, Bion, Moschus, fl.
268 Athens falls before Antigonus Gonatus, king of Macedon.
265 Dionysius and Timæus finish their writings.
264 Diognetus, archon at Athens.
Last date of the Parian marbles.
The "Preparation of Polybius" begins.
263 Death of Zeno; Cleonthes succeeds him.
Dionysius, of Heraclea, flourishes.
262 Death of Philemon, comic actor, aged 97.
259 Lycophron, the Alexandrian poet, fl.
258 Erasistratus, the physician, flourishes.
256 Aratus restores liberty to Athens.
The Athenians join the Achæan league.
Callimachus, the Alexandrian poet, fl.
255 Marcus, the first Achæan prætor.
The Spartans assist Carthage.
The "Armillary Sphere" invented by Eratosthenes (see also 250, 240.)
252 Birth of Philopœmen, "the last benefactor of Greece."—Pausanius.
251 Sicyon, liberated by Aratus, joins the Achæan league (256.)
Sosibius flourishes.
250 Eratosthenes makes the first attempt to ascertain the length of a degree.
249 Heraclitus, of Halicarnassus, and Philostephanus, of Cyrenë, flourish.
246 Euphantes, of Olynthus, flourishes.
244 Reformation of Sparta begun by Agis III.; the laws of Lycurgus having fallen into comparative disuse.
He endeavours to introduce Agrarianism.
243 Leonidas abdicates the Spartan throne.
The citadel of Corinth (Acrocorinthus) seized by Aratus.
Corinth, Epidaurus Megara, &c. join the Achæan league; Ptolemy also joins it.
241 Lacydes, Euphorion, Lysimachus, Neanthes, &c. flourish.
240 Agis III., while prosecuting his scheme for an Agrarian law and other reforms at Sparta, is destroyed and all his family by Leonidas.
Magnitude of the earth calculated by Eratosthenes.
Nymphis, of Heraclea, flourishes.
Cleanthus, the Stoic, starved to death.
236 Cleomenes III., king of Sparta.
Ister, the disciple of Callimachus, flourishes.
233 The MSS. of Æschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles pledged to Ptolemy for 15 talnts.
230 Macho, comic poet, fl. at Alexandria.
229 Athens joins the Achæan league.
Euphantes, of Olynthus, still flourishes.
228 First Roman embassy into Greece.
The Achæan fortress of Athenæum built.
227 Aratus, general of the Achæan league, defeated by Cleomenes of Sparta.
226 Revolution in Sparta; Cleomenes III. overthrows the Ephori, augments the number of the citizens, and restores the laws of Lycurgus.
The Achæans are defeated by Cleomenes; Lyscades is killed.
Death of Lyco.
225 Antigonus, of Carystus, flourishes.
225 Second Roman embassy; the ambassadors are made freemen of Athens, and permitted to share in the Isthmian games.
224 Cleomenes still at war with the Achæans.
Colossus of Rhodes destroyed.
223 At Thermopylæ the Ætolians dispute the passage of the Macedonians.
Megalopolis taken by Cleomenes.
222 Battle of Sellasia; Cleomenes defeated by the Achæans, aided by Antigonus Doson of Macedonia.
Cleomenes escapes to Egypt.
The Heracleidean line extinct at Sparta.
Rhianus (cotemporary with Eratosthenes) fl.
221 The Ephori murdered by the Spartans.
Timoxenus, the Achæan prætor.
Euphorion and Archimedes flourish.
220 War between the Achæan and Ætolian leagues; the former defeated.
Philip II. aids the Achæans.
The Social war begun.
History of Aratus ends and the history of Polybius begins.
Cleomenes dies in Egypt.
Agesipolis and Lycurgus, kings of Sparta.
219 The Peloponnesus ravaged by Ætolians.
Aratus, the younger, Achæan prætor.
Dorimachus, Ætolian prætor.
Death of Pyrrhus III.; succeeded by Queen Laudamia (no male issue.)
Phylarchus (cotemporary with Aratus) fl.
Philip victorious over the Ætolians.
218 Eperatus, the Achæan prætor.
The Ætolians cede Acarnania to Philip to purchase peace.
Agetas, Ætolian prætor.
Samius, the poet, flourishes.
Ætolia and Laconia invaded.
217 Agesilaüs, prætor of the Ætolians.
Aratus, Achæan prætor.
Mnesiptolemus and Epinicus, poets, fl.
215 The Athenians join the Ætolians against Macedon; Roman aid solicited.
Evander flourishes.
214 Battle of Lamia; defeat of the Ætolians under Pyrrhus by Philip.
213 Aratus poisoned at Ægium at the instance of Philip (? 212.)
He is succeeded by Philopœmen.
212 The Ætolians seize Oreum, Tribon, &c.
Democratic government in Epirus.
211 Arrival of a Roman fleet in port of Athens.
Alliance of Philip and Hannibal.
Treaty between the Ætolians and Romans.
210 Mechanidas, king of Sparta, abolishes the power of the Ephori.
Scopas, Ætolian prætor.
Ægina taken by the Romans.
Polybius, the historian, ambassador, and general, till about 124.
209 Pyrrhias, prætor of the Ætolians.
Anarchy in the kingdom of Epirus.
Elis invaded by Philip.
208 Battle of Mantinea; Mechanidas, the Spartan, defeated and slain by Philopœmen.
Cycliadas, Achæan prætor.
207 Usurpation of Nabis in Sparta who overthrows the Ephori.
Nicias, prætor of the Achæans.
Death of Chrysippus; Zeno succeeds.
204 The Ætolian league re-organised by Dorimachus and Scopas.

202 Lysippus, Achæan prætor.
Attempt of Nabis upon Messina.
201 Butchery of the people of Therna, Xenia, and other cities, by the Ætolians.
200 The Ætolians, Athenians, Athamenes, Dardanians, and Pergamians, join Rome against Philip.
The Achæans espouse the cause of Philip.
Attalius comes to Athens.
197 Sparta besieged by the Romans; the tyrant Nabis sues for peace.
196 The Isthmian games; at which Flaminius, the Roman, declares Greece free from the Macedonian power.
195 Invitation of the Ætolians to the kings of Sparta, Macedon, and Syria, to form a coalition against Rome.
194 Naval defeat of Philopœmen by Nabis.
192 Nabis defeated by Philopœmen; the Ætolians obtain Sparta.
Nabis, odious for his cruelty, is assassinated.
Antiochus comes to the aid of the Ætolians against Rome.
191 Sparta joins the Achean league.
Battle of Thermopylæ; Antiochus and the Ætolians defeated by Acilius.
190 The Ætolians lose Lamia and Amphissa.
Battle of Magnesia; Antiochus defeated by the Roman L. C. Scipio.
Peace between the Ætolians and Romans.
189 The Ætolian league falls into desuetude by the treaty with Rome.
188 Carneades, founder of the Third Academy, fl.
188 Philopœmen conquers Sparta, and abrogates the laws of Lycurgus.
183 Revolt of the Messenians from the Achæan league.
Philopœmen poisoned by the Messenians.
A comet visible eighty days.
182 Messenia overrun by the Achæans.
179 The Macedonians masters of Epirus.
177 The Achæans attach themselves to Rome.
172 The Bœotian confederacy dissolved through the influence and exertions of Rome.
167 Epirus ravaged by the Romans; seventy towns destroyed.
Arrest of more than 1000 Achæans, who are sent to Rome, through the treachery of some of the Ætolian league.
Callicrates heads the Achean league.
165 Achaia invaded by the Romans.
155 Diogenes, Carniades, and Critolaus, sent to Rome, to solicit the remission of the fine of 500 talents.
151 The Achæan exiles return (167.)
150 Dissensions of the Achæans and Spartans.
The Romans interfere for the purpose of dissolving the Achean league.
War with Rome.
147 Metellus invades Greece; Sparta subdued by the Roman arms.
146 The Achæans defeated by Metellus.
Corinth falls before Mummius.
Dissolution of the Achæan league.
145 Greece subject to Rome, is named *The province of Achæa.*

"Q. C. Metellus Macedonicus, prætor in B.C. 148, had humbled Greece by his victories; but his leniency deceived the Achæan chiefs, and they persuaded themselves that Rome was unable to complete its conquest. They had assembled an army in the isthmus shortly before the arrival of Mummius. He promptly dismissed his predecessor, Metellus, defeated the army of the league, and entered Corinth without opposition—since the garrison and principal inhabitants had abandoned it. The city was burnt, razed, and given up to pillage; the native Corinthians were sold for slaves; and the rarest specimens of Grecian art, which the luxury and opulence of centuries had accumulated, were given up to the rapacity of an ignorant conqueror. Polybius, the historian, who had, on the fall of Corinth, come from Africa to mitigate, if possible, the calamities of his countrymen, saw Roman soldiers playing at draughts upon the far-famed picture of Dionysius by Aristides; and Mummius himself was so unconscious of the real value of his prize, that he sold the rarer works of painting, sculpture, and carving, to the king of Pergamus. . . . . Mummius, however, was one of the few Roman commanders in the republican era who did homage to the religion of the Hellenic race. He dedicated a brazen statue of Zeus at Olympia, and surrounded the shrine of the god with gilt bucklers of brass. The Corinthian bronze, so celebrated in the later art of the ancient world, was an accidental discovery, resulting from the burning of the city. The metallic ornaments of its sumptuous temples, basilicæ, and private dwellings, formed the rich and solid amalgam, which was employed afterwards in the fusile department of sculpture. Mummius triumphed in B.C. 145. His procession formed an epoch in the history of Roman art and cultivation. Trains of waggons, laden with the works of the purest ages, moved along the Via Sacra to the Capitoline Hill; yet the spectator of the triumph, who had seen them in their original sites and number, must have mourned many an irreparable loss. The fire had destroyed many, the sea had ingulfed many, and the royal connoisseurs—the princes of Pergamus—had carried off many for their galleries and temples. Mummius, with a modesty uncommon in conquerors, refused to inscribe the spoils with his name. He viewed them as the property of the State, and he lent them liberally to adorn the triumphs, the buildings, and even the private houses of others, while in his own villa, he retained the severe simplicity of early Rome. . . . . Though he brought so much wealth into the State-coffers, Mummius died poor."—*Dr. Leonhard Schmitz.*

CHRONOLOGY OF MACEDONIA.

This kingdom, though founded by Caranus so far back as 814 B.C., was so inconsiderable among the neighbouring States, as not to deserve the name of an independent country, being now under the protection of Athens, now of Sparta, now of Thebes. In the reign of Philip II., however, it became a powerful kingdom, and in that of his son Alexander III. it gave its name to a vast and almost universal empire.

(See Greek chronology for the previous events concerning this kingdom.)

B.C.

359 *Philip* II., king of Macedon, aged 23.
Philip, to conciliate the Athenians, declares Amphipolis free.
He defeats his rival Argaes at Methone.
Defeat and death of the veteran Bardyllis.
Philip subdues Pœonia and Illyria.

358 Marriage of Philip with Olympias, daughter of Neoptelemus of Epirus.
Alliance of Philip and Olynthus, contrary to treaty with the Athenians.
Philip lays siege to Amphipolis.

357 Philip obtains possession of Pydna and Amphipolis by force and craft; but
He treats his prisoners with the utmost humanity and kindness.

356 Potidæa besieged; Philip takes it.
The Illyrians and Thracians defeated by Philip's general, Parmenion.
Birth of Alexander the Great.

353 Pagasae seized by Philip.
Siege of Methone commenced.

352 Fall of Methone; Philip loses an eye by an arrow, shot from Aster's bow.
He advances into Thessaly; is repulsed by Onamarchus of Pherœ; who is afterwards defeated and slain.
Philip drives the *tyrants* out of Pherœ.

351 Heraem on the Propontis attkd. by Philip.
The Macedonian gold mines in Thrace produce about 1000 talents annually.

350 Artabazus and Memnon, rebels against the Persian king, are received by Philip.

349 Philip, in the Chalcidian territory, augments his successes by bribery.

347 Through the treachery of Lasthenes and Euthycrates, Olynthus is taken.

346 Philip is master of the Phoceans; he assumes dictatorial authority over them.

344 Successful expedition against Illyria.

343 Philip's expedition into Acarnaria.

342 Philip invades Thrace.
Aristotle at the court of Philip, as instructor to the young prince Alexander.
Stageira is rebuilt by Philip, at the request of Aristotle. From this time flourishes the Famous school of Aristotle at Stageira.

