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ticularly Mithridates of Pontus. His left wing was fronted by sixty of his stoutest elephants. His infantry which followed, consisted of three divisions; the hypaspists on the left; the phalanx on the right; and the Argyraspides in the middle, prepared to move with celerity to every part of the line, where they saw a difficulty to surmount, or a desperate adversary to encounter. In his right wing, Eumenes placed under Philip, satrap of Bactria³⁸, the least serviceable part of his cavalry and elephants in a diverging line, ordering its commander to occupy, if possible, the opposing division of the enemy, but chiefly to watch the issue of the contest. Before the signal for charge was given on either side, the Argyraspides sent a herald on horseback, to reproach their adversaries with disloyalty and parricide, and at the same time hurled against them a furious defiance, which as much encouraged the one army as it terrified the other. When the trumpets sounded, the troops of Eumenes charged with intrepid alacrity; and his elephants had been roused to such fury, that the foremost fell by the stroke which its impetuous weight had inflicted³⁹. But Antigonus' great superiority in horse began to make the more decisive impression on Eumenes' left wing, as that general, while exerting himself with the utmost bravery, was feebly supported by Peucestes and other satraps, envious of his glory, and enemies to his person. The battle might have been lost irretrievably, had not the exertions of the Argyraspides surpassed every thing most memorable in the annals of heroism. With invincible perseverance, those veterans who were some of them above seventy years old, and few under sixty, successively attacked, and either repelled or cut down, every part of the opposing line: and without the loss of a single man, (such was the perfection of their armour and their skill) destroyed above five thousand of their foes⁴⁰; a circumstance wonderful as it appears, not altogether incredible, because in the close combats of infantry, the

³⁸ Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. f. 3. and l. xix. f. 40.

³⁹ Diodor. l. xix. f. 42.

⁴⁰ Diodor. l. xix. f. 43.

nature of antient weapons leaving no alternative between a skirmish and a bloody rout, might produce dreadful havoc among the vanquished, with little or no loss to the victors.

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Meanwhile, Eumenes had drawn a reinforcement from his right wing, hoping to renew the equestrian combat. But in this he was disappointed by an unforeseen disaster, which produced speedily his own ruin, and eventually the ruin of the royal cause. It happened that the field of battle was covered with a fine sand, impregnated with salt, which being raised on high, by the trampling of the horses, was carried in a thick cloud toward the left of Eumenes' line, intercepting all prospect in that direction. Of this circumstance Antigonus had availed himself even in the heat of action, to detach secretly his active Medes and fleet Tarentines, who had turned unperceived the enemy's left, overpowered the feeble guard which defended their women and baggage, and rendered themselves completely masters of both. This event mortifying to all, provoked the Argyraspides to madness. In vain, they said, their valour had been exerted in defeating Antigonus infantry; his horse had stripped them of the fruits of twenty victorious campaigns, and had robbed them of their wives and children¹.

Incident which provoked the Argyraspides and made them revolt to Antigonus.

The situation of Eumenes was deplorable. A dark conspiracy hung over his head: his allied satraps alarmed for their particular safety, were anxious to fly to their respective provinces: his cavalry had severely suffered in the action; and his victorious infantry refused to renew the attack; but forming themselves into an oblong, presented on all sides defiance and terror, to any force by which they might be assailed. They reproached the cowardice of their own cavalry, they arraigned the defection of Peucestes, they accused the neglect of their general. In vain, Eumenes endeavoured to convince them, that by improving their victory, they might still recover all that was lost. They insulted him as a vile Thracian; and to receive

Eumenes seized and slain.

¹ Diodor. et Plut. ubi supra.

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back the dearest objects of their affections uninjured, were prepared to accept an accommodation on any terms with Antigonus. To make their peace with that general, who withdrew his cavalry at the approach of night, the Argyraspides, on the suggestion of Teutamus, leader in every mischief, embraced the flagitious resolution of disarming and seizing their commander; regardless of his incomparable merit, and of the commission which he then bore, under the lawful representatives of their late sovereign ⁶¹.

Death of
Eumenes
and fate of
his ad-
herents.
Olymp.
cxiv. f.
B. C. 316.

Eumenes was thus delivered into the hands of an ancient friend, whom disloyalty to the house of Alexander, had converted into an implacable enemy. Demetrius, the accomplished son of Antigonus, and Nearchus, justly famous for his voyage from the Indus to the Tigris, warmly interceded for the life of Eumenes ⁶², whose merits their own enabled them duly to appreciate. But Antigonus was swayed by policy alone, he knew that Eumenes, while he lived would resist his usurpation; and the insolent Argyraspides, as well as the perfidious satraps urged the death of a man whom they had most cruelly injured ⁶³. Of all Alexander's captains, Eumenes died the youngest; though of them all, he was the worthiest of a long and prosperous life. From the age of twenty, he had officiated seven years as secretary to Philip: in the same capacity he served Alexander thirteen years, and died eight years after the latter prince ⁶⁴, at the age of forty-eight, in an honourable warfare for preserving the crown in his master's family, His letters continued extant in the beginning of the second century, and attested a mind that united with great elevation and energy, the milder and gentler virtues: indulgent humanity, cordial friendship, a natural and persuasive eloquence ⁶⁵. His friend and fellow citizen, Hieronymus of Cardia, a town in the

⁶¹ Diodor. l. xix. f. 43. and Plutarch in the cruelty of Antigonus.

⁶² Idem ibid.

⁶³ Plutarch and Nepos have added some circumstances not very consistent with indubitable matters of fact; and thrown in by way of embellishment, or with a view to palliate

⁶⁴ The number in Nepos is forty-five: but it must be erroneous even by his own computation. Conf. Nepos in Eumen. and Diodor. l. xix. f. 42.

⁶⁵ Plutarch in Eumen.

Thracian Chersonesus, who had been wounded and taken prisoner in the battle, sacrificed resentment to interest, and after the death of Eumenes, passed into the protection and confidence of his fortunate rival⁶⁷. Yet Jerom appears to have retained a strong and just predilection in favour of his earlier patron; and from his history of Alexander's successors, we have been enabled to describe those memorable campaigns, and to relate those splendid achievements, which in consideration of the upright purposes to which they were invariably directed, raise the fair fame of the Cardian above all contemporary renown. The fate of Eumenes involved that of Eudamus, Cephalo, and Antigenes; the only generals who disdained submission to Antigonus. Antigenes, who maintained unshaken loyalty, amidst the unanimous defection of the Argyraspides, was distinguished by the inhuman cruelty of his punishment: being nailed up in a coffer, he was burnt alive⁶⁸. The monster who perpetrated this horrid act of vengeance, celebrated with decent sorrow the obsequies of Eumenes; and sent his ashes, enclosed in a silver urn, to his disconsolate wife and deploring kindred⁶⁹; a present, which had not superstition cherished, nature might have spurned as an insult.

⁶⁷ Diodor. l. xix. f. 44.

⁶⁸ Id. *ibid.* Two stories are told of Antigenes, which, though little honourable to him in other respects, serve to account for his invincible loyalty. When Alexander paid the debts of his soldiers, Antigenes pretended to owe a larger sum than was really due by him, and got a banker or merchant accompanying the army, to attest his lie by a false receipt. The fraud was detected; Antigenes was cashiered; but his disgrace being likely to break his heart, Alexander restored him to his rank, and even desired him to retain the money, that had overcome his honesty, as the reward of his conspicuous valour. Plut. in *Alexand.* p. 590. On ano-

ther occasion, Antigenes procured his registration among the old and wounded, who were to be conducted back to Greece. The king, unwilling to part with him, desired to know his real motive for wishing to retire. Antigenes acknowledged that he could not bear separation from Telephè. "Who, Alexander said, is the woman, and to whom does she belong?" Antigenes answered, "she belongs to no one, but is her own mistress." "That being the case," rejoined the king, "we shall contrive means for making her remain with us." Plutarch de *Fortun. Alexand.* l. ii. p. 339.

⁶⁹ Plut. and Diodor.

CHAPTER VI.

Antigonus usurps the Protectorship. — His cruel Policy. — He destroys the Argyraspides. — Murders Python and Peucestes. — Invades Babylonia. — Seleucus' Flight into Egypt. — Wars in Lesser Asia, in Greece, and in Thrace. — Antigonus' vast Projects. — Battles of Gaza and Myons. — Egyptians expelled from Syria. — Nabathæan Arabs. — Their History and Institutions. — Ill Success of Demetrius against them. — Seleucus recovers Babylonia. — End of the Kingdom of the Greeks. — General Peace.

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Antigonus
usurps the
protectorship
in Asia.
Olymp. cxvi.
1.—B. C.
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FROM the death of Alexander to that of Eumenes, only eight years had elapsed; but that narrow span is wonderfully magnified in fancy, by the multiplicity of events, the variety of actors, and the importance of revolutions. The protectoral scepter, which had been feebly sustained by the old age of Antipater, which had trembled in the hands of Python and Aridæus, and which had just dropped from those of Polysperchon, was a two-edged and bloody sword when wielded by the stern Perdiccas, and the still fiercer Antigonus, respectively the first, and last, who held it. When Polysperchon appointed Eumenes imperial commander in Asia, he promised to assist him if necessary, with a great European army. But he was so little qualified to fulfil this promise, that he soon found his inability to defend Macedon itself against the activity of Cassander, Antigonus' ally. The destruction of Eumenes, and the disgrace of Polysperchon, determined Antigonus to assume their united offices without any other authority than that of his own army. By a previous arrangement of Antipater, indeed, he had been named his lieutenant in the East. He seemed willing to avail himself of this obsolete commission; but in exercising the office of lieutenant to the protector,

testor, he usurped the whole power of the protectorship itself', and abused it as we shall see presently, with manifest injustice, and execrable cruelty.

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Having reinforced his army with the treacherous deserters from Eumenes, he determined to quit the inhospitable mountains of Elymais and to winter in Media. In that noble province, he occupied the fertile district of Ragas, still recognisable in the modern name of Rey, probably derived from the oriental Raga², but believed by the Greeks to denote the *rending*³ earthquake, which totally changed the aspect of the circumjacent country; levelling mountains, scooping out lakes, obstructing rivers, and producing new mountains, lakes, and rivers, in the stead of those which had vanished. This earthquake is said to have overwhelmed many cities⁴, and two thousand villages. The labours of man were repaired; but the changes in the face of nature have been permanent, and not altogether useless, could we believe that the important defile, called the Caspian Gates, connecting that inland sea with the central provinces of Asia, was the salutary effect of this dreadful convulsion⁵.

Occupies the district of Ragas in Media.

Immediately after his inglorious victory, Antigonus had punished with death the intrepid fidelity of Antigenes. Other loyalists of less renown shared the same fate, particularly Eudamus, who commanded the detachment from India. While he thus punished his enemies, he determined also to disencumber himself of all suspicious friends. The *Argyraspides*, to whose treachery he was so deeply indebted, seemed likely to occasion more mischief by mutiny, than benefit by bravery. They were artfully disembodied; and committed in divisions to Sibyrtius, governor of Arachosia, and other

Destruction of the Argyraspides.

¹ Diodorus, l. xix. f. 48.

² Πόλις συχναί. Diodorus, l. xix. f. 46.

³ Translated Rages, book of Tobit c. i. and Strabo, l. i. p. 103. and l. xi. p. 783.

⁴ 14. and c. iv. v. 1.

⁵ See D'Hankerville, Origine des Arts de la Grece, v. ii. c. 2.

⁵ Ραγας, fissura, Strabo, l. xi. p. 783.

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Deception
and death
of Python.

Antigonus had been joined by two generals of the name of Python; one the son of Crateas, the other of Agenor. The son of Agenor reinforced, as we have seen, his old friend Antigonus, at the same time that Eudamus, joint superintendant over Indian affairs, brought a considerable addition to the royal army. This Python continued thenceforward a steadfast adherent to Antigonus, and was one of his ablest officers. But Python the son of Crateas, who had formerly shared the protectorship, and recently as governor of Media aspired to empire in the East, was not of a temper to act tamely a second part. While Antigonus occupied the fertile country adjacent to Ragas, Python fixed his quarters at a distance near the southern extremity of Media; and availing himself of the resources of a country, in which he had many adherents, began to cabal against a master whose severity to others he had witnessed, and whose speedy vengeance he was himself destined to experience. The crafty tyrant affected to disbelieve any unfavourable reports of so gallant an officer, and so meritorious a coadjutor. He industriously announced his intention of marching into Lower Asia, and rewarding the services of his friend with supreme command in the eastern provinces. This purpose was declared to Python himself, in a letter containing warm expressions of affection, and presenting to his lofty thoughts the most bewitching prospects. Caught in an ambush

⁶ Polyænus, l. iv. c. 6. Voc. Antigon. Diodorus, l. xix. f. 48. Plutarch in Eumen. *vers. finem.* Diodorus observes, "that impious deeds, however useful to men in

power, as subservient to their ambition, generally prove ruinous to the instruments by whom they are perpetrated."

which

which the blindness of ambition only could conceal from him, Python hastened to join the standard of Antigonus, and to meet his fate. In one short day he was accused, condemned, and executed. His rich satrapy was bestowed on Orontabates, a Mede, controuled however, by the Macedonian Hippastratus, commanding three thousand five hundred of his warlike countrymen. Having made this arrangement for governing the finest province of the empire, Antigonus proceeded to Ecbatana, the capital of Media, drew five thousand talents from the treasury in its citadel, and prepared for a laborious march of twenty-five days to Pasagarda, the imperial district of Persia⁷.

Peucestes, the satrap of that country, had no sooner learned the defection of the Argyraspides after Eumenes' last battle, than he surrendered himself to Antigonus with ten thousand Persians. He now accompanied the conqueror in firm hopes of being reinstated by him in his province. But Antigonus had far other views; in which he was confirmed on beholding the populousness and plenty of this favoured land, which, under the Persian dynasty, had been cherished with paternal affection, and adorned with royal munificence. Its inhabitants, ostentatious and vain of their pre-eminence, delighted in the expensive splendour of Peucestes, which recalled to them the memory of their ancient kings. Notwithstanding many odious vices, the satrap of Persia had carefully followed Alexander's maxim of humouring the prejudices of his subjects. His adoption of their dress and fashions gained him great popularity. Antigonus therefore determined that this satrap should no longer govern them. Asclepiodorus, a creature of his own, was substituted to Peucestes: the change excited faint murmurs among a people enured to despotism; while the deposed governor himself, partly deceived by vain hopes, and partly intimidated through Antigonus resistless power, conde-

Antigonus' march to Susa through Persia, destruction of Peucestes. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

Diodorus, l. xix. f. 46.

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scended to follow the standard of his oppressor towards Susiana^{*}, and is thenceforward unnoticed in history. Python and Peucestes were officers of the highest rank in Alexander's service; the latter being a *life-guard*, and the former both a *life-guard* and *companion*. The bounties of their discerning master, together with the boldness and enterprize by which they had deserved them, are the only topics in their favour: for their military talents were not accompanied with any due proportion of sagacity or prudence: in those virtues they were far surpassed by Seleucus, a much younger man than either, and who now formed the main obstacle to Antigonus' designs in the East.

Antigonus
soothes
Seleucus and
gets possession
of the
Susian for-
tress,—its
riches.

Before leaving Persia, that crafty usurper made a new distribution of the provinces, artfully confirming in their authority all those satraps whom his arm was unable to reach. With this view he sent his orders to Oxyartes, father-in-law to Alexander, who commanded in Paropamisus, as well as to Stasander and Tlepolemus, respectively governors of the outlying countries of Bactria and Carmania: although the forces of all these satraps had served against himself under Eumenes in the royal army. To Seleucus, he assigned not only Babylonia, of which that aspiring and fortunate leader was already in possession, but for a reason that will appear presently, annexed to it the contiguous province of Susiana. This valuable portion of the rich Assyrian plain had been held out by Polyperchon as a reward to Antigones, commander of the Argyraspides; who, it was intended, should obtain the satrapy of Susiana, as soon as his successful co-operation with Eumenes had suppressed Antigonus' rebellion. But the cruel punishment of the intended governor had made room for the annexation just mentioned. Antigonus now marched in a peaceful manner towards the possessions of a man whom he had so greatly benefited, and was met on the banks of the Pasitigris, by Zenophilus, commander of the Susian citadel,

^{*} Diodorus, L. xix. f. 48.

who

who at the express desire of Seleucus, came to put into the hands of the new protector, the keys of that strong-hold. Antigonus gladly accepted a present of which he knew the full value. He treated Xenophilus with distinguished regard, and proceeded with him to his fortress, from whence he carried away fifteen thousand talents. He had collected ten thousand talents in Media and Persia ; so that the whole of his pecuniary acquisitions fell little short of seven millions sterling. They consisted almost entirely of silver, and were carried chiefly on camels^o.

