

CHAP.
I.

his *hypaspists* and *companions*, Alexander shewed his superiority to all generals. He always charged in person with the first division of the latter, therefore called the royal squadron²¹: and to the ability with which he performed this service, and was seconded in it by those accompanying him, every one of his great victories is principally to be ascribed.

The *companions* and their leaders.

The *companions* were divided into eight squadrons, respectively commanded by persons the highest in public esteem, and whose military rank commonly opened their way to the first offices in the empire. At the time of their master's death, these eight commanders are enumerated in the following order; Perdicas, Leonnatus, Ptolemy, Lyfimachus, Aristonous, Python, Seleucus, and Eumenes²²; names that hitherto depressed by Alexander's matchless fame, were now to break forth and long to rebound through the ancient world. In this body of indefatigable cavalry employed in perpetual warfare, the vacancies were supplied with emulation from the best troops in the service; and every one of its leaders, except Perdicas, now the first in rank, and successor to the unhappy Clitus, had been substituted in the stead of others who had gloriously fallen in the arms of victory.

The king's lieutenants called body-guards.

The command of the companions naturally led to the highest dignity in the state, expressed by a word which literally denotes nothing more than *body-guard*. The body-guards were seven in number at the time of Alexander's decease, ranking in the following order; Leonnatus, Perdicas, Aristonous, Ptolemy, Python, Peucestes²³. The appellation of *body-guard* did not express the real nature of their office; for the proper guards of the king were the first company of hypaspists, and the first squadron of companions.

²¹ ἡ δὲ Κασιδιανή. Arrian, l. vi. c. 9. and Phot. p. 215.

also, τὸ σῆμα, "the admirable band," for σῆμα δὲ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὃ ἐστὶ θαυμαστόν. Eustath. in Odyss. p. 1399.

²² Arrian de Rebus post Alexandrum in

²³ Conf. Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. vi. c. 28. et Arrian. et Dexippus apud Photium, ubi supra.

In his exercises and amusements, and the daily rites of religious worship, he was attended by the royal pages, youths of noble descent, who ministered at his table, and nightly slept before his chamber in the palace, and his tent in the field²⁴. But several of those called the *body-guards* were commonly near to the person of their master: they formed collectively his council both civil and military; they were a sort of lieutenants or deputies always ready to aid him in important functions, to divide with him the duties of administration, and occasionally to supply his place²⁵. They consisted, as will appear on comparison, of nearly the same persons with the leaders of the *equestrian companions*. The first six names occur in the lists of both: Peucestes only, the seventh *body-guard*, had not any command in the *royal horse*; and neither Eumenes nor Seleucus, though commanding their respective troops of horse, and though the former was confidential secretary to the king, had yet attained the rank of *body-guard* or lieutenant. To the six names common to both lists, we must therefore add those of Eumenes, Seleucus, and Peucestes; which generals together with the viceroys Antipater and Antigonus, with Meleager and Craterus favourite leaders of the phalanx, and with Nearchus commander of the fleet, were entitled to act the principal part in the disposal of their master's empire, and the bloody drama which accompanied it. Of these fourteen persons on whom the revolutions of that part of the world which falls within the sphere of ancient history long continued to turn, ten were present in Babylon; four were employed at a distance in the important concerns already mentioned as respectively entrusted to them.

The affairs of the empire turned on those 14 persons.

The ten present, and particularly Perdiccas, to whom as standing at their head²⁶, Alexander had committed the ring or signet by

The phalanx declares Arrhidaeus king.

²⁴ Curtius, l. v. c. 1.

²⁵ Arrian, Curtius, Diodorus, and Plutarch.

²⁶ The reason will appear clearly here-

after, why Perdiccas, who was at the head of the *companions*, was preferred to Leonnatus, although the latter stood immediately before him in the *body-guards*.

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which he confirmed acts of royal authority, summoned to the palace their friends and adherents, consisting of most of the officers commanding inferior divisions of the army. But while this council of chiefs was still employed in deliberation, the phalanx had already resolved. The opinions of the chiefs varied with their interests, but the multitude were prepared to follow, all of them, the same impulse; since they only desired a king of the royal house who might conduct them safely home, to enjoy their wealth and fame with their friends and families. Without waiting for the decision of their superiors, the troops of the line being left by the absence of most of their officers to the capricious instigation of the busiest and boldest in their own number, proclaimed as king Philip Arrhidæus, who, had he been Alexander's full brother on the mother's side, instead of deriving his ignoble descent, from a Thessalian courtesan²⁷, would have forfeited all pretensions to the throne, by the inveterate weakness of his understanding²⁸. The news of this transaction, which were immediately brought to the council, needed not, in as far as Arrhidæus was concerned, greatly to have alarmed the generals; since under the name of this pageant, one of themselves must necessarily be called to govern. But the man pointed out by Alexander for the delegated power of regent, aspired to the sovereignty in his own person, in case Roxana should not bring forth a son; others hoped conformably to the Macedonian usage, to be named protectors of the kingdom during the minority of Hercules the son of Barchina; and a third party more discerning than either, deemed the conquerors dominions too vast for consolidation, and were anxious chiefly to carve out for themselves separate and valuable establishments. Amidst this discordancy of personal views, the generals of the guards and cavalry as well as the privileged bodies of men whom they commanded,

Views of the
different
generals.

²⁷ *Γυρταίος κόρη*, Plutarch. Parallel. p. 707.

The meaning of the epithet is decided by Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 578; who calls her *ἐπιχορηγία*, a public dancing girl.

²⁸ *ἄγχιος καὶ ἀσθενὴς ἀνδρῶν*, Diodor. l. xviii.

f. 2. Conf. Plutarch. Vit. Parallel. Alexand. et Cæsar. part. fin.

were all alike indignant that the phalanx or troops of the line, the more ignoble portion of the army, should usurp the sole power of appointing a successor to the empire.

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Meleager, a member of the council, was immediately sent to remonstrate with, and controul, the licentious soldiery²⁰. But this weighty business was unfortunately committed to a man the worst calculated of any for executing it honestly. The envy natural to his character had been stigmatised by his late master²¹. Without hopes of obtaining for himself the first rank, he was willing to throw all into confusion rather than behold a superior. His popularity with the troops of the line, was employed only as an instrument of sedition. Instead of condemning their unwarrantable pretensions, he encouraged them to persevere in maintaining their just rights. If force became necessary "his abilities had been often tried as their leader." Through the unprincipled audacity of Meleager, the breach between the two divisions of the army might have been rendered incurable, had not Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Eumenes²², presuming on the affection of the soldiers, interposed their seasonable mediation, and procured with the consent of all parties, a new and more legitimate assembly for deciding the greatest prize to which human ambition ever ventured to aspire.

Meleager fomented the sedition of the phalanx.

The chiefs convened in the great hall of the palace, which was on all sides thrown open, displaying in its center to the surrounding multitude, the throne, the diadem, and the arms of their bewailed sovereign. Perdicas' character still more than his rank, entitled him to act the chief part on this solemn occasion. He was a man, who, to the accomplishments of a polished age, added the ferocious loftiness of ancient heroes; and whose inward qualities were faithfully pour-

A new assembly in which Perdicas acts the chief part.

²⁰ Diodorus, l. xviii. c. 2. and Arrian apud Phot. ubi supra. tenuit, sed dixit, invidios homines nihil aliud quam ipsorum esse tormenta"—l. viii. c. 12.

²¹ When Meleager insidiously blamed Alexander's generosity to the Indian prince Taxiles, Curtius says, "Rex hanc quidem
²² Οἱ χαριστικοὶ τῶν ἀλλοτῶν. Diodorus ubi supra.

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trayed in his person and aspect. In the mere wantonness of valour he is said to have assailed the den of a lyoness, and robbed her of her young. Of herculean strength, his swelling courage seemed still to require a more gigantic frame; his ambition was beyond measure aspiring, and his confidence in his good fortune equally unbounded. At first leaving Macedon, when Alexander divided his whole property among his friends, saying that he retained only hope for himself; Perdicas alone rejected the proffered bounty of the king, maintaining that being zealous to share his dangers, he was entitled also to participate in his hopes²². The dignity of this sentiment was justified in the various scenes of a long and strenuous warfare, through which Perdicas had risen to fair pre-eminence; and as the first in his master's council, had been chosen for the custody of the royal signet, when the king's sinking eyes surveyed the sad countenances of his friends who stood silent around him²³.

His proposal.

Yet Perdicas, bold as he was, trembled at the giddy height to which fortune seemed ready to exalt him. With melancholy slowness he advanced into the middle of the assembly, and deposited on the chair of state the signet with which he had been honoured, thereby divesting himself of the authority which that symbol was supposed by his partizans to convey. Then raising his mournful eyes, "Never," he said, "my fellow soldiers, did any misfortune surpass that by which we are all afflicted. But from the extraordinary designs and attainments of him whom we deeply regret, there was reason to fear that the gods would only lend him to the world, and speedily recal him to the celestial mansions. The mind of Alexander for ever lives; let due honours be now paid to his mortal body, mindful where, and among whom, his high destinies have placed us. The empire requires a head, whether one or many, you must decide. Roxana is now six months pregnant. Would to

²² Ælian. Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 39.²³ Diodorus, l. xviii. f. 2.²⁴ Plutarch, Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

heaven

heaven she bring forth a son to inherit his father's kingdom! meanwhile do you determine who shall provisionally exercise the government³⁵."

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The short silence which followed, was interrupted by Nearchus, recently ennobled by his naval exploits, and the king's distinguished favour. He maintained with Perdicas that a successor to the throne was to be sought only in the family of Alexander, "but wherefore should the doubtful expectation of Roxana's pregnancy be preferred to a prince in existence. Hercules the son of Barcina is sprung from our revered sovereign, and to him his father's scepter ought in justice to devolve." The phalanx marked disapprobation by angrily clashing their armour³⁶. Of this displeasure Ptolemy endeavoured to avail himself with dexterity for promoting his favourite views. Ptolemy as the son of Philip, highly honoured by Alexander, and singularly beloved by the troops, might have aspired with no mean prospect of success to fill the vacant throne. But of this prudent and lettered prince, the abilities, which rendered him the worthiest of that honour, also enabled him to calculate its uneasiness and danger. His sagacity was too discerning to allow him for a moment to provoke a comparison with his deceased brother. He wished rather to confirm the opinion that the scepter of that extraordinary man was too heavy for any individual arm to wield; that his dominions being divided among many, his own merit might attain the object which he appears early to have had in view³⁷, and be rewarded with a separate establishment in the wealthy and secure kingdom of Egypt.

Speech of
Nearchus.Views of
Ptolemy.

To promote this moderate and solid plan of ambition, Ptolemy rose in the assembly with a look of angry disdain, the more impressive from his habitual mildness. "The sons of Roxana and Barcina! to what purpose have we conquered the Barbarians, if we are determined

His speech.

³⁵ Curtius, l. x. c. 6.

³⁶ Id. *ibid.*

³⁷ Αυτος (Ptolemy) μαλιτα ηγατο ης τας

Βασιλειας αιτιος τα εθνη ημεθησαι Pausanias
Attic. p. 3.

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to serve their posterity? My advice is far different. Let the throne of Alexander remain immovable in his palace. Around this, let his friends assemble, those friends whom he summoned to his council. We shall deliberate boldly, yet wisely, under the influence of our godlike sovereign; and with the result of such deliberations the governors of distant provinces will be bound strictly to comply." Strange as this proposal may appear, we shall see it realized three years afterwards by Eumenes. The throne of Alexander was actually invested, and, as it were, animated with a revered sovereignty: so wonderful was the ascendancy which that conqueror had acquired over the minds of his followers! But on the present occasion, the phalanx joined with the cavalry in testifying loud disapprobation.

Proposal of
Aristonous
in favour of
Perdiccas.

Emboldened by this circumstance, Aristonous of Pella, a *companion* and *life-guard*, zealous in the cause of Perdiccas and the indivisibility of the empire, ventured to assert openly and warmly the exclusive title of his friend to the supreme administration. "Wherefore Macedonians! should we still agitate a question which Alexander himself has decided? By giving his signet to Perdiccas he clearly showed by whom it was his intention that his place should be supplied. By declaring Perdiccas regent, we shall fulfil the will of him whom we all loved when living, and now revere when dead." A shout of applause followed, which drowned the opposing murmers; many exhorting Perdiccas to assume the badge of power, with which his master had invested him. But that general, with an affected cowardice in the council, of which he had never shewn any signs in the field, delayed in seeming hesitation, thinking that the less eagerly he seized the prize, the more earnestly it would be pressed on him; and when disappointed in this expectation, his presence of mind totally forsook him: he staggered on the precipice to which he had already climbed, and fell headlong down, when the summit was within his grasp. Instead of advancing to the chair of

Irresolution
of the latter.

²⁹ Curtius, l. x. c. 6.

state,

state, he retired behind the military circle, by which it was surrounded. His confusion attesting, as it seemed, his unworthiness, dismayed his partizans, and encouraged his adversary Meleager, who had already sounded the trumpet of sedition, to revive and urge the strong domestic claims of Philip Arrhidæus.

Meleager was answered by Python the son of Cratæus, a native of Ithaca³⁹. Python, though a stranger, had been raised through merit to the rank of *companion* and *life guard*. To such a man, abilities alone appeared the legitimate source of public honour. Forgetting that the gentle and generous nature of Arrhidæus had endeared him to his Macedonian countrymen, he spoke in such contemptuous terms of the unworthy brother of Alexander, as excited indignation against himself, and lively compassion for the object of his ill advised insult. The resentment of the phalanx was warmly adopted, and distinctly expressed, by Meleager; who concluded a furious harangue by maintaining that "whoever might be declared heir to the throne, the soldiers themselves were joint heirs to the treasure." The assembly was thrown into disorder by his violence. The chiefs and better sort reproached his proceedings as equally insolent and outrageous. He was compelled to retire with his adherents in the infantry, but returned repeatedly to the palace with the greedy multitude, carrying with them the unfortunate Arrhidæus, at once their king and their prisoner⁴⁰.

To defeat the seditious purposes of Meleager, Ptolemy joined the party of Perdiccas; the whole of the cavalry supported the same cause. It was determined therefore by the assembly, that Perdiccas and Leonnatus, the former of whom had been placed by Alexander at the head of the *companions*, and the latter at that of the *life guards*, should be appointed joint regents of the king-

Python's insult to Arrhidæus drives Meleager and his adherents from the council.

The chiefs settle the regency and then remove from Babylon.

³⁹ Arrian. Hist. Indic. Yet in Exped. had settled in that district of Macedon. Alexand. l. vi. c. 18, he calls Python a native of Eordia. His father an Ithacan,

⁴⁰ Diodorus, Curtius, and Arrian, ubi supra.

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dom; and that in all things the intention of their late monarch might be complied with, Perdicas, as entrusted with his signet, was named first in the commission. Having made this hasty settlement of the empire, they were exhorted by Ptolemy to leave the city, lest they should be attacked at disadvantage, and overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the infantry. Leonnatus, Lyfimachus, Seleucus, with the three other commanders of the *companions*, immediately followed Ptolemy without the walls of Babylon, and encamped in the plain of the Euphrates, directly opposite to the royal palace.

Perdicas alone remains in contempt of the infantry.

Perdicas alone scorned this resolution. With the division of horsemen whom he commanded, he remained in the midst of his enemies, bent on washing out by some deed of renown, the disgrace which he had recently incurred in the assembly. When informed of this audacity, Meleager failed not to exhort Arrhidæus to remove his principal adversary, who had madly put himself in his hands. The silence of the new king, who feared his professed subjects not less than his declared enemies, was construed into consent; and a powerful detachment was sent to bring Perdicas to the royal presence, with orders, in case of his refusal, to shew him no mercy. That general who had many partizans among the infantry, was seasonably informed of the blow ready to fall on him. His conduct had been rash in the extreme: but he had learned from Alexander that dangers incurred by boldness, may by more incredible boldness be surmounted. With the noble youths unalterably attached to his fortune, he took post near the threshold of his door; and when Meleager's soldiers approached to seize him, shewed such confidence of mien to those assailants, upbraiding them as mean slaves to a contemptible master, that instead of executing their commission, they returned in dismay to their employer. Having thus braved his enemies, he rode unmolested with his friends through the streets of Babylon, and joined the rest of the cavalry encamped without the city, on the contiguous plain.

His heroism.