340 Alexander governs in Macedon in the absence of his father.
Philip besieges Byzantium, Selymbria, and Perinthus.

339 Successful expedition against the Scythians under Atheas.

338 The Macedonian phalanx.
Victories at Elatea and Chæronea.
Philip master of Greece; he deals leniently with Athens, but on Thebes his vengeance falls heavily.

B.C.

337 Philip marries Cleopatra, daughter of Attalus, one of his generals; this causes
Olympias and her son Alexander to quit the court of Philip in disgust (358, 319.)

336 Marriage of Alexander, of Epirus, with Philip's daughter at Ægæ.
Philip assassinated at the nuptials, by a youth named Pausanius.

The Macedonian Empire of Alexander the Great.

336 Alexander succeeds his father Philip, at the early age of twenty years.
["No feeling of animosity or deed of violence stained the commencement of the brilliant career which Alexander was about to run. His forgivenness and confidence were extended to all who had candour enough to acknowledge their misdoings, and generosity sufficient in their own hearts to rely on the exercise of it in that of their prince."]
Recall of Harpagus, Laomedon, Nearchus, Ptolemy, son of Lagos, and others who had incurred his father's anger.
Alexander is elected generalissimo of the Grecian army destined to act against the Persians.

335 Macedon threatened by the Thracians, Illyrians, and Triballi.
Alexander attacks and conquers them.
Revolt of Thebes; it is captured and destroyed by Alexander; the house of Pindar alone left standing.
["Thebes expiated her revolt with the loss of six thousand of her people slain in the battle, thirty thousand sold into slavery, and, in a word, with the extinction of her existence as a separate and independent state."]
The Athenians send an embassy of congratulation to Alexander.
Preparations for invading Persia.

334 First campaign of Alexander; he crosses the Hellespont with an army of 35,000 men.
Battle of Granicus; the satraps of Darius defeated with great loss.
Dascylium, Sardis, and other places in Asia Minor surrender to Alexander.
Miletus and Halicarnassus taken.

333 Second campaign of Alexander.
Conspiracy of Alexander, the son of Aëropus, and prince Amyntas.
The Marmarians plunder Alexander's baggage; he returns and disperses them.
The Lacedæmonians intrigue with Memnon against Alexander.

333 Death of Memnon.
At Gordium, Alexander unties or cuts the Gordian knot (see Asia Minor, B.C. 1449.)
Cilicia subdued by Alexander.
Alexander is taken ill of fever in Tarsus.
Battle of Issus; Darius defeated.
Parmenio takes Damascus.
332 Third campaign of Alexander.
Siege and fall of Tyre; 8000 of its inhabitants slain, and 30,000 sold into slavery.
Gaza taken by assault; Syria and Phœnicia conquered by Alexander.
Palestine and Egypt subdued.
City of Alexandria founded, as the centre of commerce between the east and west.
Alexander visits the temple of Jupiter Ammon; fable of the serpents.
331 Fourth campaign of Alexander; he crosses the Euphrates, and marches towards the river Tigris.
Battle of Arbela; Darius defeated.
Battle of Gaugamela; defeat and flight of Darius; Alexander pursues him.
Surrender of Babylon; Persia also submits to the conqueror.
Honourable conduct of Alexander towards the wife and family of Darius.
Invasion of Persia Proper; brave resistance of Ariobarzanes.
Alexander enters Persepolis.
Banquet; infamous proposal of Thais; Alexander sets fire to the royal palace.
War of Antipater agnst. the confederacy of Alexander's hereditary states—successful.
Alexander winters in Persepolis.
330 Fifth campaign; Alexander marches his army into Media.
Flight of Darius from Ecbatana; rapid pursuit of Alexander.
Conspiracy of Bessus and another satrap.
Alexander pursues them for the rescue of their royal prisoner, Darius.
Murder of Darius by his rebellious satraps; they escape further eastward.
Alexander treats the remains of Darius with respect, and has them sent into Persia for honourable interment in the royal sepul. at Persepolis; age of Darius 50 yrs.
Transfer of the seat of government from Macedonia to Susa in Babylon.
Assumption of the royal dignity by Bessus, under the title of Artaxerxes.
Execution of the generals Philotas and his father Parmenio for a treasonable consp.
Pursuit after Bessus further eastward.
Alexander crosses the Cabul mountains in the winter, and receives the submission of Hyrcania, Aria, and Aornos.
The Mardians and Zarangians defeated.
Alexander crosses Mount Paropamisus and enters Bactria in pursuit of Bessus.
Bessus is betrayed by Spitames, cruelly mutilated, and then put to death.
Alexander claims divine honours.
329 Sixth campaign; the Bactrians subdued.
Alexander crosses the Oxus.
He founds Alexandria on the Jaxartes.
Spitames revolts; he is defeated by Cœnus, and murdered by his own people.
The stronghold of Oxyartes reduced.
Marriage of Alexander and Roxana, a Bactrian princess.

329 Alexander passes the Tanais, and engages in war with the Scythians.
He builds Paropamisus and other towns.
Alexander winters in Nautica.
328 Seventh campaign; Sogdiana reduced.
Alexander winters in Bactria.
In a drunken revel he kills Cleitus.
Conspiracy of the band of pages; Calisthenes, the philosopher, put to death.
327 Eighth campaign; the Paropamisus mountain-ridge is passed in the spring.
Division of the army; Hephaistion sent forward with troops to cross the Cophenes.
Conflict of Alexander with the barbarous tribes inhabiting the country.
Alexander winters between the rivers Cophenes and the Indus.
326 Ninth campaign; Alexander crosses the Indus at Taxila.
Submission of Taxilus, king of the Punjab, and other Indian princes.
Alexander advances to the Hydaspes; Porus, an Indian king, disputes his passage.
Defeat of Porus; he is reinstated in his throne, and his kingdom is extended.
Bucephalia and Nicæa founded.
Alexander leaves a division, under Craterus, for building and fortifying the new cities, and then crosses the river Acesines.
Another king Porus subdued. (?)
Alexander passes the river Hydraotes.
War with several confederate independent tribes of Indians; they are defeated.
Siege of Sangala; 17,000 Indians killed, and 70,000 made prisoners by Alexander.
Sangala razed to the ground.
325 Tenth campaign; Alexander prepares to pass the Hyphasis, but his Macedonian troops refuse to proceed further.
Army divided; Hephæstion and Craterus lead two divisions down the banks of the Hyphasis; a third division, under Alexander, sails down the river.
Conflicts with the Malli, and other native tribes inhabiting either shore.
Narrow escape of Alexander at the storming of the Mallian citadel.
Alexander reaches the mouth of the Indus in the month of August.
Nearchus despatched with the fleet on a voyage of discovery along the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.
Alexander leads the army along the coast, through the Gedrosian desert.
The army arrives at Pura in October, and proceeds through Carmania and Persis towards Babylon.
324 Meeting of Alexander and Nearchus at Susiana in the spring.
Proclamation for the return of the exiles.
Alexander marries the eldest daughter of the deceased Darius (see 329.)
Hephæstion marries her younger sister.
Nearchus marries the daughter of Mentor.
Marriage of eighty commanders to wives provided for them by Alexander.
Alexander sails down the Eulœus, and ascends the Tigris, for the purpose of examining their maritime capabilities, &c.
The obstructions of those rivers removed, and their beds deepened.
Mutiny among Alexander's troops at Opis.

324 Alexander marches into Media; he visits Ecbatana, at which place his friend Hephæstion is carried off by fever.
Celebrated colossal monument erected in pyramidal terraces, by Deinocrates, to the memory of Hephæstion, by order of the emperor Alexander.
The Cossæan war.
Plan of Alexander for a geographical survey of the Caspian Sea.
323 Alexander arrives in Babylon, and instantly proceeds to beautify it, &c.
Maritime projects, &c. of Alexander.
Arrival of embassies from various parts of Africa and Europe.
Magnificent sacrifice, preparatory to Alexander's intended southern expedition.
Alexander dies in Babylon of fever, in the 33d year of his age, after a reign of 12 years and 8 months; May or June.
[According to Arrian, "Alexander was very handsome, his figure stately, his body well-proportioned, his mind brisk and active, his courage wonderful. He possessed the rare tact of exciting the courage of his soldiers; his unwearied vigilance secured to him many advantages; he was never imposed upon either by craft or by perfidy, and never himself used these bad arts against any one. As to his vices and infirmities—let it be considered to what a pitch of glory he arrived, that he governed indisputably as king of both continents, and that his name, even in his own lifetime, was spread through every part of the habitable world; let these things be kept in mind, and it will readily be granted, that in comparison of his great character and astonishing exploits, his vices and infirmities were trifling, and ought hardly to be regarded as casting a shade on the bright annals of his eventful reign."]
323 Dispute respecting the succession.
[The children born to Alexander by Asiatic women were not held entitled to enjoy the sovereignty of his European states.]
Rivalry of Meleager and Perdiccas, for the regency of the empire; the former attempts the life of the latter.
The army divided; civil war averted by a compromise; both parties consenting to set up Arrhidæus, Alexander's brother.
Arrhidæus proclaimed king by the army.
Perdiccas is appointed regent of the empire; Meleager next in command.
Perdiccas treacherously effects the murder of Meleager, and the slaughter of 300 of the infantry who had supported him in the contest for the regency.

Dismemberment of the Macedonian Empire, and Division of its several Provinces among the principal Generals of Alexander's army.

["What Alexander achieved," says Dr. Hales, "in the short compass of his reign is altogether astonishing. When asked once, by what means he had effected such wonderful things, he answered, 'By postponing nothing.' His measures, indeed, were all planned with the soberest and most deliberate circumspection; and then executed without delay, and with all the rapidity of 'the double-winged leopard' in prophecy. What he accomplished, however, fell infinitely short of what he intended. He meditated the conquest of Africa and the rest of Europe; and in his tablets were found memorandums for building new cities in Europe and Asia—peopling the former with Asiatics, the latter with Europeans. The vast and capacious mind of this mighty conqueror was likely indeed to have produced a grand revolution in the state and manners of the ancient world, by promoting general intercourse among the several branches of his mighty empire," had he not been so prematurely cut down by the hand of death. "He seems," adds the same author, "to have had a strong presentiment of the ensuing dissensions and convulsions after his death, kindled by the ambition of his generals; and to have despaired of his children's succession. He told his friends, 'that he was more troubled on their account than on his own; for he was afraid that after his death fortune would throw the empire into the hands of some obscure and weak man.' When they inquired to whom he left the kingdom, he answered, 'to the most worthy;' and he gave his ring, when speechless, to Perdiccas."]

CHRONOLOGY OF MACEDON AND THRACE.

B.C.
323 *Philip* II.—Arrhidæus, an imbecile half-brother of Alexander, is proclaimed king of Macedon, under the name of *Philip*.
Alexander, son of Roxana, is born, and united, nominally, in the government.
Perdiccas appointed regent of Macedon.
The Lamian war, Macedon against Greece.
Lysimachus, governor of Thrace (287.)
Antipater defeated by Leosthenes.
322 Leonatus, with a large army, comes to the aid of Antipater; he is killed.
Craterus marches an army to the assistance of Antipater.
The Macedonians occupy Munychia.
War between Perdiccas and Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia; the latter is defeated and crucified.
Cappadocia taken by Perdiccas.
Revolt of the Greek soldiery in the upper provinces of the empire.
They surrender to Pithon, and are pardoned; but Perdiccas has them cruelly murdered by the Macedonian army.
Arrhidæus marries Eurydice, grand-daughter of Perdiccas III. (Greece, 359.)
Antigonus comes to Macedon, and reveals the ambitious designs of Perdiccas.
321 Perdiccas at war with Ptolemy.
He carries Arrhidæus and Ægus with him.
Perdiccas is slain in Egypt.
Eurydice demands a share in the governmt.
Antipater succeeds to the regency, which effectually silences Eurydice.
320 Antipater conveys the joint kings, with Roxana and Eurydice, to Macedon.
Aristotle writes a work on mechanics.
The diving-bell in use.
Death of Antipater; he names
319 Polysperchon as his successor, thus excluding his own son Cassander.
Rebellion of Eurydice, in which she compels her husband to join (322, 317.)
War between Polysperchon and Cassander.
318 Polysperchon, aided by Æacides of Epirus, marches against Eurydice; her army deserts her; she is made prisoner.
Olympias recalled by Polysperchon (337.)
317 Murder of Eurydice and Arrhidæus by order of Olympias.
Approach of Cassander; Olympias flies to the citadel of Pydna.
Cassander besieges Olympias in Pydna.
Commerce with India through Egypt.
316 *Cassander* takes Pydna; he puts Olympias to death; and recovers the bodies of Arrhidæus and Eurydice, which he buries with regal pomp. Cassander reigns.
Marriage of Cassander and Thessalonice.
315 Cassander at war with Antigonus.
314 Roxana and her son, Alexander IV., kept in custody by Cassander (329, 323, 320.)
313 Cassander at war with the Ætolians.
311 Murder of Roxana and Alexander IV
310 Heracles claims the throne.