In twenty-two days, he marched from Susa to Babylon. In the latter city he was honoured by Seleucus with royal presents, and his whole army was entertained with unbounded hospitality. But, on the slight pretence of an injury done by Seleucus to one of his officers, he chose to be much offended, and demanded from the Babylonian satrap an account of his revenues. Seleucus saw that celerity was requisite to avoid the fate of Python and Peucestes. He escaped in the night with forty horsemen, and by rapid journies travelled above nine hundred miles to seek the protection of Ptolemy in Alexandria^o. Antigonus did not at first endeavour to intercept his flight : it seemed a piece of good fortune to have rid himself so easily of an enemy, whose mild government had endeared him to the Babylonians. He was now master of the rich central provinces of Asia. In Europe Cassander was his ally. Ptolemy might reign in Egypt and Cyrenè, and from thence extend his arms over the barren sands of Libya. Lysimachus might consolidate his barbarous kingdom of Thrace. But from the Grecian sea to the Indus, Antigonus was determined to leave no power independent of his own : to crush every obnoxious vassal, to break every unbending rival. These lofty thoughts were however abashed by the Chaldean priests who had prophesied to Seleucus the empire of Asia. When Antigonus learned this prediction, though less enslaved by superstition

*Antigonus
marches to
Babylonia.
—Seleucus's
flight to
Egypt.
Olymp.
cxvi 2.
B. C. 315.*

^o Diodor. l. xix. c. 48.

^o Appian, Syriac, cap. 35. and Diodorus, l. xix. c. 55.

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than most of his contemporaries, he instantly sent a nimble detachment of cavalry in pursuit of the fugitives. But Seleucus and his attendants, carried on the wings of fear, escaped its grasp: and arrived safely in Egypt, where Ptolemy received them with the most generous hospitality. Immediately afterwards he joined with Seleucus in an embassy to Lyfimachus and Cassander, arraigning the tyranny of Antigonus, the common and unrelenting foe of all who enjoyed any pre-eminence in the empire¹¹.

Asander's
successful
opposition to
Antigonus
in Lesser
Asia.
Olymp.
cxvi. 2.
B. C. 315.

Ptolemy's conduct may have been influenced by that compassion for Seleucus, to which it is wholly ascribed by historians: but the character of the former prince, whose humanity was never at variance with sound policy, combined with the condition of Lower Asia at that crisis, will reveal to us a more interested and more vigorous motive. During the three years that Antigonus had pursued his victorious career in the great countries of the East, Asander, governor of Caria, the most considerable enemy that he had left behind him in the Asiatic peninsula, had maintained an unremitted and successful struggle not only for keeping possession of his valuable province, but for extending his authority over Lycia and other parts of the contiguous coast¹². Encouraged by repeated advantages over Antigonus's generals, he had even penetrated into the heart of the peninsula, and aspired to the complete conquest of Cappadocia¹³. The events of this warfare forming but a subordinate plot in the bloody drama, are not circumstantially described. It appears, however, that the operations in Lower Asia had been carried on by sea as well as by land, and that the maritime enterprizes of Asander had been peculiarly fortunate; since Antigonus at his return to Cilicia found scarcely a single galley remaining of the large and victorious fleet of which he was in possession, three years before, at his departure from the sea-coast in pursuit of Eumenes.

¹¹ Id. *ibid.*

¹² Diodor. l. xix. f. 75. calls him master of

Asia, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας κυριεύων. Conf. l. xix. f. 62.

¹³ Id. 58. & seq.

Ptolemy, who was well acquainted with these transactions, in which, perhaps, he had secretly co-operated, also knew that Antigonus's power would be strenuously exerted for recovering his lost dominions in the peninsula, and for raising a new fleet. For attaining both purposes, his readiest means would be the invasion of Syria and Phœnicia, provinces that would lie at the mercy of the great army accompanying Antigonus from the East; and which, by supplying transports or the materials for constructing them in any number, would enable him more easily to crush Alexander in Caria and Lycia by invading the sea-coast, than by laborious marches to these provinces across the mountains. Syria, including Palestine and Phœnicia, had been, as above related, unwarrantably but most usefully usurped by Ptolemy, because essential appendages to Egypt, if Egypt ever aspired to become a great maritime power. Feeble Egyptian garrisons would form but trifling obstacles to the conquest of these countries by Antigonus; or as he affected to call it, their recovery to the empire. In espousing the cause of Seleucus, Ptolemy was in fact providing for the defence of his own. He foresaw the evils ready to assail him, and created a confederacy to resist them.

Meanwhile, Antigonus, as if he had felt similar alarms to those which he inspired, sent ambassadors to Cassander with a view to consolidate more firmly the alliance long subsisting between them. He dispatched others to Ptolemy and Lyfimachus, desiring a continuance of their amity, and explaining in the most favourable manner whatever might appear criminal in his late proceedings in the East. But while he seemed thus to invite their friendship, he made vigorous preparations for repelling their hostility. Having placed Python, the son of Agenor, in the vacant satrapies of Seleucus, Antigonus marched towards Cilicia, drew from the fortresses of Kuinda ten thousand talents, collected eleven thousand¹⁴ from the governors recently appointed by him in the East, and hastened to-

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Ptolemy's
motives for
raising op-
position to
Antigonus.

Mutual em-
bassies be-
tween Anti-
gonus and
his enemies.
Olymp.
cxvi. 2.
B. C. 315.

The two sums collectively exceed the value of 4,000,000*l*.

wards.

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Antigonus' final answer to the confederates. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 315.

wards Syria to carry into execution his designs against that country. In his progress thither, he was overtaken by ambassadors from the allied princes. They explained the demands of their respective masters. Seleucus demanded the restitution of his provinces. Ptolemy required that his right to Syria should be acknowledged. Lyfimachus insisted on the addition of the Lesser Phrygia to Thrace that he might command both sides of the Hellespont. Asander*, satrap of Caria, who had heartily entered into the confederacy, was determined to maintain his conquests in Lycia and Cappadocia. Cassander, recently in alliance with Antigonus, to whom chiefly he owed his great success in Macedon and Greece, appeared contented with his possessions in these countries; but joined with the allies in urging one most important point, that the sums of money taken from the royal treasuries should be faithfully accounted for and equitably divided". To these multifarious demands, Antigonus made one general and short answer, "he was actually marching against Ptolemy, and after he had settled his differences with that satrap, would proceed in due time to deal with his perfidious and insolent confederates." As the ambassadors were departing from Antigonus, they were met by his son Demetrius, then in his nineteenth year, just returned from hunting. Slightly regarding the strangers, and without laying aside his javelins, Demetrius flew to embrace his father; "tell this also," said the old man, "at your return to your several masters, that they may know on what terms I live with my son;" an observation expressive of the horrid manners of the times, when fathers feared to be embraced by their armed children, and prophetic, according to the superstition of antiquity, of the wonderful harmony that afterwards prevailed in the family of

* His name is so written by Arrian apud Phot. p. 226. The transcribers of Diodorus write Cassander, which has given occasion to the general error of making one per-

son of two men, whose parts in history were extremely different, and each highly important.

" Diodor. l. xix. c. 57.

Antigonus, which reigned an hundred and twenty years in Macedon with only one example of parricide".

The transaction just related, though conducted with little formality, was attended with momentous consequences, whether we regard the vastness of their extent, or the length of their duration. In Antigonus' answer to the embassy of the allied princes, the knot was tied of a memorable drama, involving the fortunes of mankind from the Hadriatic to the Indus, and from the frozen banks of the Danube to the scorching sands of Libya. The conflict, after being maintained a dozen years with no less dexterity than energy, terminated in the establishment of four independent monarchies; Syria, Egypt, Thrace, and Macedon; whose transactions with each other and with foreign nations until their successive reduction under the Parthian and Roman power, will furnish some of the most useful lessons and impressive warnings that are to be found in the whole series of ancient or modern history.

After his haughty answer to the ambassadors, Antigonus hastened to Syria to make good his threats. The whole of that country lay at the mercy of his invading army, except the strong towns, Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza; the first of which, though sacked only eighteen years before, had again recovered such a share of its ancient commerce and opulence as enabled it to stand a siege of fourteen months. The other cities were surrendered by their feeble Egyptian garrisons; but from the situation of Tyre formerly described, it could not be taken without a fleet, essential also, to the other designs which Antigonus then meditated. For creating a navy with celerity, capacious dock-yards were erected at Tripolis, Byblos, and Sidon; copiously supplied with timber from the waving ridges of Libanus, covered in every age of antiquity with cedars, cypresses, and the more useful pine. By the labour of eight thousand men, and a

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Importance
of that
transaction.

Antigonus
conquers
Syria and
Phœnicia,
and prepares
anaval force.
Olymp.
cxvi 2.
B. C. 315.

"Plutarch in Demet. The word parricide is used in its large acceptation, for the last Philip of Macedon, to whom Plutarch alludes, killed his son.

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thousand yoke of oxen, the forest was transported to the sea-shore. The Phœnicians were ordered to collect from all parts of their country their workmen in wood and iron. The three cities above-mentioned, glowed with the ardour of naval preparation. The harbours and docks of Cilicia were amply stored with timber from the neighbouring ridges of Taurus: while the island of Rhodes, which had begun within a narrow circuit to exhibit a wonderful extent of commercial and productive industry, was furnished with imported materials for exercising the activity of its shipwrights in the lucrative service of a prince who lavished his oriental spoils, to call forth every exertion that wealth can purchase¹⁸.

Arrange-
ment of the
transactions
in the com-
plicated war
of four
years.

Antigonus'
lieutenants.

In thus preparing to form fleets fit to cope with those of Greece, of Macedon, and above all of Egypt, wonderfully improved in maritime affairs by Ptolemy during the seven years in which he had been master of Syria, Antigonus determined to avail himself to the utmost of his natural advantages over a confederacy, in the prompt execution of his designs, as well as in the systematic harmony with which they were concerted. The inland parts of Syria were ordered to provide two millions and seven hundred thousand bushels of wheat¹⁹, at which he estimated the annual consumption of his army. Besides an ample provision of troops and treasures, he enjoyed that without which all other warlike resources are of little avail, able commanders both by sea and land: Nearchus, the illustrious Cretan navigator, Andronicus the Olynthian; Idomeneus, Agesilaus, Medius, Bæotus, Macedonians educated in the school of Alexander; with his favourite son Demetrius, and his nephews Dioscorides and Ptolemy; youths born for war, and carefully formed to it under the eye of a watchful though indulgent master. With such ready instruments, he began to assail his enemies wherever they were most vulnerable.

¹⁸ Conf. Appian Syriac. c. 58. Diodor. l. xix. c. 58. medimnus, by which it is probable, that Diodorus, himself a Sicilian, would compute.

¹⁹ I reckon six bushels for each Sicilian

His nephew, Ptolemy, in whose abilities he had great confidence, was sent with other generals to dispossess Asander of Cappadocia; and after performing this service, to proceed towards the Hellespont with a view to guard the narrow seas against Cassander and Lyfimachus. Agefilaus sailed to Cyprus to detach that valuable island from the confederacy. Idomeneus had already succeeded in a similar design at Rhodes: while Aristodemus the Milesian, peculiarly qualified for the errand by his talent in buffoonery and adulation, carried large sums into Greece for the purposes of recruiting and bribery; and of gaining by every expedient Polysperchon, his son Alexander, and all men naturally hostile to the authority of Cassander in that country. By means of these and other engines, seconded by numerous bodies of troops, as fast as transports could be provided for conveying them, Antigonus kindled a war that lasted four years, in Lesser Asia, Greece, Thrace, and Syria; and then terminating in an hasty and perfidious accommodation, broke out with renewed violence in all those countries to which it had formerly extended. The important transactions in the first part of this complicated contest will arrange themselves perspicuously, if we shift their respective scenes in the order just given, beginning with Lesser Asia, and ending with Syria, because the events in one country grew out of those in another, and a single unfortunate incident in the Syrian war occasioned such a revolution in the Eastern provinces as inclined Antigonus to peace, though on all sides victorious.

Asander, the stubborn enemy of Antigonus in Asia Minor, was besieging Amisus in Pontus, when a strong division of the Syrian army drove him from that city. His ally, Zipates the Bithynian, was compelled to raise the siege of Chalcedon, and to request pardon from the generals of Antigonus. The forces of this prince expelled the enemy from their strong-holds in Pontus and Cappadocia, and recovered for their master the northern shores of the peninsula.

War in
Lesser Asia.
—Gallant
exploit of
Polyceitus,
Ptolemy's
admiral.
Olymp.
cxvi. 2.
B. C. 315.

Diodor. l. xix. f. 57.

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But Afander still defended himself with such vigour on its western and southern coasts, as excited the warmest exertions of the confederates in his defence, and thereby baffled, during two years that Antigonus was employed in other undertakings, the skill and enterprize of his nephew Ptolemy and other able commanders. Ptolemy, the satrap of Egypt, whose fleet as yet far surpassed that of Antigonus, assisted Afander with ten thousand mercenaries. Soon afterwards his admiral Polycleitus surprised succours not less considerable that were advancing to reinforce the enemy. At Aphrodisias, a port of Cilicia, so named from its temple of Venus, Polycleitus learned that an armament equipped by Antigonus in Rhodes, and escorted for safety by an army, was advancing eastward from Lycia to co-operate in the expulsion of Afander from the neighbouring coast. By a stratagem, skilfully concerted and dexterously executed, Polycleitus made himself master of both fleet and army. The whole of his marines were posted in ambuscade in a defile through which the enemy had to march. His fleet was carefully concealed behind the Cilician promontory of Anemurium. Perilaus, who commanded Antigonus' land forces, fell into the snare. He was made prisoner, and his troops either taken or slain. Suspecting some disaster from circumstances which the smallness of the intervening distance enabled him to observe, Theodotus, the co-operating admiral, hastened to land with his fleet to defend the intercepted army. But while he precipitately pushed to shore, Polycleitus with his ready squadrons darted from their concealment, and completed the defeat of men already half subdued by surprize and terror. The admiral of Antigonus was mortally wounded; all his ships were captured. Polycleitus pursued his voyage to Cyprus, whither he was destined, and thence to Pelusium in Egypt loaded with military and naval trophies²²

²² Diodor. l. xix, f. 62.

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Rivalled by
an exploit
of young
Ptolemy,
Antigonus'
nephew.

This successful stratagem was ballanced by an exploit equally brilliant on the side of Antigonus. Cassander of Macedon was not less diligent than Ptolemy of Egypt, in assisting their common ally. He had furnished Asander with a great reinforcement in the beginning of winter, at which time, young Ptolemy, Antigonus' nephew, who conducted the war in Caria, having cantoned his troops in their separate quarters, was piously employed in performing with much solemnity the funeral of his father, a man altogether unknown in history, except from the filial duty and conspicuous merit of his son. Elated with the great succours recently received, Asander, who was informed of his adversary's security, hoped to surprise his cantonments. For this purpose, eight thousand foot with a proportional body of cavalry, were entrusted to Eupolemus; a general, whose auspicious name ²² ill accorded with the malignancy of his fortune. The vigilant Ptolemy was duly informed of the enemy's design. From the nearest quarters he collected a force sufficient to overpower the approaching detachment, after catching it in its own snare. Towards the dusk of evening, he advanced with silence and celerity, and at midnight assailed the hostile camp, slightly fortified, and altogether unguarded. Eupolemus and his men were made prisoners of war ²³.

The principal circumstance that enabled Asander to keep his ground on both coasts of the peninsula, was the great superiority of the Egyptian fleet. Amidst the important affairs in which his own activity was employed, Ptolemy committed a hundred sail to his warlike guest Seleucus, whose versatile talents were alike qualified for military and naval command. While Antigonus was busily employed in constructing ships in the Phœnician sea ports, and in reducing the few places that still held out against him in that neighbourhood, Seleucus, in a fleet splendidly equipped, sailed northward

Seleucus
commanding
the Egyptian,
braves
the Syrian
fleet. Olymp.
cxvi. 2.
B. C. 315.

²² Good in war.²³ Diodor. l. xix. f. 63.

from

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from Egypt towards Asia Minor, braving with contemptuous airs the hostile coast of Syria. The sight of such a magnificent fleet, commanded by so enterprising an admiral, damped the ardour of men, still occupied with preparation, encouraged the enemies of Antigonus, and disheartened his allies. But the alacrity of a general, grown old in victory, was not to be repressed by this ostentation of superiority. With his usual boldness of asseveration, he swore, that within a year's time, he would have five hundred sail ready to put to sea²⁴. In that short interval, he actually equipped two hundred and seventy ships of war, most of which greatly exceeded the size of trireme gallees, the ordinary rate among the Greeks, and consisted of stouter vessels with four, five, nine, and even ten banks of oars. Till this time, penteremes or ships with five banks only were the largest known to antiquity. Antigonus at once doubled this number; and thereby augmented in a far greater proportion the size of his gallees. These vast floating machines were the contrivance of his son Demetrius, then in his twenty-first year²⁵.

Antigonus' march to Celæne, in Phrygia.