In the short-lived exercise of usurped power, the multitude have always been found as variable as the sea; but like the waves too of that boisterous yet passive element, they all uniformly follow, for the moment, the same directing influence. Perdicas's magnanimity not only increased his partisans among the infantry; it alienated the whole phalanx from Arrhidæus, and highly incensed them against Meleager. Their ungoverned anger was ready to hurry them to the wildest vengeance, when an unforeseen cause of alarm, changed the tempestuous current of their passions. Detachments of horse being employed to scour the country round Babylon, interrupted all supplies to that still populous city, which, through the jealousy of the Persians had long ago been deprived of its exhaustless magazines. In the course of three days, the inconvenience of scarcity was succeeded by the pressure of want. The citizens complained; the soldiers threatened; and all urged an immediate accommodation with enemies, by whom they were in danger of being famished.

An embassy was sent for this purpose to Perdicas, who having now resumed his post as head of the *companions*, declared that no terms of reconciliation could be adjusted, until the authors of the sedition were surrendered to punishment. Those conscious of guilt were alarmed, and all were enraged at this unexpected sternness. The most audacious exhorted their fellow-soldiers to sally from the gates, and join battle with the cavalry. They were likely to prevail, when Arrhidæus displayed a degree of humanity ennobled by spirit, which does not appear in any other passage of his life. Exposing his person fearlessly to the angry multitude, he conjured them to relinquish their sanguinary purpose: "If this diadem can be retained only by the wounds and death of Macedonians, I will divest myself of the odious ornament." So saying, he tore the badge of royalty from his head, and holding it in his outstretched hand, "refuse," he continued, "the fatal present, give it to some one worthier than me, if he can preserve the splendid possession unstained

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Sudden
changes in
the minds
of the in-
fantry.

Arrhi-
dæus
shews un-
usual spir-
it.

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New settle-
ment of the
regency.

by civil blood." This seasonable interposition produced, instead of a battle, a new embassy. Both divisions of the army were agreeably surprized at the generous boldness of Arrhidæus; and Perdiccas, instead of insisting on the condition before required, was under the necessity of admitting the pretensions of this prince to the royal name and dignity, and of consenting to a new commission of regency, by which Meleager was joined in the supreme administration with himself and Leonnatus.

Bold and
bloody strata-
agem of
Perdiccas,
which puts
an end to the
sedition.

But with this unpromising form of divided sovereignty, Perdiccas had connected a daring scheme for the destruction of his enemies. For clearing away the guilt of past offences, and healing secret dissension, the Macedonians employed an ancient and sacred ceremony, resembling the *lustrum* of the Romans, with only one principal difference between them, that the Macedonian *lustrum* did not return regularly at stated periods. In this solemn and religious review, custom placed the king at the head of the cavalry. In celebrating the *lustrum* Arrhidæus would thus be withdrawn from the infantry commanded by Meleager, and placed in the middle of the *equestrian companions*, a change of much importance, since whoever was master of the person of that weak prince would be able for the moment to direct his measures. On the suggestion of Perdiccas the solemnity of expiation was announced on the great plain adjacent to the city. When the appointed day arrived, the whole of the troops, horse, foot, and elephants, were formed in battle array, with the king and generals at their respective posts. But before the principal and most whimsical rite was performed, of throwing from both extremities of the line the mangled bowels of a riven dog⁴, the king, accompanied by Perdiccas, rode towards the phalanx demanding the first authors of the mutiny. The cavalry was unanimous; the infantry divided; and the authority of the king, of their own choice, was now turned

⁴ Curtius, l. x. c. 9. In the Roman *lustrum*, the sacrifice consisted of a boar, a ram, and a bull—thence it was called *suovetaurilia*. Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 44.

against the latter. Perdikkas availed himself of their confusion, to draw from the line about three hundred noted incendiaries; and without waiting for the approbation or dissent of Arrhidæus, ordered them to be exposed to the elephants; and in sight of the whole army trampled under foot by those fierce animals. This horrid spectacle terminated the sedition, for the ordinary rites of atonement for past discord, were then performed quietly and in due form. Meleager alone distrustful, on good grounds, the general amnesty. He fled to a neighbouring temple; but even this asylum did not long protect him from the fate justly merited by his profligate ambition⁴¹.

The boldness and rapidity of those proceedings confirmed the authority of Perdikkas. At his command, a new council convened for settling the empire. According to the former arrangement, Leonnatus, as standing at the head of the *life-guards*, had been joined with him in the regency. A prince of the blood of Macedon, and distinguished by the graceful dignity of his presence, Leonnatus had been selected for soothing the captive family of Darius after the battle of Issus. His hair-breadth escapes in battle, and his ardour in sharing the fatigues and dangers of his admired master, had raised him to that pre-eminence in the service, which naturally pointed him out for a share in the regency. But with many showy qualities Leonnatus was totally unfit for the office now assigned him. He was disgraced by levity of character, by ostentation, and luxury⁴²; and his faults appeared in all their deformity when he was called upon to act a principal part himself, instead of obeying the commands of his sovereign. His genius shrunk before the energy of Perdikkas; with whom he co-operated submissively during their joint authority, and into whose hands he resigned, in presence of the council, his

New settle-
ment of the
succession.

⁴¹ Conf. Curtius, l. x. c. 9. and Phot. l. 3.

⁴² Plutarch in Eumen, Ælian, Var. Hist. Meleager, whom he mentions as governor of Lydia after this period. Diodor. l. xviii.

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partnership in supreme power for the government of Hellefpontian Phrygia: a fiteuation feemingly unimportant, yet eſſential in his opinion to the wild projects, by which, as will appear hereafter, his inconfancy was then agitated⁴⁴. In king Arrhidæus, Perdiccas had reaſon to expect the fame nullity of oppoſition to his will, which he would have experienced as administrator of the kingdom for the expected offspring of Roxana. But according to his firſt propoſal, he perſiſted in maintaining the rights of that unborn heir to the throne. The council concurred with him in declaring, that if Roxana brought forth a ſon, he ſhould be aſſociated with Arrhidæus in the nominal ſovereignty. The contingency ſoon after happened, and the poſthumous ſon of Alexander being honoured with his father's name, was treated as coheir to the empire⁴⁵.

Division of
the provin-
ces.

Theſe matters of mere formality being adjusted, Perdiccas proceeded to the more important buſineſs of dividing the provinces, and thereby removing, in due time, ſuch rivals in authority with the army, as might have proved very ſerjous obſtacles to his views. In this act of partition, the prudence of Ptolemy obtained the rich and well-ſecured province of Egypt: Lyſimachus, himſelf of a fierce and ſtubborn character, was thought a fit governor for the warlike Thracians: Peuceſtes, another of the *life-guards*, was confirmed in his authority over the imperial diſtrict of Perſis. The Greater and Leſſer Phrygia, were reſpectively intruſted to Antigonus and Leonatus. Eumenes was named to Cappadocia; and Python⁴⁶ to Media. Craterus was joined with Antipater in the adminiſtration of Greece and Macedon. Seleucus the youngeſt commander over the equeſtrian companions; was placed as lieutenant to Perdiccas, at the head of that illuſtrious corps; and Ariſtonous, unprovided with any ſeparate province, attended the regent as his confidential friend; and

⁴⁴ Plutarch.

⁴⁵ Arrian and Curtius, *ibid.*

⁴⁶ The name is written *Fichen* by Diodorus.

ready coadjutor in the government of the empire⁴⁷. According to this arrangement, every one was promoted suitably to the rank, which at the time of Alexander's death, he held in the service. Nearchus the Cretan, alone, seems to have thought himself slighted. His great naval abilities were no longer in request. He repaired, therefore, to his friend Antigonus in the Greater Phrygia; whose fortunes he continued thenceforward to share in life, and with whom he was united in death⁴⁸. The other provinces were provisionally committed to the generals commanding in them.

The act of partition appeared in a very different light to Perdiccas, and to the other parties concerned in it. When Ptolemy first proposed the division of the empire, he meant that each general should hold the share allotted to him in full sovereignty. His own judicious choice of Egypt, a country defended on three sides by deserts, marshes, and a great river, and whose fourth side along a difficult sea-coast might easily be protected by a watchful fleet, was exactly conformable to his original plan, and entitled him to form well-grounded hopes of founding a separate monarchy. The other generals entertained similar expectations with various degrees of probability: whereas Perdiccas looked on them all as so many dangerous vassals, whom he might overpower successively by means of his controuling army, and the command which he enjoyed, as regent, over the royal treasuries in different strong-holds of the empire.

The views of Perdiccas different from those of the other generals.

While the generals of Alexander prepared to benefit by his premature fate, the task of sincerely lamenting it was left to his inferior subjects. The superstition of the Greeks believed that he had mysteriously prophesied the disasters consequent on his death: but these

Alexander's death peculiarly lamented by his Asiatic subjects.

⁴⁷ Conf. Arrian, and Dexipp. apud Phot. Syriac, and Pausan. Attic. c. 6. ubi supra. Diodorus, l. xiii. c. 4. Appian.

⁴⁸ In the battle of Ipsus, of which below.

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disasters were foreseen and bewailed even by the promiscuous crowd that filled the streets of Babylon. To the vanquished Asiatics, who had experienced his protection and clemency, and to the victorious Europeans, who had shared his fame and glory, it seemed impossible to supply the place of a common benefactor, who, to his higher merits, joined those obliging attentions which conciliate public affection, and that habitual alertness of spirit and alacrity of aspect which inspire unbounded confidence. The Macedonians regretted that they, who had so long fought for the glory of their country, must be called to an ignoble contest for the choice of a master. The different nations of Asiatics who had successively tyrannized over each other, lamented, that instead of an indulgent and equal sovereign, who complied with their hereditary usages, yet softened the hand of despotism, they must lie in future at the mercy of insolent foreigners, many of whom delighted in trampling on their opinions as well persons. Agreeably to their respective customs, both Greeks and Barbarians spontaneously assumed the external emblems⁹⁹ of their inward sorrow. The news of Alexander's death proved fatal to Sisygambis, the mother of Darius; and as the intelligence spread from Babylon, the centre, to the extremities of the empire, all descriptions of persons bewailed with the same breath, the premature fate of their king, torn from them by the envy¹⁰⁰ of the gods; and the forlorn condition of his once happy subjects.

His late
funeral.

Yet neither the regret felt, nor the evils foreseen, had moderated the proceedings of men domineered by ambition, and long enured to arms and blood. With difficulty the public lamentation recalled

⁹⁹ Πυθίμην ἰσθίοντα. Diodorus. Conf. Curtius, l. x. c. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Plato and Aristotle, in various passages

of their works, exert themselves to correct the impious absurdities of paganism concerning the envy of the gods.

their



their attention to their master's remains, which, amidst the vile scrambles of interest, had lain several days neglected in the sultry climate of Babylon". Orders were at length issued by Perdiccas for embalming the body, and for its pompous interment within the precincts of Hammon's temple in Lybia. But the obsequies were not celebrated till two years afterwards, when Alexander was buried, not in Hammon's temple, as he was said to have commanded, but by an alteration (accompanied, as we shall see, with important consequences), in the city of Alexandria in Egypt, which he had founded; and not until many of the slain bodies of his friends had been deposited in their tombs. This late honour to his memory would ill appease his indignant shade, justly provoked at the total dereliction of the vast and beneficial schemes which had occupied him in life; the improvements of 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 the great nations of the East. After his controuling mind had withdrawn, the system which he had formed and actuated fell in pieces, and instead of consentient members, exhibited rather jarring elements. 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 solicit 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 an hasty and impatient survey, their history presents a wild maze of crimes and calamities; but in a full and connected narrative, their

Transition to
the history of
his success-

" Plutarch in Alexand.

CHAPTER I. transactions will interest the statesman, the general, above all the philosopher; who knows, that by just delineations of guilt and misery, men are more powerfully restrained within the great line of duty, than by the most engaging descriptions of virtue and of happiness⁵².

⁵² 'Οὕτω μοι δοκῶμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς προθυμότεροι τῶν μηδὲ τῶν Φαυλῶν καὶ ψεγομένων ἀνισορῆτως ἐχοίμεν. Ἐπίτι νῶν ἐπιστάται καὶ θεαταὶ καὶ μιμηταὶ εἶεν, ἢ Plutarch in Demet. sub init.

CHAPTER II.

Distractions in the outlying Provinces. — Events in Egypt and in Thrace. — Massacre of Greek Mercenaries. — History of the two Cappadocias. — Wild Projects of Leonnatus. — Rebellion of the Pisidians. — Perdiccas's lofty Designs. Confederacy against him. — Victories of Eumenes. — Perdiccas's Expedition against Egypt. — His Murder.

THE convulsions which, upon the death of Alexander, agitated the palace of Babylon, speedily reached both extremities of the empire. The new governors were not established without tumult in their respective provinces. Amidst the pretensions of Perdiccas, who affected the great king, and the opposition of other generals who disdained to be his satraps, some nations imperfectly subdued, rejected the Macedonian yoke; others trusting to local advantages, hoped to shake it from their necks. In the provinces most remote from Babylon and the great controuling army, the spirit of revolt appeared even among those formerly sent thither to restrain it. Many of the Greek mercenaries who guarded the northern and eastern frontiers, had never relished their establishments in those remote regions; and longing with increased desire as years rolled on, for the climate and manners of Greece, had scarcely been detained in what they regarded as a state of melancholy exile, by the authority of their admired sovereign. On the first intelligence of his death, the inhabitants of distant settlements communicated their views to each other, assembled in different bodies, of which the most considerable amounted to twenty-three thousand¹ men in arms, and under the conduct of Philon, a leader of their own choice, began their toilsome march towards the Grecian sea.

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II.
Distractions
in the out-
lying pro-
vinces.
Olymp.
cxiv. 2.
B. C. 323.

¹ Diodorus, l. xviii. f. 7. This was the not the only one. Vid. Pausan. Attic. most considerable body of emigrants, but c. 25.

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II.

Rebellion of
the Rhodi-
ans.

Of the Athe-
nians and
Etolians.

About the same time the Rhodians, apprized of the dissensions in Babylon, flew to arms, expelled a Macedonian garrison¹, and resumed an independence, seasonably acquired, manfully maintained, and most honourably as well as usefully employed.

The Greeks on the continent availed themselves with equal eagerness, but unequal success, of the growing discord among Alexander's successors. The standard of rebellion was raised by the Athenians ever hostile to Macedon, and by the intractable and turbulent Etolians declared enemies to peace either at home or abroad. In other provinces new commotions arose, and new forms of danger appeared, announcing an obstinate and bloody issue. The Thracians deemed the most warlike of men, until Alexander taught them to tremble², prepared to defy Lyfimachus, who had been named to govern them. The Cappadocians, through whose territory the resistless conqueror had pursued his triumphant march³ in the way to Cilicia, were collecting a great army to oppose Eumenes, appointed, as we have seen, to be their satrap. The Bactrians and Indians fearless of remote danger, the Paphlagonians trusting to their numerous cavalry, the Pisidians confident in the strength of their mountains, all those nations recovered from the panic with which the name of Alexander had filled them, and prepared once more to resume arms and independence⁴.

The central
provinces of
the empire
remained
quiet, and
why.

Yet in the midst of this threatening scene, the central provinces of the empire preserved unalterable tranquillity. While with the exception of the Greeks alone, remote or obscure nations raised the standard of rebellion, the flourishing commercial provinces in the Asiatic peninsula, the fertile vallies of Syria, the rich plains of Babylon, together with the vast mass of satrapies from the Tigris to the Indus, patiently endured the yoke, and tamely obeyed every master whom the caprice of the Macedonians set over them. In some of

¹ Diodor. l. xviii. f. 8.

² Conf. Herodotus, l. v. c. 3. and Arrian, l. i. c. 3.

³ Arrian, l. ii. c. 4.

⁴ Diodorus, l. xviii. f. 8. and l. 16. & seq.

these

these countries the will to revolt might be restrained through the experienced lenity of Alexander's administration, and in more of them the power was destroyed through the preceding despotism of the Persians. The blood of their ancient kings had become extinct; many hereditary priesthoods and satrapies had been abolished; there was scarcely any intermediate rank between the sovereign and the slave; and no individual in those parts who enjoyed, I say, not the means to effect a revolution, but the courage to attempt innovation. In this manner, while the extremities recovered life and action, the great body of the empire remained inert and passive, receiving with compliant softness every external impression; and without vitality in itself, was actuated merely by the various movements of the Macedonian captains.