B.C.
309 Polysperchon murders Heracles.
301 The historian Hieronymus, of Cardia, fl.
297 *Philip* succeeds his father, Cassander, for the short period of about four months.
296 Philip dies; his brothers,
Antipater and *Alexander* succeed.
Demetrius Phalerius, the orator, withdraws into Egypt.
294 Civil war between Alexander and Antipater.
Pyrrhus obtains a victory for Alexander.
Demetrius Polyorcetes comes to the aid of Alexander; but he has him assassinated, and then seizes upon the throne.
293 *Demetrius* reigns in Macedon.
292 Revolt and subjugation of Thebes.
291 Defeat of Lysimachus by the Getæ; he is made prisoner; but soon after he regains his liberty.
Thebes again revolts—now agnst. Demetrius.
Demetrius drives Pyrrhus out of Thessaly.
290 Subjugation of Thebes by Demetrius.
289 Demetrius and Pyrrhus at war.
Marriage of Demetrius and Lanassa, dau. of Agathocles, and wife of Pyrrhus.
288 The immense armaments of Demetrius excite the suspicion of Ptolemy and Lysimachus.
287 Expulsion of Demetrius from Macedonia; the kingdom is divided between Lysimachus and Pyrrhus.
Pyrrhus reigns for about seven months.
War between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus; Pyrrhus expelled.
Lysimachus commences his reign over Macedonia, in the thirty-seventh year of his rule in Thrace (323.)
286 Ptolemy Ceraunus, elder brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus, quits Egypt and comes to reside with Agathocles.
284 Arsinoe, the wife of Lysimachus, impels her husband to murder his son Agathocles.
Lysandra, and her brother Ceraunus, and other royal relatives escape to Seleucus.
283 Lysimachia destroyed by an earthquake.
282 Philelærus and other governors unite with Seleucus against Lysimachus.
281 War with Seleucus; defeat and death of Lysimachus at Cyropedium.
Murder of Seleucus, by
Ptolemy Ceraunus, who now succeeds to the vacant throne of Macedon.
He murders the sons of Lysimachus.
Ceraunus at war with Antigonus.
280 Invasion of the Gauls; they commit the most frightful ravages.
279 War with the Gauls; defeat and death of Ptolemy Ceraunus.
Meleager succeeds Ptolemy.
Antipater, king of Macedonia for 46 days.
Irruption of the Gauls under Brennus.
Sosthenes, the successor of Antipater, obtains a victory over them.
The Gauls are a second time repulsed by Sosthenes, who falls himself in the battle.
Interregnum for two years.

277 *Antigonus Gonatus*, son of Demetrius, now becomes king of Macedon.
He marries Philla, sister of Nicomedes, ruler of Bithynia (see Asia Minor.)
274 War with Pyrrhus and the Gauls.
Antigonus Gonatus expelled by Pyrrhus.
Pyrrhus (usurper) king of Macedonia.
The royal sepulchres of Ægæ plundered.
273 Cleonymus, the Spartan, solicits the aid of Pyrrhus against his countrymen; he assembles a large army at Megalopolis.
272 Pyrrhus invades Sparta.
He is killed at Argos.
Restoration of *Antigonus Gonatus* (274.)
["This happy turn of affairs replaced Antigonus at the head of his government; over which, from this period, he reigned 27 years, with little molestation at home, and without embroiling himself in the contending claims of Egypt and Syria."]
251 Antigonus withdraws from his conflict with Aratus and retires to Macedonia.
239 Death of Antigonus, aged 80 years.
Demetrius II. (son) succeeds.
[The united power of the Achæans continued, during the whole of this reign, to oppose the ascendency of Macedon.]
229 Death of Demetrius; he bequeaths the kingdom to his infant son Philip.
Antigonus Doson succeeds Demetrius II.; first as guardian to the young prince, Philip, and afterwards (by marrying the queen) in his own right, as sovereign of Macedon, till the boy should be qualified by age to succeed him.
The kingdom prospers under his sway.
224 Doson aids the Achæans against Sparta.
222 Victory of Antigonus at Sellasia.
221 The Illyrians invade Macedonia.
220 Antigonus defeats the Illyrians, but soon after dies from fatigue.
Philip V. succeeds his uncle, aged 17.
He tries to promote peace between the Ætolians and Achæans; failing in which,
He assists the Achæans.
219 Philip's arms successful in Greece; he reduces Elis and other places.
The Ætolians sack Dium.
Philip retaliates by plundering Thermæ.
218 Philip celebrates the Nemæan games.
215 Peace with Hannibal.
213 Philip is suspected of having caused the death of Aratus, by having him poisoned.
[Of this suspicion, however, there does not seem sufficient ground for believing it to be well-founded.]
210 Philip captures Ægina; and the next year
209 He again invades Elis.
208 Philip in the Peloponnesus.
205 Peace between Philip and the Ætolians.
Treaty with the Romans.
202 War of Philip with Rhodes, &c.
201 Philip in Asia Minor.
200 War of Philip with Rome.
197 Defeat of Philip at Cynocephalæ.
He is compelled to accept peace on terms proposed by the Romans—to surrender Thessaly, Achæa, Phthiotis, &c.; to satisfy the demands of Attalus and the other allies; to surrender his navy, and to pay Rome one thousand talents.
196 The Thracian Chersonesus seized by Hannibal for Antiochus.
192 Chalcis and other cities tkn. by Antiochus.
Philip resolves on aiding the Romans.
191 Conference between Philip and M. Acilius Glabrio, in Epirus, for concerting measures against Antiochus.
Philip facilitates the march of the Romans.
187 Demands of Eumenes, the Thessalians, and Perrhæbians, for cities and territories possessed by Philip.
186 Philip appeals to Rome.
The Senate decides against Philip.
Philip sends his son, Demetrius to Rome, to appeal against the Senate's decision.
The former judgment confirmed; Philip is therefore compelled to withdraw his garrisons from the towns in dispute.
Jealousy between Demetrius and his elder brother, Perseus, heir to the throne.
Demetrius poisoned by order of Philip.
178 Death of Philip; his elder son,
Perseus, suceeeds; he is obnoxious to the Roman Senate (186.)
Foreseeing that war with Rome is inevitable, Perseus conciliates the affections of his subjects by acts of justice and generosity.
172 Eumenes visits Rome, to stir up war between the Romans and Perseus.
171 Perseus at war with the Romans.
He is accused of attempting the life of his rival, Eumenes.
Licinius Crassus invades Macedon, but gains no advantages.
170 Hostilius defeated in Thessaly.
Perseus successfully resists the invasion of Marcius Philippus.
169 Lucius Æmilius enters Macedonia.
Perseus fails in his efforts to obtain allies.
Cautious war-policy of Æmilius.
168 Battle of Pydna; defeat and flight of Perseus, who is made prisoner by the Romans, and sent captive to Alba.
[Thus by one decisive battle, Æmilius stripped Perseus of his kingdom, put an end to his dynasty, and blotted Macedonia from the list of nations.]
Partition of Macedonia into four separate states or provinces.
149 Andriscus the pretender.
148 Metellus defeats Andriscus.
147 *Macedonia a Roman province.*

CHRONOLOGY OF SYRIA.

"According to the new distribution of the Macedonian empire by the aged 'Protector,' Antipater, the splendid government of Babylonia was granted to Seleucus, who had performed an important service in quashing the late sedition in the army. Thus was gratified the most eager desire of a young and ambitious chief, who, of all Alexander's officers, best understood the views and appreciated the magnificent designs of his master."

B.C.

321 Seleucus Nicator receives the government of the province of Babylon.

320 He opposes the views of the viceroy Polysperchon and his general Eumenes.

Python, satrap of Media, takes refuge in the court of Seleucus.

316 Antigonus (aided by Python and Seleucus) is defeated by Eumenes, near the river Coprates.

Second battle, indecisive; Antigonus retires to Gamorga in Media.

Defeat, betrayal, and death of Eumenes—the result of treachery.

315 Antigonus breaks up the battalion of the Argyraspidæ.

He puts Python to death, on suspicion of participating in a treasonable conspiracy.

Antigonus visits Babylon.

Seleucus, dreading his intention, quits Babylon, and escapes to Egypt.

Python, son of Agenor, placed over the provinces of Syria by Antigonus.

314 Confederation of princes agnst. Antigonus.

Antigonus rejects the demands of the confederates, and prepares for war.

War of Antigonus with the confederates, in Lesser Asia, Greece, &c.

313 The confederates desire peace, but Antigonus declines negociation.

Ptolemy determines to oppose the ambitious projects of Antigonus.

312 Battle of Gaza; Ptolemy and Seleucus are victorious.

One of the results of this battle was the

Return of Seleucus to Babylon, at the head of 1000 infantry and 300 horse, confided to him by Ptolemy, after having defeated Evagoras and Nicanor, who had opposed his progress.

312 *Foundation of the kingdom and dynasty of the Seleucidæ.*

A kingdom consisting of seventy-two satrapies, and bounded by the Euphrates, Indus, and Oxus.

[The commencement of the dynasty of the Seleucidæ took place in the first year of 117th Olympiad.]

Seleucus (Nicator) ascends the throne.

305 War with Sandracottus of India; Seleucus crosses the Indus.

Peace; league with Sandracottus.

302 Confederacy against Antigonus renewed.

301 Battle of Ipsus, which results in adding to the dominions of Seleucus, Syria, Cappadocia, Mesopotamia, and Armenia.

B.C.

299 Seleucus, jealous of the power of Lysimachus, marries the daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes, with whom he forms a league.

Antioch, in Syria, and other cities, built.

Commercial intercourse with India.

294 Upper Asia ceded to Antiochus, son of Seleucus.

286 Surrender of Demetrius to Seleucus.

284 Death of the captive Demetrius.

281 Battle of Cyropedium; Lysimachus defeated and slain.

280 Seleucus assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus; he is succeeded by

Antiochus I. (Soter) son of Seleucus.

Ptolemy Ceraunus seizes Pella, and is declared king.

278 Antiochus invades Bithynia, but is repulsed by Nicomedes and the Gauls.

276 Macedonia ceded to Antigonus.

264 Antiochus aids the revolt of Magas against Ptolemy Philadelphus.

War with Ptolemy, disadvantageous to Antiochus, by sea and land.

263 Antiochus defeated by Eumenes.

262 Invasion of the Gauls.

261 Battle with the Gauls at Ephesus; Antiochus defeated and killed.

Antiochus II. (Theus) ascends the throne.

War against the Gauls unsuccessful.

256 Ptolemy defeated and Caria subdued by the arms of Antiochus.

Berosus, the historian, flourishes.

250 Revolt of Theodotus; he founds

The kingdom of Bactria.

Arsaces founds

The kingdom of Parthia.

249 Antiochus finding he cannot retain his possessions while at war with Ptolemy, speedily concludes a peace with him.

He also puts away Laodice, and marries Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy.

The succession settled upon the issue of this latter marriage.

246 Antiochus puts Berenice away after the death of her father; Laodice restored.

Laodice poisons Antiochus, in order to secure her present position. Her son,

Seleucus II., (Callinicus) succeeds.

Berenice and her infant son assassinated by order of Laodice. Great indignation

War with Egypt is the result.