When his preparations were completed, Antigonus, tired with the unsuccessful warfare carried on by his generals in Lesser Asia, determined to take the field in person against Asander. His son Demetrius was left to command in Syria: Medius was entrusted with his fleet; with the flower of his army, Antigonus marched towards the Grecian sea. It was the heart of winter; the cold was extreme; and in crossing the defiles of mount Taurus, in Cilicia, his army was assailed by a snowy tempest, which buried many brave men under its cold weight. The remainder, after being long retarded by the uncommon severity of the weather, at length pursued their comfortless and dreary way through the neighbouring mountains of Isauria, till the Greater Phrygia, and particularly the dry district of Celæne received them into its warm and hospitable bosom.

²⁴ Diodor. l. xix. c. 58.
²⁵ Plutarch in Demet.

²⁴ Diodor. l. xix. c. 69. Conf. Dion. Chrysost. Orat. l. xxxv. p. 432.

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He defeats
and ruins
Alexander
satrap of
Caria.
Olymp. cxvi.
4. - B. C.
313.

In the Celænan territory, whose fruitfulness was cherished by subterranean fires⁷, Antigonus fixed his head-quarters while he remained in the peninsula of Asia. From thence he sent reinforcements as well as orders to his generals employed in distant scenes of the war; and in the beginning of spring assailed Alexander of Caria, so vigorously by sea and land, that the obstinacy of this rebellious satrap, as Antigonus affected to represent him, was compelled to surrender all his conquests on the coast as well as in the midland country. Alexander was thus confined to his original province of Caria; and for his dutiful behaviour even there, condescended to give his brother Agathon as a hostage. Shortly afterwards, he repented of his submission: and having enabled his brother to escape from the hands of Antigonus, again applied to his former confederates. Provoked at these acts of treachery⁸, Antigonus invaded Caria by land, while his admiral Medius, and young Ptolemy, now serving in the fleet, assailed the numerous cities on its deeply indented shores. The whole province was completely subdued. The fate of Alexander is unknown: if he did not fall in battle, he probably sank into a private station, since his name does not occur in the treaty of peace which was concluded the following year, and in which Antigonus was acknowledged by the confederates as sovereign of all Asia.

War in
Greece,
against
Alexander.
Olymp.
cxvi. 3.
B. C. 314.

The war in the Asiatic peninsula, thus terminated by the ruin of Alexander, had been supported by powerful reinforcements from his allies. Antigonus therefore, while he endeavoured to weaken the exertions of Lyfimachus and Ptolemy, by means that will hereafter be described, was peculiarly diligent in finding such employment for Alexander at home, as should prevent him from looking abroad, and taking part in the Asiatic warfare. Aristodemus, the Milesian, carried large sums of money into Greece, and procured from the degenerate Spartans, the permission of recruiting in their territory. He was soon at the head of eight thousand mercenary Greeks of Pelopon-

⁷ Strabo, l. xii. p. 579.

⁸ Diodor. l. xix. p. 75.

nesus;

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nefus; while the fierce Etolians, and warlike Epirots, with the barbarous and greedy Illyrians, were encouraged by his agents to take arms against the usurping power of Macedon, the common tyrant of nations. Aristodemus gained the friendship of Polysperchon and his son Alexander, who respectively held Corinth and Sicyon. The former was declared general in Peloponnesus; the latter had instructions to repair to Antigonus, then in Syria.

Accusations
urged against
him by
Antigonus.

Upon the arrival of Alexander in the camp, the Macedonians there were joined by their countrymen in the neighbouring cities and garrisons. In this assembly of the nation, for those who remained in their own country in Europe, were held of no account, in comparison with the armies who had conquered Asia; Cassander was arraigned as the persecutor of the royal family, as the murderer of Olympias, as the violator of Thessalonica, and as the usurper of royal power, which he glaringly displayed in the city Cassandria, insolently called by his name. Vengeance was denounced against him, unless he instantly released Alexander Ægus and his mother from their confinement, and in all things complied with the orders of Antigonus, the protector of that young prince, and of the empire.

Cassander
gains the
son of Poly-
sperchon.

By the same decree, *unconditional freedom* was restored to every city of Greece, implying thereby the restoration of its ancient equitable laws, and a complete exemption from contributions and garrisons. Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, returned with this decree into Greece, and with large sums of money to facilitate its execution. Through his exertions and those of Aristodemus, Cassander, whom they branded as a traitor and a murderer, was deprived of most of his possessions in the Peloponnesus, and was on the point of losing the whole of that peninsula, when he found means of gaining " by great promises the treacherous son of Polysperchon, and thus converting the zealous patriot, and indignant accuser, into a partizan of the very man, whom, he had recently and publicly reproached

Diodor. *ibid.*

with

with the most enormous crimes. The perfidious Alexander did not live to obtain the reward promised him in the generalship of all Peloponnesus. He was slain at Sicyon, by persons who called themselves his friends²². An insurrection of the citizens ensued, which was quelled by Cratipolis, the wife of Alexander, a woman distinguished by her beauty and her gallantries, but still more by her craft and courage.

The defection of her unworthy husband, only delayed the success of Antigonus. By this time the fleets of that prince were prepared for sea. Telephorus, his general, sailed to Peloponnesus, with fifty galleys and a large army. Under pretence of giving freedom to that country, he expelled Cassander's garrisons, and replaced them with his own. Corinth indeed was still held by Polyperchon, to whom Cratipolis had also resigned Sicyon. Except these cities, the rest of the peninsula lay entirely at the mercy of Telephorus; and as Polyperchon had not joined in the defection of his son, the general of Antigonus might still regard him in the light of an ally, heartily united in animosity to Cassander their common enemy. Meanwhile, Aristodemus' intrigues and bribery began to operate in the northern divisions of Greece. The Etolians and Bœotians sent ambassadors to Antigonus, requesting his friendship. Young Ptolemy, whose services were no longer necessary in Lesser Asia, hastened to protect them against Cassander with a fleet and army. He gained possession of Chalcis in Eubœa, the key to that island; he expelled the Macedonian garrison from Thebes; in Phocis and Locris, his arms were equally successful; the whole country from the isthmus of Corinth, to the straits of Thermopylæ, acknowledged his ascendancy; and as he granted an alliance to Athens, still governed by Demetrius Phalereus, and treated with great mildness the places taken by force, as well as those which had yielded to persuasion, his authority over the persons of the Greeks.

Great defeat of Polyperchon, Antigonus' nephew, in Greece. Olymp. 114. B. C. 31

²² Diodor. *ibid.* f. 69.

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was strengthened by interest in their affections". Cassander harassed in war by the Epirots and Illyrians, and threatened by invasion from Hellepontian Phrygia, was unable to prevent the farther ruin of his affairs in Greece, much less to repair past losses. Thessaly alone remained to him of all his former possessions in that country.

Frantic pro-
ceedings of
Telephorus.

Antigonus rejoiced in the happy exploits of his nephew; and without regarding the unequal merit of Telephorus, entrusted Ptolemy with the sole administration in Greece. Telephorus was enraged to madness by this disgrace. He determined no more to see his master; he sold the fleet committed to him; and when the Elians disapproved his proceedings, he entered their sacred city, seized the Olympic treasure, gained to him by bribes, a body of adventurers as daring and desperate as himself, and prepared to defend the usurped dominion of Elis, by bridling it with a new citadel. From this inland capital, he extended his ravages to the Elian seaport of Cyllene, which was oppressed by his mercenaries; while the once renowned Spartans, and other warlike states of Peloponnesus, remained tame spectators of the profanation of a consecrated territory, equally endeared and enobled as the scene of their most revered religious solemnities. But that which the Greeks had not spirit to do for themselves, was effected by a young Macedonian officer in the service of Antigonus. Upon the first intelligence of Telephorus' frantic behaviour, Ptolemy hastened to Peloponnesus, expelled the outrageous oppressor from Elis and its territory, levelled his new citadel in the dust, replaced in the Olympian temple its dedicated treasure, and together with their solitary harbour of Cyllene, restored to the peaceful Elians their ancient and sacred security".

Young Pto-
lemy's merit
and success.
Olymp.
cxvii 1.
B. C. 312.

The issue of
the war in
Greece,
highly fa-
vourable to
Antigonus
and his fa-
mily.

In this manner the war in Greece terminated, not only to the advantage, but real glory of Antigonus. He thenceforward enjoyed in that country an influence, which, though it underwent great variations, descended to his posterity, and finally enabled his family

" Diodor. l. xix, f. 78.

" Ibid. f. 87.

to acquire, and long retain the crown of Macedon. History is silent as to the punishment of the villainous Telephorus; but even its silence attests the actual weakness of the Greeks, who, in passing from one master to another, performed not any exploit worthy of commemoration; nothing distinguished by vigour in execution, or even boldness of design.

Lyfimachus, of Thrace, had joined in the league against Antigonus; and during the expedition of the latter into Upper Asia, had invaded Hellepontian Phrygia, with a view to appropriate that valuable province, so conveniently situate with regard to his own maritime possessions. Antigonus, however, at his return to the sea coast, contrived to create such disturbances in Thrace itself, that its rapacious satrap was unable to yield any assistance to the confederacy, or even to defend his acquisitions on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. In addition to the hostility of the fierce Thracian mountaineers under their hereditary chieftains, Lyfimachus experienced a revolt of the Greek cities, planted for the commercial purposes explained in a former part of this work, on the shores of the Euxine. Odessus, Calatis, and other places of less note from the eastern extremity of Mount Hæmus to the mouths of the Danube, expelled his garrisons and defied his vengeance. Calatis, a colony of Pontic Heraclæa, sustained a siege of several years, during which it was repeatedly succoured by Antigonus with fleets and armies. The friendly intercourse between this city, and the Scythians beyond the Danube, procured for it the powerful aid of those formidable Barbarians³³. It is uncertain whether Lyfimachus ever compelled the place to surrender; and shortly after his death, Calatis appears in the rank of an independent commonwealth, waging an obstinate war with Byzantium³⁴.

War in Thrace also favourable to Antigonus. Olymp. cxvi. 4.—B. C. 313.

Victorious in Thrace, in Greece, and in the peninsula of Asia, Antigonus imprudently rejected proposals for peace, which the allies

Antigonus' prosperity and high designs.

³³ Diodor. l. xix. f. 73.

³⁴ Memnon apud Photium. c. 22.

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separately made to him. He purposed to reduce them all to unconditional submission; and might have succeeded in this design, had not events in Syria, to which the transactions hitherto related are but bloodless preludes, given a new turn to the war, and threatened the total ruin of his affairs. Shortly after his first invasion of Syria, he had taken Gaza and Joppa by assault. Tyre surrendered to his arms after a blockade of fourteen months. Thus master of the only places which had held out for Ptolemy, he considered Syria, a country of great resources, and now completely subdued, as peculiarly well calculated from its central situation, for becoming the seat of an imperial capital, and the head of his vast monarchy in Europe and Asia. At his march towards the Grecian sea, he had left in that important province his son Demetrius with a considerable army, assisted by the councils of confidential friends and able generals; purposing after he had settled affairs in the West, to return himself into Syria, and by an invasion from that quarter, to enlarge his extensive dominion by the fertility and wealth of Egypt.

Ptolemy invades Syria.
Olymp.
cxvii. 1.
B. C. 312.

Ptolemy was not unacquainted with his views; but his first care had been to appease the troubles excited by the enemy in Cyrenè. The cautious Egyptian satrap was slow to show himself on the foreground of the war; but in proportion to his prudent delay, he appeared at length with higher dignity and more decisive effect. By means of his fleet, still superior, if not in strength, at least in skill and practice, he completed the conquest of Cyprus, whose harbours were conveniently situate for invading Syria and Cilicia. In the former country, he gained the sea port of Posideium, at the mouth of the Orontes: in the latter, he carried with much bravery the strong fortifications of Mallos. Both places were plundered; their inhabitants were made slaves; and the districts dependant on them, which had been sources of copious supply to the enemy, were desolated by fire and sword. Young Demetrius who had been left by his father to defend this central portion of his dominions, was not of a temper

temper to see it wasted with impunity. Having collected his cavalry and light armed troops, he hastened by forced marches into Cilicia : but if he had been provoked to learn the proceedings of his enemies in that province, he was still more mortified to find that they had withdrawn from it, carrying with them its rich spoils to Cyprus. To prevent some new disaster in Syria, on whose southern frontier he had reason to fear an invasion, he returned thither with such celerity that he is said to have accomplished an ordinary march of twenty-four days, in six only. Ptolemy meanwhile having assembled the military force of his province was marching to the frontier city of Pelusium, separated by a desert of an hundred and twenty miles from Gaza, the principal station of the enemy. His standard was followed by eighteen thousand foot, and four thousand horse, Macedonians or mercenaries. This regular army was attended by a crowd of Egyptians ; merchants, purveyors, carriers, many of whom were armed after the comparatively awkward manner of their country. By means of precautions formerly described, the expeditious march through the desert was performed without danger. Emerging from this dreary ocean of sand, Ptolemy encamped³⁵ near a place called Old Gaza, distant a few miles from the city of the same name, demolished after a stubborn siege by Alexander, but afterwards more strongly fortified by that conqueror, and now garrisoned by the troops of Antigonos.

In this neighbourhood Demetrius collected fifteen thousand foot, five thousand horse, and forty elephants ; his youthful mind glowing with impatience to meet his antagonist. In vain his experienced counsellors, Python, the son of Agenor, and Bæotus the most intimate friend of his father, dissuaded him from risking an unnecessary battle against a superior army, commanded by such generals as Ptolemy and Seleucus. He was master, as they represented to him, of all the surrounding territory. The walls of Gaza, Tyre, Sidon,

Demetrius
prepares to
give him
battle.

³⁵ Diodor. l. xix. f. 80.

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Joppa, and other fortified cities afforded to him secure places of arms; from which, without endangering his high fortune, he might continually infest his opponents, beat up their quarters, intercept their convoys, cut off their advanced parties, and finally compel them to a retreat through the desert, equally ruinous and disgraceful. Neither Demetrius himself, nor the troops whom he commanded, were capable of listening to this salutary advice. His youth, his talents, and his temper, all conspired to inflame his hopes and pervert his judgement. Having summoned the soldiers that he might justify by their decision his own obstinate rashness, he mounted the military tribunal in complete and royal armour, and prepared to address the surrounding multitude. His air and aspect recalled to the Macedonians the image of Alexander, whom Demetrius rivalled in commanding majesty, and whom he far surpassed in comeliness and in stature. But in his twenty-second year, the son of Antigonus felt not that confidence in himself and that inborn dignity, by which the son of Philip at an earlier age had challenged the submission of mankind. In the presence of so formidable an audience of armed veterans and experienced generals, frowning with disapprobation, his resolution began to shake, his countenance fell, and his memory totally forsook him. A great majority, however, of the troops, flushed with a long series of victories, encouraged him by their favourable acclamations to proceed. The light mind of Demetrius, animated by this mark of their affection, passed from timidity to transport. The hopes with which his own bosom panted, were communicated warm and entire to his hearers, while he exhorted them by every motive of honour, of interest, and of duty, to prepare for a battle which must inalterably confirm their own fortunes and the stability of his father's empire."

Battle of
Old Gaza.
Olymp.
cxviii. 1.
B. C. 312.

On the day of battle Demetrius posted his best troops on the left wing, and reinforced it by the elephants, with which kind of auxi-

Plutarch in Demet.

liaries the enemy had not provided themselves, because they well knew, it is said, that the African elephants could not be brought to engage those of India. The great body of his infantry formed the centre. His right wing contained the least serviceable part of the army, on which account it receded in a waving line from the hostile front, and its commander, Andronicus, was ordered to provoke a battle without attempting to sustain it. By the vigorous onset of his left, Demetrius hoped to make an impression the more decisive, because, according to the Macedonian arrangements above explained, the general with his select bands of cavalry never fought without some evident local reason in that quarter of the field. But Ptolemy and Seleucus, having discovered that Demetrius meant thereby to surprize them, moved from their left with three thousand chosen cavalry. The equestrian combat was animated and persevering; both sides having broken their lances had recourse to their swords; the companions of Alexander striving to preserve the laurels which they had dearly earned, and Demetrius, who only knew by report the glory of that prince, aspiring by his prowess in the present battle to equal the renown of the greatest captains. But unfortunately a part of his force in which he much confided, and which Alexander's better science disdained, principally occasioned his defeat. His elephants being roused to the charge advanced with seemingly resistless weight, when they were withstood, however, and rendered useless by a simple enough defence, with which the Egyptians had the precaution to be provided. This was a sort of portable barrier, studded with iron spikes, and strongly connected by massy chains. When this moveable wall was thrown in the way of those fierce animals, it totally prevented them from using with effect their butting strength. From the huge weight of their bodies, their feet are comparatively weak and tender. Their assault is chiefly formidable on a smooth and soft ground. Disabled by the unevenness of their footing, and tortured by piercing spikes, they were exhausted by
their

CHAPTER VI. their own fury, while the Indians, who exerted their utmost skill in vainly endeavouring to govern them, were overwhelmed by missile weapons. This unexpected disaster dismayed Demetrius' left wing; and together with it, drove his whole army into flight. Under this sad calamity, the desperate valour of the general was zealously seconded by Python and Bæotus, who strove by voice and arm to rally the fugitives. But their meritorious exertions only procured them an honourable death, since both fell gloriously while attempting with unequal strength to stem the torrent of pursuit. Their bravest companions shared the same fate. Demetrius perceiving the battle irretrievably lost, fled northwards to Gaza, but was so closely pursued by the victors, that he could not safely enter that place. As many of his followers, however, had deposited there the whole of their effects, nothing could restrain them from endeavouring to recover their dearly purchased booty. Rushing heedlessly into Gaza, they were followed by Ptolemy's cavalry, who thus augmented the number of their valuable captives, and gained possession of a strong city, containing the baggage of the whole army, together with the rich furniture and numerous domestics belonging to its commanders. Demetrius still pursued his flight northwards, until he was received within the friendly walls of Azotus, thirty miles distant from the field of battle²⁷.