The exertions of these captains in maintaining or enlarging their respective provinces at the expence of foreign enemies, were inconsiderable when compared with the obstinate struggle of twenty-two years among themselves. During the first three years of this period, Perdicas contended for dominion; his opponents fought for equality, at least independence. After the destruction of Perdicas, Antigonus succeeded to his ambition and danger; and, for the following nineteen years, it was uncertain whether that general would seat himself on his master's throne, or his opponents prevail in their great purpose of dividing the monarchy.

Of the five persons of conspicuous rank to whom the principal provinces had been assigned, Ptolemy, Lyfimachus, and Leonnatus proceeded about the same time to take possession of their governments. The arrival of Ptolemy in Egypt was soon followed by the destruction of Cleomenes, the financial administrator of that country, with whose character our readers are sufficiently acquainted. Cleomenes might have been suspected of falling a just victim to his own unprincipled rapacity, if Ptolemy had on future occasions kept himself unstained from the guilt of blood. But this popular prince,

Summary of
subsequent
revolutions.
Olymp.
cxiv. 2. cxix.
4. B. C.
323 - 301.

Ptolemy
takes posses-
sion of
Egypt.
Olymp.
cxiv. 2.

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II.

Murders
Cleomenes.

under the mild semblance of indulgent humanity, concealed unrelenting sternness, and a mind not to be deterred by any conscientious scruples in promoting the views of his ambition. By the same authority which conferred the first place in Egypt on himself, the second had been reserved to Cleomenes. Ptolemy rid himself by murder of a man sufficiently capable of thwarting his projects of independence⁶; seized the treasury in Alexandria, which contained eight thousand talents⁷; augmented the number of his provincial troops; courted the affection of his subjects; and fortified himself so firmly by fleets, armies, and garrisons, that his country alone remained thenceforward exempt from the storms that generally shook the empire.

Circumstances attending the occupation of Thrace by Lyfimachus.

Lyfimachus in accepting for his share the rugged and barbarous kingdom of Thrace, looked forward to the valour of that country for obtaining richer possessions in Asia. But he found it no easy matter to fashion the destined instruments of his future victories. In many laborious campaigns, he exerted himself to extend his dominion to the Danube, the boundary of Alexander's conquests. The great valley of the river Hebrus, and the plain country along the sea-coast of the Euxine, were reduced by his arms; but the mountaineers under a chieftain of the hereditary name of Seuthes⁸, kept possession of the intermediate ridges of mount Hæmus. By this means they interrupted the communications between the two cultivated regions of Thrace; and by their unexpected inroads and rapid retreats, occasioned so much trouble to Lyfimachus, that he was unable for several years to take any part in the general concerns of the empire⁹; though we shall see him finally interfere in them with conspicuous energy and decisive effect.

Pausanias Attic. c. vi. Conf. Arrian
apud Photum.
⁷ Id. *ibid.*

See Xenophon Anabas.
Diodorus, l. xviii. f. 14. and Arrian
apud Phot. p. 217.

Leonnatus

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II.

Why Leonnatus chose Hellepontian Phrygia.

Leonnatus had preferred the little satrapy of Hellepontian Phrygia, to a share with Perdiccas in the regency. In this whimsical choice he had been guided by motives that could have only influenced a mind of much levity. The intrigues of Olympias the mother of Alexander, whose enmity to his able and faithful servant Antipater, could no longer be repressed after the death of her son, had encouraged Leonnatus with the hope of marrying Cleopatra, Alexander's only sister by both parents, and in virtue of this marriage, joined with the splendour of his own birth and merit, of raising himself to the throne of Macedon¹⁰. The possession of Hellepontian Phrygia, from which he might rapidly transport an army into Europe, seemed essential to the success of this wild project, of which we shall see in due time the fatal issue.

Python and Eumenes who had been respectively named to Media and Cappadocia, were prevented by very memorable occurrences, from taking immediate possession of their provinces. Public utility required that a check should be given to the migration of the Greeks from the remote countries in which the policy of Alexander had settled them. For stopping the progress of this evil, Perdiccas draughted by lot from the army three thousand infantry, and eight hundred horse. In order to increase their alacrity, and render them more hearty in the expedition, the men destined to this distant warfare were permitted to name their commander. They unanimously chose Python: the nomination was approved by the regent; and Python was entrusted with letters under the royal signet, requiring the neighbouring governors to reinforce his standard with ten thousand infantry, and eight thousand cavalry¹¹.

Python sent to restrain the migration of the Greeks.

With this well appointed army he marched eastward under the pretence of executing his commission, but with the real design, which he was at too little pains to conceal, of converting the Greeks from enemies into friends, and thereby with an army chiefly composed of

His perfidious project.

¹⁰ Plutarch. in Eumene.

¹¹ Diodorus, l. xviii. f. 7.

Europeans,

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II.

Blasted by
the atrocious
policy of
Perdiccas.

Massacre of
the Greek
emigrants.

Peculiar cir-
cumstances
of the pro-
vince assign-
ed to Eu-
menes.

Europeans, and above forty thousand strong, of rendering himself master not only of Media, but of the contiguous provinces of Upper Asia. Perdiccas duly apprized of this project, determined to defeat it by sending *public* orders to Python, that the safety of the empire required a great example of discipline enforced, and revolt condignly punished. For this purpose the rebellious emigrants must suffer death, and their spoils be divided among the Macedonian soldiers. The latter circumstance ensured success to this bold stroke of atrocious policy. Python met, and defeated the Greeks, of whom one portion had deserted to him in time of action; and with the remainder of whom he entered into treaty on condition that they returned to their several homes in the districts allotted to them. The agreement was confirmed by oaths on both sides; and Python flattered himself with the complete success of his dexterity, when he beheld the Greeks whom he had conquered, mingled in one camp with the Macedonians whom he commanded. But the latter, regardless of their own oaths, and the authority of their general, and only mindful of the public orders issued by Perdiccas, which tempted them with a rich booty, surrounded the unsuspecting victims of their avarice, attacked them by surprise, and involved the whole of those unfortunate men in one general massacre. History marks not the scene of this detestable transaction. The barbarity of the deed itself, and still more the mortification of defeated dexterity and blasted prospects, sank deep into the mind of Python. He returned according to orders to the regent; but watched the opportunity of inflicting on him, as we shall see hereafter, a signal vengeance.

In dividing the provinces among them, Alexander's captains anticipated several conquests which their master had begun, and which the terror of his name would easily have completed. This was most remarkably the case with regard to the north eastern division of the Asiatic peninsula; comprehending Paphlagonia with the two Cappadocias,

of which the Lesser was properly distinguished by the name of Pontus. These valuable provinces, inhabited by a mixed race of Thracians and Phrygians, were assigned to Eumenes; without considering that as their condition of dependence under the Persians had been loose and precarious, they might naturally refuse submission to those who by right of conquest assumed the place of Darius and exercised his authority¹³.

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Under the Persian dynasty, the Greater and Lesser Cappadocia had been hereditary satrapies; and the former, to which Paphlagonia was annexed, had been exempted even from tribute, in consequence of the assistance given by its satrap, Anaphas, in destroying the usurpation of the magi. Darius Hystaspis, who made this arrangement with regard to Cappadocia, committed the hereditary dominion of Pontus, to his son Artabazes by the daughter of Gobrias, at the same time that he devised the empire to Xerxes, his son by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus¹⁴. Some of the finest districts in both countries were governed immemorially by priests, commanding the labour of many slaves, and enjoying ample revenues. Over the far larger divisions of Cappadocia and Pontus, the lines of Anaphas and Artabazes continued respectively to bear sway. The fate of the house of Anaphas will be related in the following pages; and in a subsequent part of this work, we shall see the family of Artabazes, which contrived to hold a subordinate and precarious jurisdiction on the shores of the Euxine, emerge into splendour under Mithridates VI, surnamed Eupator, whose misfortunes are scarcely less illustrious than the accumulated prosperity of Darius his great ancestor¹⁵.

History of
the two
Cappadocias.

¹³ Arrian and Phot. and Plutarch in Eumenes.

¹⁴ Polybius, l. v. c. 53. Conf. Appian, Mithridat. c. 115 & 116.

¹⁵ The precious effects, and royal ornaments taken from Mithridates by the Romans, partly descended to him from Artabazes, who had received them from his father

Darius. Appian, Mithridat. c. 115. That barbarous king, as he is called, really sprung from Achaemenes, the founder of the Persian dynasty; since from Achaemenes, Darius, as well as Cyrus deduced his origin. Conf. Herodot. l. vii. c. 11. Ælian Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 2. and Appian, Mithridat.

Asiarathes,

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}

Ariarathes, the tenth in descent from Anaphás, governed Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, when Alexander marched without obstruction through the southern parts of his kingdom. Contented with obtaining a free passage for his army, the invader hastened to more important conquests, knowing that when these were effected, the Cappadocian would be inclined to afford him every other proof of submission.

Resources of
the Greater
Cappadocia.

But the death of Alexander raised the hopes of Ariarathes, a prince not destitute of resources. Great part of his country indeed was stigmatised for the barrenness of its soil, and the stupidity of its natives¹⁶. But those rude districts contained a stout and stubborn people, long habituated to warfare, and whose capital Mazaca on the river Melas, resembled rather a camp than a city¹⁷. Of the contiguous province of Paphlagonia, the eastern division was mountainous, even to the sea shore, but the western consisted of extensive meadows¹⁸, scarcely yielding to the Nisæan pastures of Media. The country was famed for its numerous and excellent cavalry¹⁹, whose fierce courage had maintained the Paphlagonians, under the Persian dominion, in the rank of allies rather than subjects. With such recruits in men, and by seasonably employing the money amassed under his ten predecessors, Ariarathes raised a great army, by means of which he hoped to set at defiance any Macedonian captain, who should dare to invade his kingdom²⁰.

Antigonus
and Leon-
natus refuse
to assist Eu-
menes,

Perdiccas was not unacquainted with the boldness of the Cappadocian, or the greatness of his preparations. He therefore ordered Antigonus and Leonnatus, respectively governors of the Greater and Lesser Phrygia, to assist Eumenes in taking possession of his province.

Motives of
Antigonus.

But Antigonus, who had been entrusted with Lycia and Pamphylia as well as Phrygia, by Alexander himself, affected to hold these pos-

¹⁶ Strabo, l. xii. p. 540,

¹⁷ Id. p. 537. and 539. Conf. l. xiv. p. 663.

¹⁸ Xenophon de Exped. Cyri, l. v. p. 358.

¹⁹ Amounting to 120,000, according to

Hecatonymus in Xenophon; but clearly an exaggeration. Exped. Cyri ubi supra.

²⁰ Diodorus, l. xviii. §. 16. and Plut. in Eumen.

sessions.

sessions, independently of the will of the Protector. Eumenes, in quality of an upstart stranger, since he was a native of Cardia, in the Thracian Chersonesus, seemed not to be entitled to Satrapies, which would have raised him to an equality with the noblest of Alexander's captains; and Antigonus too well knew his abilities, willingly to receive him for a neighbour. He therefore positively declined compliance with the royal mandate²¹. Eumenes next had recourse to Leonnatus, who commanded above twenty thousand men in Hellepontian Phrygia. But it unfortunately happened, that he met there Hecatæus, the petty prince of Cardia, his inveterate enemy. Their fathers had long disagreed about the government of their native city; and Eumenes had often solicited Alexander to abolish the hereditary power of Hecatæus, and to allow Cardia to be governed on the republican plan, like other Greek cities in its neighbourhood. But the influence of Antipater, who befriended the family of Hecatæus, prevailed; and this *tyrant*, as he is called, of *Cardia*, was then with Leonnatus soliciting succours for Antipater, who had been unfortunate, as will be seen hereafter, in his war with the Greeks, and was actually blocked up by their confederate army in Lamia, a strong city of Thessaly. Leonnatus exhorted Eumenes to accompany him in this expedition, so essential to the safety of the empire. But Eumenes frankly avowed his irreconcilable enmity to Hecatæus, and intimated his strong suspicions, that Antipater might find means to ruin himself, with a view to gratify this unworthy favourite. Such a strong mark of confidence on the part of Eumenes, produced one still stronger on the part of Leonnatus. The interests of Antipater, he said, were merely a pretext. His real object was to seize the Macedonian crown, to which the claims of his birth and rank were strengthened by letters from Cleopatra, Alexander's nearest legitimate relation, offering to marry him at Pella, and with the assistance of the whole party of her mother Olympias, to place him on the

Wild projects of
 Leonnatus.

²¹ Plut. in Eumen.

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throne. The wildness of this project so forcibly struck Eumenes, that he seized the first opportunity of escaping secretly from the satrapy of Leonnatus, and hastened to Perdiccas with his troops and treasures; five hundred men, and five thousand talents²².

Conquest of
Cappadocia
by Perdiccas
and Eumenes.

Perdiccas, while he vowed vengeance against Antigonus, and left Leonnatus to reap the bitter fruits of his own folly, moved with the royal army towards Cappadocia, to establish Eumenes in his satrapy. Ariarathes was said to have collected thirty thousand infantry, and above fifteen thousand horse. But this army, had it been far more numerous, would have proved altogether unable to contend with the veteran troops of Macedon, headed by Perdiccas and Eumenes, two of their best generals. A single battle terminated the war. Four thousand Cappadocians were slain, and five thousand made prisoners.

Cruel treatment of its hereditary satrap and his family.

According to the barbarous maxims which prevailed in that age, from which the conspicuous humanity of Alexander had been unable to wean his followers, Ariarathes, and his captive kindred, suffered for defending their country, the death usually inflicted on the worst malefactors. One youth only, named also Ariarathes, escaped crucifixion²³; and availed himself of the civil wars of the empire, to regain his hereditary throne, after a long interval of obscurity²⁴.

Rebellion of the Pisidians.

Not less ambitious of power than his late master, Perdiccas employed the most opposite means to acquire it. The master awed the world by magnanimity; the degenerate lieutenant was solicitous only to inspire terror. From the banks of the Halys, and the plains of Cappadocia, he marched in a south-western direction to the mountains of Pisidia, two districts of which were in arms. Pisidia, which may be considered as the inland and rougher division of Pamphylia, was inhabited by hardy mountaineers, affectionate to their friends, and fiercely implacable to their enemies²⁵. Provoked

²² Plutarch ubi supra.

²³ Diodorus, l. xviii. f. 16.

²⁴ Vid. Wesseling. Annotat. ad Diodor.

loc. citat.

²⁵ Diodorus, l. xviii. f. 46.

by some act of oppression, they had slain their satrap Balacrus. Antigonus, to whom Pamphylia had been assigned, had not thought proper to punish this crime. In the neighbourhood of the royal army, far superior to his own, he was contented to remain quiet in the Greater Phrygia, having entrusted the affairs of Pamphylia and Lyfia to his friend Nearchus²⁶, whose nautical abilities seemed well qualified for the superintendance of those maritime provinces. But Perdicas, after establishing Eumenes, on whose gratitude he perfectly relied, in Cappadocia, was unwilling to leave an unextinguished rebellion in that neighbourhood. At the news of his approach, the Pisidian insurgents shut themselves up in the fortified cities of Laranda and Isaura, respectively the capitals of the two revolted districts. Laranda was taken by assault; its inhabitants were massacred or enslaved²⁷.

But the severe punishment of Laranda, instead of alarming the fears of the Isaurians, only animated their fury. Being well provided with darts as well as armour of defence, they maintained during two days the unbroken strength of their walls. On the third day, their numbers were greatly diminished, their walls in many parts defenceless, and a cruel death, embittered by intolerable indignities, was all that awaited them from the inexorable Perdicas. Under these circumstances they embraced, in the proud language of antiquity, the heroic resolution of burning their houses, wives, children, parents, with their most precious effects; and again mounting their shattered battlements, repelled the assailants with the most desperate valour. Perdicas, equally astonished with the resistance which he encountered, and the dreadful conflagration which he beheld, withdrew his men from a place that seemed to be defended by furies. Having no longer an enemy to whom they might dearly sell their lives, the remnant of the Isaurians hurried down from their walls, and impetuously plunged themselves into the midst of the

Memorable
destruction
of Isaura.

²⁶ Justin, l. xiii. c. 4.

²⁷ Diodor. l. xviii. f. 22.

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II.

