

against the traitor Callicrates, and his coadjutor Andronidas. Their names were branded with infamy in the public assembly; even boys, in their way to school, accosted them with reproaches; they were the objects of hisses and execration to the multitude; and during a festival in Sicyon, celebrated in honour of Antigonus Doseu, an illustrious protector of the rising fortunes of Achaia, none of the actors or spectators at this national solemnity would use the baths frequented by Callicrates and Andronidas, until they had been carefully purged from the taint of impure contact with such abominable offenders against the sacred liberties of their country<sup>9</sup>. At length, in consequence of repeated embassies from the Achæans, and through the authority of Polybius, with his pupil and friend the younger Scipio, and the influence of Scipio with Cato the censor, the Achæan exiles, reduced from one thousand below the number of three hundred, were allowed to return home, after a captivity of seventeen years<sup>10</sup>. This incident had a tendency to dissipate the popular odium against Rome and her partisans; and Callicrates, whose credit was unrivalled with one party, grew an object of less abhorrence to the other. He consented to partake in the Oropian bribe to Menalcidas, and agreed to aid him in procuring a decree of the Achæan diet for assisting Oropus against Athens<sup>11</sup>.

This decree was obtained; but, before any measures had been taken for rendering it effectual, the Athenians, apprised of the intrigue, marched against Oropus, and joined, to their former depredations on the territory, the sack of the city itself. Menalcidas and Callicrates, in order to revenge this injury, recommended an immediate invasion of Attica. But they could not prevail with the diet,

Return of  
the surviving  
Greek hos-  
tages from  
Rome.  
Olymp.  
clviii. 2.  
B. C. 151.

Discord be-  
tween Me-  
nalcidas and  
Callicrates—  
The former  
saved by  
Dæus a third  
traitor.

<sup>9</sup> Polybius, l. xxx. c. 20.

<sup>10</sup> Plutarch in Cato. Major. & Polybius, l. xxxv. c. 6. The selfish policy of Rome began about this time to be the object of satire with the honest part of her own citizens. When the Greeks, after obtaining leave to quit Italy, requested Cato's intercession

for other favours, he said to Polybius, the bearer of this request "you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. Why would you go back to the den of the Cyclops in quest of your belt and helmet?"

<sup>11</sup> Pausanias, *ibid.*

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the deputies from many states, and especially the Spartans, fellow citizens of Menalcidas, strongly opposing men, who, they knew, were bent on pursuing their own vile interests through the dangers and blood of their country. Menalcidas meanwhile having obtained his ten talents from the Oropians, refused to share these wages of iniquity with his coadjutor Callicrates. The latter, provoked at having thus incurred, without pecuniary benefit, the resentment of the Athenians, and thereby risked his interest with Rome, watched an opportunity for revenge; and at the expiration of Menalcidas' pretorship, accused him capitally before the diet; the main article against him being his secret mission to Rome, with a view to procure the separation of Sparta from the Achæan league. On this emergency, Menalcidas applied to Diæus, his successor in office, and with the money which he should have paid to Callicrates, bribed this new traitor to save him from the hands of justice. Diæus, by availing himself of the intricacy of forms, the ambiguity of some legal terms, and the undue ascendancy which presiding magistrates too frequently exercised in Grecian tribunals, snatched Menalcidas from the condemnation which he justly merited: but his artifices for this unfair purpose were detected, exposed, and reprobated; and in order to divert the storm ready to burst on him, the pretor saw the necessity of finding for the multitude, some new employment at once important to their interests and gratifying to their passions<sup>12</sup>

Diæus self-ishly involves the Achæans in a municipal dispute with Sparta. Olymp. clviii. 1. B. C. 148.

Sparta, notwithstanding the bloody seditions which had crowded it with slaves instead of citizens, still contained some portion of its ancient materials, the ferment of which agitated and gradually assimilated the mass. It had entered by compulsion into the Achæan league; its pride was much hurt at being levelled with the inferior cities of Peloponnesus; and, by an application to Rome, it had obtained an exemption in criminal matters from those popular tribunals to which other states in the confederacy were amenable. Diæus

<sup>12</sup> Pausanias Achaic. c. 12.



contended that this exemption, unreasonable in itself, had never been confirmed by the senate; and encouraged his countrymen to exercise the jurisdiction which of right belonged to them, over the persons as well as property of treacherous friends, now more formidable than when they were open enemies. The multitude, ever greedy of power, began their impeachments of such Lacedæmonians as were obnoxious to them: on which infraction of the terms of the confederacy, the Spartans prepared to send an embassy to Rome; but the Achæans opposed to this design a law, forbidding any Achæan state to employ foreign agents or ambassadors without the general consent of the league<sup>1</sup>.

In this state of affairs, both parties foresaw the necessity of having recourse to arms; but the Spartans, as weaker in power, solicited privately several Achæan cities, reluctant confederates like themselves, and even Diæus, the actual general of the league, to interpose their good offices to prevent an immediate rupture. The states to which they applied, answered that they could not refuse sending their troops into the field, whenever the pretor of Achaia displayed his standard; and Diæus declared, on his part, that though he wished not to make war on Sparta, he had determined to punish some offenders belonging to that city, notorious disturbers of the public peace. The Lacedæmonian magistrates demanded that these offenders should be named to them. Diæus named twenty-four persons, men of principal note in the commonwealth. On this occasion, Agasisthenes increased his reputation, already great at Sparta, by prevailing on the persons denounced to go into voluntary banishment to Rome, rather than furnish a pretext for an hostile invasion of their country. They had no sooner taken their departure than the Achæans condemned them to death; and sent Diæus, whose pretorship had just expired, together with Callicrates, to demand them as criminals from the senate. In that assembly Diæus, his colleague

Violent proceedings  
against  
Sparta.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, *ibid.*

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Shameful  
altercation  
of Menal-  
cidas and  
Dixus in the  
Roman  
senate.

Callicrates dying on the passage, was confronted with Menalcidas, his former accomplice in villainy, but now commissioned by the Spartans to expose his machinations. In full senate, these unworthy ambassadors insulted each other with the utmost indecency of language. Their statements of facts were altogether contradictory, and the asseverations of the one were opposed by contrary oaths of the other. The senate imposed silence on both, and intimated its design of sending commissioners into Greece, who, having obtained due information on the spot, might make a fair adjustment of the difference. Before the appointment, however, of these commissioners, Dixus and Menalcidas hastily departed, and each with equal audacity assured his fellow citizens that he had fully succeeded in his business at Rome; Dixus affirming that the Lacedæmonians were in all cases alike, to be amenable to Achæan tribunals, and Menalcidas asserting that in no case whatever were the Achæans to exercise any jurisdiction over Sparta, which was in future to be totally separated from their league<sup>14</sup>.

