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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
THE WORLD,

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FROM THE REIGN OF *ALEXANDER*  
TO THAT OF *AUGUSTUS*;

COMPREHENDING  
THE LATTER AGES OF EUROPEAN GREECE,  
AND  
THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK KINGDOMS IN ASIA AND AFRICA,  
FROM THEIR FOUNDATION TO THEIR DESTRUCTION;  
WITH  
A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS, AND AN ESTIMATE  
OF HIS PLANS FOR THEIR CONSOLIDATION AND IMPROVEMENT.

BY JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.  
F.R.S. AND S.A. LONDON, F.R.S. EDINBURGH,  
AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY FOR SCOTLAND.

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Εκ μὲν τοι γὰρ τῆς ἀπάσταν πρὸς ἡλληνὰ συμβολικῆς καὶ παραδειγματικῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ διαφορᾶς, μόνως αὐ-  
τὴς ἐφίκοιτο· καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ πρῶτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τρίτον ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας λαβεῖν.

POLYBIUS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

3

LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR A. STRAHAN; AND T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES,  
IN THE STRAND.

1807.

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# HISTORY

## OF

# THE WORLD,

FROM THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS.

### CHAPTER XIII.

*Third Generation of Alexander's Successors. — Expedition of Ptolemy Euergetes against Seleucus Callinicus. — Civil Wars between the Syrian Brothers. — Respected Neutrality of Aradus. — Seleucus made captive in Parthia. — Reigns of Demetrius II. of Macedon and Antigonus Doson. — Progress of the Achaean League. — Agis and Cleomenes. — The Cleomenic War. — Battle of Sellasia. — Ethiopian Expeditions of Ptolemy Euergetes. — His Transactions with the Jews. — Accession of Ptolemy Philopator. — His Profligacy and Cruelty. — The Colossus of Rhodes demolished by an Earthquake. — Liberality of the commercial Connections of that State.*

**P**TOLEMY PHILADELPHUS died five years before the conclusion of the first and longest war between the Romans and Carthaginians. In friendship with both powers, his impartiality and love for peace had restrained him from taking part in that obstinate conflict. His successor, Ptolemy Euergetes, observed the same neutrality, but from totally different motives. Euergetes, and the con-

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Third generation of Alexander's successors.  
Olymp. cxxxiii. 3.  
cxxxix. 4.

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B. C. 246—  
221.

temporary Syrian kings, his rivals, were men of rash enterprize, destitute of moderation and sound policy. They engaged in relentless hostilities with each other, by which Syria was greatly injured, and from which Egypt derived no substantial benefit. Syria was farther deformed and exhausted by revolts in the eastern provinces, and by domestic discord between Seleucus Callinicus and his brother Antiochus Hierax. The boundary of the Danube had been overleaped; and the Barbarians on the north of Macedon continually alarmed or infested that kingdom under Demetrius II. and Antigonus Doson. Relieved from the pressure of Macedonian power, the Greeks resumed their ancient spirit, and renewed those bitter animosities, by which they had so often been afflicted. In this fresh struggle, three nations distinguished themselves as principals, each exhibiting, under every aspect, and by exertions singularly memorable, the opposite principles on which they acted: the Achæans, their love of liberty and patriotisin; the Lacedæmonians, their martial rivalry and ambition; the Etolians, their audacious boldness and insatiable rapacity. Such is the subject which I have to treat for a period of thirty-three years from the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus to the first hostilities between the Romans and the fourth Philip of Macedon, successor to Antigonus Doson. Having established, or rather greatly extended their naval force at the expence of Carthaginian merchants and Illyrian pirates, the Romans interposed with a strong arm in the affairs of Alexander's successors. The warfare lasted, with short interruptions, for half a century, in which space of time, by policy still more than warlike skill and bravery, Rome gained either an immediate jurisdiction, or an acknowledged supremacy over all the Greek kingdoms and republics on this side the Euphrates. Before we proceed to this most interesting subject, it remains to examine the history of the thirty-three years above-mentioned, comprehending the third generation after the great Macedonian conqueror.

Ptolemy Euergetes and Seleucus Callinicus mounted their respective thrones in the same year, Ptolemy legally and honourably, but Seleucus, through the execrable perfidy of his mother Laodicè, and in direct violation of a treaty between his murdered father and the late king of Egypt. To revenge the infraction of this treaty and the cruel death of his sister Berenicè, Euergetes hastened to attack the heart<sup>1</sup> of the Syrian monarchy. The powerful forces transmitted to him from Philadelphus would have secured success against an adversary better prepared than Callinicus; whose bloody usurpation had provoked and alienated the more liberal portion of the Syrians, and almost the whole of the Greeks. While he yet hesitated to drag his mother-in-law Berenicè and her infant son from their sacred asylum at Daphnè, many Greek cities in Lesser Asia declared their abhorrence of this impious design, not sparing menaces to prevent its execution<sup>2</sup>. But the fury of Laodicè having precipitated the destruction of Berenicè her own rival, and that of the son of Berenicè, who, as rightful heir to the monarchy, was rival to Callinicus, the rebellious Greeks expecting to be abetted by the arms of Ptolemy Euergetes, advanced in martial array towards Syria, at the same time that several provinces on that side mount Taurus transferred their allegiance from Seleucus to his younger brother Antiochus, afterwards surnamed Hierax<sup>3</sup>. In this distracted state of Seleucus' affairs, Ptolemy entered Syria; the territory was not defended; many cities opened their gates; he gained possession even of Seleucia Pieria, which, from its vicinity to Antioch, was regarded as the harbour of that capital. We are not informed

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Euergetes' expedition against Syria. Olymp. cxxxiii. 3-4. B. C. 246—245.

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, l. v. c. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Justin, l. xxvii. c. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The hawk, a name, according to Justin, derived from his rapacity, l. xxvii. c. 2. Strabo mentions the surnames Callinicus and Hierax without assigning the reasons for them, l. xvi. p. 754. and Plutarch in Aristid. contrasts the title of "Just" belonging to Aristides, and which, he says, no king had hitherto desired to wear, with the boastful appellations of "thunder, eagle, hawk," &c. Plutarch, it seems, knew not that the Parthian kings assumed the title of "Just," which often appears on their coins.

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Euergetes' expedition into Upper Asia. Olymp. cxxxiii. 4. cxxxiv. 1. P. C. 245—244.

Why honoured with the title of Euergetes.

by what means Seleucus escaped his vengeance: but the more guilty Laodicè fell into the victor's hands, and suffered just punishment<sup>4</sup>.

Having shaken the Syrian kingdom in its centre, Ptolemy, without waiting to reap the nearer fruits of his success, was carried by a juvenile ardour towards Upper Asia. The provincial governors opposed not any resistance to his arms. In a short expedition, he overran a vast extent of territory, pursuing his victorious career to the Oxus and Indus<sup>5</sup>. His plunder was estimated at forty thousand talents of silver<sup>6</sup>; but what appeared far more valuable, to his Egyptian followers, was the recovery of their idols, detained disgracefully in Susiana and Persis, ever since they had been torn from their venerated shrines by the tyranny of Cambyfes. These cumbrous images of Egyptian gods, amounting to two thousand five hundred in number, were embarked on the canals<sup>7</sup> of Susiana, communicating, as we have seen, with the Euphrates, that they might be conveyed up that river to Thapsacus, and thence transported by land to the Mediterranean sea. Their arrival in Egypt occasioned an enthusiasm of joy. The natives of that country contrasted the religious zeal of Ptolemy with the impious persecution of the Persians, their former masters. He was saluted with the title of Euergetes, the benefactor, but would have still better deserved that appellation had he preferred the internal improvement of his kingdom to distant

<sup>4</sup> Appian Syriac. c. 65. p. 635.

<sup>5</sup> Polyænus, l. viii. c. 50. p. 802. Conf. Marm. Adulitan. Ptolemy's Assyrian expedition is noticed also in the contemporary poem of Callimachus, still preserved in Catullus's translation. Berenicè, the daughter of Magus and wife of Euergetes, consecrated her hair in the Cyprian temple of Zephyrian Venus.

Qua rex tempestate novis auctus hymenæis,  
Vastatum fines iverat Assyrios.

De Coma Berenices, v. 11. & 12.

The queen's votive offering for the safe re-

turn of her husband, having disappeared from the temple, the mathematician, Conon of Samos, then residing at Alexandria, showed seven stars near the tail of the lion hitherto little noticed, which he said were Berenicè's lost hair: upon this flattering conceit, the courtly Callimachus wrote his poem. Nonnus in *Historiarum Synagoga*. Hygini Poetic. Astronomic.

<sup>6</sup> Hieronym. in Daniel, cap. xi.

<sup>7</sup> The Adulitic inscription ends abruptly, but our local knowledge enables us to supply its defect.

and



and precarious conquests. He is said to have appointed <sup>8</sup> governors over subdued provinces: these provinces, however, remained not long in his possession, nor are we informed of any exertions made by him for retaining them. In his return to Egypt, having halted at Jerusalem, he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to Jehovah, and presented many precious dedications in his temple <sup>9</sup>.

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During Ptolemy's expedition to the East, Seleucus had been assiduously employed in collecting the scattered remains of his western empire. Through the loyalty of the Syrians and Phœnicians to his family, he assembled a considerable fleet, and sailed to the coasts of the peninsula, with a view to re-establish his authority over the revolted cities. His armament was overtaken by a tempest; and great part of it shipwrecked. This disaster, which might have been expected to ruin him irretrievably, redounded on the contrary to his advantage. The Greeks, it is said, considering <sup>10</sup> the direful storm as a judgment of the gods, who had thus taken on themselves the punishment of his past crimes, began to feel compassion for the grandson of Seleucus Nicator, the worthiest and most magnanimous of all Alexander's successors. But their returning allegiance must have been hastened by the consideration that Ptolemy their ally was remote, and that Antiochus Hierax, the rapacious brother of Seleucus, having entered into a close connection with the Gauls, was preparing to extend his usurpation in Lesser Asia through the mercenary aid of those odious Barbarians <sup>11</sup>.

The disasters of Seleucus followed by a revolution in his favour. Olymp. cxxxiv. 1. B. C. 244.

The renewed friendship of the Greeks, enabled Seleucus to reinforce the garrison of Antioch, to fortify his other strongholds in Syria, and even to take the field against Ptolemy for recovering his lost possessions in that country. He was defeated, however, in a battle attended with much bloodshed; and compelled to shut himself up within the walls of Antioch, from which place he negotiated a

His negotiations with Antiochus Hierax, and alliance with the republics of Smyrna and Magnesia. Olymp. cxxxiv. 1. B. C. 244.

<sup>8</sup> Hieronym. in Daniel.

Diis ipsis parricidium vindicantibus, &c.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph. cont. Apion. l. ii. c. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Strabo, l. xvi. Plutarch de Fratrum.

<sup>11</sup> Justin, l. xxvii. c. 2. Repente veluti Amor.

peace

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peace with his brother Antiochus Hierax, and an alliance, far more sincere, with the Ionian cities Smyrna and Magnesia. In this latter treaty, which still remains engraven on a marble column, these cities appear as independent states, but professing the utmost gratitude and devotion to the Seleucidæ. The column was raised for an unperishing memorial of a written instrument, which had been drawn up with nice formality, recorded in the archives of both states, and attested by their public signets as well as by the signatures and seals of the magistrates who were parties to the contract<sup>11</sup>.

Suspension  
of hostilities  
between  
Ptolemy and  
Seleucus,  
and war of  
the latter  
against An-  
tiochus  
Hierax.  
Olymp.  
cxxxiv. 2.  
cxxxv. 1.  
B. C. 243—  
240.

From this time forward, Ptolemy's attention was engrossed by very extraordinary undertakings that will afterwards be explained, and which occasioned the conclusion of an armistice for ten years with Seleucus<sup>12</sup>. The latter prince, thus delivered from his more formidable enemy, was at leisure to watch the designs of his perfidious brother, who, instead of the amity which he had just stipulated seemed ready to prosecute the war with all the virulence of fraternal discord. Seleucus accused his brother of levying the very forces against him, which he ought to have brought sooner to his assistance against Ptolemy; Antiochus accused Seleucus of an intention to divest him of those possessions in Asia Minor, of which, according to the treaty between them, he ought to have been confirmed in full sovereignty. Both accusations were but too well founded<sup>13</sup>; and a fierce war was thus kindled between the brothers, and carried on with various success for three years in Syria, in Lesser Asia, and in Assyria. The first memorable engagement was fought at Ancyra, where fortune declared for Antiochus through the assistance of his Gallic mercenaries<sup>14</sup>. But the fury of these Barbarians, upon a false rumour that Seleucus had fallen in the action, threatened to destroy Antiochus also, that they might appropriate to themselves the whole

Battle of  
Ancyra, and  
danger of  
Antiochus  
from his  
Gallic auxi-  
liaries.  
Olymp.  
cxxxiv. 3.  
B. C. 242.

<sup>11</sup> Marmor. Oxon. p. 5. & seq.

<sup>12</sup> Justin, l. xxvii. c. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Id. l. xxvii. c. 2. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750.

<sup>14</sup> Polynæus, l. viii. c. 61. & Plutarch de Fraternali Amore.

advantages

advantages of victory. Antiochus was thus prevented from prosecuting his good fortune, and compelled even to redeem his life by a large ransom. The pride of the Gauls now reached such a height as rendered them equally terrible and odious in every part of the peninsula. But shortly after the battle of Ancyra, they were defeated at Sardes by Eumenes of Pergamus<sup>16</sup>; and in the year following, by his successor Attalus, in an engagement so decisive as compelled them to quit their predatory mode of life, and to resign that ambulatory dominion which they had held for the space of forty years in Lesser Asia<sup>17</sup>. The more irreclaimable part of the nation, exceeding an hundred thousand in number, still followed the standard of Antiochus Hierax, and accompanied him to Seleucia-Babylonia in hopes of plundering that wealthy capital. But they were completely defeated by Seleucus, powerfully reinforced on this occasion by the Macedonian inhabitants of the place, and by a body of eight thousand Babylonish Jews<sup>18</sup>. On this victory, Seleucus probably assumed the boastful title of Callinicus<sup>19</sup>, while Antiochus avoided the vengeance of his enraged and now triumphant brother by a precipitate flight. He first sought refuge in Cappadocia, and afterwards in Egypt, in which kingdom he was detained prisoner thirteen years by Ptolemy Euergetes. Having escaped from his confinement through the assistance of a courtesan, he attempted to return towards Syria, but was slain in his way thither by Arabian robbers<sup>20</sup>.

The war between the brothers, though it commenced in Lesser Asia, and terminated in Babylonia, seems to have raged with greatest fury in Syria. To mitigate its effects there, recourse was had to the following expedient. Aradus was a Phœnician city allied with Tyre and Sidon, and had united with them in building Tripolis for the seat of their common councils<sup>21</sup>. The fame of Tyre and Sidon had

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Their infolence and chastisement.

Total defeat of Antiochus Hierax in Babylonia. Olymp. cxxxv. 1. B. C. 240.

Honourable interference of Aradus in the war between the brothers.

<sup>16</sup> Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3. Conf. Athenæus, l. x. p. 445. named also Pogon from his long beard. Polybius, l. ii. c. 27.

<sup>17</sup> Pausanias, l. x. c. 15.

<sup>18</sup> 2 Maccab. c. viii. v. 20.

<sup>19</sup> "Illustrious conqueror." He was fur-

<sup>20</sup> Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Diodorus, l. xvi. f. 41.

hitherto

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hitherto eclipsed that of Aradus, their unequal confederate, which stood on a rocky island, two miles from the continent, and scarcely one mile in circumference, but whose buildings are compared in loftiness<sup>22</sup> with those of insular Tyre, which vied with the highest edifices in Rome<sup>23</sup>. Like other cities in Phœnicia, Aradus acknowledged its dependence on Alexander's Syrian successors: it paid tribute, received protection, but was prepared to resist oppression. In case of a siege, to which it might sometime be exposed, though this evil had hitherto been prevented by the prudence of its magistrates, the only want of Aradus had been that of fresh water. This deficiency was now fortunately supplied by discovering an abundant spring at the bottom of the narrow frith, which washed the walls of the city. The pure element was obtained by dropping into the sea a huge bell of lead, perforated at top, and having a leathern pipe nicely fitted to its mouth. At first, salt water came up equal in bulk to the capacity of the bell; but immediately afterwards, the fresh stream began to flow copiously through the well-contrived conduit, into boats prepared to receive it. Thus happily provided with the means of subsistence as well as of defence, the rocky island aspired to higher dignity, and assumed a sort of independent neutrality in the civil war between Seleucus and Antiochus. The pretensions of Aradus were admitted by both kings, with a view to the mutual safety of their respective adherents. In a contract with the Islanders, it was stipulated that those of either party who might take refuge among them, should find an inviolable asylum. The fugitives were not, indeed, to quit the island without permission from the prince that happened at the moment to prevail, yet neither were the Aradians held justly compellable to surrender them to their enemies<sup>24</sup>. As many persons, thus protected in Aradus, came afterwards to be invested with great power, their gratitude towards the island was

<sup>22</sup> Strabo, l. xvii. p. 753.

<sup>23</sup> Id. p. 757.

<sup>24</sup> Strabo, l. xvi. p. 744.



signalised by extending its domain on the opposite continent, and by bestowing other important benefits on this equitable and peaceful community".

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Seleucus had been fortunately delivered from the resentment of Egypt, the fury of the Gauls, and the rapacity of his own merciless brother. Other enemies still remained; the rebellious Parthians and Bactrians, the former of whom, during the war between the Syrian brothers, had strengthened the defences of their country, added to it the neighbouring territory of Hyrcania, and threatened to invade Media", the finest province of the East. Seleucus, finding himself disengaged from his other antagonists, conducted an army against the Parthians, now strictly allied with the Bactrians. This army was repeatedly reinforced, and the war by different inroads" protracted during four years, until the royal invader fell into the hands of the enemy, after being defeated in a great battle decisive of the independence and future dominion of the Parthians".

Seleucus' war with the Parthians. Olymp. cxxxv. 2. cxxxvi. 2. B. C. 239-235.

His life was spared by Tiridates, who had assumed the place and name of his elder brother Arsaces", the author of the Parthian revolt. Seleucus was retained ten years in the roughest province, and among the fiercest people of Upper Asia, but during all that time treated by his conqueror, with the respect due to his rank and misfortunes". Syria and its dependent provinces, meanwhile, transferred their obedience, (such was the loyalty towards the house of Nicator), to the son of their captive monarch; and the son would have well justified their partiality to his race, had he really attained his surname of Keraunus or Thunder, from the resistless rapidity with which he broke into Parthia, and rescued the person of his

Captivity and death of Seleucus. Olymp. cxxxvi. 2. cxxxviii. 3. B. C. 235-226.

" Strabo, l. xviii. p. 744.

" Athenæus, l. iv. p. 153. Conf. Justin, l. xli. c. 4. Appian Syriac. c. 65.

" Justin, l. xli. c. 5.

" To this battle properly, the words of Justin are applicable, "quem diem Parthi exinde solennem, velut initium libertatis,

observant, l. xli. c. 4.

" Arrian in Parth. apud Syncell. The kings of Parthia thenceforward assumed, all of them, the name of Arsaces, in addition to which they are distinguished by the names which they bore before mounting the throne.

" Athenæus, *ibid.*

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father. But this improbable tale<sup>31</sup> seems the invention of later times to explain the unknown origin of an ostentatious and unmerited title; for the captive, Seleucus, it should seem, perished in Parthia by a fall from his horse<sup>32</sup> in hunting, a royal exercise in which he was indulged by Tiridates during his loose confinement in that country. According to this account, he died in the same year with Hierax, who had remained still longer a prisoner, and under much severer restraint, in Egypt. Death might appear a benefit to imprisoned kings; but even imprisonment was beneficial to Seleucus and Antiochus, so shamefully had their freedom been disgraced in acts of fraternal discord.