Subsequent
fortune of
the Isaurians
to An. Dom.
498.

flames²⁸. The Macedonians ventured at length to approach and examine the smoking ruins of Isaura: in which they found very considerable quantities of gold and silver; so universally had those metals been diffused, and that, as we are assured, from far earlier times, over the most barbarous parts of the peninsula²⁹. It is worthy of remark, that this signal disaster did not extinguish for ever the courage and renown of the Isaurians. At the distance of seven centuries, their descendants were more formidable to the Roman emperors³⁰, than they ever themselves proved to Alexander's successors. Their countryman, Zeno, at length mounted the throne of Constantinople. But that event, the most splendid in their annals, occasioned their complete subjugation, and permanent obscurity in future. Drained of its inhabitants, who repaired in crowds to enjoy the smiles and rewards of a distant court, Isauria was subdued and ruined in a war of six years, by Anastasius the successor of Zeno, assisted by the desolating arms of the Goths³¹.

Perdiccas
marries
Nicaea, An-
tipater's
daughter.—
His motives
thereto.

Perdiccas might have established his greatness by war only, if the resistless army which he commanded, had been firmly attached to his interest. But the affection of the veteran troops was rivetted through admiration of Alexander, to the royal line; and by a man who wished to supplant it, no expedient of policy was to be neglected. Ptolemy, who appears early to have perceived that the regent, after confirming his power in the Asiatic peninsula, hoped to render himself proprietary of an empire of which he had been chosen protector, secretly negotiated with Antipater for their mutual safety. This transaction escaped not the vigilance of Perdiccas. By means of his brother Alcetas, a man formed to play with dexterity a second part, he defeated Ptolemy's design, and entered himself into a treaty with Antipater, whose assistance, particularly in the supply of new levies for the army, was of the utmost moment to either

²⁸ Diodorus, ubi supra.

²⁹ Id. ibid.

³⁰ Histor. August. p. 197.

³¹ Malala, vol. ii. p. 106.

party. According to this treaty, Perdicas married Nicæa, Antipater's daughter, who was²² conducted to his camp by her brothers Archias and Jollas.

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This marriage by no means pleased Eumenes, whom of all men Perdicas most esteemed. It was equally offensive to Olympias, the implacable enemy of Antipater and his family. Eumenes persuaded his friend, that an alliance with the house of Alexander was requisite to the success of his designs. At the same time, Cleopatra, full sister to the late king, returned to Sardes, for though ambition was not the ruling passion of that princess, she was guided by her mother Olympias, in whom the lust of power reigned with unbounded sway. The pride of Perdicas swelled with his fortune; the daughter of Antipater seemed an unequal match; he prepared to repudiate Nicæa that he might marry Cleopatra²³. But of this design, before it was carried into execution, a secret intimation was given by Menander²⁴, governor of Lydia, in the capital of which Cleopatra resided, to Antigonus, who commanded in Phrygia, and probably through *his* means to the royal army.

Repudiates her to marry Cleopatra Alexander's sister.

The Macedonians, though they could not respect, fondly loved king Arrhidæus, whom they affectionately called Philip in remembrance of his father. Instead of more strongly fortifying Perdicas in his assumed power, they wished rather to exalt into authority their legitimate sovereign, by marrying him to Euridice, who, as lineal descendant of Philip's eldest brother, would herself have enjoyed the fairest pretensions to the throne, had not custom, which often holds the place of law, excluded females from the command of a martial people. But the characters of Euridice and her mother Cynna, seemed to arraign the justice of this decision. In complete armour, Cynna had often fought in the first ranks; and her warlike fame had been rivalled by her scarcely marriageable daughter. Her

Murders Cynna and thereby occasions a sedition.

²² Arrian apud Phot. p. 220. and Plutarch in Eumen.

²³ Id. ibid. and Diodo. l. xviii. f. 23.

²⁴ Arrian apud Phot. p. 220.

merit

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11.



Euridice
married to
Arrhidæus.

Character of
Perdiccas's
lieutenants
and coadjutors.

Alcetas.

Attalus.

Aristonous.

Seleucus.

Python.

merit surpassing even her illustrious birth, entitled Euridice to share the throne of Arrhidæus. Cynna supported her claim with the warmth natural to her temper. The jealous ambition of Perdiccas was alarmed; if Cynna prevailed, he feared to lose his credit with the army; and therefore wickedly destroyed by worse than female perfidy, a woman that opposed him with more than manly boldness³⁵. But the secret murder of Cynna, however artfully disguised, was not condemned by low murmurs of discontent, which liberality and flattery might appease. The spirit of insurrection was general and loud: Perdiccas feared for his life; and escaped immediate danger, by himself proposing the nuptials of Arrhidæus and Euridice, which were accordingly celebrated³⁶.

The unfortunate issue of this business did not divert the regent from his projects of ambition. Nicæa was repudiated, and his marriage with Cleopatra was only deferred to a more favourable juncture. But the desired event never took place, such was the tumult of affairs in which he was thenceforward involved to the moment of his death. To re-establish his authority with the army, was his immediate and most interesting concern. In effecting this purpose he was assisted by able instruments; men accustomed to deal with, and manage the angry spirits of armed multitudes; of popular virtues, winning address, and intrepid firmness. His brother, Alcetas, commanded a division, over which his dexterity was fitted to gain unbounded influence. Attalus, his brother in law, being the husband of Attalanta, Perdiccas's sister, had been intrusted with the fleet collected by Alexander on the Syrian coast. Aristonous, a *life-guard* and *companion* still attended the person of the regent, to whose interest, as we have seen above, he was entirely devoted. Seleucus, in early youth, but already conspicuous for policy not less than prowess, had an important command in the cavalry. Even Python

³⁵ Polyæn. Stratagem. l. viii. c. 60. and ³⁶ Id. Ibid.
Arian ubi supra.

with enmity in his heart, was obliged, for a reason that will afterwards be explained, to co-operate strenuously in promoting the views of the protector. Above all, Eumenes, whose gratitude knew no bounds to a man by whom he, a stranger, had been raised to an equality with the noblest Macedonian captains, was the counsellor of Perdiccas in every difficulty, his shield and safeguard in every danger³⁷

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Eumenes.

By the co-operation of these auxiliaries, Perdiccas having recovered his credit in the camp, ventured to summon to his presence Antigonus, governor of Phrygia, the only man in the Asiatic peninsula whose character and resources still render him formidable. The governors of three other provinces, Menander of Lydia, Philotas of Cilicia, and Afander of Caria, were indeed very unfavourably disposed towards Perdiccas; but they had carefully concealed their animosity, which subsequent transactions brought to light; and they had at their disposal only small bodies of men, incapable of exciting jealousy in the master of a powerful army. But Antigonus, besides the crime of commanding a considerable force in the heart of the peninsula, had openly disobeyed the royal mandate. He was cited to justify himself before the army, for refusing to assist Eumenes in the Cappadocian war. To this solid ground of accusation, many articles were added more or less important, and some extremely frivolous, but all indicating such an implacable spirit of vengeance, as left no hopes of safety to Antigonus, but in a precipitate flight beyond the reach of his enemies.

His enemies,
Menander,
Philotas,
Afander.Antigonus
summoned
to answer
for disobe-
dience.

With the decision, conspicuous in many subsequent passages of his life, that general, instead of answering the accusations against him, escaped with his son Demetrius, and his most confidential friends to the Ionian coast; embarked in an Athenian vessel at Ephesus; and

He flies to
Antipater,
and explains
to him the
views of
Perdiccas.

³⁷ The above account of Perdiccas's coadjutors is collected from Diodorus and Arrian. Plutarch in his Life of Eumenes

is extremely defective, omitting many particulars, in which his hero acted an important part.

hastened

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hastened to Antipater in order to explain to him their common wrongs, and the dangerous views of Perdiccas, who thought of nothing less than usurping the monarchy³⁸. The repudiation of Nicæa, the murder of Cynna, the projected marriage with Cleopatra, the tyrannical proceedings towards himself and other governors in Lesser Asia, all these unwarrantable transactions, as well as the atrocious treatment of the Pisidians and Cappadocians, were placed in the strongest light³⁹ before Antipater and Craterus, who, as joint tutors to the kings and protectors of the empire in Europe, had just put a successful termination to the ill-advised rebellion in Greece

Arrange-
ments of
Antipater
with his con-
federates
against Per-
diccas.

The importunity of Antigonus was seconded by pressing embassies from Ptolemy, who had been the first to discern Perdiccas's aim at exclusive dominion. By a favourable construction of the act of authority appointing them administrators for the kings in Europe, Antipater and Craterus regarded themselves as bound to maintain the interests of the royal line in every part of the empire. Their admiral Clytus having recently defeated the Athenian fleet, gave them the command of the sea, and the facility of transporting their veterans into Asia. Their army would be inferior indeed to that of Perdiccas, but they trusted for augmenting it to the disaffection of the provincial governors, and even to the desertion of his own soldiers, among whom the name of Antipater, so long viceroy in Macedon, and that of Craterus so dear to the phalanx, would be sufficient to shake, as they imagined, the upstart authority of the protector. Before crossing the Hellespont, Antipater and Craterus cemented⁴⁰ their friendship by the marriage of the latter, with a daughter of the former named Phila, a woman of high accomplishments and lofty destiny, since, after the death of her first husband, she became by her marriage with Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, the root of a long series of Macedonian and Syrian kings. In the

³⁸ Arrian apud Phot. and Diodorus, l. xviii. f. 23.

³⁹ Εὐσεβίου. Arrian, p. 220.

⁴⁰ Diodorus, l. xviii. f. 18.

treaty among the enemies of Perdicas, the interest of Antigonus was not forgotten. His provinces were to be restored to him and augmented: Ptolemy was to enjoy Egypt, and whatever he might conquer in Africa: Craterus was to receive the protectorship in Asia; and Antipater to resume, after his return from this eastern warfare, the administration of Greece and Macedon. During his absence, the affairs of these countries were committed to Polyperchon, the oldest captain who had passed with Alexander into Asia. This appointment was the most injudicious of all Antipater's measures. Polyperchon was an Etolian by birth, and a distinguished leader of the phalanx⁴¹. He had returned to Europe as second in command with Craterus. Age and experience had given him cunning without any real wisdom; and his deficiency in every moral virtue, which his hypocrisy long concealed, did not belie the odious character of his country.

Perdicas was duly apprized of the confederacy formed for his own destruction. He carried on a secret correspondence with the discontented Greeks, particularly the Etolians, who, though often vanquished by Macedon, were never completely subdued by that kingdom. The satrapies forfeited and abandoned by Antigonus, he joined to the valuable provinces already committed to Eumenes. Having called a council of his generals, he deliberated whether it would be most expedient to oppose with undivided force Antipater and Craterus: or, after leaving a portion of his army sufficient to repel his enemies on the side of Europe,⁴² to hasten his own march into Egypt, and wrest that country from Ptolemy. The expedition against Egypt was preferred⁴³. The satrap of that country was considered by Perdicas as the principal author of the confederacy against himself: and the prosperity of Ptolemy, who had recently conquered Cyrene by his fleet, wounded his pride, and embittered animosity by envy.

Deliberations and measures of Perdicas.

He determines to invade Egypt.

⁴¹ Diodor. l. xviii. f. 57.

⁴² Ibid. f. 29.

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Antipater
lands un-
molested in
Asia.

While the regent proceeded from Pisidia towards Syria in his way to Egypt, Antipater and Craterus made proper dispositions for crossing early in the spring from the Thracian Chersonesus into Hellenespon-tian Phrygia. The assistance of Attalus and the Asiatic fleet being deemed necessary for ensuring success in the invasion of Egypt, the European troops crossed the Hellespont without any memorable opposition⁴³; and what is more extraordinary, effected their landing, and obtained a firm footing in the province, altogether unresisted. This was partly occasioned by the dissatisfaction of the other officers with the preference given to Eumenes, whom Perdikkas had appointed, during his own absence, supreme commander in Lesser Asia; and partly by the disinclination of the troops to join battle with their countrymen, headed by such favourite commanders as Antipater and Craterus. The pride of Alcetas could not well brook that by the authority of his own brother, he should be superseded in command by a man of inferior birth and a stranger. Neoptolemus, who commanded a still more considerable body of Macedonians, was so much provoked by a similar indignity, that he entered into a secret correspondence with Antipater, and was preparing to cut off Eumenes by treachery, when that general, by summoning him to his own presence, brought their quarrel to an open rupture. Neoptolemus was driven to the necessity of braving his commander in the field; and being totally defeated, with the loss or surrender of his infantry, escaped with no small difficulty to Antipater's camp, with a body of three hundred horse⁴⁴.

Treachery
and flight of
Neoptole-
mus to An-
tipater.

His bad ad-
vice makes
Antipater
and Craterus
divide their
forces.

By the assistance of this scanty reinforcement the traitor little benefited his new friends; but he fatally injured them by the pre-sumptuous folly of his advice. He was a man whose natural insolence was heightened by family pride. Being allied to the royal blood of Macedon, he had occasionally served Alexander as chief

⁴³ Arrian apud Phot. p. 220.

⁴⁴ Plutarch in Eumen.

bypassist

bypassist: in which quality he boasted of having borne his master's shield and spear, while Eumenes, in the capacity of secretary, carried his port-folio and ink-horn⁴⁵. Whether his rash confidence made him believe what he asserted, or whether by separating Craterus and Antipater, he wished only to make room for his own advancement to a share in the command, it is certain that he persuaded these generals of the inexpediency of advancing with combined forces against Eumenes. The Asiatic troops of that obstinate adherent to an unworthy master, (for the most magnificent offers had been made in vain to detach Eumenes from his allegiance), he represented to them as a promiscuous rabble hastily collected, alike destitute of courage and incapable of discipline; and his Europeans, he assured them, would no sooner behold the Macedonian cap of Craterus than they would repair with one consent to his standard. Conformably to his advice, Antipater raised his camp, and proceeded towards the Cilician passes, that he might arrive in time to defend Ptolemy against Perdiccas: while Craterus, accompanied by Neoptolemus, marched against his faithful lieutenant; and in full confidence of victory, prematurely divided among their soldiers, the spoils of that wealthy adversary⁴⁶.

By rigidly adhering to the rude simplicity of Macedon, while most of his equals plunged headlong into the luxuries of Asia, and still more by asserting the unwarrantable pretensions of his countrymen in opposition to that just equality which the wisdom of Alexander had endeavoured to introduce among all descriptions of his subjects, Craterus had acquired with the Macedonians, extraordinary respect for his character, and unbounded affection for his person⁴⁷. But Eumenes, during the short time that he had held the government of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, had fashioned an instrument of war, which was no longer to allow the decision of battles to depend on

Eumenes' preparations for resisting Craterus and Neoptolemus.

⁴⁵ Plutarch in Eumen. p. 583.

⁴⁶ Id. *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Arrian, Curtius, and Plutarch.

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Europeans solely. By granting immunities and honours to such provincials as were willing to serve on horseback, and by mixing in their ranks a due proportion of *equestrian companions**, he had raised a body of cavalry, which, though unable to cope in pitched battle with the phalanx, was calculated to keep in respect that formidable infantry. The great object of Eumenes was to bring his Macedonians into action, without allowing them time to learn that Craterus was their adversary. For this purpose, when informed of the march of that general against him, he industriously gave out that the treacherous Neoptolemus at the head of some contemptible and ill-accoutred Barbarians had again taken arms; at the same time issuing the most positive orders, that on no consideration whatever, any messenger or herald should be received from an infamous rebel, whose baseness had first betrayed his commander, and whose mad audacity now challenged him a second time to the field. His superiority in cavalry, which exceeded six thousand, while the enemy's scarcely amounted to one-third of that number, facilitated his means of intelligence, and at the same time intercepted all dangerous communication with the hostile camp.

Battle near the plain of Troy, in which Craterus and Neoptolemus are slain. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 322.

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 analagous effect, since, through the dexterity of Eumenes, the engagement was decided without the shock of adverse battalions. 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

* Horse disciplined and appointed like those who bore under Alexander that technical name. The Macedonian captains, as we shall see on many occasions hereafter, conformed to the names which their master had imposed, as well as to the institutions which he had established.

of the day, to chastise the insolence and treachery of his personal foe. 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 hear parley nor to give quarter. Craterus, astonished at the regularity and fierceness of their assault, and upbraiding, as is said, the fatal confidence of Neoptolemus, exerted a persevering valour becoming a favourite of Alexander; but being finally dismounted, either through the fall of his horse, or the arm of an ignoble Paphlagonian⁴⁹, he was trampled under foot and buried ingloriously in the throng. His cavalry was pursued with great slaughter; and a few only were saved under the protection of the phalanx. Meanwhile an extraordinary spectacle had been exhibited on the opposite wing. Eumenes and Neoptolemus had no sooner beheld each other, than their old animosity, inflamed by recent injuries, left them no longer masters of themselves. 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 fiercely continued, Neoptolemus supporting himself on his knee, until Eumenes inflicted a mortal wound on his antagonist, who expired in the exertion of retorting it. This battle should seem to have been fought at no great distance from the Trojan plain⁵⁰, and the combatants rivalled the ferocity of Homer's heroes. From an enthusiastic admiration of their great poet, and still more from the style of war which the nature of their arms compelled them to practise, the Greeks, amidst the highest intellectual

⁴⁹. Arrian apud Phot. p. 221. Plutarch in Eumen. says a Thracian; for the Paphlagonians, as we have seen, were a mixture of Syrians and Thracians.