Vast loss on
the part of
Demetrius.

In this city he was apprized of the full extent of his misfortune: five thousand, principally horsemen, were slain; eight thousand, chiefly infantry, were made prisoners. The loss of trinkets and treasures in Gaza seemed of no account: His bravest soldiers, his beloved friends had fallen; and their bodies still lay unburied on the field of battle. To remove this last and worst disgrace, heralds were sent to Ptolemy, craving leave to inter the vanquished. Together with this permission, which it would have been impious to deny, the heralds brought back to Demetrius his camp equipage and effects, and the

²⁷ Diodor. l. xix. f. 81. & seq. and Plutarch in Demet.

sad remnant of his surviving friends, with a generous message from Ptolemy, "that he contended not for all things at once, with the son of his ancient partner in arms, and formerly faithful ally." Demetrius accepted his bounty; but implored the gods that they would relieve him from a gratitude burdensome, because due to the enemy of his father."

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His vow was heard; he was enabled in a short time to repay Ptolemy's favour. Yet the consequences of his defeat at Gaza were irretrievable, since it enabled Seleucus, while Demetrius was repairing his affairs in Syria, and Antigonos still busy in the peninsula, to regain possession of Babylonia, and thereby eventually to become master of Upper Asia. This memorable revolution will be circumstantially described, after we have concluded the less important transactions in Syria and its neighbourhood.

Irretrievable
consequences
of that bat-
tle.

From Azotus, in which Demetrius first found a short respite from the pursuers, he retreated northwards to Tripoli, thus abandoning to the enemy two hundred miles of the Syrian coast. Ascalon, Acca, Joppa, Samaria, and Sidon opened their gates to the conqueror. Andronicus, who having escaped from the battle of Gaza, had resumed his command in Tyre, ventured, however, not only to defend that place, but to answer Ptolemy's summons with gross insults. A revolt of the citizens compelled him to surrender. His brave resistance was praised, his insulting language was forgiven; and by this seasonable lenity Ptolemy acquired fair renown while he prudently converted a stubborn adversary into a zealous partizan.

Ptolemy for-
gives the in-
sults of An-
dronicus
governor of
Tyre.

Demetrius, with defeated troops but a mind still unsubdued, yielded not to that despondency too natural to youthful impatience under its first painful reverse. It was his character to harden under the blows of fortune. By one of those rapid marches; in which he rivalled Alexander himself, he crossed mount Taurus, assembled the veteran garrisons in the eastern provinces of the peninsula, and

Demetrius
surprizes
Ptolemy's
general
Killes and
completely
defeats him.
Olymp.
cxvii. 1.
B. C. 312.

* Id. ibid

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appeared

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appeared unexpectedly in the heart of Syria. Ptolemy, whose genius led him still more strongly to improve his dominions than to head armies, had entrusted the command in Syria to Killes, a general chosen, as it should seem, with little discernment, since he committed the greatest of all military errors, that of despising his enemies. In proceeding towards Demetrius, he advanced rashly, and encamped carelessly near the obscure town of Myons. His vigilant adversary duly apprized of his security and negligence, led his army by divisions, through narrow and unfrequented paths; and by well concerted movements, surprized at the hour of midnight Killes in his defenceless camp, gained a large booty, and made seven thousand prisoners. His success filled him with inexpressible joy, as the means of *disburdening* his gratitude to the Egyptian satrap. Killes, the confidential friend of Ptolemy, was instantly released; and, together with other officers of distinction, sent back to Egypt loaded with presents²⁹.

The Egyptians evacuate Syria carrying with them many Jews

Meanwhile Antigonus having triumphed over his enemies in the West, moved from the Grecian sea to oppose Ptolemy in Syria. His approach, combined with the recent and ruinous disaster of Killes, filled the Egyptian satrap with alarm. The great army of Antigonus had hardened in many a victorious campaign, their admired commander, in a life of continued warfare, having passed his seventieth year without once losing a battle. Ptolemy's generals were ordered to evacuate Syria, that they might be ready to defend the fortresses of Egypt and the banks of the Nile³⁰. In their retreat from the former province, they were followed by many of its inhabitants, particularly by many Jews, *the Syrians of Palestine*, who preferred to their native country a residence in the flourishing capital of Alexandria, where their nation, adroit and hardy, had, as before related, been endowed by the discernment of Ptolemy with many valuable immunities. In the number of Jewish emigrants, historians

²⁹ Conf. Diodor. l. xix. f. 93. and Plutarch in Demet.

³⁰ Id. ibid.

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Hezekiah
and Mosollam.

have distinguished Hezekiah, a chief priest, respectable for eloquence and wisdom; and Mosollam, a soldier, highly admired by the Greeks for his skill in archery and his valour; and who challenged their admiration more justly, by the contempt which he boldly expressed for their puerile superstition. In marching towards the Red Sea, a detachment escorting the baggage, was suddenly stopped by orders of the soothsayer. Mosollam asked the reason of the halt. The augur desired him, and them all, to observe a bird at which he pointed. "Should this messenger of the gods," he said, "remain at rest, we ought likewise for the present to repose; if he rises and flies onward in the line of our march we may then proceed with confidence; but should our sure guide take a contrary direction, we must then return to the place from whence we last came." The grave admonition was scarcely uttered, when an arrow flew from the unerring hand of Mosollam, and brought down the bird fluttering in its blood. The diviner and the whole Grecian detachment were moved with indignation. Amidst the blind rage of a capricious multitude, glory or disgraceful death depend on the decision of the moment. The Jew was saved by his presence of mind and intrepidity. "Your anger," he said, "is groundless. You think that the bird was acquainted with the destiny that awaits us and the whole army; yet the thoughtless little wanderer was plainly unconscious of its own fate, otherwise it would never have roved to this unfortunate spot, to be transfixed by the arrow of Mosollam the Jew."

From the conversation of the Jews now accompanying the Egyptian army, Hecatæus of Abdera, a Grecian colony on the coast of Thrace, was enabled to compose his elaborate and faithful history of a people whose transactions and institutions have been strangely disfigured by the vain prejudices of Greece, and more strangely overlooked or calumniated by the proud ignorance of Rome. Hecatæus of Abdera, as well as Jerom of Cardia, assiduously cultivated letters

Why Hecatæus of Abdera and Jerom of Cardia treated the Jews so differently in their respective histories.

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amidst the cares and labours of warfare; like Ptolemy, Eumenes, Aristobulus, and other generals of an age equally pre-eminent in arts and arms. After the death of Alexander, Hecataeus attached himself solely to Ptolemy; while the compliant Jerom followed successively the fortunes of Eumenes, Antigonus, and Seleucus; the first of whom was destroyed by the second, as was the second by the third. Under the empire of Seleucus, Jerom, who lived to the age of an hundred and four years, was employed as governor of Syria, in which Palestine was included. Yet in his history of Alexander's immediate successors, it was remarked that Jerom had passed over the wonderful peculiarities of the Hebrew race in total and incomprehensible silence; a silence, however, that may in some measure be accounted for, if we consider that the natives of Judæa were either open enemies or reluctant subjects to the princes whom he tamely and anxiously served; whereas Hecataeus, being the friend of Ptolemy, the beloved protector of the Jews, deduced the memorable series of their exploits and sufferings from the age of Abraham to his own times"; a work the loss of which is the more unfortunate, because the religion and polity of Palestine must have been placed in a light equally striking and new, by the exclusive impartiality of this curious and well informed stranger.

Nabathæan
Arabs.—
Their character and
pursuits.

Having thus recovered the undisputed possession of Syria, Antigonus, before invading the powerful satrapy of Egypt, determined to round, as it were, and fortify on all sides, the country which he had chosen for his imperial residence, the station for his fleet and army, and the centre from which his orders were to pervade the most distant provinces. The command of the intermediate deserts between Syria and Egypt, and a controul over their roving inhabitants, must have appeared also a necessary preparative for facilitating the conquest of

Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 8. Euseb. Prepar. Evang. l. ix. and Origen. contra. Cell. l. i.

Ptolemy's well fortified dominions. The Nabathæan Arabs inhabiting these deserts, formed a powerful branch of the great Nomadic nation, who, as formerly explained, served from immemorial antiquity for carriers in the commercial intercourse between Egypt and Phœnicia on one hand, and in that between Ethiopia and Assyria on the other. From the desolating wars that had long prevailed in all these countries, and especially from the downfall of Egyptian Thebes, Phœnician Tyre, and Assyrian Babylon, the traffic, by which the Nabathæans had flourished, fell to decay. But the natives of the wilderness in all ages compensated for the allotment of a sterile territory by the force of arms, as well as by the frauds of commerce^a. Although they had given no particular provocation to Antigonus, it seemed sufficient that they were always able and willing to offend; and this consideration, conspired with other motives to precipitate him into an expedition, often undertaken by the greatest conquerors both before and afterwards, but in which it should seem that no laurels were destined ever to be won.

Not only the nature of the country, but still more the genius of the people, seemed peculiarly well fitted for repelling invasion. They derived their name from Nabaioth^b, the eldest of the sons of Ishmael, and are honourably distinguished by their ancestors, whose history is faithfully recorded^c when that of the world consisted in the tradition of scattered families; and still more terribly conspicuous for the valourous enthusiasm of their descendants, since the concurring testimony^d of Greeks and Barbarians entitles them to claim Mahomet for their own. Nine centuries before the Christian æra, their decaying institutions were restored to their primitive vigour, and thenceforward perpetuated under the most awful penalties.

Their history
and institu-
tions.

^a Plin. l. vi. c. 32. Conf. Diodor. l. ii. p. 48.

^b Genesis. c. xxv. v. 13. I follow the writing of the Septuagint.

^c Genesis. c. vi. v. 6.

^d That of the Greek Theophanes Chronograph. p. 277. and of the Syrian prince, and geographer Ishmael Abulfeda, in his Directorium Region. p. 11.

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With submission to the stern laws of Jonadab, powerfully enforced by their country and climate, the Nabathæans abstained from practices elsewhere indifferent or meritorious; they neither built houses, nor planted fruit trees, nor drank wine, nor sowed corn²⁷. Amidst an ocean of sand, intersected by sharp rocks, they wanted rivers to irrigate and fertilize their arid soil; and their wells were so scanty and precarious that the collected rain was carefully deposited in strong cisterns, whose mouths, constructed with artful concealment²⁸, were only discernible by the keenness of an Arabian eye. These were the hidden treasures of the desert, by which the Nabathæans supported their laborious lives, and from which they watered their weary flocks, conducting them, as occasion required, over wide intervals of barrenness to rare and meagre pastures, diversified chiefly by the spreading tamarind and hardy Acacia. The Nabathæans lived wholly in tents; their food consisted in flesh and milk; their luxuries were pepper and honey²⁹; sheep, camels, and horses formed their principal wealth; their first passion was to live independent and fearless, their second to inspire terror into all their neighbours³⁰. Surrounded on three sides by the most flourishing nations of antiquity, they communicated on the south with the pastoral kingdom of Yemen, whose happy shores were enriched by precious aromatics. The myrrh and frankincense furnished at stated fairs by the southern tribes, the Nabathæans deposited in huge caverns, particularly those of the rock Petra, distant about an hundred miles from the Mediterranean, and half that space southward from the Dead Sea, called by the Greeks the lake Asphaltites. From these magazines, they supplied with spices and perfumes the commerce of

²⁷ Jeremiah, c. xxxv. v. 8, 9. 2 Kings, c. x. v. 15. Conf. Diodor. l. xix. f. 94.

²⁸ The opening was small at top, but gradually enlarged in a quadrangular form. Each side of the square at bottom was sometimes a πλῆθος, that is 100 feet long.

²⁹ I adopt Wesselingius' correction, καὶ μέλι

καὶ τὸν δρόσον. Polyænus, Elian, and Aristotle mention this wild honey found on the leaves of trees; the same substance on which St John fed in the neighbouring wilderness. From whom the Arabs got their pepper, I formerly explained.

³⁰ Diodor. l. xix. f. 94.

Phœnicia, the luxury of Egypt, the magnificence of Assyria, and the costly superstition of all those countries, whose inhabitants they alternately overreached in trade and plundered in war".

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Antigonus, as master of part of the contiguous territories, and hoping shortly to engross the whole, determined to assail these common enemies; and by the terror of his arms, to render them subservient to his views. Having selected four thousand foot and six hundred horse, the best prepared for expedition, he waited till the Nabathæans travelled southward to one of the periodical fairs above-mentioned, after leaving only a slight guard at Petra, consisting chiefly of old men, to defend their wives, children, and most precious effects. Athenæus, who conducted the enterprize, in a forced march of thirty-six hours, surprized Petra; put its obstinate defenders to the sword; and returned towards Gaza loaded with much valuable merchandize, besides five hundred talents of silver and a crowd of young slaves. Before the military caravan had proceed twenty miles on its route, the fatigue of a sandy road and the almost vertical blaze of the sun occasioned a hasty encampment, in the full confidence that little danger was to be apprehended from so distant an enemy. But the Arabs had already taken the alarm. Accustomed to clear skies and naked plains, their experienced eyes discerned from afar the faintest shadows of warriors to avoid, or travellers to plunder: and whether they wished to fight or fly, the velocity of their horses and dromedaries¹¹ was always ready to second their purpose. At their return to Petra, they learned from their fathers yet weltering in blood, the full extent of their disaster; and they flew with fury to avenge it. To the number of eight thousand, they assailed the unguarded tents of the Macedonians; massacred part of them asleep, slew others as they roused from their slumber: the whole infantry perished; and only fifty horsemen escaped bleeding with their wounds¹².

Antigonus' expedition against them—Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

Its unfortunate issue.

¹¹ Diodor. *ibid.* and l. ii. f. 48.

Voyage en Syrie.

¹² I use this word to express the swiftest councils. Volney denies their two bunches.

¹³ Diodor. l. xix. f. 95.

Having

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Second expedition under his son Demetrius.

Proves fruitless.

Having satiated their revenge the Arabs returned to Petra, and sent messengers to Antigonus, with a letter in the Syrian character, complaining of his cruel and unprovoked invasion¹¹. The Macedonian dissembled his wrath, and loudly condemned Athenæus, who, without any orders from himself, had undertaken a mad and wicked enterprize that had been justly punished. But, while he thus endeavoured to lull the fear of the enemy, he equipped a new detachment far more numerous than the former, which being amply furnished with food, not requiring any preparation by fire, was committed to the zeal and boldness of his son Demetrius.

The fair words of Antigonus, deceived not that suspicious caution which is the natural characteristic of robbers. Sentinels were posted on the rocks skirting the Nabathæan desert; and according to the eastern custom, supplied with torches for signals. The general blaze announced Demetrius's invasion, and gave time to provide against it. Petra was stripped of its treasures, which were conveyed farther into the wilderness; but a trusty band was left to defend the place itself, a natural fortress well improved by art, with one narrow entrance near the summit. Demetrius led his men to the assault, but was so vigorously received by the Arabs, that it became necessary to sound a retreat. Next day the attack was on the point of being renewed, when the clear and articulate voice of an eloquent Nabathæan, strongly urged the folly of invading a territory, which was so sparingly provided with those objects, for the sake of which only, any war can reasonably be undertaken. "Our country is adust and desolate. We alone are born to inhabit it, because we prefer freedom to all other enjoyments. So deeply rooted is our love of independence, that could you enthrall our bodies, you never would be able to subdue our minds. All you would obtain by conquest, would be a crowd of obstinate or spiritless slaves, incapable of endur-

¹¹ Ibid. l. 95.

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Demetrius' retreat.

The lake Asphaltites, and the surrounding country.

ing any other institutions than those under which they have immorally lived." Demetrius, on whose mind, as will appear more clearly hereafter, this speech was peculiarly well calculated to operate, received presents and hostages, and instantly withdrew his army¹⁵.