His successors, Seleucus Keraunus. Olymp. cxxxviii. 4. B. C. 225. and Antiochus III. Olymp. cxxxix. 2. B. C. 223.

The former of these princes left two sons, Seleucus Keraunus just mentioned, who, having marched against Attalus I. of Pergamus, perished by treachery in Lesser Asia before he had time to perform any thing memorable<sup>33</sup>; and Antiochus the Great, who would not seem altogether unworthy of the title early conferred on him, had not his evil destiny brought him, in the decline of life, into a disastrous conflict with Rome.

The Achæan league. Olymp. cxxv. 2.— cxxxi. 3. B. C. 275—254.

According to the method above prescribed, I proceed to a third series of events more circumstantially related than either of the former, and in themselves far more interesting. The diminutive cities of Achaia preserved, as we have seen, the germs of virtue and true liberty, which the influence of military tyrants had blasted on all sides around them. Upon the misfortunes which assailed Macedon

<sup>31</sup> Frælick. Annal. Syriac. p. 32. does not cite his authority; but the report of Seleucus' escape receives some countenance from Polybius, l. v. c. 89. Yet, in that text, instead of "Seleucus the father of Antiochus," critics read the "brother of Antiochus." It is not necessary, however, to have recourse to this alteration, if we consider that Seleucus who even in Parthia was treated as a king, *αγορευόμενος βασιλικῶς*, would be considered as such during his life by his own subjects, and that the government would be carried

on in his name by the ministers of his son.

<sup>32</sup> Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3. Conf. Athenæus, l. iv. p. 153. Demetrius Poliorcetes had been allowed the same amusement when prisoner with the first Seleucus.

<sup>33</sup> Polybius, Appian & Justin. The traitors were Apaturius and Nicanor two of his officers, who are said to have poisoned him. Appian Syr. c. 66. They raised a mutiny in the army, which was quelled by the brave and generous Achæus, as will be seen hereafter.



in the reign of Ptolemy Keraunus, Dyma, Patræ, Pharæ, and Tritæa, ventured to renew their ancient confederacy, but without commemorating this act, as usual on such important occasions, by the erection of a pillar, or any other public monument. Five years afterwards, the people of Ægium expelled their Macedonian garrison and joined the association. Bura, Carynia, and three remaining<sup>34</sup> cities of Achaia, successively followed the example, either destroying their domestic tyrants, or compelling them to abdicate their ill-gotten power. From this time forward, each of these ten communities enjoyed a government nearly resembling that of Athens, while her democracy subsisted in its purest form: each had its senate, popular assembly, and an annual magistrate, entitled *Demiurgos*, whose office closely corresponded with that of the Athenian archons. Full freedom of speech, perfect equality of law, universal right of suffrage, and universal eligibility to office, formed the four corner stones of the Achaian cities individually, while all of them collectively were united in a confederacy of sentiment, as well as of interest, with the same hatred of tyrants and tyrannical republics, with the same love of equality and true freedom, the same laws and institutions, and even the same coins, weights, and measures<sup>35</sup>. Twice every year, at the beginning of summer, and the end of autumn, deputies assembled at Ægium; they were chosen from each state by a plurality of voices, and according to the same liberal mode of election, they named two generals of the league, and a common secretary, entrusted with the records of the nation, and with the duty of preparing and expediting public business. For twenty-five years, this arrangement continued; but, at the expiration of that

Government  
and laws.

<sup>34</sup> These were Leontium, Ægira, and Pellene. The confederate cities were originally twelve. But Helice had been destroyed by an earthquake and inundation 372 years B. C. Olenus for some unknown rea-

son did not join in the new league. Conf. Strabo, l. viii. p. 384. Polybius, l. ii. c. 41. Some differences, however, occur in Pausanias Achaic. & Herodotus, l. i. c. 145.

<sup>35</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 37. & 58.

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## XIII.

Civil liberty  
and national  
independence.

Aratus joins  
Sicyon to  
the league.  
Olymp.  
cxxxii. 3.  
B. C. 250.

And Cor-  
inth.  
Olymp.  
cxxxiv. 2.  
B. C. 243.

time, Marcus of Carynia obtained the sole military command; and the nomination of one general only became in future the unvarying rule<sup>26</sup>.

From this short description it appears, that the object of the Achæans was not only to secure to each citizen civil liberty at home, but a matter far weightier in its consequences, to maintain each member of the confederacy on a foot of national independence. For this purpose each Achæan state had but one vote in the general council: no individual state could contract alliance with any prince or people without the approbation of the whole; the same universal consent was requisite for admitting any new associate into the league; but when associates were thus approved and accepted, their rights became, in all respects, the same with those of the original members.

This liberal equality, which had never hitherto prevailed in the same extent, appeared to the few real patriots still remaining in Greece, the fittest basis for supporting a confederacy which might yet emancipate that illustrious country, from the overwhelming preponderance of Alexander's successors. Only four years after the generalship of Marcus of Carynia, the territory of Sicyon, bordering on that of Achaia, joined the league through the zeal and enterprise of Aratus, a youth in his twentieth year, and who, at the next following election, was chosen general of the confederacy<sup>27</sup>. Eight years afterwards, and when he was invested for the second time with the military command, he gained by arms and address the important city of Corinth, the key, as it were, to the Peloponnesus; and having expelled the Macedonian garrison from the citadel, restored to the Corinthians that stronghold of which they had been divested ever since the reign of Philip, the father of Alexander<sup>28</sup>. The Corinthians, thus relieved from long oppression, cheerfully joined the Achæan league; and thereby best remunerated the merit of Aratus,

<sup>26</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 43.

<sup>27</sup> It was a maxim of policy with the Achæans to invest with offices and honours

those who had recently joined the league.

<sup>28</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 44. & Plutarch in Arato.



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Peculiarities  
in his his-  
tory.

who had employed his private fortune, even the jewels of his wife, in effecting their liberty. The name of the Sicyonian now eclipsed the fame of the original founders of the league, as well as of all its subsequent benefactors. This preference in his favour has been heightened with posterity by affecting peculiarities in his personal and domestic history. His father Clinias, the most illustrious citizen of Sicyon, after wresting the government of his country from one tyrant, had fallen a sacrifice to the cruel jealousy of another. Abantidas, for this was his name, raged with unbridled fury against Clinias' adherents, slew some, banished others, unwilling to spare even Aratus a child, only seven years old. But Aratus, reserved for a nobler destiny, found refuge in the house of Sofo, the tyrant's sister; who, believing that heaven had directed him to a place the most secure of any because the least liable to suspicion, concealed him with watchful care until she found an opportunity of sending him secretly to Argos, where the revered worth of his family still ensured to him the protection of many hereditary friends.

By these respectable friends he was kindly received and liberally educated. His proficiency in the accomplishments then most valued, fully rewarded their goodness. In early youth, he gained the prize in the Pentathlon, the highest ambition of Olympic combatants, since it united all the five exercises, in any one of which it was a glory to excel": and his early diligence in letters was proved by the memoirs which he left behind him, highly commendable by their form as well as matter. But amidst these liberal pursuits, his mind was continually occupied with the thoughts, not of avenging his father's murder, for the tyrant Abantidas being slain had made way for another tyrant of a different family, but of destroying the tyranny itself, and re-establishing in Sicyon the pure Dorian mode of well harmonized polity\*. Through the assistance of his friends in Argos, of

His educa-  
tion.How he  
rescued Si-  
cyon from  
tyranny.

\* See History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. itself the more naturally as the people of Sicyon were Dorians. Plutarch in Arat. v. p. 231.

\* The metaphor of Plutarch: it presented

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his expatriated fellow-citizens, and even of Xenophilus, the leader of a band of robbers, he surprised Sicyon in the night, by an assault judiciously planned and boldly executed. After his guards had been made prisoners, the tyrant Nicocles escaped, indeed, by a subterranean passage through his well-fortified palace, but never returned to Sicyon, which gladly accepted the liberty proclaimed next day in the market-place, "in name of Aratus the son of Clinias," and shortly afterwards obtained admission into the Achæan confederacy".

He restores the emigrants to their inheritances without offending the actual possessors.

This glorious exploit, which excited public admiration for Aratus, was followed at some distance of time by a transaction which rivetted him in the love and private affection of the Sicyonians. About six hundred of their fellow-citizens still lived, who had been driven into banishment by different tyrants: some exiles had lost their country, for upwards of fifty years. They gradually returned in such numbers, to claim their paternal lands, that the tranquillity of the little state was threatened with sedition. The possessions, of which they had been divested, had passed into other hands, and many of them had been long held by legal titles. An act of resumption would therefore have been injustice, yet by what other means were the claimants to be satisfied? Aratus in this difficulty, had recourse to Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose love for the arts he had recently and highly gratified by procuring for him the paintings of Pamphilus and Melanthus, admired master pieces of the Sicyonian school. In a personal visit to that great prince, whose magnificence on every fit occasion kept pace with his opulence, he obtained such large sums\* of money, as enabled him, at his return to Sicyon, to adjust amicably all differences between the actual possessors of the lands and their ancient proprietors.

Reign of  
Demetrius  
II. of Ma-

The junction of Corinth to the Achæan league happened in the old age and decrepitude of Antigonus Gonatas, who died shortly

Plut. in Arat.

\* Id. ibid. The numbers are erroneous

after an event greatly injurious to the main drift of his rapacious reign. He was succeeded by Demetrius II., whose address had helped to put his father in possession of the Corinthian citadel<sup>4</sup>, but whose abilities on the throne ill sustained the fame which he had acquired in a subordinate station. Demetrius adhered, however, to the policy of his predecessor in supporting, by troops and money, the petty tyrants that still reigned in several cities of Peloponnesus to their own unspeakable misery as well as that of their subjects. The colouring is perhaps heightened by resentment, yet the picture drawn of Aristippus, who, by the assistance of Macedon, had usurped sovereignty in Argos, the city in which Aratus had been educated, conveys a lively impression of the agonies attending power ill acquired, cruelly exercised, and precariously held. Aristippus had a numerous body guard; but his suspicions never allowed any portion of it to enter his palace. After supper he dismissed from the hall even his domestics, made the door fast with his own hands, and ascended by a ladder, through a trap-door into a small upper chamber. Upon this trap-door his bed was raised; and here he remained with his concubine, until her mother, a decrepid old woman, who had removed the ladder in the night, replaced it in the morning<sup>4</sup>. This reptile usurper then crawled from his lurking hole. Such is the life of tyrants among men capable of relishing the sweets of liberty; and such were the wretches whom Demetrius abetted to gratify his own unworthy ambition!

The accession of Corinth to the Achaean league conspired, however, with other causes, to oppose his exertions in their favour, and to render his aid to them ineffectual. During his reign of ten years, he was frequently engaged in hostilities with the Etolians<sup>4</sup> in the south, and with the Thracians and Illyrians, those fierce and implacable nations which always threatened and often invaded his northern

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cedon.  
Olymp.  
cxxxiv. 2 —  
cxxxvii. 1.  
B. C. 243—  
232.

Picture of  
petty tyrants  
whom he  
supported in  
Greece,  
Aristippus of  
Argos.

Wars and  
troubles of  
Demetrius  
reign.

<sup>4</sup> See above, c. xi. p. 99, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch in Arat.

<sup>4</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 2.

frontiers :



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frontiers: he carried on war against Alexander of Epirus, son to the renowned Pyrrhus; and after the death of Alexander, he entered into an accommodation with his widow, Olympias, now regent of the kingdom, and married her daughter Phthia, thereby provoking the resentment of Antiochus Hierax, brother to his former wife, whose repudiation had made room for the princess of Epirus<sup>46</sup>. The animosity of Antiochus evaporated in mere threats; but even the threats of such a daring and merciless prince long kept Demetrius in a state of cowardly alarm and anxious preparation<sup>47</sup>.

Various accessions to the Achæan league. Olymp. cxxxvi. 4. B. C. 233.

Amidst the various troubles of his reign, the Achæans thus enjoyed an opportunity of extending their confederacy. Shortly after the surprise of the Corinthian citadel, the league had been joined by Megara, its first accession beyond the limits of Peloponnesus. On the eastern coast of that peninsula, Epidaurus, Træzenè, and Hermionè, cities of Argolis, solicited and obtained admission, after the expulsion of their respective tyrants; while Lysidas, tyrant of Megalopolis, in the central district of Arcadia, voluntarily abdicated the government, and added that great city as a new member to the league<sup>48</sup>.

Reign of Antigonus II. of Macedon. Olymp. cxxxvii. 1.—cxxxix. 4. B. C. 232—221.

About this time Demetrius, king of Macedon, died; and his only son Philip, being scarcely three years old, the regency and afterwards the crown was assumed by his brother Antigonus II., surnamed Doson. This single word denoted his readiness of promise and his slowness in performance; and should seem to have been affixed by a very undeserved sarcasm<sup>49</sup> on Antigonus; since, although he reigned, in preference to his nephew, by the will of the Macedonians, he carefully educated the young prince, and adopted proper measures for making him his successor. Antigonus' character, indeed, will appear to have been distinguished by justice, tempered with mercy: his abilities did not fall short of his virtues; at home and

His uncommon merits.

<sup>46</sup> Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 1.  
<sup>47</sup> Pausan. Attic.

<sup>48</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 44.  
<sup>49</sup> Plutarch in Coriolan.



abroad during his whole reign, he was beloved by his subjects, formidable to his enemies, and faithful to his allies<sup>30</sup>. Yet this respectable prince, the only one that for many years really adorned the Macedonian throne (so capricious is the distribution of honours!) was disgraced by a reproachful appellation, still adhering to his name, while other sovereigns of the same age, infinitely his inferiors are dignified in history by high sounding epithets<sup>31</sup>. Instead of embroiling the affairs of Greece, as had long been the practice of his predecessors, Antigonus in the first years of his administration, seemed only solicitous to heal the wounds of that country, while he exerted his utmost abilities to conciliate good-will among his barbarous northern neighbours.

From this peaceful system, he could not be induced to swerve, notwithstanding the perpetual aggrandisement of the Achæans, who, besides admitting into their league many new members in Peloponnesus, gained the rich island of Ægina, and soon afterwards Athens herself, nearly as populous a city, as when she was the proud mistress of Greece. This last acquisition was made by corrupting Diogenes, who commanded the Macedonian garrison. His price, a hundred and fifty talents, was high for that age: Aratus immediately paid him twenty talents, (about four thousand pounds), and the remainder might easily be liquidated, as Ptolemy Euergetes had adopted the policy of his father, and declared himself protector of the league. In Argos, the miserable tyrant Aristippus, whose life had been a thousand times forfeited to his oppressed fellow citizens, had the good fortune to be slain in battle with Aratus. His power was assumed by Aristomachus, who at first defended Argos against the Achæans; but, as all places around were

Achæans and Argos joined to the Achæan league.

<sup>30</sup> Polybius, Conf. L. ii. c. 47. et c. 70. et l. iv. c. 3. — 87. <sup>31</sup> *Τα φησὶ οὐκ αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι, &c.* Dio. Chrys. Iostom. Orat. lxiv. p. 598. The names or epithets alluded to are, "Illustrious conqueror, benefactor, thunder, saviour, god."

These names, however, seldom appear on medals during the three first races of Alexander's successors. But the Greek kings of the East grew more assuming in their titles, as they continually degenerated in character.

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State of  
Sparta from  
the death of  
Alexander  
to the reign  
of Cleo-  
menes.  
Olymp.  
cxxxvi. 2.  
B. C. 235.

Leonidas  
and Agis.  
Olymp.  
cxxxiv. 1.  
B. C. 244.

either incorporated with that people, or friendly to their interests, Aristomachus was prevailed on to abdicate his usurped authority, and join the Argives to the league, of which, according to the usual policy of the Achæans, he was next year appointed general<sup>22</sup>.

The affairs of the confederacy thus continued to flourish, when a dangerous opposition to it arose from a very unexpected quarter. The Lacedæmonians, who had sullenly refused to associate themselves to the fortunes and the glory of the great Alexander, had, since the ascendancy of his successors in Greece, gradually sunk into a slothful obscurity: impoverished still more in their minds, than they were reduced in their circumstances. The lands of their territory, which had been divided by Lycurgus into thirty-nine thousand lots, had accumulated in the hands of about three hundred persons, many of them females, who displayed all the disgusting follies of superfluous opulence, while the citizens at large were oppressed by debts, and the industrious peasants wanted bread<sup>23</sup>.

This was the state of Sparta, when its singular form of dual royalty devolved on Leonidas, the eighth in descent from Pausanias, who had defeated the Persians in the battle of Plataea; and on Agis, the sixth in succession from Agesilaus, who had retorted the injuries of Xerxes and Mardonius by glorious conquests in the East. The actual kings of Sparta inherited the qualities of their respective ancestors: Leonidas, who before his accession had lived in the court of Syria, transported with him Asiatic luxury into Greece, and rivalled Pausanias in ostentation and haughtiness. Agis surpassed even Agesilaus in virtuous simplicity; he divested himself of the vast possessions of his family, that they might be thrown into the common stock, and endeavoured to prevail on others to follow this generous example. His popular zeal was heightened by the stubborn opposition of his colleague. He strove to cancel debts, to make an equal division of lands, to revive sumptuary laws, in one word to restore the dis-

<sup>22</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 44. et Plut. in Arat.    <sup>23</sup> Plutarch in Agid. et Cleomen.

cipline of Lycurgus in its full vigour<sup>34</sup>. The undertaking, great as it appears, was not above his abilities: but the means, requisite for effecting it, were below his virtues. When Leonidas fell into his power, instead of destroying that opponent, he was contented with driving him from Sparta. Cleombrotus, son-in-law to Leonidas, was called to supply the vacancy. He entered into the generous views of Agis; but the party of the rich, rallying from their panic, became too powerful for both. Leonidas, thus restored to royalty, scarcely spared Cleombrotus, though husband to Chelonis, his own affectionate daughter; for Chelonis had followed her father in his banishment, rather than reign with her husband. She now obtained leave to accompany in exile her dethroned husband<sup>35</sup>: thus alternately soothing the afflictions of both, while she disdained to share the prosperity of the one purchased by the distress of the other. Agis meanwhile had taken refuge in the brazen temple of Minerva, guardian of the city. He was seduced from that venerated asylum, and suffered the punishment due to innovators, whose undertakings, however splendid in their ends, are inconsistent with strict justice in the means of execution.

Most unfortunately for the quiet of Greece, the short reign of Agis left a fatal ferment behind it. Six years afterwards, Leonidas was succeeded by his son Cleomenes, a youth bold, disinterested, and with an ardent passion for glory. He had married Agiatis the kinswoman and admirer of Agis; the praises bestowed on that unfortunate patriot, and on the noble exertions of Aratus for the grandeur of Achaia, stimulated the kindred ambition of Cleomenes to surpass the merit of the former, with the popular party at home<sup>36</sup>, and by the valour of his once warlike countrymen abroad, to eclipse the glory of the latter. These two undertakings would mutually assist each other, since liberty is the most natural source of martial spirit; and a king, victorious in the field, is the abler to

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Banishment  
and recall of  
Leonidas.

His daughter  
Chelonis.

Death of  
Agis.  
Olymp.  
cxxxiv. 4.  
B. C. 241.

His designs  
renewed by  
Cleomenes.  
Olymp.  
cxxxvi. 2.  
B. C. 235.

<sup>34</sup> Plutarch in Agid. et Cleomen.

