

The Cyrenians had the means of happiness, but knew not quietly to enjoy them. Four hundred years before Christ⁹⁹, their republic was disturbed by a sedition originating in the ordinary dissensions between rich and poor in the Greek commonwealths. About this time probably they applied to Plato, justly provoked at the Athenians for the judicial murder of Socrates, to visit their country and assist in its legislation. He is said to have declined this honourable office, by frankly declaring that their circumstances were too prosperous to bear the restraint of salutary laws¹⁰⁰. Under such institutions, therefore, as their condition admitted, they continued to live for four-score years afterwards, until shortly before the death of Alexander, the confederacy of the Pentapolis was involved in such tumults as finally terminated in its complete subjection under his first Egyptian successor.

In a former work we have related how Harpalus, financial administrator in Babylon, having drawn on himself the resentment of his generous master by ill government and profligacy, escaped to Greece with five thousand talents and six thousand mercenaries¹⁰¹. Banished from Athens through the terror with which Alexander's name filled that and neighbouring commonwealths, he sailed with his troops and part of his treasures to Crete¹⁰², where, as that island is directly opposite to Cyrenaica, he might seasonably avail himself of the troubles in the latter, to form an establishment on the African coast. But the traitor, Harpalus, was perfidiously slain in the isle of Crete by his associate Thimbron, a traitor more daring than himself who succeeded to his resources and projects¹⁰³. Thimbron, with a numerous fleet, sailed for the Cyrenaica, when the Grecian confederacy was weakened by disunion, and the principal city in the

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Dissensions
between
rich and
poor.
Olymp. xiv.
—B. C.
400.

Cyrene in-
vaded by
Thimbron.
Olymp.
cxiv. 2.
B. C. 323.

⁹⁹ Diodorus places this event, Olymp. c. 29.

xciv. 4. B. C. 402. Diodorus, l. xiv.

f. 34.

¹⁰⁰ Plutarch in Lucull. p. 492.

¹⁰¹ History of Ancient Greece, vol. iv.

¹⁰² Diodorus, l. xvii. f. 108.

¹⁰³ Id. ibid. Conf. Plutarch in Demosth.
and Phocion.

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league torn by intestine discord. His veteran army, seven thousand strong, had been reinforced in Crete by a large body of Cyrenian exiles, breathing resentment against their country. Under these guides, Thimbron effected a descent; vanquished the Cyrenians in a battle where many of them fell, and many were made prisoners; gained possession of their harbour Apollonia, and having successfully assaulted, was prepared to sack, their capital. In this state of affairs the Cyrenians requested and obtained a suspension of hostilities. To ransom the place from military execution, Thimbron demanded from its magistrates a large sum of money, and one half their chariots of war; at the same time sending embassies to the subordinate cities of the confederacy, offering to them his friendship, upon condition that they assisted him with troops against the neighbouring Libyans. The Cyrenean magistrates paid part of the contribution, and professed readiness to comply with the full extent of Thimbron's demands. Barca and Hesperis also accepted his proposals, Ptolemais the port of Barca imitated the submission of that city. The inconsiderable republic of Taucheira alone seemed anxious to defend its freedom¹⁰⁴.

Thimbron
betrayed by
Mnasicles.

When the affairs of Thimbron were in this prosperous state, his rash and unprincipled rapacity prepared for him a sudden reverse of fortune. Having plundered the merchantmen and magazines in Apollonia, in his division of the booty he offended Mnasicles, a man of nearly equal weight with himself in the army; by birth a Cretan, through long experience a skillful captain, and uniting great personal courage with all the wiles of his country. Through the defection of Mnasicles to the Cyrenians, a new spirit was inspired into the vanquished. They recovered from the consternation into which they had been thrown by the suddenness and boldness of the descent; placed their city in a posture of defence; and refused to pay the remainder of the contribution due by them. To chastise their breach of faith, Thimbron seized part of their citizens, who had

unwarily remained in Apollonia; and, reinforced by auxiliaries from Barca and Hesperis, again besieged Cyrenè. But his success was far different from what he had formerly experienced. Unable to make any impression on the walls, he retired with his baffled army to Apollonia. The Cyrenians, not contented with deliverance from danger, retaliated the hostilities of Barca and Hesperis, by ravaging and almost desolating the nearest territories of those states. Thimbron sailed with the greatest part of his troops to the assistance of his allies, leaving Apollonia unguarded. The watchful Manicles ably availed himself of this error. With a handful of Cyrenians, he recovered their lost harbour of Apollonia, and the rich magazines contained in it, which were faithfully restored to their rightful owners. He then fortified its entrances so skillfully against Thimbron's ships, that they were thenceforth totally excluded, on that side, from all communication with the country, by means of which chiefly, they had hitherto supplied their wants¹⁰². Meanwhile Thimbron, after protecting the territories of his allies, overcame the obstinacy of Taucheira, the smallest city in the Pentapolis, but which, being united in itself, had the most manfully resisted his invasion. His advantages however in this quarter did not compensate for the loss of Apollonia, since his ships upon their return northward, being baffled in all attempts to enter that harbour, were obliged to land dispersedly on the adjacent coasts; and their crews being thus assailed in straggling parties, were either put to the sword, or compelled hastily to embark in such stormy weather that they were driven on the shores of Cyprus and Egypt. Upon this disaster Thimbron was on the point of abandoning his enterprize, when his courage was revived by a reinforcement of nearly three thousand troops from Peloponnesus. These were a new swarm of Greek mercenaries, who had rendezvoused at the promontory of Tenarus, to whom Thimbron, on his first reverse of fortune, had sent proper

¹⁰² Diodor. l. xviii. f. 20.

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agents to engage them in his service. Their seasonable arrival encouraged him to risk a battle with the Cyrenians, who, in the progress of the war, had greatly augmented their domestic army by auxiliaries from Libya and even Carthage, a republic long hostile to Cyrenè, but now more jealous of Thimbron and his mercenaries, who had served under Alexander. The whole of their forces amounted to thirty thousand combatants; infantry, cavalry, and chariots of war fighting after the fashion of the heroic ages. This ill-composed army was defeated with great slaughter; its officers were all slain; and such Cyrenians as escaped from the battle were cooped up within their walls to which Thimbron for the third time laid siege. Their sufferings exasperated those political factions, in which all their evils had originated. The nobles and more opulent citizens who wished to capitulate, were expelled by the people. One part of them sought refuge with Thimbron, another failed to Egypt to request the assistance of Ptolemy¹⁰⁶.

Thimbron made prisoner, and the Cyrenians reduced by Ptolemy's general Ophellias. Clyn p. cxiiv. 2. B. C. 323.

That sagacious prince who had strongly fortified his province by walls, troops, treasures, above all, by the grateful affection of his Egyptian subjects, perceived the fair opportunity of extending his dominion over a contiguous and wealthy coast. With the utmost expedition he prepared a fleet and army, entrusting both to Ophellias, his companion in arms under the great Alexander. Ophellias landed on the coast before the complete reduction of the Cyrenians; and his arrival produced very surprising changes in their contending factions. The rich and noble who had previously fled to Thimbron's camp, endeavoured secretly in the night to join Ophellias. Their design was discovered, and they were cruelly massacred. The popular party, on the other hand, rather than surrender their liberties to Ophellias and their fellow-citizens who accompanied him, resolved to make peace with Thimbron, whom they had recently opposed with obstinate valour; and zealously aided him, in resisting the new

¹⁰⁶ Diodor. *ibid.*

and more formidable invasion from Egypt. But their united strength was crushed by the powerful armament which Ptolemy had sent against them. Thimbron's army was destroyed, and himself made prisoner. Cyrene was besieged, taken, and garrisoned; the subordinate cities in the confederacy shared the same fate ¹⁰⁷.

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Such was the termination of the Greek commonwealths in Africa which had defied the ferocity of the Libyans, resisted the more disciplined valour of Carthage, and repelled the strength of Egypt under her ancient kings. But as the submission of the Cyrenaica was reluctant, we shall see that country in the sequel frequently the scene of rebellion. It remained, however, for upwards of two centuries an appendage to the Greek kingdom in Egypt; and was governed, for the most part, by sons or younger brothers of the Ptolemies. Apion, its last *viceroys*, son to the Seventh Ptolemy, amidst the civil wars in Egypt assumed independent sovereignty; and, ninety-seven years before Christ, bequeathed his usurped kingdom of Cyrenaica to the Romans ¹⁰⁸, by whom it was conjoined, about thirty years afterwards, with the neighbouring isle of Crete in the form of a province ¹⁰⁹.

Subsequent
history of
Cyrene, to
Olymp
clxxi. 1.
B. C. 96.

¹⁰⁷ Diodor. l. xviii. f. 21. and Strabo, l. xvii. p. 836.

¹⁰⁸ Appian Mithridat. cap. 121.

¹⁰⁹ Plutarch in Lucull.

HISTORY OF THE WORLD,

CHAPTER IV.

Ptolemy declines the Protectorship. — Funeral Procession of Alexander. — Arrhidæus and Python Protectors. — Sedition excited by Euridice. — Resignation of the Protectors. — Antipater sole Regent. — Abandonment of Alexander's great Undertakings. — New Division of the Provinces. — Antigonus sent against Eumenes. — War in Pisidia. — Ptolemy conquers Syria. — Death and Character of Antipater. — Polyperchon Regent. — Opposition of Cassander. — His Intrigues with Antigonus. — The Regent endangered on all Sides. — He employs Eumenes against Antigonus. — Recals Olympias from Epirus. — Issues an Edict for restoring Democracy throughout Greece. — Phocion's Accusation and Execution. — Battle of Byzantium. — Athens surrenders to Cassander. — Is governed by Demetrius Phalereus. — Murder of Arrhidæus and Euridice. — Trial and Execution of Olympias. — Cassander rebuilds Thebes.

CHAP. IV.

Ptolemy
gains the
army of
Perdiccas.
Olymp. cxiv.
3.—B. C.
322.

THE conquest of Cyrene, through his general Ophellas, was but a prelude to the glory which Ptolemy gained in person, by his skilful defence of Egypt against Perdiccas, commanding the royal army of Alexander, till then unfoiled in any combat. The disasters of that army in the neighbourhood of Memphis, occasioned, as we have shewn, sedition among the soldiers, and a conspiracy of the officers, which ended in the murder of Perdiccas. Of this emergency Ptolemy availed himself with equal dexterity and boldness. Upon the day following his adversary's death, he came unguarded to the hostile camp, addressed the soldiers as countrymen and old companions in arms, embraced affectionately their commanders as his dearest personal friends. His camels and waggons then made their appearance, loaded with all sorts of necessaries for men, who, having undergone incredible hardships, were invited to a peaceful entertainment instead of being challenged to a new battle'. By this pleasing transition they

* Diodor. l. xviii. f. 36. and Arrian apud Phot. p. 221.

were

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were filled with an enthusiasm of gratitude. They saw no motive in Ptolemy but a concern for their happiness. Neither Python nor Seleucus, who were present, nor Antipater and Antigonus, who were shortly expected, nor any other of their admired commanders, could bear a competition in their affections with the brave and generous satrap of Egypt. Through the admiring acclamations of the multitude, he was encouraged to assume the envied title of protector of the kings and of the empire. But he prudently declined an insecure and anxious office, which must have withdrawn him from the government of his flourishing province; recommending however to this high dignity, a friend and benefactor, who, a few months before Perdiccas' hostile invasion, had marched to Egypt on a very different errand.

He refuses the protectorship, and recommends Arrhidæus.

By the same assembly which fixed the regency, and regulated the succession, the funeral honours of Alexander were entrusted to Arrhidæus², an officer in high credit with the phalanx, who employed nearly two years in preparations for this august solemnity. To convey the embalmed remains of the king from his palace in Babylon, to the temple of Jupiter Hammon, where he had expressed a desire to be interred, Arrhidæus had provided a colossal chariot thirty eight feet high, fourteen in breadth, and twenty two in length, drawn on four wheels, by sixty four mules of conspicuous beauty; and uniting in its decorations and design, the rich magnificence of the East, with the taste of Ionia, and the ingenuity of Athens. The golden canopy breathing precious perfumes, the golden throne supporting the arms of Alexander, and the burnished gold which composed its resplendent peristyle, formed but vulgar ornaments in a pageant variegated with oriental gems, profusely studding even the collars of the mules.

Merit of the latter, in conducting the funeral procession of Alexander.

² From similarity of name, this general is confounded with king Arrhidæus, for so the name is uniformly written by Plutarch in Alexand. Arrian and Diodorus. The Latin writers, Curtius and Justin, write the king's

name Arrhidæus, making it the same with the generals, which has caused the very general error of uniting into one person two men of most dissimilar characters.

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Painting and sculpture, arts highly indebted to the discerning munificence of Alexander, outshone the rubies of Asia, while they represented, with impressive energy, the unrivalled series of his victories; and the perfection of more useful arts which he had so zealously encouraged, was displayed in the gorgeous vehicle³ itself, whose suspension on a flexible spring, that humoured every inequality of surface, so as to retain the foliated diadem crowning the canopy, in the same horizontal position, will be more readily admired than imitated or even explained by our most skilful machinists⁴. By whatever means the exact equilibrium was preserved, and sixty four mules were made to act in concert upon such an enormous weight, this moving mausoleum was safely transported nine hundred miles from Babylon to Memphis, and thence to Alexandria⁵.

Why Alexander's successors disobeyed his last will, concerning his burial.

In disobeying Alexander's injunctions for burying him in the temple of Hammon, his successors were unanimous; and this seeming disregard to his last will, was really more respectful than would have been the most implicit submission to it. Shortly after his demise a prophecy was circulated and believed, that the country which received his remains, should surpass all other kingdoms of the earth in splendour and prosperity⁶. Each provincial governor wished to become the depositary of so valuable a treasure; while Perdikkas, himself a native of Pella, and who hoped soon to reign in that capital, insisted with much vehemence that the bones of Alexander ought to repose near those of his fathers in Macedon. But Aridaeus who had been entrusted with a body of troops to escort the funeral convoy, persevered inflexibly in his duty, and was proceeding through Syria in his way to Hammon, when he was respectfully met

³ Diodor. l. xviii. f. 26—28. and Arrian apud Phot. p. 220.

⁴ Such is the opinion of Count Caylus, who, in the xxxvi. vol. of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, has given the plan, elevation, and section of this wonderful car. His ingenious dissertation is disgraced

by the error of confounding Aridaeus, an enterprising officer, its contriver and conductor, with king Arrhidaeus, the feeble-minded brother of Alexander.

⁵ Pausanias Attic. c. 26. §. 7.

⁶ *Ellan. V. H.* l. xii. c. 6a.

by Ptolemy, whose entreaties proved more effectual than all the threats of his rivals'; and prevailed with the conductor of the procession, to make Memphis, and not Hammon, his gaol.

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From Memphis, the precious relicts of the king were shortly transported to the new Egyptian capital; there Alexander was worshipped in a lofty temple, long bearing his name, with such ceremonies and sacrifices, as the superstition of Greece had appropriated to departed heroes in the cities which they had founded*. The consecrated grove surrounding the temple was distinguished by games and festivals of peculiar magnificence. Allured by these favourite entertainments, by the commercial advantages of the city and country, above all, by the perfect security enjoyed under Ptolemy's administration, multitudes of new inhabitants resorted from all quarters to Egypt. Alexandria became the seat of industry and wealth, of ingenuity and learning. Instead of a provincial city, it gradually assumed the appearance of an imperial metropolis; and Egypt eventually derived from the policy of Ptolemy Soter, and the concurrence of Aridæus in his views, more substantial benefits than could have accrued to that kingdom from a long series of triumphs*.

Important
consequences
of his inter-
ment at
Alexandria.

To requite a favour, whose value the sagacity of Ptolemy enabled him duly to appreciate, he recommended Aridæus, together with Python, who had the principal share in the ruin of Perdiccas, as joint protectors of the empire. The soldiers provisionally ratified this nomination until the arrival of Antipater¹⁰; and the persons thus exalted to the highest situations in the state and army, listened only to the suggestions of ambition, and accepted with eager delight the dangerous dignities conferred on them.

Python joined
with
Aridæus in
the protec-
torship.

* Diodor. l. xviii. f. 28. and Arrian. Ibid.

⁹ Diodor. l. xviii. f. 28.

^{*} Ibid. l. xx. f. 102. Conf. Dio. Chrysostom Orat. l. xxxiii. p. 468.

¹⁰ Arrian, p. 221.

CHAP.

IV.

Violent proceedings of the army upon learning the death of Craterus.

Olymp.

cxiv. 3.

B. C. 322.

The Macedonian fleet, taken or destroyed by the Rhodians.

The authority of the protectors set at defiance by Euridice.—Her character and motives.

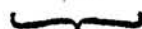
Meanwhile, news reached the camp, that Eumenes had gained a great victory in Lesser Asia; and, that Craterus, his ablest antagonist was slain. Had this intelligence arrived two days sooner, it would have had a tendency to disarm the conspirators against Perdiccas. The effect which it now produced, was only to exasperate the soldiers against the abettors of that tyrant. All his friends within their reach suffered instant death¹²; not excepting his sister Atalanta, wife to Attalus, who commanded his fleet.