245 Antiochus Hierax, the brother of Seleucus, forms an alliance with the Gauls.

He goes to war with his brother for his dominions in Asia Minor.

244 Defeat of Seleucus; he shuts himself up in Antioch. A change of policy succeeds.

243 Seleucus, now assisted by Hierax, compels Ptolemy to consent to a
Ten years' truce; Ptolemy, therefore, withdraws his army from Syria.
242 War renewed between Antiochus and his brother Hierax.
Loss of territory occasioned by the successes of Eumenes, king of Pergamus.
240 Hierax leads 100,000 Gauls into the province of Babylonia.
Seleucus defeats them; and Hierax escapes to Egypt, where he is detained a prisoner for thirteen years.
End of the war with Hierax.
238 First war against Arsaces of Parthia.
236 Second war against Arsaces; Seleucus made prisoner and detained until his death.
227 Hierax being liberated in Egypt, sets off for Syria, but is killed in the Arabian desert.
226 Seleucus Callinicus (in captivity) falls from his horse and is killed.
Seleucus III. (Ceraunus) succeeds.
War with Attalus.
223 Apaturius and Nicanor treacherously procure the murder of Seleucus; he is succeeded by his brother,
Antiochus III. (the Great) under the guardianship of the general Achæus.
222 Treasonable conduct of Hermeias.
Rebellion of Molon and Alexander, satraps of Media and Persis.
Xenon and Theodotus are sent against the rebels, but suffer defeat.
Antiochus suffers defeat in Cœle-Syria.
Xenætas and his army cut to pieces by Molon, who then seizes Babylon.
Marriage of Antiochus (see Asia Minor.)
220 Antiochus marches against the rebels.
Defection of the rebels; they desert to their sovereign, Antiochus.
Molon, Alexander, and Niolans commit suicide; the rebellion quelled.
Revolt of Achæus, occasioned by the craft and malice of Hermeias.
Hermeias put to death.
219 War with Ptolemy for Cœle-Syria.
Antiochus reduces most of the strongholds of Cœle-Syria; he also gets possession of Seleucia Pieria.
218 Negociations for peace broken off by the Egyptians.
217 Battle of Raphia; Antiochus defeated; Cœle-Syria, Palestine, and Phœnicia restored to Egypt.
Peace with Egypt.
Antiochus at war with Achæus, who is now in alliance with Mithridates, k. of Pontus.
216 Antiochus is joined by Attalus.
Defeat of Achæus; he shuts himself up in the citadel of Sardis.
215 Siege of Sardis; it is captured by stratagem in the night.
214 Achæus, in the citadel, is betrayed by Balis into Antiochus's hands.
Achæus put to death.
Laodice encourages the garrison in the citadel to hold out.
Surrender of the garrison.
213 War against the Parthians and Bactrians.
211 Antiochus defeats Arsaces, and compels him to join against Euthydemus.
207 Victory of Antiochus on the Arius.
207 Euthydemus successfully negociates for peace with Antiochus.
Peace with Parthia and Bactria.
206 Expedition into India for elephants.
Antiochus returns, having obtained 150 of those animals and immense booty.
205 War with Egypt after the death of Ptolemy Philopater.
["The circumstance of Ptolemy Epiphanes being a mere child, appears to have suggested to the king of Syria and to Philip, of Macedon, the ungenerous project of seizing upon his dominions. The former at the head of a victorious army, and the latter, having under his command the finest fleet at that time on the sea, proceeded without delay to accomplish their scheme of partition."]
203 Antiochus invades and reduces Cœle-Syria and Palestine.
201 Alliance of Attalus, of Pergamus, with the Rhodians, Romans, and Egyptians, for resisting both Antiochus and Philip.
199 Scopas, an Ætolian chief, prepares to attack Cœle-Syria, &c.
Embassy from Rome to Antiochus.
The Syrian army is withdrawn from Asia Minor, and sent against Scopas.
198 Antiochus defeats Scopas at Panium; who first takes refuge in Sardis, and then surrenders with his army.
Antiochus conqrs. Palestine and Phœnicia.
197 War for the lost provinces in Asia Minor and the lost cities of Greece.
Ardyes and Mithridates besiege Sardis.
Antiochus proceeds with a fleet of 100 galleys to Ephesus.
Alliance with Egypt; treaty of marriage between Antiochus's daughter, Cleopatra, and Epiphanes.
196 Antiochus, assisted by the military skill of Hannibal, seizes the Thracian Cheronese.
The hostility of Rome provoked by the conquests of Antiochus.
Rebuilding of Lysimachia commenced.
Conference between the Roman ambassador and Antiochus at Lysimachia; the latter rejects the interference of the former.
195 Antiochus continues to pursue his war policy in Asia Minor.
193 Conference at Rome, between ambassadors from Antiochus and the Senate.
The Ætolians solicit the aid of Antiochus against the encroachments of Rome.
Hannibal counsels Antiochus to carry war into Italy; but his courtiers urge a different course.
192 Antiochus, following the advice of his flatterers, invades Greece.
Antiochus reduces Chalcis and obtains possession of several other cities.
Rome declares war against Antiochus.
Antiochus winters in Chalcis.
He marries the daughter of Cleoptolemus.
191 War with Rome commenced.
Antiochus is opposed in Greece by the consul M. Acilio Glabrio.
Defeat of Antiochus in Greece; he returns to Asia Minor.
190 Naval defeat off Corycus.
Antiochus invades Pergamus.
Naval defeat off Pamphylia.

190 Antiochus negociates for peace; but the Romans reject the proposal.
Battle of Magnesia; total defeat of Antiochus by the consul L. C. Scipio.
Peace with Rome; conditions:—Antiochus to resign all pretensions to Europe, to pay to Rome 15,000 talents within twelve yrs., to pay Eumenes 400 talents and a large quantity of corn; to deliver up Hannibal and others, and to give twenty hostages.
189 Armenia revolts.
188 Distressed condition of Syria.
187 Death of Antiochus. The treasury of Antiochus being exhausted, he attacks by night the temple of Elymais, the great emporium of the merchants, and is killed in the fray (see 165.)
Seleucus IV. (Philopater) succeeds.
Antiochus, the king's younger brother, a hostage at Rome (190.)
Syria a dependency of Rome.
186 City of Artaxata, in Armenia, built.
180 Seleucus desirous of relieving the irksome confinement of his bro., a hostage at Rome, sends his son, Demetrius, as his substitute.
176 Heliodorus sent by Antiochus to plunder the temple of Jerusalem.
175 Philopater poisoned by Heliodorus, who aims at usurping the throne.
He is expelled the kingdom by
Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes) who ascends the throne, with the concurrence of Eumenes and Attalus, to the prejudice of his nephew, Demetrius.
Antiochus adopts a trifling behaviour, and is despised for meanness and frivolity.
171 Epiphanes, renewing the Syrian claim for Cœle-Syria and Palestine, invades Egypt.
Battle of Pelusium; Antiochus victorious.
170 Antiochus again victorious; Philometer defeated and made prisoner.
Egypt, as far as Alexandria, subdued by the arms of Antiochus.
169 Siege of Alexandria.
Antiochus liberates Philometer in order to thwart the views of Evergetes.
168 Roman interference; Epiphanes surrenders Cyprus and Pelusium.
167 Epiphanes provokes a revolt of the Jews (see Palestine.)
165 Expedition into Upper Asia.
Antiochus makes a sacrilegious attack upon the temple of Elymais (187.)
He is defeated and escapes to Ecbatana.
News of his losses in Palestine reach Antiochus at Ecbatana.
164 Death of Epiphanes at an obscure village on his way to Babylon. His successor is
Antiochus V. (Eupator) nine years old.
[Eupator, on ascending the throne, found that the kingdom of Syria had been reduced within narrow limits; Babylonia, Persia, and all the countries between the Euphrates and the Indus having been lost.]
Lysias, guardian of the young king.
162 Revolution in Antioch in favour of Demetrius, who had escaped from Rome.
Demetrius I. (Soter) succeeds.
["The nation at large conceiving that Demetrius could not have left Rome without the concurrence of the Senate, hailed his accession with joy."]
162 Eupator and Lysias are put to death by the Syrian army.
161 War with the Jews of Palestine.
153 Rise of Alexander Balas; a Rhodian youth named Balas, personates the character of a son of Epiphanes, now dead some years.
The Romans give ear to Balas' pretensions, and render him military aid.
152 Balas takes possession of Ptolemais.
151 The Jews assist Alexander Balas.
150 Battle between Balas and Demetrius; the latter defeated and killed.
Alexander Balas, the Rhodian swindler, ascends the throne of the Seleucidæ, by the aid of his father-in-law, Ptolemy.
[Philopater had given his daughter, Cleopatra, as wife to Balas, see 147.]
Balas disgusts his subjects by his vanity, voluptuousness, and profligacy.
148 Arrival of Demetrius Nicator from Crete.
Ptolemy so disgusted with Balas, that he deprives him of Cleopatra, and turns agst. him.
147 Ptolemy espouses the cause of the rightful heir to the throne—Demetrius; to whom he gives his daughter, Cleopatra, as wife.
146 Ptolemy and the young Demetrius defeat Balas near Antioch.
Balas murdered in the Arabian desert.
Demetrius II. (Nicator) succeeds.
Ptolemy dies of his wounds.
Feeble and versatile conduct of Demetrius.
He also disbands his mercenary troops; which causes much dissatisfaction.
143 Rebellion of Diodotus Tryphon, who sets up the son of Alexander Balas.
142 Defeat of Demetrius near Antioch.
Antiochus VI. (Balas' son) proclaimed.
Demetrius escapes for refuge to a fortress of Seleucia Pieria.
Tryphon murders the young king Antiochus, and usurps the entire government.
141 Demetrius's grant to the Jews (? 142.)
140 Demetrius quits his retreat to assist the Parthian insurgents in Upper Asia.
Antiochus Sidetes marries Cleopatra, the wife of his brother Demetrius, by virtue of which union he claims the throne.
139 War between Antiochus and Tryphon; the latter is defeated and pursued into Phœnicia, and thence into Apamea.
Death of Tryphon, the usurper.
138 Demetrius defeated and made prisoner by Mithridates; sent captive into Hyrcania.
He marries the daughter of Mithridates.
137 *Antiochus* VII. (Sidetes) succeeds.
134 Expedition of Sidetes against Judea.
133 Peace granted to Judea.
129 Expedition into Parthia; Antiochus obtains many advantages.
128 Antiochus and his army cut off in Parthia.
Demetrius II. (Nicator) having returned from exile, either by accident or intention, resumes his troubled reign.
["Demetrius's marriage with the Parthian princess, Rhodogyne, not only alienated his wife Cleopatra (138), but brought upon him the indignation of the friends of Egypt in Syria."]
126 Demetrius imprudently involves himself in a war with Egypt, in support of the pretensions of the queen regent.
Intrigues against Demetrius in Egypt.