To compensate however for the failure of this expedition, he engaged in an undertaking seemingly more practicable, and if it succeeded, certainly more lucrative. The singular appearance of the country through which he had travelled to Petra, would have excited the attention of a man far less curious than himself. The horror of its grim aspect must have been heightened by contrast with the smiling fertility and beauty of the northern regions of Syria, which he had just left, and in which, though equally mountainous with the southern division of that country, the mountains pleased and allured, their sides being richly clothed with vines, olives, and the umbrageous fig tree; while their summits waved with pines and cedars, the loftiest offspring of the forest; and the intermediate valleys were diversified with yellow harvests, and an abundant variety of such shrubs and fruit trees as flower in the mildest climates. Such is the general picture of northern Syria¹⁶, but in approaching *Palestinian* Syria, a country which once owed advantages, denied it by nature, to the stubborn industry of man, the hills of the same Alpine elevation¹⁷ are bleak and barren, almost uniformly white, but rugged and shapeless. The scene grows inexpressibly dreary around the lake Asphaltites; rude without being romantic, deformed with all the horrors of savageness, without any of the charms of wildness. This tremendous lake, which the Jews named variously from its pernicious vapours and its bitter saltness, the Dead and the Salt Sea, is immersed in a bitumenous steam, the cruel work of subterranean fires, since the pestilent effluvia are highly deleterious to almost every

¹⁵ Diodor. l. xix. f. 97, 98.

¹⁶ Brown, Volney, &c. Description of Syria.

¹⁷ From the continuance of snow on mount

Libanus, its elevation has been estimated at 16,00 fathoms. The highest of the Alps, mount Blanc, is 2600 fathoms, and the Pic of Ossian in the Pyrenees, 1900.

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form of animal and vegetable life. Into its northern extremity, the rivers Jordan and Arnon continually flow, and are continually absorbed and corrupted in its dismal pools³⁸; which extend generally in breadth about twelve miles, and stretch sixty miles in length, from the Aulon or great valley of Judæa, to the land of Edom, and the skirts of the Nabathæan desert.

Their pro-
ductions.

This odious and deadly landskip, whose actual appearance so forcibly commemorates the ancient punishment of its execrable inhabitants³⁹, contained however two valuable treasures, the balm of Gilead, and the above mentioned Asphaltus or bitumen; the former of peculiar request in medicine, and the latter indispensable to the Egyptians in embalming their dead bodies⁴⁰. As motives of gain universally prevail over considerations of health, the high emolument derived from the traffic of those articles, had attracted colonies to both sides of the Dead Sea; men more cruel and merciless than the shores were they dwelt. For collecting the Asphaltus, they employed rafts of wood, which two mariners navigated, while one warrior armed with his bow and lance, repelled those who either obstructed their labour, or sought to appropriate its fruits⁴¹. A lawless banditti living in perpetual hostility with each other, Demetrius found it easy to overawe, and might hope with little difficulty to extirpate. He carefully examined the lake, and brought to his father so favourable an account of the profit which it was calculated to afford, that Antigonus sent forces to gain possession of the territory. Their success was complete: and Jerom, the historian, was left with a detachment to superintend the collecting of the bitumen. But he had scarcely begun the useful work, when the Arabs to the

Jerom of
Cardia left
to collect
bitumen,
but obliged
to abandon
that design.

³⁸ Diodorus, l. xix. f. 98.

³⁹ The modern Syrians call the Lacus Asphaltites, the lake of Lot, and shew to credulous pilgrims shapeless blocks of detached rock, as indubitable monuments of Lot's wife; yet that worldly minded woman was only involved in a pillar of salt, easily dissolvable, not converted into stone like

Niobe.

⁴⁰ Diodorus, l. xix. f. 99. says, "the embalmers could not exercise their trade without this production of the lake:" dont la salure, Mr. Volney observes, "est infiniment plus forte que celle de la mer.

⁴¹ Diodor. l. xix. f. 99.

number of six thousand, attacked and destroyed his boats, killed the greatest part of his men, and compelled him to return with precipitation to his employer⁶². The artful Jerom, however, well knew how to varnish his disgrace; and his representations prevailed with Antigonous to relinquish all prospects of revenue from the lake Asphaltites, and all hopes of vengeance from a renewal of the Nabathæan war. In this resolution he was confirmed by very alarming intelligence from both extremities of the empire.

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In the West, Lyfimachus and Cassander had grown more powerful, not only through the vigour of their own exertions, but in consequence of the languid or treacherous proceedings of young Ptolemy, who, upon some unexplained wound given to his pride, had taken offence at his uncle, and begun to tamper with Cassander, to whom he afterwards revolted⁶³. From the East, Antigonous was informed by Nicanor his governor of Media, that the provinces of Upper Asia were in the most dangerous commotion; that part of them was already lost, and that the speediest exertions were requisite for saving the remainder⁶⁴.

Bad news
received
from diffe-
rent quar-
ters by
Antigonous.

The victory obtained by Ptolemy, over Demetrius at Gaza, was attended with a consequence which neither of these generals had foreseen. Seleucus, who had so important a share in that brilliant action, and whose active mind never slumbered, availed himself of the good fortune and gratitude of his ally, to obtain from him a body of troops for invading his ancient satrapy of Babylonia, of which three years before, he had been divested by Antigonous. During four years that he had formerly governed there, the vigilance and impartial justice of Seleucus had endeared him to the natives⁶⁵. Imitating the liberal policy of Alexander, he indulged the Asiatics in their inveterate habits of thought and action; gradually engrafting however on the oriental stock, those simple yet solid improvements, of which

⁶² Ibid. f. 100.

⁶³ Ibid. l. xx. f. 19.

⁶⁴ Ibid. l. xix. f. 90. & seq.

⁶⁵ Πάσι προσσημεικτο καλῶς. Diodorus, l. xix. f. 91.

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daily experience clearly evinced the utility. With little regard to national distinctions, he acknowledged those chiefly of personal merit. The vanquished were protected in common with the victors; and both were promoted in just proportion to their zeal and ability in the public service. With energy equal to his ambition, the love of power in Seleucus was called royalty of soul⁶⁶. His praises were highly founded among Greeks and Barbarians; and as he was younger by many years than Antigonus⁶⁷, and even than Ptolemy or Lyfimachus, a circumstance of much weight with the vulgar, the popular oracles of many nations had foretold his future greatness, and unbounded prosperity⁶⁸.

Seleucus re-
covets
Babylon.

Encouraged by these circumstances in his favour, he ventured on his expedition to Upper Asia, with a thousand infantry and three hundred horse⁶⁹, Demetrius was still stunned with his defeat, while Antigonus was laboriously occupied in completing the conquest of the peninsula. Of this fortunate crisis, the only one which the war had afforded, Seleucus availed himself with the same decisive resolution, with which he had formerly in quitting Babylon, yielded to the ascending star of Antigonus. On their weary march through the desert, his followers were refreshed by the prophecies of the Chaldeans, and those of the Branchidæ of Miletus⁷⁰, announcing their beloved leader as the destined lord of Asia, and founder of a new and endless dynasty. The fortified post of Carrhæ, in Mesopotamia, opened its gates on the first summons, and the garrison consisting of a body of Macedonian veterans joined the party of the invader. In the progress of his march, Seleucus met with the welcome reception of a hereditary prince, who arrives to rescue his birthright from a cruel usurpation. Antigonus' soldiers in Babylon were unable to repress the joy of its citizens, who went forth in crowds to hail their

⁶⁶ Appian in Syriac.

⁶⁷ He died forty-two years after Alexander, aged 70. *Idibid.*

⁶⁸ Conf. Diodor. l. ii. f. 31. and l. xix.

f. 55. and 90.

⁶⁹ Appian, Syriac.

⁷⁰ Diodor. ubi supra.

deliverer.

deliverer. Diphilus, commanding one division of the troops left to overawe the city, threw himself into a fortified palace, with a number of principal Babylonians by way of hostages; while Polyarchus, another general, forsook the odious cause of Antigonus, and joined his rival with upwards of a thousand warlike Macedonians²¹. Seleucus had now sufficient force to assail and carry the fortified palace or citadel, which had previously been converted into a state prison, since he found in it many illustrious captives, his companions and friends, whom Antigonus had confined in that strong hold on taking possession of Babylon²². The victory of Seleucus was now complete. The banks of the Tigris and Euphrates again smiled under a benignant master; evincing in the easy and almost bloodless revolution, the importance of the people's affections, even in countries long enured to the sternest despotism.

But this successful enterprize which restored to Seleucus millions of affectionate subjects, had not given him the command of any considerable military force. His diligence was exerted in making new levies of infantry, and in distributing horses to those qualified to use them. The rapidity of his enemies anticipated his preparations. Antigonus indeed was remote; Demetrius, as we have seen, was occupied in other pursuits; but Nicanor and Evagoras, respectively governors of Media and Persia, were in arms to defend the cause of a master to whom they owed their appointments. With upwards of ten thousand foot and seven thousand horse, they hastened to the eastern bank of the Tigris, where Seleucus who, could scarcely oppose them with half that strength, had recourse to art for supplying his deficiency in force. The enemy confident in their numbers and prowess, encamped without guards or sentinels, and without previously examining the adjacent country. There Seleucus had laid an ambush among the thick and lofty reeds of a

Successfully
defends it.

His first
tagent.

²¹ Diodor. l. xix. f. 91.

Id. ibid.

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neighbouring marsh. The hostile camp was surprised in the night; Evagorus was slain in the first attack; most of the foldiers surrendered; and Nicanor with a few followers avoided destruction by flying into the desert. Their camp, their treasures, and what to Seleucus was the greatest treasure, a large body of well disciplined Macedonians, rewarded the success of this bold stratagem²³.

Æra of the
kingdom of
the Greeks.
Olymp.
cxvii. 1.
B. C. 312.

From the recovery of Babylon by Seleucus, or rather from this victory, by which the invaluable possession was defended, the historians of all nations except the Chaldæans alone, date the æra of the Seleucidæ, the long line of the Greek dynasty in Upper Asia: an æra still recognised in the East, by Christians and Heathens, Mahometans and Jews. It commences in the autumn of the year three hundred and twelve before Christ. The Jews named it the æra of contracts, because, by it solely till the eleventh century after Christ, they dated all legal transactions²⁴; the books of the Maccabees call it "the æra of the kingdom of the Greeks;" and the Arabs still distinguish it by the epithet of "two horned"," expressing the great emblem of power in oriental antiquity; an emblem adopted by Alexander himself, and still conspicuous on his own coins, as well as those of the Seleucidæ, his Assyrian successors.

Demetrius'
expedition
against
Babylon.
Olymp.
cxvii. 1.
B. C. 312.

The Chaldæans alone dated the kingdom of the Greeks a year later than other nations. This distinguished cast, comprising the sacerdotal, and other learned professions in Babylon, whose privileges were peculiarly concerned in the issue of the contest between Seleucus and Antigonus, did not think their country completely rescued from the grasp of the latter, till the disgraceful repulse of Demetrius in the ensuing spring. That prince, after his unsuccessful expedition against the Nabathæan Arabs, rejoined his father in Syria, where they received the mortifying intelligence, that Seleucus, after the recovery of Babylonia, had pursued Nicanor into Media,

²³ Diodor. l. xix. f. 92.

²⁴ Usher, Petav, &c. de ær. Seleucid.

²⁵ Golij Not. ad Alpheragan, p. 58.

reduced him to the necessity of fighting, and slain him with his own hand, in a battle that procured for the victor the immediate submission of Upper Asia². To repair this misfortune, which the sanguine temper of Antigonus still deemed possible, Demetrius was sent with fifteen thousand foot and four thousand horse to reconquer Babylon, a city first rendered defenceless through the jealous despotism of the Persians, and now altogether unprepared for resisting a vigorous assault. Patrocles, who during Seleucus' absence commanded in the place, was apprised of the enemy's motions, and lost not any time in communicating the news of them to his master. But the rapidity of Demetrius would have anticipated a less distant foe. He had already passed the Euphrates, and was marching through Mesopotamia, when Patrocles proposed to the inhabitants of Babylon, a very extraordinary measure, which was embraced with yet more extraordinary consent.

This was nothing less than that the vast multitude of peaceful and industrious natives, should abandon their city to an invader whom they had not arms to resist, and patiently wait for a change of fortune, either through his own success against the enemy, or the return of Seleucus with his victorious army from the East. The whole body of the people, not excepting those privileged orders of men long proverbial for pomp and luxury, left their habitations and comforts; and fled in various directions, with their families and treasures; some pursuing the road through the desert, others crossing the Tigris to the fertile province of Susiana; while Patrocles, with his Macedonians, and such natives of Babylon, as had courage to follow his standard, after garrisoning two strong palaces or castles, lurked amidst the marshes and canals of the Euphrates, watching an opportunity of some stolen advantage over assailants whom he durst not openly oppose. Demetrius meantime advanced, and upon entering the gates without resistance, found to his astonishment the city

The Babylonians
fly their
country.

Which De-
metrius

² Appian Syriac, c. 55.

ransacked

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plunders in
his retreat.

The Baby-
lonians
thereby
rivetted in
affection to
Seleucus.

General
peace be-
tween Anti-
gonus and
the confede-
rates, Seleu-
cus only
excepted.
Olymp.
cxvii. 2.
B. C. 311.

ransacked and deserted. The two strong fortresses on opposite banks of the Euphrates, refused however to surrender at his summons. One of them was taken after an obstinate resistance, sacked without mercy, and strongly garrisoned. But the other held out so long, that the patience of Demetrius was exhausted. The time had elapsed which Antigonus had fixed for his return into Syria. He therefore left his lieutenant Archelaus with five thousand foot and one thousand horse to prosecute the siege, and marched towards the sea coast, indulging his troops in the utmost licence of plunder⁷.

The cruelty of his invasion, and the vengeful desolation of his retreat, rivetted the Babylonians more firmly than ever to Seleucus. The besiegers, whom Demetrius had left behind, soon became the besieged; and they, as well as the garrison, occupying the fortresses which he had taken, surrendered unconditionally⁸; it is uncertain whether to Patrocles, after he emerged from his concealment, or to Seleucus in person after his triumphant return from the East.

This sudden revolution in the upper provinces, which it would require his undivided exertions to recover, induced Antigonus to listen to the pacific overtures which Cassander and Ptolemy had separately and repeatedly made to him⁹. Victorious in three scenes of the war; in Syria, in the peninsula of Asia, and in Greece; the compactness of his dominions, as well as the superiority of his army, which, when commanded by himself had never suffered a defeat, threatened Egypt on one side, and Macedon on the other. He seemed entitled therefore to dictate the terms of peace to which Lyfimachus, still employed in the obstinate siege of Callatis, gladly acceded. In the treaty which immediately followed, no mention is made of the fair division of the provinces, or the equal partition of treasures; demands which had given birth to the war. The dominion of all Asia is acknowledged to belong to Antigonus; an article by which

⁷ Diodor. l. xix. f. 100.

supra.

⁸ Plutarch in Demet. and Diodor ubi

⁹ Diodor. l. xix. f. 62. and 75.

the allies clearly abandoned the interests of Seleucus. Egypt with its dependencies in Africa, was assigned to Ptolemy; Macedon, to Cassander; Thrace, to Lysimachus: and it was agreed on all sides that Greece, meaning thereby the Greek republics in Asia as well as Europe, should be allowed to resume, and thenceforward permitted to enjoy, its beloved hereditary freedom.

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CHAPTER VII.

Murders in the Family of Alexander.—Antigonus' Expedition into Babylonia.—His Nephew revolts to Ptolemy.—Demetrius emancipates Greece.—His romantic Character and Proceedings.—Invades Cyprus.—Tragical Events there.—Siege of Salamis.—The Heliopolis.—Demetrius' decisive Naval Victory.—How announced to Antigonus.—He assumes the Title of King.—In this, imitated by his Rivals.—Unsuccessful Expedition against Egypt.—State of that Kingdom.—Makes War on Rhodes.—History, Institutions, and Connections of that Island.—The Siege of Rhodes raised.—Demetrius' second Expedition into Greece.—Views of Antigonus.—Secrecy of the Confederacy against him.—Campaign in Lesser Asia.—Decisive Battle of Ipsus.

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Murder of
Alexander
Ægus and
Roxana.
Olymp.
cxviii. 2.
B. C. 311.

THE empire of Alexander, though in reality divided among his lieutenants, was still held together in appearance by a pretended veneration for his family. In the late treaty of peace between Antigonus and Demetrius on one hand, and Ptolemy with his allies Cassander and Lyfimachus on the other, it was stipulated that the government of Macedon should be administered by Cassander, until the youth Alexander Ægus, now in his thirteenth year, attained the age of majority¹. This condition was specified on the presumption that the son of the Macedonian hero would naturally establish his court in his ancient and hereditary kingdom; and while he administered in person the affairs of that country, would from thence issue the public commands² to the long chain of dependant provinces. When the young Alexander reached the age of manhood, the satrap of Macedon might then be entrusted with some other government; and in the same manner the other generals holding their appoint-

Diodor. l. xix. f. 105.