<sup>35</sup> Plutarch. *ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Polybius, l. iv. c. 81.

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Encouraged  
by the Eto-  
lians to make  
war on  
Achaia.  
Olymp.  
cxxxviii. 4.  
B. C. 225.

mould at will the government of his country. While Cleomenes agitated these great projects, he was instigated to arms by the Eto- lians, who, though in friendship with Achaia by which they had been assisted recently against Demetrius of Macedon, had become jealous of a growing confederacy, founded on principles diametri- cally opposite to their own. The Etolians had first applied to Anti- gonus Dofon, the fucceffor of Demetrius, but found that wife prince unwilling to abet their fchemes of injuflice: they next addreffed Cleomenes, and exhorted him to feize Mantinæa and other cities in Arcadia, ftrictly allied with themfelves, but which they dreaded might fall into the hands of the Achæans.

The first  
fuccelles of  
the Cleome-  
nic war—  
Olymp.  
cxxxix. 1.  
B. C. 224.

Cleomenes liftened to a counfel highly favourable to his views; and by an affault as fuccesful as it was unexpected, feized Man- tinæa, Tegea, and Orchomenos. He next entered the territory of Megalopolis, and built a fortrefs for annoying that city<sup>57</sup>, which had been for feveral years a member of the Achæan league. The Achæans were thus reduced to the neceffity of repelling the aggres- fions of a commonwealth, which they had once good hopes of in- corporating with their own. Arcadia became the first and long con- tinued the principal fcene of the Cleomenic war, which raged five years in Peloponnefus, and ended only with the ruin of its ambi- tious author.

Caufes  
thereof—the  
military  
defects of  
Aratus, and  
the new  
arrange-  
ments of  
Sparta.

Its first ftages were, however, highly favourable to the Spartans, who repeatedly defeated enemies far fuperior to themfelves in number. In thus turning the tide of fortune againft Achaia, much is to be afcribed to the perfonal energy of Cleomenes; the activity with which he levied and difciplined recruits, wherever they could be found; and the new fpirit of enterprife which he infpired into his countrymen, after he had refcued them from the oligarchy to which they had been long fubject<sup>58</sup>. The military defects of Aratus are alfo to be taken into account; for with all his great qualities, this il-

<sup>57</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 45. et feq.

<sup>58</sup> Plutarch in Agid. & Cleomen.



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lustrious champion of the confederacy was not calculated for open warfare and pitched battles. His military renown resulted from stratagems well combined, and surprises boldly executed. He was a tiger who leaped on his prey: darkness and silence encouraged him, but in broad light, and in the face of a prepared enemy, a constitutional weakness seemed to bereave him of his faculties<sup>59</sup>. Yet such, in other respects, was his incomparable merit, that whoever was general of the Achæans, Aratus maintained the chief authority in the field as well as in the council. The bad success of the war made him dread of all men, Cleomenes, who was likely to be soon reinforced by the warlike Etolians; and who having attained absolute authority in Sparta, by butchering the Ephori, and banishing all those who opposed his innovations, had cancelled debts, instituted a new and equal division of lands, restored the severe discipline and diet of Lycurgus, and reduced his country to the form of a stern military democracy, under a victorious and admired general<sup>60</sup>.

Rather than become subject to such a prince, Aratus was inclined to call back the Macedonians into Peloponnesus, by whom alone the designs of Cleomenes could be effectually resisted. The moderate and equitable character of Antigonus Doson was well calculated to justify this measure, of which however, Aratus, as it clashed with his former counsels, was extremely unwilling to appear as the author. He therefore had recourse to Megalopolis, a city of the league, which lying nearer than any other to Sparta, was a perpetual sufferer in the war; and which, on account of some good offices, unnoticed in history, which it had received from the ancestors of Antigonus, would not, he imagined, be averse to the assistance of that prince. Two citizens of Megalopolis, Nicophanes and Cercidas, were connected with himself by the revered ties of hereditary friendship. To them Aratus fully communicated his views; and, through their means, engaged the republic of Megalopolis to

Aratus determines to apply for assistance to Antigonus Doson. Olymp. cxxxix. 1. B. C. 224.

<sup>59</sup> Polybius, l. iv. c. 8. Conf. Plutarch in Arato.

<sup>60</sup> Plutarch in Cleomen.

send

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send a deputation to the council of Achaia, craving permission to apply to Antigonus for aid. The counsel gave its consent; Nicophanes and Cercidas proceeded as ambassadors to Macedon; and being admitted to the king, explained in a few words the state of their own republic, but expatiated largely on that of Greece<sup>a</sup>. The drift of their discourse was to shew, that if Cleomenes should be joined by the Etolians, not only the Peloponnesus, but also the states beyond the Isthmus would be compelled first to submit to their arms, and afterwards to follow their standard. In this case, the king of Macedon would have to contend in Thessaly for that only portion of Greece which still acknowledged his authority; and if unsuccessful there against the united strength of the Etolians, Bœotians, Lacedæmonians, and Achæans, might be exposed to no small danger in his hereditary kingdom. Prudence therefore required, that rather than wait so formidable a war, he should seasonably avert it, by now protecting Peloponnesus. With regard to security and compensation, Aratus, they assured him, would find expedients for satisfying both parties; and would also inform the king of the moment fittest to begin his march<sup>a</sup>.

Consequences of that measure.

Antigonus approved their discourse, and entrusted them with letters to their republic, promising a ready compliance with its request, whenever the general council of the Achæans should testify its acquiescence in the measure. At the return of the ambassadors, the king's letters were read in the council at Ægium; the deputies of Megalopolis advised that the Macedonians should be immediately invited into Peloponnesus: the majority of the council, and still more the assembled multitude around it, warmly applauded this opinion. Aratus then came forward in the assembly, and at the same time that he extolled the favourable disposition of Antigonus, highly praised the good sense and penetration of the Achæans. But though this king of Macedon, as they well discerned, was of a very different

<sup>a</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 48. et seq.

<sup>a</sup> Id. ibid.

character from many of his predecessors, he conjured them earnestly and pathetically to begin by exerting in the war their whole domestic strength. Their interest, as well as honour, required that every hope depending on themselves alone, should previously be exhausted before they had recourse for safety to a foreign prince. His counsel was approved: the Achæans took the field to defend Magalopolis, but were twice defeated in the neighbourhood of that city, and afterwards at a place called Hecatombæum in the district of Dyme<sup>43</sup>, one of the four original members of the league. As they fought in this last battle with nearly the whole of their forces, no resource remained but an immediate application to Antigonus. With this view, the son of Aratus was dispatched to Pella, and arrangements being speedily made by the king, the flower of the Macedonian army began to march towards Greece. Foreseeing this expedition, the Etolians, now firm allies to Cleomenes, had occupied the straits of Thermopylæ. Antigonus was therefore obliged to sail over to Eubœa, and after pervading that long island, to cross the narrow Euripus, and pass through Bœotia and Megaris, to the isthmus of Corinth. By this time Cleomenes had acquired a useful ally in Ptolemy Euergetes, who no sooner heard that the Achæans had applied to Antigonus, than he, who had hitherto been protector of their league, openly espoused the cause of their enemies<sup>44</sup>. This change was natural, for the Greek kings in Asia and Egypt always viewed with jealousy the encroachments of Macedon, fearful lest some ambitious Macedonian, reinforced by the fleets of Greece, and the exhaustless armies of Thrace and Illyria, might tread in the foot-steps of the great Alexander. To prevent the ascendancy of Antigonus in any of these countries, Ptolemy endeavoured to stir up against him a multiplicity of adversaries. He supplied Cleomenes, in particular, with large sums of money, by which means this prince was enabled to prosecute his designs vigorously,

Cleomenes gains great advantages through the assistance of Ptolemy Euergetes. Olymp. cxxxix. 1. B. C. 224.

<sup>43</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 51.

<sup>44</sup> Id. l. ii. c. 47. Conf. l. xxix. c. 9. et seq.

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send a deputation to the council of Achaia, craving permission to apply to Antigonus for aid. The counsel gave its consent; Nicophanes and Cercidas proceeded as ambassadors to Macedon; and being admitted to the king, explained in a few words the state of their own republic, but expatiated largely on that of Greece<sup>a</sup>. The drift of their discourse was to shew, that if Cleomenes should be joined by the Etolians, not only the Peloponnesus, but also the states beyond the Isthmus would be compelled first to submit to their arms, and afterwards to follow their standard. In this case, the king of Macedon would have to contend in Thessaly for that only portion of Greece which still acknowledged his authority; and if unsuccessful there against the united strength of the Etolians, Bœotians, Lacedæmonians, and Achæans, might be exposed to no small danger in his hereditary kingdom. Prudence therefore required, that rather than wait so formidable a war, he should seasonably avert it, by now protecting Peloponnesus. With regard to security and compensation, Aratus, they assured him, would find expedients for satisfying both parties; and would also inform the king of the moment fittest to begin his march<sup>a</sup>.

Consequences of that measure.

Antigonus approved their discourse, and entrusted them with letters to their republic, promising a ready compliance with its request, whenever the general council of the Achæans should testify its acquiescence in the measure. At the return of the ambassadors, the king's letters were read in the council at Ægium; the deputies of Megalopolis advised that the Macedonians should be immediately invited into Peloponnesus: the majority of the council, and still more the assembled multitude around it, warmly applauded this opinion. Aratus then came forward in the assembly, and at the same time that he extolled the favourable disposition of Antigonus, highly praised the good sense and penetration of the Achæans. But though this king of Macedon, as they well discerned, was of a very different

<sup>a</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 48. et seq.

<sup>a</sup> Id. *ibid.*



character from many of his predecessors, he conjured them earnestly and pathetically to begin by exerting in the war their whole domestic strength. Their interest, as well as honour, required that every hope depending on themselves alone, should previously be exhausted before they had recourse for safety to a foreign prince. His counsel was approved: the Achæans took the field to defend Magalopolis, but were twice defeated in the neighbourhood of that city, and afterwards at a place called Hecatombæum in the district of Dyme<sup>61</sup>, one of the four original members of the league. As they fought in this last battle with nearly the whole of their forces, no resource remained but an immediate application to Antigonus. With this view, the son of Aratus was dispatched to Pella, and arrangements being speedily made by the king, the flower of the Macedonian army began to march towards Greece. Foreseeing this expedition, the Etolians, now firm allies to Cleomenes, had occupied the straits of Thermopylæ. Antigonus was therefore obliged to sail over to Eubœa, and after pervading that long island, to cross the narrow Euripus, and pass through Bœotia and Megaris, to the isthmus of Corinth. By this time Cleomenes had acquired a useful ally in Ptolemy Euergetes, who no sooner heard that the Achæans had applied to Antigonus, than he, who had hitherto been protector of their league, openly espoused the cause of their enemies<sup>62</sup>. This change was natural, for the Greek kings in Asia and Egypt always viewed with jealousy the encroachments of Macedon, fearful lest some ambitious Macedonian, reinforced by the fleets of Greece, and the exhaustless armies of Thrace and Illyria, might tread in the foot-steps of the great Alexander. To prevent the ascendancy of Antigonus in any of these countries, Ptolemy endeavoured to stir up against him a multiplicity of adversaries. He supplied Cleomenes, in particular, with large sums of money, by which means this prince was enabled to prosecute his designs vigorously,

Cleomenes gains great advantages through the assistance of Ptolemy Euergetes. Olymp. cxxxix. 1. B. C. 224.

<sup>61</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 31.

<sup>62</sup> Id. l. ii. c. 47. Conf. l. xxix. c. 9. et seq.

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and conquer many cities in Peloponnesus, recently associated with the league; particularly Epidaurus, Phlius, Argos, and lastly Corinth itself; for the wealthy and dissolute Corinthians, rather than endure the hardships of a siege, had commanded the Achæans who were in garrison, to leave the place, and even invited the Spartans to take possession of it. Their pusillanimity relieved Aratus from much difficulty with regard to the compensation, which, as before mentioned, he had undertaken to negotiate in favour of Antigonus<sup>65</sup>. He could not have ceded to him Corinth without the consent of its citizens; but through their own dastardly spirit, he was now furnished with an honourable excuse for promising to him the possession of that rich city.

Antigonus  
enters Peloponnesus—  
his success.  
Olymp.  
cxxxix. 2.  
B. C. 223.

The two kings now encamped on opposite sides of the Isthmus, the one watchful of an opportunity to pass into Peloponnesus; the other having cast up intrenchments, and ready to oppose his entrance. But without the intervention of a battle, a sudden turn of affairs was produced in the peninsula by the mere approach of the Macedonians. Aristotle, a citizen of Argos, with the assistance of the Achæans under Timoxenus, rescued that city from the gripe of Cleomenes' partizans<sup>66</sup>. The news of this event, which was likely to be followed by other revolutions of a similar kind, disheartened the Spartan troops, and strangely confounded their general, who quitting his advantageous post, hastened to recover Argos, and having failed in that attempt, rather fled than retreated homewards to Sparta. Meanwhile Antigonus advanced without opposition; seized the Corinthian citadel, which had been so long held by his ancestors; and proceeded by rapid marches to Argos, where he praised and confirmed the good resolutions of its inhabitants. He then entered Arcadia, and expelled the Spartan garrisons from many strong holds in that province. He marched afterwards to Ægium, the seat of the Achæan council: in that assembly which owed its security to

<sup>65</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 52.

<sup>66</sup> Κλειμενισταις, the Cleomenists, Polybius, l. ii. c. 53.  
his

his presence, he explained at large the motives of his past conduct; discussed the measures proper to be pursued in future; and was elected, with universal acclamation, general of the confederacy. As this was the autumnal meeting of the states, Antigonus took up his winter-quarters in the fertile neighbourhood of Sicyon and Corinth. In the spring he again entered Arcadia. Some cities were surprised; others voluntarily surrendered: Tegea submitted after a long siege<sup>67</sup>.

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Antigonus then advanced towards Laconia, the frontiers of which were watchfully guarded by Cleomenes. There happened several skirmishes on the borders of that country, but before Antigonus could obtain his end of bringing the enemy to a general engagement, he learned by his spies, that the garrison of Orchomenos in Arcadia had quitted its walls to reinforce the Lacedæmonian army. He therefore hastily decamped, and, marching in full force against that place, gained it by the first assault. Mantinæa, the most beautiful city in Arcadia<sup>68</sup>, was next besieged, and taken after a short resistance. The neighbouring republics of Heræa and Telphussa opened their gates at the first summons<sup>69</sup>. In this victorious campaign, Antigonus' behaviour is memorable for its mildness. In none of the places which he conquered, not even in Tegea, which had resisted obstinately and furiously, did he either enslave the inhabitants, or confiscate their property; cruelties allowable according to the laws of war then universally prevalent.

Antigonus' moderation in victory.

Mantinæa indeed formed an exception; but the case of Mantinæa was peculiar<sup>70</sup>. It had entered into the Achæan league, revolted to Cleomenes, and, after being recovered by Aratus, had been treated by him with the utmost lenity, and had received, at its own desire, an Achæan garrison of five hundred men<sup>71</sup> to protect it against the

The treatment of Mantinæa an exception to Antigonus' mildness — reasons thereof.

<sup>67</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 54.

<sup>68</sup> Polyb. *ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> And that from very early times, *Mantinæa antiqua.*

<sup>70</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 56. et seq.

<sup>71</sup> Three hundred Achæans and two hundred mercenaries.

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Spartans and Etolians. These events happened four years before Antigonus' invasion. In that interval, the Mantinæans a second time revolted to Cleomenes, then in the height of his prosperity, and the better to ingratiate themselves with that prince, had committed a deed of eternal infamy in murdering the Achæans whom they had invited into their city. This act was regarded by Antigonus as an execrable cruelty, since the laws of nations, barbarous as they were in that age, required that the Mantinæans, whatever motives they might themselves have for changing sides, should have sent back the Achæan garrison in safety. The conqueror therefore treated Mantinæa differently from other cities of Arcadia: he plundered the houses, and sold the inhabitants for slaves".

Cleomenes  
surprises Me-  
galopolis.  
Olymp.  
cxxxix. 2.  
B. C. 223.

At the end of autumn, Antigonus again proceeded to Ægium to congratulate with the Achæan council, and to deliberate with its members concerning the future conduct of the war. The success of the late campaign enabled him to dismiss without danger many Macedonians, who were desirous of passing the winter at home in the midst of their families and friends. His proceedings were carefully watched by Cleomenes, who, though he had not ventured to take the field against him in Arcadia, and had contented himself with defending the Lacedæmonian frontier, anxiously looked for an opportunity of retrieving his losses in the former province by surprising Megalopolis, the city of Arcadia nearest to Sparta, and distinguished by uncommon zeal for the Achæan confederacy. Megalopolis had suffered so cruelly in the war, that its inhabitants were inadequate to the defence of their extensive walls. The victories

" Phylarchus, a contemporary historian, arraigned Antigonus' severe treatment of the Mantinæans, without explaining the just cause in which it originated. Phylarchus was an Athenian, living in the court of Ptolemy Euergetes, and therefore both from the place of his birth, and that of his resi-

dence, naturally hostile to the Macedonians, and the fame of their king. His work was preferred to the more candid *Memoirs* of Aratus by many Greeks who entertained the same prejudices. Polybius, l. ii. c. 56. Conf. Suid. ad voc. Athen. Deipn. & Dionys. Halicarn. de Colloc. Verb.



of their allies had inspired them with an unwarrantable security. Ægium was distant from them by a journey of full three days, and from that place Antigonus had just sent a large portion of his army into Macedon. Under these circumstances, Cleomenes marched to Megalopolis in the night; gained admission within the gates by means of some Messenian exiles, resident in the place, whom he had previously corrupted; seized all the most advantageous posts; and appeared at dawn in great force in the market-place<sup>72</sup>. Thus betrayed, surprised, and on the point of being totally destroyed, the Megalopolitans discovered not any disposition to surrender. They resisted so valiantly, they showed such determined resolution to brave every suffering, that Cleomenes gladly made way for them to escape from his far superior force. When most of them fled to Messenè, the conqueror sent thither, offering the restoration of their city, on condition that they abandoned the Achæan league. His letters were not allowed to be read, and his messengers narrowly escaped death<sup>73</sup>. So steadily did this generous people adhere to their engagements, that rather than violate their plighted faith, they determined for ever to desert their houses, lands, temples, and country. Philopæmen, one of their wealthiest citizens, makes his first appearance in history as the chief promoter of this noble resolution. Cleomenes, at first opposed by universal consent, for not an individual in Megalopolis was base enough to join his party, and afterwards finding his favours disdained notwithstanding the completest victory, indulged his soldiers in the utmost licence of plunder. The more valuable effects of the magnanimous fugitives, among which their pictures and statues are thought worthy of particular mention, were collected into rude heaps and transported to Sparta. Whatever was too cumbrous to be removed, was destroyed on the spot. Cleomenes dismantled the fortifications, and commanded even the principal houses to be demo-

Generous  
despair of  
its inhabit-  
ants.—Phi-  
lopæmen.

Plutarch in Cleomen. Conf. Polybius,  
c. 55. et c. 6. et l. v. c. 93.

<sup>72</sup> By lapidation the usual mode of summary punishment. Polyb. *ibid.* c. 61.

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Movements  
preparatory  
to the battle  
of Sellasia.  
Olymp.  
cxxxix. 3.  
B. C. 222.

lished, that a city, so hostile to his views, might never thenceforward be inhabited <sup>75</sup>.