125 Alexander Zabina, the son of an Alexandrian broker, is stirred up by the Egyptian king to claim the throne of Syria, as son of Alexander Balas; hence—Civil war.
Demetrius being defeated escapes to Tyre.
Demetrius murdered at the instigation of his profligate wife, Cleopatra (121.)
Alexander II. usurps the throne.
Seleucus, the eldest son of Demetrius, disputes Alexander's claim for a few months.
He falls a victim to his mother's rage and his brother's jealousy (121.)
Antiochus VIII. (Grypus) succeeds.
He marries the daughter of Physcon; and receives powerful support from Egypt.
124 Cleopatra assumes a share of the governmt.
Civil war between Antiochus and the pretender, Alexander II.
123 Cleopatra puts forward the claims of her son, Cyzicenus, by Sidetes (140, 114.)
War against Alexander continued.
Defeat and flight of Alexander.
He attempts to rob a temple of its treasures and is killed (? 122.)
121 Grypus, fearing the intrigues of his mother, Cleopatra, effects her murder.
116 Antiochus Cyzicenus, instigated by his intriguing Egyptian wife, raises an army to dislodge his half-brother from the throne.
114 Civil war, between Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus; he withdraws to Aspendus.
Grypus defeated and dethroned.
Antiochus IX. (Cyzicenus) succeeds.
His vices and folly insult his people.
112 Return of Grypus; he defeats Cyzicenus, who retreats into Cœle-Syria.
111 Accommodation between the brothers; the kingdom partitioned; Grypus reigns in Antioch over Upper Syria; Cyzicenus rules at Damascus over Cœle-Syria.
The Euphrates now forms the boundary of the Syrian kingdom.
Loss of Upper Asia (see Parthia.)
Revolt of Judea.
96 Civil war renewed between the brothers.
Grypus murdered by an ambitious retainer who aspires to the crown.
95 Seleucus, the eldest son of Grypus, defeats his uncle, Cyzicenus, who is slain.
Civil war, between Seleucus and Eusebes, the son of Cyzicenus.
94 *Antiochus* X. (Eusebes) assumes the sovereignty in opposition to Seleucus.
Seleucus defeated; flies into Cilicia, where he soon after perishes.
Antiochus XI., the 2nd son of Grypus, contends unsuccessfully with his cousin Eusebes.
Philippus, another son of Grypus, at war with his cousin Eusebes.
The Parthians support Eusebes.
Philippus is defeated and expelled his kgdm.
Demetrius Eucaerus, the fourth son of Grypus, asserts his claim.
Advancing from Cnidas with an army, he is seized by the Parthians, and sent into captivity, and soon after dies.
Antiochus XII. (Minor) ascends the throne of Cœle-Syria.
For two years he maintains his throne against Eusebes, against his brother Philippus, and against the predatory Arabs.
Battle with the Arabs; Antiochus defeated and slain.
82 The people of Antioch, disgusted with the descendants of Seleucus Nicator, invite Tigranes to accept the sovereign rule.
Eusebes escapes into Cilicia; and Selené, his wife, retires, with her two infant sons, into a fortress of Commagne.
75 Antiochus Asiaticus goes to Rome.
83 *Tigranes*, king of Armenia and Syria.
["Tigranes governed Syria with more vigour than mildness for the space of fourteen years, after which period the country of the Selucidæ ceased to be a kingdom."]
70 Tigranes receives Mithridates at his court, and refuses to deliver him up to Lucullus on the demand of Appius Claudius.
69 Lucullus drives Tigranes out of Syria.
Antiochus XIII. (Asiaticus) son of Eusebes and Selené (82), prefers his claim, which Lucullus receives favourably.
65 Pompey thwarts the plans of Lucullus, with reference to the restoration of the Syrian kingdom to Antiochus Asiaticus.
The youth, Antiochus Asiaticus, driven from the tent of Pompey, and expelled the kingdom of his ancestors, as unworthy to reign, and as unentitled to any compensation for the loss of his hereditary dominions.
End of the reign of the Selucidæ.
62 *Syria* reduced by Pompey into *a Roman province.*

CHRONOLOGY OF ASIA MINOR.

At the dissolution of the Macedonian empire several petty kingdoms sprung into existence in this portion of the dismembered territory:—in *Cappadocia* Eumenes is made king; Antigonus reigns over *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*; the king of *Pontus* is Mithridates II. (Ctistes), descended from the Persian line of royalty; he also reigns over *Paphlagonia*; Zipætes reigns in *Bithynia*, and *Mysia* falls to Leonatus.

B.C.

323 *Leonatus* quits Mysia and passes into Europe, attracted by the hope of obtaining Cleopatra, and with her the kingdom of Macedon (see Greece, B.C. 337.)
Epicurus leaves Samos for Athens.
322 *Ariarathes*, of Cappadocia, defeated by Perdiccas, made prisoner, and put to death.
Eumenes invested with the government of Cappadocia by Perdiccas.
321 Antipater and Craterus come into Asia Minor to fight with Perdiccas.
Eumenes defeats Craterus; the latter falls in the battle.
The provinces of Triparadisus divided.
320 *Antigonus*, of Phrygia, defeats Eumenes of Cappadocia; he besieges him in Nora.
318 Eumenes escapes from Nora.
317 Polysperchon appoints Eumenes commander in the East.
316 Battle of Gabiene; defeat of Eumenes by Antigonus.
The Argyraspidæ betray Eumenes to Antigonus, who kills him.
315 *Zipœtes*, of Bithynia, (who succeeded *Bas* in 326) is at war with Chalcedon (278.)
Antigonus opposed by Cassander, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy.
Mithridates of Pontus an ally of Eumenes.
314 Antigonus, of Phrygia, seizes Phœnicia.
312 *Ariarathes* III., king of Cappadocia (? 315.)
Defeat of Demetrius, son of Antigonus, at Gaza, by Ptolemy and Seleucus.
311 General peace.
310 Outbreak between Ptolemy and Antigonus.
Epicurus flourishes at Mytilene, &c.
306 Demetrius, son of Antigonus, defeats Ptolemy of Egypt in a sea-fight off Salamis.
Antigonus assumes the regal title (320.)
He unsuccessfully invades Egypt.
304 Demetrius besieges Rhodes.
303 Demetrius returns to Greece having concluded a peace with the Rhodians.
302 Antigonus murders Ctistes of Pontus.
Mithridates III., of Pontus, succeeds Mithridates II., who began to reign, 337 (266.)
301 Demetrius joins his father Antigonus.
Battle of Ipsus; Antigonus defeated and slain (aged 81) by Seleucus and Lysimachus.
Demetrius Poliorcetes, king of Phrygia, &c.
300 Demetrius master of Cilicia.
Lycon, the Peripatetic, born at Troas.
299 Stratonice married to Seleucus.
290 Colossus of Rhodes begun by Chares of Lindus, a pupil of Lysippus (? 292.)
Mithridates III., of Pontus, seizes on Paphlagonia and Cappadocia (284.)
288 Colossus of Rhodes finished (? 280.)
[Those who place the beginning of this magnificent work at B.C. 300 are correct in assigning this date for its completion. See, however, B.C. 290 and 280.]
Affinity between Ariamnes of Cappadocia and the Seleucidæ.

B.C.

288 *Ariarathes* IV., king of Cappadocia.
286 Zipætes of Bithynia at war with Lysimachus of Thrace.
Demetrius captured by Seleucus of Syria.
284 *Ariamnes* II., king of Cappadocia.
283 *Philetærus*, of Pergamus, asserts the independence of Mysia.
He patronizes the arts—architecture, &c.
281 Deft. and death of Lysimachus by Seleucus.
280 Birth of Chrysippus, the Stoic.
Colossus of Rhodes finished by Laches (290.)
Rhodes the most beautiful city of all the Grecian cities at this period.
Murder of Seleucus.
278 *Nicomedes* I., king of Bithynia (246.)
The Gauls, discomfited at Delphi, come into Galatia on the invitation of Nicomedes of Bithynia; they enter his service.
266 *Ariobarzasus* III., king of Pontus (240.)
He is unsuccessful against Sinopë.
263 *Eumenes* I., king of Mysia (Phrygia, &c.)
He defeats Antiochus, king of Syria, and possesses himself of Æolis.
262 Antiochus defeated at Sardis.
252 The Gauls in Asia Minor (see 278.)
They besiege Mithridates III. in Pontus.
250 Hieronymus, of Rhodes, flourishes.
248 *Ariarathes* III., king of Cappadocia.
246 *Zielas*, king of Bithynia, ? 250 (228.)
241 *Attalus* I., king of Pergamus (Mysia.)
240 *Mithridates* IV., king of Pontus (? 242.)
239 The Gauls, from Galatia, invade Mysia, but are repulsed by Attalus (278.)
228 *Prusias* I., king of Bithynia (180.)
224 Earthquake; the celebrated Colossus of Rhodes thrown down (? 222.)
222 Marriage of Antiochus with Laodicë, daughter of Mithridates of Pontus (220.)
220 Prusias at war with Byzantium.
Mithridates at war with Sinopë.
Ariarathes IV. (a child) kg. of Cappadocia.
Marriage of Achæus with Laodicë, another dau. of Mithridates, of same name (222.)
217 Victory of Ariarathes over the Parthians.
216 Prusias of Bithynia defeats the Gauls.
Attalus of Mysia forms an alliance with Antiochus of Syria.
214 Achæus falls into the power of Antiochus.
208 Attalus, as an ally of Rome, joins the Ætolians against Philip, &c.
207 Prusias of Bithynia invades Mysia.
Apollonius, of Pergamus, mathematician.
206 Zeno, of Tarsus, philosopher, fl.
205 General treaty and peace.
200 Attalus, of Mysia, visits Athens.
198 Attalus introduces books with vellum leaves; now adopted instead of rolls (? 175.)
197 *Eumenes* II., king of Pergamus, Mysia.
He joins Rome against Syria.
Prusias of Bithynia goes against Heraclea.
192 Marriage of Ariarathes IV., of Cappadocia, with Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus.
He joins Antiochus against Rome.

191 Eumenes and the Romans victorious in a sea-fight with the Syrians.
190 *Pharnaces* I., king of Pontus (157.)
188 Large accessions to the territory of Eumenes at the close of the war with Syria.
184 Prusias, of Bithynia, at war with Eumenes, the war being instigated by Hannibal.
183 Pharnaces of Pontus reduces Sinopë.
Ariarathes IV., of Cappadocia, an ally of Eumenes against Pharnaces of Pontus.
Death of Hannibal at the court of Prusias of Bithynia (? 182.)
182 Pharnaces at war with Eumenes II. of Pergamus, till 179.
180 *Prusias* II., king of Bithynia (149.)
179 *Morzes*, king of Paphlagonia.
Peace between Pharnaces and Eumenes.
175 Eumenes II. establishes a library and museum at Pergamus.
Parchment introduced as a new discovery (? in 198, or in 137, which see.)
169 Secret correspondence of Eumenes with Perseus of Macedonia.
[He thus loses the friendship of Rome.]
166 *Prusias* III., king of Bithynia.
164 Irruption of the Trocmi into Cappadocia.
Discoveries at Pergamus.
162 *Ariarathes* V. (Mithridates Philopator) king of Cappadocia (158, 155.)
160 Embassy from Ariarathes to Rome.
159 *Attalus* II., king of Pergamus (Mysia.)
158 *Holophernes* having driven Ariarathes from his kingdom, reigns in his stead (162.)
Ariarathes takes refuge at Rome.
157 *Mithridates* V. (Evergetes) k. of Pontus (120.)
156 Mithridates of Pontus becomes an ally of Rome against Aristonichus.
155 Attalus assists Philopator (Ariarathes V.) against Holophernes, who is dethroned.
Philopator re-ascends the throne (162, 158.)
154 War between Attalus and Prusias.
153 Peace; the result of Roman mediation.
Attalus of Pergamus patronizes literature.
149 Prusias of Bithynia murdered by his son, *Nicomedes* II. (Epiphanes) Bithynia (91.)
Alliance betw. Nicomedes and Mithridates.
138 *Attalus* III., king of Pergamus (Mysia.)
137 Books having leaves of vellum invented by Attalus of Pergamus (? 198 or 175.)
135 Birth of Mithridates (the Great.)
Two Comets for 72 consecutive days.
134 Attalus of Pergamus bequeaths his kingdom to the Romans (129.)
133 *Aristonicus* claims the sovereignty of Pergamus (Mysia) (129.)
131 *Pilæmenes* I., king of Paphlagonia.
He is an ally of the Romans.
Crassus at war with Aristonicus.
Mithridates of Pontus an ally of Rome.
130 Phrygia Magna bestowed on Evergetes of Pontus by the Romans.
Crassus defeated and killed by Aristonicus.
Ariarathes VI. (a minor) k. of Cappadocia.
129 Aristonicus of Mysia taken prisoner and put to death by the Romans (133.)
Pergamus annexed to the Roman empire.
120 Evergetes of Pontus is slain at Sinopë.
Mithridates VI. (Eupator),—Pontus (63.)
114 Ariarathes VI. marries Laodicë, sister of Mithridates Eupator.
112 Mithridates drives the Scythians from the Tauric Chersonese.
108 Mithridates (Eupator), having formed an alliance with the Germans and others, seizes upon Paphlagonia.
96 Mithridates of Pontus puts his brother-in-law, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, to death.
Laodicë marries the aged Nicomedes (149.)

The Armenian kingdom is founded by *Tigranes* I.