Attalus upon learning the sad amount of public and private calamity, sailed from Pelusium to Tyre. From thence he continued his voyage to the coast of Caria, purposing to wrest that province from Asander, the boldest enemy of Perdiccas's party in Lesser Asia; but in a sea-fight with the new republic of the Rhodians, he was so fatally defeated¹³, that the great fleet laboriously equipped by Alexander, on the coasts of the Asiatic peninsula and Syria, thenceforward disappears from history. Demaratus, a Rhodian, commanded in this naval engagement, which secured the newly recovered liberty of his country, and thereby laid the foundation of its future glory¹⁴.

Meanwhile, the army under Python and Aridæus marched from Egypt towards Syria, in order to carry into execution a hasty military decree, passed against the adherents of Perdiccas; fifty of whom had been specified by name. At the head of the proscribed, were Eumenes and Alcetas; the former, since his victory over Craterus, commanding the finest provinces of Lesser Asia; the latter, brother to Perdiccas, and by his dexterity in gaining the Pisadian mountaineers, holding an unbounded authority over the rougher parts of that peninsula. The Macdonians had not proceeded far on their march when the protectors discovered, that besides the public delinquents whom they must first vanquish before they could punish them, other dangerous foes to their authority lurked in the bosom of the army

¹² Plutarch in Eumen. and Diodorus, extracted imperfectly, since the words are only *ἐκ τῶν ἐναντιοτάτων*. l. xviii. c. 37.

¹³ Arrian, p. 226. Photius has probably ¹⁴ Arrian, *ibid.*



itself. In the debate concerning Alexander's succession, Python had warmly opposed the partizans of Arrhidæus; and when that prince was declared king, had boldly expressed his indignation, "that in seeking an heir to the crown, the *family* of Alexander should have been preferred to his virtues". Neither the opposition itself, nor this contumelious expression with which it was accompanied, could ruffle the unfeeling serenity of king Arrhidæus; but the insult sank deep into the mind of Euridice, whose character was directly the reverse of her husband's. While Perdiccas held the regency, her mutinous spirit had been overawed; but now, that an inferior man and the object of her personal resentment, exercised that pre-eminent function, she made every exertion to lessen his power, and disturb his government. Through the popular arts with which she well knew how to operate on the rude military mind, Python, and his colleague Arrhidæus, saw their authority fast declining with the army. They complained, remonstrated, and bitterly reproved the indecorous interference of a woman in matters, by the consent of all nations, exclusively appropriated to the management of men. But in the various altercations respecting pay, preferment, and other military objects, the opinion of Euridice was still a law with the troops.

The pride of Python and Arrhidæus could no longer brook such accumulation of disgrace; and whether they really purposed to resign the name of an office, of which another exercised the whole power; or whether they hoped, by a striking solemnity to recall the soldiers to a sense of duty, they came to the extraordinary resolution of publicly abdicating the regency". This ceremony was performed at Trisparadissus, a town in Upper Syria¹⁶: such was the influence of the queen, that it passed without exciting in the army either repentance or regret; and wonderful to relate, the soldiers of Alexander were

In consequence of their resignation Alexander's army commanded by a woman.

¹⁴ Curtius, l. x. c. 7.

¹⁵ Arrian and Diodorus.

¹⁶ *Town near Emesa*, Syria, beyond the Orontes,

extending towards Cilicia. The town is called Paradissus by Ptolemy, v. 15. and Pliny, v. 23.

C H A P. commanded by a woman, when Antipater, by hasty marches, reached
IV. the royal camp.

Sedition on
the arrival
of Antipater.

That wary general had not advanced with sufficient celerity to assist Ptolemy against Perdiccas. It may indeed be suspected, that a man grown old, amidst the refinements of war and policy, was not displeased to see his rivals exhausting each other by mutual hostilities, while he himself stood aloof ready to profit by their misfortunes. Being informed by his emissaries, how deeply he was concerned in the late transactions at Trisparadifus, he hastened to that place, hoping that his authority with the army would compose all dissensions: But instead of a calm, his arrival produced a new and more dangerous storm. Notwithstanding the reverence in which he was held, by the officers and most of the cavalry, Euridice remained paramount with the veteran phalanx of Alexander, and the silver shielded *hyspaspists*, ready and licentious instruments in every tumult. She was heard with patience, while she opposed the establishment of any regency: and maintained, what her blindest partizans well knew that she did not believe, the competency of her husband Arrhidæus, to manage the state and army; while Antipater in endeavouring to appease the sedition, and overawe her boldness, narrowly escaped falling a victim to the enraged soldiery. He was saved through the intrepidity of Antigonus and Seleucus, who hastening through the ranks in their resplendent armour, and haranguing the men on subjects the most interesting to their passions, afforded an opportunity for Antipater to escape across a bridge, separating the main army from the division with which he had recently joined it".

His danger.

Repentance
of the sol-
diers who
call him to
the regency.

The disorder of the troops thus carried to the utmost extreme, naturally cured itself. When they reflected that they had nearly imbrued their hands in the blood of an aged and able commander, who, of all men living, was the best qualified to conduct them vic-

" Arrian, p. 222. Polyænus, l. iv. c. 6. ascribes the safety of Antipater to Antigonus only.
toriously

toriously to their longed for country, they felt compunction at their own proceedings, and joined with men of sounder minds, in recalling Antipater to the supreme command. He obeyed the general summons; and in publicly assuming his office, exposed the character and views of Euridice in so odious a light, that, high-minded as she was, fear silenced her other passions, and removed her farther opposition¹⁸.

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Olymp. cxiiv.
3.—B. C.
322.

The elevation of Antipater to the regency, afforded a fairer prospect of happiness than the empire had hitherto enjoyed. The unblemished dignity of his character, and his long and prosperous exercise of delegated power in Macedon, promised an administration equally prudent and vigorous; unclogged by competition, undisturbed by the intrigues of envy. Yet, besides his advanced age, for he was now in his seventy-seventh year¹⁹, various circumstances naturally resulting from his connections and habits, tended to blast the public hope. His contest with Eumenes about the government of the city of Cardia, in the Thracian Chersonesus, produced an irreconcilable enmity with the person best qualified to second his views when useful, or to correct them when pernicious. Eumenes, who was now master of the finest provinces of Lesser Asia, was not of a disposition tamely to resign them to the abetter of his own domestic foes, the little tyrants of Cardia, and who had opposed both his father and himself in their zeal for erecting that state into a commonwealth²⁰. As the lieutenant and representative of the murdered Perdiccas, Eumenes prepared to set Antipater at defiance; and thus the party disputes, in the little Greek city of Cardia, embroiled the dissensions in a great empire, and rendered them incurable.

Circumstances unfavourable to his administration—his old variance with Eumenes.

Another unfavourable circumstance disqualifying Antipater for the regency, was his uninterrupted residence in Europe during a long life. He was unacquainted with the affairs of Asia, which, in

His advanced age and uninterrupted residence in Europe.

¹⁸ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 38, 39. and Arrian, p. 221.

¹⁹ Suidas voc. Antipater.

²⁰ Plutarch in Eumenes.

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Alexander's
great plans
abandoned.

New distri-
bution of the
provinces by
Antipater.

his mind, occupied but a dark and narrow place; while Greece and Macedon, which he had long prosperously governed, shone with a magnified splendour far beyond their comparative importance. Alexander's great projects for improving the central provinces of Asia, for adorning and enriching Babylon the natural seat of empire, and for harmonising into one social and commercial system the greatest nations of the earth; all these designs were abandoned; the new harbours which he was constructing, the new routes for traffic which he was opening, the new and admirable institutions through which in the space of a few years he had disciplined into manhood the most effeminate of slaves, and reclaimed into humanity the most intractable of barbarians. Antipater was contented with appointing governors for the Asiatic provinces; his narrow span of life admitted not of remote plans of melioration; he was solicitous chiefly, that the revenues of Asia should be carefully collected, and regularly transmitted to Macedon; in which country, the object of his affections, because the scene of his glory, he purposed to spend the remainder of his days, and from thence, in the name of the kings, to issue his imperial mandates for the government of the eastern world.

With these views, he proceeded at Trisparadisus to make a new settlement of the empire. The feeble Arrhidæus, and Alexander's posthumous son by Roxana, a child three years old, were again declared its sole legitimate heirs. The governments of the several provinces were continued in the officers actually holding them; only Nicanor was substituted to the proscribed Eumenes in the satrapy of Cappadocia. But Eumenes was master of that satrapy, and many districts in its neighbourhood, from which he had expelled his enemies; he appears also to have defeated and destroyed Menander and Philotas, respectively satraps of Lydia and Cilicia; the former of whom, as above related, had first apprised Antipater of the projected marriage of Perdiccas with Cleopatra; and the latter, as we have seen more recently, had allowed an unobstructed march

march to the European army which came to assist Ptolemy, through the Cilician passes. New governors were therefore to be appointed for those empty provinces; Philoxenus was named for Cilicia; and Lydia, including Ephesus and other Greek sea-ports on its coast, was bestowed on Clytus, who had successfully commanded the Macedonian fleet during the Lamian war. Seleucus, whose merit had recently been signalised in appeasing the military tumult, was rewarded with the vacant satrapy of Babylonia, the object of eager desire to that young and ambitious chief, who, of all Alexander's lieutenants, best understood the great views of his master. In this distribution of the provinces, it was not to be expected that the interests of the late protectors should be forgotten. Python, to whom Media formerly was assigned, had been hitherto prevented by various important employments from taking possession of his government. A Mede named Atropates had rendered himself powerful in his native country"; of which he was to be dispossessed, only by an armed force. Python was entrusted with a sufficient detachment for this purpose; but Atropates still maintained possession of the northern and mountainous province, called from him Media Atrapatena; and transmitted it down, as we shall see hereafter, to a long line of descendants. Aridæus, Python's colleague in the protectorship, was substituted to the government of Hellespontian Phrygia, vacant by the death of Leonnatus in the Lamian war".

After thus distributing the provinces, Antipater appointed guardians of the treasuries in various strong-holds of the empire, and regulated the proportions of revenue necessary for supporting the dignity of the Imperial court, and for maintaining the great controuling army, one part of which was to accompany the persons of the kings, and another to be ready on all occasions to defend the safety of their dominions, and uphold the integrity of the empire. To procure

Guards appointed for the royal treasuries.

Arrian Exped. Alexand. l. iv. c. 18. l. xviii. c. 39.
Arrian anal. Phot. v. 25. and Diodor.

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money for immediate exigencies, a strong detachment was commissioned to transport part of the treasures in the fortress of Susa to Lower Asia. This trust was committed to Antigenes, who had done good service in the removal of Perdiccas; and who commanded three thousand silver-shielded hypaspists, the most audacious among the late mutineers, of whom Antipater was well pleased to purge the army²³.

Antipater's
want of discernment in
appointing
his lieutenants.—
Causes
thereof.

There was nothing amiss in these arrangements; but it still remained to appoint a general for suppressing Eumenes and other enemies to the empire; in naming to which office, Antipater was greatly wanting in the discernment of characters. His defect in this particular may be ascribed to the indolence of age, the unwillingness to alter opinions once formed, and the propensity to view men as they were, when he first examined and appreciated them, rather than such as they had become, through a change of circumstances and of habits. At fourscore, the mind's eye is shut to many avenues of information, which might dart on it new light: through the infirmities of the body, that variety of intercourse is intercepted, and those precious opportunities withheld, through which, chiefly, the real passions of men are revealed in unguarded moments; and the suspicious severity of age is not calculated to invite from others those discoveries which it is prevented from making by its own observation. In the former part of his life, Antipater had been noted for vigilance and discernment; but in his late removal from Macedonia, he had raised to the administration of that kingdom the incapacity and cruelty of Polyperchon; and in appointing a general of the empire in Asia²⁴, he was not less blind to the disloyal ambition of Antigonus. His own son, however, Cassander, a youth already distinguished by abilities equal to vast designs, was set over the *equestrian companions*²⁵; a commission which, according to the

²³ Id. *ibid.* p. 25.

²⁴ Appian *Syriac.* c. 53. calls Antigonus

...σπορος της ελης Ασίας.

²⁵ Arrian and Diodorus *ubi supra*

arrangements of Alexander above explained, made him second in command. Having thus adjusted the great affairs of the empire, Antipater joined part of the Asiatic army to the forces which he had conducted from Macedon, and committed the remainder of it to Antigonus that he might punish the public enemies. In proceeding towards the Grecian sea, expedition was unnecessary. The Macedonian dominions in Europe remained in a state of tranquillity. The Athenians were overawed by the wisdom of Phocion, and the terror of a foreign garrison: the Etolians had been repeatedly defeated in battle; and Menon, the brave Thessalian, an implacable enemy to the Macedonians, had perished obscurely amidst the domestic broils of his country. His daughter, Phthia, was married to Æacidas king of Epirus, and the offspring of this marriage, the renowned Pyrrhus, was to rival the merit, and far eclipse the fame, of his grandfather Menon.

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A tipater
marches
homewar l,
fending An-
tigonus to
reduce Eu-
menes.

In marching through the peninsula, Antipater detached a body of troops to enable Asander, governor of Caria, to drive the rebels from Pisidia. This undertaking was unsuccessful; for Alcetas and Attalus, partizans, as we have seen, of Perdiccas, had been joined by many Macedonians of distinction, dissatisfied with the new settlement of the empire. In consequence of a victory over Asander, these malecontents hoped to maintain their strong-holds in mount Taurus until a happier turn of affairs, without condescending to serve under Eumenes, long the object of their envy. Eumenes, who, besides a large body of well-exercised cavalry, commanded twenty thousand infantry, wished by all means to sooth his personal enemies, who were united with him in one great public interest. Could he have joined their forces to his own, he would have augmented his army by one half its actual number; and would have thus been in a condition to oppose Antigonus in the field. From confidence in his excellent cavalry, he had thoughts of fighting Antipater as he marched through the plain of Sardes. But his design was extremely

Why Eume-
nes prevent-
ed by Cleo-
patria from
fighting
Antipater.

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displeasing to Cleopatra, then resident in the Lydian capital. That princess feared that she had already done too much to provoke the ruling powers. If the battle was fought at Sardes, she would be suspected of occasioning it. She therefore entreated Eumenes to remove from her neighbourhood²⁶; and Eumenes shewed compliance to the sister of his revered master. When Antipater shortly afterwards arrived at Sardes, he severely reprimanded Cleopatra for still adhering to the ruined cause of desperate rebels. In her zeal to refute the accusation, many high words passed between them in presence of the army. A reconciliation, however, was effected before the protector left Sardes²⁷.

Antigonus' treach-
erous
designs,

Meanwhile Eumenes, after reiterated attempts to gain the co-operation of the Pisidian army, all of which were rendered abortive through the pride and obstinacy of its leaders²⁸, removed to his proper province of Cappadocia, which the avocations of his antagonists allowed time for placing in a fit posture of defence. It might be expected that Antigonus, in whom crafty selfishness was a conspicuous quality, would not be forward in taking measures for speedily terminating a war, the continuance of which secured that of his own power. By the same authority which constituted him general, he had been reinstated in his government of Phrygia, to which the smaller districts of Lycia and Pamphilia were annexed. The arrangements necessary in these provinces afforded specious pretences for delay. Antigonus farther protracted the time on the plea of winter quarters during a hard season, thinking that should operations be retarded until Antipater sailed for Europe, his own ambition would enjoy a fairer opportunity of profiting by military success. During this interval, his endeavours for gaining the affections of the troops, and even for withdrawing their allegiance from the kings and the protector to fix it on himself personally, escaped not the

discovered
by Cassan-
der.

²⁶ Arrian, p 225. Conf. Plutarch in Eumen.

²⁷ Id. *ibid*.

²⁸ Plutarch in Eumen.

penetrating

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penetrating eye of Cassander second in command. On pretence of taking leave of his father before he crossed the Hellespont, Cassander hastened to acquaint him, that Antigonus was totally unworthy of the confidence reposed in him. Antipater was unwilling to change his opinion hastily, or to alter the arrangements that he had made. He therefore allowed time for Antigonus's justification²²; of which delay the latter, who, according to the ancient proverb, knew better than any man how to eke out the lion's with the fox's skin²³, availed himself to remove many unfavourable suspicions by his assumed moderation and affected complaisance. Yet Antipater required that part of their respective armies should be exchanged. Antigonus, accordingly, received eight thousand five hundred Macedonian infantry, and an equal number of foreign cavalry; he likewise received his proportion of an hundred and forty elephants²⁴. With the remainder of the forces, and the persons of the kings, Antipater crossed the Hellespont, not without experiencing at Abydus a new mutiny of the veterans, clamorous for arrears and donatives²⁵. They followed, however, their general to Sestos, carrying with them seventy elephants; with part of which Pyrrhus, as we shall see hereafter, combated the Romans. They are the first of those warlike animals noticed in the history of Europe, if we reject the fabulous procession of Bacchus drawn in triumph by Indian elephants to Boeotian Thebes²⁶.

Antipater returns to Macedon — Elephants first brought to Europe.