The disasters, which speedily befel himself, defeated this ungenerous expectation. Antigonus had taken up his quarters at Argos for the remainder of winter. He proposed to begin the campaign in the spring, as soon as he should be joined by reinforcements from Macedonia <sup>76</sup>. Cleomenes, who was apprised of this intention, entered the Argive territory earlier than the Greek armies were accustomed to take the field. But neither the devastation of the country, nor the complaints of the Argives, nor the insulting airs of the enemy, could provoke Antigonus to venture a battle until he was powerfully reinforced, not only by Macedonians, but Illyrians, Acarnanians, and Epirots; for his justice and good policy had given him allies in all the nations around him. When these succours arrived at Argos, the whole muster amounted to twenty-eight thousand foot and twelve hundred horse. Cleomenes by this time had moved towards Sparta, having failed, indeed, in his main purpose of bringing Antigonus to action, but after obtaining, however, the double advantage of encouraging his troops by braving the enemy, and of enriching them by unresisted depredation. To revenge both the injury and affront, Antigonus entered Laconia, and proceeded towards the capital by the most convenient route. This led through Sellasia, a city twelve miles south of the Argive frontier, and about the same distance north of Sparta.

The scene of  
action de-  
scribed.

Before coming to Sellasia, he had to pass a valley, the entrance to which was overhung by two hills, Eva and Olympus, forming respectively its eastern and western defences. Between these hills, the river Oenus flowed to join the Eurotas, and along the bank of the Oenus, and afterwards of the united stream, the road led almost in a direct line to the Lacedæmonian capital. When Antigonus approached the valley of Sellasia, he found that the enemy had seized both hills, and

<sup>75</sup> Polybius, Id. *ibid*.

<sup>76</sup> Id. l. ii. c. 65.

also had thrown up entrenchments before them. Cleomenes with the Spartans had chosen Olympus for his post : his brother Eucleidas with the armed peasants occupied Eva : the intermediate valley, on both sides the road, was defended by the cavalry and mercenaries. Instead of rashly engaging an enemy so strongly posted, Antigonus encamped at a moderate distance, having the river Gorgylus in front, and watchful of every opportunity to ascertain the distinctive qualities of the enemy's force, as well as the nature of the ground in which its several divisions were posted. He frequently alarmed them by shews of attack, but found them on all sides secure. At length both kings impatient of delay, and alike emulous of glory, embraced the resolution of coming to a general engagement.

Antigonus had sent his Illyrians across the river Gorgylus in the night. They were to begin the assault of mount Eva, accompanied by three thousand Macedonian targeteers, troops less heavily armed than the phalanx, and equipped in all points like the Argyraspides, who make so conspicuous a figure in former parts of this work, only that their targets were plated, not with silver, but with brass<sup>77</sup>. The Acarnanians and Cretans composed the second line. Two thousand Achæans, all chosen men, followed as a body of reserve. Antigonus' cavalry, commanded by Alexander the son of Admetus, was ranged along the banks of the Oenus. It was not to advance against the enemy's horse, until a purple signal had been raised on the side of Olympus by the king, who, at the head of the Macedonian phalanx, purposed to combat Cleomenes and his Spartans. A white ensign of linen first floated in the air. The Illyrians, for this was *their* summons to action, boldly marched up mount Eva, and were followed by the divisions appointed to sustain them. Upon this movement, the Achæans, forming the rear, were unexpectedly assailed by a body of light infantry, who sprung from amidst the ranks of the enemy's horse. The confusion occasioned by an onset, equally

Battle of  
Sellasia.  
Olymp.  
cxxxix. 3.  
B. C. 222.

<sup>77</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 65. l. iv. c. 69. & l. 5. c. 91.

sudden

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Presence of  
mind and  
bravery of  
Philopœmen.

sudden and daring, threatened to give an easy victory to Eucleidas and his Lacedæmonians, who, from the heights of Eva, might descend with great advantage against the disordered troops that had come to dislodge them. The danger was perceived by Philopœmen. He communicated his apprehensions to Alexander, who commanded the Macedonian cavalry. But, as the purple ensign was not yet hoisted, Alexander disregarded the advice of an inexperienced youth. The character of that youth, however, was better known to his fellow-citizens of Megalopolis. They obeyed an authority derived from patriotism and merit, and seconded his ardour to seize the moment of assault. The shouts and shock of the engaging horsemen recalled the light troops who harraßed the Macedonians in their ascent to Eva; by which means the latter, having recovered their order of battle, routed and slew Eucleidas<sup>78</sup>. Philopœmen's exertions in the action seemed worthy of his generalship, in an age when example in battle was held essential to the enforcement of precept. After his horse fell under him, he still fought on foot, though pierced with a spear through both thighs, and was not borne from the field till the victory was decided. Shortly after that event, Antigonus asked Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, "why he had charged before orders." Alexander said, "the fault was not his; for a young man of Megalopolis had, in defiance of authority, rushed forwards with his countrymen, and thus precipitated the engagement." Antigonus replied, "you acted the part of a young man; that youth of Megalopolis shewed himself a great general."

The Lacedæmonians defeated—flight of Cleomenes.

Cleomenes, meanwhile, perceiving the total rout of his right wing under Eucleidas, and seeing that his cavalry also was on the point of giving way, became fearful of being surrounded. For retrieving the honour of the day, he determined to quit his entrenchments; and, at the head of his Spartan spearmen, to attack Antigonus and the phalanx. The king of Macedon gladly embraced an opportunity of

<sup>78</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 67.



bringing the contest to this issue. The trumpets on both sides recalled their light skirmishers, who obstructed the space between the hostile lines. In the first shock, the weight of the Macedonians was overcome by the impetuous valour of the Spartans; but Antigonus, who had drawn up his men in what was called the double phalanx, had no sooner strengthened his foremost line by the co-operation of his reserve, than his thickened ranks, bristling with protended spears, bore down all resistance. The Spartans were put to the rout, and pursued with that merciless destruction which generally followed such close and fierce engagements. Cleomenes escaped with a few horsemen to Sparta.

His army was ruined; the city was defenceless: a victorious enemy was at hand. He had but a short time for a deliberation, involving in it the interests of his glory, of his family, and of his country. He had lost, indeed, his queen Agiatis, a woman alike qualified to soothe his present sufferings, as before to inflame his ambition. His mother Cratesiclea had carried his children hostages to Egypt; a condition required by his ally Ptolemy Euergetes. Therycion, the friend of Cleomenes, encouraged the unfortunate prince to accompany himself in a voluntary death. But Cleomenes answered, that this would be desertion more disgraceful than even his flight from battle. He had only leisure to exhort the inhabitants of Sparta, peaceably to admit Antigonus whom it would be now vain to resist; assuring them that he still lived in hopes of serving his country. He then hastened with a few friends to the Lacedæmonia harbour of Gythium, thirty miles distant from Sparta; and having embarked there in one of those vessels by which he kept up his communication with Egypt, he sailed to that country to solicit from Ptolemy such succours in ships and money as might enable him at some favourable crisis to benefit their common cause".

He escapes  
to Egypt.

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Antigonus' indulgence to Sparta, and his other conquests.

Reception at the Nemean games. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

Antigonus recalled to Macedon by an Illyrian invasion.—His death. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

Contemporary reigns of Alexander's successors in Macedon, Syria, and Egypt. Olymp. cxxxix. 2—4. B. C. 223—221.

Antigonus, meanwhile, advanced to Sparta, and treated the inhabitants with the utmost generosity<sup>80</sup>. They were allowed to enjoy complete national independence with leave to adjust, according to their own pleasure, the arrangements of their internal government. Having remained three days in the place, he marched to Tegea in Arcadia, which met with equal indulgence; and from thence proceeded to Argos to behold the Nemean games, about to be celebrated in that neighbourhood. In this august solemnity, at which all the nations of Greece were invited to assist, Antigonus himself was the noblest spectacle<sup>81</sup>. He was hailed as the pacificator of the countries on both sides the Isthmus, having restrained by the mere terror of his arms the rapacious Etolians, and chastised justly, yet mercifully, the ambitious Spartans. The Achæan confederacy in general, as well as each state in particular, were unwearied in his praise, and zealous to distinguish him by those immortal honours, which public admiration confers on illustrious merit.

From this flattering scene, such is the vanity of human greatness, Antigonus was speedily withdrawn by news of an Illyrian invasion into Macedon. He flew to the defence of his desolated fields and flaming villages; encountered, and completely defeated, the Barbarians; but not until he had burst a blood-vessel, while exerting his voice too vehemently in the heat of action. He died, leaving the crown to his nephew Philip then in his seventeenth year, and who, seven years after his accession, was involved in a war with the Romans; the first waged by that people against any of Alexander's successors.

The death of Antigonus happened in the same year with that of Ptolemy Euergetes king of Egypt, and in the same olympiad with that of Seleucus Keraunus king of Syria; so that these Greek kings of the East, forming the third generation after the great Macedonian conqueror, all quitted the scene about the same time. A similar

<sup>80</sup> Polybius, l. v. c. 9. Conf. l. ix. c. 36.

<sup>81</sup> Id. l. ii. c. 70.



observation applied to the two generations preceding them. Seleucus Keraunus was succeeded by his brother Antiochus, a prince still younger than Philip, since, only in his sixteenth year, and greatly unfortunate in the latter part of life in his ill-advised Roman warfare. The new king of Egypt, Ptolemy Philopater, needed not, as we shall see, the co-operation of foreign enemies to involve his kingdom in disaster, and to cover himself with ignominy.

Euergetes had received the fugitive king of Sparta with the kindness due to an old and zealous ally, whose interests he had of late years too much neglected; for, as the commencement of his reign had been signalized by splendid but unprofitable expeditions in the East, so the latter part of it<sup>82</sup> was chiefly occupied in vast but untenable conquests in the South. He overran Ethiopia or Abyssinia, made himself master of both sides of the Red Sea from the Isthmus of Suez to the Straits of Babelmandeb, and proceeding even beyond this formidable<sup>83</sup> boundary, fixed the extremity of his empire at Sasus on the coast of Barbaria, abounding in the gold called Tancharas. As these expeditions were carried on by himself and his generals in the course of several years, he had an opportunity of surveying hitherto unexamined parts of Ethiopia; he scaled the lofty ridges of Samen eighty miles in extent, deformed by hail, by frost, and even by deep snow<sup>84</sup>, though only in the fourteenth degree of north latitude. In advancing still nearer the line, he found that the tribe Sesea had taken refuge on a mountain almost perpendicular, and forming the rudest part of the highlands between Abyssinia and Adel<sup>85</sup>. He besieged it with his army: the inhabitants were stripped of their effects; the flower of their youth of both sexes was carried

The Ethiopian expeditions of Ptolemy Euergetes.

<sup>82</sup> He says, that "sitting on his throne at Adulis, (of which we shall speak presently), he consecrated it to Mars in the 27th, that is, the last year of his reign."

<sup>83</sup> Babelmandeb, the Gate of Sorrow. Arab.

<sup>84</sup> Snow so deep, that the troops sunk up to their knees. Inscript. Adulitan. Bruce

denies the existence of snow in Abyssinia; and father Lobo says, that it falls only in small quantities, and never lies on the ground, p. 578. Neither of these travellers had explored the sinuosities of mount Samen.

<sup>85</sup> Adel, the northern division of Barbaria. See above, vol. i. p. 80.

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into slavery. The people of Gaza, probably Geez in Abyssinia, submitted to pay half their property by way of contribution; From such examples we may judge of the treatment of other vanquished nations, and of the heavy burdens imposed on them: for Euergetes' principal design in the invasion of Arabia and Ethiopia seems to have been to ravish by force of arms, the gold and perfumes which his wiser predecessors had attracted to them more abundantly by commerce. Though thus pre-eminent in rapacity, he boasts, however, of destroying robbery and piracy, and of reducing to peace the nations whom he had long harassed by a relentless war. In his own exaggerated stile, "after subjecting the whole world to his authority, he came to Adulis, the principal sea-port of Abyssinia, and reunited there the whole of his victorious forces, imploring the protection of heaven to future navigators of those seas." The throne on which he sat was gratefully consecrated to Mars the god of war, whom he claims for his father and matchless auxiliary. It consisted of a white marble chair, formed from one block, with a tablet of basanite at its back, three cubits high. Both the tablet and the chair itself were covered with inscriptions which afford the only historical account of Euergetes' Ethiopian warfare, and which, above seven hundred years after the reign of that prince, were first published in the topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes, a travelling Greek monk, by whom they were copied on the spot<sup>86</sup>. Conformably with this testimony, the name of Ptolemy Euergetes<sup>87</sup> is still found in Greek characters among the marble ruins of Axum, the ancient capital of Abyssinia. Several other monuments belonging to the same place seem also warrantably referred to this adventurous prince<sup>88</sup>. His remote expeditions prevented, as we have seen, Ptolemy's interference at very critical junctures in the affairs of Greece. They serve also to account for strange

<sup>86</sup> Vid. Cosmas Indicopleust. Topograph. Christian. p. 140. & seq. Edit. Montfaucon.

<sup>87</sup> Mr. Bruce says, that the stone containing this name serves as a foot-stool to the

throne on which the kings of Abyssinia are crowned at this day.

<sup>88</sup> Bruce's Travels, vol. iii. p. 129.



negligence in the management of his provinces contiguous to Egypt itself. The example of Aradus, above-mentioned, indicates the looseness of his authority over Cœle Syria and Phœnicia; and in Palestine, the irregularity of government appears in a transaction, which at the same time gives a striking picture of Euergetes personal character.

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Since the dissolution of their monarchy, the Jews, as we have seen, had been ruled by native priests, though tributaries both in men and money to those great powers which swayed successively the politics of Lower Asia. In the beginning of Euergetes' reign, they had passed from the external jurisdiction of Syria to that of Egypt. At the time of this revolution, their high priest was Manasses, who still continued to hold his office twenty-two years, when he was succeeded by Onias, a man in advanced age, of a narrow understanding, and niggardly disposition. In addition to contributions from the community, it should seem, that the Jewish high priests were required to pay a small sum from their private fortunes in acknowledgement of dependance on foreign masters". This sum, amounting only to twenty talents, Onias refused any longer to disburse, and thereby provoked Ptolemy's resentment against himself and his country.

His transactions with the Jews. Olymp. cxxxviii. 3. B. C. 226.

To divert the royal displeasure was the task of Joseph, Onias' nephew, a youth whose character was totally the reverse of his uncle's. His pleasing manners, together with his liberality and spirit, ingratiated him with Athenion, one of Ptolemy's friends, whom the king had sent into Judæa to adjust the business of tribute", and whom Joseph prevailed on to return to Alexandria upon assurances that he himself would soon follow thither, and satisfy every

Joseph farms the king's revenues in Cœle Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine.

" Τον ὑπὲρ τῆ λαοῦ φοροῦ, οἱ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ ἐπέλεον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων. Josephus Antiq. l. xii. c. 4. and below, δι' αἱ (scilicet, χρημάτων) καὶ τῆ λαοῦ τὴν προφοσίαν λαβὼν αὐτοῦ εἰσὶ καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς ἐπιτυχίαν

*ambassador*. This and other expressions indicating that Palestine formed a separate state, are explained by the nature of its government as stated in the text, and by Josephus' patriotic zeal for the honour of his country.

Josephus calls Athenion Ptolemy's am-

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demand. Accordingly, soon after Athenion's departure, Joseph followed him into Egypt, and in an audience of the king, apologized for the strange behaviour of Onias, by observing, that his old age had reduced him to a second childhood, "but of me who have not yet outlived my understanding, the king shall have no reason to complain." Ptolemy was pleased with his frankness; assigned him an apartment in his palace, and daily admitted him to his table.

The address  
by which he  
obtained this  
contract.

It happened that Joseph, in his way to Alexandria, had fallen in with several travellers from Coele Syria and Phœnicia, men of distinction in their respective cities, who had set out for the capital of Egypt to be present at the sale of the provincial revenues, annually let to farm to the highest bidder. To inspire the better opinion of their wealth, they travelled with splendid equipages, and with numerous attendants; and were inclined to mock the mean equipment of Joseph, who had provided himself with servants and beasts of burden at an expence of 2,000 drachmas\*. He despised their raillery, but was deeply attentive to their serious conversation; from which he learned that the largest sums likely to be given for the revenues in question, fell short by more than one half of their real value. Accordingly, on the day of sale, which was conducted in the presence of Ptolemy and Berenice, the highest price offered for the farm of Coele Syria, Phœnicia, and Palæstine amounted only to eight thousand talents. Joseph at once bid sixteen thousand, about three million sterling. Ptolemy was delighted to hear those provinces estimated at double their former assessment; but asked, as usual on such occasions, what sureties Joseph could produce for the fulfilment of his contract. The young Hebrew, who had discerned how much a jest was paramount in the king's deliberations to every serious reason, declared with much gravity, that he would give sureties of unquestionable probity, and unrivalled opulence. He then named Ptolemy himself and queen Berenice, who, he said, would be mutually bound to each

\* About 60l.

other,

other, for the exact performance of his engagement. The king smiled consent; and Joseph, upon the credit of court favour, easily procured five hundred talents at Alexandria, to satisfy the arrears due by his uncle, and to equip himself suitably to the importance of his new employment. He was accompanied into Palæstine by a body of two thousand infantry. The cities of Ascalon and Scythopolis at first refused his demands; he punished in each place by death and confiscation about twenty persons, the ring-leaders in sedition. This exemplary severity checked all farther disobedience; and it may be conjectured, that Joseph exercised the duty of collector with justice to the king, and without great oppression to the provinces, since he continued in his office twenty-two years under Euergetes and his immediate successor\*.

The death of Ptolemy Euergetes shortly preceded that of Cleomenes his unfortunate ally. A king of Sparta, who had restored in his own country the austere discipline of Lycurgus, could not behold without indignation the wild follies and beastly vices of Philopator. This surname, denoting love for his father, created a suspicion that Ptolemy IV. had been guilty of parricide". The suspicion he confirmed, by commencing his reign with the murder of his mother Berenice and his brother Magas". Having thus secured, as he fancied, his government at home, he despised the nonage of Philip and Antiochus, his natural rivals abroad; committed the cares of state to servants worthy of such a master; and claimed the shameless perpetration of every enormity for the best of royal prerogatives". Cleomenes remarked his proceedings, and expressed his honest abhorrence of them. His words were repeated to the king and the crafty minister Sosibius. Instead of a fleet, which Cleomenes solicited to carry him to his country, and which new disturbances in Greece, since the demise of Antigonus Doson, would have enabled

Accession of  
Ptolemy IV.  
Philopator,  
and death of  
Cleomenes.  
Olymp.  
cxxxix. 4.  
B. C. 221.

\* Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xii. c. 4.  
\* Justin, l. xxix. c. 1.

" Plutarch in Cleomen. Polyb. l. v. c. 34.  
" Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796.



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him to employ with good prospect of success, he was seized and imprisoned, but being negligently guarded, escaped to the streets of Alexandria, and died there, with thirteen accompanying friends, after a romantic attempt to inspire with liberty the effeminate inhabitants of that place, who, instead of joining the insurgents, fled their approach, as that of wild beasts let loose from their confinement. To avoid the ignominious punishment which must soon overtake them, the Spartans perished by their own hands. The merciless Philopator wrecked his vengeance on the innocent children of Cleomenes. They were butchered before the eyes of his mother, who had carried them to Egypt for protection. This deed of horror was alone deprecated by the high-minded Cratisticea. She submitted to her own fate with Spartan firmness. Her female companions accompanied her death, exhibiting in this closing scene all the delicacy of their sex, with all the fortitude of their country<sup>96</sup>. By orders of Philopator, the body of Cleomenes was fixed on a conspicuous cross for an example of terror. But it was terrible, chiefly to the king himself, who united the vilest superstition to his other execrable deformities. A serpent, it seems, hoisted itself round the cross, and defended, as it were, against birds of prey the body affixed to it. This prodigy tormented the tyrant, until a soothing poet of his court taught him to believe that as various insects are engendered by the corruption of various animals, so serpents are produced by the putrifying spine of man. The fiction passed into an adage of the physical school of too credulous antiquity<sup>97</sup>.