94 Mithridates destroys the son and successor of Ariarathes and Laodicë of Cappadocia, and places his own son upon the throne.
93 *Ariobarzanes* I. appointed king of Cappadocia by the Romans (63.)
He is expelled by Mithridates (92, 90, 88, 84.)
92 Galatia conquered by Mithridates.
Sylla restores Ariobarzanes to his kgdm. (93.)
91 Socrates murders his father, Nicomedes II., king of Bithynia (see 149.)
Nicomedes III. (son) succeeds (88.)
90 Second expulsion of Ariobarzanes.
89 M. Aquillius has him restored (93.)
88 Nicomedes expelled by Mithridates, who supports the claims of Socrates the parricide.
Third expulsion of Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, by Mithridates.
Mithridates' first war with Rome, begun by Massacre of 80,000 Roman citizens in one day in Asia Minor, by his order.
87 Reverses of Mithridates; Sylla is victorious.
86 Battle of Chæronea; Archelaus (Mithridates's lieut.) defeated, with a loss of 110,000 men.
84 Peace between Mithridates and the Romans; Mithridates restores Bithynia to Nicomedes III., Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and Paphlagonia to Pilæmenes.
75 Nicomedes bequeaths his kingdom (Bithynia) to the Romans (see Rome, 74.)
74 *Bithynia added to the Roman empire.*
Mithridates's second war with Rome.
72 He is compelled to retire into Armenia.
64 *Dejotarius*, king of Galatia.
He extends his dominion by taking possession of Armenia Minor.
63 *Pharnaces* II., king of Pontus, having treacherously procured the death of Mithridates, is rewarded by the Romans with the kingdom of Bosporus.
53 *Ariobarzanes* II., king of Cappadocia.
48 Ariobarzanes espouses the cause of Pompey against Cæsar (42.)
47 Cæsar pardons Ariobarzanes, and gives him an additional extent of territory.
Cæsar defeats Pharnaces II., king of Pontus; he escapes to Bosporus, where he is slain by Asander.
Pontus added to the Roman empire.
42 Cassius puts Ariobarzanes to death (53.)
Ariarathes VII., king of Cappadocia.
39 Antony makes a son of Pharnaces—
Darius, king of Pontus.
38 Prosperous condition of Ephesus.
[About this time it rises to importance nearly equal with that of Antioch, as a trading and commercial city.]
36 Antony deposes Ariarathes VII. of Cappadocia, and puts him to death; he appoints *Archelaus* king of Cappadocia.
[Archelaus reigned 50 years.]
He removes Darius of Bosporus, and appoints *Polemo* to succeed him.
Asia Minor annexed to the Roman empire.

CHRONOLOGY OF PARTHIA AND BACTRIA.

These kingdoms sprang into existence at the same time, both being the offspring of revolt against the dominion of Syria. The history of Bactria is but little known, for the records respecting it have nearly all been lost; but we are better supplied with the details of the history of Parthia. The chronology of the two kingdoms may, with no great impropriety, be included in one category.

"The Parthians, a rude tribe of mountaineers from the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, wearing large loose caps upon their heads, and armed with short javelins and bows, marched in company with the neighbouring tribes of the Chorasmians and Sogdians, amidst that countless multitude of nations whom Xerxes led against Greece." Such is the earliest notice of the Parthian name to be found in history.

"Arsaces," says Mr. Fynes Clinton, "first acquired Parthia and then Hyrcania. His successors gradually extended their dominion over the adjacent provinces, until it included almost all the countries east of the Euphrates, which had belonged to the old Persian monarchy."

B.C.

250 Arsaces kills Agathocles, and expels the Macedonians from Parthia.
[Parthia consisted of eighteen satrapies.]
Arsaces, first king of Parthia.
Theodotus, first king of Bactria.
248 *Arsaces* II. (Tiridates I.) king of Parthia.
He extends his kingdom by conquest.
[Each of the Parthian kgs. assumed the name of the founder of the kingdom—Arsaces.]
244 Seizure of Hyrcania by Arsaces II.
243 *Theodotus* II., king of Bactria.
He forms a league with Arsaces II.
238 War of Arsaces with Seleucus Callinicus; great victory of the Parthians.
236 Arsaces takes Seleucus prisoner.
221 *Euthydemus* deposes Theodotus II. king of Bactria; and ascends the throne.
He opens commercial relations with India.
217 War of Arsaces with Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, in which Arsaces is slain.
216 *Arsaces* III. (Artabanus I.)—Parthia.
212 Invasion of Parthia by Antiochus the Great, and expulsion of Artabanus.
211 Artabanus, after much vicissitude of war, regains his throne; next year
210 All claims on Parthia and Hyrcania are renounced by Antiochus.
League with Antiochus the Great.
[From this time much uncertainty prevails for about 100 years, respecting the kings of Parthia—their number, names, and periods being much confused.]
207 Euthydemus defeated by Antiochus.
206 *Menander* reigns over the Indian and other eastern provinces of Bactria.
He carries on successful wars against Media and other countries.
Renewed invasion of Parthia by Antiochus.
Arsaces resists him with an army of 20,000 horse and 100,000 foot.
Treaty of Arsaces with Antiochus.
196 *Arsaces* IV. (Priapatius)—Parthia.
His sons are Phraates (181), Mithridates (174), and Artabanus (129.)
188 Armenia formed into a kingdom under the patronage of Antiochus the Great.
Artaxias I., first king of Armenia.
Demetrius (son of Euthydemus, 221) king of India, *i.e.* the Bactrian provinces of India.
181 *Arsaces* V. (Phraates) (by revolt)—Parthia (Howlett, 175.)
Eucratidas, king of Bactria—during whose reign Bactria flourished.
178 Arsaces gains a victory over the Mardians.
At his death his brother obtains the kgdm.

B.C.

174 *Arsaces* VI. (Mithridates)—Parthia (Blair, 164.)—a wise and virtuous prince.
Prosperous condition of the Parthian kingdom in this reign.
168 Eucratidas defeats Demetrius of India, and annexes his dominions to Bactria proper.
[So confused are the brief notices which exist of the kings of Bactria, that it is doubtful whether Menander (206) lived before Eucratidas or not.]
Defeat of the Bactrians by Arsaces.
Victories of Arsaces over the Elymæans and other barbarous tribes.
165 Artaxias, of Armenia, defeated by Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), and made prisoner.
143 Eucratides, of Bactria, assassinated by
Eucratides II. (son) who succeeds.
Alliance with Demetrius II. king of Syria.
Arsaces' dominions extend to the Euphrates, west, and to the Hydaspes, east.
Eucratides and Demetrius invade Parthia.
140 Revolt of the Parthian provinces; aided by Demetrius of Syria.
138 Defeat of the confederated kings by Arsaces; loss to Bactria of several provinces; Demetrius taken prisoner; he remains ten years in captivity in Hyrcania.
137 Marriage of Demetrius and Rhodogyne, daughter of Mithridates.
136 Arsaces becomes master of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, &c.
134 *Arsaces* VII. (Phraates II.)—Parthia.
130 Bactria overrun by the nomade hordes of Central Asia.—Fall of Bactria (? 120.)
War of Parthia with the eastern nomade tribes—Scythians, &c.
Great battle with the Scythians; defeat and death of Phraates II.
129 *Arsaces* VIII. (Artabanus II.) Parthia.
War with the Scythians continued.
Syrian invasion under Antiochus Sidetes—at first disastrous to Parthia.
128 Total destruction of Antiochus' army; Antiochus slain.
126 Artabanus defeated and killed in battle with the Scythians (Thogarii.)
125 *Arsaces* IX. (Mithridates II.) also known as Pacorus I.—Parthia.
124 Mithridates is victorious, in successive years, over the Scythians, with whom several sanguinary battles are fought.
108 Tranquillity is restored by Mithridates.
97 The kingdoms of Armenia, Major and Minor, rise into notice at this time, under the celebrated Tigranes.

INDEX.

ACHÆA in alliance with Lacedæmon, 108
Achæan League, 314
——, its constitution and extent, 315
——, measures of Aratus for its support, 324
—— in alliance with Antigonus, 325
—— makes war against Sparta, 325
—— defeated by Cleomenes, 326
—— defeated by the Ætolians, 330
——, naval defeat of the, 358
Achæus, fidelity of, 298
——, revolt of, 299
——, increased power of, 302
—— is betrayed and put to death, 303
Acropolis of Corinth, surprise of, 321
Æras of Greece, the most important, 2
Æschines, in the deputation to Philip, 145
—— and Demosthenes, from the Phocæan Congress, 152
Ætolians obtain a peace from Antipater, 244
——, their incursions on the territories of the Achæan League, 329
Agesilaus, his success in Asia Minor, 65
——, return of, 66
—— marches into Bœotia, 80 (see Epameinondas)
Agiatis (widow of Agis the Spartan king), her influence, 336
——, death of, 341
Agis, murder of, 325
Alexander at the battle of Chæronea, 163
——, his accession to the throne of Macedon, 167
——, his generosity and sagacity, 168
—— at the Amphictyonic council, 169
—— is elected generalissimo of the Greeks, 170
——, his warlike preparations, 170
—— reduces Thrace, 171
—— advances against the Triballi, 172
—— conquers the Getæ, 172
—— receives an embassy from the Celts, 172
—— returns to Macedon, 173
—— marches upon Thessaly, 174
—— takes Thebes by storm, 175, 176
——, his demands on Athens, 177
—— prepares for the invasion of Persia, 178
—— passes the Granicus, 179
Alexander is in imminent peril, 181
——, his rapid successes, 182
—— captures Halicarnassus, 184
—— marches to Phrygia, 185
——, conspiracy against his life, 185
—— conquers Phrygia, 185
—— subdues Cilicia, 190
——, his interview with his physician, 191
—— marches to the highland of Cilicia, 191
——, humanity of, after the battle of Issus, 197–198
—— takes Tyre by assault, 200
—— reduces Syria, Judæa, Samaria, and Phœnicia, 201
—— founds Alexandria, 202
—— visits the temple of Ammon, 202, 203
—— receives reinforcements from Macedon, 208
——, his rapid pursuit of Darius, 210
—— reduces Bactria and the Bactrian fort, 212
—— marries Roxana, 212
—— builds Alexandria and other towns in the neighbourhood of Parapomisus, 213
——, his expedition to India, 215
—— founds Nicea and Bucephalia, 216
—— is wounded at a fort of the Malli, 217
—— rescued by the Macedonians, 218
—— marries the daughter of Darius, 218
——, his domestic politics, 219
——, commercial and agricultural views, 219
——, meeting of his troops, 220
—— enters Babylon, 221
—— receives numerous embassies, 222
——, his death and character, 222, 223, 417
——, view of his policy, 225–8, 402–7
——, changes resulting from his death, 228
——, his family, 229
——, preparations for his funeral, 232
——, his conquests, true value of, 400
——, objects of the Punjabee settlements, 402
——, deficiencies in the histories of, 413
——, his access to topography and ethnology, 414
——, his northern campaign, 415
——, his return from India, 417
Alexander, son of Roxana, birth of, 231