Fruitless  
campaign of  
Damocritus  
against Spar-  
ta.  
Olymp.  
clviii. 2.  
B. C. 147.

In consequence of the falsehood maintained by Dixus, his countrymen prepared to take the field under Damocritus, their new pretor. In their march towards the frontier of Laconia, they were overtaken by some Romans then going into Asia, on a business which will be explained presently, who desired them to suspend their hostilities, and to wait the arrival of commissioners, already on their way from the senate. Neither the Achæans, nor their general, regarded this admonition; they advanced towards Laconia, while the Romans pursued their journey to the East. By this time the Spartans had taken the best measures in their power for repelling the invaders. But a battle ensued on their frontiers, in which, after the loss of a thousand brave youths, still animated by the example of better times, they were driven from the field, and obliged to seek refuge within the walls of their capital. Damocritus, the Achæan

<sup>14</sup> Id. ibid.

pretor, had he acted with proper spirit, might have intercepted their retreat, or entered the place with the fugitives. The suspicion of treachery incurred by his remissness, seemed to be confirmed by his subsequent proceedings. No vigorous measures were adopted against the city itself; fruitless depredations on the territory occupied Damocritus during the remaining month of his pretorship. At the expiration, therefore, of his office, he was accused, found guilty, and amerced of sixty talents; and being unable to pay this fine, avoided personal punishment by banishing himself from Peloponnesus".

Diaus, the head of the popular party, was chosen to succeed Damocritus. This was the second time he had been elected pretor, and as such intrusted with the command of the Achæan army. He would have prosecuted the war with eagerness, but his hands were for six months tied up in consequence of the following emergency. The Romans who, on their mission into Asia, recently interposed their endeavours to make peace, had been sent by the senate to tranquillise the confederates on that continent, and to keep them steady in their affections, amidst great disturbances that had arisen on the neighbouring shores of Macedon. The harsh conditions imposed on that country by Rome, and the severity encreasing from year to year with which these conditions were exacted, revived in the Macedonians the sentiments of their ancient loyalty. They sighed for their fair form of hereditary monarchy, where kings, limited by law, might assert national independence, and protect the different orders of the state against mutual injuries or insults. In this state of the public mind, a certain Andriscus, of Adramyttium in Troas, probably instigated by a party in Macedon itself, appeared in the courts of Asia, giving himself out for the still surviving son of the late Macedonian king Perseus. In Syria, however, the impostor was seized by order of Demetrius Soter, who, to gain favour with the

Rebellion in  
Macedon—  
Pseudophi-  
lippus.  
Olymp.  
clviii. 1.  
B. C. 148.



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senate, sent him well guarded to Rome. But amidst the preparations for the third Punic war, Andrisus found means to escape from Italy, landed safely in Macedon, was welcomed by numerous partisans; the cities opened their gates; and the fortunate adventurer, under the name of Philip IV. usurped a crown which, he pretended, of right belonged to him. The Romans, intent on combating, not the power, but the despair of Carthage<sup>16</sup>, were satisfied to oppose this insurrection, by dispatching across the Hadriatic Scipio Nasica, who having summoned to his standard the allies in Greece, with difficulty restrained Philip from making incursions into Thessaly. In consequence of the report made by Scipio, the senate committed a small army to Juventius Thalna, who having landed on the Macedonian frontier, hastened to enter that country, and to pull Pseudophilippus, that king of the stage, as he called him, from the upstart throne which he had so insolently erected. But Thalna's own insolence exposed him to such fatal disgrace as generally results from contempt of an enemy. As he advanced into Macedon without due precaution, he was encountered and cut off with almost the whole of the troops which he commanded<sup>17</sup>.

He defeats  
the Romans  
under Juven-  
tius Thalna.  
Olymp.  
clviii. 2.  
B. C. 147.

Is defeated  
by Metellus,  
and delivered  
to him.  
Olymp.  
clviii. 2.  
B. C. 147.

To repair this misfortune, the Romans expeditiously levied a consular army, for their citizens at this time amounted to 322,000 men liable to military service<sup>18</sup>. The two legions, with their auxiliaries, were commanded by the pretor Cæcilius Metellus, and in consequence of the mission into Asia above mentioned, Attalus II. of Pergamus equipped a considerable fleet to co-operate with his Roman allies. Upon arriving in his province, Metellus acted with that mixture of activity and caution which becomes a great general. While he adopted proper measures for quelling the rebellion in Macedon, he found time for attending to the latent disaffection in Greece, and by his order the Roman ambassadors destined for Asia had endeavoured,

<sup>16</sup> Polybius, l. xxix. Tit Liv. Epitom. l. ii. Florus, ii. 14. Oros. iv. 22.  
l. xix. & seq. Plutarch in Caton. Major <sup>17</sup> Conf. Plin. N. H. l. xvii. c. 25. & Tab.  
<sup>18</sup> Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. l. Zonaras. Vell. Capitolin.

in their way thither, to stop the progress of Damocritus in an expedition, which, as we have seen, proved highly disgraceful to himself. In the interval of time between this fruitless application to Damocritus and the second pretorship of Diæus, Metellus, in two bloody engagements, totally defeated the unworthy usurper in Macedon, for Andriscus, elated by the first success of his arms against Juventius Thalna, began, as if his power had thereby become impregnable, to indulge his odious propensities to rapacity and cruelty<sup>19</sup>. His instruments were fierce Thracians, who flocked to him for booty; but when he was worsted by Metellus, first in the neighbourhood of Pydna, and afterwards on the frontiers of Thrace, the fickle barbarians of that country shewed that they were allies only to his good fortune; and Byras, one of their chieftains with whom he sought refuge, made his own peace by surrendering his supplicant to the Roman general<sup>20</sup>. In this posture of affairs, Metellus sent a message to Diæus, commanding him to suspend hostilities with Sparta. Diæus obeyed, and a truce was concluded between the Achæans and Spartans, until commissioners should arrive from Rome to adjust their differences.

A truce between the Achæans and Spartans.

But in agreeing to this arrangement, neither party was sincere. As Metellus prolonged his stay in Macedon, in consequence of events which will presently be related, Diæus applied to several subordinate allies in Laconia: exasperated their natural hatred against a proud, imperious capital; and prevailed on them to admit secretly, considerable bodies of Achæan troops, by means of which, when a fit opportunity offered, he might renew hostilities suddenly, and with decisive effect. But his rival Menalcidas, being raised to the generalship of Sparta, anticipated his perfidious designs, and persuaded the Spartans to commit the first infraction of the treaty. At his instigation they surprised and plundered Iafus, a Lacedæmonian

Infringed at the persuasion of Menalcidas. Ovi. imp. clviii. 2. B. C. 147.