For the political freedom of Macedon, see above, p. 28.

ments provisionally, would either be confirmed in them or removed, according to the orders of the king approved by his council and confirmed by his nation. Such were the specious hopes with which the generals of Alexander insulted the family of that prince, and deluded the deep-rooted loyalty of the Macedonian people, who, both at home and abroad, still formed the sinews and pride of their respective armies. Alexander Ægus remained meanwhile in strict confinement with his mother Roxana, in the strong citadel of Amphipolis. In consequence of the treaty acknowledging his just title to the throne, the voice of the public became louder in his favour, claiming not only his release from unworthy captivity, but demanding for him an establishment becoming the high dignity to which he was destined. Provoked by these clamours, Cassander at once secured the permanence of his own power, and gratified the views of the other satraps, with whom he had just confederated, by procuring the death of the young prince. Glaucias, the keeper of the citadel of Amphipolis, was his agent in this execrable crime. The beautiful Roxana was involved in the fate of her son². Their murder was suspected by the public, but not clearly brought to light, otherwise it would have been impossible to restrain the vengeance of the enraged multitude.

The consequences of this deed of darkness occasioned, from an unexpected quarter, a new alarm to its author. The old and selfish Polyperchon, who retained possession of some strong-holds in Peloponnesus, still laboured on the brink of the grave to gratify his lust of power. Shortly after the premature death, as it was called, of Alexander Ægus, he gave intimation of that event to Hercules the son of Alexander by Barcina, then residing in Pergamus, four years older than his brother recently murdered, but from the illegitimacy of his birth deemed incapable of succession. Notwithstanding this circumstance, Hercules, at the instigation of Polyperchon, made sail towards Greece in hopes of mounting the throne of his ancestors

Polyperchon brings into Greece Alexander's son Hercules. Olymp. cxvii. 3. B. C. 310.

² Pausanias, l. ix. c. 7. and Diodor. l. xix. f. 105.

⁴ Diodo. l. xx. f. 20.

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Murder of
that young
prince.
Olymp.
cxvii. 4.
B.C. 329.

In promoting this bold undertaking, which would have had a dazzling kind of merit, had it proceeded from honest motives, Polyperchon obtained the hearty co-operation of his countrymen, the restless Etolians: his standard was joined by many malcontents from Macedon: he stood on the frontiers of that kingdom, with an army twenty thousand strong; and the troops with which Cassander^a marched to oppose him, wavered in their affections. The danger was imminent; but Cassander knew the man with whom he had to deal. By bribes and promises he prevailed with Polyperchon to murder the youth, whom he affected to honour as his sovereign^b. Polyperchon did not obtain the principal object for which he had been tempted to incur the most enormous guilt. This was the command in Peloponnesus, towards which county, with the recommendation and aid of Cassander, he now directed his march. But the inhabitants of that peninsula, assisted by the Boeotians, opposed his return southward^c. He was obliged to winter in Locris, and from thence returned to a castle commanding a small district between Epirus and Etolia. The recovery of this strong-hold, which had formerly belonged to him, and of which he had been deprived by Cassander, now rewarded his detestable wickedness; and here probably this veteran in villainy, who had once swayed the protectoral sceptre, ended many years afterwards his ignominious life; a life deformed by every thing atrocious in cruelty and base in perversity.

Murder of
Alexander's
sister Cleo-
patra.—
Occasion
thereof.
Olymp.
caviii. 1.
B. C. 308.

As the destruction of Alexander Ægus had inflamed the ambition, and produced the swift ruin of Hercules, so the removal of both these sons of the great Macedonian, revived the hopes, and occasioned the speedy murder of his sister Cleopatra. That princess, of whom we have before spoken, still resided in Sardes the capital of

^a Diodor. l. xx. c. 28. It is uncertain tom. ii. p. 530.

whether Hercules was poisoned or strangled. ^b Diodor. ibid.

Conf. Pausanias, l. ix. c. 17. Plutarch, ^c Tzezis in Lycoph. Cassand. v. 201.

Lydia. She had been successively courted by Leonnatus and Perdiccas, who, when their nuptials with her were on the point of consummation, had fallen unpitied victims to their ambitious love. The cautious Ptolemy had delayed to solicit her hand, until the death of her nephews made it a prize more worthy of his pursuit. Cleopatra accepted the proposal; and was preparing to leave Sardes, when Antigonus commanded the governor of that place cruelly to frustrate her purpose. The murder of Cleopatra was ascribed to a treacherous conspiracy of her attendants*, who were punished by a public execution; while the princess herself was interred by Antigonus with royal honours; an artifice which repressed clamour, without deceiving the public. Of all the family of Alexander and his father Philip, Thessalonica, the wife of Cassander, alone survived. Her fate was suspended sixteen years longer; but then, as will be seen in due time, she perished more dreadfully than any of her relatives.

The confederates in the war against Antigonus, had gladly concluded peace, in order to save their respective dominions. That general himself had been determined to the same measure, by the hope of recovering from Seleucus the eastern provinces. His expedition into Upper Asia shortly after his accommodation with his western enemies is a matter of record. A battle is mentioned of doubtful issue; after which, Seleucus, by making his men sleep in their armour, surprized his adversary next morning, and obtained over him a decided advantage^o. But neither is the year of these battles ascertained, nor are any of their incidents or consequences particularly described in history. It should seem that Seleucus, strong in the affections of his subjects, and elated with a long series of eastern triumphs, was able to make such stout resistance, as determined Antigonus to suspend farther hostility in that quarter, until he could assail the foe with a more commanding superiority. Although, from local circumstances above explained, nature herself

Antigonus' fruitless expedition against Seleucus.

Diodor. l. xx. c. 37.

^o Polyænus, l. iv. Vob. Seleucus.

seems

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seems to have determined, by the interposition of mountains, marshes, and deserts, that Upper and Lower Asia should not be subject to the same power, yet Alexander's successors were continually encouraged by his example, in the hope of conquering the East through the valour of the West. Antigonus, therefore, might resolve to build up and firmly cement the dominions of which he was already in possession, postponing to a fitter time the design of directing their consolidated weight against his oriental adversary.

Importance
of Antigo-
nus' domi-
nions.

Besides the invaluable country of Syria formerly described, he was master of almost the whole peninsula of Asia, inhabited by a mixed assemblage of agricultural and commercial nations, sprung partly from Greece and the contiguous provinces of Europe. This strong admixture of European blood gave, in a military point of view, great advantages to a territory naturally fertile, highly cultivated, and whose lands derived a vast increase of value from the rich and populous sea-ports that every where enlivened its western and southern coasts. Besides these sea-ports, inhabited chiefly by Greeks, the peninsula contained eleven distinct territories, of which the seven smaller had, each of them about seventy or fourscore miles in diameter. Of these seven; Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, looked towards Greece, from which their shores had been colonized. Lycia and Pamphilia were washed by the Mediterranean; Paphlagonia and Pontus, by the Euxine. The four larger provinces were Phrygia and Cappadocia in the centre; Bithynia, contiguous to the northern district of Paphlagonia; and Cilicia, to the southern one of Pamphylia*.

Young Pto-
lemy revolts
from his
uncle Anti-
gonus.
Olymp.
cxvii. 3.
B. C. 310.

Not contented with this long list of territories, Antigonus retained possession of Greek commonwealths on his coasts, which, according to an article in the late treaty, ought to have resumed their ancient liberties. His nephew, young Ptolemy, was commanded also to keep firm hold of his conquests in Greece itself. But this young man, whose ruling passion was the love of fame, and who, as we

* Strabo, l. xiv. passim. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 27. & seq.

have before seen, had acquired great glory as the deliverer of Greece from Cassander, very negligently observed his uncle's orders: and upon some unknown cause of disgust, his wounded pride threw him into the party of those who ventured once more to declare themselves the enemies of that formidable usurper¹⁰. Cassander, in defiance of his engagements, still maintained his garrisons in Athens and Megara; and Egyptian Ptolemy failed with a large fleet that, under pretence of carrying the treaty of peace into execution, he might enjoy his equal share of the common booty. Such was the natural consequence of the fallacious agreement giving freedom to states, which, as the contracting parties well knew, had neither military resources nor patriotism to defend the inestimable present.

The Egyptian fleet easily gained possession of the smaller Greek sea-ports on the southern coast of Lesser Asia; and Ptolemy was strenuously employed in the siege of Halicarnassus, the capital of Caria, when the arrival of Demetrius with a still superior fleet, obliged him to raise the siege, and gradually to abandon all his conquests in that peninsula. The neighbouring isles, many of which had been garrisoned by Antigonus, were the next object of his pretended emancipation¹¹. In the isle of Còs he was joined, according to his desire, by young Ptolemy, who heartily concurred with the pretended generosity of his views; and who had given orders to Phoenix, his deputy it seems in Hellespontian Phrygia, to maintain for him that province against the arms of his uncle. Antigonus dispatched his younger son Philip with a force that effectually crushed the rebellion of Phoenix; about the same time that his master fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of his namesake, the Egyptian satrap. That crafty prince, who really entertained none of the romantic notions of young Ptolemy on the subject of Grecian liberty, distrusted his impracticable character, his pride, and the engaging popularity of his behaviour towards the soldiers. On the suspicion that he tam-

Is suspected and put to death by Egyptian Ptolemy.

¹⁰ Diodor. l. xx. f. 39.

¹¹ Diodor. l. xix. f. 19. and 27.

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Ptolemy di-
vides the
strong-holds
of Greece
with Cas-
sander.
Olymp.
cxviii. 1.
B. C. 308.

Demetrius'
expedition
for emanci-
pating
Greece.
Olymp.
cxviii. 2.
B. C. 307.

pered with their allegiance, the nephew of Antigonus was seized, imprisoned, and obliged to drink hemlock¹¹: a death well merited, it may be thought, by his treachery to his uncle; yet, had this extraordinary youth lived at a happier æra, and been abetted by followers worthy the Grecian name, he might have proved the deliverer of once illustrious commonwealths from the iron grasp of stern military tyrants.

The Egyptian satrap having perpetrated this act of cruelty in the isle of Còs, and joined the troops of young Ptolemy with his own, sailed to the continent of Greece, and, under pretence of restoring freedom to that country, gained possession of Corinth and Sicyon. To aid him in completing his professed plan, the states of Peloponnesus were required to raise, by a fixed time, certain subsidies in money and provisions. But as they neglected to perform this condition, Ptolemy declined further interference in their affairs; entered into an agreement with Cassander, that each should retain the cities which he actually possessed; and having placed strong garrisons in Corinth and Sicyon, returned with his fleet to Egypt¹².

The delusive project of emancipation thus openly abandoned by Ptolemy, was undertaken by Antigonus. By strenuous preparations on the coast of the peninsula and of Syria, he had equipped two hundred and fifty galleys. With this fleet, and a sum of five thousand talents, Demetrius was sent to execute the generous purpose of his father; whose concern, however, for the happiness of the Greeks in Europe was exposed to well grounded suspicion, since their brethren in Asia were really treated by him as conquered subjects. But this inconsistency Antigonus endeavoured by artificial distinctions to conceal or varnish; and to a counsellor, who advised him to lay fast hold of Athens as a ladder for climbing to the sovereignty of Greece, he replied, "that the only ladder not subject to accidents was the love of the Athenians, which he was determined to merit by good offices; since their immortal city, he considered as the light-house of the

¹¹ Diodor. l. xix. f. 27.

¹² Diodor. l. xx. f. 37.

world, calculated to blaze " his renown through the most distant nations of the earth." C H A P.
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His successful and generous proceedings.

The armament of Demetrius greatly exceeded the expectation of friends as well as enemies to the Macedonian interest in Athens. When it appeared off the coast, the Athenians of all parties believed that so powerful a fleet could belong only to Ptolemy, Cassander's ally. In the profound security of the partizans of that prince, then invested with the intire disposal of the national force, the Piræus was left unguarded, until the vessel of Demetrius approached so nearly, that he himself could be distinctly discerned by the spectators who crowded the shore, beckoning them with his hand, and requesting the favour of an audience. He declared in few words, " that he had been sent by his father to expel the Macedonian garrison, and to liberate from unworthy bondage the most illustrious city in the world." His speech being re-echoed by the clear voice of a herald, the Athenians were in commotion; the majority threw down the arms which they had hastily seized; and Demetrius landed amidst loud acclamations that drowned all opposition. Having thanked his friends, he exchanged hostages with the magistrates, and received possession of a city, which Demetrius Phalereus had governed during ten years. The Phalerean, who, notwithstanding the mildness and popularity of his administration, justly dreaded the capricious resentment of the Athenian populace, was kindly protected by the invader; entertained with the respect due to the splendour of his talents and virtues; and, at his own desire, allowed to remove under a proper escort to Thebes, which, as a city deeply indebted to his master and friend Cassander, he chose for the place of his retreat. The fortified harbour Munychia was indeed still defended by the gallantry of Dionysius, commanding a Macedonian garrison. Demetrius left part of his troops to besiege it, and with the other

" Διευθυντής. Plutarch in Demet. a metaphor from the signals by fire above described.

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surprized the city of Megara, about twenty miles distant; expelled Cassander's garrison; and proclaimed freedom to that small but once respectable commonwealth. Having returned to Athens, he gained the Munychia after an obstinate assault of two days. Dionysius and his troops were made prisoners. The revolution, remarkable for its mildness, was now complete; and, in order to render it permanent, Demetrius, whose mind appears to have undergone a revolution not less sudden, promised amply to supply the emancipated Athenians both with the means of subsistence and the instruments of defence. The want of corn in their own narrow and barren territory they had been accustomed to supply by copious importations, chiefly from the coasts of the Propontis and Euxine. But their ships of war were no more, by which only they could protect this distant and indispensable branch of commerce. At the request of his son, Antigonus sent them timber for building an hundred galleys, and provided them at once with an hundred and ten thousand quarters of grain; accompanying these presents with high professions of respect, and the restitution of the isle of Imbros, which, until the fatal issue of the Lamian war, had been the immemorial possession of their ancestors¹⁵.

Change operated on Demetrius at Athens.—His romantic character.

In this generous proceeding, Antigonus followed, indeed, the *letter* of his own positive declarations, but he adopted it in reality at the earnest solicitation of Demetrius, whom he had long cherished with the fondest partiality. Besides the most undeviating filial duty, Demetrius had many qualities fitted to excite esteem. His zeal in his father's service was seconded by indefatigable activity. To great military and great naval talents, he added the merit of finding out new means of exerting the one and the other, by inventing machines of superior efficacy in sieges¹⁶, and galleys of an unexampled size and inimitable swiftness. His mind refined by art, sharpened

¹⁵ Plutarch in *Demet.*^s and *Diodorus*, and Hegetor of Byzantium. Vid. Athenæi Lib. de Machinis Bellicis ad M. Marcellum,

¹⁶ In these discoveries he appears to have been assisted by Epimachus an Athenian, apud Veteres Mathematicos. Paris 1693.

by science; and enlarged by an experience far beyond his years, was however fatally enslaved by the love of fame and of pleasure; passions inflamed to the most vicious excess through the indulgence of his father, and the boundless servility of the Athenians. The extravagant honours heaped on him by the multitude, who treated him as their god, their saviour, the oracle whom on all occasions they were bound to consult and obey, and whose decisions alone constituted right and wrong; these absurdities, which appear to the modern reader equally ridiculous and unaccountable, originated chiefly in the external qualifications of Demetrius, operating on the fantastic and degenerate superstition of his times. His person, to use the language of antiquity¹⁶, was arrayed in that dignity of beauty which beamed from the statues of the gods, and particularly of Bacchus, not the jolly divinity of modern poets, but the awful and benignant conqueror, uniting the loftiest majesty with ineffable grace. Bacchus, therefore, was the model which the son of Antigonus aspired to rival, both in his indefatigable exertions in time of war, and in the splendid festivities with which he improved and embellished the fruits of victory; when glory summoned to arms, the most enterprising, the most vigilant, of men; but when the conflict terminated in triumph, relaxing into the softest effeminacy and the most unbridled voluptuousness. Among all the surviving generals of Alexander, since Ptolemy was still contented to be thought the son of Lagos, Antigonus alone deduced his origin from Temenus, a descendant of Hercules, and the revered founder of the Macedonian dynasty. The pride of blood thus conspired with other peculiarities in Demetrius' situation to exalt his hopes, and inflame his ambition: his romantic enthusiasm received with complacency such distinctions as might be conferred on him consistently with the genius of paganism; and the lightness of his ill-balanced mind was assailed, and completely overset, by flatteries in direct contradiction to the received maxims of the

C H A P. Athenians in matters not only of religion but of government and
 VII. morals. He was honoured with the title of king, a title for many
 preceding centuries held in the utmost abhorrence by those zealous
 republicans. The establishment of annual archons was abolished ;
 and the Athenian year was thenceforward to be named after the
 priests of the new god, Demetrius the saviour : *his* shrine was to be
 consulted instead of the Delphian oracle ; *his* name was to be substituted
 for Dionysus in the festival of the Bacchanalia ; and by a law
 surpassing every extravagance of adulation that despotism ever ex-
 tortured from oriental slavery, all the words and actions of Demetrius
 were declared to be essentially characterized by piety towards the
 gods and justice towards men. It is not to be imagined, however,
 that the Athenians were unanimous in this abominable prostitution
 of their ancient dignity. The disgraceful decrees, proposed by de-
 magogues and buffoons, were lashed with sharp ridicule in the come-
 dies of Philippides and Menander, and rejected with scornful disdain
 by the indignant schools of Theophrastus and Stilpon. But the
 majority of a degenerate populace⁷ was not to be corrected either
 by reason or by ridicule ; and their resentment, long impotent in
 the field of battle, became again formidable in the courts of justice.
 Demetrius Phalereus, whose equitable and mild administration, had
 greatly benefited his country, was tried in his absence and condemned
 capitally. His statues were insultingly mutilated ; and his friend
 Menander narrowly escaped death, having incautiously remained in
 person within the cruel grasp of an enraged popular tribunal⁸.