Alexander Zebina (Alexander II.), usurps the throne; his reign of six years; he is put to death, 387
Alexandria, siege of, by Antiochus, 382 (see also Alexander)
——, its felicitous situation, 406
Alexandrian cities, favourable position of, 403
Amphictyonic Council, cruel demands of, 153
Amphictyons, decree of, in the Phocian war, 135
Amphipolis, siege of, raised, 127
——, capture of, 131
Amphissa, people of, accused of sacrilege, 159
——, revolt of, 160
Ancyræ, battle of, 296
Anglo-Indian discoveries, 401
Antalcidas, his mission to Sardis, 68
——, peace of, 69
Antigonus and Leonatus, their disobedience to Perdiccas, 234
—— ——, jealousy of, 237
——, preparations of, 264
—— declines negotiation, 266
——, his son defeated by Ptolemy and Seleucus, 266
—— invades Egypt, 275
—— assumes the regal title, 275
——, his retreat from Egypt, 275
——, his ascendency in Greece, 277
——, confederacy against him; his campaign, 278
——, his death at the battle of Ipsus, 278
Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius, recovers his throne, 286
—— retires to Peloponnesus, 286
——, his death, 287
Antigonus Doson in power, 287
——, his victories, 287
——, his death, 288
Antigonus III., his advance against Cleomenes, and capture of Corinth, 327
—— is chosen general of the Achæan league, 328
——, his success, 328–342
——, character of, and death, 329
Antiochus Soter, origin of his title, 290
——, his misfortunes, 291
——, is defeated and slain by the Gauls at Ephesus, 291
Antiochus Theos defeats the troops of Ptolemy, 292
—— is murdered, 293
Antiochus Hierax, defeat and captivity of, 296
Antiochus the Great, 298
—— takes the field against Molon, 299
——, his views on Egypt, 300
—— defeated in the battle of Raphia, 302
—— marches against the Parthians, 304
Antiochus the Great, his victory, 304
—— defeats Scopas, 306
—— attacks Mysia and Caria, 307
——, his discussion with the Romans, 307, 366
——, his war in Pisidia; invades Greece; his weak and unsteady conduct, 370
——, his fleet defeated by the Romans, 374
——, —— by the Rhodians, 375
—— proposes a treaty with the Romans, 376
—— loses the battle of Magnesia, 378
——, his flight into Syria, 378
——, his embassy to the Romans at Sardis, 378
——, death of, 379
Antiochus Epiphanes succeeds Seleucus, 381
——, his trifling behaviour, 381
—— declares war against Egypt, 381
——, his submissive conduct to the Romans, 382
——, his wars against the Jews, 383
——, his expedition to Upper Asia; his death, 383
Antiochus Eupator, his accession, 383
—— put to death at Antioch, 383
Antiochus VI., or "Antiochus Epiphanes" (the son of Balas), slain by Diodotus, 386
Antiochus VII. (Sidetes), accession of, 386
—— slain among the Parthians, 387
Antiochus VIII. (Grypus) succeeds Zebina; marries a daughter of Physcon, 387
——, the throne disputed by his brother, 388
——, division of the kingdom, murder of Grypus, and death of Cyzenicus, 388
Antiochus IX. (Cyzenicus) dethrones Grypus (Antiochus VIII.), 388
—— agrees to a partition of the kingdom, 388
—— is defeated and slain, 388
Antiochus X. (Eusebes) succeeds Cyzenicus, king of Damascus, 388
Antiochus XI. and Philip vindicate their rights, 388
Antiochus XII (Dionysius) ascends the throne of Damascus, 389
—— falls in battle against the Arabs, 389
Antipater, viceroy of Alexander the Great, defeats the confederacy against Macedon, 209
—— defeated by the Athenians, 242
——, his final success, 242
——, regency of, 245
—— takes measures against Eumenes, 246
——, his death, 248
Apelles, intrigues of, against Aratus, 331
Apollodotus one of the Indo-Macedonic dynasty, 428
Aratus, life of, 313
——, birth and childhood of, 316
——, his conquest of Sicyon, 317
——, he retires into Egypt, 318

Aratus, his misfortunes, 319
—— returns to Sicyon, 319
—— surprises the Acropolis of Corinth, 321
—— invades Ætolia, 323
——, his attempts on Athens, 323
——, trial of, 330
——, death of, 332
Argyraspides, fate of the, 262
Ariana and the Arii, 411
Ariæus, treachery of, 15
Ariarathes, revolt of, and defeat, 234, 235
Aristotle, Philip's letter to, 129
—— at the court of Philip, 156
Armenia reached by the retreating Greeks, 27
Arrhidæus, brother of Alexander the Great, 229
—— checks the divisions of his troops, 231
——, his marriage, 236
Arrian, his notices of Bactria, 412
Arridæus, regency of, 244
Artabazus, governor of Bactra, 419
Artaxerxes imprisons Cyrus, 5
—— demands the surrender of the Greeks, 13
Athenæus surprises the Nabathæans, 269
Athenians, war between the, and Philip, 128
——, their cruise against the coasts of Macedon, 157
—— lay an embargo upon Macedonian ships, 158
——, their correspondence with Persia, 158
—— oppose the Amphictyonic Council, 161
Athens sends assistance to Thebes, 82
——, congress at, 98
——, ambitious views of, in the time of Philip, 127
—— makes overtures of peace to Philip, 143
Attalus I. in alliance with Antiochus the Great, 303

Babylon, surrender of, to Alexander, 207
Bactria, sources of our knowledge of, 410
—— a Persian province, 412
—— and Parthia, revolt of, 292
Bactrian (Greek) kingdom, extent of, 411
—— terminology, obscurities of, 418
Bactrians, early notices of the, 412
Bœotia, conspiracy in, 112 (see Epameinondas)
Balas, Alexander, the Usurper, 385
——, his unworthy conduct and death, 385
——, his son is proclaimed king, and defeats Demetrius, 386
—— murdered by Diodotus, 386
Barbaric kings, 428
Bayer, his history of the Bactrian Greek colonies, 414
Bessus, pursuit of, by Alexander; by Ptolemy captured, 211
—— is put to death, 212
Byzantium seized by the Cyrean soldiers, 35

Carduchian Mountains, passage of, 26
Cassander murders Roxana and Alexander, 272
Cerasus reached by the army, 30
Chæronea, battle of, 163
Chandragupta (Sandracoptus), his alliance with Seleucus, 420
Cheirisophus, imprudence of, 28
Chronology in connection with Aratus, 328
—— no guarantee against the mixture of mythology with history, 433
Cleander, the Spartan governor, his haughty conduct, 34
Clearchus commander-in-chief of the Græco-Cyrean army, 6
—— attempts to urge on the soldiers—they revolt, 9
——, his troops quarrel with those of Menon, 10
——, his replies to Ariæus and Phalesius, 12, 13
——, assassination of, 18
Cleomenes, king of Sparta, 334
—— marries the widow of Agis, 335
——, accession of, 336
—— makes war on the Achæans, 337
—— recalled by the Ephori, 337
——, his warlike successes, 340
—— defeats the Achæans and removes the Ephori, 338
—— reforms the Spartans, 339
——, his war with Antigonus of Macedon, 341
——, his alliance with Euergetes, 342
——, flight of, 346
——, his treatment in Egypt, 347
—— solicits permission to leave Egypt, 348
——, his imprisonment and death, 349
Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, murdered, 273
Clitus murdered by Alexander, 214
Colchians, attack on, 29
Congress of Greek states, at Thebes, 107
Conon, his victory over the Lacedæmonians, 66
Corinthian deputation sent to Lacedæmon, 110
Coronea, battle of, 66
Corupedion, battle of, 283
Cotys, assassination of, 134
Crassus (Licinius) invades Macedon, 396
Craterus, death of, 239
Cratisiclea, his fortitude, 343
Cretias, his character, 42
——, his death, 52
Cunaxa, battle of, 12
Cyprus, transactions in, 274
Cyrus imprisoned by Artaxerxes, 5
—— invites Xenophon to the Persian Court, 6
——, Greek generals in his service, 7
—— commences warlike operations against his brother, 7

Cyrus is distressed for money to pay his troops, 8
—— is relieved by Queen Epyaxa, 8
—— informs the army of his real enterprise, 10
—— interposes between the armed divisions of Clearchus and Menon, 10
——, disposition of the army of, 11
——, death of, 12
——, brief outline of his character, 20

Darius prepares to meet Alexander, and marches towards the west, 188, 189
—— moves towards the Amanic gate, 192
——, flight of, at Issus, 195
——, ——, at Gaugamela, 206
—— flies from Media, 200
—— is assassinated, 210
Demetrius Poliorcetes, 265
——, success and gratitude of, 267
——, his expedition against the Nabathæans, 269
——, his gratitude to Ptolemy, 268
——, his proceedings after the death of Antigonus, 279
——, his new alliances, 279
—— attacks Athens and Sparta, 279
—— is declared king of Macedon, 280
——, his reverses and death, 281
Demetrius Phalareus, surrender of, 273
Demetrius succeeds his father Antigonus Gonatas, 287
——, his death, 287
Demetrius Soter escapes from Rome, 383
——, intrigues and death of, 384
Demetrius Nicator vanquishes Balas and succeeds to the throne, 385
—— marries Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy, 385
—— defeated by the son of Alexander Balas, 386
—— makes war on Parthia, 386
—— is taken prisoner, 386
—— escapes; resumes the throne; is defeated and murdered, 387
Demetrius, allusions to the Indian conquests of, 424
Demosthenes, his confusion before Philip, 144
——, his address to the Athenians, 146
—— pronounces his celebrated philippic, 155
——, flight and death of, 243
Dexippus, base conduct of, 34
Diodotus, usurpation of, 386
—— betrays Jonathan, 386
—— assumes the name of Tryphon, 386
——, death of, 387
——, (see Theodotus.)
Drapsacus, storm of, by Alexander, 416
Democharcs, insolent conduct of, 164
Democracy restored at Athens, 54

Egypt (see Ptolemy and Alexander)
Egyptian wealth, sources of, 407
Epameinondas, life of, 71
—— at the congress of Lacedæmon, 87
—— heads the Thebans at the battle of Leuctra, 91
——, his first invasion of Laconia, 100
——, his influence, 102
——, second expedition of, 105
—— invades Peloponnesus the fourth time, 115
—— returns to Mantinæa, 117
Ephesus, surrendered to Alexander, 183
Eukratides the Great, 425
——, his extensive possessions, 425–6
Eumenes, his victory over Craterus, 239
——, declared a public enemy, 245
——, measures against, 246
——, his fidelity to the house of Macedon, 247
—— escapes from the blockade of Nora, 249
——, his policy, 255
—— pursued by Antigonus, 256
——, forces serving under, 256
——, dissensions in his army, 258
——, his battle with Antigonus, 258
——, conspiracies against, 259
—— is betrayed, 260
—— is put to death, 260
Eumenes co-operates with the Romans, 367
—— stirs up the Romans against Perseus, 395
Eurydice, influence of, 245
Euphrates, the, crossed by the Greeks, 27
Euthydemus on the throne of Bactria, 422
——, notices of, in classical authors, 423

Gaugamela, battle of, 206
Gaza, taken by assault, by Alexander, 205
——, effects of the battery of, 267
Generals of the Greeks seized and other generals appointed, 18
Gordian knot, story of, 189
Greece, post-republican, 2
Greek centres of civilization, 405
Greek trader—his influences, 405
Greek history, retrospective view of, 432
——, a political text-book, 433
Greek army, despair of, 20
——, arrives within view of the sea, 28
Greek military and moral notions, 30
Gryllus, son of Xenophon, death of, 40
Gythium, attempted relief of, 358

Hannibal, his advice to Antiochus, 369
—— is defeated by the Rhodian fleet, 375

Hephæstion, death of, 220
Heliocles assumes the title of Dikæus, 426
Heliodorus attempts to pillage the temple of Jerusalem; his treason to his sovereign, 380
Hellenic and Italic races; their regenerating influences, 408
Helots, enlisted by the Spartans, 101
Hermæus, treachery of, 298
Hierax, defeat and captivity of, 296
Hippalus, voyage of, 407
Historians, Greek and Latin, discrepancies of, 87
Historical canon, 432
Hostilius, expedition of, against Perseus, 397
Humboldt, his remarks on the policy of Alexander, 403
——, on imperfect evidence, 433
Hyperides, flight and death of, 243

Indo-Macedonian empire, 400
Indo-Greek dynasties, paucity of historical information of, 424
Indo-Greek dynasties, 420
——, decay of, 404
Indo-Greek archæology, value of, 409
Ipsus, battle of, 278
Isocrates, oration of, 149, 150
——, date of his oration, 151
Issus, battle of, 192

Jason, his vast plans, 95
—— gains Polydamus over to his interest, 96
—— is murdered, 97

Kanerkos dynasty (see Barbaric Kings)

Laconia, second invasion of, 117
Lacedæmon negotiates with Persia, 67
——, war renewed between, 68
——, conduct of, after the Peace of Antalcidas, 72
——, congress at, 85
Lacedæmonian garrison at Thebes, 77
——, war against Thebes, 78
Lamian war, 241
Leonatus, defeat and death of, 422
Leontiades, death of, 76
Leuctra, battle of, 90
——, effects produced by, 93, 94
Lysias, history and connections of, 47
——, guardian of Antiochus; Eupator put to death at Antioch, 383
Lysimachus, cruelties of, 282
——, defeat and death of, 283