<sup>19</sup> Diodorus Excerpt. p. 590.

pius et Valer. Maxim. vii. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Tit. Liv. Epitom. li. Zonaras. Eutro-

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He drinks  
poison.Proceedings  
of the Ro-  
man com-  
missioners at  
Corinth—  
outrages  
committed  
there.  
Olymp.  
clviii. 2.  
B. C. 147.

city, zealous for the Achæan league; but had no sooner perpetrated this crime, than they began to view with terror the punishment to which it exposed them. With regard both to men and money, they were far inferior to the enemy: the outrage of which they had been guilty must alienate their Roman protectors; they were ashamed at yielding rashly to the mad councils of Menalcidas, who, finding himself the object of general execration, had recourse to a dose of poison to elude public vengeance<sup>21</sup>. This wretched man who came to so wretched an end, had held the first rank in two, once illustrious, states; he thus had full scope for exhibiting his worthlessness; a contemptible general of Sparta, a profligate pretor of Achaia.

Meanwhile, the commissioners expected from Rome, arrived in Peloponnesus, headed by Aurelius Orestes. The magistrates of the Achæan states gave them a meeting at Corinth, to which place many deputies and many private persons proceeded, anxious to hear the decision of the great political cause by which Greece had been so long agitated. The persons bearing office in the different cities of Achaia assembled in the house that had been assigned, by public authority, for the reception of the Roman commissioners. There, Aurelius addressed them in a studied oration, expatiating on the good offices of Rome towards Achaia, and the sincere desire of his country to maintain its amicable relations with that confederacy. But, from the perpetual dissensions that arose among ill-assorted members of the league, there was a clear proof that it had been too widely extended, and that communities had been reduced under one government, whose tempers, manners, and municipal laws, rendered them unfit for any such intimate union. On this account, the happiness of Greece required that not only Lacedæmon, but Hæraclæa, a colony of that city at the foot of mount Cæta, that Argos, Orchomenos, recently joined to Achaia, and even Corinth itself, should thenceforth form republics apart. Without waiting for the con-

<sup>21</sup> Pausanias Achaic. c. 13.



clusion of his discourse, Diæus and the other Achæan magistrates abruptly took their departure, and rushing into the streets, summoned to an assembly all their fellow citizens of every description in Corinth. The purport of Aurelius' speech, when communicated to the multitude, provoked it to the utmost fury. The Lacedæmonians, as original authors of animosities likely to prove so fatal, were seized, buffeted, and subjected to every insult: all suspected to belong to that nation, by their long hair, the peculiar form of their garments, or even by their bare names, suffered the same outrages. The residence of the Roman commissioners, to which many fled for refuge, afforded not protection. The Romans themselves thought fit to consult their safety by flight; and such was the blindness of popular rage, that, when the tumult ceased, it was discovered that many persons belonging to other communities had been, through mistake, seized and maltreated as Lacedæmonians. These were set at liberty: the Lacedæmonians were detained in prison<sup>22</sup>.

Soon after this transaction the pretorship of Diæus expired, and he was succeeded by Critolaus, a man equally turbulent and equally profligate, and still more execrably ambitious, since he burned with desire to grasp into his own hands the whole power and patronage of his country, by involving her in a war to which neither experience nor reason promised a favourable issue. For this purpose, when new commissioners arrived from Rome, Critolaus indeed met them at Ægium, and agreed to summon a diet of the Achæans at Tegea. He even sent public orders to the several states for this purpose, but privately intimated to them his wish that those orders should not be obeyed. Accordingly, Sextus Julius and the other Romans, after long waiting at Tegea, were joined by Critolaus alone: he expressed his regret to them, that the deputies of the states, without whose presence no business could be done, had declined giving their attendance; but the regular meeting of the diet, he said, would happen in

New commissioners  
from Rome.

Trusted with  
and provoked by the  
Achæan pretor.

<sup>22</sup> Pausanias *Achaic*. c. 14. *Cont. Polyb.* l. xxxviii. c. 1.

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Mummius  
consul with  
Achaia for  
his province.  
Olymp.  
clviii. 3.  
B. C. 146.

The Pseudo  
--Alexander  
in Macedon,  
defeated by  
Metellus.

the course of six months, at which time all differences might be adjusted. Thus treated with derision, the Romans hastened homeward; they had come to Peloponnesus with pacific intentions, and having met on their way Theridas, commissioned by Achaia to the senate, with a view to extenuate the outrage recently committed at Corinth, they had brought him back with them to Ægium; and had there declared to this ambassador, to Critolaus, and the other principal magistrates of Achaia, that the senate had an earnest desire of keeping on good terms with their league, and would, on security being given for better behaviour in future, forget and forgive past injuries: but they returned to Rome, breathing very different sentiments<sup>23</sup>. The Romans accordingly elected consul, with Achaia for his province, Lucius Mummius, an experienced but rough soldier, careless of the arts and literature of the Greeks, of which he was grossly ignorant, and who seemed on this account the better calculated to be the executioner of vengeance on that people<sup>24</sup>.

But before Mummius transported his legions across the Hadriatic, the war began from another quarter. Metellus had hitherto been prevented from seconding his embassies by arms, in consequence of a second insurrection in Macedon, raised by a new impostor who succeeded to the pretensions of Andriscus. He made his stand on the eastern frontier of the kingdom, near the river Nessus, assuming the name of Alexander, as his precursor had usurped that of Philip; names which revived in the loyal Macedonians the remembrance of their ancient glory. Metellus followed him thither, defeated him in battle, dispersed his unhappy followers, but failed in his attempt to seize the person of the pretender, who escaped through the swiftness of his flight across the intricacies of mount Rhodopè, to the barbarous district of Dardania. After thus removing every obstacle to the re-

<sup>23</sup> Polybius, l. xxxviii. Pausanias Achaic. l. xxxv. c. 4. Florus, l. ii. c. 16. Velleius, l. i. c. 13.

<sup>24</sup> Conf. Strabo, l. viii. p. 381. Plin.

duction of Macedon into the form of a province, Metellus renewed his attention to the affairs of Achaia<sup>25</sup>.

Critolaus, he found, had succeeded in rousing his countrymen to arms against Sparta, and against Rome itself, if she thought fit to espouse the Spartan cause. By procuring a law, that no debts should be recoverable until the end of the year, that demagogue had gained all the needy and profligate to his party. With an address still more refined, he had confounded in one class all those who deprecated a war, which their country was totally unable to support, with Callicrates, Andronidas, and other vile flatterers of the Roman power: men contemptible in life, and whose memories were still the objects of public execration. Through such base but too ordinary artifices, he had obtained a complete ascendancy in the Achæan councils, when Metellus, who was in a situation to march with a powerful detachment from Macedon, sent a new embassy to Corinth, hoping to terminate the dissensions in Greece by the mere terror of his arms. Cneius Papirius, with three other illustrious Romans, explained the object of their commission to the Achæan deputies assembled in that city. They spoke in the same moderate language that had been recently held by Sextus Julius at Ægium, and conjured the Achæans not to persist in measures which must forfeit the friendship of Rome, essentially useful to their country. By the deputies and still more by the surrounding crowd of mechanics and manufacturers, in which Corinth then abounded above all other cities, the modest expressions of the ambassadors were construed into symptoms of weakness or fear. Their own courage took fire, and vented itself in noisy clamour and petulant scurrility. The Romans, after suffering viler insults than those lately heaped on Aurelius Orestes in the same city, escaped in different directions to Lacedæmon, Naupactus, and Athens<sup>26</sup>.