Superstitious credulity of Philopator.

The Colossus of Rhodes throwndown by an earthquake.

Towards the close of Ptolemy Euergetes' reign, the Colossus of Rhodes was thrown down by an earthquake. This was the brazen statue of Apollo, protecting divinity of the Rhodians, erected by

<sup>96</sup> ἡ μὲν ἐν Ἀκαδημαίᾳ φαρμὰς ἀγωνισαμένη τῇ γυναικίᾳ δραμᾷ, &c. Plutarch, p. 823.

<sup>97</sup> Sunt qui cum clauso putrefacta est spina sepulchro,

Mutari credunt humanas angue medullas.

Ovid.

The lines are part of a translation of those of the Alexandrian poet Archelaus, preserved by his contemporary Antigonius Carystius. Vid. Panodorus. Synagoge.



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Olymp.  
cxxxix. 2.  
B. C. 223.

his grateful votaries after Demetrius Poliorcetes raised the famous siege of their capital". The artificer was Chares of Lindus, who completed the work in twelve years"; sixty-two years afterwards it was overturned by a concussion of the earth, which also destroyed the magazines and arsenals, demolished the greater part of the fortifications, and totally deformed the city itself. The Colossus is usually described as a hundred and five feet high, striding across the entrance to the harbour, so that ships in full sail passed between its gigantic limbs; yet, had this really been its attitude, the great body of the figure, when broken off near the knee<sup>100</sup>, must have fallen into deep water. But we are informed, on the contrary, that this huge monument remained on dry land eight hundred and ninety-eight years, when Moawiah, the sixth Caliph of the Saracens, after his conquest of Rhodes sold the ruins of the Colossus to a Jewish merchant, who loaded nine hundred camels with its brass<sup>101</sup>.

If, with a well-informed and most accurate historian<sup>102</sup>, we limit the supremacy of Alexander's successors to the third generation, the demolition of the Colossus of Rhodes is nearly contemporary with the downfall of Macedonian greatness. Under the immediately subsequent race, Macedon and Syria, as we shall see, were reduced to the condition of vanquished tributaries; and Egypt which escaped this misfortune by carefully observing the treaty concluded between Rome and Ptolemy Philadelphus, sunk into an ally continually growing more humble, until it had scarcely any honourable privilege to lose by passing into the state of a province. Towards the decline of that empire, or ascendancy, which the Greeks and Macedonians maintained in the world for the space of a century, the disasters which befel the Rhodians afforded an opportunity to the different

Benefactions;  
to that state.

<sup>99</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 433. & seq.

<sup>100</sup> Pliny, *lib. xxxiv. c. 7.*

<sup>101</sup> Pliny, *ibid.* with Count Caylus, *Mémoires in vol. xiv. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions.*

<sup>102</sup> Zonaras, Cedreneus, and Scaliger, *Animadvers. in Euseb. Chron. p. 137. A*

camel carries 700 pound weight; so that the remains of this figure still weighed 630,000 pounds.

<sup>102</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. *Histor. Roman. in Proem.*

members

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members of that empire to attest their sympathy with a commonwealth, which more than any other of that age, served to link them together in commerce. Besides an animated intercourse with the states immediately around it, Rhodes traded with Byzantium, which commanded the commerce of the north; with Syracuse, which, by means of its connection with Carthage, commanded that of the west; and with Alexandria in Egypt, which was master of that carried on both to the east and south. All these salutary streams of reciprocally useful traffick, which, in preceding parts of this work, have been particularly described, flowed into the Ægean sea, and centered in Rhodes, the great bond of connection between distant emporiums, and through its civility and probity, so universal a favourite, that kings and republics vied with each other in kind commiseration for its sufferings, and in generous exertions for its relief<sup>103</sup>. There was scarcely a city of any importance belonging to the Grecian name, which did not send to Rhodes a tribute of respectful compassion: but the enumeration appeared far too tedious to be undertaken, even by the historians of the times. Ptolemy Euergetes opened to them the vast naval repositories of his father; sent them timber, hemp, and canvass: he also presented them with ninety tons of brass to repair their Colossus, or cast a new one: with 300 talents in silver; and with a million measures<sup>104</sup> of corn. Antigonus Dison of Macedon and his queen Chryseis supplied them abundantly with iron and lead, with deals and pitch<sup>105</sup>. Among the gifts of Seleucus Kernunus, the short-lived predecessor of Antiochus surnamed the Great, we may remark thirty ton of rosin, and an equal weight of hair for cordage<sup>106</sup>. Prusias I. of Bithynia, Mithridates IV. of Pontus, vindicated their affinity to the Greek kings of the East, by generous

<sup>103</sup> Polybius, l. v. c. 88. & seq.

<sup>104</sup> *Artaba*, each Artaba was equal to an Attic Medimnus; that is, four pecks and six pints English.

<sup>105</sup> Part of it was in a crude state, since it consisted of 1000 *μίστρα*; a liquid measure

equal to ten gallons and two pints English.

<sup>106</sup> Hair for this purpose is mentioned together with *σύντα τρυφύλλων*, "prepared tendons or sinews of animals" which formed the strongest elastic cords for working military engines. Poly. l. iv. c. 56.

donations to the Rhodians; who, after long making the world tributary to their commerce, now levied on it still larger and more honourable contributions to reward the liberality and good faith with which that commerce had been conducted. That the acts of munificence shown to them were intended as tokens of respect, appeared particularly in the largesses of Hieron king of Syracuse, and his son Gelon. Not contented with sending oil <sup>107</sup> for the use of gymnastic wrestlers, and catapults constructed by the wonderful skill of their friend and kinsman Archimedes, these princes caused a noble group of statuary to be erected in a square at Rhodes, where foreign traders exposed samples <sup>108</sup> of their merchandize, representing the citizens of Rhodes crowned by those of Syracuse. The famous Colossus, however, was never more replaced on its basis. To this design, the Oracle of Delphi interposed its sage prohibition <sup>109</sup>; for a place liable to earthquakes was a very unfit site for such a towering monument. The Rhodians thus incurred the censure of meanly applying to less splendid uses, the gratuities bestowed on them for a public and sacred purpose. But this was the ignorant reproach of later times; for we shall see that only two years after repairing their city, they nobly signified the virtues which had so universally endeared them; and by exertions peculiarly their own, procured common benefits to the whole commercial world.

<sup>107</sup> Conf. Polyb. l. v. c. 88. & Diodorus in Eclog. vi. ex l. xxvi. The text of Polyb. is imperfect, for the 75 talents cannot apply to the oil. Besides contributions in kind, the Rhodians sent money for many obliging purposes, as the expence of sacrifices and the procuring accommodations for

the industrious poor, so I understand the doubtful words *ἐπαύλησιν τῶν πολιτῶν*, Ptolemy Euergetes also sent 300 talents.

<sup>108</sup> Thence this square was called *το δειγμα*. Vid. Suid. & Hesych.

<sup>109</sup> Strabo, l. xvi. p. 612.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Fourth Generation of Alexander's Successors.—Revolt of Media and Persis from Antiochus III.—Intrigues of his Minister, Hermecias.—War in Upper Asia.—Negotiations with Ptolemy Philopator.—Address of Ptolemy's Minister Sosibius.—Battle of Raphia.—Achæus' Power in Lesser Asia.—War of Commerce between the Rhodians and Byzantines.—Achæus besieged in Sardes.—His Capture and Death.—Antiochus' Expeditions against the Parthians and Bactrians.—He rescues Gerra from Arabs.—Last Stages of Ptolemy Philopator's Reign.—Profanation of the Jewish Temple.—Sedition in Alexandria.—Letters and Arts.*

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Fourth generation of Alexander's successors, Antiochus. Olymp. cxxxix. 2. B. C. 223. Philip and Ptolemy. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

**D**URING a full century after the death of Alexander, the three first successions of his generals enjoyed either an absolute jurisdiction, or a controuling predominancy over all those countries of the East, that fall within the sphere of ancient history. But in the fourth generation, the Greeks and Macedonians began to be precipitated from the supreme rank which they had long held among nations. This revolution, originating in domestic disorders, was accelerated by the impulse of a great foreign power, whose springs had recently been wound up in Italy, and which, after bursting that barrier, to lay prostrate Carthage and Sicily, assailed in succession the rich countries of the East with accumulating force, and most decisive effect. Immediately before this Roman warfare, the thrones of Syria and Macedon devolved respectively on Antiochus III. and Philip IV. both of them minors; and, at the same time, Egypt was subjected to the worse than puerile follies of Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator<sup>1</sup>. From such principal actors a very perturbed

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, l. ii. c. 70, 71. l. iv. c. 2. l. v. c. 40.



scene was to be expected. Greece, which had been united in peaceful tranquillity under the mild yet firm policy of Antigonus Doson, again exhausted its unhappy valour in what is called the social war. The throne of the young king of Syria was shaken by revolt in his provinces, and by discord in his family. Notwithstanding this unfoundness within, Antiochus was tempted by the mad cruelty of Ptolemy Philopator, which rendered him odious to his subjects, to make war on that profligate tyrant. From these general convulsions, many partial disorders flowed; and the empire was weakened by deep internal wounds, when the evil destiny of Philip and Antiochus involved them successively in hostilities with Rome. To unravel this complex subject, it is necessary to begin with the affairs of Syria.

When that kingdom was deprived of its head by the treacherous murder of Seleucus Keraunus in Lesser Asia, his brother Antiochus, presumptive heir to the crown, resided<sup>2</sup> in Babylon, that is, Seleucia Babylonia, the greatest city in the empire. Achæus, a general nearly connected with the royal line<sup>3</sup>, after punishing the murderers of Keraunus, might have been saluted king by the motly and mutinous army in Lesser Asia<sup>4</sup>. But he disdained the treachery of his troops, quelled their sedition, reviled their disloyalty, and overawed them into allegiance to the brother of their late sovereign. Antiochus was thus recalled from the East to the more central stronghold of Antioch, the usual residence of his predecessors. The generous Achæus remained as governor in the provinces on this side mount Taurus; and Epigenes, a general eminent for abilities and integrity, conducted a portion of the western army to join the royal standard in Syria. The affairs of that country, and the general superintendence of the empire, had been committed by the late king, to Hermeias by birth a Carian; a man insinuating and artful, but subtle without

Achæus' merit with Antiochus.

The pernicious minister Hermeias.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, l. v. c. 40. Conf. Hieronym. since his father Andromachus was maternal uncle to that prince. Polyb. l. iv. c. 51.

<sup>3</sup> He was cousin German to Antiochus, <sup>4</sup> Id. l. v. c. 4. et l. iv. c. 2.

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wisdom, ambitious without valour, envious and vengeful in the extreme, and industrious to supply the want of every virtue, by boldness of intrigue, and unprincipled stratagems of well-concerted villainy. This knave, whose abilities were equally well-calculated to gain and to abuse the confidence of princes, soon acquired an ascendancy over the youthful inexperience of Antiochus. The opinion of Hermeias was paramount in the council; and by his advice, Molon and Alexander, two brothers as unworthy as himself, were named respectively to the important satrapies of Media and Persia<sup>1</sup>.

Revolt of  
Media and  
Persia.  
Olymp.  
cxxxix. 3.  
B. C. 222.

These men were no sooner established in their governments, than they tampered with the allegiance of the troops, withheld pecuniary contributions, and at length openly revolted. Instead of being encouraged to oppose in person, this formidable rebellion, Antiochus was amused by the celebration of unequal nuptials with Laodice, daughter to Mithridates IV. of Pontus<sup>2</sup>, still a small and weak kingdom; and though a council was afterwards held purposely to deliberate on war, the interested voice of the minister again defeated measures salutary to the empire. The loyal bravery of Epigenes warmly recommended an expedition to the East. The insurrections, he observed, might be yet checked by seasonable vigour. Little was to be apprehended from the partisans of Molon and Alexander, inconsiderable in number, destitute of faith to their lawful king, and not likely to be firm in adherence to upstart masters. Should the European troops, contrary to all probability, persevere in rebellion, such handfuls of men would be overwhelmed by the more honest natives of the provinces: Antiochus, therefore, had only to show himself among them, and the Asiatics would signalize their deep-rooted affection to his family, by seizing and surrendering to him the European rebels<sup>3</sup>.

Epigenes ex-  
horts the  
king to  
march to  
the East.

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. v. c. 41.

<sup>2</sup> From Laodice, mother to Seleucus Nicator, with whose house the kings of Pontus and Cappadocia became connected by affinity, that name grew nearly as common in

Syria and Lesser Asia, as Cleopatra was in Egypt. We shall see another Laodice, daughter also to Mithridates IV. married to Achæus, Antiochus' kinsman.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, l. v. c. 41. & seq.

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This prevented by the intrigues of Hermeias.

In reply to this sound advice, Hermeias upbraided its author for wishing to expose the tender age of the king to so laborious and dangerous a warfare. He proposed that two of his own creatures, Xenon, and Theodotus, surnamed Hemiolius from the hugeness of his stature, should be sent to Upper Asia against the rebels; and when these generals had fully shewn their incapacity, again diverted Antiochus from the Median war, by recommending to him a nearer and safer expedition, for the recovery of Coele-Syria out of the careless hands of Ptolemy Philopator. To enforce this latter measure in the council, Hermeias produced a forged letter, addressed, as he pretended, to himself, by Achæus, in which that governor of Lesser Asia revealed overtures from Ptolemy, advising him to despise the nonage of his royal kinsman, and boldly to place the diadem on his own head, with an assurance that, if Achæus were not wanting to himself at this crisis of his fortune, Ptolemy would powerfully assist him with ships and money\*. The deceit was successful: Antiochus eagerly adopted the expedition against Coele-Syria.

Before his preparations enabled him to take the field, the royalists in Upper Asia had been compelled to abandon Media to the rebels, and had retired for protection within the walled cities of Babylonia. The victorious Molon had proceeded to the banks of the Tigris, and would have passed that river in pursuit of the enemy, had not Zeuxis, a brave and intelligent officer commanding in Babylonia, destroyed the bridges of boats across the stream, and seized all the vessels by which it was navigated. Thus arrested in his progress, but not dejected as to his future prospects, Molon encamped in sight of Seleucia, at the place afterwards called Ctesiphon, on the eastern margin of the Tigris, and destined, under that name, to become the imperial seat of the Parthians, as Seleucia, directly opposite to it on the western side of the river, had been the capital of the Macedonians in Upper Asia\*.

Progress of the rebels in Upper Asia.

\* Polybius, l. v. c. 48.

\* Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743.

Antiochus,

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Xenætas  
sent by An-  
tiochus  
against the  
rebels.

Antiochus, when apprised of these sad events, was again desirous of suspending his expedition against Ptolemy, and of marching in person to the East; but Hermeias continued to dissuade him from that salutary purpose by very childish arguments; alleging, in particular, that it was unworthy of a sovereign to take the field against traiterous subjects, and that a new general should be sent therefore against Molon, while Antiochus waged a more glorious war against Ptolemy, a king like himself. Accordingly Xenætas, an Achæan, was appointed to command in the East, through the influence of Hermeias, without the slightest recommendation from personal merit. The authority conferred on him exceeded his hopes as much as it surpassed his worth; and, in the whole conduct of his disastrous expedition, he exhibited the characteristic deformities of an upstart; intolerable insolence, and the most confident rashness. Having arrived at Seleucia, he summoned to his assistance Diogenes, governor of Susiana, and Pythiades, who commanded on the Arabian shores of the Persian gulph. His army, thus reinforced, encamped without the walls of Seleucia, and was gladdened by perpetual deserters from Molon, who swam to it across the Tigris, assuring their former friends and fellow soldiers, that the usurper was odious among his own troops, most of whom were still loyal in their hearts<sup>10</sup>.

His opera-  
tions and  
tragical de-  
feat on the  
banks of the  
Tigris.

Upon these representations, Xenætas, who was well provided with vessels, passed the river eight miles below the enemy's post, with a large division of his horse and foot, leaving the remainder in his camp, under the command of Zeuxis and Pythiades. This embarkation being made in the night, the troops, at morning, found themselves in a place of security, defended partly by the Tigris, and partly by pools and marshes. A detachment of horse, which Molon sent to annoy them, sunk and perished in the mire. Upon learning this accident, Molon hastily left his camp, and, with the shew of a precipitate retreat, directed his course towards Media. Xenætas

<sup>10</sup> Polybius, l. v. c. 48.

doubted



doubted not that the usurper, fled the approach of an enemy through distrust of his own army. He took possession of the hostile camp, plenteously provided with all accommodations and luxuries. The greatest part of the troops, under Zeuxis, were ordered to cross the Tigris, and to join in festivity with their companions, preparatory to a triumphant expedition in search of the flying enemy; but Molon, by a rapid nocturnal march, surprized at dawn his recently forsaken camp, and assailed his improvident adversaries, buried in sleep and wine. Xenætas paid by death the just forfeit of his folly. The horror of men weltering on their bloody beds was surpassed by the more unusual disaster of those who had time to escape from immediate butchery. Being in sight of their camp on the opposite side of the Tigris, which they had recently quitted with such pleasing hopes, they threw into the river their arms and most valued effects, as if by some divine appointment these inanimate objects had been destined to reach the opposite bank. They then plunged boldly into the water, in order to follow their property; but dreadful was the delusion, and piteous its consequences! crowds of half-armed men vainly struggling with the stream; horses, furniture of all kinds, buoyant bucklers, and emerging bodies of the drowned. Zeuxis, who from the opposite shore observed the sad catastrophe, retired with a handful of men into Seleucia. Diogenes, the governor of Susiana, gained, by a precipitate flight, the protection of the Susian citadel<sup>11</sup>.

The rebels meanwhile were masters of the Tigris, and the transports collected on it by the enemy. In pursuance of their good fortune, they hastened to assault the wealthy and populous Seleucia, which, being unprepared for making any vigorous defence, had been abandoned both by Zeuxis, satrap of the province, and by Diomedon, governor of the city, men peculiarly obnoxious to the rebels, and likely, if they had fallen into their hands, to be subjected to the

The rebels gain Seleucia Babylonia, and the dependant provinces. Olymp. cxxxix. 3. B. C. 222.

<sup>11</sup> Polybius, l. v. c. 46.

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most dreadful cruelties. Molon having easily gained possession of Seleucia, overran, with equal facility, the fertile district extending southwards to the Persian gulph. He then hastened to Susiana, that valuable eastern appendage to the rich Babylonian plain. The capital, Susa, submitted on the first assault; but Diogenes, at the head of a steady garrison, defied the invaders from the citadel, one of the strongest fortresses in the east, and long the principal depository, in those parts, of the royal treasures<sup>12</sup>. Leaving part of his forces to besiege this important fortress, Molon returned to Seleucia, and directing his arms northward, subdued all the cultivated part of Mesopotamia, as far as Dura, on the left bank of the Tigris, about half way between Seleucia and Mosul, the more ancient but lesser Nineveh<sup>13</sup>.

Antiochus'  
expedition  
into Cœle-  
Syria.  
Olymp.  
cxxxix. 2.  
B. C. 223.