Antipater had no sooner taken his departure, than Antigonus finding the career for his own ambition thereby unobstructed, took the field against Eumenes in Cappadocia. Without trusting to the superiority of his troops in quality still more than in number, he had employed means for seducing Apollonides commanding the enemy's cavalry, and other officers who dreaded to commit their new levies

Eumenes defeated by Antigonus.

²² Arrian, p. 225.

²³ Plutarch in Lyfand.

²⁴ Arrian, p. 225.

²⁵ Id. *ibid.*

²⁶ Diodor. *l. iv. c. 3.*

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contrives
however to
inter his
slain.

His dexte-
rity in elud-
ing the
enemy.

with the veteran bands of Macedon. In a decisive battle, the scene of which is not specified, Eumenes was deserted by those traitors. After a great slaughter, his army was put to flight; and Antigonus in hopes of seizing the person of his adversary, was carried in the pursuit to a wide distance from the field. Eumenes, defeated but not disheartened, availed himself of this circumstance to revisit by a secret path the scene of action, and to raise two funeral piles, of which the materials were collected from neighbouring villages, built intirely of wood. On these lofty pyres, consecrated with due form, he burnt the remains of his slain companions; an exploit which from the superstitious veneration then prevalent for the Manes of the dead, wonderfully delighted his friends, while it astonished and terrified his enemies²⁴.

Having lost above eight thousand men in battle, he was unable again to face Antigonus in the field. But the neighbouring intricacies of Taurus, with which he was well acquainted, gave him an opportunity of eluding, and sometimes harrassing, his pursuers. In a short time, however, he discovered that as his troops were too few for combat, so they were too numerous for flight. On one occasion, he is said to have deprived them of an opportunity of plundering Antigonus's baggage, which would have rendered them still more unwieldy, by conveying secret intelligence to the officer who escorted it. At length he came to the resolution of disbanding the greater part of his forces, fixing a place of rendezvous, where, at a more favourable crisis, they might again repair to his standard; and with a body of six hundred horse, unalterably devoted to his cause, threw himself into the strong fortress of Nora²⁵. Antipater in the extremity of old age had fallen sick immediately upon his return to Macedon²⁶. Should his death speedily ensue, Eumenes might expect deliverance from the resentment that persecuted him.

²⁴ Diodor. l. xviij. c. 40. and Plutarch in Eumenes.

²⁵ Plutarch, *ibid*.

²⁶ Suidas voc. Antipater.

The fortress of Nora, judiciously chosen for his retreat, was situated on the western frontier of Cappadocia, between two arms of the river Halys, and between two branches of Taurus, the northern of which is so lofty that it surveys at once the Euxine and Mediterranean seas. The whole of the fortified inclosure occupied two furlongs in circuit, with sides exceedingly steep, containing corn, wood, and water; and its defences had been constructed with such solidity by the Cappadocian kings, that their ruins are still discernible at a place called Bour; art thus conspiring with nature to render Nora impregnable.

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Shuts himself up in Nora.—
That fortress described.

Antigonus blocked up the place with walls and ditches, but was less solicitous about taking it, than anxious to gain Eumenes for his friend. With such a coadjutor, he would have been in a condition to throw off the mask, and not only to set Antipater at defiance, but every succeeding authority that might rise up in the empire. For attaining ends so desirable, he exhausted all those winning arts, through which, not less than by his great military talents, he had attained his actual elevation. Eumenes, after taking due precautions for the safety of his person, consented to an interview. Antigonus would probably have granted to him the terms which he demanded, reparation for his pecuniary losses, and the restitution of his provinces; had not Eumenes declared, that while possessed of his sword, he never would acknowledge any superior, except in the family of Alexander. This bold sentiment terminated the conference: Antigonus only rejoined, that the conditions of the surrender of Nora must be referred to Antipater. Eumenes was then remitted to his fortress, which was again subjected to blockade²².

Antigonus attempts to gain him to his treacherous design.

Immediately after this transaction, Antigonus proceeded to assail the public enemies in Pisidia. His celerity was now as conspicuous, as his tardiness had been blameable, before the return of Antipater.

Antigonus defeats the rebels in Pisidia.—
His extra-

²² Conf. Strabo, l. xii. p. 311. Diodor. l. xviii. c. 41. and Plutarch in Eumen.

Diodorus and Plutarch, *ibid.*

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ordinary
march thi-
ther.

to Macedon. In seven days and nights, he performed a march of two thousand and five hundred stadia, amounting to nearly thirty-three British miles daily, which was, and still continues, to be, the usual rate of Asiatic couriers. But the Greeks, it must be observed, were not loaded with their heavy armour, except on the near vicinity of an enemy³⁹; and the rapidity of Antigonus's march is not inconsistent with experience in as far as two great divisions of his force are concerned, the cavalry and the elephants. By the suddenness of his invasion, he surprised and seized the various passes in Pisidia, through which the enemy might have eluded pursuit, and protracted the war. Alcetas with his associates were forced to a decisive battle at Creton. They were completely defeated. Attalus, Docimus, and Laomedon governor of Syria, who had joined them for a reason that will presently be explained, were made prisoners. Most of the troops laid down their arms; received quarter, and reinforced the conqueror⁴⁰.

Death of
Alcetas,
Pindicus'
brother. —
Singular af-
fection shown
to him by
the Pisidians.

Of all the generals Alcetas alone escaped, through the activity of his Pisidian mountaineers, whom, as above related, he had attached unalterably to his person by kind offices. Through their zealous assistance he reached Termessus, the principal city in Pisidia, near the northern frontier of Lycia. Antigonus pursued him thither, assaulted the place, and so much intimidated the magistrates and more aged citizens, that they entered into a secret agreement for betraying to him his adversary. They were reduced to this base measure, because the young and warlike portion of their community was so firmly rivetted in affection to Alcetas, that, as the magistrates assured Antigonus, it would be impossible for themselves to carry their design into execution, unless by a feint retreat after a feeble attack, he should decoy their young men from the city: in which case, they would avail themselves of their absence, to seize the per-

³⁹ This is expressed by Arrian when he says the army was *τοῦτο γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ μάχῃ*, and Curtius, *Arma quæ in sarcinis antea fere-*

bantur, l. v. c. ii.

⁴⁰ Polyan. l. iv. c. 6.

son of Alcetas. The stratagem succeeded partially; for Alcetas avoided captivity by a voluntary death. Antigonus disgracefully insulted the remains of his countryman and fellow-soldier. For this brutality towards their deceased friend, the Pisidians of Termessus vowed against him eternal vengeance; and after the departure of his invading army, celebrated Alcetas' obsequies with solemn pomp, scarcely restraining themselves, in revenge for the baseness of their magistrates, from swelling the magnificence of his funeral pyle by the conflagration of their own city⁴¹. Such was the affectionate fidelity of the Termessians, worthy of their ancestors the renowned Solymi, whom Homer had anciently celebrated as the bravest of men⁴².

Antigonus had hardly finished the Pisidian war, when he received intelligence of the conquest of Syria by Ptolemy, and of Antipater's death: events respectively calculated to inflame his rivalry, and to swell his hopes. Ptolemy, who had at first confined his sober views to the possession of Egypt, had been encouraged by favourable circumstances to make the conquest of Cyrenè. Syria in its extensive sense, comprehending Palæstine and Phœnicia, offered him a far more tempting prize. Not to mention the near neighbourhood, the fertility, the populousness, and other general advantages of these provinces, Phœnicia still abounded with mariners and well constructed harbours; the mountains of Palæstine were replenished with useful metals, particularly iron; and Syria Proper, especially the lofty ridges of Libanus and Antilibanus overhanging intricate vales and irriguous plains, produced in great plenty the finest timber. Ptolemy, who had early discerned the channels through which wealth was destined to flow into his country, and begun earnestly to prepare a great naval force, could not fail to cast wishful eyes on the harbours of Phœnicia, and to view with equal avidity the profusion

Conquest of Syria by Ptolemy.— His motives to that undertaking. Olymp. cxiv. 3 B.C. 322.

⁴¹ Diodor. l. xvii. s. 47, 48.

Strabo, p. 631. and 665.

⁴² Homer, Il. l. vi. v. 184. & seq. Conf.

C H A P. of iron and timber in Palæstine and Syria, articles peculiarly essential
 IV. to his plan, and of which his own satrapy of Egypt was altogether
 destitute. Laomedon, a native of Mytelene in the isle of Lesbos, commanded in Syria, by the appointment of Antipater and the great controuling army. But the forces with which he had been entrusted for defence were so inconsiderable, that Ptolemy endeavoured to gain him without a struggle to his views. Laomedon rejected rewards and promotions from a man whom he regarded as his equal. He fought, was defeated, and made prisoner. Syria Proper and Phœnicia submitted to the conqueror¹.

The Jews
 alone man-
 fully resist—
 are indul-
 gently treat-
 ed.

But amidst the unwarlike tameness of their neighbours, the natives of Palæstine restrained by their oath recently tendered to Laomedon, manfully resisted the troops which Ptolemy sent against them. He entered their country with a large reinforcement; made an easy conquest of several subordinate towns, but besieged Jerusalem unsuccessfully, till observing the veneration of its inhabitants for the seventh day of the week, he availed himself of this circumstance to assault and take the place on the sabbath. To break the vigour of a nation whose obstinate bravery and love of independance had often been experienced by the conquerors of the East, he carried with him above a hundred thousand Jewish captives into Egypt; consisting chiefly of the young and warlike, and of all who were likely to prove dangerous either by their counsels or exertions. The inferior classes of men were left to cultivate their fields and vineyards; and were protected in their useful labours without enduring any oppressive imposts. Notwithstanding the great proportion of the people whom he transported to Egypt, Ptolemy's treatment of the Jews was celebrated for its clemency. The nation flourished in peace at home; and their expatriated countrymen, by their virtuous and manly behaviour, especially their unwearied industry and inviolable fidelity, gained such credit with their new master, that he pro-

Their high
 considera-
 tion in
 Egypt.

¹ Appian Syriac. c. 52. and Diodorus, l. xviii. f. 41.

moted them to civil offices of the highest trust, or committed to their defence, the most important strong-holds in his dominions⁴⁴.

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Antigonus, if he was not previously informed of Ptolemy's new conquest, must have learned it from the unfortunate Laomedon, who escaped confinement in Egypt, only as above related, to become Antigonus' prisoner in Pisidia⁴⁵. About the same time he received intelligence of a different complexion, from his agent and flatterer Aristodemus the Milesian; who hastened with a mercenary diligence to announce the death of Antipater, and the accession of the unworthy Polyperchon to the regency. To a man who wished to raise his own greatness on the ruins of established authority, the intelligence was important, and peculiarly seasonable amidst his double triumph over Eumenes and Alcetas, at the two extremities of the Asiatic peninsula: that invaluable country, through the resources of which Antigonus already hoped to attain the empire of all Asia.

Death of
Antipater.
Olymp. cxv.
2.—B. C.
319.

Hopes with
which that
event inspir-
ed Anti-
gonus.

While Antipater lived, the weight of his name was calculated to repress such towering hopes. Philip used to say that he could always sleep soundly, when he knew that Antipater waked; and Alexander marked his character with equal brevity, when, to one who observed, that of all his generals, Antipater alone never wore purple, he replied, "Antipater is all purple within!" The more he was adorned with the virtues of royalty, the less he appeared solicitous about its external trappings. Having long acted the second part, under the two greatest monarchs in the world, and being called by public admiration to govern the empire in name of their successors, he had nearly reached his eightieth year in the

Character of
Antipater.

⁴⁴ Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. Conf. Apion. l. i. c. 22.

⁴⁵ Laomedon must by some unknown transaction have offended Antipater, otherwise he would have sought his protection, or that of his lieutenant Antigonus, instead of

flying to Alcetas in Pisidia. The small body of troops with which he had been entrusted for defending so important a country as Syria, strengthens this conjecture.

⁴⁶ Plutarch, Apophth.

C H A P. steady performance of complicated duties towards prince and p

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In the nomination indeed of Antigonus as his lieutenant in Asia, and of Polysperchon, as his successor in the regency, he was guilty of great and irretrievable errors. But in all preceding transactions, deep sagacity, joined with indefatigable diligence, marked his conduct both as a minister and general: and amidst perpetual scenes of treason and sedition, when the uniform loyalty, and temperate dignity of this able and honest man, are contrasted with the wild extravagance and profligate enterprise of too many of his contemporaries, Antipater should seem to have casually dropped, as it were, from the disciplined regularity of some more peaceful age, into the turbulent times in which it was his lot to live. During the exercise of the highest employments, that any man in the rank of a subject ever filled, he found leisure to cultivate both letters and science. His long and intimate friendship with the philosopher, Aristotle, continued to the death of the latter, five years before his own; and of Aristotle's testament still remaining¹, he is appointed the executor; such offices to his friends not appearing to his unwearied activity, incompatible with the command of armies and government of kingdoms. He composed several now lost works of history. Those relating to his own times are the more to be regretted, because, they would doubtless, have rescued his name from that obloquy to which it has been exposed with posterity. For in future ages, Antipater was for ever to be branded as the murderer of Demosthenes, the blazing patriot, and incomparable orator. Such is the glory of letters! that this single transaction, the punishment of an eloquent rebel, whose life could only have served again to embroil the affairs of Greece, excites more popular resentment against Antipater, than his appointment of such men as Antigonus and Polysperchon to govern the most distinguished portions of Asia and Europe; and

¹ Diogen. Laert. in Aristot.

thus subjecting numerous nations to unprincipled ambition and merciless cruelty.

In the worst act of Antipater's life, the recommendation of Polyperchon to the regency, there was an apparent disinterestedness, since he sought for a successor in the commonwealth, rather than in his own family. His son, Cassander, who speedily quitted his uneasy situation in Asia as second in command to Antigonos, had been employed during his father's malady in administering the government of Macedon, and in superintending the various commonwealths of Greece, governed under the protection of garrisons, by Macedonian partizans. Cassander was only in his twenty-third year; but nature had furnished him with premature craft, and qualified him for high designs by restless ambition and indefatigable energy. He was a man peculiarly formed to inspire confidence, to gain partizans, and to produce revolutions. But being not less enterprising in love than in politics, he had successfully courted the high-minded Euridice, whom, as the mistress of his own affections, he wished to render sole sovereign of the empire; not doubting that, could he procure for her the first place, she would be at no loss how to bestow the second. This intrigue, which had not escaped the notice of Antipater, could not fail greatly to incense him. He knew the pride, and had experienced the boldness of that imperious woman, whose animosity, on an occasion formerly mentioned, had put his life in danger. Her mother Cynna, and her aunt Cleopatra had both of them disturbed his government. Olympias, above all, had occasioned to him perpetual disquietude, until her involuntary removal to Epirus. From the behaviour of these Macedonian females, equally unprincipled in the gratification of their fiercer and softer passions, Antipater conceived a general prejudice against the whole sex, which he was at so little pains to conceal, that as the last injunction to his successor in the regency, he conjured him on no pretence whatever, to permit the interference of women in matters

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Antipater
appoints
Polyper-
chon regent
— to the
prejudice
of his own
son Cassan-
der. Olymp.
cxv. 2.
B. C. 319.

Cassander's
intrigue with
Euridice.

CHAP. of government, for which they were totally disqualified through the
 IV. imperfections both of their talents and of their temper⁴¹. This advice he well knew would be thrown away on the youth of Cassander; we shall see that it was equally disregarded by the old age of Polysperchon.

Measures for
 maintaining
 his power in
 Europe.

The son of Antipater, who remembered that as second in command, he had been a mere cypher under the ambitious Antigonus, was not likely to rest contented with a similar condition under Polysperchon. Before the news of his father's death had time to reach Greece, he gave orders to Nicanor, an enterprising officer, recently gained to his interest, to take the command of the Macedonians guarding the harbour of Athens, called Munychia; and he thereby established a new and zealous partizan, in an important strong-hold. As the nations around him remained in perfect tranquillity, his presence was not wanted in the army. He resided at his estates in the country; seemingly devoted to hunting and other rural amusements; but much serious business wholly engrossed his thoughts⁴². His old friends were secured: new and useful connections were formed; and having adjusted to his satisfaction the affairs of Greece and Macedon, comparatively domestic concerns, he crossed the Hellespont, on pretence of a great hunting match in Phrygia, to solicit foreign co-operation in the designs which he meditated.

He applies
 to Antigonus
 in Asia.—
 Proceedings
 and views of
 the latter.
 Olymp.
 cxxv. 2.
 B. C. 319.

Of all men, Antigonus was the last to whom it might be expected, that Cassander would have recourse: yet, so variable are the hatreds as well as the friendships of politicians, that Antigonus was the person from whom he asked and received the most important aid. Upon the death of Antipater, the fortune of his lieutenant in Asia had flowed with such a prosperous tide, that he ventured in several instances to betray the unwarrantable designs which occupied him. He traversed Asia Minor, seizing fortresses, displacing governors, and raising heavy contributions⁴³. Cassander, in Caria, and Aridæus, in the

Diodorus, l. xix. f. 11.

⁴¹ Id. l. xviii. f. 49.

⁴² Id. l. xviii. f. 51.