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His overtures rejected by the Achæans. Olymp. clviii. 3. B. C. 146.

<sup>25</sup> Eutrop. cum Græc. Pzan. Metaph. p. 89. Zonaras, Velleius, Florus. <sup>26</sup> Pausanias, ibid.



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Their cause  
abetted only  
by the Bœo-  
tians and  
Chalcians.

Having thus obstructed every avenue to reconciliation, Critolaus summoned the Achæans to arms. He flattered them with the assistance of many republicks beyond Peloponnesus, and even of many kings. But the Bœotians and Chalcians alone appeared zealous in his cause. The former, as we have seen, had rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious to Rome, and their principal magistratè at this time was one Pythias, whose youth, spent in abominable profligacy, had prepared his old age for relishing the bloody amusements of sedition<sup>27</sup>. Chalcis in Eubœa, again, continued still to retain the leaven of ancient hatred. It had served as the main arsenal of Philip in all his wars with the Romans.

Battle of  
Scarphæa.  
Olymp.  
clviii. 3.  
B. C. 146.

Critolaus, with a numerous army from various cities of Peloponnesus, issued from the isthmus of Corinth, passed through Bœotia, and attacked Heraclæa at the foot of mount Ceta, a colony, as above observed, of Lacedæmon, and which, in imitation of its metropolis, had separated from the Achæan league. The siege of Heraclæa was commenced with vigour, but had not been long carried on, when news arrived that Metellus was marching through Thessaly. It was soon after known, that he had passed the Sperchius, which flows into the Malian gulph, about twelve miles from the straits of Thermopylæ. This was sacred ground, on which the Spartans had resisted the Persians, and on which, even in the declining age of Greece, the Athenians had repelled the Gauls. But Critolaus, instead of being encouraged by the inspiring scenery around him, hastily raised the siege of Heraclæa, and leaving the straits of Thermopylæ open, retreated southward through Locris. In that district, he was overtaken near Scarphæa by the Romans, and defeated with great slaughter. Above a thousand of his unhappy followers were made prisoners; nearly an equal number of Arcadians fled towards Bœotia, hotly pursued by the victors. Two reports prevailed concerning the death of Critolaus. It was said, that driven to despair by seeing the effects of his

<sup>27</sup> Polybius, l. xl. c. 1.

rash counsels, he had destroyed himself by poison. But, as his body was no where to be discovered, it is more probable that in attempting his escape, he sunk in the marine marsh between the Malian gulph and the roots of mount Ceta. The flying Arcadians were intercepted by Metellus in the neighbourhood of Cheronæa, and entirely cut to pieces<sup>23</sup>.

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These repeated disasters did not terminate the war. Upon the death of a pretor in office, his place was, according to the Achæan laws, to be supplied by his immediate predecessor. Dixæus thus obtained, for the third time, the command of his countrymen, and kept alive in them the frantic passions which he had originally helped to inspire. Many, who well foresaw the sad catastrophe at hand, were yet carried along by the torrent, and augmented its force. The whole of the men and money in Peloponnesus was put at the disposal of the Achæan pretor; the slaves, fit for war, were emancipated and armed; the women divested themselves, and even their young children, of their ornaments, to supply the exigencies of the public service; and, under the pressure of immediate hardships, unexampled privations, and intolerable exertions, the greater part lost sight of the fatal end in which all these voluntary sufferings were likely to terminate. The unskilfulness of Dixæus, as a general, gave the finishing to his pernicious character. Although his army assembled at the isthmus of Corinth, fell short, even in point of number, of thirty thousand Romans, with whom he would have to contend, he absurdly weakened it by sending a detachment to defend the intermediate city Megara. Meanwhile, the enemy advanced from Cheronæa towards Thebes, and found the latter place reduced to a desert. Its citizens, fit to bear arms, had perished in the battle of Scarpheæ; and their kinsmen, dreading the approach of the Romans, had fled in precipitation with their families and most precious effects. Metellus disdained to wreak vengeance on the aged and infirm, or the wretched

Dixæus a third time pretor—his address in faction and inability in war.

<sup>23</sup> Liv. Epitom. l. lii. Pausanias, Achaic. c. 15.

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children abandoned to their feeble care. He desired even to spare the fugitives, and ordered his pursuers to make diligent search only for the seditious Pytheas, the main author of the calamities of Thebes. This wretch, the fit coadjutor of Diæus, escaped into Peloponnesus, but, being finally taken, suffered the punishment due to his crimes both as a magistrate and as a man. From Thebes, where the Roman soldiers were restrained from violence or plunder, Metellus proceeded towards Megara, the Achæans who guarded that city flying before him to the isthmus. But the terror which they carried with them there, did not alter the mind of Diæus and his adherents; who treated with scorn new messengers of peace whom Metellus, eager to finish the war, yet thought proper to send to them. On this occasion those unhappy Achæans, who had been compelled to bear arms in a cause which they deemed desperate, had the courage to make one last effort for changing the mad purposes of their countrymen. For this presumption they were arraigned as traitors; and as such, many of them suffered the cruellest and most disgraceful punishments. Those only escaped death, who had money enough to bribe Diæus; for such is the force of habit, that even on the edge of the precipice to which he had brought himself and his country, this wretched man continued as greedy as ever after the wages of iniquity<sup>29</sup>.

Strange enthusiasm and unhappy delusions of the Achæans.

After suppressing this feeble opposition, the artifices of the Achæan chiefs operating on the enthusiasm of the assembled multitude, kept the passions of both soldiers and citizens, and all descriptions of persons in Corinth, in one and the same fatal direction; all disdained the equitable accommodation offered to them, and all panted with joy at the thoughts of encountering and vanquishing the enemy. But at a distance from this center of rebellion, there prevailed great differences in opinion. The Elians and Messenians, living along the sea coast of Peloponnesus, fancied every moment that they perceived the combined fleets of king Attalus and the Romans, ready to descend

<sup>29</sup> Pausanias, *ibid.* Polybius, l. xl. c. 2. & seq.



in vengeance on their defenceless shores. The small communities of Dyme, Patrae, Pharæ, and Tritæa, which formed the original germ of the Achæan league, and were ever foremost in promoting the interests of civil liberty and political independance, had lost all their bravest youths in the bloody battle of Scaphæa. This dreadful misfortune so recently sustained, filled them with deep anxiety and melancholy forebodings. They accused each other as the authors of the calamity that had happened, and of still severer evils that inevitably awaited them. Under this paroxysm of despair, many fled from their habitations, wandering they knew not whither: some went forth as if to denounce the enemies of Rome; others assumed branches of supplicatory olive, to appease the conquerors; though no Romans were at hand, either to hear accusations or to receive petitions; and others, still more felly frantic, became their own executioners, drowning themselves in wells, or throwing themselves from precipices. The greatest enemy of Greece must have melted in pity at such miserable infatuation and such horrid sufferings, especially of the Peloponnesians, a people actuated by the mild as well as manly virtues, and singularly adapted to the enjoyment of rural life in all its loveliness of contentment and innocence\*.