When Antiochus learned the success of the rebels, he became more zealous than ever for marching into the upper provinces. Hermeias could no longer amuse him by the proposed conquest of Cœle-Syria, because that experiment had been tried unsuccessfully. The inhabitants of Cœle-Syria, for reasons formerly explained, were not less devoted to the Ptolomies, than the natives of Upper Asia were attached to the house of Seleucus. Ptolemy Philopator disgraced himself, indeed, in Alexandria, by unceasing scenes of profligacy and folly; but Theodotus, the Etolian, was his vigilant and warlike satrap in Cœle-Syria. At the perfidious instigation of Hermeias, Antiochus, however, had marched into this rude and mountainous province<sup>14</sup>, whilst the kernel of his eastern empire was a prey to ill-resisted rebellion. His forces rendezvoused at Apamea, and proceeded southward to the plain of Marfyas, which opening on one hand to the Syrian desert, contracts on the other into a narrow valley, between the roots of Libanus and Antilibanus. Besides the natural defences of pools and marshes, abounding with aromatic reeds, Theodotus had fortified the valley with trenches and pali-

Nature of the  
country by  
which he pe-  
netrated.

<sup>12</sup> Polyb. l. v. c. 48.

<sup>13</sup> See above, vol. i. sect. ii. p. 53.

<sup>14</sup> Polyb. l. v. c. 46.

fades;

fades ; and the strong castles of Brochi and Gerra, situate opposite to each other, on the enclosing mountains, were sufficient to arrest the progress of any other than the most determined enemy. Antiochus marched several days through the Marfyan plain ; but when he approached Gerra, and the inmost recess of Cœle-Syria, his juvenile ardour died away before the obstacles which Theodotus had skilfully opposed to him. His rash undertaking was hastily abandoned, after it had been attended with considerable loss, and still greater disgrace ; and the army had again returned to Tetrapolis<sup>15</sup>, or Seleucian Syria, when the mortifying accounts of Molon's victories arrived from the east.

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Returns to  
Antioch in  
disgrace.

Hermecias, though he could no longer restrain his master from marching thither, determined at least that he should not be accompanied by Epigenes, whose abilities and honest boldness were the perpetual objects of his own guilty alarm. A mutiny of the troops was fomented, probably through his intrigues, since he undertook to find means of quelling it, provided the king should leave behind him Epigenes, in Apamea ; and Antiochus consented to this disgraceful condition, so powerful had Hermecias become through his unwearied activity in gaining to his interest all who, either in a civil or military capacity, had access to the sovereign. By the payment of their arrears, the troops in general were appeased ; about six thousand men, belonging to the Syrian district of Cyrrhus, alone continued refractory<sup>16</sup>. They refused to accompany the royal standard, and suffered long afterwards the punishment of their disobedience.

Marches  
against the  
rebels.  
Epigenes  
hindered  
from accom-  
panying him.  
Olymp  
cxxxix. 3.  
B. C. 222.

The king being joined by Zeuxis, from Babylonia, marched northwards to Chalybon, the modern Aleppo, passed the Euphrates at Zeugma, and from thence traversed northern Mesopotamia, to the river Mygdonius, and the Greek city Antiochia Mygdonea, which adorned its banks. In this place, which became better known under

He proceeds  
to Nisibis.  
Difference  
between his  
general con-  
cerning the  
remainder of  
the march.

<sup>15</sup> So called from its four principal cities, See above, vol. I. p. 143 & 483.  
Antioch, Apamea, Laodicea, and Seleucia.

<sup>16</sup> Polybius, l. v. c. 50.

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its old oriental name of Nisibis, having arrived about the winter solstice, he halted forty days, with an army consisting of a complete Macedonian phalanx, numerous bodies of lighter armed Greeks, and crowds of Barbarian auxiliaries, among whom the Gauls were pre-eminent. From Nisibis he proceeded, after the rage of winter<sup>17</sup> was spent, to the city of Liba, near the western bank of the Tigris. At Liba, a difference of opinion prevailed between Hermecias and Zeuxis, concerning the best mode of pursuing the remainder of the march to Babylonia<sup>18</sup>. Hermecias, with that constitutional cowardice which disgraced the boldness of his intrigues, maintained that the king ought to proceed southward, along the right bank of the Tigris, by which means that river, as well as the Lycus and Caprus, would be interposed between him and the main strength of the enemy<sup>19</sup>. Zeuxis, on the contrary, represented, that unless the army crossed the Tigris, they must penetrate through a broad desert<sup>20</sup> before they came to the royal canal joining the Tigris and Euphrates, where it would be easy for Molon, with a far inferior force, to arrest their progress. He advised, therefore, that Antiochus should cross the Tigris, descend to Dura, near its eastern bank, and from thence advancing to mount Zagros, fall down on the territory of Apollonia, an intermediate district between Babylonia and Media, colonised and cultivated by Greeks, all warmly attached to the royal cause. By this movement Molon would be excluded from his resources in Media, particularly the rich Nisæan fields; and in order to regain admission into that country, the head and spring of his rebellion, would be tempted either to risk a battle, or, declining that danger, would infallibly lose all controul over his reluctant and now exasperated followers.

He advances  
to Apollonia.

Conformably to this sound advice, the army, in three divisions, crossed the Tigris. Having proceeded to Dura, they defeated a

<sup>17</sup> He was near Mount Masius, the cold northern boundary of Mesopotamia.

<sup>18</sup> Polyb. l. vi. c. 51.

<sup>19</sup> For the geography see above, p. 51, &c.

<sup>20</sup> He said 100 miles broad. Polyb. said large



large body of rebels, who were then besieging that place. In the space of eight days, they traversed the mountainous country eastward of Dura, and fell down on the Apollonian district. When Molon learned the approach of the royal army, he immediately conjectured the course which it was likely to pursue. He therefore crossed the Tigris, in hopes of defending the defiles which led towards Apollonia, or of greatly annoying the enemy's progress, by means of his numerous slingers, the Kurtii, or Kurds. The rapidity of Antiochus had frustrated this design; and a detachment, sent by him from Apollonia, encountered among the hills the foremost division of the rebels. After a slight skirmish, both parties fell back to their respective armies, which encamped at the distance of five miles from each other. As Molon well knew the disaffection among his own troops, he was unwilling to meet the king face to face, and in the clear light of day; he therefore selected the firmest and bravest of the number, with whom making a circuit round, he purposed to descend from a neighbouring eminence, and thus surprise Antiochus's camp in the night. But this design was defeated by the desertion of ten youths, who hoped, by seasonable intelligence, to atone for past rebellion. Molon, upon learning their escape, marched back to his own camp, which the unexpected return of his detachment filled with alarm and tumult.

Molon disappointed in his attempt to surprise the king's camp.

At dawn, Antiochus was in the field, commanding in person his right wing. Molon was likewise obliged to prepare for battle, because inaction, under his circumstances, would be certain ruin, the countries which he had usurped longing to return to their allegiance, and even the greater part of his army being ill-affected to his cause. His brother, Neolaus, commanded the right wing; Molon, on the left, opposed Antiochus. The armies had no sooner come in sight of each other, than the division under Molon, beholding the young and graceful Antiochus, then in his nineteenth year, and the lineal descendant of the revered Seleucus Nicator, were seized with a

Molon's army deserts him. His destruction, and that of his family. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

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sudden and unanimous resolution of joining the standard which they had been drawn up to oppose. Their revolt occasioned the total ruin of the insurgents. Molon flew himself in despair; Neolaus fled into Persis, to Alexander the third of the rebellious brothers, and persuaded him to avoid an ignominious execution, by accompanying himself in a voluntary death. Their principal accomplices submitted to the same fate. Antiochus pardoned their deluded followers, after severely reprimanding their disloyalty: the body of the traitor Molon was fixed to a cross, on the most conspicuous pinnacle of mount Zagros<sup>21</sup>.

Hermias' cruelties in Seleucia restrained by Antiochus.

Antiochus having named new governors for Persis and Media, marched towards Seleucia, and received the submissions of that great city, and the invaluable contiguous territory. The unworthy Hermias, whose name had remained in obscurity during the war, again emerged into odious distinction upon peace. He raged with ungoverned fury against the Chaldeans, priests and judges among the Asiatic inhabitants of Seleucia; imposing on them enormous fines, exacted with relentless cruelty. It is uncertain to what lengths his tyranny would have proceeded, had not the compassion of Antiochus restrained it<sup>22</sup>.

Antiochus reduces the Lesser Media. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

That young prince, having restored tranquillity to the provinces around the Tigris and Euphrates, marched into northern Media, which had abetted the rebellion of the great southern country bearing the same name. The Lesser Media, as we have seen, had received the epithet of Atropatena, from the hereditary satrap, who had manfully defended its independence. Artabazanes, a descendant of Atropates, commanded in the same rugged and mountainous territory, and with a mind as obstinate as his country was impracticable, for many years set the Macedonians at defiance; but he was now softened by the infirmities of old age, so that when Antiochus ap-

<sup>21</sup> Polybius, l. vi. c. 53 and 54.

<sup>22</sup> Id. Ibid.

peared on his frontier with a victorious army, he submitted to every condition which the invader thought proper to impose on him<sup>21</sup>.

The cowardly Hermeias had reluctantly followed his master into a rough country, against a formidable enemy. He had employed his usual artifices for preventing the expedition; but his intrigues had been defeated, and the time was now come when he was to pay the forfeit of his innumerable villanies. One of the basest of them had lately come to light. When the brave and honest Epigenes was compelled by his contrivances to quit the army, and to remain behind at Apamea, Hermeias determined that the place of his adversary's exile should be made the scene of his death. In perpetrating this enormity, he found a ready instrument in Alexis, his creature, and governor of Apamea. A letter was written in the name of Molon to Epigenes, and clandestinely introduced among his papers. When this was effected, by means of a suborned slave, Alexis was presently at hand to arraign a general, high in favour with Antiochus, as holding correspondence with the usurper. Epigenes denied the fact; his papers were searched; the letter forged by Hermeias was found; and Epigenes, through the basest treachery, was condemned and punished as a traitor<sup>22</sup>.

An account of this execrable transaction had reached Antiochus, but so diligently had Hermeias fortified himself by creatures and accomplices, that he was the object of fear even to his master. At length the physician Apollonphanes, divining the king's unfriendly disposition towards his minister, encouraged him to anticipate the designs of a man capable of every wickedness. Their measures were soon concerted. On pretence that the king was affected with a giddiness in his head, he was advised to walk early in the cool morning air, unmolested by the bustle of his guards and courtiers. A few particular friends, all partners in the conspiracy, except Hermeias, who was its object, attended their royal master, who, after reaching

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Crimes and  
punishment  
of Hermeias.Means by  
which the  
latter was ac-  
complished.



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Destruction  
of his family.

Achæus for-  
tifies himself  
in Lesser  
Asia.  
Olymp.  
cxxxix. 4.  
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He threatened  
Egypt which  
is saved by  
an artfully  
protracted  
negotiation.  
Olymp.  
cxl. 1.  
B. C. 220.

Theodotus,  
the Etolian,  
puts him in  
possession of  
Cœle-Syria.  
Olymp.  
cxl. 1.  
B. C. 220.

a due distance from the camp, stepped aside as on some necessary occasion. This was the sign for his attendants to dispatch Hermeias with their daggers. In his return to Syria, the councils and actions of Antiochus were highly celebrated at every place through which he passed; but none of his exploits were so loudly extolled as the removal, even by assassination, of his dangerous and detested minister. Such was the public rage against this abuser of royal authority, and such the sanguinary fierceness of the age, that the women of Apamea, when they heard of the murder of Hermeias, laid violent hands on his wife; the children of the place also stoned to death his children<sup>25</sup>.

The mischief of Hermeias's administration did not end with himself. His jealousy of every kind of merit had alienated from Antiochus his generous kinsman Achæus, to whose loyalty and bravery that prince owed the preservation of his western dominions. Through the perfidy of court intrigues, Achæus was driven into the rebellion of which he had been falsely accused; and before Antiochus returned from Upper Asia, assumed, for his own safety, sovereignty in the Peninsula, or rather in those parts of it not formerly dismembered from the Syrian power. As the troops which Antiochus left behind him in Syria were discontented, particularly those belonging to the district of Cyrrhus, his lieutenants were altogether unable, in his absence, to cope with so powerful a rebel; and when the king, in person, returned with his triumphant army from the East, fortune withheld him from Lesser Asia, by presenting a nearer field of victory<sup>26</sup>.

This was the age of bad ministers; and what Hermeias had been in Syria, Sosibius was in Egypt. Provided he could engross power, and amass wealth, Sosibius was altogether careless of the disgraceful follies of his master Ptolemy Philopator, who, in contempt of his high-spirited queen and sister Arsinoë, wallowed in shameless profligacy.

<sup>25</sup> Polyb. v. 56. 2. <sup>26</sup> Ibid. l. v. c. 58.



gacy with Agathoclea a common harlot, her infamous mother, and her brother Agathocles, a wretch more abominable than either. To such persons, Theodotus the brave Etolian, to whom Philopator owed the preservation of Coele-Syria, had rendered himself obnoxious. Instead of receiving any due rewards for his merit, he incurred the hatred both of the king and his minister. To anticipate their vengeance, Theodotus had recourse to Antiochus just returned from his successful expedition into Upper Asia; and the same man who had skillfully defended Coele-Syria against that prince, now offered to put him in possession of several strongholds there, as well as of the sea-ports of Tyre and Ptolemais, with forty sail in their harbours. Theodotus' proposals were accepted; his promises were performed; in a single campaign, Antiochus recovered most places in Coele-Syria; and, as another portion of his troops expelled from Seleucia Pieria the Egyptians, who had garrisoned that city twenty-six years since its capture by Ptolemy Euergetes, the Syrian power, nearly consolidated in itself, assumed a very formidable position with regard to Egypt<sup>7</sup>.

That Philopator's ministers were of this opinion, appeared from their giving orders to destroy the wells between Egypt and Syria, and to open the flood-gates of the Nile near Pelusium, that the country being laid under water, might interrupt an invading enemy. At the same time they sent ambassadors to Antiochus to negotiate a truce, until peace on equitable terms might be concluded between the two kingdoms. In this embassy they were successively joined by Rhodians, Byzantines, and other Greeks, who, having been long connected with Egypt in the bands of commerce and amity, used their utmost endeavours to avert the calamities which seemed to threaten that country. A long negotiation was thus entered into between the courts of Antioch and Memphis, for in the latter city Sosibius and Agathocles chose to receive the ambassadors of Antio-

He threatens Egypt which is saved by an artfully protracted negotiation. Olymp. cxi. 1. B. C. 220.

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Meanwhile  
the Egyp-  
tians collect  
and disci-  
pline a great  
army.

chus. Their reason for this preference shews, that, though destitute of every virtue, they were not deficient in the wiles of policy.

While the ambassadors of Antiochus were treated with unbounded respect, and every conference held with them tended to confirm their opinion that the lazy voluptuous Philopator would be glad to purchase peace by the meanest compliances, armed men were gradually collected, embodied, and disciplined under skillful Greek officers in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. The inland garrisons were drained; those provinces on the southern coast of Lesser Asia long subject to the Ptolemies, supplied numerous recruits; Cyrenè and other dependencies in Africa sent considerable reinforcements; above all, the Pelopponnesians, Cretans, and other still warlike Greeks, were eager to enlist in a profitable service. During the long protracted negociation, an army was thus assembled at Alexandria, consisting of seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy-three elephants: the magazines of arms and provisions were fully adequate to such a mighty force<sup>28</sup>.

They end the  
negociation  
and take the  
field.—  
Forces on  
both sides.

When all preparations were in readiness, the ambassadors of Ptolemy began to throw off the mask. They maintained, that after the defeat of Antigonus, surnamed the Cylops, Cœle-Syria in the partition of his spoils had been assigned to Ptolemy Soter, and ought therefore to be restored to his descendant, especially since it had been recently wrested from him only through the perfidious treason of Theodotus the Etolian. But though they thus stigmatized a rebel to their own king, they insisted that Achæus, who had now openly rebelled against Antiochus, should be included as a party in the peace, and enjoy his usurped possessions. Antiochus could not hear such propositions with patience. He was at the head of an army little less powerful than Ptolemy's, since it consisted of sixty-two thousand foot, six thousand horse, with upwards of an hundred elephants.

<sup>28</sup> Polyb. l. v. c. 64. & seq.

Meanwhile,



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Preparations  
for the battle  
of Raphia.  
Olymp.  
cxl. 2.  
B. C. 219.

Meanwhile, the Egyptians moved from Alexandria to Pelusium, and from thence to Raphia, which, after Rhinocolura, is the nearest city of Coele-Syria<sup>29</sup> on the side of Egypt. Before they performed this laborious march, Antiochus with the lighter part of his army had advanced to Gaza, only forty miles distant, and when he had been joined there by his more heavily armed troops, proceeded slowly in the day, and in the night pitched his camp within less than a mile's distance from the enemy. Frequent skirmishes happened daily between parties that went abroad in search of provisions and water: and the ground between the adverse camps, became the scene of fierce encounters both of cavalry and infantry. But the exploit of Theodotus the Etolian surpassed all the rest in boldness. At once to gratify his personal resentment and to finish the war by an illustrious vengeance, he advanced with two daring companions into the enemy's camp, and through favour of darkness and disguise<sup>30</sup>, penetrated to the royal pavilion in which Ptolemy used to sup with his friends and give audience. But the king commonly slept in a more private tent, which circumstance being unknown to Theodotus, he missed his purpose of killing him, and stabbed, instead of Ptolemy, his physician Andreas; after wounding two others, he escaped without hindrance to the surrounding intrenchment. Even there, his resistless courage suffered but a slight interruption<sup>31</sup>.

Attempt  
of Theodo-  
tus on the  
life of Pto-  
lemy.

Ptolemy, finding that danger pursued him in his camp itself, became impatient for battle. His light skirmishers and cavalry poured from their intrenchments, and began to form in the plain westward of Raphia, inclosing between their outspreading wings the phalanx of about thirty thousand men, with a due proportion of *hypaspists*. The army of Antiochus contained the same distinctions of troops, and nearly in the same proportions. Intermixed with Greeks and Macedonians, chosen men from the remotest dependan-

Advantage  
of Ptolemy's  
foreign  
troops over  
those of  
Antiochus.

<sup>29</sup> Polybius uses the word in a large sense, thereby including Judæa. tian troops were variously dressed and armed.

<sup>30</sup> This was the more easy, as the Egyptian troops were variously dressed and armed. <sup>31</sup> Conf. Polyb. 1 v. c. 18. & III. Mac-  
cabees, c. i.

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cies of Syria and Egypt, augmented the heavy armed infantry in either line. On both sides there were Thessalian cavalry, and Theban spearmen; crafty Cretans, fierce Thracians, and ferocious Gauls; for the wealth of the two most powerful kingdoms of the East had purchased martial auxiliaries wherever they could be found. But the European troops of Ptolemy had an advantage over those of his rival: they came more recently from their native provinces, and carried with them that unbroken vigour and inborn bravery, which always suffered decay through any long contact with Egyptian and Asiatic softness.

Battle of  
Raphia, and  
victory of  
Philopator.  
Olymp.  
cxl. 3.  
B. C. 218.