⁵⁰. Dum hæc apud Hellespontum geruntur,

&c. Nepos in Eumen. which is not invalidated by Diodorus, l. xviii. f. 37. Παφλαγονίας; γρομενίς περί Καππαδοκίας; for Cappadocia was the proper province of Eumenes, and the great object of contest.

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attainments and unrivalled productions of taste and genius, always disgraced their valour by sanguinary rage, and worse than brutal savageness.

Eumenes' behaviour towards Craterus.

In this engagement two of Alexander's generals were defeated and slain. Their conqueror was severely wounded. Yet, wounded as he was, Eumenes again mounted on horse-back, and as the opposing wing of the enemy was totally routed, hastened to that part of the field, where Craterus lay struggling with death. He arrived in time to close the eyes of an ancient and respected friend; and to testify to him the utmost regret that he had ever been under the fatal necessity of treating him as an his enemy¹¹.

Flight of the phalanx, and Eumenes' march to Celæna in Phrygia.

Notwithstanding the complete victory of his horse, Eumenes ventured not to attack the hostile phalanx. But his cavalry surrounded it on all sides. This body of infantry, deprived of their generals, and straitened by their enemies, were summoned to surrender. They feigned compliance; but also craved leave to disperse themselves over the neighbouring hills, that they might supply their urgent wants. This permission being granted, instead of using it honourably, they immediately chose new generals, and hastened in the night across the mountains to join Antipater¹². Eumenes' infantry was not able to contend with them; the ground was unfavourable to cavalry; his wounds growing more uneasy disqualified him for the pursuit. But the success which he had already obtained gave him the command of the districts on this side mount Taurus. He therefore proceeded eastward to the Greater Phrygia, and fixed his head quarters in the warm and delightful district of Celæna, hoping to gladden Perdicas with the news of his victories¹³.

Perdicas's fatal expedition against Egypt. Olymp. cxiv. 3. B. C. 432.

But two days before this news reached Egypt, Perdicas himself was no more. That general had passed the Cilician straits into Syria. Before invading Egypt he had summoned Ptolemy, as he had formerly

¹¹ Arrian, p. 231. Diodor. l. xviii. f. 30. and Plutarch in Eumenes.

¹² Diodor. l. xviii. f. 32.

¹³ Id. *ibid.*

done Antigonus, to answer various articles of accusation before the royal army. Ptolemy made his appearance, and is said to have justified his whole proceedings to the complete satisfaction of the Macedonians⁵⁴. But the favourite of unsteady multitudes often no longer retains their affection than he remains in their fight. After Ptolemy's return to his province, the impeachment was again urged, and accumulated with the circumstance of his having arrested the funeral convoy of Alexander, and interred his remains at Alexandria, against the sacred will of the conqueror himself, who had chosen the temple of Hammon for his tomb. Since his separation from the faithful Eumenes, the regent was surrounded by lieutenants less disposed to give him salutary advice, than to hurry him treacherously to his ruin. His brother in law, Attalus, and his old companion Aristonous were almost the only sincere friends whom his tyranny had left him. Python, Seleucus, and Antigenes a celebrated leader of the hypaspists, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter, were all disgusted with his government, and unfriendly to his person.

Ptolemy, without reposing a weak confidence in his popularity with the royal army, had hastened to place his satrapy in a posture of defiance. He well knew the peculiar advantages of Egypt for defensive war; impenetrable as that country was on the side of Africa, secured on its dangerous sea coast by a strong fleet, and to an Asiatic enemy opposing the triple barrier of a desert, a marsh, and an impassable river.

Egypt placed
in a posture
of defiance.

Meanwhile, Perdiccas led his reluctant army from Syria, towards the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, which forms the eastern boundary of the fertile Delta. The movement of his troops along the coast, was accompanied by his fleet under Attalus. On approaching Pelusium, a city surrounded by lakes and marshes⁵⁵, he found not only that principal key to Egypt, but every other place on the same fron-

Perdiccas' operations
against Pelu-
sium defeat-
ed.

Arrian, p. 221.

⁵⁵ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 760.

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tier so well prepared for his reception, that he could not expect to make any sudden impression on that quarter. To facilitate, as it should seem, his operations against Pelusium, he began by clearing an antient channel, that the incommodious depth of water might be discharged into the sea, only two miles distant; but his labours for this purpose, the strenuous work of many days, were overwhelmed, and in a moment destroyed by an artificial inundation of the Nile. Disappointment increased discontent; and the soldiers seized every opportunity of desertion, rather than continue to encounter difficulties in a hard service under a cruel master. Perdiccas used all the resources with which his authority, his treasures, and his boldness still supplied him, to restrain disaffection, and to excite the keen military passions for victory and plunder⁵⁶.

Unsuccessful
assault of the
Camels' wall.

To elude the vigilance of the enemy, he raised his camp in the night, and marched with celerity to a broad and shallow part of the Nile, opposite to a fortress called the Camels' wall. His secrecy and expedition did not avail him, for before he had conducted his army half way across the river, Ptolemy's troops appeared with their general on the opposite bank, hastening to reinforce his garrison, and afterwards expressing their exultation by songs of triumph, for having thus seasonably anticipated the enemy. Perdiccas, however, proceeded to the attack; he commanded the matchless veterans of Alexander, which had never yet suffered a discomfiture in their long and various warfare. The ramparts were assailed with the trunks and butting strength of his elephants⁵⁷. His active hypaspists carefully covered by their shields, laboured strenuously to mount the scaling ladders which were already planted on the walls. But their exertions were repelled by equal vigour, and from more advan-

⁵⁶ Diodor. l. xviii. f. 33.

⁵⁷ They are still used in the East Indies for destroying ramparts in the same way. They will pull trees from the ground

with their trunks. They fight with fierce emulation against each other, and make prize of ears, tails, &c. torn from their antagonists.

tageous ground. Ptolemy himself gave extraordinary proofs of skill and courage, aiming dexterously with his spear, and thereby blinding the elephants as they advanced to the assault. The battle continued through the greater part of the day, during which time no practicable breach was made in the walls, and many crowded scaling ladders were tumbled headlong into the stream⁵⁸. Perdicas, obstinate as he was, yielded to the necessity of founding a retreat, not doubting that his veterans would wash out the infamy of this repulse, in the blood of their upstart rivals.

With the allowance of only a short interval for rest and refreshment, he made another nocturnal march to that part of the bank which is opposite to Memphis; and where two branches of the river, (before they finally separated to enclose the broad Delta,) formed a much smaller island, yet sufficient to lodge with safety the greatest army. His dispositions for crossing this branch of the Nile, which reached to the necks of the men, were judicious. On the left of his infantry, he endeavoured to break the force of the current by a line of elephants; his cavalry passed on the right, that they might pick up and save those of the foot, who were overcome by the power of the stream. But an extraordinary change in the river itself is said to have baffled these precautions. Whether, that its oozy bed was unable to sustain the incumbent weight; or that some distant sluice suddenly poured into it a new supply of water, or more probably, that the agitated sand, scooped from the bottom of the channel, gradually increased its depth, it is certain, that after the first divisions had crossed over with little difficulty, the passage became altogether impracticable to those who followed them: Perdicas was greatly disconcerted by this unexpected obstacle. In despair of protecting the troops who had already passed, he was obliged to recall to his standard, those still struggling with the stream. His soldiers on the opposite bank, perceiving that they were abandoned by their

Dreadful disaster at an island of the Nile, near Memphis.

⁵⁸ Diodorus, *ibid.* f. 34.

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friends, into the hands of far superior enemies, impetuously rushed into the Nile. Those expert at swimming, reached the desired shore with the loss of their armour. Those less skilful, to the number of two thousand, were either carried back to the enemy, or swallowed up by the waters, or being long borne on their surface, were devoured by crocodiles⁹⁹.

Ptolemy's
prudent hu-
manity.

Instead of testifying unmanly joy at this disaster, Ptolemy shewed a laudable sympathy, even with the distress of invaders. The captives who had fallen into his hands, were treated like brethren. Many bodies of the dead were recovered; burned according to custom, with due lamentations; and their ashes in solemn pomp restored to their friends. This shew of humanity contained much real prudence. The Macedonians were forcibly struck with the contrast between him, whom they had come to combat, and their cruel unfeeling master. A conspiracy was formed against Perdiccas, headed by his secret but inveterate enemy Python¹⁰⁰. The protector's tent was surprized in the night; and he, who had for three years been a terror to his opponents in every part of the empire, fell an easy victim to the just vengeance of his followers.

Affiliation
of Perdiccas.

His charac-
ter.

Thus died Perdiccas, who had presumptuously aspired to fill the place of Alexander. In the boldness of his hopes, and the intrepidity of his valour, he was not an unworthy coadjutor to that extraordinary man; but, he was entirely destitute of Alexander's nobler virtues; his indulgent humanity, his glowing affections, his passion for arts and letters, that commanding energy which overawes opposition, and that winning condescension which disarms envy. Perdiccas was better fitted to act the second part boldly, than to sustain the first wisely. Had his designs been less audacious, or his ambition more discerning, he might certainly have appropriated a valuable portion of the empire, and laid the foundation of a powerful monarchy. But by grasping at objects too lofty, he

⁹⁹ Diodor. l. xviii. f. 35.

¹⁰⁰ Arrian, Diodorus, Strabo, and Pausanias.

missed those within his reach. His pride and cruelty brought on him deserved ruin ; and as his towering enterprize had nothing of justness or solidity, he is entitled only to a place among those vulgar favourites of fortune, who have gained a spurious renown by disturbing the quiet of mankind, and destroying the plans of persons, better and wiser than themselves, for promoting public prosperity.

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HISTORY OF THE WORLD,

CHAPTER III.

State of Greece. — Proclamation for recalling Exiles. — Opposition of the Athenians and Etolians. — Lamian War. — Antipater negotiates with the States separately. — The Etolians alone refractory. — History of the Greeks in Africa. — Motives and Object of their first Settlements there. — Commercial Geography of Africa. — Description and History of the Pentapolis. — Its Productions and Arts. — Thimbron's Invasion. — Cyrene reduced under Ptolemy Soter.

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Consequences
of Perdiccas'
murder.
Olymp.
cxiv 4. B. C.
321.

THE death of Perdiccas was followed by dissensions in his great controuling army, by the destruction of the vast fleets collected or created by Alexander, and by a new partition of the provinces bequeathed by that conqueror. Before we proceed to examine these memorable events, we shall previously relate some transactions comparatively unimportant to the empire at large, which happened during Perdiccas' short regency of three years. The first of these transactions, is the rebellion in Greece, and the consequent adjustment of the affairs of that country by Antipater: the second is the conquest of Cyrene by Ptolemy. The former general upheld the dominions entrusted to him by judicious policy; the latter enlarged his province by prudent enterprize.

State of an-
cient Greece
during Alex-
ander's
reign.

During eleven years that Alexander spent in Asia, Greece enjoyed an unusual degree of tranquillity. The authority of the conqueror restrained her domestic wars, and appeased her political animosities. She was exempted from tribute, delivered from the tyranny of garrisons, and like many other portions of the empire, indulged with the enjoyment of her antient laws, and hereditary government¹. The Greeks were associated to the glory of Alexander: he affected to

¹ Demosthen. Orat. *περι των σικωνων*, p. 84. edit. Wolf.

be called the general of their confederacy; on *his* part, he protected each city in its rights and possessions: the duty required on theirs, consisted in acknowledging his paramount power; and in lieu of the contingents of troops which they were severally bound to furnish, to allow the unrestrained freedom of recruiting in their several republics. Under such auspicious circumstances, the Greeks cultivated with ardour their favourite arts. Their productive and commercial industry flourished in the utmost vigour, and might we judge by the condition of Athens², their country was more populous at the æra of Alexander's death, than at any preceding or subsequent period.

Such a tide of prosperity recalled to mind their antient glory, and revived their ill-stifled ambition. To repress more dangerous passions which the remembrance of past times might still kindle, and to secure in each community zealous partizans of the Macedonian interest, the conqueror, shortly before his death, had ordered a proclamation to be made at the Olympic Games, "that the Greek exiles," always a numerous body of men, "should be received into the bosoms of their respective cities, reinstated in their several inheritances, and again admitted to those offices and honours of which the injustice³ or envy of their rivals, had unwarrantably deprived them." Above twenty thousand exiles from particular cities, assisted as spectators or actors at this general and solemn convention. Their joy may be more easily conceived than described, when they heard the Sacred Herald, after he had declared the Olympic victors, announce the will of Alexander, that they, long unhappy fugitives, should be again blessed with a country, a home, and a due share of municipal honours. The whole assembly was filled with sympathetic ac-

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His proclamation for reinstating exiles. Olymp. cxiv. 1 — B. C. 324.

Its general reception among the Greeks.

² Diodorus Siculus, l. xviii. f. 18. Conf. Lyfins, p. 5.

Thucydid. l. ii. Plutarch. in Pericle, and ³ Criminals, particularly those guilty of murder or sacrilege, were excepted. Diodor. text in my Introduction to the Orations of l. xviii. f. 8.

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Why the Athenians and Etolians opposed its execution.

clamation, extolling Alexander's discerning bounty, who increased his own fame by acts of public benefit and substantial justice

But amidst the general satisfaction diffused by this decree, the citizens of two republics received it with much uneasiness. The rapacious Etolians had recently expelled their neighbours the peaceful CEniadæ, and appropriated their well cultivated fields on the banks of the Achelous; and the Athenians, thirty years before the reign of Alèxander, had driven the Samians from their island, and divided it by lot among Athenian citizens. Both communities trembled for the safety of possessions which they had cruelly usurped. But respect for Alexander's authority made them suppress any strong marks of displeasure. Their feelings were only indicated by a fullen silence in the midst of tumultuous joy. They determined, however, to thwart the obnoxious measure: and, if possible, to prevent its execution

Their hopes and views.

Upon the death of the Macedonian hero, an opportunity seemed to occur, not only of defeating his proclamation, but of setting at defiance the authority of those who succeeded to his power. At Athens the partizans of the ancient democracy, among whom Hyperides, in the absence of Demosthenes, shone in the first rank, abhorred the Macedonians through habit, and arraigned their gentle government under the odious name of despotism^o. Men less influenced by party spirit, considered that the liberal maxims of Alexander's administration were not likely to be pursued by the timid jealousy of his successors; and that, amidst the ambitious struggles of the Macedonian captains with each other, Greece, if true to herself, might recover, with national independence, her hereditary renown. But the wisest portion of the Athenians, among whom Phocion held the first place, perceived that the internal con-

^o Diodor. l. xviii. f. 8.

^o Diodor. ubi supra.

^o In the Macedonian despotism. Diodor. l. xviii. f. 9.

dition

dition of Greece, and still more her situation with regard to foreign states, by no means entitled her to entertain the same lofty hopes which she had formerly realized'. In the best of times the confederacy of her republics had remained imperfect; laboriously consolidated, and easily dissolved. At the present juncture, a greater perseverance of union and patriotism was not to be expected than in the Persian war. But the veteran troops of Macedon, headed by experienced generals, were enemies more formidable than the unwieldy millions of Xerxes.

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The Athenians having convened to deliberate on the subject of Alexander's decree, the moderation of virtue, the caution of wisdom, and the timidity of wealth, were all overwhelmed by the resistless torrent of popular passions. The needy and profligate multitude, of whom Philip used to say that they loved war because they had nothing to hope for in peace, emboldened by the inflammatory harangues of their favourite demagogues, determined to launch their fleet, to hire mercenaries, to summon the aid of their allies; and promised what they had often before fallen short in performing, personally and in one body to take the field. Their resolution was fortified by a previous measure, which should seem to have been concerted among the popular leaders, upon a rumour of Alexander's death. Several bodies of Greek soldiers, discontented with their service in Asia, through mere restlessness of disposition, or a longing for their native country, had found their way home chiefly in Athenian vessels, and rendezvoused to the number of eight thousand near Cape Tenarus in Laconia. The secret council of Athenian patriots wished to gain to their views this large reinforcement of well disciplined troops. They commissioned, therefore, Leosthenes their fellow-citizen and friend, a man whose great military talents were deformed by no other fault than that of too boiling a valour, to treat secretly with the disbanded mercenaries at Tenarus; hoping that many of them would be glad

Proceedings
of the Athe-
nians.