He embraces
 sincerely the
 design of
 liberating
 Greece.

The behaviour of the Athenians being peculiarly adapted to
 gratify the ruling passions of Demetrius, excited in his susceptible
 breast the liveliest emotions of gratitude. He considered not that the
 loftiest honours may be degraded, and rendered of no value, through
 the total unworthiness of those by whom they are conferred. In
 the warmth of his undistinguishing fancy, he was betrayed by the

⁷ Plutarch in Demetrio.

⁸ Diogen. Laert. in Vit. Demet. Phaler. l. v. c. 79.

fame of a name, and spoke of the Athenians of his own time as if they had consisted of those heroes and patriots, whose renown had once filled the world. Instead of the meanness of contemporary objects, he beheld only the ancient glory of the republic; the wisdom of its laws, the prowess of its arms, the splendour of its monuments, the pre-eminence of those unperishing productions of the mind, by which its fame was to be indefinitely extended in point both of space and of time. The project of liberating Greece, or at least Athens, which had been merely a pretence with other generals, became with Demetrius a real undertaking and most substantial concern.

Amidst his measures for this purpose, he was recalled, however, by orders from Antigonus, who perceived with regret that while Ptolemy was possessed of the isle of Cyprus, it was impossible to defend the southern coast of Lesser Asia against naval descents. He had at length equipped a fleet fully equal to that of the Egyptian satrap; and the acquisition of Cyprus, while it secured his other dominions, would give him, he expected, the decided sovereignty of the seas. A most unjustifiable transaction on the part of his rival, loudly summoned to that quarter the fiercest rage of the war. Ever since Ptolemy had acquired the ascendancy in Cyprus, his half brother Menelaus had remained there, commanding a sufficient body of forces to overawe the petty princes, among whom the island had long been divided. The venerable line of Teucer and Evagoras, the most illustrious in the country, had transferred its government from Salamis, the ancient capital, to the Arcadian¹⁹ colony of Paphos, ennobled by the partial fondness of the fairest and softest of all the female deities. Within the limits of a narrow jurisdiction, in a narrow but wealthy island, the descendants of Teucer still displayed the magnificence of royalty; and the reigning prince, Nicocles, a hereditary name, endeared by the virtues of those who had borne it²⁰, rivalled the glory of his ancestors in arts and letters, enjoyed the

Is sent by
Antigonus
to make the
conquest of
Cyprus.
Olymp.
cxviii. 2.
B. C. 307.

State of that
island.

¹⁹ Athenæus, l. xva. p. 676.

²⁰ History of Ancient Greece, vol. iii. c. 28.

affectiona-

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Principal
events that
had been
occasioned
there by the
end of the
of Ptolemy
Olymp.
c. 310.
B. C. 310.

affections of his subjects, and flourished in the midst of a numerous and happy family, conspicuous for domestic concord. The ambition of Alexander's successors, by degrading the dignity of Cyprus, arrested the long unaltered course of its peaceful prosperity. A prince who boasted his descent from the line of Ajax and Achilles, could not patiently brook vassalage under an upstart Macedonian. Nicocles longed to throw off the ignominious yoke; his defection was encouraged by Antigonus; but the measures concerted for his emancipation, escaped not the spies of Ptolemy; who, upon the first hint of the conspiracy, sent two of his own friends into Cyprus, to punish the rebel by death. These friends and assassins furnished with troops by Menelaus, in compliance with orders from his brother and master, surrounded the Paphian palace, and eagerly demanded the king, to whom they announced the stern command of their employer. Resistance would have proved fruitless; excuse was inadmissible; and no delay was allowed. The miserable monarch perished by his own hand, in the midst of his family²¹. His queen Axiothea²², whom Ptolemy had shewn a desire to save, disdained to survive her husband. Having previously consigned to death her virgin daughters, she prevailed with her numerous sisters-in-law, to share her untimely fate. The wretched brothers of Nicocles, carrying into real life the most frightful fictions of tragedy, then set fire to the palace, and expired amidst the ruins of their own and their country's grandeur²³; since, after this miserable catastrophe of the royal house, Cyprus never thenceforward aspired to the dignity of independent government.

Demetrius'
success in
Cyprus.
Olymp.
cxviii. 2.
B. C. 307.

To promote the political views of his father, and to avenge atrocious cruelties, Demetrius was ordered to Cyprus with the greater part of his fleet. He quitted Greece with reluctance, after a fruitless attempt to gain Corinth and Sicyon, by tempting with high bribes Cleonidas, who commanded for Ptolemy in these cities; and after he

²¹ Polyænus, l. viii. c. 48.

l. i. c. 3. and l. viii. c. 9.

²² The names are mangled in Athenæus,

²³ Diodor. l. xx. f. 21.

had confirmed his unalterable friendship with the Athenians, by marrying Euridice, lineal descendant to Miltiades, the renowned hero of Marathon. In his way to Cyprus, he landed and refreshed in the maritime province of Cilicia. When he quitted that coast, his fleet consisted of an hundred and eighty ships of war, far exceeding the ordinary rate of ancient galleys, since they had most of them five, six, or seven banks of oars. His transports conveyed fifteen thousand foot, three hundred horse, together with the implements and engines most useful in encampments and sieges. On the northern coast of Cyprus, the feeble communities of Urania and Carpassia, yielded to the mere terror of his arms. As he advanced southward to Salamis, he was opposed by Menelaus, with an army inferior to his own in foot, but far superior in cavalry. A battle ensued, in which the unequal brother of Ptolemy, was defeated with the loss of a thousand slain, and three thousand made prisoners; and being thus driven from the open country, was obliged to seek protection within his walls²⁴. Demetrius speedily formed the siege of Salamis; and first employed on this occasion the most famous of all those machines, that did honour to his invention, and which, till the discovery of gunpowder, continued the most formidable offensive weapon against well fortified cities. From its use, it was called the Helepolis. According to the original structure of this engine, it consisted of nine stories; gradually diminishing as they rose in altitude. Each side of this moveable pyramid was ninety cubits high: its base measured an hundred and eighty cubits in circuit; its different compartments were filled with armed-men, and provided with various contrivances for darting missiles, those of greatest weight from the stories near the base²⁵. The base itself, a huge quadrangle supported on massy wheels, was composed of solid beams strongly compacted with iron, and sufficiently remote from each other, to allow room for the strenuous labourers within, who propelled and directed this

Siege of
Salamis—
the Hele-
polis.

²⁴ Diodor. l. xx. f. 47. and Plutarch in Demet.

²⁵ Diodor. l. xx. f. 48.

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enormous colossus; whose form in process of time received many alterations and improvements. Combined with the battering ram, it assailed fortresses²² not merely by repeated missiles, but with its continuous and entire force. Demetrius indeed employed it chiefly in the former way; but with such extraordinary effect, that while the darts and javelins thrown from the upper embrasures, swept the defenders from their walls, its more ponderous artillery of metal, stones or rather rock ejected from the lower compartments, are said to have been sufficient to shake the firmest bulwarks and bastions. The vastness and novelty of the Helepolis, alarmed the Salaminians, but did not abash them. They exerted themselves vigorously in their own defence, opposing the contrivances of Demetrius with similar, and sometimes superior address; since by a dextrous application of ignited weapons, they almost destroyed in a single night the batteries that he had raised against them by the unremitting labour of many weeks.

Preparations
for the sea-
fight be-
tween Deme-
trius and
Ptolemy.

Before he had an opportunity of trying a new experiment with his Helepolis, and displaying in its full extent that genius for sieges, which procured for him his title of Poliorcetes²³, he was summoned to a sea fight against Ptolemy in person. The Egyptian satrap, having been duly apprised of the operations in Cyprus, sailed from Pelusium, landed first at Paphos, and afterwards at Citium, only twenty miles distant from Salamis. His fleet amounted to an hundred and fifty ships of war, most of them exceeding the rate of trireme galleys, though much inferior in size to the ships of the enemy. His transports conveyed above twelve thousand men, and were attended with innumerable small craft furnished by the Cyprian cities, acknowledging his dominion. In the harbour of Salamis, his brother Menelaus commanded sixty galleys, which, according to the order, that Ptolemy had found means to convey to them, were to

Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiii. ; c. 9.

²³ Urbium expugnator, as Pliny translates it.

break forth and assail the enemy in time of action; a stratagem, that when the strength of the adverse parties was nearly balanced, had often proved decisive. As Ptolemy hoped to enjoy this advantage, he thought, that without departing from the rules of prudence which usually regulated his conduct, he might venture a general engagement, and stake his well established reputation against the yet dawning fame of Demetrius. But before making the dispositions for battle, he sent a message to his rival, exhorting him by their past friendship to be gone in time, instead of remaining to be crushed in pieces by superior force. Demetrius replied in the same boastful strain, that for the present he would allow Ptolemy to make his escape, provided he ceded to him Corinth and Sicyon. These vain bravadoes were preludes to an action that was to decide the fate of Cyprus, the command of the Mediterranean sea, and the pretensions of two illustrious commanders, who respectively founded the royal houses of Egypt and Macedon.

In the night, Ptolemy endeavoured to open a communication with Menelaus, in the harbour of Salamis. Before this object was effected the day began to break, and the first rays of morning discovered to him Demetrius' fleet, carefully anchored at a due distance from the walls and engines of the place, and skilfully interposed between himself and the friendly shore; and as the harbour of Salamis was narrow, Demetrius, he found, had blocked it up with only ten vessels, which would intercept sixty of his own from bringing aid in the battle. These vexatious circumstances greatly mortified Ptolemy: but an action could not honourably be declined; and the experience of a long military life, had taught the brother and biographer of Alexander, that in critical emergencies, courage is the greatest prudence. He advanced therefore boldly and ostentatiously to the attack, his armament being swelled in appearance by his transports and other vessels hastily collected from the Cyprian cities. But the

Great victory gained by Demetrius. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

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alacrity of Demetrius dispelled all alarm on the score of unequal force. When the adverse squadrons were within half a mile of each other, he commanded to weigh anchor; raised a golden shield, the concerted signal; the trumpets summoned to combat; both parties invoked their common gods; and both resounding the same military Pæan, consenting choirs of hostile voices mixed in one majestic stream of full Grecian harmony. Besides the superior size of their gallees, after the Greeks had armed themselves with the wealth and resources of Asia, great improvements had been made in the construction and application of what may be called their artillery. The missile weapons were more ingeniously formed; the engines which darted them were of greater efficacy; and the loftier platform from which they were discharged, gave to the instruments of mischief a surer aim, a wider range, and a more impetuous force. But the principal assault still depended on the nimble activity of the gallees themselves, and those decisive movements, by which, with their armed prows, they rased the adversary's sides, swept away his oars, and often, by a stroke uniting good fortune with dexterity, buried his whole vessel in the deep. The utmost exertion of naval manœuvre, as practised by the ancients, was perseveringly displayed in this arduous conflict. Demetrius is celebrated for adorning the functions of a great admiral, with the hardy intrepidity of an experienced seaman; and according to the custom of Grecian commanders, with whom example was preferred to mere precept, for completing his glory, by the slaughter of many enemies with his own hand. Of his three life-guards two were grievously wounded; the third died by his side. His enterprise was rewarded with a great and decisive victory, ascribed partly to the superior size of his gallees, and partly to his seasonable obstruction of the Salaminian harbour, by which sixty of the enemy's ships were cut off from the scene of action. Ptolemy had been at first successful against the squadron which he opposed in person; but in the issue, forty of his ships were taken

taken with their crews²²; eighty were dashed in pieces or sunk; eight thousand men were captured aboard his transports. The harbour and city of Salamis accumulated new prizes on the victor; the former a fleet of sixty sail; the latter a garrison of twelve thousand foot, with twelve hundred horse: and the conquest of the Cyprian capital was followed by the speedy reduction, or voluntary surrender of other walled cities in the island.

Amidst his arrangements for securing the valuable possession of Cyprus, Demetrius gained honour by his moderation in prosperity. The slain on both sides were lamented with the accustomed ceremonies; Menelaus, his son, Leontiscus, and other kinsmen or friends of Ptolemy, were restored unransomed to Egypt. The Athenians, whose fleet of thirty gallies had reinforced his armament, were presented with twelve hundred suits of armour. In all particulars, but the choice of a messenger to announce his victory to Antigonus, Demetrius approved himself on this occasion, worthy of the signal success with which his arms had been attended. The honour of communicating such happy tidings to his father, might with propriety have been committed to his kinsman Marfyas²³, a brave commander, and a respectable historian; but it was entrusted to the flattering buffoon Aristodemus of Miletus, who conveyed the news in a manner suitable to the vile servility of his character²⁴.

Antigonus was then in his favourite province, where he had just built a palace in the recently founded and short-lived capital Antigonia; judiciously situate about twenty miles from the sea, near the deepest bend of the Orontes, which flows in a winding course for ten days' journey, through the finest valley of Syria. Aristodemus landed on the neighbouring coast, with orders that none of his attendants should leave the vessel. In a small boat, he proceeded to Antigonia, and thence walked slowly towards the royal palace, with

The victory
announced
to Anti-
gonus by
the buffoon
Aristode-
mus.

²² There are differences in the numbers as given by Diodorus, l. xx. c. 52. Plutarch in Demet. and Justin. l. xv. c. 2.

²³ Suidas in Voc.

²⁴ Plutarch in Demet.

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a solemn countenance, and without answering a word to the crowd which began to surround him: Antigonus, apprised of his landing, had anxiously descended to the gate of the palace. Without quickening his pace, the flatterer at length approached, stretched forth his hand, and exclaimed with a loud voice, "Hail, king Antigonus." He then described the completeness and extensive consequences of Demetrius' victory.

The title of king assumed by Alexander's successors. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

Opinion governs the world, and is itself commonly guided by names. The flattery of Aristodemus was not rejected by Antigonus; and the royal appellation, so soothing to the ear of an ambitious usurper, was officiously repeated by the guards and attendants; the palace and capital resounded with joyous acclamations; and "long live king Antigonus" re-echoed through the cities of Syria and of other countries subject to his power. In the sense of antiquity, the title of king was sometimes extended beyond the actual possession, to the expectancy of sovereign power, and the worthiness to hold it. In this manner, the honour might be communicated without losing its value. Antigonus was eager to impart it to his beloved Demetrius. After the example of these generals, Ptolemy, defeated but not dejected, assumed the ensigns and show of royalty, of which he had long enjoyed the substance, Seleucus and Lyfimachus disdained to remain inferior in name, to those whom they equalled in renown. Cassander alone, respecting the ashes of the Macedonian monarchs entombed in his province, neither called himself king, nor employed the royal signet". Could we believe an historian fond of popular remarks, and extremely partial to republicanism; the successors of Alexander together with their new titles, assumed new maxims, and even new sentiments. Their personal pretensions increased with their external pomp; the respect formerly received as an offering to merit, was now exacted as a tribute to rank and station; there was an end of the ancient familiarity

Effects of that title.

of manners, once so interesting and so amiable; and though rewards grew less liberal, punishments became greatly more severe³². These evils extended with the lengthening line of their descendants. With the pride of hereditary royalty, sloth and luxury kept pace: and the followers of the most enlightened and generous prince, that adorns history, degenerated into selfish and sordid voluptuaries, adored by eastern servility, and execrated by the liberal portion of mankind in their own and all succeeding times.

The assumption of the diadem by Alexander's immediate successors created four new kingdoms³³, all of which Antigonus who treated his equals as usurpers, hoped speedily to reunite in his own person and that of his beloved Demetrius. His recent victory over Ptolemy determined him to begin with the dominions of that prince. The naval engagement off Salamis had given him the command of the sea; his land forces fell little short of the army of Alexander when at its greatest height; his rival he doubted not, must be stunned with his late dreadful defeat; he was, therefore eager to lead an expedition against Egypt, which promised the more glorious success, the sooner it was carried into execution. Yet his arrangements on this occasion indicated a full sense of the obstacles to his undertaking; the natural strength of the country, the abilities and resources of its satrap. Egypt was to be attacked at once by sea and land. For this purpose Demetrius sailed from Cyprus with an hundred and fifty galleys, besides a hundred vessels of burden, conveying his engines of battery and exhaustless stores of missile weapons. The land army assembled in the neighbourhood of Gaza; consisting of eighty thousand foot, and above ten thousand horse. A crowd of victualers was destined to attend the fleet; and the camels collected from

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Antigonus' expedition against Egypt. Olymp. cxviii. 3. B. C. 306.

His vast preparations.