Macedonia (see Philip and Alexander)
——, settlement of, as a Roman Province, 388
Macedonia, affairs of, after the invasion of the Gauls, 286
Macedonian ambassadors, their arrival at Athens, 147
—— phalanx, raised by Philip, 123
—— at the battle of Issus, 193
—— operations, in the time of Cleomenes of Sparta, 340
Machanidas, king of Sparta, 353
——, his defeat and death, 355
Magnesia, decisive battle of, 377
Manikyala, tope of, 402
Mantinæa, her senate re-established, 99
——, the Lacedæmonian confederates at, 116
——, battle of, 118, 119
——, second battle of, between Philopœmon and Machanidas, 354
——, (see also "Epameinondas")
Marmareans destroy themselves, 186
Megalopolis, destruction of, 344
Memnon intrigues with the Lacedæmonians, 187
——, death of, 188
Menander, victories of, 427
Messenia, revolt of, 104
Methone, reduction of, 136
Miletus, captured by Alexander, 184
Military discipline, republic ideas unfavourable to, 20
Mithridates receives a check from the Greeks, 24
Molon revolts from Antiochus, 298
Molon and Alexander deserted by their troops, 299

Nabathæan chief addresses Demetrius, 270
Nabis, successor of Machanidas, 355
Nearchus, nautical skill of, 407
Nechos, magnificent canal of, 408
Neoptolemus, death of, 321
Nicocles, family of, 274
Nile, overflow of, 301
Nomadic races, their influence, 429
Numismatic chronology, 428
——, (see English and Mahomedan currency), 432

Oligarchy established, 44
Olympian treasury seized by the Arcadians, 113
Olynthian confederacy, reduction of, 72
Olynthus, capture of, 142
Orontas, treachery of, his death, 11

Pages, the band of, their conspiracy against Alexander, 214
Panius, battle of, 312
Parmenio advances on Damascus, 199

Parmenio at the battle of Gaugamela, 206
—— and Philotas, execution of, 211
Parties, state of, in Greece, at the close of Peloponnesian war, 2
Paulus Æmilius commands against Persius, 397
Pausanias sent at the head of an army, 53
—— disbands his army, 54
Peloponnesian war, its record disjointed and unsatisfactory, 3
Pelopidas, character of, 88
—— heads the "sacred band," at Leuctra, 91
—— is slain in a battle against Alexander of Theræ, 112
Perdiccas named regent, 23
——, intrigues of, 236
——, alliance against, 237
——, his expedition into Egypt, 240
—— is defeated before Pelusium, 240
—— is assassinated, 241
Pergamus, territory of, invaded by Seleucus, 374
Persepolis, destruction of, by fire, 209
Perseus, king of Macedon, vanquished at Cynocephale, 391
——, his accession, 395
——, wise measures, attempts to gain allies, 395
—— takes the field against the Romans, 396
——, his success, 397
—— defeated at the battle of Pydna, and carried to Rome, 398
—— dies at Alba, 398
Phalesius, his interview with the Greeks, 13
Phœbidas, his seizure of Thebes, 73, 74
Philip of Macedon, 120
——, his origin and education, 120
——, his travels and studies; interview with Olympias, 121
—— ascends the throne of Macedon, 122
——, his warlike genius, 123
——, his victory over Bardyllis, 124
——, alliance with Athens, 126
——, his war with the Athenians, 128
——, alliance with Olynthus, 131
——, generous conduct of, 132
—— founds the colony of Philippi, 133
——, humanity of, towards the Methoneans, 137
—— is defeated by the Phocians, 137
——, his policy in the sacred war, 138
——, his high political position, 139
——, powerful marine of, 141
——, his reply to Demosthenes, 145
—— arbitrates between Thebes and Phocis, 154, 155
——, his expedition against Thrace, 156, 157
—— is dangerously wounded, 159
Philip of Macedon is elected general of the Amphictyons, 159
——, his letter to the Athenians, 161
—— occupies Elateia, 162
——, assassination of, 166
——, character of, by Diodorus, 166
Philip, nephew of Antiochus III., on the throne of Macedon, 329
——, his jealousy, 332
——, decline of his power, 357
Philip, son of Demetrius, succeeds to the throne, 287, 288
Philip V., of Macedon, his subserviency to the Romans, 392
——, grand project of, 393
——, his schemes defeated by family discord, 394
—— dies of grief, 394
Philippus (Marcius), his campaign against Persius, 397
Philometor and Euergetes agree to reign in common, 382
Philopœmon, skilful generalship of, 346–350
——, life of, 350
——, his family and education, 351
——, his hardihood and military talents, 352
—— reforms the Achæan discipline, 353
—— slays the Elean general, 353
——, his brilliant generalship and success, 359
——, prudence of, 360
Phocian war (see "Sacred War")
——, preparations for concluding the, 149
Phocians, defeated by Philip, 137, 138
—— sue for peace, 151
——, decree against the, 154
Phocis and Thebes, war between, 83
——, condition of, in the time of Philip, 126
——, sources of its power, 140
Pisidian and Isaurian war, 235
Platæans send an embassy to Athens, 85
Plutarch, his account of Philip, 356
Policy, Greek, towards Rome and Carthage, 280
Political government, Greek, reflections on, 46–433
Polybius of Megalopis, rallies the troops at the second battle of Mantinea, 354
Polysperchon, flight of, 261
Porus, his engagement with Alexander, 215
——, his defeat and magnanimity, 216
Potidæa (see life of "Philip" and "Pydna")
Prinsep's discoveries, 401
Proxenus, in the service of Cyrus, 6
Ptolemy Soter, receives the exiled Seleucus, 263
——, his victory at Gaza, 266
——, retreat from Syria, 268
—— defeats Demetrius, 274

Ptolemy Soter nominates his son Philadelphus to a share of the throne, 281
——, court of, 285
Ptolemy Ceraunns; his treachery, 284
——, his crimes, 286
Ptolemy Euergetes; his accession to the throne of Egypt, 293
——, his expedition to the Indus, 295
——, advances into Syria, 309
Ptolemy Philopator defends Egypt against the invasion of Antiochus, 300
—— visits the temple of Jerusalem, 311
——, attempted assassination of, 302
——, death of, 305
Ptolemy Epiphanes, accession of, 305
Ptolemy Philadelphus ascends the throne, 308
——, his war with Magas, governor of Cyrene, 308
Ptolemy Euergetes, his conquest of Abyssinia, 310
——, existing memorials of, 311
Pydna and Potidæ, capture of, 132
Pydna, battle of (see Perseus), 398
Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, assists Alexander, son of Thessalonica, 280
Python put to death, 262
——, his treachery, and massacre of the Greeks, 234

Raphia, battle of, 302
Rhodes, siege of, by Antigonus, 276
Rhodians, in alliance with the Romans, 306
—— defeat the fleet of Antiochus, 375
——, treaty with, 276
Roman resources, view of, 400
Romans, their discussion with Antiochus, 307
——, policy of, 366
—— urged to warlike counsels, from the fear of Hannibal, 367
——, their resolution against Antiochus and the Ætolians, 368
——, professions of their ambassadors, 369
——, their vigilance against Antiochus, 371
——, they march into Thessaly, 371
—— visit Troy, as the cradle of their race, 376
——, their stipulations with regard to Hannibal, 379
——, their ambitious views in the time of Philip V. of Macedon, 393
—— prepare for war with Perseus, 396
—— gain the battle of Pydna, and reduce Macedon to a Roman province, 398, 399
Roxana captured by Alexander, 212
——, (see "Alexander")

Sacred war, 135
——, third period of, 141
Sacred war, conclusion of, 152
Sacrifice to Zeus Soter, 22
Salamis, siege of, 274
——, surrender of, 274
Sardis surrendered to Alexander, 183
Scipios, the, observe the festival of Mars, 375
Scipio Africanus receives the deputy of Antiochus, 376, 377
——, his son restored to him by Antiochus, 377
Seleucus, accession of, 271
—— gives his wife Stratonice to his son, Antiochus Soter, 282
—— is assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, 284
——, his character, 284
Seleucus Callinicus, accession of, 293
——, his defeat, 295
——, second defeat, captivity, and death, 297
Seleucus Ceraunus on the throne, 297
—— is assassinated by Apaturius, 297
Seleucus Philopator, accession of, 380
——, murder of, 381
Seleucus and Ptolemy, alliance of, 263
Seleucidæ, overland traffic of the, 406
Sellasia, battle of, 328
——, (see Cleomenes), 344, 345
Seres, the, and Serica, 418
Seuthes, the Cyrean troops enter his service, 35
——, he recovers his dominions, 36
——, his breach of faith, 36
Sinope, reached by the retreating Greeks, 31
Skirmish between Mithridates and the retreating Greeks, 23
Slingers enrolled, 22
Social war, 129–288
Socrates and the Thirty Tyrants, 48
——, his parentage and family, 55
——, his eager desire for knowledge, 56
——, his constitution, appearance, hardihood, and integrity, 56
——, his habits of teaching; disciples; "The Clouds;" his magnanimity, 57
—— is accused by Melitus and Anytus, 58
—— declines the defence of Lysias, and disregards his own, 59
—— appears before his judges, 60
—— is condemned to drink the juice of hemlock, 61
——, efforts to save him, and his death, 61
Socratic philosophy, political tendencies of, 55
Sogdiana, colonies settled in, 416
Sosibius, intrigues of, against Cleomenes, 348
Sparta, its power in the time of Cleomenes, 326
—— unites with the Achæan League, 360
—— renounces the League, 361
Spartan policy, difficulties of, 89
Syria, after the murder of Seleucus, 290
Syria and Egypt, war between, 294

Syria reduced to a Roman province, by Pompey, 390

Tarsus surrendered to Alexander, 190
" Ten Thousand," the, retreat of, begins, 14
Thebes, war against, 66
——, seizure of, by Phœbidas, 73
——, effects of, on Greece, 75
——, revolution of, 75
Thebes and Athens, alliance of, 79
——, second invasion of, by Agesilaus, 80
——, distress of, 81
——, tyranny of, 84
—— and Lacedæmon, renewal of the war between, 87
Thebes applies to Jason for assistance, 95
—— attempts to acquire supremacy through Persia, 106
——, revolt of, 173
—— is taken by assault by Alexander, 175
——, decree for the demolition of, 176
Theban confederacy, disunion of, 105
—— commissioner at the Congress of Tegea, 114
Thebans, physical and intellectual character of, 88
——, massacre of, 176
Theodotus, or Diodotus, governor of Bactria, and founder of the Indo-Greek dynasty, 420
Theramenes, character of, 43
——, opposition of, 45
——, conspiracy against, 49
——, death of, 50
Thimbron, his army joined by Xenophon, 37
" Thirty Tyrants," the, 42
——, tyranny of, 45
——, measures pursued by, 47
Thrace, conquest of, by Philip, 133
Thracian gold mines, 134
Thrasybulus seizes Phyle, 51
Thrasybulus is joined by large numbers, 52
Tigranes, king of Amenia, called to rule over Syria, 389
—— is vanquished by Lucullus, 389
Timocrates, his mission to Greece, 65
Tissaphernes joins the Persian army, 17
——, his treachery, 18
—— obstructs the retreat of the Greeks,
Turushka dynasty, 429
Tryphon (see Diodotus)
Tyre (see 'Alexander')

Walls, the " Long," of Athens, rebuilt, 67

Xenophon, life and early years of, 3
—— adapted for an historian, 2
——, his introduction to Socrates, 5
—— consults the Pythian oracle, 6
—— joins Cyrus, 6
——, his first notice of himself, 11
——, his answer to Phalesius, and reply to the Persian leaders, 19
—— is chosen leader, 21
——, his vigorous policy, 25
——, his foresight, 29
—— restores the discipline of the army, 31
—— refuses to be general-in-chief, 32
——, his prudence, 33
—— plunders the castle of Asidates, 37
—— deposits his wealth in the temple of Ephesus, 38
—— in retirement, 39
——, his literary works, 40
——, death of his son Gryllus, 40
——, his character, 41
Xenias and Pasion, Greek generals in the army of Cyrus, 7
——, they desert the army of Cyrus, 9

Yuchi, or Gete, the, 429



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