Before the signal for action, the two kings, as by mutual consent, rode round their respective armies, and animated them to a battle which was to decide the pre-eminence between Syria and Egypt. In his progress along the line, Philopator was accompanied by his high-minded queen Arsinoë, eager to share the dangers of her unworthy husband, whose debased profligacy was incompatible with every conjugal virtue. Having finished his review, Ptolemy took his post on the left: Antiochus placed himself on his right, in direct opposition; both kings were surrounded by royal troops of *equestrian companions*<sup>32</sup>, though those select bands were not employed by either, in the way that had made them the great instruments of Alexander's victories. Instead of clearing the ground by the horse, to make room for the unbroken assault of the phalanx, both Ptolemy and Antiochus had placed a line of elephants before their cavalry. These fierce animals advanced to the charge; and a singular spectacle was exhibited by the spearmen fighting from towers on their backs, and one still more extraordinary, by the elephants themselves, who rushed together with adverse fronts, and strove with their implicated trunks to force each other from his ground; until the stronger having pushed aside the proboscis of his adversary, and forced him to turn his flank,

<sup>32</sup> Antiochus, ὁ βασιλεὺς, denotes the same thing with Ptolemy's ἀγῆτα. Polybius, l. v. c. 84. See above, vol. i. c. i. p. 207. & seq.

then



then pierced him in many parts with his tusks, as a bull gores with his horns". At length the Egyptian elephants were repelled by the superior size, and strength, and fury of their rival warriors from India; and the confusion, which their rout occasioned, was followed by the defeat of Ptolemy's left wing, the king himself being obliged to fly for safety behind his phalanx. While Antiochus incautiously urged the pursuit, and was eager to push to the utmost his partial advantage, Echebrates, the Thessalian, who commanded Ptolemy's right wing, taking warning by what had happened at the other extremity of the field, determined, instead of advancing his elephants to the unequal combat, to defile with his Thessalian and other horsemen, until they had stretched beyond the extremity of Antiochus' left wing. To occupy the enemy's attention during this decisive movement, the Greek mercenaries on the side of Echebrates rushed against the troops posted in opposition to them, at the same time that the Thessalian horse prepared for their resistless attack in flank and rear. By this means, Antiochus was defeated as completely on the left, as he had proved victorious on the right. The phalanxes thus stripped of both their wings, remained entire in the middle of the plain. Ptolemy on this occasion passed quickly with Arsinoë and his attendants from rear to front. Their sudden appearance, infused courage into the Egyptian line, and dismayed the enemy. The battle on the side of Antiochus was sustained with vigour only by Theodotus the Etolian, who commanded the select bands of Syria, many of whom were armed with silver shields in imitation of Alexander's *Argyraspides*. But the heavier phalanx, under the inauspicious guidance of Theodotus the Hemiolian, quickly gave way; and his intrepid namesake to avoid being attacked in flank, was compelled to accompany his flight. Antiochus, meanwhile, had been carried forward with a juvenile ardour, as if the engagement had every where been successful, because his own wing was victorious.

<sup>33</sup> Polybius, l. v. c. 24.

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One of his more experienced attendants at length shewed him clouds of dust flying in the direction of his camp. He then returned from the pursuit towards the scene of action, but found the battle irretrievably lost. He retreated first to Raphia, where many of the fugitives had entered, and before the next morning proceeded from thence towards Gaza<sup>34</sup>.

Peace between Egypt and Syria.  
Olymp. cxi. 3.  
B. C. 218.

In acknowledgement of his defeat, he sent from that place heralds to Ptolemy, craving leave to bury his slain. Ten thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen lay dead on the field: above four thousand had been made prisoners. There fell on the side of Ptolemy, fifteen hundred foot and seven hundred horse. The battle of Raphia restored to Egypt the undisturbed possession of Coele-Syria, Palestine, and Phœnicia. Antiochus retired northwards to his well-fortified capital on the banks of the Orontes, from whence a truce for a year, and afterwards a lasting peace was negotiated between himself and Ptolemy<sup>35</sup>.

Greatness of Achæus in Lesser Asia.

In consequence of this treaty, which allowed the latter of these princes to exhibit, as we shall see presently, the total worthlessness of his character, his useful ally Achæus was left to maintain alone the contest in Lesser Asia. During Antiochus' occupations in the East and in Coele-Syria, Achæus had made himself the most powerful of the four princes, who now divided among them the inland parts of the peninsula. The centre of his dominion consisted in the usurped countries of Phrygia and Lydia: he had extended his possessions in the north at the expence of Prusias of Bithynia, had confined Attalus of Pergamus within the ancient limits of his small hereditary kingdom; and with Mithridates of Pontus, he had contracted an alliance and received in marriage Laodicè, sister to a princess known also by the same name, formerly married to Antiochus.

Commercial war between the Byzantines

The greatness of Achæus' power appeared in a war, which, during the contest between Ptolemy and Antiochus for Coele-Syria, the

<sup>34</sup> Polybius, l. v. c. 82—87.

<sup>35</sup> Id. *ibid.*

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city of Byzantium carried on against the island of Rhodes; the first war on record, originating in principles purely commercial. The Byzantines, to repair the losses sustained by the ravages and impositions of the Gauls, had revived an vexatious toll, anciently established by Athens in the zenith of her maritime power, on all trading vessels which passed into the Euxine<sup>36</sup>. The merchants belonging to the neighbouring sea-ports of the peninsula exclaimed loudly against the injustice of this imposition. They blamed not less severely the tameness of the Rhodians, then pre-eminent at sea, for permitting a tyrannous extortion by which they, in common with other commercial states, were sufferers. Thus piqued in their pride as well as stimulated by interest, the Rhodians sent an embassy to Byzantium, requiring the toll to be abolished. Their demand was rejected with scorn; and although the Rhodians declared war, and immediately sent a fleet of ten galleys to the narrow seas; though Prusias of Bithynia seized the fortress Hieron, and all that part of Mysia which the Byzantines had long occupied; though the Thracians pressed them on the side of Europe, as much as Prusias did on that of Asia, yet they remained firm and resolute, in the hope merely that Achæus would espouse their cause; nor, till this hope vanished, did they become willing to purchase peace by abolishing the obnoxious impost<sup>37</sup>.

tines and  
Rhodians.  
Olymp.  
cxxxix. 4.  
B. C. 221.

The reason that made Achæus frustrate the expectations which the Byzantines had conceived of him, shows that his filial piety was not unworthy of his great abilities and spirit. His father Andromachus had, before his own rebellion against Antiochus, been made captive in the first scene of the war between that prince and Ptolemy, and was still detained a prisoner in Egypt notwithstanding the friendly dispositions, founded on mutual interest, that began to take place between Achæus and the Egyptian king. The Rhodians, who, as we have before seen, maintained a close and animated intercourse

Reason  
which hin-  
dered Achæ-  
us from as-  
sisting the  
Byzantines.

<sup>36</sup> The toll established by the Athenians, 200 talents, about 40,000l. yearly. Demosthen. ad Leptin. Conf. Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. p. 542.  
<sup>37</sup> Polybius, l. iv. c. 48. & seq.

with



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with Egypt and a hereditary friendship with the Ptolemies, well knew the eagerness of Achæus to rescue his father from the power of a man so cruel and capricious as Philopator. After repeated solicitations at the court of Alexandria, they at length obtained the liberation of Andromachus; and carrying him in one of their own vessels to his son, thereby determined the latter to abandon all thoughts of interposing in behalf of Byzantium<sup>28</sup>.

Antiochus  
besieges  
Achæus in  
Sardes.  
Olymp.  
cxli. 1, 2.  
B. C. 216—  
215.

The conclusion of the Cœle-Syrian war enabled Antiochus to exert his undivided strength against his rebellious kinsman in Lesser Asia. Having penetrated the Cilician passes, he appeared with a well-composed army in the rich Phrygian plain; and after summoning to his standard Attalus of Pergamus, the exasperated enemy of Achæus, in the course of a single campaign he divested this usurper of his most valued acquisitions, drove him from the open country, and compelled him to seek refuge within the walls of Sardes the capital of Lydia. Into this place Achæus conducted the flower of his army. The city was strongly fortified by nature and art; the citadel was deemed impregnable; and as Achæus had foreseen the evils likely to fall on him, both had been amply supplied with all necessaries for subsistence and defence. Antiochus sat down before the place, and continued to besiege it during nearly two years, in which space of time many assaults were made by day and night, in all of which the boldness of the besiegers was more boldly repelled, and their stratagems encountered and defeated by still superior address. Antiochus, thus baffled in all his attempts, converted the siege into a blockade, and determined to remain before Sardes until hunger should subdue his adversary<sup>29</sup>.

Sardes taken  
through the  
cunning of  
Lagoras the  
Cretan.  
Olymp.  
cxli. 2.  
B. C. 215.

But he had not long embraced this resolution, when Lagoras, a crafty Cretan, inspired him with hopes of bringing the war to a more speedy issue. Lagoras had learned from a long military experience, that the strongest places were often assailed with most success on that

<sup>28</sup> Polybius, l. iv. c. 51.

<sup>29</sup> Id. l. vii. c. 15.



very side, where over-hasty opinion pronounced them impregnable. There was a part of the Sardinian walls, joining the citadel with the city, built on craggy rocks, overhanging a rugged valley, and which the besiegers called, "the Saw," from the sharp protuberances and notches indenting its summit. That this part of the fortification was unguarded, Lagoras was led to conjecture from the following circumstance. Though the dead bodies of men and cattle were usually precipitated from "the Saw" into the rocky abyss below it, yet the vultures who flocked thither for their prey often reposed on the high adjacent wall after gorging themselves among the deep and hollow caverns. Lagoras having carefully examined the situation, discerned a part of the fortification to which it would not be difficult to make approaches unperceived, and securely to fix ladders\*. He lost no time in communicating his discovery to Antiochus; and requested that, in so arduous an undertaking, he might be assisted by the ready boldness of Theodotus the Etolian, and of Dionysius who commanded that distinguished portion of the *bypaspists* forming the royal guard. The three adventurers concerted measures among themselves, and made the necessary preparations. For executing their design, they chose a night, of which the latter part received not any benefit from the moon. In the preceding evening, they had selected fifteen men the stoutest and boldest in the army; who accompanied them, bearing the scaling-ladders. They were followed by thirty others, who, after Lagoras and his companions had passed the walls, and were occupied in removing the bolts or bars on the inside of the gate, might exert themselves as vigorously from without, in destroying its cramps and hinges. Two thousand soldiers succeeded at a due distance, ready, when the gate was burst open, to rush into the area surrounding the theatre, a post highly convenient for their purpose between the city and citadel. The design was executed with an intrepidity and precision equal to the craft and secrecy with which it had been

\* Polyb. l. vii. c. 16. & seq.

concerted.

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concerted. Sheltered by darkness and the projecting brow of a craggy eminence, the assailants made their approaches unperceived, fixed the scaling-ladders to the wall, and at the dawn of morning, at which time the "Saw" was left altogether unguarded, began to climb into the city. They could not be seen because of the interposing rocks, either by Achæus, commanding in the citadel, or his lieutenant Ariobazus, then posted in the city. But they were distinctly viewed by the soldiers in Antiochus' camp, whose mingled emotions at so unexpected and extraordinary a spectacle, might have alarmed the enemy, had not a detachment been instantly sent to attack, by way of diversion, the opposite gate on the east, called the Gate of Persia. Ariobazus marched thither with a superior force, and rashly issuing from the gate, engaged in an unseasonable skirmish with the enemy. Achæus, more discerning, sent troops to the western side, towards which he had observed the attention of Antiochus' camp to be directed. But as they had to traverse slowly many rough and intricate paths, they did not arrive in time to hinder the gate near the "Saw" from being broke open, and Lagoras, with upwards of two thousand men, from forming on the area around the theatre":

The city  
sacked.

When it was discovered that the besiegers had got within the city, Ariobazus returned in such hasty confusion, that many of the enemy entered together with him the gate of Persia. A general assault followed; the entrances were forced open on all sides: Ariobazus, totally overpowered, escaped with difficulty into the citadel, while Sardes became a prey to rapacity and vengeance, and suffered by fire and sword all the evils incident to rebellious cities stormed by enraged conquerors.

Achæus long  
defends the  
citadel  
against the  
whole Syrian  
army.

Achæus had the mortification to behold from his fortress the dreadful calamities inflicted on his faithful Sardians, without the possibility of affording them the smallest relief. His only resource against

" Polyb. l. vii. c. 16. & seq.

death

death by torture consisted in the strength of the citadel, and his perseverance in defending it. But Antiochus was not less persevering in the siege; careless of other concerns, provided he could get into his hands this daring rebel.

In this situation of affairs, Ptolemy, or rather his minister Sosibius, began to think that they had too much neglected the safety of an ally, whose boldness and dexterity might render him highly useful to their interests. The Syrians bore with impatience the long absence of their king; the melancholy firmness of Achæus, a man nearly related to the throne, excited in them mingled sentiments of admiration and pity; and if he should escape from his stronghold, and appear unexpectedly at Antioch, a powerful party would be ready to espouse his cause, and enable him to dispute with Antiochus the crown of Syria, which had been formerly tendered to him. A civil war in Syria would, at any rate, according to the maxims too ordinary in state policy, be advantageous to the neighbouring and rival monarchy of Egypt. Under these impressions, Sosibius applied to Bolis, a Cretan in Ptolemy's service, who had attained all those rewards and honours which the king bestowed on his favourite generals, but whose insatiable mind still sighed after higher accumulations of wealth, and more conspicuous marks of distinction. Sosibius told the Cretan, that nothing could give him greater merit with Ptolemy, than the contrivance of some means by which Achæus might effect his escape from the Sardian citadel \*.

Ptolemy forms a project for enabling Achæus to escape.

The crafty Bolis, having taken a few days for deliberation, returned with a smiling countenance to the minister. He acquainted him that Cambylus, his countryman, his relation, and most intimate friend, commanded for Antiochus a post behind the citadel, which being extremely difficult of access, had not been fortified by walls, but which was strongly guarded, night and day, by a trusty band of Cretans. Upon his connection with Cambylus, Bolis grounded the fairest hopes of success; and Sosibius supplied a bag of

Converted into the means of delivering Achæus to his enemies. Olymp. cxi. — 3. B. C. 214.

\* Polybius, l. viii. c. 17. & seq.

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money, without which nothing could be done in such an undertaking. He also provided Bolis with letters of credence, written in cipher, to Nichomachus of Rhodes, and Melancomas of Ephesus, confidential agents of Achæus, by means of whom that general had formerly carried on all his secret negotiations with Ptolemy. To these men Bolis, sailing first to Rhodes, and afterwards to Ephesus, fully communicated his design, towards the success of which he found them most zealous to co-operate. He then sent Arian, an officer who had served under him in Ptolemy's army, to acquaint Cambylus that he had come from Alexandria to hire mercenaries, and to request him to name the time and place for a private interview.

How this  
was effected.

In consequence of this message, the two Cretans met in the night: Bolis produced a letter containing the heads of his project. Upon this writing, he and his friend held a consultation highly becoming the flagitious maxims and unprincipled boldness of their country. In this truly Cretan conference, they paid not the smallest regard to the interest of their respective masters; neither of them bestowed a thought on the safety of the unhappy Achæus; the sole point in deliberation was, which of their employers they might dupe with most profit and safety. At length, after examining all the sides and bearings of the affair, they agreed to divide between them ten talents already received from Sosibius, and then to bargain for a new bribe from Antiochus, for betraying Achæus into his hands. Cambylus seized a fit opportunity for opening the business to Antiochus. The king's professions of gratitude corresponded with his transports of joy. Bolis obtained letters of credence in favour of Cambylus and himself, addressed to Achæus by his sincere friends Nichomachus and Melancomas. These letters were delivered to the besieged prince by Arian, for whom Cambylus was careful to procure safe access to the citadel. Achæus, with the distrust of a man long versed in affairs, and whose life was at stake, questioned Arian with equal anxiety and subtlety. The answers which he received from him concerning the enterprise itself, and all the parties concerned



concerned in it, were delivered with an air of genuine truth; for Arian, though privy to the original design in favour of Achæus, was altogether ignorant of the subsequent intrigue for making his rescue from the citadel the means of surrendering him to Antiochus. The behaviour of Arian affording much satisfaction, he was sent back with an answer to Melancomas, at Ephesus, about fifty miles distant from Sardes; and, through the same messenger, several other letters passed between Achæus and his firm Ephesian friend. At length Achæus wrote to him that he had taken his resolution; he desired, therefore, that Bolis, together with Arian, might be sent to him the first moonless night. Bolis received with alacrity the expected summons to action; and after spending a whole day with Cambylus, to adjust with him their several parts in the plot, was, in the evening that preceded its execution, presented privately to Antiochus in his tent, and by him confirmed in his purpose, through the prospect of vast rewards. From his secret interview with Antiochus, Bolis proceeded to the neighbourhood of the citadel, and there joining Arian, who waited for him, was presently admitted to Achæus. The behaviour of Bolis was frank and manly; and the intrepidity of his looks and words bespoke a character calculated to succeed in any the boldest enterprise. Yet Achæus did not think fit entirely to trust him. He accordingly pretended, that, for the arrangement of his future proceedings, it was necessary that a few of his friends should be placed in safety at Ephesus, before he himself attempted to effectuate his escape. With this view, Bolis and Arian were desired to retire to the gate of the citadel, and to wait there until five persons joined them, whom they were to take under their guidance. Meanwhile Achæus visited his affectionate wife Laodicê, and for the first time disclosed to her the secret of his intended departure. The sudden intelligence disturbed her understanding. He spent a considerable time in endeavouring to calm her disorder; and then assuming a coarse and vulgar habit, with four of his friends dressed as meanly

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as himself, followed Bolis and Arian to the place appointed, after charging the companions of his flight that one of them only should speak with their conductors. At first Bolis was disconcerted, not knowing which of the fugitives was Achæus, nor indeed whether that prince was of the number; but as they had to pass many rough craggs and dangerous precipices, the attention involuntarily shewn by the others in handing and helping the disguised Achæus, enabled the crafty Bolis to discern his victim. When they had advanced to a part of the mountain agreed on between himself and Cambylus, Bolis whistled by way of signal; Cambylus, with a party of armed men, started from their ambush; the former of these traitors grasped Achæus in his arms, and so enveloped him in his own mantle, that he was unable to use his dagger. The four others were secured by the followers of Cambylus.

Achæus brought to Antiochus in bonds. Behaviour of the latter.

Achæus, in bonds, was brought that same night to Antiochus, who lay sleepless in his tent waiting the event. At sight of an adversary, long the object of his terror, now humbled in the dust, Antiochus remained confused and speechless, until his faculties were revived by the warmth of sympathetic tears, which flowed plentifully at a spectacle so impressive of the sad vicissitudes of fortune.

Punishment of the former.

His compassion, if it ever reached the heart, was dissipated next morning by the presence of his ministers and generals. In a council, hastily assembled in the royal tent, it was agreed that Achæus should suffer the death of a traitor. The extremities were dismembered from his trunk, which, wrapped in an ass's skin, was fixed on a cross. On the highest part of that instrument of torture, the head, separated from the body, and uncovered, declared the unhappy criminal; a man ennobled by many virtues, before the deceitfulness of prosperity conspired with royal ingratitude to drive him into rebellion<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> Polybius, l. viii. c. 17-23.

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Spirit of H's  
wife Lao-  
dice.

The tumultuary acclamations of the camp, which accompanied his execution, were deeply suspected by Laodicè, who alone was apprised of her husband's flight, and inwardly trembled for his safety. A herald soon arrived in the citadel, to announce the fate of Achæus. That fortress was filled, first with lamentation, and then with discord. Antiochus renewed his assaults, which finally prevailed; the high-minded Laodicè in vain exhorting her adherents still to persevere in resistance, rather than submit to the murderer of their long admired general.