* Plutarch in Phocion.

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to accept the offer of a lucrative service under a brave commander even in a less glorious cause than that of restoring their country's freedom.

Then animated decree Olymp. cxiv. 2.
B. C. 323.

When, not only the death of Alexander, but the discord among his friends and successors was made known in Greece, the Athenian orators boasted of the success of Leosthenes⁹; the assembly confirmed his proceedings; he was voted, by acclamation and holding up of hands, general of the commonwealth. At the instance of Hyperides, for Demosthenes still lived in banishment at Megara¹⁰, an act of assembly was hastily passed, stating in the enthusiasm of virtue and patriotism, that the Athenians had ever regarded the cause of Greece as their own, and had resolved as firmly now as heretofore, to assert the national interest and glory by their fleet and army, their property and their persons. By virtue of this emphatic decree, which, as usual, with imitations in a degenerate age, copied in lines stronger and warmer than those of nature, the unaffected magnanimity of the ancient republic, ambassadors were dispatched to every city of Greece from the southern extremity of Laconia to the northern confines of Thessaly. Demosthenes, though convicted, dishonoured, and exiled, joined himself to the ambassadors; and commissioned only by his resentment and love of liberty, enjoyed, for the last time, an opportunity of inveighing against the barbarous Macedonians, and confirming the revived hopes of his country¹⁰.

The Grecian levies for the war.

When thus instigated to action by ardent embassies from Athens, the Greeks presented not the same well-harmonized picture which we formerly delineated. Their conquerors had adopted the artifice of dividing, in order to govern; and Greece, instead of sixteen, contained above sixty, independent republics. When summoned to this new confederacy, many districts or townships contracted for

⁹ Diodorus, l. xviii. f. 9.

¹⁰ Diodor. l. xviii. f. 8. and Plutarch in Demosthen. and in Phocion.

⁹ In consequence of his condemnation for taking a bribe. See History of Ancient Greece, vol. iv. c. 39. p. 369. Conf. Dio-

¹⁰ Plutarch in Demosthen. Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. f. 10.

themselves,

themselves, regardless of the authority of their ancient capitals. In former times, the power of Athens had been rivalled by Sparta and Thebes. But Thebes was now no more; Sparta sullenly rejected a league of which Athens was the head; and both the Achæans and Arcadians feared to engage in distant warfare, while the formidable, though much fallen Spartans, remained at home hovering in hostility over their frontiers. But most of the inferior cities, whether capitals or emancipated dependencies, listened to the Athenian orators who inflamed their patriotism, and roused their animosity; while the Athenians themselves levied about six thousand domestic troops¹, to reinforce their mercenaries under Leosthenes. That general having marched towards Etolia, had been joined there by above seven thousand young men, the flower of the Etolian nation. Elated by this accession of force, he dispatched emissaries to Doris, Phocis, and the neighbouring districts overshadowed by towering ridges from Pelion to Parnassus, exhorting those hardy mountaineers to unite with heart and hand in a cause no less promising than glorious, and redeem the honour of Greece, too long and too cruelly insulted by the despotism of the Macedonians.

The bustle of these preparations was sufficient to have alarmed a man less suspicious than Antipater. But the anxious suspense occasioned by the events consequent on his master's death, had occupied and engrossed his mind; and his vigilance is strongly impeached in the omission of taking into pay the mercenaries assembled at Cape Tenarus, especially as Macedon abounded in money, (much ransacked treasure having recently arrived from Asia,) but was exceedingly drained of men through continual and distant service. Only thirteen thousand foot and six hundred horse are said to have followed Antipater into Thessaly²; but he demanded assistance from Leonnatus³ the governor of Lesser Phrygia, and sent messen-

Antipater's preparations for crushing the rebellion.

¹ Οἱ ἐπιπλοῖ. Diodor. and Plutarch. Diodor. l. xviii. f. 12.

² Plutarch in Eumen. *Philotas*, in Diodoras, is plainly an error of transcribers.

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The same military object aimed at by both parties.

The Athenians defeat the Bœotians Olymp. cxiv 2.
B. C. 323.

Repel Antipater, and shut him up in Lamia.

gers to quicken the speed of Craterus who was marching to Macedon with ten thousand veterans.

The object of Antipater, as well as of the allied Greeks, was to seize the straits of Thermopylæ, the principal pass from Thessaly into the central provinces of Phocis and Bœotia. If Antipater attained this end, he would thereby separate the Thessalians from the confederacy, and acquire the seasonable assistance of their excellent horse, pre-eminent in all the battles of cavalry in that age. Should the Greeks anticipate his purpose, they doubted not to have the Thessalians for friends instead of enemies. With this view the domestic troops of the Athenians, levied with much expedition, hastened to Thermopylæ; but in their way thither, encountered unexpected danger from the misguided rage of the Bœotians. That unhappy people, whose fate it was at almost every important crisis, to oppose the general cause of Greece, were blinded on the present occasion by avarice. Having divided among their own cities or communities, the lands and spoils of demolished Thebes, they dreaded a new revolution through which they might be compelled to relinquish their usurped property. But the Athenians, assisted by Leosthenes, who, having already possessed himself of the straits, hastened with a detachment to their relief, totally routed those unworthy adversaries; and having taken post at Thermopylæ, firmly waited the approach of Antipater.

He arrived, fought, and met with the first severe check which the Macedonians had experienced in the course of their long and various warfare. Unable either to renew the engagement, or to retreat safely towards Macedon, he threw his forces into Lamia, a well fortified city of Thessaly, near the confluence of the Achelous and Sperchius, whose united stream falls at the distance of six miles into the Malian gulph. Leosthenes attempted repeatedly, but ineffectually, to storm the town, before Macedonian reinforcements should

Diodor. l. xviii. §. 31.

arrive

arrive from Asia. He was compelled, with much regret, to change the siege into a blockade¹⁵. During this tedious service, the Etolians, who formed an important part of his army, craved leave, with their usual inconstancy, to return home; and their request was granted, because the denial of it could not have altered their resolution. Antipater availed himself of this desertion to make a sally, which was bravely repelled by the besiegers, but in which Leosthenes fell while he exposed his person too rashly¹⁶. To reward his military merit, which had first turned the tide of success against a nation long deemed invincible, he was buried with *heroic* honours: his funeral oration was pronounced by the eloquence of his countryman Hyperides; and Antiphilus, both his countryman and friend, was chosen by acclamation to succeed him in the command¹⁷.

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Leosthenes
the Athenian general
slain in a
sally.

Meanwhile Leonnatus sailed unmolested from Hellepontian Phrygia, the Macedonian fleet under Clytus commanding the narrow seas, and keeping at a respectful distance above two hundred Athenian galleys intrusted to Ection. The army of Leonnatus amounted to twenty-three thousand, of which number two thousand five hundred were cavalry. Influenced, however, by the intrigues of Olympias, and the levity of his own character, he had assembled this powerful force, not merely to resist the rebellion of Greece, but far more that he might overawe Antipater and supplant him in his government of Macedon¹⁸. Upon Leonnatus's approach, the Greeks suddenly quitted their works at Lamia. The useless multitude, together with the heavy baggage and military engines, were deposited in the neighbouring strong-holds of Thessaly, whose garrisons were friendly to their interests. With a light, but well equipped army, they advanced northwards to meet Leonnatus, and intercept his junction with Antipater. The encounter happened on the northern confines of Thes-

Approach of
Leonnatus
with his
army.

¹⁵ Id. f. 12. and Pausanias Attic.

¹⁶ Diodor. l. xviii. f. 13.

¹⁷ Id. ibid. and Plut. in Demosthen.

¹⁸ Arrian apud Phot. p. 20. obscurely

hints at Leonnatus's intrigues, *αλλα πικτεν Λιονατος επιβουλεν δοκει εν Αντιπατρεν*. These dark transactions are explained fully by Plutarch in Eumen.

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Victory of
of the
Greeks.—
Leonnatus
slain.

faly. Notwithstanding the defection of the Etolians, the Greek infantry still amounted to twenty-two thousand; and their cavalry, chiefly Thessalians, exceeded by one thousand that of the enemy. By the resistless impression of this body of horse, commanded by Menon the Thessalian, a brave and accomplished leader, the enemy's squadrons were repelled and routed: Leonnatus, who headed them, was slain; and his phalanx of infantry was compelled to retire in disorder to the neighbouring mountains". While Antiphilus pursued the scattered enemy, and the Greeks offered their accustomed thanksgivings for victory, Antipater found means to join forces with the vanquished. Yet such was his respect for the Thessalian cavalry that, to avoid engaging them on the plain, he retreated towards Macedon over the craggy ridges of Thessalian Olympus, anxiously expecting the arrival of Craterus with a fresh reinforcement from Asia.

The Greeks
defeated in a
decisive bat-
tle at Cra-
non. Olymp.
cxiv. 2.
B. C. 323.

Craterus at length arrived with a veteran force, well calculated to retrieve the losses of his country. Besides ten thousand Macedonians, hardened in many a laborious campaign, he brought with him into Thessaly a thousand Persian archers, and fifteen hundred cavalry; the seas being cleared for his transports through the defeat of Eetion the Athenian, by his antagonist Clytus the Macedonian". Having joined Antipater, to whom Craterus readily yielded the chief command, the new army encamped with their vanquished countrymen on the banks of the Peneus, which flows into the Thermaic gulph, through the delightful vale of Tempe compressed by the woody sides of Ossa and Olympus. The united forces of the Macedonians consisted of forty thousand heavy armed men; three thousand archers and slingers; and five thousand cavalry. The Greeks, originally inferior in number, were weakened by the defection of several petty tribes, who had followed the example of the Etolians in returning

" Diodor. l. xviii. s. 15

" Diodor. *ibid.*

home to attend their domestic affairs; or after the first successes of their arms, to enjoy their shows and triumphs, as if a single victory over Antipater, had happily terminated the war. Antiphilus and Menon lamented this fatal folly, and studiously avoided an engagement against far superior force. But the Macedonian generals knew their business too well to indulge this disposition, and soon brought the enemy to battle between the obscure town of Cranon and the mountains of Cynocephalæ¹. The Thessalian horse, headed by the brave Menon, still maintained their pre-eminence; but the Grecian infantry gave way with the loss of five hundred men, before the shock of Craterus's veterans. They retreated to the neighbouring hills, and were joined there by the cavalry².

This battle, so inconsiderable in point of bloodshed, decided the fortune of the war, and the subsequent condition of Greece. A herald was sent to Antipater, craving the bodies of the slain, and desiring terms of accommodation. But that general grown old in the arts of government, declared that he would not receive any message from the Greeks in common; each city must treat for its interests apart; on which condition he was ready to enter into negotiation with them. When the allies rejected this proposal, Antipater proceeded to make himself master of several places in Thessaly, to which he granted easy terms of peace. This artful proceeding detached the Thessalians from the confederacy. Other states, despairing of success in so unequal a conflict, were forward in making submission³; and in professing their readiness to receive Macedonian garrisons as well as to change their democracies into oligarchies; the latter form of republicanism, as the most easily manageable, being that which was always the most agreeable to their conquerors.

The Athenians and Etolians alone continued refractory. Antipater, therefore, determined to lead his army against Athens. In his

Negotiation and treaty of peace with the Greek states separately.

The negotiation with the Atheni-

¹ Plutarch in Demosthen.

² Diodor. l. xviii. f. 16, 17.

³ Diodor. l. xviii. f. 17.

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ans in pu-
ticular.Why some
particulars
of it misre-
presented by
Plutarch.

progress thither he entered Bœotia and encamped near the half ruined citadel of desolated Thebes. Instead of opposing his progress by an army, the Athenians, passing from obstinacy to meanness, met him by a suppliant embassy of three citizens, whose personal influence was most likely to soften his resolutions. At the head of the embassy for peace, they sent Phocion their illustrious general who had always most earnestly dissuaded them from unprofitable wars. To Phocion they joined the orator Demades, an old and steady partizan of the Macedonian interest; and Xenocrates the revered successor of Plato in the academy: a philosopher whose gravity and austerity, they thought, would command respect from the most triumphant conqueror. But Xenocrates did not meet with even civility from Antipater; who, receiving Phocion and Demades cordially, scarcely saluted the philosopher, rudely interrupted his discourse, and finally compelled him to an abrupt silence. By a zealous Platonician²⁴, who, in his Life of Phocion, has related some particulars of this negotiation, the behaviour of Antipater is ascribed to his grossness, brutality, and natural antipathy to every semblance of virtue; an accusation itself equally gross and absurd, since glaringly belied by the public and private character of that illustrious Macedonian. But the respectable virtues of Xenocrates were disgraced by asperity and obstinacy. As successor to Plato, he defended dogmatically the errors of that fanciful but admired teacher, whose plastic fancy had given beauty and brilliancy to his crudest conceits and most extravagant chimæras. The *Ideas* and other vaporous creations of Plato, had been assailed and dissipated by the enlightened reason of Aristotle. Xenocrates considered confutation as injury, and long viewed the Stagirite with hatred, which the latter publicly answered by contempt²⁵. When we consider that Aristotle from his youth to his death had continued the most respected friend of Antipater²⁶, we

²⁴ Plutarch in Phocion.

of his Ethics, &c. p. 26. Quarto Edit.

²⁵ Diogen. Laert. in Aristotel. and the Life of Aristotle prefixed to my translation²⁶ Diogen. ibid. and Life of Aristotle, p. 32.

need not be surpris'd that the rivalship of the two great literary ornaments of Greece should have influenced the present negotiation. Xenocrates resented the coldness of his reception, by saying, "he wondered not that Antipater should not look him in the face, lest he might have him for a witness of his intended injustice against Athens." Such imprudent language was only calculated to widen the breach of his country with a resistless enemy. But through the interposition of Phocion, peace was obtained on condition "that the Athenians should re-model their dangerous government, should make pecuniary compensation for the expenses incurred by the war, surrender their turbulent demagogues Demosthenes and Hyperides, and receive a Macedonian garrison into their fortified harbour Munychia". Phocion pleaded strongly against the garrison; but Antipater answered, "my dear Phocion, no request of yours should ever be made in vain, with the exception of that only, which, if granted, would ruin both ourselves and you." Harsh as the conditions were, the Athenians felt the necessity of ratifying them. In addition to other misfortunes, they had been again defeated at sea, an element long propitious to their ancestors. The action was fought off the coast of Thessaly in the Malian gulph near the small islands called Echinades, and between the same commanders as formerly, Clytus and Eetion; the latter of whom lost a great part of the hundred and seventy galleys with which he had been entrusted". Dispirited by calamities on every side, they agreed to deprive all citizens, not possessing an income of two thousand drachmas", of suffrage in the assembly. Athens then contained thirty thousand citizens, of whom twenty-one thousand were, on account of their mean circumstances, disfranchised". Among these nearly twelve thousand", whose

" Pausan. Achaic. c. 10. Plutarch in Phocion, and Diodor. l. xviii. f. 18.

" Diodor. l. xviii. f. 15.

" Sixty pounds, nearly.

" Diodor. l. xviii. f. 18.

" Plutarch in Phocion. He confounds the number sent into Thrace with the whole number of poor citizens stated at 21,000 in Diodorus.

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feditious poverty had been perpetually embroiling the affairs of the commonwealth, were on this occasion transplanted into vacant districts of Thrace, with a due assignment of lands from Antipater in concurrence with Lyfimachus, who commanded in that province. The nine thousand comparatively rich citizens, protected by a Macedonian garrison in the Munychia, thenceforward conducted quietly and prudently the affairs of the commonwealth, under the direction of Phocion, until a new and more bloody revolution²¹.

Death of
Demosthenes
and Hype-
rides.
Olymp. c. v. 3.
— B. C.
322.