³² Plut. *ibid.*

³³ Five kingdoms in effect, though "Cassander, as we have seen, did not assume the royal title. Independently of him there were

five kings, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lyfimachus, Antigonus, and Demetrius; but the two last mentioned held an united sovereignty.

CHAP. Arabia for accompanying the army, must have been numerous
 VII. indeed, since among other necessities, they carried about an hundred
 thousand quarters of grain*, or rather flour. Eighty-three elephants
 added terror, at least pomp, to the warfare. The whole empire
 was held in suspense and anxiety by this complicated armament,
 which, should it conquer Egypt, promised to raise its commander to
 universal monarchy.

Improved
 state of
 Egypt at
 that time.

Twenty-seven years before the present expedition, that ancient
 and populous kingdom, which long boasted its three thousand cities,
 had submitted without resistance to the invasion of Alexander. Its
 natural defences have been at all times the same; on the Asiatic fron-
 tier, from which only it is assailable by land, a desert, a marsh, and
 a great river; and along its low and inhospitable coast, either dan-
 gerous banks of concealed sand, or perpetual ledges of blind rocks.
 But its artificial bulwarks had undergone an important change. The
 loss of two hundred galleys had not ruined Ptolemy's defensive navy.
 The military resources of the country had wonderfully increased.
 Even the melancholy character of the natives had been raised and
 ennobled by the indulgent policy and liberal encouragement of their
 sovereign. While other countries oppressed in peace, after being
 desolated in war, had declined from the splendour of sovereign states
 into the obscurity of wretched provinces, Egypt alone in the space
 of eighteen years under Ptolemy, had risen from the dejection of a
 plundered satrapy into the dignity of an independent and flourishing
 kingdom; enriched by commerce, enlarged by conquest, and strongly
 defended by numerous and well-provided garrisons.

Disasters
 which com-
 pelled Anti-
 gonus to
 retreat.

Antigonus fatally experienced the importance of this alteration.
 The obstinacy of old age, for he was now in his eightieth year,
 heightened the calamities that awaited him. His preparations were
 not completed till October, about the setting of the Pleiades, when the

* Diodor. l. xx. f. 73. It is allowable to suspect both the accuracy of the numbers
 and the certainty of the measures.

weather is usually stormy, and before the overflowing Nile has completely returned within its oozy bed. At this unfavourable season, all things being now ready, his fleet under Demetrius was ordered to sail, in opposition to the advice of experienced seamen; and about the same time he marched in person from Gaza at the head of his army. Demetrius had not been long at sea when he was assailed by a tempest from the north, which the victuallers and vessels carrying missile weapons, were not able to weather out. Many were dashed in pieces and sunk; others returned with much difficulty to the friendly shore of Gaza. Demetrius anchored five furlongs from the coast, and had the mortification to see his vessels foundering amidst sands or beating against rocks, without the possibility of affording to them any assistance, or of saving any part of their crews, since those who escaped from ship-wreck fell into the hands of the Egyptians, pleased spectators, at land, of disasters which they were eager to augment. Had the storm lasted a day longer, the whole fleet must have perished; and this danger still threatened, when the army of Antigonus emerged from its toilsome march through the desert. By his arrival, some weather-beaten vessels might obtain a safe landing place; but he found it impossible to bring about any useful co-operation between his fleet and army. He stood on the eastern margin of the Delta with a resitless force; could he have transported his men across the swollen Nile. All the mouths of that river were defended by Ptolemy's garrisons and innumerable armed vessels. At Pseudastrum, Phatnicus*, and every other inlet by which Demetrius attempted to penetrate, the resistance was ready and unsurmountable. The Pelusiac, or great eastern branch, was guarded with equal vigilance against Antigonus. In addition to these difficulties, provisions and water grew scarce; while Ptolemy's emissaries sowed sedition in the hostile camp, and by vast promises and bribes tempted many malecontents to desertion. The difficulties of the invaders

* Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1153. and Ptolemy, l. iv. p. 116.

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must have been extreme, before the loftiness of the new kings, the obstinate pride of the father, and the warm confidence of the son, could condescend to the mortifying arrangements for securing their retreat. Antigonus varnished that disgraceful measure by summoning a council of his principal officers, who unanimously advised him to defer the conquest of Egypt to a more favourable season of the year. Ptolemy, with his usual prudence, would have been glad to make a bridge of gold for a retiring enemy. He thanked the propitious gods with solemn games and costly sacrifices; and in a pompous embassy, communicated the good tidings to Seleucus, Cassander, and Lyfimachus, who, he hoped, would rejoice at his thus happily baffling the rapacious designs of their common enemy²⁶.

Why Anti-
gonus deter-
mines to
make war on
Rhodes.
Olymp.
cxviii. 4.
B. C. 305.

Antigonus had failed in his undertaking against the great body of the Egyptian monarchy; but his vast preparations, he thought, might still be employed with success in reducing its most valuable appendages. One arm had been lopped off by the conquest of Cyprus; another remained, the flourishing island of Rhodes, which for seven years past had been intimately united with Egypt both by interest and affection. After the death of Alexander, the Rhodians, who had been honoured with distinguished marks of his regard, erected themselves, as we have seen, into an independent commonwealth, in apparent friendship with all his successors, by whom, though, its prosperity might be envied, its power, also, was respected. The capital of the island, bearing the same name, had been founded only four²⁷ years before the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war; and the comparative novelty of this city, as well as of Byzantium, which two alone preserved the genuine fire of liberty, extinguished on all sides around them, might seem to countenance the opinion that commonwealths like individuals have their youth, maturity, and decrepitude. When Athens, Sparta, and the other illustrious re-

Novelty of
the city
Rhodes.

²⁶ Diodor I xviii. f. 74, 75, & 76 Plu-
tarch in Demet. and Pausanias Attic. c. 6.

²⁷ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 967.

publics of ancient Greece, had sunk into the last stages of decay, the youthful communities of Rhodes and Byzantium were animated with the generous spirit of freedom, and ennobled by those virtues of policy and prowess by which only it can be nourished and defended.

History of
the island.

Yet this plausible observation is applicable only to the *city*, not to the *island* of Rhodes, which latter vied in the antiquity of its renown with the most venerable royalties, or commonwealths, of the heroic ages. Before the dawn of recorded history, Rhodes had contended with Athens herself for the partial affection of Minerva³⁸. Apollo chose the bright island, yet latent in the watery deep, for the scene of his peculiar reign³⁹; and in the figurative language of Homer and Pindar, Jupiter poured down a golden shower on the industrious and skillful Rhodians. Their cities, Lindus, Ialyssus, and the shining Cameirus⁴⁰, are celebrated by the former of those lofty poets; and from the latter, we learn that nearly five centuries before the Christian æra, the crowded sea-ports of the Rhodians were decorated with magnificent edifices, and their streets adorned with breathing marbles⁴¹. The towering ridges of Atabyrius, which overlooked their island, were crowded with splendid monuments, particularly the temple of Jupiter, from which that bountiful divinity surveyed with complacence the unwearied labours of his peaceful and ingenious votaries⁴². In these poetical eulogies we may discern that intimate connection between commerce and superstition which has been pointed out and illustrated in other parts of this history; and the account formerly given of the flourishing traffic of the Asiatic peninsula, receives confirmation from the industry and opulence of Rhodes, an island separated by a narrow frith of five miles from that

³⁸ Pindar, Olymp. Ode vii.

³⁹ Pindar also celebrates "Rhodes the daughter of Venus and bride of the sun," ὡμνησθε παῖδ' ἀφροδίτης πελάγειο τε θυμφοῦν Ῥόδον. The Scholiast says, that the island derived the former title from its flowers and beauty; and Solinus, c. 17, believes the latter bestowed

on it, because a day never passes at Rhodes in which the sun is not at some time visible.

⁴⁰ Homer, Il. l. ii. v. 670.

⁴¹ Εργα δὲ ζωοῖσι ἐργασίᾳσι ὁμοῖα καλεῖται Φειά. Pindar, *ibid.* Conf. Diodor. l. xix. c. 45.

⁴² Pindar, *ibid.*

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Its produc-
tive and
commercial
industry.

continent; and which displayed wonderful resources within its diminutive territory of only thirty miles in length and fifteen in breadth.

Its productive and commercial industry, the genuine source of public happiness, continued through the dark ages of traditionary fame down to that celebrated war of twenty-seven years, by which Greece and most of her islands were afflicted, through the combined evils of foreign invasion and domestic sedition. During the agitations of that furious conflict, Rhodes preserved her peaceful prosperity; and towards its conclusion, beheld, as we have before observed, the foundation and completion of her splendid and permanent capital.

This capital, situate at the eastern extremity of the island, rose in the form of a theatre⁴³, looking directly towards the Embolus or beak⁴⁴, a name bestowed on the southern promontory of Caria. The Rhodians traded with all the countries around them; and their two harbours, nearly contiguous to each other, formed the hope of industrious merchants, and terror of pirates. They had hitherto lived on good terms with all the Macedonian generals, who commanded the adjacent coasts; and had allowed Antigonus, as we have before seen, to avail himself of their skillful artizans, and to equip fleets in their harbours. But for several years past, as the war between Antigonus and Seleucus had destroyed the traffic through Upper Asia that used to centre in the cities of Phœnicia, the Rhodians had peculiarly connected themselves with Egypt, which then wholly engrossed the highly prized commodities of the East, whether conveyed to it by Arabs, Indians, or its own merchantmen. From Alexandria in Egypt, the Rhodians diffused the spices, perfumes, gems, and other articles indispensable in the luxury and superstition of antiquity over all the coasts of the west. This commercial intercourse, which had been warmly encouraged by the Egyptian satrap, now king Ptolemy, had produced the grateful attachment of the

Close con-
nection with
Egypt.

⁴³ Θιατροειδής μορφή της Ρόδου. Diodor. l. xix. c. 45. ⁴⁴ Schol. in Pind. Olymp. Ode vii.

Rhodians to that prince; from whose dominions, besides, they derived continual supplies of grain, essential to a country, teeming with population, yet destitute of tillage: for the territory of Rhodes was entirely dedicated to gardens and vineyards. The excellence of its wines recommended them to the peculiar purpose of religious libations and festivals⁴⁵. Its flowers and fruits enjoyed an equal pre-eminence; and those gifts of nature instead of superceding, as usually happens, had stimulated the stubborn exertions of laborious industry. In opposition to the general custom of antiquity⁴⁶, the houses of the Rhodians, both in town and country, were solidly built of stone. Their capital was strongly fortified by sea and land⁴⁷, watered by innumerable conduits⁴⁸ from the neighbouring mountains, and provided with all conveniences and ornaments, that wealth can purchase, or ingenuity invent.

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Flourishing
state of the
city and
territory.

But the greatest ornament of Rhodes was the wisdom of its magistrates. At the same time that they bridled the multitude by every salutary restraint, they had contrived to gain its affection by humanity and bounty. Whatever regarded the marine, the sinews of their power, was a mystery to all but the magistrates. To enter the docks without permission, was a capital offence; and to pry into any secrets respecting the naval department, was prohibited under the penalties of banishment or death. To work, not to speak, to exercise their strength, not their judgment, were the duties required from the Rhodian citizens, whose labour was richly rewarded, and whose habitual diligence ensured a kindly support during sickness or old age⁴⁹. Good policy enforced this dictate of compassion, or rather justice; and so natural is the connection between liberality and traffic, that by an immemorial law, the Rhodian people were either to be provided with employment by their superiors, or com-

Singular
wisdom of
its institu-
tions.

⁴⁵ Non ego te, mensis et Dijs accepta secundis, Transierim, Rhodia.— *πληθους; αλλα λιθους.* Diod. l. xix. f. 45.

Virgil, *Geor.* ii. 101.

⁴⁷ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 652.

⁴⁸ Οχετοι Diodor. *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Diodorus intimates this by saying, *ουκ*

⁴⁹ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 653.

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Maritime
Laws.

fortably subsisted at the public expence. The burden of too numerous a progeny was alleviated at the charge of the state; and a superabundant family, which is the terror of beggarly peasants, formed the object of hope or of joy in this commercial commonwealth.

According to the experience of antiquity, the best of all governments was held to be a moderate aristocracy, in which the two great divisions of "men employed in the exercise of the head and of the hand," were connected by the reciprocal ties of respectful obedience and indulgent protection. Under such a political arrangement, the naval cities of Athens, Carthage, and Marseilles²⁰, as well as the military republics of Sparta and Rome, earned their fairest fame, and attained their meridian prosperity. Rhodes acquired equal and less invidious distinction, and increased it by means equally honourable to herself and useful to her neighbours. Instead of applying their marine to the purposes of depredation or ambition, the Rhodian senators directed it to the extirpation of pirates, who, issuing from the winding coasts of Asia Minor, and especially from the creeks of Cilicia, in all ages infested the Mediterranean. In thus protecting general traffic, they merited the good will of all civilized nations. They deserved it still farther by the wisdom and equity of their laws, which first introduced principles of reason and utility in matters respecting the sea; an element which, except by themselves, the Lycians, and a few cities of Greece and Phœnicia, had hitherto been universally abandoned to anarchy, and deformed by every species of disorder, of which it appeared to be the native and incorrigible region²¹. The maritime laws of the Rhodians were adopted into the jurisprudence of Rome²², and thence diffused through the world. If their scattered fragments still excite admiration, to what high praise must the whole have been entitled in the comparatively unenlightened age in which they were enacted?

²⁰ Cicero Orat. pro Valer. Flac.

²¹ Isocrat. Orat. de Pace.

²² Pandect, l. xiv. Tit. 2. de lege Rhodæ, de jactu.

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The Rhodians chase Antigonus' squadron from their coast.

Such was the enviable condition of the Rhodians, when eighteen years after the death of Alexander, Demetrius, by order of his father, required their assistance in his Cyprian expedition. Their connection with Ptolemy, above explained, could not fail to produce a refusal; they conveyed it, however, in the least offensive terms; as their cautious policy had hitherto engaged them, not only to live on good terms with all Alexander's fortunate generals, but to court them by embassies, to honour them with statues, to relieve occasionally the wants of all, while they carefully avoided to adopt the resentments of any, or involve themselves in their quarrels. Intoxicated with his conquest of Cyprus, and the affected sovereignty of the seas, Antigonus determined to punish the disobedience of the Rhodians to his most unjustifiable demand. At first he sent a squadron of stout galleys to distress their trade, and particularly to interrupt the perpetual navigation between their island and Egypt. The injured Rhodians, anxious as they were to preserve amity with so great a king, could not tamely brook the violation of their property. They armed vigourously for defence, and chased the fleet of Antigonus from their coasts²¹.

This becoming boldness was construed into an act of hostility, that ought to be followed by the severest vengeance. The peaceful Rhodians, still willing to temporize, decreed new honours to Antigonus and his son, and endeavoured to sooth them by a submissive embassy. Their embassy was answered by the approach of two hundred ships of war, which, under the command of Demetrius, anchored at Lorima on the Carian coast, directly opposite to their harbours. His transports conveyed forty thousand men, with a due proportion of cavalry: engines, weapons, and military stores had been provided in the utmost profusion; and the royal fleet was accompanied by more than a thousand vessels belonging to merchants.

Demetrius sails to Rhodes with a great armament. Olymp. cxviii. 4. B. C. 305.

²¹ Diodor. L. xx. f. 82.

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Demetrius
encamps on
the island,
which is
ravaged by
his partizans
and the ac-
companying
pirates.

or pirates, who hoped to ravish the spoils of a wealthy and yet virgin island²⁴.

The report of such powerful preparations might have filled the Rhodians with alarm. But the theatrical form of their city enabled them distinctly to behold the gleams of armour flashing from an armament, whose magnitude crowded their narrow seas. In approaching Rhodes, the ships of war formed a line in front: they were followed by vessels heavily laden with darts and engines, and slowly towed along by lighter galleys; the pirates came last, though their cruel service was to be first employed against a people, whose honourable opulence stimulated avidity by envy. In modern war, much time and many precautions would be required for the safe landing of so stupendous a host: but the form of ancient vessels, which rendered them less safe on deep and open seas, exempted them however from many dangers on shoaly coasts²⁵. The first care of Demetrius was to moor his ships at a due distance from the numerous engines, mounting the walls of Rhodes. Having effected this purpose, he sent forth his pirates and partizans to ravage the adjacent shores, and collect materials for inclosing a camp. In the course of this service, a hasty desolation overspread the gardens and beautiful villas, which formed the delight and the pride of those long fortunate islanders. An encampment, however, was marked out, and fortified: a new and capacious harbour was built for the invading armament; and the approaches to the capital of Rhodes were carefully smoothed, and secured on either side by entrenchments.

Measures
pursued by
the Rhodians
in this
extremity.

During these operations, repeated embassies were sent to Demetrius, in which the Rhodians offered even to relinquish their alliance with Ptolemy. But the invader deeming this proposal merely the

²⁴ Diodor. *ibid*.

²⁵ The water is deep at a little distance from the coast, but grows suddenly shallow

near the ancient harbours and other parts of the shore.