Meanwhile Mummius' fleet, accompanied by that of king Attalus, landed in the Crissæan gulph. His army amounted to twenty-three thousand infantry, with the ordinary proportion of horse, besides a body of Cretan archers, and a considerable reinforcement of Pergamians, commanded by a general named Philopœmen; a name once connected with the meridian glory of Achaia, and now to be associated with the eternal sunset of that confederacy.

Junction of the Roman forces under Mummius with those of king Attalus.

The first measure of the consul, even before his whole forces had joined him at the isthmus, was to order Metellus back into Macedon with the troops which he commanded. He then advanced within the isthmus, and encamped near a place called Leucopetra, and the

Battle of Corinth. Olymp. clviii. 3. B. C. 146.

\* Conf. Polybius, l. xl. c. 3. & l. v. c. 106.

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pine-tree grove of Neptune, the scene of the Isthmian games, where the strait, fifteen miles in length, contracts to five miles in breadth, again opening as you approach Corinth and the immediate entrance into Peloponnesus. From his camp, Mummius sent forward a small party of auxiliaries, who, forming an advanced guard, might watch the motions of the enemy. But this duty was so carelessly performed, that the Achæans issued suddenly from Corinth, surprised the auxiliaries now posted a mile and a half before the Roman encampment, and carried back with them five hundred shields as trophies of their victory. Upon this slight advantage, the furious courage of the Achæans blazed more fiercely than ever. They determined immediately to come to battle, and in full assurance of success, their wives and mistresses, for Corinth abounded in courtezans above all other cities<sup>31</sup>, were planted as spectators of their prowess, on the towering eminences which Pindar<sup>32</sup> called Nature's bridge, in the midst of the sea, for joining the states in the Peloponnesus with those of the northern continent. Before they approached in this new confidence, Mummius had quitted his camp, and formed his order of battle, with proper detachments both of cavalry and infantry, to be kept in reserve, and to assail the enemy's flanks in the time of action. In consequence of this judicious arrangement, nothing could be more natural than the event of the combat; by the attack in flank, first the Achæan cavalry, and then the infantry, were totally discomfited; most of the unhappy fugitives sought refuge within the walls of Corinth, but Diæus, their wretched leader, did not cease from his flight till he reached Megalopolis in Arcadia. There, his despair pursuing him, he murdered his wife, set fire to his house, and then, like Menalcidas, his rival in infamy, swallowed a dose of poison<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Aristoph. in *Thesmoph.* v. 655. & Strabo, l. xii. p. 559. He calls the profigate Cornæna, a little Corinth.

<sup>32</sup> Pindari *Nemæor.* Od. vi.

<sup>33</sup> Pausanias, *ibid.* c. 16. Polybius. l. iii. c. 32. Justin, l. xxxiv. c. 2. Velleius, *Zonaras.*

Corinth, into which the routed Achæans had thrown themselves, contained ample resources for subsistence and defence. Its walls, indeed, exceeded eight miles in circuit, including those of the citadel. This citadel, which had never been taken without treachery, stood on a high hill south of the town, completely securing it on that side; and on the three other sides it was defended by strong and lofty ramparts<sup>24</sup>. From these ramparts, a wall two miles long extended to the Crissæan gulph and the western harbour Lechæum; and another fortification, thrice that length, stretched in an opposite direction towards the Saronic gulph and the eastern harbour Cenchreæ; two valuable appendages, whose commerce and customs had immemorially formed the sinews of Corinthian opulence<sup>25</sup>. The city itself boasted an antiquity of nine hundred and fifty years, and during the far greater part of that time had been the staple of general traffic, into which the timidity of Greek mariners, who feared doubling Malea and Tenarus the southern capes of Peloponnesus, poured the corn of Sicily, the silver of Spain, the perfumes of Arabia, the spices of India, the ivory of Ethiopia, the manufactures of Egypt, of Babylon, and of Carthage. The Corinthians, besides, had many curious productions, and many valuable manufactures of their own. It was their highest glory that they had moulded the awkward and unsafe vessels of antiquity into the convenient form of trireme gallees<sup>26</sup>. The machine, by which the potter fashions the most common materials into usefulness and elegance, if not invented, had received its last improvements from their hands<sup>27</sup>. Their fabrics of cloth were in general request, and they had contrived various combinations of the more precious with the baser metals, which being cheaper, and not less brilliant than gold itself, were employed by sculptors and carvers in the formation of that variety of cups,

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The routed Achæans throw themselves into Corinth—actual state of that city.

<sup>24</sup> Conf. Strabo, l. viii. p. 262. & seq. form, History of Ancient Greece, v. i. c. 5. & Plutarch Apopth. Lazon. p. 215. <sup>27</sup> Plin. N. H. xxv. c. 3 & 12. Conf.

<sup>25</sup> Strabo, l. viii. p. 378. Oros. l. v. c. 3. l. vii. c. 56. & Strabo, l. vii. p. 303. Athen.

<sup>26</sup> Thucyd. & Diodor. See for their Deipa. l. i. p. 27.

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vases, and images in which the Greeks so much delighted.<sup>38</sup> In works of more refined genius, and the higher kinds of sculpture and painting, the Corinthians were indeed surpassed by several of their neighbours. But riches had collected among them in vast abundance what their ingenuity had been unable to create; and no city, not excepting Athens itself, could shew a greater profusion of acknowledged master-pieces of art, than adorned the halls, temples, theatres, and private dwellings of the wealthy Corinthians. In addition to these circumstances, Corinth was famous from remote ages for the Isthmian games celebrated in its territory; and since its junction by Aratus to the Achæan league, had been regarded, for nearly a century, as the head of that illustrious confederacy.

Sack of  
Corinth by  
Mummius.