Lesser Phrygia, perceived his designs, but were unable to defeat them. They were gradually cooped up within narrow limits; while a harder fate awaited Clytus in the more important province of Lydia. He was entirely dispossessed of the country, and compelled to fly with his fleet to Polyperchon. Antigonus then took possession of Ephesus, and as four vessels sailed into its harbour with six hundred talents, part of the treasures, which, according to above-mentioned orders of Antipater, had been transported from Upper Asia, Antigonus detained this sum intended for the immediate service of the kings, saying that he stood in great need of it, for the payment of their Asiatic army¹. Before these disloyal proceedings, he had made a second unsuccessful attempt for gaining the invaluable friendship of Eumenes; a man, who in his quality of stranger, was not likely ever to dispute with him the first rank, and who by his consummate dexterity, was peculiarly well calculated for supporting another in that envied pre-eminence².

Agreeably to their preceding arrangement, Eumenes had sent his friend Jerom of Cardia to Macedon, with the conditions demanded in return for personal submission, and the surrender of his fortress of Nora. Jerom met with nothing but reproach from Polyperchon; but on his way back to Nora, was kindly received by Antigonus, who committed to him an instrument granting to Eumenes the full extent of his demands, only requiring him to swear a sincere amity with himself. To Eumenes, who was determined never to acknowledge a superior but in the house of Alexander, a treaty of unconditional friendship with Antigonus, seemed equivalent to an oath of fealty to an usurper. When the writing was tendered to him, he therefore inserted before the word Antigonus, as often as it occurred, the names of the kings and Olympias, stipulating thereby a steady adherence to Antigonus, while that general maintained his fidelity to the royal line. Antigonus' forces which blocked up Nora, readily

His negotia-
tion with
Eumenes,

his escape
from Nora.

¹ Diodorus l. xviii. §. 32.

² Plutarch in Eumen.

admitted:

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admitted the insertion; neither the officers nor men having any suspicion of their general's guilty designs. Eumenes seized the favourable moment for recovering his freedom with that of his faithful adherents. Their horses being kept in daily exercise in their stables were nimble for flight; and had already carried them beyond the reach of their enemies, when Antigonus, enraged at receiving a different instrument from that which he had tendered, sent orders to block up Nora more carefully than ever¹¹.

Succours afforded by Antigonus to Cassander.

The drift and spirit of all these transactions sufficiently convinced Cassander, that Antigonus would heartily co-operate with him in destroying the authority of the kings and Polysperchon. He received from his personal enemy thirty five galleys, and four thousand veterans; and though Antigonus granted this succour to a man whom he detested, on pretence of gratitude and respect for his deceased father, yet his real motive was to embroil the affairs of Europe, that thereby, his own career of ambition might be unobstructed in Asia. His well grounded hopes, as we shall see presently, were completely realised.

Measures adopted by Polysperchon for opposing all his enemies
Olymp. cxv.
3—B. C.
318.

Meanwhile, Polysperchon alarmed by the defection of Antigonus in Asia, the preparations of Cassander in Greece, and the high credit of Euridice with the soldiers, which perpetually disturbed his government, even in Macedon itself, deliberated with his council about the means of resisting this three-fold hostility. For opposing Antigonus, fortune seemed seasonably to have presented the fittest of all instruments. While that general betrayed the most dangerous designs, Polysperchon learned with a pleasing astonishment, that at the same crisis his folly had untied the hands of the man best qualified to thwart them. To avail himself of this error, Polysperchon wrote to Eumenes in the name of his royal masters, appointing him sole general of the army in Asia, and submitting to his absolute disposal the treasuries in Susa and Kuinda, and in other strong-holds of the East. At the same time the

He appoints Eumenes general of the empire in Asia.

¹¹ Diodor. *ibid.* et Plutarch in Eumene.

provincial governors in Asia were commanded to join his standard with their respective contingents; and should these forces prove insufficient, Polysperchon added, that he would himself conduct an army from Europe, and strenuously co-operate in a warfare to which they were all summoned by every principle of honour and of duty."

Recalls
Olympias
into Macedon.

To counterbalance the weight of Euridice with the army in Macedon, the council of Polysperchon could hit on no better expedient than the recall of Olympias, then residing with her brother Æacidas in Epirus. As mother to Alexander, Olympias enjoyed a degree of credit with the Macedonians, which even the abilities of Antipater had been unable to controul. That illustrious viceroy, who well knew the detestable wickedness of her nature, had consulted the public safety and his own, by compelling her to live in a sort of honourable exile in Epirus; where she had been recently visited by the beautiful Roxana her daughter-in-law, together with Alexander Ægeus her grandchild, then in his fourth year, the joint heir to the empire. With these precious pledges, endeared to the Macedonians by the memory of their heroic king, Olympias prepared to return in a sort of triumph" to a country which she had quitted with the deepest mortification; hoping to gratify her ambition, above all to satiate her vengeance.

Cassander's deep-rooted interest in Greece was the third and worst evil that afflicted Polysperchon. To remedy this seemingly desperate malady, recourse was had to a still more desperate cure; it was determined to destroy in a moment that singular fabric of government which Philip's long reign had laboriously erected in that country. The decree or edict for this purpose affords a memorable instance of the plausible language, with which those entrusted with public affairs too frequently disguise their most blameable undertakings. It was written in name of the kings, "from whose ancestors,

Publishes an
edict for re-
establishing
democracy
in Greece.

" Diodor. l. xviii. c. 28. Plutarch ubi supra.

" Id. ibid.

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Greece was said to have derived inestimable benefits. But during the long absence of Alexander, calamities had fallen on that country through the misconduct of his generals and ministers. The design of the present edict was to redress former errors, to restore numerous exiles to their respective cities, and to re-establish in every Grecian state its hereditary form of democratic policy. In return for such invaluable favours, the Greeks were required collectively and individually to stipulate that they would never bear arms against the kings, nor in any other manner make opposition to their interest." Though the intercourse by resident ambassadors was anciently unknown among independent states, yet amidst unequal confederacies, the inferior powers generally employed delegates to attend the councils, and watch the resolutions, of the paramount republic or kingdom. In this capacity certain Greeks living at Pella, received the Macedonian edict, to be communicated by them to their respective commonwealths; a writing, which, under the form of favourable concessions, contained mandates equally cruel and perfidious. Its execution was said, in the instrument itself, to be committed to Polysperchon, whom the Greeks were taught to regard as their beneficent protector, and commanded implicitly to obey¹⁶.

Calamities
occasioned
thereby in
Greece.
Olymp.
civ. 3.
B.C. 318.

This circular letter of the kings was no sooner diffused through Greece, than Polysperchon, as if he had intended to show how unworthily such high trust had been reposed in him, wrote a second epistle in his own name, advising the several republics to embrace the present opportunity for taking vengeance on the inveterate enemies of their laws and liberties. The counsel was not given in vain. That popular licence, which had so long been repressed through the authority of Macedon, broke out with an accumulated fury when fomented and inflamed by the same power which had formerly restrained its rage. Throughout most cities of Greece the individuals distinguished by rank or merit were banished, plundered, or

¹⁶ Diodor. l. xviii. f. 35. & seq.

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Aristocracy
maintained
in Athens,
while all
around re-
sumed de-
mocracy.

put to death; the rabble under their malignant and long envious leaders tyrannising with unbridled rapine and sanguinary cruelty¹⁷.

But in the city of Athens, ever destined to distinction in history, a city itself the source and fountain of democracy, the party of the nobles remained master through the precaution which Cassander had taken to support it. His partizan, Nicanor, kept possession of the Munychia; despised the authority of the kings, defied the threats of Polysperchon, and derided the injunctions and intrigues of Olympias, who, elated with the near prospect of recovering her former credit, presumed, though yet an exile among the barbarous Epirots, unseasonably to interfere in the public transactions of the empire. Nicanor was encouraged to persevere in this boldness by the strength of his walls; the unsettled state of the regency; above all, by just confidence in the abilities of Cassander, in whose cause he had embarked his fortunes. He easily perceived, however, that Athens, surrounded with insurrection, must soon catch the flame. To anticipate that danger, he diligently levied troops; admitted them secretly into the Munychia; and by an assault equally successful and sudden, surprized the Piræus¹⁸.

The condition of the Athenians now seemed truly deplorable; oppressive to their persons, and cruelly painful to their pride. They who had so nobly maintained their freedom against the arms of Macedon, were alone held in subjection in defiance of the precise orders of the Macedonian kings. At the moment when they had reason to expect the recovery of the Munychia, they had been robbed of the Piræus; and their servitude was thus rivetted by double and most galling chains; their two renowned harbours, the source of their consideration and wealth, the bright ornaments of their republic, and the proud monuments of their naval glory. Humbled still more than weakened by their misfortunes, they applied to Phocion, their usual resource on every distressful emergence,

Discontents
of the Athe-
nians.

¹⁷ Plutarch in Phocion.

¹⁸ Diodor. *ibid.*

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and to Conon the son of Timotheus, whose merit ably sustained the fame of an illustrious line of ancestors. These two virtuous citizens were commissioned to treat with Nicanor about withdrawing his garrisons. But, instead of answering their arguments on this subject, he remitted them to Cassander, by whom, he said, the Munychia had been entrusted to him, for whose interests he had seized the Piræus, and to whom only he thought himself responsible⁹⁹.

Revolution
in favour of
democracy.
Olymp.
cxv. 3.
B. C. 318.

Meanwhile the Athenians pressed Polysperchon with repeated embassies, stating that in their case only, the royal edict had been most daringly violated. Careless of such solicitations, but instigated by his own passions and interests, Polysperchon made great levies, and entrusted them to his son Alexander. This Macedonian army was reinforced by a numerous band of Athenian exiles, of out-laws, and of that description of men called inhabitants, to denote their mere residence in the commonwealth, without enjoying any pretensions to its offices or honours. The united force marched towards Attica with orders to drive Nicanor from his strong-holds; while Polysperchon and the royal guards attending king Arrhidæus, followed more slowly to reap the fruits of victory. Upon Alexander's arrival at Athens, Phocion endeavoured to convince him of the extreme danger of committing that republic into the hands of the licentious multitude, and was listened to with complaisance, when he advised him, instead of restoring to the Athenians the Piræus and Munychia, should those harbours fall into his hands, to retain them in his own power, and bridle them by vigorous garrisons. Alexander's frequent interviews with Nicanor, whom he had been sent to combat, alarmed the suspicions of the Athenians; but when they discovered the advice given to the former by Phocion, their fears were converted into fury. To men animated by the party passions which domineered the Athenian populace, Phocion's real concern for the safety of his friends and fellow-citizens, could appear in no other

⁹⁹ Plutarch in Phocion.

light but that of the most manifest treachery to the liberties and independence of the commonwealth. An assembly was hastily summoned: strangers, out-laws, persons noted with infamy, and even slaves were admitted to the right of suffrage: the present aristocracy was abolished, and all those who had participated in its administration, were condemned to death, if they did not elude that sentence by a voluntary banishment. Conon and Pericles fled, with many other well known names hereditary in the most illustrious families of the commonwealth. Demetrius Phalereus, a young man hitherto distinguished only as the favourite scholar of the philosopher Theophrastus, withdrew himself on this occasion from popular rage, that he might emerge from obscure banishment at a happier crisis to promote the best interests of his country.

Phocion, and a few friends unalterably attached to him, less anxious for personal safety than zealous for any expedient through which the most worthy portion of the Athenians might be saved from ruin, had recourse to Alexander, by whom they were warmly recommended to his father Polysperchon. The protector sufficiently relished the advice given by Phocion to his son, with regard to the Athenian harbours. His object was to be master both of them and of the city. If Phocion could have best promoted this view, he would have espoused his cause; but that great man was now the victim of mistaken persecution; and Polysperchon saw the inconsistency of governing by an aristocracy, the most conspicuous city of the confederacy, after he had just published an edict for restoring all Greece to democratic freedom⁶⁶. In his transaction, therefore, with the unfortunate Athenians who came to solicit his aid, no consideration restrained him from the indulgence of his natural brutality.

Phocion recommended to Polysperchon by his son Alexander.

In their journey to Polysperchon in Phocis, the Athenians were accompanied by Dinarchus a Corinthian, who flattered them and himself with his mighty influence over the mind of the protector in

The Athenians tried by Polysperchon.—His execrable cruelty.

⁶⁶ Diodor. l. xvii. c. 66.

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consequence of old familiarity and mutual good offices. Dinarchus fell sick at Elatæa, which occasioned a most unseasonable delay, for the assembly of Athens, agitated by demagogues, dispatched in this interval an embassy to Polysperchon, arraigning Phocion and his companions. The adverse parties met the king and protector at an obscure Phocian village near the foot of mount Arorion. To give the semblance of regularity and pomp to a trial disgraced by every circumstance of injustice and cruelty, Polysperchon ordered a pavilion to be raised for king Arrhidæus, covered with a canopy of gold: and when the tribunal was constituted in the usual form, showed that public motives only were to influence his conduct, by consigning his personal friend Dinarchus to the instruments of torture. “.

Phocion.—
His character and unworthy treatment.

It will be easier to conceive the consternation of those who trusted to the intercession of the ill-fated Corinthian, than to imagine the mingled sentiments which agitated Phocion's breast, where humanity ennobled by dignity had long fixed her throne. He had passed his eightieth year in the enjoyment or contempt of the greatest rewards which kings or commonwealths can bestow. Forty-five times he had been elected general of the Athenians, without once soliciting that high station. The allies of his republic had presented him with crowns and statues; and even its enemies admired his abilities and venerated his virtues. Philip, and his immortal son who delighted in every kind of merit, laboured successively and strenuously to gain Phocion to their interests. The man who, amidst the most lucrative employments of his country, remained poor from inclination and taste, might reject the insolent generosity of strangers; but Phocion did more; he preferred serving a republic whose levity he despised, whose vices he detested, whose hasty resentment he had often experienced, to the generosity and friendship of princes whom his discernment justly held in the highest estimation. Having fallen amidst the turbulence and madness of the latter democracy, he

“ Plutarch in Phocion.

often stemmed the torrent of popular frenzy ; and the fiercest demagogues had often trembled at the frown of Phocion. All the splendid excellencies of his character were harmonized by the mild lustre of humanity ; and this was his true glory, that those terrible eyebrows with which his enemies reproached him, had never rebuked insultingly the meanest citizen, nor ever threatened vengefully the most implacable adversary. Such mild dignity of life availed not to avert death from a wicked tribunal, before which he was often interrupted by the unfeeling demagogue Agnonides, and often reproached by the detestable Polyſperchon. At length, stamping the ground with his feet, the protector dismissed sternly the accused persons from his presence, that they might be thrown in irons, and thus remanded to Athens. In a letter to the new magistrates of that city, he told them that Phocion and his friends appeared to him guilty of many crimes ; but that their fate ought ultimately to be decided by the Athenian people. In this forbearance Polyſperchon was guided, not by the hope of mitigating his guilt of blood, for of that he seemed altogether careless, but by his desire of soothing and seducing the Athenian multitude, who panted for an opportunity of exercising their recently acquired right of impeachment and punishment. Phocion was accused of subverting the free government of Athens, and a time was appointed for hearing his defence. This was the only regular part of the proceedings ; for, at sight of the promiscuous rabble crowding the market-place, a virtuous citizen exclaimed, that since the decision belonged to Athenians, strangers and slaves ought to be excluded from the assembly. His observation only provoked the threats of the populace. No one ventured to rise in favour of Phocion ; and when he began to plead for himself, his voice was drowned in rude clamours, until he proceeded to ask, “ whether they meant to condemn him justly, or unjustly ? ” The answer being returned “ justly.” “ How can you know that,” he rejoined, “ unless I am heard.” But his second attempt to speak

His trial and
execution.
Olymp.
cxv. 3.
B. C. 318.

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was overpowered with equal brutality, the multitude only observing the violent and varied agitations of his body while he defended the lives of his dearest friends. On this interesting subject, affection invigorating his voice, he was heard to say, "I willingly submit to death, but why should you destroy these innocent men?" The multitude replied, "because they are your friends." Agnonides then read his prepared decree for proceeding to immediate execution.

While the prisoners were conducted to punishment, several of them melted into tears at taking the last farewell of their friends and kinsmen. But Phocion maintained that steady composure and firm aspect, with which he had often led the Athenians to battle, and often returned in triumph amidst the general acclamations of his countrymen. Yet his heroism could not now overawe the brutish multitude intoxicated with their mad victory over abilities and virtues. Many loaded him with reproaches, all rejoiced at his misfortunes, one wretch spat in his face. Phocion only noticed this insult, by saying calmly, "will none hinder the unhappy man from covering himself with disgrace!" Being asked by a citizen who met the procession, whether he had any commands for his son Phocus? he replied, "that he should forget and forgive the cruel injustice of the Athenians." In prison, his friends requested that he would be the last to drink the fatal hemlock. He said the request was painful; that nevertheless he would comply, as he had never denied them any thing on any former occasion. The hemlock being exhausted, the executioner refused to prepare a new dose, unless he were previously paid twelve drachmas. Phocion desired the money to be given to him, remarking gayly, "that a man could not even die gratis at Athens." The inhuman treatment of this admirable person was followed by a total extinction of conspicuous worth in the most ancient and most illustrious of the Grecian commonwealths. The cruelty of his legal murder seemed to his superstitious contemporaries to derive aggravation from the day on which it happened; the
nineteenth

nineteenth of May being a festival consecrated to Jupiter, and celebrated at Athens by an equestrian procession. The horsemen, many of whom had fought under the banners of Phocion, halted before the place of his confinement, tearing their garlands from their heads, and bewailing his altered fortune and approaching execution⁶².