The only victims indeed of the present change of government, were Demosthenes and Hyperides. But of these two, each was equal to a host. They had both fled at the approach of Antipater, and had been respectively overtaken by his emissaries in the small islands of Calauria and Ægina, near the coast of Argos, in the Saronic gulph. The deaths of those orators have been embellished by many tragic²² circumstances, probably invented in their own times by the admirers of their patriotism, and easily admitted afterwards by the admirers of their eloquence. The seventy seven orations of Hyperides, have long since perished²³; and his name only lives in the consenting eulogy of criticism²⁴. Among the titles of his discourses, we read "impeachment of Demosthenes," probably the speech in which he impartially and boldly arraigned his great coadjutor in the commonwealth, for accepting the bribes of Harpalus²⁵. For this offence Demosthenes, as we have already related, was driven from Athens, and continued in exile at Megara, until the common cause of Greece restored him to his country, and the forgiveness of his ancient friend. As the fame of Demosthenes flourished from age to age with increasing vigour, a dark shade thickened over the monument of Antipater. The same eloquence, which, with

²¹ Diodorus and Plutarch, *ibid.*

²² Plutarch in Demosthen.

²³ Photius and others ascribe to him the oration still extant in the works of Demosthenes *περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρον συνθημάτων*, Demosth. Wolf. p. 66. But that oration is not

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²⁴ Quintilian, Longinus, and Dion. Chrysost. Dissert. viii.

²⁵ Plutarch in Demosth. et in Phocion, et Diodorus, l. xviii. f. 8.

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the living voice, arraigned and often traduced Philip, still continued in the dead letter to vilify and disgrace his honest and able minister; for such is the peculiar glory of letters, that whoever insults their cause through injustice and cruelty to any of their real ornaments, must inevitably incur, with whatever flattery he may be surrounded in his own times, the contemptuous indignation of succeeding ages.

During these proceedings in Greece, the affair of Samos, which had first occasioned the rebellion, was settled by the authority of Perdicas, who, notwithstanding his personal hostility to Antipater, still co-operated with him in the common concerns of the empire. The Athenians were divested of their usurped property in the island; and the expelled Samians, or their descendants, now languishing in miserable exile in many different parts of Greece, were reinstated in their hereditary possessions, of which they had been deprived forty three years²⁷.

The Samians recover their country after a banishment of forty three years.

After the submission of Athens, the Etolians only remained hostile; and that fierce people were still undaunted, though on all sides deserted. When Antipater and Craterus marched against them, they assembled to the number of ten thousand fighting men. The helpless part of their communities with their most precious effects were conveyed to strong castles among the mountains. The fields and villages in the open country were abandoned. The warriors took post in the narrow and intricate avenues, which led to their remote fortresses containing every thing most dear to them. As often as the Macedonians attacked them, the assailants were repelled with very considerable loss, until by a new succession of invaders, the receding Etolians were cooped up within the gorges of hills covered with snow, alike destitute of corn and cattle. When no alternative remained, but that of starving amidst winter storms, or descending to combat a far superior enemy, fortune in pity to their valour sent

Fierce resistance of the Etolians.

²⁷ Diodorus, l. viii. c. 8.

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III.

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Fierce resistance of the Etolians.

²⁷ Diodorus, l. xviii. c. 18.

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Antigonus from Asia, to display in such strong colours the dangerous views of Perdiccas, that the Macedonian generals were in haste to abandon the Etolian war. To this fierce nation they granted immediate peace, firmly resolving, however, as soon as the urgency of more important concerns allowed leisure and opportunity, to transplant such obstinate rebels from Greece into some remote region of Asia³⁸. But their meditated vengeance was not carried into execution. The Etolians, encouraged by Perdiccas, renewed the war; though often vanquished by the Macedonians, they were never thoroughly subdued: and their love of independence, or rather their aversion to the restraints of regular government, their rapacity, and ferocity, deform the last pages of Grecian history.

Conquest of
Cyrene, by
Ptolemy.
Olymp.
cxiv. 2.
B. C. 323.

The ambition of Alexander's immediate successors collected into one sphere of action, all the scattered communities belonging to the Grecian name, in the three divisions of the antient world. During the regency of Perdiccas, the remote colony of Cyrene, which from its establishment on the African coast, six hundred and thirty one years before the Christian æra, had taken but a feeble interest in the affairs of the mother country³⁹, first emerges into such historical importance, as demands our attention to the primary object or design of that remote settlement; and the principal proceedings through which that desired end was either promoted or thwarted. Upon this disquisition I enter with the greater pleasure, because the observations applicable to Cyrenè in Africa, perfectly accord with the history already given of many and more considerable emporiums in Asia.

Early connection of
Greece with
that part of
the African
coast.

The amours of Jupiter with the African nymph Cyrenè⁴⁰, the temple of Minerva on the lake Tritonis⁴¹, the ægis of the goddess invented by the inhabitants of that neighbourhood⁴², and the famed

³⁸ Diodorus, l. xviii. f. 24, 25.

³⁹ See History of Antient Greece, v. i. c. 8. and v. iii. c. 24.

⁴⁰ Pausan. in Laconic.

⁴¹ Scylax Perip. p. 49.

⁴² Herodotus, l. iv. c. 189.

garden of the Hesperides, from which Hercules transported the golden apples⁴³, all these circumstances point to an early intercourse between Greece and that part of the Mediterranean coast, which lay directly eastward of the domain of Carthage. When we descend in history to more solid ground, there is abundant evidence that this intercourse was encouraged by repeated and earnest admonitions of the oracle of Delphi⁴⁴; a circumstance in conjunction with particulars to be immediately related, indicating that the priests of Greece were not less zealous than those of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Assyria, in extending the commercial relations of their country.

Africa, whose finest regions since the downfall of the Roman empire in the west, have been desolated by Vandals and Arabs, by sanguinary barbarism, and intolerant and more sanguinary superstition, abounded, as it still abounds, in precious commodities, which strike the mind more powerfully, because they are distributed by the hand of nature, into large and distinct masses. The whole continent is separated by the intermediate Sahara or desert, into Libya and Ethiopia; and Libya, the northern division, stretching from the Atlantic to Egypt, was early distinguished into two broad belts, of which the nearest now called Barbary, forms the whole southern coast of the Mediterranean, and the other partially disjoined from it by scattered branches of mount Atlas, is known by a harsh Arabic name⁴⁵ denoting the land of dates; an article in all ages of indispensable use to its inhabitants. The same tract is called by Herodotus the land of wild beasts⁴⁶; and it is still infested by those savages beyond any other country in the world. The wild beasts naturally retired from the populous haunts of men, and the well cultivated shores of the Mediterranean. In the country of dates, they had

Cause of that connection—
Commercial geography of Africa.

⁴³ Diodorus, Hyginus, Apollodorus. Conf. Rennell's Geog. of Herodot. p. 611.

⁴⁴ Herodot. l. iv. c. 164. and passim.

⁴⁵ Beledulgerid.

⁴⁶ *Αἰθουὸν θηριόδον*. Herodot. l. iv. c. 181.

C H A P.

III.

Ethiopia.

fewer enemies to fear; and when at any time very obstinately assailed, might secure their safety by retreating into the southern desert.

Beyond this huge belt of sand, in many parts a thousand miles broad, and in length commensurate with the continent which it deforms, the Ethiopia of the Greeks corresponded nearly with the Soudan or Negritia of modern geographers⁴⁷. It comprehended, in general, Africa south of the desert; the inhabitants of its western parts are described in antiquity, as a black, dwarfish, and harmless people⁴⁸ but the eastern Ethiopians were remarkable for their lofty stature, their beauty, and their longevity⁴⁹. The whole country was famed for the rich productions of ivory, ebony, and gold. Its plains were often covered with tall forests of wonderful variety and beauty, and its diversified hills of moderate ascent, contained copious mines of gold, within a few fathoms of the surface. With whatever terrors nature had clothed the intermediate regions of Africa, she had, therefore, with her usual bounty made compensation, by enriching and adorning the extremes of Ethiopia and Libya⁵⁰.

Libya.

The western division of Libya, comprehending Mauritania and Numidia, with the proper domain of Carthage, still retains great fertility and populousness, notwithstanding many successive ravages of desolating Barbarians. The eastern division extending from the neighbourhood of Tunis to Egypt, is formidable to mariners on account of the dangerous Syrtes, and repulsive in the interior country on account of the sandy plains of Barca and Marmarica. Yet the Syrtic region itself was renowned for the happy and hospitable Lophagi⁵¹; and another district in the same region borrowing its name from the river Cinyps, by which it is watered, equalled⁵² in

⁴⁷ Herodot. l. iii. c. 114. Conf. Poirer p. 70.

Description de la Negritie. Labat. relat. nouvelle de l'Afrique, and Proceedings of African association.

⁴⁸ Herodot. l. ii. c. 32. & l. iv. c. 42.

⁴⁹ Herodot. l. iii. c. 17. and seq. & l. vii.

⁵⁰ Herodot. *ibid.* Conf. Bruce's Travels, v. i. p. 382. and *passim*.

⁵¹ Strabo, l. iii. p. 157. and Plin. l. vi.

c. 7.

⁵² Herodot. l. iv. c. 171—198.

exuberance.

exuberance the Assyrian plains. To the eastward of Cinyps and the great Syrtis, the bold coast of Cyrene⁵³ projects towards Crete and the Peloponnesus, in the same direction that Carthage advances to meet, as it were, and defy Sicily and Italy. The gardens of the Hesperides, and the fertile territory surrounding them, which returned all kinds of grain with the encrease of an hundred fold⁵⁴, had early attracted the notice of those Greeks most ambitious of colonization and conquest. On the greatest part of the African shore their enterprize had been anticipated by the Phœnicians⁵⁵. But their priests, and especially those of Delphi, still⁵⁶ directed their views to the elevated tract of Cyrenè, which hitherto remained unoccupied, and which, besides the temptation of a rich soil for tillage, offered them an easy participation, by the intervention of neighbouring Nomades, in the valuable commerce of gold, ebony, and ivory. As the nations of antiquity traded chiefly with their own colonies, a settlement on the African coast, appeared the surest expedient for procuring those commodities in abundance. Such are the notices which seemed necessary as a key to the following short narrative of the origin, progress, prosperity and downfall of the first establishment formed by Europeans in Africa.

In the diminutive island of Thera, the most southern of the Cyclades, Polymnestus, a powerful citizen, had a bold and ambitious son, who enduring impatiently an ungraceful⁵⁷ hesitation in his speech, applied to the oracle of Delphi, about the best means for remedying that defect. Instead of answering him on the subject of his voyage, the oracle saluted him by the name of Battus, which in the Libyan language signifies a king, and exhorted him to lead a colony

The Greeks under Battus colonize a desert island on the African coast. Olymp. xlxviii. 2. B. C. 631.

⁵³ Cyrene properly denotes a city, but is commonly applied by Greek writers to the whole territory of Cyrenaica, of which that city was the capital.

⁵⁴ Herodot. *ibid.*

⁵⁵ See above Survey, f. iv.

⁵⁶ Herodot. l. iv. c. 155.

⁵⁷ Herodotus, l. iv. c. 155. The son of Polymnestus not only hesitated, but had a difficulty in pronouncing certain letters. See Aristotle's definition of *ισχυφωσις* and *τραυλοτης*, (Problem xi. 30.) the defects ascribed by Herodotus to Battus.

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into Libya. The foundation of new cities, seems, on this as on other occasions, to have been embellished by fables. The disobedience of Battus to the oracle was punished, we are told, by a dreadful drought at Thera, which left not a single tree on the island. The distressed inhabitants having sent a deputation to consult the god, received for answer, that their affairs would grow prosperous, if they assisted Battus in colonizing Cyrenè. In consequence of this admonition, two galleys, each of fifty oars, sailed towards the African coast, but instead of landing on the continent, only occupied the little desert island of Platæa, in a deep bay about a hundred miles eastward of the lofty table land, to which the oracle had directed them. In this inhospitable spot, the Thereans might have perished for hunger, had not their wants been relieved by a Samian vessel, which in her voyage to Egypt, happened to touch at Platæa: and whose generous assistance on this occasion gave birth to the intimate friendship which afterwards subsisted between Samos and Cyrenè⁵⁸. Disappointed in the hopes which had produced their migration from Thera, Battus and his companions again had recourse to the god, complaining that though they had obeyed his injunction, and established a colony in Libya, calamity still pursued them in that new settlement. The Pythia answered, that their sagacity was indeed admirable, if they, who had never yet landed in Libya, should know it better than herself, who had travelled in that country. Conformably to this answer, they transferred their colony from the isle of Platæa to a place called Aziris on the opposite continent, a beautiful and well watered district, almost surrounded by hills of easy ascent, and which waved with shadowy forests⁵⁹. At Aziris, and afterwards at Cyrenè, which the Libyans encouraged them to occupy, by saying that rain was peculiarly abundant in that quarter⁶⁰, the colonists remained forty years under Battus, and sixteen under Arcefilaus his son.

⁵⁸ Herodot. l. iv. c. 152.

⁵⁹ Id. l. iv. c. 157.

⁶⁰ The heavens they said were bored at Cyrene, Id. l. iv. c. 158.

They

They received not however any considerable accession from Greece, until the reign of the second Battus, surnamed the happy.

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A new Grecian colony sent to Africa. Olymp. xlvii. 2. B C 591.

Under the fortunate administration of this third king, the oracle strongly exhorted the Peloponnesians, the Cretans, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring Cyclades, to colonize Libya, and to divide its lands with their Cyrenean brethren. In consequence of this admonition, the emigrants were so numerous, and the territories which they required for their subsistence so considerable, that the Libyans who had treated the first settlers as friendly traders, began to take the alarm, and applied for assistance to Apries, king of Egypt, on promise of submitting themselves as tributaries to that power. Apries listened to their request; but the powerful army which he sent to their relief was so completely defeated in the district Trasa, contiguous to Aziris, that few messengers returned to announce the public calamity⁶⁶: while the disasters above related, of Apries and of Egypt, prevented any retaliation on the part of that monarchy.

After this illustrious victory, gained five hundred and seventy two years before Christ, the Greeks, had they remained true to themselves, might have established their dominion so firmly on the African coast, as would have reversed its future fortune, and converted into a source of civilization and light, a country destined to become the perpetual abode of dreary darkness and sullen barbarism. But the insolence of prosperity was accompanied by growing dissensions, among men collected from a variety of coasts and isles, which terminated in rebellion against Arcefilaus their fourth king, son to Battus the happy. The insurrection was headed by four brothers to the king⁶⁷. Being expelled from Cyrenè, the rebels retreated to the distance of fourscore miles into the southern district of Barca, founded the city of that name, and entered into an unnatural alliance with the Libyans. Soon afterwards, Arcefilaus met his

Seditions in Cyrene and cause thereof. Olymp lii. 3.—lxxxvii. 2.—B C. 570—431.

Herodot. l. iv. c. 159.

⁶⁶ Stephen Byzant, voc. Βαρεν.

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united enemies in the field at Leucon, in Libya. The war was unfortunate; he lost seven thousand heavy armed men; and returned to his strong hold of Cyrenè in disgrace, followed by sickness. In this condition, a medicine was prescribed to him for procuring sleep; under the operation of which, he was strangled by Learchus, his fifth brother, and the only one not in open rebellion.

Tragic
events in the
family of
Arcefilaus.

Learchus was impelled to this enormity by a criminal passion for Eryxo, the wife of Arcefilaus, and the bold avenger of his murder. When solicited in marriage by the traitor, the bold artifice of Eryxo dissembled any personal reluctance, provided Learchus' demand should meet with the approbation of her family. The answer of the family was purposely delayed: the lover grew impatient: an affignation was made; and Learchus being received into the bed-chamber of Eryxo, was slain by her brother Polyarchus and two armed accomplices⁶³.

The tragical deaths of Arcefilaus and Learchus left the throne of Cyrenè open to the son of the former, named Battus III. But the distractions of the colonists were not yet at an end. The African Greeks had been collected, as we have seen from a wide variety of states, some subject to kings, others governed as republics more or less popular. The principal causes of discord were thus of a political nature; and for the removal of them recourse was again had to Delphi. The Pythia exhorted the speedy demand of a legislator from the Arcadian republic of Mantinæa, which at that time was regarded as the model of a wise commonwealth, and which had even introduced, as we have shewn in another work⁶⁴, such a refined plan of representative government, as might have been imparted with much benefit to growing colonies, diffused at wide intervals over the African coast. Demonax, the Arcadian, who came to cure the evils of Cyrenè, divided its inhabitants into three tribes; the first consisted of the Thereans and their neighbours; the second

⁶³ Pintarch de Virtut. Mulier, and Herodotus, l. iv. c. 160.