In a place amply provided with all the accommodations of luxury, it is not to be suspected that there should have prevailed any scarcity in point of necessaries. The magazines of Corinth were in fact well stored, and the Acro-Corinthus was impregnable. Yet such was the terror into which unexpected defeat threw its citizens, that many of them, at the approach of night, left the place in trepidation, in company with the trembling fugitives who had escaped from the field of battle. In advancing shortly afterwards to the gates, the consul was surprised to find them open and unguarded. Suspicious of an ambush, he did not enter them, it is said, till the third day, eager as he was to take vengeance on a place where Rome had been daringly and repeatedly insulted in the persons of her ambassadors. Among his first orders he commanded the males of military age to be collected in the spacious squares of the city, declaring that the Corinthians only, and the slaves whom they had armed in their defence, should be the objects of punishment. Having made this distinction in favour of strangers, abounding in a place which allured them with so many temptations, he subjected the captive Corinthians to military execution: their women and children were then dragged

<sup>38</sup> Plin. xxxiv. 2, xxxvii. 3. Florus, ii. 16.



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from their concealments, and heaped together in crowds to be disposed of for slaves, to the numerous traders who, with a view chiefly to such articles, accompanied ancient armies. The soldiers were then conducted to a general depredation of opulence and of art, accumulated in public and private edifices through a long succession of ages. Having satiated rapacity, a blind revenge was next to be indulged against even inanimate objects: the walls of Corinth were demolished at the sound of martial music, and the city being in different parts set on fire, the flames at length united in one general conflagration, which burned so violently, that melted masses of various metals employed in works public or private, ornamental or useful, are said to have flowed down the streets in many mingling streams<sup>28</sup>: an extravagant exaggeration to explain the origin of what is called Corinthian brass, which composition, though usually referred to this period, remounted, as we have said, to a far earlier date, and was the work not of chance, but of very ingenious contrivance.

After the demolition of Corinth, it was determined that Thebes and Chalcis, which had joined in the same cause, should share a similar fate. The Romans dismantled and despoiled these cities, and such examples of severity, amidst the wretchedness and despondency which generally prevailed, as we have just seen, in Peloponnesus, put an end to the Achæan league, and terminated the last war of Greece; a war madly undertaken, absurdly carried on, and both disgracefully and ruinously concluded, since shortly after the destruction of Corinth, ten Roman commissioners arrived, according to custom, from the senate, to assist Mummius with their counsel, and to make with him the necessary arrangements for reducing Greece into the form of a province, and thereby subjecting in future that once illustrious country, to the arbitrary and most unjust sentences of Roman tribunes, the extortion of publicans, and the tyranny of

Achaia reduced into a province—  
extent of that name.  
Olymp  
clvii. 3.  
B. C. 146.

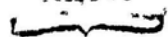
<sup>28</sup> Plin. xxiv. 2. Florus, ii. 16.

proconsuls.



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proconsuls. This province received the name of Achaia, because originally composed of the states belonging to the Achæan league, although it afterwards included not only Lacedæmon in Peloponnesus, which had separated from that league, but all the states beyond the isthmus, to the frontiers of Thessaly, history not condescending to notice the time or circumstances of the gradual extension. Thessaly, on the other hand, was ascribed to the province of Macedon, to which country, when it held the rank of a kingdom, the Thessalians had long been subject<sup>40</sup>.

Polybius beholds the desolation of Corinth and the dishonour to its works of art.

The destruction of Carthage preceded about two months that of Corinth; and it is worthy of remark, that these cities, a century afterwards, were rebuilt in the same year by order of Julius Cæsar, and both of them repeopled with Roman colonies<sup>41</sup>. The historian Polybius beheld at a short interval of time the smouldering ruins of both: for in the third or last Punic war, he had accompanied his friend Scipio Æmilianus, and continued during the whole course of it to be his principal adviser in every difficulty. Next to the general's, his glory was the greatest in the conquest of Carthage; a Greek writer of good credit even extols his fame above that of Scipio himself<sup>42</sup>. But his joy at the overthrow of this once proud capital, if such a mind could rejoice in victory bearing desolation in her train, was soon converted into deep sorrow at the sight of Corinth, the fairest ornament of Achaia, now prostrate in the dust. Contrary to his repeated admonitions, the Achæans had embroiled their affairs with Rome, and thereby provoked and precipitated their wretched destiny. Polybius' hasty departure from Carthage could not avail them: already Corinth was demolished; its surviving citizens, collected in half-dead heaps, waited the voice of the crier to be sold into perpetual servitude; its plundered magnificence and inestimable treasures of art were piled in huge masses of indiscriminate ruin, or scattered in disjointed fragments among the rude rapacious victors.

<sup>40</sup> Pausanias, Zonaras, Florus, *ibid*.

<sup>41</sup> Pausanias *Arcadic*. c. 30.

<sup>42</sup> Dion. Cassius, l. xliii. p. 238.

Two master pieces of painting, Hercules tormented by Dejanira's empoisoned garment, and the Bacchus of Aristides, the perfection of which had passed into a proverb, Polybius saw degraded into dice boards, and rattling under the coarse hands of legionary soldiers<sup>42</sup>. The meanest of these soldiers, indeed, knew as much of painting as the consul Mummius. It is told that when he sent the most admired productions of Greece aboard the transports destined to convey them to Rome, he exacted a promise from the ship-masters that if they lost any part of the cargoes entrusted to them, they should restore new articles of the same kind and of equal perfection<sup>43</sup>: and when upon a more discriminate examination of the booty, Aristides' picture of Bacchus had been rescued from the drunken gamblers, and sold by public auction to Philopœmen, king Attalus' general, for the value of five thousand pounds, Mummius suspected that some secret magical virtue must be contained in a small and frail work bearing so high a price: he accordingly gave orders that the sale should be cancelled, and the tablet transported not to Pergamus but to Rome<sup>44</sup>. Pergamus, however, obtained its full share of the spoils, and continued to display them as its proudest ornaments at the distance of three centuries<sup>45</sup>.

Grossness  
and super-  
stition of  
Mummius.

Shortly after the destruction of Corinth, ten commissioners, sent according to custom by the senate, arrived in Peloponnesus, to assist the general in settling the affairs of his province. A sentence of confiscation passed on the property of all concerned in a war which the Romans treated as a rebellion. An exception, however, to this harsh decree was made in favour of the children or parents of the deceased rebels. The estate of Diætus, and his house in Megalopolis, to which he had madly set fire, was ordered by the commissioners to be exempted from the general sale, and to be bestowed gratuitously

Roman commissioners in Greece—disinterestedness and patriotism of Polybius. Olymp. clviii. 3. B. C. 146.

<sup>42</sup> Polybius, l. xi. c. 21. 22.  
<sup>43</sup> Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 16.

<sup>44</sup> Plin. l. xxxv. c. 4.