But the guiltless blood which these degenerate Athenians had only pity to lament, the Macedonian Cassander had courage to avenge. To oppose the measures of the protector, he had, as observed above, solicited assistance from Antigonus who wished to destroy every paramount power in the empire, and from him had obtained thirty-five ships of war and six thousand veterans. With this armament, only four days after Phocion's death, he sailed to the Piræus then held by his deputy Nicanor. That officer resigning to him the Piræus again resumed the command of the Munychia; and the two *harbours* of Athens defied the *city* under its new democracy, and Polyperchon who marched from Phocis with an army twenty-five thousand strong and sixty five elephants⁶³.

Cassander
defends the
harbours of
Athens
against the
city.

As the operations against the Athenian harbours were protracted far beyond expectation, scarcity of provisions compelled Polyperchon to divide his forces. A part was left with his son Alexander to besiege the Piræus and Munychia; with the larger portion he marched into Peloponnesus, where the Arcadian city of Megalopolis still rejected his royal edict for abolishing its aristocracy. In his attempts to enter the place, he was obstinately resisted by fifteen thousand warriors. In vain he employed the butting strength of his elephants for breaking open the gates. Danus, a Megalopolitan, who had accompanied the Indian expedition of Alexander, rendered ineffectual the hostility of these assailants, now first employed in the wars of Greece. Their fury was resisted or turned on their conductors by a machinery of wooden planks, armed with iron spikes artfully concealed in the ground.

Operations
of Polyper-
chon in the
Peloponne-
sus. Olymp.
cxv. 3.
B. C. 318.

⁶² Plutarch in Phocion.

⁶³ Diodor. l. xviii. f. 68.

⁶⁴ Id. l. xviii. f. 71.

Disconcerted.

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Sea-fight off
Byzantium.
Olymp.
c. xv. 3.
B. C. 318.

Disconcerted in his measures at Megalopolis, but happy in filling other cities of the Peloponnesus with sedition and bloodshed, Polyperchon was recalled into Macedon, to co-operate, as we shall see presently, with Olympias in that country. Before leaving Attica, he had sent his admiral, Clytus, with a numerous fleet to assist Aridæus governor of the Hellespontian Phrygia, who was painfully struggling, as before related, under the mighty grasp of Antigonus. Cassander to prevent the triumph of the enemy in that important quarter, ordered Nicanor to sail for the narrow seas with the squadron of thirty-five ships belonging to Antigonus, and such an additional force from the Piræus and Munychia, as raised the whole number to a hundred gallies. The hostile fleets met in the Thracian Bosphorus, and fought the battle of Byzantium famous for the rapid alternation of victory, and still more memorable for its important consequences both in Europe and Asia. In the first scene of the bloody drama, Nicanor was defeated; above one half of his ships was taken; and the remainder happy to find refuge in the neighbouring harbour of Calcedon, directly opposite to Byzantium. But Antigonus who, at the head of an army, watched the proceedings of both parties, converted this heavy disaster into the means of signal and brilliant success⁶¹. Having dispatched proper agents to Byzantium, he collected, in the first part of the night, the small craft and merchantmen lying in that sea-port. In these vessels, having hastily embarked the choice of his light armed troops, he assailed before dawn, the unsuspecting victors, who had presumptuously landed on the Thracian coast, encumbered and fatigued with the care of their booty and prisoners. Clytus, unprepared to fight, ordered his men to fly to their ships. Part of them put to sea, but encountered there a new danger; for Nicanor, whom Antigonus had reinforced with a select band, calculated to act as marines, was ready for their reception. Their whole fleet was taken, except the admiral's galley, with which

Antigonus's
successful
stratagem.

⁶¹ Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. c. 72, and Polyæn, l. iv. c. 68.

Clytus

Clytus landed on an obscure part of the Thracian coast, hoping secretly to escape to Macedon. But being recognised in his flight, he perished ignobly by some Thracian deserters; a sad reverse to a man, who, upon his first temporary advantage, had assumed the trident of Neptune, and affected the honours of divinity⁶⁶!

The momentous consequences of this victory, with regard to the affairs of Antigonus and Eumenes, will afterwards be explained. In Greece also, the success of Cassander's admiral, contrasted with the recent disgrace of Polysperchon before the walls of Megalopolis, greatly encouraged the one party, and proportionally disheartened the other; while the opposite behaviour of the two leaders corresponded with the natural tendency of their contrary fortunes, and powerfully heightened their effect. Old age had enfeebled the understanding of Polysperchon, without moderating his passions. He was rash without boldness, slow without prudence, contemptible through pusillanimity, and odious through cruelty. But the character of Cassander was equally ardent and engaging; and the energy mixed with caution, conspicuous in all his measures, procured for him a decided ascendancy in every republic beyond the Isthmus. Even the Athenians, outrageous as had been their recent proceedings, abated of their animosity, repented of past errors, and surrendered on capitulation their city, to a general already master of their harbours. According to the moderate terms agreed on, they were secured in the enjoyment of their country, their ships, revenues, and hereditary laws. The right of suffrage, however, was thenceforward to be confined to those possessing at least a thousand drachmas of yearly income; a census, which though falling short by one half of that established by Antipater after the Lamian war, yet excluded from the assembly and courts of justice, the wretched rabble, whose recent brutality had eternally disgraced their country⁶⁷. To these conditions an article was added, abridging the liberty of Athens, but encreasing her real hap-

Athens surrenders to Cassander.

Is governed ten years by Demetrius

⁶⁶ Plutarch Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

⁶⁷ Diodor. l. xviii. f. 74.

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Phalereus.
Olymp. cxv.
4.—cxviii. 2.
B. C. 317—
307.

pinefs. Demetrius Phalereus, of whom we before made mention, an Athenian indeed by birth; but whose father had been a slave, in the houses of Conon and Timotheus⁶⁸, was appointed to controul the finances and administer the government. Demetrius was in his thirtieth year, when the favour of his friend Cassander raised him to this high station, for which he was equally well qualified by his talents and his temper. To the knowledge of philosophy and politics, then deemed practical sciences, he united an easy and copious flow of persuasive eloquence, in his judgment as essential to a statesman as tactics to a general⁶⁹. Among his first public measures, he carefully ascertained the populousness of the community, amounting to twenty-one thousand citizens, and ten thousand strangers; both of these numbers, including the males of full age only; and four hundred thousand slaves of every age and either sex⁷⁰. During the ten years that he presided over the republic, he improved the revenues, beautified the city, moderated expensive vanity, and restrained ruinous luxury; By his rewards, and still more his example, he encouraged arts and letters; and it is acknowledged by the warmest republicans of antiquity, that the Athenians experienced more happiness and even more secure freedom under the guidance of this wise and virtuous governor, than they ever enjoyed amidst the factious turbulence of their wild democracy⁷¹.

Olympias
returns to
Macedon,
and gains
the army.
Olymp. cxv.
4.—B. C.
317

While the fortune of Cassander thus flowed with a prosperous tide in Greece, his admired Euridice, ruled with a high hand in Macedon. The authority of Polysperchon seemed for ever extinguished; and in vain he would have marched from the Peloponnesus, in hopes to recover it, had not Olympias, with talents for intrigue, improved by long and unremitted practice, returned from Epirus, carrying with her Alexander Ægus, whom many regarded as rightful heir to the

⁶⁸ Ælian. V. Hist. l. xiii. c. 43.

⁶⁹ Diogen. Laert. in Demet. l. v. f 75.
Plutarch and Cicero passim.

Athenæus, l. vi. as explained in my In-

troduction to Lysias, p. 5. & seq.

⁷¹ Cicero de Legibus, l. iii. c. 6. and
Strabo, l. ix. p. 398. Diodorus, Plutarch,
Ælian, &c. speak to the same purpose.

monarchy.

monarchy. Confiding in this sacred pledge, in the last desperate struggles of Polyperchon, and in the zealous aid of her brother Æacidas, king of Epirus, she expected to resume her ascendancy with the Macedonians, as the wife, the mother, and the protectress of their beloved hereditary kings. Euridice, when apprised of her intentions, dispatched messengers to Cassander, then in Peloponnesus, requiring his presence; but though his alacrity and ambition were winged by love, he arrived too late to save even the life of his mistress. Olympias had hastened to the obscure Macedonian town of Evia, near the lake Lychnidus, on the Illyrian frontier, where her rival lay encamped, in order to repel the invasion. By insults intolerable to Euridice's high spirit, she provoked her to battle. While the hostile armies were arraying for combat, Olympias, with a courage that bespoke the descendant of Achilles and the mother of Alexander, advanced between the approaching lines. Her aspect, her voice, the boldness of her graceful action, the tender years and auspicious name of her grand child Alexander Ægus, all these circumstances affected and overawed the factious but ever loyal Macedonians. They recalled to memory her former greatness, and remembered the triumphant reigns of her son, and of her husband²².

With a sudden and unanimous resolution, they deserted the standard of Euridice. That unhappy princess, with the contemptible Arrhidæus, equally a pageant as a king and as a husband, were intercepted in their flight towards the fortified city of Amphipolis, and by order of Olympias, thrown together into a dungeon, while the implacable conqueror prepared to use her victory, not with the dignity of a queen, the tenderness of a woman, or even the feeling of a human creature. After suffering for many days the cruellest indignities, Philip Arrhidæus, who had sat six years and four months on the throne of Alexander, was released by the merciful hands of Thracian assassins. To Euridice, before whose eyes he suffered, Olympias

Murder of Arrhidæus and Euridice. Olymp. cxv. 4. B. C. 317.

²² Diodorus, l. xix. c. 11.

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sent three presents; a dagger, a rope, and a cup of poison. The vengeful pride of Euridice prayed that her adversary might soon be compelled to use her own abominable gifts: for herself she needed them not: her own zone, which she dexterously prepared for the purpose in presence of Olympias' messengers, served for a more honourable instrument of death. Previously to her self-inflicted execution, she asserted her preferable right to the crown, but neither bewailed her premature fate, nor indicated the smallest humiliation at her accumulated misfortunes. The fury of Olympias was yet implacable. The chief adherents of Cassander, about an hundred illustrious Macedonians, were attainted and executed. Her impotent rage ransacked even the tombs of the dead; and the mouldering bones of his brother Jollas, who had been cup-bearer to Alexander, were exposed and condemned on the derided pretence that he had poisoned his king and master⁷³.

Cassander
avenges their
death.

But Cassander himself lived to avenge all these enormities. Polysperchon indeed guarded the southern frontier of Macedon; and his countrymen, the Etolians, occupied the straits of Thermopylæ. The army personally attached to Olympias, was committed to lieutenants: that inexorable queen, whose crimes had filled her fierce breast with panic, shut herself up within the impregnable strength of Pydna, accompanied by the young Alexander, his mother Roxana, and an illustrious attendance of female relations, princesses of Macedon or Epirus⁷⁴. Instead of attempting to make his way to her by land, Cassander collected transports chiefly from Locris and Eubæa, and proceeded by sea to Thessaly. Against Polysperchon, who was encamped in the district of that country called Perrhebia, he sent Callas, an able officer, who had the address to excite disaffection in the army of an old and morose general. A revolt, fomented by Cassander's emissaries in Epirus, prevented all danger from that quarter. Cassander in person laid siege to Pydna; which,

⁷³ Diodorus, l. xix. f. 11. and Pausanias, l. viii. c. 7.

⁷⁴ Diodor. l. xix. f. 35

besides

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Siege of
Pydna.
Olymp.
cxvi. 1.
B. C. 316.

besides the strength of the place, was defended by a severe and tempestuous winter. It was, however, blocked up by sea and land, until the scarcity became so great, that the soldiers were obliged to subsist for a week, on the ordinary allowance of a single day. At length it became necessary to kill the horses for food; the elephants fed on saw-dust; the Greeks and Macedonians died of hunger; the Barbarians eat the dead bodies⁷⁵. Having failed in an attempt to escape by night, in a brigantine supplied by Polyperchon, Olympias avoided by surrender, the famine fast approaching herself and her illustrious kinswomen. Life was the only boon for which she stipulated; but with this condition, her own dangerous character, and the fickle temper of the Macedonians, rendered it unsafe to comply. She was, agreeably to the legal forms of her country, publicly arraigned; and not appearing to plead, was condemned capitally. Cassander wished her to confirm the decision by voluntary flight; but on pretence of some irregularity in the proceedings, she demanded a new trial. This demand was answered by a body of two hundred men, selected from the army as fit instruments for murder. The majesty of her aspect is said to have disarmed the assassins; but her fate was at hand from her personal adversaries, the kinsmen of her late victims, and stern avengers of their blood. She suffered death with the same unconcern with which she would have inflicted it⁷⁶; a woman of unconquerable spirit, of great accomplishments and beauty, but hideously deformed by cruelty and revenge.

Trial and
death of
Olympias.

In the fate of Olympias was involved that of Aristonous, a man of the highest rank among Alexander's captains, since, at the time of his master's death, he held a place, as we have before seen, both among the *life guards* and the *equestrian companions*. He had remained in Europe as the likeliest person, failing Antipater, to be raised to the protectorship; but to the great misfortune of the empire, Poly-

Aristonous
involved in
her fate.
Olymp. cxvi.
1.—B. C.
316.

⁷⁵ Diodorus, l. xix. f. 49.

l. xix. f. 51. and Polyænus, l. iv. c. ii.

⁷⁶ Conf. Pausanias, Bœotic. c. 7. Diodor.

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perchon had been preferred to him. He now commanded in Amphipolis; and at the desire of Olympias, reluctantly capitulated with Cassander on condition of personal safety. But Aristonous was quickly sacrificed to reasons of state; he was a man doubly dangerous by his dignity and his loyalty".

Cassander
in names
Philip's
daughter
Thessalonica.

The capture of Pydna put into Cassander's power, among other illustrious prisoners, Alexander Ægus, with his mother Roxana; Deidamia, niece to Olympias, being daughter to Æacidæ, king of Epirus; and Thessalonica, the youngest daughter of Philip of Macedon. The young Alexander and Roxana were shut up in the strong castle of Amphipolis. Deidamia proved an useful hostage for the fidelity of the Epirots; and Thessalonica was made subservient by Cassander to his views of greatness. Descended on one side from the kings of Macedon, and on the other from the illustrious Jason of Thessaly, Thessalonica might have spurned the hand of a man naturally the servant of such families; but her pride durst not decline the proffered nuptials. They were celebrated with a pomp surpassing that of the obsequies of Arrhidæus and Euclidice; who were interred, however, with royal honours at Ægæe, as legitimate wearers of a crown, which rightfully devolved, by their inhuman murder, on Cassander and Thessalonica.

Builds
Cassandria.
Olymp. cxvi.
1.—B. C.
316.

To mark his accession to power, Cassander founded a new city called by his name, on the isthmus of Pallene; a situation uniting peculiar advantages in point of war and commerce. Cassandria arose from the ruins of Potidæa; and being endowed with a fertile territory, adorned by a double harbour, and strongly fortified by sea and land, speedily attained, under the fostering hand of its founder, a magnitude proportional to its rank, as the new Macedonian capital".

Restores
Thebes.

Yet, as the founder of Cassandria, this fortunate usurper gained less glory, than he shortly afterwards acquired as the restorer of Thebes.

" Diodor. l. xix. f. 50.

" Id. ibid. f. 52.

In an expedition, undertaken for destroying Polyperchon's adherents in the Peloponnese, whom he expelled from all their possessions, except Corinth and Sicyon, Cassander passed through the ancient city of Cadmus, so famous in the history, and still more in the fables of Greece. He viewed its desolation with real, or well affected concern, and embraced the resolution of rebuilding its walls, and collecting its wandering citizens within them. Such a generous purpose inspired the Athenians and neighbouring states with an emulation of beneficence. Even the Greeks of Asia, Italy, Sicily, and Cyrenè, vied with each other in contributions towards restoring the pristine splendour of Thebes; and the renovation of this ancient capital, whose ruin had been invidiously ascribed, as we have shewn, to the son of Philip, helped to consolidate the power and renown of the supplanter of his family⁷⁹.

Conf. Pausanias, l. xi. c. 7. and Diodor. l. xix. f. 53, 54.

HISTORY OF THE WORLD,

CHAPTER V.

State of the Empire.—Fancied Theocracy in the Throne of Alexander.—Machinations of the Rebellious Satraps.—Defeated by Eumenes.—He marches into the upper Provinces.—Peculiar Circumstances of their Governors at that Moment.—War between Antigonus and Eumenes.—Their mutual Stratagems, and Battles.—Defection of the Argyraspides.—Eumenes' Captivity and Death.

CHAP. V.

State of the
empire at
the time of
Antipater's
death.
Olymp.
cxv. 2.
B. C. 319.