Antiochus having thus punished the revolt in Lesser Asia, with as signal vengeance as he had formerly inflicted on that of Media, thought himself destined to extinguish rebellion in every part of the empire. For upwards of thirty years the Parthians and Bactrians had refused tribute and disavowed allegiance. The former of these countries was now governed by Arsaces III. the latter by Euthydemus, also the third Greek king of Bactria, and who, by fortunate enterprise, had risen to that throne from the condition of a humble citizen of Ionian Magnesia \*. With a well appointed army, Antiochus marched into those outlying countries; traversed, as conqueror, Parthia with its maritime appendage of Hyrcania, and granted peace to Arsaces, only on condition that he followed his standard against the more formidable Euthydemus. This prince, to remove the war from his own country, encountered Antiochus in the contiguous province of Aria: a great battle ensued, in which the Syrian king signalised his personal prowess, and obtained a glorious victory, after his horse had been killed under him, and his teeth had been dashed out by a painful wound in the mouth. Previously to the action, he had deceived the enemy by passing the river Arius in the night, when its banks were unguarded; and in the battle itself, he had sustained with firmness the repeated charges of new bodies of cavalry continually succeeding to each other: a mode of warfare:

Antiochus' successful expedition against the Parthians and Bactrians. Olymp. cxli. 3. cxliv. 1. B. C. 214—204.

\* Polybius, l. xi. c. 34. Conf. Bayer Histor. Regn. Bactrian.

which



CHAP. which the Bactrians should seem to have adopted from their neighbours the Scythians.

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Peace with  
Euthydemus  
King of Bactria.

Euthydemus retreated precipitately to his capital Bactra<sup>45</sup>, and thence dispatched an ambassador to Antiochus, to propose terms of accommodation. Among other arguments employed to stop the progress of the conqueror, Euthydemus observed, that he himself had never revolted from the Syrian monarchy, but, on the contrary, had mounted the throne of Bactria by punishing the descendant of a rebel. To this remark he added, that vast swarms of Scythians were actually hovering on his northern frontier; and that, if Bactria was weakened by a civil war among Greeks, not only that country, but the more central provinces of Asia, might be desolated and barbarised by those formidable Nomades. Antiochus felt the weight of this latter argument; and when Euthydemus sent his son Demetrius to adjust terms between them, he was so much delighted with the behaviour and conversation of the young Bactrian, that he promised to give him one of his own daughters in marriage, consenting, at the same time, that his father should continue to maintain the name and state of independent royalty<sup>46</sup>.

Renews the  
treaty with  
the Indian  
Sophagesimus.

Antiochus remained thenceforward above seven years in Upper Asia, in which time he governed ably the valuable countries between the Euphrates and the Indus. On the banks of the latter he renewed his friendship with the Indian Sophagesimus, and returned from his eastern expedition to Seleucia Babylonia with vast treasures, and with one hundred and fifty elephants<sup>47</sup>. Shortly afterwards, we find him below the mouth of the Euphrates, rescuing the commercial city Gerra<sup>48</sup>, on the Persian gulph, from the grasp of Arabian robbers. In return for this favour, he was rewarded by the Gerræans with a profusion of spices and perfumes, as well as with large contributions

Rescues Gerra from the  
Arabians.

<sup>45</sup> Polybius, l. x. c. 46, says Zariaspa, another name for the same place.

<sup>46</sup> Polybius, l. x. c. 48, & seq.

<sup>47</sup> Id. l. xi. c. 54.

<sup>48</sup> He confirmed the *autonomia*, national independence, of Gerra. Polyb. l. xiii. c. 9.

in gold and silver, all of which, as we have seen, were the usual articles of traffic in that wealthy emporium<sup>49</sup>.

In the same year that Antiochus, after a long and glorious absence, revisited his capital on the Orontes, he was delivered from all danger on the side of Egypt by the death of Philopator, whose debaucheries brought him to the grave in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign. That slothful tyrant had, contrary to the expectations of his subjects, defeated Antiochus in the decisive battle of Raphia, and thereby gained possession of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. He remained in these provinces three months after the battle, and was received by the inhabitants of the country, as well as by every city into which he entered, with the adulation offered by the multitude to conquerors undeserving to live, and which, in intermediate territories, often fluctuating between two great rival kingdoms, was not checked by any remains of allegiance to their former master. His transactions at Jerusalem have been alone thought worthy of record<sup>50</sup>. Ptolemy surveyed the antique grandeur of the city, offered oblations to Jehovah, and dedicated valuable presents in his temple. But not contented with viewing that edifice from the outer court, beyond which no *Gentile* was permitted to pass, he desired to proceed through the holy house, into the most holy sanctuary, where none of the Jews themselves could lawfully enter, except the high priest alone, and even that sacred magistrate but once only in the year, on the great day of expiation. The king was informed of the unsurmountable objection to the gratification of his curiosity. But though the priests, in their solemn array and august vestments, entreated him to desist from a purpose not allowable even in the ministers of the temple, he answered roughly, that *his authority was not to be controuled by their laws*<sup>51</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 173.

<sup>50</sup> They are related in III Maccabees throughout, and in Rufinus' Latin edition of Josephus, l. ii. Cont. Apion, in which, however, the name of Ptolemy Physcon is

by mistake substituted for that of Ptolemy Philopator.

<sup>51</sup> Εἰς ἁγίον ἱερὸν τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗ καὶ ἐγώ.

Maccab.

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Philopator's  
proceedings  
in Jerusalem.  
Olymp.  
cxi. 4.  
B. C. 217.

The

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His attempt  
to enter the  
sanctuary  
frustrated.

The whole city was in commotion. While the high priest Simon prayed to Jehovah to defend his own sanctuary, to Jehovah who, inhabiting the highest heavens, into which no mortal could ascend, had yet consecrated a chosen spot for the monument of his glory and worship, a promiscuous multitude, of every age and either sex, filled the air with such loud and lamentable wailings, that it seemed as if not only human voices, but the walls and streets from their foundation had deprecated the frantic impiety of the king. His purpose was unalterable; but as he pressed from the inner court to the sanctuary, he was shaken "like a reed by the wind, and fell speechless on the ground." We have seen, on a former occasion, that with the most beastly profligacy, he united the most abject superstition; and it is unnecessary to inquire, whether his body was agitated by external force, or whether the Almighty shook him more dreadfully from within, by the guilty terrors of his mind. He was carried from the temple half dead by his body-guards; and, upon his recovery, made haste to leave Jerusalem.

His rage  
vents itself  
in cruelty  
towards the  
Jews in  
Alexandria.  
Olymp.  
cxli. 1.  
B. C. 216.

At his return to Alexandria, he carried with him his resentment against the Jews, who were more numerous in that capital than even in Jerusalem itself, and who had long enjoyed in Egypt all the privileges of those Greeks and Macedonians who formed the first class of citizens or subjects<sup>21</sup>. Ptolemy published a decree degrading them from this rank, and ordering them to be enrolled among the lowest casts of Egyptians. As an additional insult, they were to be stigmatised in their bodies by the figure of an ivy leaf, in honour of the god Bacchus<sup>22</sup>: and none who refused compliance with the established rites of paganism, were allowed access to the gates of the palace, which, as the judges commonly sat there, amounted to a sentence of outlawry against the whole nation. Notwithstanding these cruel and disgraceful penalties, scarcely three hundred Jews apostatized

<sup>21</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 797.

<sup>22</sup> II Maccab. c. vi. v. 7.



tised from their religion; and those who had the meanness to embrace that measure for the sake of worldly advantages, met with ineffable disdain from their brethren. This contempt of his authority provoked Ptolemy to madness. The Jews were dragged as the worst of criminals from all parts of Egypt to Alexandria, and many thousands were shut up in the hippodrome of that city, to be destroyed for public sport by elephants rendered furious with frankincense and wine. The horrid show was twice adjourned, because Ptolemy in consequence of his drunken carousals, happened to outsleep the times appointed; and on the third day the intoxicated elephants, instead of attacking the Jewish victims, turned their chief rage against the Egyptian spectators. This unexpected catastrophe, accompanied with other extraordinary circumstances, again overwhelmed Ptolemy with religious terror; he rescinded his odious decree, and revoked his execrable orders: the Jews, faithful to their law, were reinstated in all their privileges; and in the true spirit of capricious despotism, Ptolemy made atonement for his cruelty to themselves by the more cruel permission of retaliating it on their apostate brethren".

True as the Egyptians always were, and as the Greeks and Macedonians had recently become, it was not to be expected that they should continue to pay implicit submission to such an execrable tyrant. To oppose Antiochus in the great battle of Raphia, Ptolemy had armed a larger proportion of Egyptians than were usually admitted into the service. This circumstance, inspiring them with more than ordinary courage, occasioned a civil war, the particulars of which are not described in history, nor is the loss to be regretted, since it produced not any memorable exertions either of skill or valour, being distinguished only by disgusting enormities perpetrated by the contending parties. While it lasted Egypt must have indeed been the scene of

Civil war in  
Egypt.

"Angels descended, &c. &c. &c.," of frightful forms," visible to all but the Jews. III. Maccab. p. 892. Edit. Francofurt.

"III. Maccab. c. iii. v. 4, 5.

**C H A P.** bloodshed, if, of the Jewish inhabitants only, forty thousand  
**XIV.** perished in the contest <sup>56</sup>.

Abilities and  
 crimes of the  
 minister  
 Sosibius.

Ptolemy prevailed over the insurgents through the relative superiority of his generals, and the real abilities of his minister Sosibius, a man grown old in government, and unprincipled as he was, an indispensably useful instrument under such a tyrannical reign<sup>57</sup>. He was fertile in expedients, of great presence of mind, had boldness to adopt vigorous measures, and penetration to discern energetic agents. What Ptolemy most admired in his minister was his cruel dexterity in removing secretly, by the cup or the dagger, all those whom it would have been dangerous openly to destroy. In this number was the high-minded Arsinoë, Philopator's queen and sister, who, while her husband wallowed in the lowest sensuality, still sustained with dignity the honours of her rank and birth. Her murder, which Sosibius effected through the agency of his creature Philammon<sup>58</sup>, destroyed the last restraint on the headstrong profligacy of the king.

The abominable Agathoclean family.—  
 Their proceedings on the death of Philopator.  
 Olymp.  
 cxliv. 1.  
 B. C. 204.

The abominable Agathoclean family, contrivers or instruments of every pollution, governed him absolutely; and at the time of his obscure death<sup>59</sup>, held the wealth and strength of Egypt so firmly in their hands, that unawed by Sosibius, now loaded with years and the weight of his crimes, Agathocles assumed the guardianship of young Ptolemy, and with that the government of the kingdom. When he had confirmed his usurpation by donatives to the soldiers, and by the murder<sup>60</sup> of all those who were likely to dispute his authority, he promoted to the first employments of the state and army, servile mercenaries and low mechanics, most of them men debased still

<sup>56</sup> Eusebius in Chronic. p. 185.

<sup>57</sup> Polybius, l. xv. c. 25.

<sup>58</sup> Id. ibid. c. 33.

<sup>59</sup> His death was long concealed by those who managed affairs under him, (Justin, l. xxx. c. 2.), so that the date of it is a matter of dispute with chronologists. Vailant. Hist. Ptolem. p. 68.

<sup>60</sup> As Sosibius disappears at this time, it may be conjectured that his old age did not protect him against Agathocles' jealousy. This conjecture is corroborated by the particular mention of Sosibius and his villainies in the same chapter of Polybius, in which we are told that Agathocles destroyed all his rivals. Polyb. l. xv. c. 25.

more

more by vileness of mind, than meanness of condition. At the head of such a court, Agathocles gave loose reins to the most shameless intemperance, and to enormities, if possible, more flagitious than those by which his late master had provoked a civil war. The Alexandrians murmured, communicated their complaints, and secretly corresponded with the military commanders in the provinces, entreating them to march to their assistance against an usurper, who trusting to the protection of the city guards, seduced by his largesses, raged with unbridled fury against the inhabitants of the capital.

Tlepolemus, a general of abilities and enterprize, undertook their defence. By means of the posts which he occupied in the inland country, he was enabled to intercept the ordinary supplies of corn and other necessaries, which were wafted down the Nile to feed a profuse court, a numerous garrison, and a city long crowded with inhabitants, both freemen and slaves. The correspondence between the Alexandrians and Tlepolemus escaped the notice of Agathocles and his agents, until the different bodies of troops stationed in the capital began to be infected with sedition. Their rapacity had much lowered his treasury; from the vicinity of their encampments to the dwellings of the citizens, they enjoyed a free communication with the latter, and were moved by their unceasing complaints; compassion gaining easier access to their mercenary minds as cruelty grew less profitable.

Conspiracy  
against them.

The tyrant, alarmed by his danger, had recourse to those called the royal guards, a body of six thousand men, holding the first rank in the Egyptian service. He proceeded to their camp, bringing with him Agathoclea and Ptolemy a child five<sup>6</sup> years old, whom he shewed to the soldiers, and whose fate he bewailed in a strain of dramatic lamentation too artful to be affecting. When he had mounted a tribunal, and raised the young prince in his arms, "Him," he said, "the descendant of your ancient kings, his father

Agathocles'  
artifices to  
regain his  
credit with  
the soldiers.

<sup>6</sup> Justin, l. xxx. c. 2. Conf. Hieronym. in Daniel, c. xi.



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Treated by  
them with  
scorn.

at the hour of death placed in the hands of her, (pointing to Agathoclea), who is altogether unable to ward off the unforeseen danger ; you only Macedonians can defend him, and confirm in his throne this rightful heir, ready to be assailed by disloyal ambition<sup>62</sup>." He then produced witnesses to prove that Tlepolemus had taken measures for usurping the crown. But the soldiers, instead of regarding his proofs, or the tears which he shed in abundance, treated him with scorn. He met with a similar reception from the other bodies of the city troops, to which he successively applied ; many soldiers meanwhile arriving by the Nile from the distant nomes or provinces, and reinforcing the malecontents, now impelled to immediate action, by the consideration that Tlepolemus by commanding the river, could intercept the ordinary convoys of provisions to Alexandria.

Incidents  
which pre-  
cipitate his  
destruction.

In this posture of affairs, the instruments of the tyrant, upon some secret accusation, seized Danæ, mother-in-law to Tlepolemus, as she returned from making her supplications in the temple of Ceres, and dragged her unveiled through the streets to prison. This most unseasonable outrage still farther exasperated the Alexandrians. In the night, writings upbraiding Agathocles were stuck up in every part of the city ; and public meetings were held in the day-time, to declare the universal indignation against his government. The trembling usurper had not made preparations for flight ; he had not spirit for any great enterprize, nor courage to seek death at the head of his remaining partizans.\* Meanwhile Mœragenes, one of his life-guards, was accused of treacherously corresponding with Tlepolemus. He was committed for examination to Nicostratus, the tyrant's secretary ; who, upon his refusal to confess, ordered the executioners to prepare their instruments of torture. The culprit was already stripped, the scourges were already raised to lacerate his body ; a sad prelude to more direful sufferings. At that moment, an attendant entered the apartment, whispered Nicostratus in the ear, and hastily withdrew.

<sup>62</sup> Polybius, l. xv. c. 26.

Nicostratus

Nicostratus followed, as quickly, without speaking a word, but smiting continually his thigh in token of inward anguish. The cause of his distress is not explained: there was enough of bad news to be communicated. The executioners stood motionless expecting his return; but after long waiting for him in vain, dropped away one after the other. Mœragenes was thus left naked and alone in a remote apartment of the palace. He betook himself to flight through such galleries as he fortunately found open, and was so happy as to reach in safety the nearest tents of his Macedonian countrymen. The soldiers were assembled at their forenoon's repast, when the arrival of Mœragenes, the strange plight in which he came, his frightful danger, and surprising escape, determined them to seize the present moment for destroying Agathocles and his family. They proceeded to the encampments of the other Macedonians, and then to the tents of other troops, which were all nearly contiguous to each other in the same quarter of the city.

When Agathocles learned these proceedings, and still farther, that Tlepolemus was on his way to join the insurgents, he behaved like a man altogether bereaved of understanding. As if nothing extraordinary had happened, he retired calmly to supper, and indulged in his habitual intemperance. But his mother, Oenanthe, repaired to the temple of Ceres and Proserpine, which was then open for the celebration of the Thesmophorean festival, an august commemoration of the benefits conferred by those goddesses, in the introduction of agriculture and the institutions of settled and civilised life. While with piteous wailings, and in a dejected posture, she invoked Heaven to avert the evils that threatened her, and which her complicated wickedness had most justly deserved, the assembled matrons of Alexandria enjoyed her fearful humiliation; a few only vouchsafed some broken expressions of pity, and drew near to learn more clearly the cause of her affliction. But Oenanthe with the voice and sentiments congenial to her depraved character and infamous life, cried out,

“ approach

Behaviour  
of Agatho-  
cles and his  
mother  
Oenanthe.

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"approach me not, wild beasts! I know your hatred to me and mine: you are praying the gods to inflict on us the worst of sufferings; but I hope, with Heaven's help! to make you devour your own children." With these words, she ordered her attendants to drive them to a distance. The women retired, holding up their hands in amazement!

Tumult in  
Alexandria,  
the young  
king seized  
by the insur-  
gents.

In every family, indignation now redoubled against the public enemies. As darkness came on, the whole city was filled with tumult, men running in opposite directions with lights in their hands, and many flying in darkness to places of concealment. A mixed multitude crowded the stadium and hippodrome, the broad avenues leading to the theatre of Bacchus, above all, the spacious courts surrounding the palace. Agathocles was roused by the uproar from the stupor of his debauch; he flew to the young king, and taking him by the hand conducted him to a covered gallery<sup>61</sup>, which joined the gymnasium to the royal garden, called the Mæander from its intricate walks and winding porticoes. In this subterranean passage, the fugitives were joined by the family and principal friends of Agathocles, all, except Philon, one of the most profligate of the number. They passed two latticed doors, strongly secured by iron bolts. All night long, they remained in this concealment, when the insurgents were heard in the morning demanding the person of their king. Aristomenes, an Acarnanian, then attended Agathocles as one of his most devoted partizans, and most assiduous flatterers. This man alone, who afterwards governed Egypt with probity and dignity, ventured to pass through a wicket, with a view to appease the multitude. He was empowered to offer, on the part of Agathocles, the surrender of office, rank, wealth; in a word, every thing to save his life. Aristomenes with difficulty defended his own, and was sent back by the enraged multitude with orders to bring with him young Ptolemy. Upon the return of Aristomenes, and when the first door

<sup>61</sup> The Syringe. Polyb. l. xv. c. 30.



was burst open, Agathocles extended through the lattice of the second, his hands in an imploring attitude, while Agathoclea supplicated compassion by her breasts, which she said had been the source of life to their sovereign. But nothing could appease the public fury until the production of young Ptolemy, who was seized by the insurgents, conveyed on horseback to the stadium, and placed in the seat there appropriated during public shows to the king. Sosibius, son to the late minister, observing, that the child was frightened at the noise and the unknown persons with whom he was surrounded, asked him, whether he abandoned to just punishment those who had been enemies to himself, his family, and his country. The child nodded assent; and Sosibius with general approbation then conveyed him to his own house, which was in that neighbourhood; while a body of armed men returned to the palace to drag from thence the whole Agathoclean family, with their now despairing adherents.

Before they were brought to the stadium, Philon, already mentioned, first appeared there, still under the influence of his debauch of the preceding day. His drunken insolence subjected him to a sudden death. The same swift destruction fell on Agathocles himself; who was no sooner brought bound into the stadium, than he was dispatched by the hasty anger of his enemies, thus disappointing their own sterner purposes of long torturing vengeance. The females of his family were carried naked on horseback through the streets; and torn in pieces by the multitude. The house of Philammon, who had been the instrument in murdering Arsinoë, was broke open, and himself, together with his wife and children, destroyed with unrelenting fury by those who had been the female companions of that high-minded prince: for the popular insurrections in Egypt and in Carthage are said to have been distinguished in the following particular from those of Greece and Rome, that boys and women had the indecency to mingle in them openly with men, and thereby to inflame their rage, and exasperate their violence<sup>64</sup>.

Destruction  
of the Aga-  
thoclean  
family and  
their adhe-  
rents.

<sup>64</sup> Polybius, l. xv. c. 30.