<sup>45</sup> Pausanias, *ibid.*

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on Polybius, himself a native of that city. But Polybius scorned the invidious present, and persuaded many of his friends (for all were not alike adviseable) to decline advantages procured at the expence of their deluded and unhappy countrymen. The worth of his character appeared yet more conspicuously in repelling a strange accusation that had been urged by a nameless Roman before the consul and his assessors. This man, in the grossest abuse of victory, had classed Philopœmen and Aratus with the public delinquents in Peloponnesus, and arraigned them as state criminals. Though personal punishment could not be inflicted, he insisted that their anniversary honours ought to be abolished, and their statues, together with those of Achæus, their venerable precursor, pulled down and removed from Peloponnesus. He had prevailed with the judges; and the marble monuments of these illustrious pretors had already been transported to Acarnania on their way to Rome; but at the instance of Polybius the cause was reheard, and in his famous pleading on this occasion, the obligations of patriotism and honour were founded by him in so high a strain, that the unworthy sentence was reversed, and men no longer branded as enemies to Rome, because they had been less zealous for the interests of that foreign commonwealth than for the safety and independence of their native country<sup>46</sup>. By thus vindicating the fair fame of the dead, Polybius indirectly benefited the living. The statues of Philopœmen and Aratus, while they adorned every city of Peloponnesus, reminded the Achæans that they had once been a bold and free people; and the same glorious monuments could not fail to impose some salutary restraints on the Romans themselves, little influenced by justice, but still alive to shame and reproach.

His great  
public ser-  
vices to  
Achæa

The exertions of Polybius were directed to still more substantial services. The consideration which, through his authority with Sci-

<sup>46</sup> Polybius, l. xl. c. 7. & seq.

pio, he enjoyed with every Roman of worth or dignity, and his intimate acquaintance with the interests and feelings both of Achaia and of Rome, made his interference highly acceptable to the consul Mummius and his assessors, in the final arrangement of affairs.— Without any other commission than that conferred on him by the voice of public respect and admiration, he thus performed to general satisfaction the difficult and delicate task of adjusting the political relations between the two countries, in the manner best calculated to moderate dominion on the one hand, and to restrain rebellion on the other. The subsequent tranquillity of Greece was thought to attest the efficaciousness of his labours. With this testimony concurred that of his numerous statues in Pallantium, Tegæa, Mantinæa, Aca-cæsius, and other cities of Peloponnesus, all bearing honourable inscriptions, and particularly that “Polybius formed the sole resource of his country, amidst calamities which she had incurred by rashly despising his advice.”

When his abilities were thus dexterously exerted, Polybius was in his fifty-sixth year, about which period of life the greatest proficient in the knowledge of human nature fixed the age best qualified for offices of government in point of talents, experience, and above all of temper. He lived to his eighty-second year, and died then in consequence of a fall from his horse<sup>47</sup>. The last twenty years of his life were devoted to the composition of his history in forty books, of which only five have come down to us entire. The subject of it is to explain how, from the commencement of the second Punic war, the Romans in the course of fifty-three years made themselves masters of the world. In this expression, Polybius adopted the language of the times, confounding the habitable world with the limits of Roman dominion. Yet we shall see presently, that amidst the crimes and calamities of Greek kingdoms, a great Barbarian power arose in

His future labours.

<sup>47</sup> Pausanias Arcadie. c. 37.

<sup>48</sup> Lucian in Macrob.

**C H A P.** the east, which subsisted in vigour upwards of three centuries ; which  
**XXIV.** always defied and repeatedly disgraced the Roman arms ; and which,  
having usurped the widest and richest division of Alexander's empire, will appear, through subsequent parts of the present work, in all the gorgeous pride of Barbaric splendour.



## CHAPTER XXV.

*Ptolemy Physcon and his Minister Hierax. — Diodotus' Intrigues in Syria. — Antiochus VI. — Confederacy of Pirates. — Their Traffick in Slaves. — Corruptions thereby introduced into Rome. — Diodotus, Emperor and King. — State of neighbouring Powers. — Mithridates V. of Pontus. — A greater Mithridates among the Parthians. — Their Manners and Institutions. — Destruction of the Greek Kingdom of Bactria. — Reign of Mithridates II. of Parthia. — Contemporary Greek Kings, their universal Infamy. — Pergamus and Cyrenè bequeathed to the Romans. — Syria annexed to Armenia. — Reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus. — Arts and Letters.*

THE battle of Antioch raised Demetrius II. surnamed Nicator, to the throne of Syria, on which his injustice and cruelty soon proved him unworthy to sit, and precipitated to an untimely grave his partner in victory, Ptolemy VI. surnamed Philometor, the most commendable in point of honesty and humanity of all the Greek kings of the east. By his wife and sister Cleopatra, Philometor left behind him an infant son, but had unfortunately carried into Syria the flower of the Egyptian army, whose presence in the neighbourhood of Alexandria would have been necessary to defend the rights of that ill-fated child against his uncle Ptolemy Physcon. This prince who, after disputing a great kingdom with his brother, had never been satisfied with the award of Cyrenè and part of Cyprus for himself, entered Egypt with a band of Cretan and other mercenaries, made his way by victories to Alexandria, gained admittance into that capital, forcibly<sup>1</sup> espoused the widow of his de-

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Ptolemy  
Physcon re-  
mounts the  
throne of  
Egypt.  
Olymp.  
clviii. 4.  
B. C. 145.

<sup>1</sup> Sororem natu majorem communi fratri nuptiam, sibi nubere coegit. Valer. Maxim. l. ii. c. 3.

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His able  
minister  
Hierax.

ceased brother, and, on the day of those abominable nuptials, stabbed the only child of Philometor in the arms of his mother Cleopatra<sup>2</sup>.

This enormity formed a fit prelude to his bloody drama of twenty-nine years, a length of reign which reproaches the cowardice of his subjects. Yet tame and soft as the Egyptians in that age are described<sup>3</sup>, their oppressions would have recoiled on the tyrant, had not his good fortune procured for him the support of an artful and able minister. Under the impostor Alexander Balas, we have seen Hierax and Diodotus, two Syrian Greeks, commanding conjointly in Antioch. The former of these Greeks, upon the ruin of Balas, sought protection and employment in Egypt. Physcon, who knew the services of Hierax to one usurper, thought him a fit instrument for the purposes of another: he entrusted him with the chief direction of his affairs; and amidst the capricious cruelties of the prince, the government was upheld by the vigilance and energy of the minister<sup>4</sup>.

Diodotus'  
intrigues in  
Syria.