THE death of Antipater, the only one of Alexander's successors, long practised in government, dissolved the whole vigour of the regency. In Egypt and Cyrenè Ptolemy confirmed his separate sovereignty. On the banks of the Euphrates, Seleucus was meditating designs equally independent and still more lofty. Lyfimachus laboriously reared his barbarous monarchy of Thrace; the civil commotions in Greece conspired with the domestic dissensions in the royal family of Macedon to throw these countries into the hands of Cassander; while Lesser Asia exhibited a various and deep drama, ennobled at once by the powers of the performers and the splendid prize of victory. The prize was the golden throne of Lydian Cræsus; the combatants were Antigonus and Eumenes; Antigonus, the most energetic, and Eumenes, the most dextrous of all the Macedonian captains.

Eumenes
takes the
command in
Asia against
Antigonus.
Olymp.
cxv. 3.
B. C. 318.

We have already seen the artful secretary of Alexander released by his own consummate address from the Cappadocian fortress of Nora; and from the successive and equally abject conditions of a fugitive and a prisoner, raised, as it were, at one bound, to the most efficient station in the empire. In virtue of the office conferred upon him by the protector Polyperchon, he was entitled to summon to his standard the silver shielded *hyaspists*, who had faithfully performed the business recently

recently entrusted to them, of conveying part of the treasures of Upper Asia to the Cilician fortress Kuinda, situate among abrupt fastnesses about twelve miles north of Tarsus. 'The protector's vicergerent in Asia was further intrusted with ample powers over the other treasuries in the empire; and the satraps, in every part of the East, were commanded to assist him to the utmost of their abilities'.

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Before he received this ample commission, Eumenes, immediately upon his escape from Nora, had been joined by several thousands of those provincial troops whom he had himself formed, and who now accompanied their beloved commander and friend to the neighbourhood of Kuinda. The treasures in that fortress enabled him to reward their alacrity, to make hasty levies in Caria and Pisidia, provinces still unconquered by Antigonos, and to employ numerous agents in hiring mercenaries from many parts of Greece, and even from Tarentum in Italy. Upon his appearance in Cilicia, the Argyraspides joined his standard in compliance with the royal mandate. But the submission of their chiefs, Antigones and Teutamus, was reluctant; the obedience of the troops was precarious, and both officers and men had engrafted the pompous luxury of Asia on their native pride and habitual fierceness. These dangerous passions, Eumenes, after vainly endeavouring to appease them by great personal modesty, contrived happily to controul by an expedient congenial to the superstition of the age, and perhaps suggested by his own. Besides the ample powers contained in his commission, Polyperchon, in name of the kings, had bestowed on him five hundred talents to repair his pecuniary and private losses; a present, which Eumenes told the Argyraspides, as far exceeded his wishes, as the princely authority conferred on him surpassed his birth and his abilities. "Alexander alone was worthy to command the high-minded Macedonians; and from that immortal prince, humble as was his own condition, he had been honoured with a message to

Fancied
theocracy in
the portable
temple of
Alexander.
Olymp.
cav. 4.
B. C. 317.

¹ Diodor. l. xix. §. 12. & seq. Plutarch in Eumenes.

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them, which being communicated by supernatural means, ought to be respectfully received and implicitly obeyed. In a manifest and distinct vision, he had beheld his august master: he had heard his commanding voice. Alexander had shewn to him an altar and pavilion, declaring that when his friends assembled in the pavilion round his altar, he would be present in the midst of them to direct their councils. The royal munificence intended for myself personally, I will therefore consecrate to him, through whose incomparable merit all our fortunes have been established. On a resplendent throne of gold, let us deposit his armour, sceptre, and diadem: let us daily worship at his altar: around both let the chiefs assemble on every important emergency: we shall deliberate boldly, yet wisely, when inspired by the unerring genius of our divine sovereign." The proposal was heard with an enthusiasm of applause; and the design being executed with equal magnificence and celerity, a fancied theocracy was vested in the portable temple of Alexander, which glowing with the gems of the East, thenceforward directed the motions of the royal army.

Thereby defeats the machinations of Ptolemy and other satraps against him.

While Eumenes was busied with rearing in Cilicia this extraordinary engine of government, Antigonus was still detained at the farther extremity of the peninsula. Aridæus, governor of Hellestian Phrygia, had been enabled to keep a footing in that province through the co-operation of Clytus commanding the numerous fleet of Polysperchon. But the decisive battle of Byzantium, in which Antigonus had prevailed through his matchless activity and energy, gave him the entire command of the narrow seas; and as he had now no dangerous enemy behind in Asia, nor any reason to apprehend the transportation of troops from Europe to wrest from him his conquests, he prepared to march eastward to crush the rival general of the empire, who more consistently than himself with that character, maintained the indivisibility of Alexander's succession. The prin-

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ciple of indivisibility was highly obnoxious to Ptolemy. He considered Egypt and Cyrenè as completely his own, and expected also to retain his recent conquest of Syria, including Palestine and Phœnicia. Upon the first appearance of a new power hostile to his views, growing up in the center of the empire, he had sent a fleet of observation to the Cilician harbour of Zephyrium; and his emissaries, as well as those of Antigonus, now crowded the camp of Eumenes, and industriously sowed sedition. Teutamus, one of the leaders of the Argyraspides, was seduced into a conspiracy against his general's life. But these profligate machinations, Eumenes surmounted with such dexterity, that the abortive attempts to excite discontent among the soldiers, only rivetted him more firmly in their affections; augmented their zeal and animated their alacrity¹.

Eumenes,
marches to
Babylonia.

To avail himself of these favourable dispositions, he led his army, now fifteen thousand strong, into the neighbouring province of Phœnicia. Ptolemy's garrisons were weak. He had usurped the country in direct opposition to the authority of the kings and the protector. Eumenes was every where successful in Phœnicia; and was on the point of recovering for the kings the whole of that maritime coast, when he received news of Antigonus' march against him, at the head of the most select part of his army, amounting to twenty-four thousand well disciplined soldiers. In consequence of this information, it became necessary to move into Upper Asia, whose satraps still respected the authority of the kings: had he remained on the sea-coast, his small force must have been crushed between Ptolemy and Antigonus, both of whom set that authority at defiance. By hasty marches Eumenes proceeded through Cœle-syria, traversed the long valley of the Orontes, crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma, and encamped first at Carrhæ in Mesopotamia, and afterwards in the narrower peninsula of Babylonia, thirty miles above Babylon.

¹ Plutarch and Diodor. *ibid.*

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Seleucus diff-
tress his
army by in-
undating the
country.
Olymp.
civ. 4.
B. C. 317.

In his march eastward he had sent an embassy to Seleucus, acquainting him with his commission and his views. Seleucus spoke respectfully of the royal commission; but instead of assisting the general who had been named to exercise it, secretly tampered with the Argyraspides and endeavoured to seduce their allegiance. Having discovered and defeated these intrigues, Eumenes prepared to pass the Tigris, (whose western bank had been unmercifully foraged in preceding wars,) both for the sake of more plentiful subsistence, and that he might approach the rich province of Susiana, particularly the royal treasury in the fortress of Susa. Seleucus, apprized of his design, determined to avail himself, for defeating it, of the nature of the country, perpetually intersected by rivers or canals, since it is the common drain of the Highlands in Media, at the same time, that it receives from the more distant Taurus in Armenia, the majestic streams of the Tigris and Euphrates. By opening the sluices of an old and neglected communication between these rivers, he exposed the camp of Eumenes to a sudden inundation: so that when a chosen division of his troops had passed the Tigris in boats hastily collected by them, they were under the necessity of returning in order to save the baggage and more encumbered portion of the army. The information of an intelligent native of Babylonia taught Eumenes how to divert the superfluous waters. While proper measures were using for that purpose, Seleucus, who had not sufficient strength openly to resist the invaders, and who wished by all means to remove them from his province, sent to offer a truce and an unobstructed passage of the river, at the same moment that he urged by message Antigonus, who was already in Mesopotamia, to hasten his progress to Babylon; that they might co-operate effectually against their common foe⁴. Eumenes mean while crossed safely into Susiana, a country enriched by alluvial slime, and celebrated for making returns in wheat and barley of an hundred and sometimes two

⁴ Diodor. l. xiv. f. 13.

hundred fold⁵. But the corn was not then in the fields, the natives concealed their magazines, and the country had not probably been altogether exempted from the ravages which had desolated the opposite bank of the Tigris⁶. For the greater facility of subsistence, Eumenes formed his army into three divisions: and even with this precaution, was obliged, instead of bread, to be contented with rice, sesame, and dates, in which the whole province abounded. From Susiana, he dispatched messengers into Media and the more eastern satrapies, requiring their governors, conformably to the royal pleasure, to reinforce his arms. He likewise applied to Zenophylus, the keeper of the castle and treasury of Susa; who acknowledged the authority of his commission, and shewed the utmost readiness in answering all his demands.

With his dispatches to the satrapies he had not reason to expect a ready or universal compliance. Amidst the uncertainty of a disputed succession, and the loose irregularity of government to which they had long been accustomed, the distant governors, always inclined to disaffection, might totally disregard the royal mandate. The opportunity, too, of resisting Antigonius might be for ever lost, before the agents of Eumenes could traverse the vast regions bounded by the Tigris, the Caspian, and the eastern stream of the Indus. Both these inconveniences were obviated by a conjuncture not less favourable than singular. Python, governor of Media, with whose character the reader is sufficiently acquainted, had shewn an inclination rather to imitate than oppose the rebellion of Antigonius. Not contented with commanding the finest province in the empire, he had employed its resources towards acquiring in the East, a pre-eminence not less conspicuous than that of the western usurper. Philotas, satrap of Parthia, who resisted his measures with more

Eumenes' embassy to the eastern satrapies. Olymp. cxv. 4. B. C. 317.

Their condition at that time.

⁵ Strabo, l. xv. p. 1063.

⁶ Diodorus, l. xix. f. 12. He adds indeed *την δὲ πλεονεξίαν*. But the contrary seems

more probable, by what afterwards happened to the army.

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Their respective
forces.

boldness than ability, was the victim of his vengeance. The surrounding satraps, alarmed by the fate of Philotas, flew to arms, defeated Python in Parthia, and expelled him successively both from that province and from Media. He was thus forced across the Tigris, and compelled to court the protection of Seleucus. The messengers of Eumenes found the allies still assembled in one camp, and the better disposed to listen to their master's demands, because his enemy Seleucus had kindly received Python, the object of their common resentment. They consented unanimously to join his standard in Susiana, and executed their resolution with the same alacrity with which it had been taken. But we are justly surprised at the scanty supplies of troops collected from the massy square between the Tigris and the Indus, the Persian gulph and the Caspian. Except Python, whom we have just mentioned, and Peucestes satrap of Persis, the Proper Persia, the governors of the different provinces included in that vast space, exceeding in extent the half of Europe, were all of them Macedonian officers of the second rank; and who had received those lucrative commands as the rewards of past services, without ever reaching either high distinction in the army, or high preferment in the personal attendance on their sovereign. Peucestes, as well as Python, was in the number of the eight life-guards of Alexander; and the former had been sent to govern the imperial district of Persis, about the same time that the latter was raised to the command of one of the eight troops of *Companions*. To the standard of Eumenes, Peucestes brought thirteen thousand foot and one thousand horse; Tlepolemus, Sibyrtius, and Stafander, who were respectively satraps of Carmania, Arachosia, and Aria, commanded small divisions amounting collectively to three thousand nine hundred foot, and two thousand three hundred horse; Androbazus, lieutenant of Oxyartes⁷, conducted from Paropamisus only twelve hundred foot

⁷ Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, was heading his own forces. prevented through age or infirmity from

and

and four hundred horse ; but Eudamus, who had succeeded to Python the son of Agenor as superintendant of the Macedonian affairs in the Panjab, supplied a formidable brigade of an hundred and twenty elephants, attended by a body of three thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry : the whole ⁹ reinforcement which Eumenes derived from the East, little exceeded twenty thousand foot and four ⁹ thousand horse ; a number extremely inconsiderable when compared with European armies of modern date, yet, as it consisted chiefly of well-disciplined Greeks, sufficient in that age to command respect in Asia : a circumstance conformable to the experience of after times, since the battle of Plassey, which established the English dominion in India, was gained by three thousand men, of whom only nine hundred were Europeans ¹⁰.

The vigorous preparations of Eumenes obliged Antigonus to change his plan. His first aim had been to surprise by celerity ; but he now suspended his march, in order to gain by new levies an equality of force. He was joined in the neighbourhood of Babylon by Python the deprived satrap of Media, who commanded fifteen hundred horsemen ; and by a detachment from Seleucus, who, anxious to remove the war from his own province, strongly encouraged him to pass the Tigris, and give battle to the enemy. In compliance with an advice, congenial to his natural confidence, Antigonus crossed the Tigris on a bridge of boats, and advanced to the Pasitigris (or eastern Tigris,) a river distant in the latitude of Susa, about seventy miles from the former, though their streams gradually converge as they approach the Persian gulph. The Pasitigris is formed by four rivers which descend from the Median mountains, and of which the Eulæus

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Antigonus crosses the Tigris to meet the enemy. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

The Pasitigris.

⁹ We shall afterwards find in his army at the first battle, Amphilochus satrap of Mesopotamia ; and in the second battle, Mithridates of Pontus, and Philip of Bactriana ; of the junction of these three satraps no notice is taken.

⁹ Diodorus says 18,700 foot and 4,600 horse ; but his particular numbers do not give this general amount. Diodor. l. xix. f. 14.

¹⁰ Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindostan, p. 93.

and.

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and Choaspes unite a little above Susa, a city indifferently described as watered by the one or the other, being, in fact, adjacent to their united stream. This stream, in flowing towards the Persian gulph, is joined by the Coprates, and a still more eastern river named also the Pasitigris¹²; whereas the proper Pasitigris, formed by the confluence of the four, is sometimes called the Eulæus by those who embarking above Susa sail towards the Persian gulph¹³. On the left bank of the most eastern branch of the proper Pasitigris, Eumenes fixed his camp, having allowed his enemies to pass the Tigris without molestation, because they would then be enclosed in a marshy, intricate, and at that season, unwholesome country; and not doubting that he should gain an opportunity of assailing them with great advantage, while they crossed one or other of the four intermediate rivers¹³.

Peucestes
brings ten
thousand
Persians to
the assistance
of Eumenes.

Meanwhile Peucestes, although, as one of Alexander's bodyguards, he thought himself degraded by serving under Eumenes, strenuously co-operated with that general through hatred of Python, and fear of Antigonus: and, for the purpose of harassing the enemy, summoned to his aid ten thousand Persian archers by an expedient often practised, always ready at command, and which had been originally suggested by the singular fitness of local circumstances. In the extent of above five hundred miles along the Persian gulph, the jagged mountains stretching from the bay of Ormus to the bloody dens of the Uxij and Cossæans, were so regularly intersected, that centinels had been posted at nearly equal distances, whose voices could communicate intelligence from one mountain to another in twenty-four hours, over a country that was the march of a labori-

¹² *Pasi*, signifying the East, explains the community of the name; though Strabo, l. xv. p. 730. derives it from the Greek, *πασι*, denoting the confluence of all the Sufian rivers into the Tigris.

¹³ See Dr. Vincent's *Voyage of Nearchus*, p. 461.

¹³ Diodorus, by confounding the Tigris and Pasitigris, has rendered this campaign unintelligible. He wrote probably from the description of an eye-witness, Hieronymus of Cardia, then accompanying Eumenes. But his universal history is too vast a design to admit of minute accuracy.

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ous month. Of this contrivance the Persian kings had made use, to defend against sudden invasion the central and imperial district of their country, the scene of their decisive victories over the Medes, and the seat of their successive palaces Pasagarda and Persepolis. The same means were now employed by Peucestes, for gaining a speedy¹⁷ reinforcement, but which, as we shall see hereafter, his selfishness made subservient rather to the views of his private ambition, than to the interest of the common cause.

Antigonus had by this time reached Susiana. He declared Selcucus governor of that province in addition to Babylonia; and entrusted him with troops to besiege their common enemy Zenophilus, keeper of the royal treasury, in the citadel of Susa. He himself proceeded eastward towards Eumenes, exposed to the heat of the dog-days, and the unwholesome vapours of an alluvial soil, by which he lost many of his European soldiers. Having arrived at the Coprates, he collected boats for crossing that river, which is deep, rapid, and above fourscore fathoms broad. A considerable part of his army had already passed, and was preparing for encampment, when Eumenes, who had seized the decisive moment for crossing the more eastern stream, surprised his divided and unarmed enemies. Four thousand of them surrendered prisoners; a greater number perished in their flight and in the river; and this disaster, added to his incredible sufferings on the march, determined Antigonus to defer his long projected battle, and to leave at the mercy of his adversary the fertile province of Susiana, the splendour of its capital Susa, and the vast treasures accumulated in its citadel¹⁸.

Eumenes
surprises the
enemy at
their passage
over the
Coprates.
Olymp.
cxvi. 1.
B. C. 316.

From his encampment on the Coprates, he proceeded with as much expedition as was permitted by the heat of the season and the sickness of his troops, to the city of Bodaca situate north of Susa, between the Eulæus and Choaspes. Having halted there several days for rest and refreshment, he resolved to march into Media,

Antigonus
marches into
Media.

¹⁷ Diodor. l. xix. f. 17.

¹⁸ Diodor. l. xix. f. 18.

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Nature of
the roads
thither.