⁶⁴ See my translation of Aristotle's Ethics and Politics, v. ii. p. 64. 8vo. edit.

of the Peloponnesians and Cretans : the third, of all the other islanders who had assisted in forming the settlement. We are not told whether those tribes were placed with regard to each other on a foot of equality, or by what differences of political rights they were distinguished. Collectively they engrossed all those powers, deliberative, executive, and judicial, which formerly centered in the king ; whose prerogative was now confined to the exclusive dignity of certain priesthoods, and to the enjoyment of an appropriate domain, wider and more valuable than the estates of other citizens⁶⁷.

Battus IV., who had succeeded to the throne, bore his degradation patiently ; being a man of an unambitious temper, and besides, afflicted from his youth with a lameness in his feet, which, in some measure, disqualified him for the fatiguing duties of public life. His son, Arcefilaus IV., endeavoured to resume the plenitude of royal power. He was expelled the country ; but restored through the assistance of the Samians, his hereditary friends ; and having disgraced his good fortune by atrocious cruelty, was slain in the streets of Barca, by the indignant kinsmen of those Cyrenians whom he had banished, murdered, or burned alive in a great tower distinguished by the name of its builder Aglamachus⁶⁸. Abominable were the proceedings of Greek tyrants, in all quarters of the world. In proportion to the high spirit of liberty among the people, the more horrid examples seemed necessary to overawe them.

While Arcefilaus still lived at Barca, his mother Pheretima, a woman of a masculine spirit, sustained the government of Cyrenè ; presiding personally as chief magistrate in the deliberations of the senate. But, upon the death of her son, Pheretima being divested of her authority, escaped into Egypt, and obtained from Aryandes, who governed that province under Darius Hystaspis, the assistance of a Persian army, through which the ambitious satrap hoped to conquer Libya, and with which the enraged queen expected to inflict

Enormities and sufferings of Arcefilaus IV. and his mother. Olymp. lxxx. 1.— lxxxvi. 4. B. C. 460—432.

⁶⁷ Herodot. l. iv. c. 161.

⁶⁸ Ibid. c. 162.

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vengeance on her enemies. The successes of the Persians put Barca into her hands after a long siege. Upon entering the place she impaled and left hanging on the walls the men in arms, and above this horrid fret-work, is said to have raised one still more abominable, the dissevered breasts of their wives and kinswomen. In attempting to gain by assault the stronger city of Cyrenè, the Persians were seized with a pannaic terror. Their return to Egypt was harrassed by the predatory pursuit of the Libyan Nomades. Pheretima accompanied their disgraceful retreat, and died soon afterwards most miserably. A just judgment of the gods, as Herodotus piously deems it, against the mad fury of revenge⁶⁷.

Flourishing
state of Cy-
rene
Olymp.
lxxxvii. 1.
cxiv. 2 B. C.
432—323.

The Cyrenians had remained two⁶⁸ centuries under Battus and his descendants, whose dominion expired amidst a dreadful accumulation of crimes and calamities. But happier times succeeded; and the period of an hundred and nine years that elapsed between the flight of the Persians and the conquest of Cyrenè by the first Ptolemy, is brightened alike by the prosperity and patriotism of its citizens. Their territories were enlarged; their commerce was extended; and their populousness flourished through native vigour, without any dangerous accessions from the mother country. During the same century, corresponding nearly with the fourth before the Christian æra, Cyrenè produced men illustrious in arts as well as arms, and sustained honourable competitions at the Olympic games in accomplishments then exclusively characteristic of Greeks, and their noblest pre-eminence. It would be an invaluable record that should inform us how the institutions of Damonax the Arcadian were upheld and modified so as to terminate in such happy results. The five cities of Cyrenaica which conferred on it the name of Pentapolis, should seem to have constituted a confederacy resembling that of the Lycians; arranged with such justice and wisdom, as reconciled the interests of the whole with the pretensions of its component members.

⁶⁷ Herodot. l. iv. c. 202; & seq.

⁶⁸ Schol. in Pindar. Ode 1. Pyth.

⁶⁹ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 564, 565. Comp. my

translation of Aristotle's Politics, vol. iii
p. 77. & seq. 2^o Edic.

In the time of Herodotus, who gave the last corrections to his history four hundred and eight years before the Christian æra, Cyrenaica extended westward from its capital scarcely a hundred and forty miles along the African coast. But shortly afterwards, a memorable transaction proves that its boundary, in the same direction, had been advanced to the innermost recess of the great Syrtis; and its territory thereby nearly doubled in extent, though not proportionally increased in value. The transaction to which I allude, appeared of such importance to a great historian, that he suspends the course of his splendid narrative in order to record it^o. The height of Cyrenean prosperity coincided with the most flourishing ages of Carthage, before the Carthaginians had been assailed by Agathocles of Sicily, and their finest provinces plundered and desolated by that merciless invader¹. During this period, Egypt having sadly degenerated under the barbarous yoke of Persia, Carthage was the only power in Africa that could alarm the walled cities of the Pentapolis. Discord arose between nations unfriendly by blood and neighbourhood, competitors for conquest, and rivals in commerce. But the only particular in the war that has come down to posterity, is the memorable incident by which it terminated. This was the adjustment of their common boundary by two Carthaginian youths, the brothers Philæni, and two young Cyrenians. It is not clearly explained by what arrangements between the rival states their respective citizens were to set out, at the same time, and from assigned places, so that the spot where they met should be fairly regarded as their mutual frontier. They met at the south-eastern extremity of the great Syrtis, where a branch of that gulph penetrates the deepest inland. The Cyrenians, thinking that they had not reached a sufficient distance to satisfy the expectation of their country, complained that the Car-

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Enlargement of its territory.—
Pulchrean
altars.

^o Sallust. Bell. Jugurthina.

before Christ, and 55 years before the first war between Carthage and Rome.

¹ This expedition will be related circumstantially hereafter. It happened 309 years

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thaginians had taken their departure before the stipulated time. The latter denied the accusation; but offered to embrace any just and equal expedient by which the contest might be decided. Then said the Cyrenians, "allow yourselves to be here buried alive amidst these sands, since we are ready to accept that condition for the sake of extending the limits of our country." The Carthaginians consented, and met death in its most frightful form¹². Huge mounds of earth¹³ composed what were thenceforward called the Philænian altars; unperishing memorials of those who offered, as well as of those who accepted the patriotic alternative.

Description
of the Pen-
tapolis—
Hesperis.

The enlargement of Cyrenaica to the Philænian altars westward, and eastward to the mountainous Catabathmus, which overlooked the sandy deserts of Marmarica, added far less to the public prosperity, than the high agricultural improvements of the central district. This consisted of a soft and rich soil; it was well watered throughout; it abounded in shady woods and flowery fields; and it afforded in great variety the most useful plants and animals¹⁴. Its limits were defined by the production of Silphium: this plant marked the region of fertility; and where silphium ceased to grow, the soil was unfit for culture. This general notice, from an author of the highest credit¹⁵, is rendered special and satisfactory by the information of Herodotus, that the silphium was confined to the territory between Platæa and the mouth of the great Syrtis¹⁶; a direct inland journey of only two hundred miles, but far more considerable along the waving coast. The distance exactly corresponds with that between Platæa and the city called Berenice, now Bernic, in whose neighbourhood concurring testimonies place the far famed gardens of the Hesperides; for Berenice was a new name borrowed from the celebrated Egyptian queen, wife to the first Ptolemy, the conqueror of Cyrenè, and bestowed on the ancient Hesperis, the most southern

¹² Sallust, Bell. Jugurthin

¹³ Plin. l. v. c. 4.

¹⁴ Strabo, l. xviii. p. §36

¹⁵ Arrian, Ind. Hist. cap. 215.

¹⁶ Herodot. l. iv. c. 170. and 191

city

city of the confederacy on the immediate frontier of the desert". Here, instead of level sands and unvaried sterility, the ground first began to swell into gentle elevations, to wave with woods, and to be refreshed by fountains. Contrast between such scenery and the dreary desolation in its neighbourhood, procured an early celebrity for Hesperis, above other districts of Cyrenaica. In the fables of the poets, which are often histories in disguise, Hercules was celebrated for conveying from thence the golden apples; and if citrons and oranges are denoted by that name⁷⁷, the enterprize well accorded with the beneficent views of a hero who surmounted every danger to transplant the wild olive into Greece⁷⁸.

Taucheira, north of Hesperis, changed its name to Arfinoè from the daughter of the above-mentioned Ptolemy Soter; but the ancient appellation revived, and prevails to the present day. Both Hesperis and Taucheira were sea-ports; but Cyrene and Barca, of which the former was fourscore miles north-east of Hesperis, and the latter midway between them, were respectively distant from the coast about twelve miles; and Cyrenè, the mother and the queen of all those cities, being situate on a lofty terrace, displayed its glittering towers to distant vessels, as they made for its spacious bay and convenient harbour. Apollonia, the harbour of Cyrenè, appears not to have been politically distinguished from the city itself; but the port of Barca, called Ptolemais, must have formed a community apart, since it completed the confederacy of the Pentapolis; a confederacy whose decayed members in the form of towns or villages subsist to the present day under the nearly unaltered names of Kurin, Barca, Berric, Taucheira, and Tollemata⁷⁹.

⁷⁷ Pliny places the Hesperides near Lixos in Mauritania, but changes this opinion in speaking of Berricè. Conf. Plin. l. v. c. 1. and 5.

⁷⁸ Κίτρον καλεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Λιβυοῖς μίλον Ἑσπερίων, οὗ ὡς καὶ Ἡρακλῆα κέρσαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ χρυσίου διὰ τὴν ἰδέαν λεγόμενα μήλα. "Citrons were called Hesperian apples among the

Libyans, from whom Hercules carried into Greece the apples we name golden from their appearance." Juba apud Athenæum, l. iii. p. 83.

⁷⁹ Pind. Olymp. Ode 3.

⁸⁰ Shaw's Travels. Conf. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 837. & seq.

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Its com-
merce with
the interior
of Africa.

While the Cyrenians extended and embellished their territories, they neglected not the primary objects of their establishment. Commerce both by land and sea was cultivated assiduously and boldly. Their harbours were crowded with merchantmen, chiefly Greeks; and their inland possessions extended to the region of dates, whose inhabitants have been in all ages the greatest travelling merchants in the world, if greatness is to be measured by fatigue and danger. It must be impossible from the nature of the thing to ascertain the ever flitting limits of the Nomades that skirted the dominions of Carthage and Cyrenè; the Nafamoues celebrated for their enterprize and prowess³¹; the Pfylli, universally renowned for their power over serpents³², although that power is variously ascribed to nature³³, to art³⁴, and to magic³⁵; and the Garamantes, whose character is so differently painted by Herodotus³⁶, that he may be conjectured to speak of two distinct nations, confounded through some error under one name. Among all these tribes necessity gave birth to well appointed caravans, by means of which only, it was possible to penetrate the desert, and procure those rich commodities of southern Africa, which were purchased with emulation on the Cyrcnean and Carthaginian shores. The desert which at first sight seemed to oppose invincible barriers to this traffic, in some measure promoted it, by the attractive influence of many springs of salt water, forming innumerable saline hills interspersed at convenient distances between its eastern and western extremity³⁷. As salt is entirely wanting in Ethiopia, or Nigritia, in the largest extent of these names, the southern Africans had to provide themselves in the Sahara with this essential necessary, and to meet, as it were, half way the Libyans

³¹ Herodot. l. iv. c. 174. ³² *Ulysses* Cumes apud A. Gell. ix. 12.
³³ Lucan. Pharsal. l. ix. v. 807. *Plin.* ³⁴ Conf. Herodot. l. iv. c. 174. and c. 183.
 l. vii. c. 2. ³⁵ The Garamantes are proved by Major Ren-
³⁶ Lucan. *Ibid.* and Equit. c. 87. ³⁶ zell to be the people of Fezzan. *Gebg.* of
³⁷ Aristot. *Histor. Animal.* and *Seylax* Herodot. p. 615. & seq.
Peripl. ³⁷ Herodot. l. iv. c. 183. & seq.
³⁸ *Plutarch* in *Caton Utic.*
Somniculosum ut Pexius aspident Pfyllus.

who

who came in quest of gold, and the articles of ebony, ivory, and slaves, then deemed as indispensable to luxury, as salt is to nature. When Africa is accurately explored, we shall be able to ascertain the routes which Herodotus slightly traces from the neighbourhood of Carthage and Cyrene to Egypt in one direction, and to the nations south of the desert in another. From the confines of the Lesser Syrtis, we shall pursue his fifty days journey to mount Atlas; and proceeding southward from that mountain to the present empire of Morocco, traverse the broadest part of the desert, the frightful Zanhaga, to vast salt mines wrought by the hand of man, clearly distinguishable from the saline springs and huge granulous hills of salt in other parts of Africa, since they consisted of hard mineral rocks, of which the miners built for their accommodation durable houses¹⁸ in that region of eternal drought. Similar mines and in a like situation are described by Leo¹⁹ at Tècazza twenty days journey due west of Tombuctoo: which latter place appears, from the latest researches, to be the principal and most remarkable town in the interior of Africa²⁰.

Among the commodities calculated to bear the longest transportation by land, the Cyrenians drew from Southern Africa, agates²¹, amethysts, and a variety of other gems, several of which exquisitely engraved, will attest to the latest posterity the ingenuity and taste of this African commonwealth four centuries before the Christian æra. The universal passion of the citizens for this kind of ornament, excited the emulation of artists, and wonderfully improved their skill²². The poorest Cyrenian would give the value of thirty guineas for a ring or seal. From the carving of precious stones, there was an easy transition to the casting of medals with the most beautiful designs, particularly the small Cyrenean medals of fine gold, requiring the assistance of glasses to read their inscriptions and perceive the admi-

Its arts and
productions.

¹⁸ Herodot. l. iv. c. 185.

¹⁹ Leo African. p. 225. & seq.

²⁰ African Researches 1799, p. 131.

²¹ Καρχηδονίαι λίθοι, a kind of agate. Strabon. l. xvii. p. 835.

²² Ælian Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 30.

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rable delicacy of their workmanship. On these gems and medals we frequently meet with the silphium, a *rosaceous* shrub of sweet fragrantcy, which, though it grew in Persia, Media, and the Indian Paropamisus, was of such superior excellency in the Cyrenaica, that "the silphium of Battus" was proverbial in antiquity to denote whatever was most precious⁶⁶. The silphium is an annual plant; its juice, obtained by incision from the trunk and stem, was in universal request among the credulous for the purposes of medicine, and among the luxurious for those of cookery. The Greeks bought it for its weight in silver, deeming it of indispensable use in alleviating disease and gladdening festivity. The rancorous disputes of critics⁶⁷ have involved in needless obscurity the subject of silphium, which is still found⁶⁸ in the neighbourhood of Derna between the isle of Platæa and the modern Kurin. It abounded far more, indeed, during the flourishing ages of the Cyrenean confederacy, and the more plentiful it was, the Cyrenians shewed the more jealousy of its exportation, on which they should seem to have imposed a heavy duty. The Carthaginians certainly carried on a contraband trade for silphium from their nearest harbour Charax, in the Great Syrtis, a little eastward of the tower Euphrantas. To Charax the Carthaginians sent wine and the produce of their manufactures, and brought from thence Cyrenean oil and unguents, various kinds of fruits, flowers of a peculiar hue and fragrantcy⁶⁹, above all the silphium, carried clandestinely⁷⁰ to Charax by Cyrenean smugglers.

⁶⁶ Dioscorid. l. iii. c. 97. Conf. Arrian, Ind. Hist. c. ult.

⁶⁷ Οὐδ' ἔν μοι δέχοι, ἢ μὴ καὶ Ἰδαίου αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Βαττοῦ αὐτοῦ. "Nol' nor should you give me the god of riches himself, and the silphium of Battus." Aristophanes—Compare Neeschius Βαττοῦ σιλφίου ἀποκριμὴ τῆς τοῦ Βαττοῦ ἀποκριμῆς, adding that the silphium was of such high estimation among the Cyrenians, that they stamped their coins with the silphium on one side, and with

Jupiter stammon on the other.

⁶⁸ Beaulieu and others would prove the fragrant silphium to be *Asa fetida*.

⁶⁹ See Memoir of M. de Maire, French consul in Tripoli in 1706, cited in Memoire de l'Academie, v. xxxvi. p. 24.

⁷⁰ Theophrast. Hist. Plant. l. iv. c. 3. and Athenæus, l. xvi.

⁷¹ Τῶν αἰ κέρων ἀποκρίματα. ἄλλα 00, l. xvii. p. 236.