The Cossæans

harass Antigonus's
march.

where his ally Python had still numerous partizans, and where he might be abundantly supplied with every accommodation in point of subsistence or conveyance. But it was not easy to decide by what route he should proceed to so well provided a country. Two roads led from the northern frontier of Susiana to the cultivated parts of Media; the one, to the right, safe and easy, along winding and pleasant vallies, confined between the branching ridges of mount Coronus¹⁶, but scorched at that season by heat, and prolonged by the sinuosities of the mountain to a month's journey for an army. By this most frequented passage, he might reach the exuberant district of Choana, distinguished in ancient times by the great city Rages¹⁷, and in later times by the Mahomedan capital Rey, second only to Bagdad, and whose greatness is still conspicuous in the amplitude of its ruins¹⁸. A second and much nearer road lay directly across the mountains; and was at all seasons exposed rather to cold than to heat. But this shorter march conducted through the rugged country of the fierce Cossæans, who, living fearless in caves on the roots growing in their glens, and on the salted produce of the chase, had been accustomed to sell a passage through their territory to the Persian kings, and whose ferocity had been chastised, not subdued, by the arms of Alexander. Antigonus, who aspired to rival the boldness of his late master, preferred the direct and dangerous road; and disdainful the advice of Python, who was more conversant with those Barbarians, refused to purchase from them an unmolested passage. His proud obstinacy was severely punished. The Cossæans beat up his detached quarters; surprised his advanced parties; and by the dextrous use of their bows and slings, as well as by rolling down stones from the craggy summits of their rocks, greatly annoyed the main body of his army. At the end of nine days, he with dif-

¹⁶ Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. c. 6. and Ptolemy, l. vi. c. 1. But Wesselingius refuses to defend his conjecture of *ὄρος Κόρωνος*, instead of *παρολίανος*.

¹⁷ Polyb. l. x. c. 4. Tobit, c. v. vi. Diodor. l. xix. f. 24.

¹⁸ Chardin and Otter's Travels.

difficulty escaped from these inhospitable fastnesses, having lost a great part of his force and highly offended the remainder, by needlessly exposing it to most imminent danger. But the country into which he emerged was calculated to repair, in some measure, the evils which his rashness had occasioned, and to still the angry murmurs of his troops. It lay at no great distance from the rich Nisæan plain, abounding in all necessaries for an army, and whose spacious pastures were celebrated for horses unrivalled in size, beauty, and swiftness¹⁹.

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Eumenes had been prevented, by dissensions among his troops, and by the arrogance of Peucestes and other generals, whose presumption swelled with success, from availing himself of the decisive advantage which he had gained on the banks of the Coprates. Upon the intelligence that their enemies had reached Media, a new flame was kindled among these impetuous spirits, divided into two factions so equally balanced that they might have totally destroyed each other. The leaders of the Argyraspides and all those who either possessed or coveted establishments in the Asiatic peninsula, insisted on returning westward, and seizing the invaluable spoils which Antigonus had relinquished. Peucestes and Sibyrtius, on the contrary, with the other satraps who had joined the army in Susiana, maintained the necessity of defending the more extensive provinces of the East, and particularly the imperial district of Persis, upon which Antigonus, after repairing his strength in Media, would be ready to pour down with resistless fury. Eumenes, though naturally inclined to the former proposal, joined the party of Peucestes, lest the army should be ruined by division; and thereby deeply offended the Argyraspides²⁰.

Dissensions
in Eumenes'
army.
Olymp.
cxvi. 1.
B.C. 316.

From the eastern branch of the Pasitigris, the first part of the journey towards the palaces of Pasagarda and Persepolis²¹, lay through

Eumenes
marches to
Persis.

¹⁹ Herodot. l. vii. c. 40. Strabo, Arrian, Diodorus. Yet Alexander's cavalry, as above mentioned, far surpassed them in speed.

²⁰ Conf. Diodor. l. xix. c. 21. and Plut. ubi supra.

²¹ See Strabo, l. xv. p. 728, 729. and 730. Persepolis and the more ancient Pasagarda

CHAP.

V.

Route
thither.

Persepolis,
its antiqui-
ties, &c.
described.

through an adust and hollow²² country, parched with drought, scorched by intense heat, and almost destitute of provisions. But when the army approached that imperial district, the country began at a place called the ladder²³, from the shelving ascent on which it stood, to assume a very different aspect, being open and airy, refreshed by copious streams, and beautifully diversified by hill and dale. Both sides of the road were adorned by those artificial parks, which the natives called paradises; or by forests of the finest²⁴ trees, and umbrageous vallies, whose natural beauties scorned art for an auxiliary. In fruit and game, the whole province abounded; it was also the most populous satrapy in the East; inhabited by the most²⁵ warlike nation; and that attached in affectionate duty to its governor Peucestes²⁶. But a circumstance most propitious to the central district, the seat of the ancient Pasagarda, is the salubrity of the nocturnal air, which is so totally exempt from corroding dews, that the brightest steel may be exposed to it all night long, without undergoing the smallest perceptible alteration²⁷. For thirty miles round, the country abounds with ruins, but those of Chelminar, supposed to be the antient Persepolis, totally eclipse all the others²⁸. Chelminar, in modern Persian, denotes "the forty pillars," and the ruins when first discovered contained that number; they are now reduced to nineteen, though there are yet indications that they originally amounted to an

were both in the same district, namely, that of the Pasagardæ the most illustrious tribe of the Persians. Herodot. l. i. c. 125. Conf. Plutarch de Virtut. Mulierum, p. 246, and Strabo ubi supra.

²² This epithet is common with antient geographers, and enters into the name Cœle-Syria, &c. Strabo, Ptolemy, passim.

²³ A town in Savoy, near the Great Chartreux, has the same name from the same situation. Other *Climaces* or ladders are found in Strabo and Ptolemy, in their geography of Syria and Cilicia.

²⁴ Mr. Franklin, in his Tour from Bengal to Persia, p. 65, mentions cypress trees of

an amazing height, which the Persians say have stood six hundred years.

²⁵ This character the inhabitants of Fars, the proper Persia, or Persis, still maintained in the time of Tamerlane. Mansour, prince of Fars, was the boldest enemy encountered by that destroying prince, between the Tigris and the Indus. Cherefeddin.

²⁶ Diodor. l. xix. f. 2.

²⁷ Mr. Franklin made the experiment. See his Tour from Bengal to Persia, p. 153.

²⁸ Chardin, Le Brun, Niebuhr, Franklin, and D'Hankerville sur les Antiquités de la Perse.

hundred and eight". The edifice to which they belong, formed an artificial front as it were, to the mountain Rehumut, which overlooks the beautiful plain of Merdasht ". This ruined palace extends nearly six hundred paces in both directions, and consists of three stories, composed of immense blocks of marble piled on each other without mortar or cement, yet so nicely compacted, that the keenest eye can scarcely discern their joinings ". To the several stories, you ascend by marble stairs of sufficient breadth for thirty or forty persons to mount conveniently abreast. The first flight of fifty steps leads to a portico, of which four pilasters remain, about fifty foot high, carved with fabulous animals of colossal magnitude, and with inscriptions in an ancient character, which the ablest antiquaries have not yet been able to decypher ". From the terrace supporting this portico, you ascend to the second story, adorned by colonnades of majestic loftiness, and conducting to various apartments, of which the inmost are raised on a third terrace, and their walls carved with the strange quadrupeds above mentioned; and with processions of human figures, some in flowing robes, others in succinct military garb. Behind this third story, and artfully cut in the native rock, you find two square chambers, of which the use may be suspected, from their resemblance to four others at Nackshi Rustan, eight miles north-east of Chelminar. The former of these monuments consists of four apartments, excavated in a steep rock, and universally regarded as sepulchres of ancient kings. They contain bas-reliefs and inscriptions nearly coinciding with those at Chelminar, and equally inexplicable. The modern Persians, by an easy solution, refer the whole of these re-

²⁹ D'Hankerville, p. 135.

³⁰ Franklin, p. 202.

³¹ Conf. Voyage de Chardin, tom. ii. p. 200, & seq. and Neibubr, tom. ii. p. 120, & seq.

³² These inscriptions are mixed with others of a far more recent date, bearing a reference to the dynasty of the Sassanides, who having

supplanted the Parthians, governed Persia from An. Dom. 226, till they were destroyed by the Arabs, An. Dom. 638. See de Sacy Memoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse. Paris, 1793. There are also later inscriptions belonging to the times of the Caliphs, in the usual strain of Mahometan piety.

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mains to the ingenuity of the Peri³³ or Fairies; but history assures us, that the barbarous Cambyfes, when he conquered Egypt, sent from thence the ablest architects and sculptors, that they might be employed in the embellishment of his cities and palaces³⁴. The Egyptians, as we have seen, were fully equal to still greater undertakings. Yet, it must be acknowledged, that the stile of Egyptian architecture, as far as it now can be ascertained, had nothing of the lightness and airiness discernible in the ruins of Persepolis; their lofty terraces ascending above each other, their spacious stairs, and towering colonnades. But it must be remembered, that Egyptian Thebes contained houses four and five stories high³⁵, and we cannot conclude, that its inhabitants disdained buildings of a lighter and more showy kind, because the sole remains of their architecture are confined to short massy pillars, with dark artificial caverns; as gloomy, but also as durable as the burrowing rocks of the Troglodites in their neighbourhood.

The Persian kings should not seem to have resided any part of the year either at Pasagarda or Persepolis³⁶, but these ornamental edifices had been successively raised by them to the honour of their nation, in a district which they regarded as the cradle of their empire, which had been the scene of their decisive triumph over the Medes, and which thenceforward continued illustrious, both for the ceremony of their coronation and the solemnity of their funeral³⁷. Their dead bodies after being conveyed to Pasagarda, were raised by machinery,

³³ D'Herbelot, article Esteckar. Chardin, tom. i. p. 305, says, the Persians ascribed the same works to the kaous or giants. M. Bailli, *Astronomie Ancienne*, p. 354, dates the foundation of Persepolis 3209 years before the Christian æra. The Indian observations are said to have begun about a century later, that is 3101 before Christ: the Chinese 2952. But history, founded merely on astronomical phenomena, which by calculation may be extended forwards or backwards indefinitely, is totally unworthy of

regard. A chapter in Aristotle's *Meteorol.* l. i. c. 14. dispels the wild fables concerning this portentous antiquity..

³⁴ Diodorus, l. i. f. 46. with Wesselingius' note, p. 55.

³⁵ Diodorus, l. i. f. 45.

³⁶ Herodot. l. iii. c. 79. Conf. Xenoph. *Cyropæd.* p. 230. and Plutarch *de Virtut. Mulier.*

³⁷ Ctesias *Perfic.* c. 9. & seq. and Arrian, *Exped. Alexand.* l. iii. c. 22. and l. vi. vers. fin.

to be deposited in rocky and inaccessible monuments³⁹, a circumstance well agreeing with the artificial caverns above mentioned: and which is farther confirmed by the report that these caverns were depositories of hidden treasure, since the custom of burying money with the dead, is said to have passed from Asia to Europe, and is certainly alike conformable to the superstition anciently prevalent in both continents⁴⁰.

This sacred spot, the Persians, as we have seen, had been at peculiar pains to defend. By an expedient above mentioned, they could summon to it in one day, the whole force of the circumjacent country. The same arrangements for defence were still upheld by Peucestes, who had now governed Persis above seven years with much reputation, but who had no sooner decoyed the Greeks into his province, than he began to throw off the mask which had long concealed his unworthiness. His popular manners and generosity had gained the Persians; his military frankness and courage had deceived Alexander. By the ostentatious display of the same qualities, he endeavoured to win from Eumenes the affections of the soldiery, and particularly of the Macedonian veterans. For this purpose he proclaimed a sacrifice

Peucestes' festival.

³⁹ Diodorus, l. xvii. f. 71. This applies to the kings after Cyrus, mentioned by Ctesias, for that prince, though buried in the same district, was entombed in a lofty tower embowered amidst thick trees, Strabo, l. xv. p. 730, and Arrian, l. vi. c. 29. The Persians, as well as the Egyptians, called the tomb their eternal dwelling. Zendavesta, l. i. c. 27. On which Mr. Heeren has built an ingenious theory for explaining the nature and design of the palaces of Pasagarda or Persepolis, since he considers them as one and the same place, whose ruins still remain at Chelminar. He thinks, that being the tombs, they are also the palaces of the deceased kings of Persia, provided with all the accommodations and luxuries which those princes enjoyed during life; with a large treasury and troops to guard it;

and even with a haram, of which he adduces as a proof, the multitude of fine women, and vast quantities of female attire found there by Alexander. Diodor. l. xvii. f. 72. In conformity with this system, he regards the carvings on the walls, as a picture of the court and empire of Persia. Heeren Ideen uber die Politik, &c. p. 194. & seq. D'Hankerville sur les Antiquités de la Perse, gives a quite different and far less interesting explanation of the same monuments.

⁴⁰ Mem. de l'Academ. des Inscip. tom. xvi. p. 131. M. D'Hankerville justly maintains that the custom of burying new coins with the dead, accounts for the vast number of ancient medals in perfect preservation, notwithstanding their high relief. Arts de la Grece, v. ii. p. 46. and seq.

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and festival for the European army, and the nobler portion of his Asiatic subjects; and before the day arrived had taken measures for distinguishing this solemnity above other entertainments of a similar kind, by its regularity as well as its sumptuousness. Around the altars of the gods, and in four concentric circles, the numerous guests were arranged in such order, and so skilfully attended, that the vastness of the multitude occasioned neither confusion nor delay. The outmost circle, a mile in circumference, was occupied by the mercenaries and allies; the second, extending eight stadia, was assigned to the Argyraspides, and the other bodies of infantry who had served under Alexander⁴⁰; the third of four stadia was appropriated to officers subordinate in command, the *companions*, and other select troops of horsemen; the inmost circle contained the commanders of the several divisions of horse and foot, together with the most distinguished of the Persian nobility. In the middle of the whole enclosure, the altars of Philip and Alexander shone conspicuous among those of the older divinities. The guests commodiously reposed on couches of twisted leaves and osier, overhung with awnings, and profusely strowed with the richest carpets of Persia⁴¹.

By which he
endeavours
to seduce the
army from
its allegiance.
Olymp.
xxvi. 1.
B. C. 316.

This entertainment highly congenial to the taste of the Greeks and Macedonians, was farther recommended by the cordial politeness of the master of the feast; which soon met its reward in the undisguised gratitude of the troops. Encouraged by Sibyrtius, satrap of Arachosia, and a creature of Peucestes, they began warmly to declare, that the man who had saved the life of Alexander, and attained the highest rank by the highest of all services, was alone worthy to command them. Eumenes had discovered the intrigues of his rival, and fore-

⁴⁰ I cannot adopt Wesselingius' conjecture of *τραίαν* instead of *τραίαν*. The *τραίαν* refers to the other bodies of the hypaspists, who were the same kind of troops with the Argy-

raspides: the *τραίαν* are included among the horsemen mentioned immediately afterwards.

⁴¹ Diodor. l. xix. f. 22.

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Eumenes
defeats his
designs.

seen this dangerous defection. In order to countermine the plot, he produced forged letters from Orontes, governor of Armenia, and a warm friend to Peucestes, containing in few words, that the kings and Polysperchon had fully re-established their authority in Europe; that Cassander, their most formidable enemy, was dead; and that a Macedonian army had crossed the Hellespont to co-operate with the exertions of a general, in whose courage and conduct the lawful successors of Alexander continued firmly to confide. This advice industriously circulated through the whole assembly, produced a return to loyalty, not less universal than sudden; of which Eumenes availed himself to accuse Sibyrtius of treason, and thereby compelled that seditious satrap to consult his personal safety by flight. The success of his first stratagem encouraged the artful secretary to employ another often practised by his master Philip. In the midst of opulence, he pretended great want of money for the public service, and borrowed, in the name of the kings, large sums at high interest, from Antigenes, Eudamus, and other generals; whose fidelity he was most solicitous to secure^a.

Meanwhile some Medes, actuated by hostility to Python rather than by zeal in the royal cause, brought advice of Antigonos's preparations for entering the province of Peucestes. Eumenes, instead of waiting for the invaders in Persis, determined to encounter them on their march thither. Towards the commencement of his expedition, he sacrificed to the gods and gave a public entertainment, in which having rivalled the popular magnificence of Peucestes, he unfortunately imitated the intemperance of Alexander. This unseasonable debauch first suspended his march, and afterwards obliged him to be conveyed in a litter in the rear of the army. In such a disgraceful situation, he was informed by his scouts, that his enemies were ad-

Meets Anti-
gonos on the
frontier of
Persis.

^a Diodor. l. xix. f. 23. Caesar had recourse to the same stratagem for securing the fidelity of his army in one of the most trying emergencies of the civil war. De Bell Civil, l. i. c. 39.

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vancing from the foot of the Paratacene mountains to the barren frontier of Persis and Media, two rival and often hostile provinces. In less than twenty-four hours their advanced guard made its appearance in regular array; for Antigonus had quickened their march upon learning from deserters his adversary's indisposition. Antigenez and Peucestes then led the van; but their troops had no sooner beheld the enemy, than they called aloud for Eumenes. He hastened to their aid; and undrawing the curtains of his litter, was welcomed by the clangor of arms, and a salute in the Macedonian tongue: his presence had restored their spirits, and the precision of his orders skillfully arrayed them for battle. Their sudden alacrity astonished Antigonus, till espying the litter of Eumenes gliding briskly along the line, he exclaimed with his usual burst of loud laughter, "behold the machine which has produced these wonderful movements!" Having expected to surprize the enemy, he thought proper to decline an immediate engagement; and Eumenes perceiving the roughness of the intervening ground, did not molest his retreat, nor afterwards disturb his encampment.

Antigonus's
embassy to
the camp of
Eumenes.

The armies thus remained four days within half a mile of each other, when, on the fifth, Antigonus sent an embassy to the satraps and other officers in the hostile camp, promising to maintain the former in their respective provinces, to grant lands and appointments to the latter; to take their troops into his immediate pay, and to send home, at his own expence, those Greeks and Macedonians who wished to revisit their native country. The admission of such an embassy, proved that Eumenes, however admired as a general, was not absolute as a master. But the propositions of Antigonus were rejected, his ambassadors were threatened; and Eumenes, while he allowed them to depart in safety, taught his soldiers, by an apologue, to applaud their own prudence in eluding the snare which had been laid for them. "A lion," he said, "loved a virgin, whose father

" Plutarch in Eumen.

opposed their marriage lest any domestic dissention arising, the lion might be tempted to make too fierce an application of his claws and teeth; to obviate which objection, the amorous savage deprived himself of those formidable weapons, when, on the renewal of his petition, the father of the virgin attacked and killed him with a club. In the same manner would you have been treated by Antigonus, had you hearkened to his proposal and parted with your strength “.”

Their mutual stratagemis.

On the day following, Eumenes was informed by deserters, that the enemy purposed to decamp at the second watch of the night. He justly suspected their intention of escaping to the fertile district of Gabiena in Elymais⁴⁵, watered by the upper part of the Eulæus. To anticipate this measure, he sent pretended deserters to Antigonus, with information that his lines would be attacked in the evening. While this intelligence obliged Antigonus to prepare for a battle instead of a retreat, Eumenes suddenly decamped; and proceeding with silence and celerity in the direction of Gabiena, gained an advance of six hours march⁴⁶, before the enemy was apprized of his departure. Antigonus pursued with such speed as would have overtaken a less diligent adversary; but could not recover his lost ground, until he had recourse to an artifice, rivalling the dexterity by which he had been distanced. Committing the infantry to Python, he drove forward at full speed with his cavalry; and continuing his pursuit all night, formed at dawn in such complete order, on the side of a hill near to which the enemy had to pass, that Eumenes perceiving his dispositions, never doubted that his whole force was at hand. He therefore commanded a halt, and prepared for an engagement. Antigonus's infantry meanwhile advanced with a rapid and well regulated motion; and a battle, which had been long avoided by the skill or caution of both generals, the success of their mutual stratagems now rendered inevitable.

Render a battle inevitable.

⁴⁴ Diodor. I. xix. f. 25.

⁴⁵ Strabo, I. xvi. p. 1080.

⁴⁶ Diodorus, as we shall see below, divides

the night into three watches; by two of which Eumenes had got the start of the enemy.

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Battle at the
foot of the
Paratacene
mountains.
Olymp.
cxvi. 1.
B C 316.

Of all useless writing, and of all tiresome reading, there is none more obnoxious than the prolix detail of vulgar battles, fought by ordinary generals. But the struggle between Antigonus and Eumenes was an emulous exertion of talent, perpetually varied on one side, and successfully encountered on the other. In the present instance, too, their strength was pretty equally balanced; Antigonus having twenty-eight thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty-five elephants; and Eumenes, though inferior to him by one-third in horse and foot, yet, commanding an hundred and twenty-five elephants, then deemed most important auxiliaries; and what was of infinitely more real value, a body of three thousand veterans, perfected by experience, elated by military honours, confident in their own energy, and from unchequered success, despising every enemy. His left wing Eumenes committed to Eudamus, who had brought with him a select troop^a of horse as well as the elephants from India. Eudamus was reinforced by the cavalry under Stasander and Amphimachus^b, respectively satraps of Aria and Mesopotamia; by Cephalo, who had been substituted instead of the traitor Sibyrtes, to the command of the Arachosians; by five hundred horse from Paropamisus, and an equal number of Thracians from the Danube. The whole wing was covered in front by a crescent of forty elephants, intermixed with slingers and archers. The main body adjoining to this wing was composed, as usual, of the heavy-armed infantry, eleven thousand in number, of which one half, though drawn from a wide variety of nations, were equipped in the Macedonian fashion. The *byspassists* stood next, a lighter infantry, amounting to six thousand, of whom the Argyraspides, those distinguished veterans just mentioned, immediately flanked the heavy-armed phalanx. This whole mass of infantry was also fronted by a

^a This troop is also called *σύνταγμα* by Diodorus.

^b Amphimachus, of whose junction with

Eumenes, no mention is before made, had succeeded to Arcebius, the first Greek satrap of Mesopotamia. Diodor. l. xviii. c. 3.

bulwark of forty elephants. On the right wing Pencestes and Tlepolemus, satraps of Persis and Carmania, commanded their respective cavalry: they were flanked by Eumenes at the head of the *companions*, and other select troops of horse; the general choosing on this occasion the same post which had been always occupied by his master Alexander. This right wing, in which he greatly confided, was fronted by a line of forty-five elephants distinguished by their strength and fierceness.

The superiority of Eumenes in elephants determined Antigonus's arrangement. His left wing, destined rather for show than effect, was filled up with equestrian archers, and other horsemen armed with spears, two thousand five hundred Tarentines trained to loose skirmish, and Thracian vaulters leading respectively several horses, which they used by turns in their desultory assaults. The whole of this wing was entrusted to Python, satrap of Media, from whose province most of the cavalry had been drawn; and who was enjoined to harass Eumenes' right wing with a Scythian-like combat, often remitted and often renewed, incapable, indeed, of making any decisive impression, yet calculated to occupy that important division of the enemy. These irregulars were followed by the phalanx, consisting of nine thousand mercenaries; eleven thousand Lycians and Pamphylians, and other nations of Lower Asia, armed after the Macedonian fashion; and last of all eight thousand Macedonians. Antigonus, as well as Eumenes, assumed for his own post the command of his right wing, composed of the choice of his cavalry, particularly the *companions*⁴⁹ commanded by his son Demetrius, and the first troop of which was headed⁵⁰ immediately by himself. This wing was fronted by the best of his elephants. The remainder defended his infantry; a very few only were placed in his left wing.

Doubtful
success.

⁴⁹ The *companions* denoted under Alexander a particular body of men; but under his successors, who formed their armies as much as possible on their master's model, the same technical term denoted different bodies of men

in different armies, all bearing the same name, because performing the same functions.

⁵⁰ The *αρχηγός*, otherwise called the *ἐπὶ τῇ ἑστίᾳ*, because usually commanded by Alexander in person.

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When the adverse armies had approached in this order within a proper distance of each other, the signal was raised on high, the troops shouted alternately, the trumpets sounded a charge. The irregulars in Antigonus' left, performed successfully their appointed service; and availing themselves of their velocity and numbers, harassed the enemy's flank, galling the elephants with their arrows, and after eluding their pursuit, again renewing the same desultory combat. But Eumenes seasonably drew a reinforcement of cavalry from his left; and by a vigorous charge, the more terrible, because followed by his elephants, dispersed those hovering clouds and pursued them towards the mountains. Meanwhile the infantry engaged with great spirit; the ardour on the weaker side, being inflamed to enthusiasm by the conscious worth of the Argyraspides, who upbraided their adversaries, as wretches who combatted their fathers. The rapidity of this select body was equal to its firmness; and wherever these veterans assailed, their exertions were decisive. Antigonus, when both his main body and his left wing had given way, was advised to move towards the mountains and endeavour to cover the retreat. But the impetuosity of the Argyraspides in urging the pursuit, had left unsupported the division commanded by Eudamus. Antigonus seized the decisive moment; rushed into the opening with the flower of his cavalry, and by an attack in flank put to rout the whole of this left wing. The swiftest of his horse were dispatched to collect his own fugitives, whom the alternation of victory enabled him to rally and form at the foot of the mountains. Eumenes perceiving the defeat of his left wing, returned with his cavalry from the pursuit, and also recalled his infantry. Before either army was again prepared for battle, night had come on; but it was then full moon; the sky was clear and serene; and the hostile lines stood so near to each other", that they could mutually perceive the distinct

" Only four *πλεθρα* asunder, that is, 400 length, is estimated differently by Suidas feet; but the *πλεθρον*, as a measure of and Hesychius.

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V.Burial of the
slain.

flashes of adverse steel, and hear the clang of weapons, the neighing of horses, and the roaring of elephants.

Eumenes, whose loss of men had been inconsiderable, compared with that of his opponent, might have renewed the engagement with advantage; but he was overruled in this purpose by the mutinous temper of his troops, as well as in the design of moving to the left that he might have an opportunity of interring the slain⁵². The *Argyraspides*, whose piety had diminished as much as their avarice had increased, during their long warfare in the East, preferred to a duty deemed most sacred by the Greeks, the care of their baggage and booty, the rich fruits of their Asiatic victories. Their unalterable obstinacy decided the resolution of the whole army, which proceeded with them towards the baggage, while Antigonus moved in an opposite direction, and encamped near the scene of action; by which means he gained an opportunity of burying his slain next morning, whereas Eumenes was reduced to the necessity of craving leave to perform that indispensable ceremony. His herald sent with this view to Antigonus, was detained by him the greater part of the day, and dismissed with the permission of returning next morning. But by this time, Antigonus having sent his wounded, above four thousand in number, and the heaviest part of his baggage, into some neighbouring villages, had secretly decamped, and was hastening to the fertile district of Gamorga in Media. Eumenes, whose men were tired and discontented, did not attempt to pursue the enemy, but immediately began to perform the obsequies of the dead, five hundred and forty foot, and a few horsemen. During this sad solemnity, two Indian women who had lost their common husband Ceteus, an officer of distinction among the Indian auxiliaries, exhibited a new spectacle to the Greeks, by disputing the honour of being burnt alive on his funeral pile. As the elder was discovered to be with child, her rival gained the preference. Trans-

Singular
contention
between two
Indian
women.⁵² Diodor. l. xix. s. 31.

ported:

C H A P. ported with joy at this event, she was gayly arrayed by her attendants, who accompanied her to the scene of suffering, celebrating her virtues by song. Upon arriving at the foot of the pyre, she removed with much composure her bracelets, her necklaces, her rings, and the variegated ornaments of her head; and bestowed them successively with a tender embrace on the companions whom she most loved. Her brother aided her in ascending the lofty pyre. She affectionately reclined on the breathless remains of her husband³¹. The match was lighted; her golden tissue was in flames: she suffered death without a moan to impeach her constancy, or a motion to distort her beauty. All compassionated her fate; most admired her fortitude; yet several Greeks reproached the customs of India as bespeaking only the absurd and obstinate prejudice of ignorant and perverse barbarians³².

Antigonus's
bold and
dexterous
march.

After the funeral solemnity, Eumenes prepared for marching from the inhospitable neighbourhood of the Parætacene mountains; and for fixing, according to his first resolution, his winter-quarters in Gabiena, a district not yet foraged by either party, and well calculated both for refreshment and security. He advanced successfully and encamped at his journey's end. In this position his army by the ordinary route was distant twenty-five marches from Antigonus's post in Gamorga; but there was a much nearer road between them, of only nine marches, through an intricate and desert country, almost destitute of water. While both parties continued in their winter-quarters, Antigonus learned that great discontents prevailed among his enemies, their generals disagreeing about the command, the soldiers unwilling to obey, and that various bodies of troops, discordant in their minds, had widely separated their cantonments. Upon this information, having determined to surprize their nearest posts, he industriously gave out that he intended to move towards Armenia, but collected necessaries for a far more dangerous journey;

³¹ Diodor. l. xix. f. 34.

³² Ibid.

consisting

consisting in ten days provisions of that kind, which required not any preparation by fire". Having no other incumbrance, he marched five days without striking a light, through the unfrequented and dreary region above-mentioned, totally unobserved by the thinly scattered inhabitants of the distant mountains. But his soldiers growing weary of a precaution which their presumption deemed superfluous, finally alarmed by a nocturnal light the remote villagers; one of whom mounting his dromedary, which could travel a hundred and thirty miles in twenty-four hours, seasonably apprized Eumenes of his unforeseen danger.

The troops of this general were scattered over a distance of six marches; and Peucestes, who was stationed near the skirts of the country through which the enemy had to pass, proposed to fall-back on the remoter cantonments. Eumenes, who apprehended lest this movement should discourage the troops, and who wished to meet his opponents as they emerged from the fatigues of the desert, devised an expedient for stopping their progress until his own army should have time to assemble in full force. With this view he selected a sufficient body of men, equipped for expedition, which he commanded to follow him, well provided with fire-pots. This body he diffused over the space of six miles, on the side of a mountain conspicuously situate with regard to the enemy's route, with orders to make large fires at the first watch of the night, to diminish them at the second, and to allow them towards the third gradually to extinguish, so as to afford to spectators at a distance the appearance of a real encampment. Such it was thought by the inhabitants of the opposite mountains who first beheld it, and such it was declared by Antigonus and Python, who firmly believed that the vigilance of Eumenes, having discovered their line of march, had caught them in their own snare. In order to avoid an action with the enemy's

Eumenes's
stratagem
stops the
progress of
the enemy.

⁵⁵ The *συναγωγὰς* of Diodorus are mentioned by Plutarch in Sertorio, and de Gloria Athen. and by Polyænus, l. viii. c. 16. and by Suidas.

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whole force, after the fatigues of a long and laborious march, Antigonus led off his army towards a well cultivated country on his right; a movement begun with much circumspection, but continued without the appearance of any forces to intercept his stragglers or to harass his rear. From this circumstance, he began to suspect that his fears had deceived him; and his suspicion was converted into certainty by the people of the adjacent district, who told him that they had not seen any great army, and only a few companies of soldiers scattered at great distances, who made fires on the hills.

His precaution saves the detachment escorting the elephants.

Stung with indignation at losing the fruits of his painful but well concerted expedition, Antigonus advanced furiously against those soldiers, that although he could no longer hope to surprize the first and main objects of his hostility, he might at least wreak his vengeance on the authors of his disappointment. But this design was also defeated by the celerity of his rival, whose scattered divisions had already been drawn from their quarters, and collected into one camp, judiciously chosen and strongly fortified. Antigonus with these mortifying circumstances, learned, however, that the enemy's elephants were still behind. To intercept these stout auxiliaries, in whose numbers Eumenes most surpassed him, he immediately dispatched the whole of his light infantry, with a due proportion of horsemen, chiefly Medes and Tarentines. This active body of troops, intercepted, attacked, and routed the detachment of hostile cavalry accompanying the elephants, while these ponderous animals, who formed an oblong, enclosing the baggage, continually received wounds which their conductors were unable to retort. But during this disastrous combat, a sudden reinforcement came to their rescue, most seasonably dispatched by Eumenes, who, though he knew not the measures of Antigonus, yet knowing his own duty as a general, anticipated a probable evil, by providing an assured remedy.

Conspiracy formed against him.

The illustrious merit of the commander which increased the general admiration of the troops, envenomed into deadly hatred the envy of

of their leaders. Under the immediate apprehension of a battle, for the hostile armies had encamped at an interval of only four miles, and Antigonus longed to decide this obstinate contest, the haughty Peucestes, and the turbulent Teutamus, conspired against the life of Eumenes, whose just pre-eminence was singularly attested by those rancorous enemies, since they agreed to defer his murder, till he had defeated their common foe. The conspiracy was revealed to him by other generals, who had been invited to join in it; and who were withheld from that measure, not by such affectionate duty as the kind courtesy of Eumenes peculiarly merited, but merely through the fear of losing by his death, the money which they had lent to him at high interest⁵⁶. Upon this distressing information, he lamented his hard lot in living among wild beasts; and retired sad and solitary to his tent, where he wrote his testament, and burned such of his papers, as might have endangered the persons who had communicated to him any matters of secret intelligence. Whatever might be the consequence to himself, he determined to resist Antigonus, the enemy of his revered master's house; and with an alacrity of countenance, marking a heart void of care, prepared with consummate skill for his last fatal victory⁵⁷.

Since the former battle on the Median frontier, he had received some reinforcements, which rendered him in point of infantry, superior to the enemy: but he was still inferior by one third in horse. Antigonus' army had been again recruited to nearly twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand horse, and sixty-five elephants. Accompanied by his son Demetrius, that general took the command of his right wing; his left was committed to Python: his infantry formed the centre, covered in front by the elephants. To oppose Antigonus in person, Eumenes, contrary to the usual practice, assumed the command of his left, consisting of the choice of his cavalry, and supported by auxiliaries under the bravest satraps, par-

The last
battle be-
tween A-
gonus and
Eumenes.

Plutarch in Eumen.

⁵⁷ Id. *ibid.* and Diodor. l. xix. s. 40.