While Hierax acted this important part in Egypt, his former associate Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon "the luxurious," distinguished himself still more conspicuously in Syria. The order of succession to that kingdom had been confounded inextricably by the usurpation of Antiochus Epiphanes; for the Syrians, through a mistaken loyalty, were inclined to constitute a title in consequence of a short possession, and to maintain a right of inheritance in him whose father, however unjustly, had worn the crown. In this manner, Alexander Balas, pretending to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, had dethroned the first Demetrius surnamed Soter; a new pretender deriving descent from Balas, might prove equally successful against the second Demetrius, notwithstanding his pompous title of Nicator. Diodotus, who well perceived the practicability of such a scheme, contrived to get into his power a boy, the son of Balas, who had

<sup>2</sup> Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 8. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. ii. p. 1365. & seq.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, l. xl. c. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Diodor. Excerpt. p. 597.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Maccab. c. 12.

been detained in the family of Zabdiel, the same Arabian prince, who betrayed and surrendered the father. With this instrument of seduction in his hands, Diodotus rejoiced at the accumulating follies by which Demetrius Nicator alienated all classes of his subjects, not excepting the army. Trusting solely to mercenaries collected chiefly from Crete and other Grecian isles, he disbanded the whole of the national troops, who had hitherto been kept even during peace, in constant and full pay<sup>6</sup>. Lasthenes, the leader of his Cretans, trampled on the Antiochians and other inhabitants of the Syrian cities<sup>7</sup>. The Jews, a people inured to perpetual warfare, were provoked to arms by ingratitude and perfidy. To procure their aid during an insurrection in Antioch, Demetrius courted their high-priest and general Jonathan, with the promise of annexing to Judæa the three districts of Apherema, Lydda, and Ramatha, which then belonged to the Samaritans; and with the assurance of exemption thenceforward from all kinds of tribute. But having reduced the Antiochians by destroying, it is said, a hundred thousand of those industrious though occasionally turbulent citizens, he violated his engagements with the Jewish commander, and prepared to renew and aggravate towards that nation the worst outrages inflicted by his predecessors<sup>8</sup>.

At this crisis Diodotus appeared, proclaiming the son of Alexander Balas, and the grandson of Antiochus Epiphanes, as the rightful king of Syria<sup>9</sup>. He was immediately joined by many privy to his conspiracy, and gradually reinforced by innumerable malcontents, from all parts of the country, who received their young king Antiochus VI. under the title of Epiphanes, inherited from his grandfather, and that of Bacchus, bestowed on him by his adherents to express his fine countenance and elegant figure<sup>10</sup>. Demetrius was obliged to fight for his kingdom. The loss of a battle near Antioch compelled

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Their success promoted by the ill-policy of Demetrius Nicator.

Diodotus proclaims Antiochus VI. Olymp. clx. 1. B. C. 144

Demetrius defeated, shuts himself up in Seleucia Pieria.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph. l. xiii. c. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Diodor. Excerpt. p. 592.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. & Maccab. c. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Appian, de Reb. Syriac. c. 68. Tit.

Liv. Epitom. l. lii.

<sup>10</sup> These titles appear on medals: Josephus. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7. calls him *θεός*, meaning thereby the god Bacchus.

him

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by opposed  
by Tiberius  
Gracchus.

Diodotus' execrable projects; the murder of his pupil Antiochus VI. Dionysus.

Prepares for this measure by destroying the faithful Jonathan.

in his proposed partition of lands, was altogether careless, forms indeed the main pillar of civil society: yet it cannot be doubted that the accumulation of estates among the few, and the consequent abuse of exorbitant wealth, filled Italy with slaves instead of citizens; destroyed the habits of rural industry among the people at large; and, leaving only rich masters at the head of numerous and profligate servants, gradually rooted out those middle classes of men which constitute the best hopes of every well regulated commonwealth<sup>1</sup>.

The success which Diodotus acquired by his Cilicians at sea, and on land chiefly through his Jewish allies, encouraged him to the execution of a most execrable project. This was to destroy the youth whom he had set up under the name of Antiochus VI. and to assume in his own person the same royal prerogatives which he had exercised nearly two years for another. But an obstacle of no small moment still lay in the way. The Jews, and particularly their priest and general, Jonathan, had espoused with equal zeal and sincerity the cause of the young prince. Accordingly, Diodotus perceived the necessity of sacrificing Jonathan to his hope of destroying Antiochus with impunity. For this purpose, he decoyed the Jewish chief to an interview at Ptolemais, and there made him his prisoner, and putting to death a thousand soldiers by whom he had been escorted. Having thus got into his hands the ornament and defence of the nation, he prepared to invade Judæa with a great army, when, finding that Simon, the last of the Asmonean brethren, had assembled the people in their temple, and assumed, with general consent, the authority recently held by captive Jonathan, he sent notice to the Jews that their general had not been detained without good cause; that he remained however in perfect safety, and would be immediately set at liberty, provided Simon remitted a hundred talents which Jonathan owed to king Antiochus, and also surrendered the two sons of the latter as hostages. Though Simon saw the deceitfulness of this

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch in Vit. Gracchor.

proposal, he ventured not to reject it, lest he should expose himself to the imputation of indifference about his brother's freedom<sup>19</sup>. He therefore sent the money and the hostages; but no Jonathan came back in return. Diodotus, on the contrary, while he kept the Jewish captain in chains, approached Jerusalem with an army. Meanwhile the heathen fortresses there, being hardly pressed by Simon, could not expect any assistance from Demetrius, who had quitted the stronghold of Seleucia for the more voluptuous city of Laodicea, and was there consoling himself amidst feasting and revelry, for the loss of half his kingdom. The Syrians, in their besieged fortresses, contrived means therefore of applying to Diodotus, who hastened to their relief at the head of his cavalry. His progress to Jerusalem was interrupted by a heavy fall of snow among the mountains north of that city, which compelled him to retreat towards his winter quarters through the land of Gilead. At Bascama, in that district, his angry disappointment vented itself in the murder of Jonathan<sup>20</sup>; and shortly afterwards in that of Antiochus Dionysus. To save appearances, the unhappy youth was subjected unnecessarily to the operation of cutting for the stone<sup>21</sup>: he died under the hands of a suborned surgeon; and Diodotus, with the name of Tryphon, assumed the diadem, joining to the title of king that of autocrator<sup>22</sup> or emperor.

Diodotus  
assumes the  
diadem as  
emperor and  
king  
Olymp.  
clix. 2.  
B. C. 143.

This usurpation he successfully defended against the generals of Demetrius, while that thoughtless prince remained inactive at Laodicea, in the delirium of wine and pleasure. On an occasion when the forces of Demetrius, commanded by Sarpedon, made an inroad into the country between Tyre and Ptolemais, they were resisted and put to flight by Tryphon, at the head of his garrison from the

Inundation  
of the sea on  
the coast of  
Ptolemais

<sup>19</sup> 1 Maccab. c. xiii.

<sup>20</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12.

<sup>22</sup> *Αυτοκρατωρ*, habens per se imperium, peculiar to the coins of Tryphon, was the more

naturally adopted by him, because the initials of his name, as guardian to Antiochus VI., had already appeared on the coins of that ill-fated child.



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latter city. But the victors, while they urged the pursuit, were overwhelmed on the coast of Ptolemais by a sudden inundation, occasioned probably by the explosion of a submarine volcano<sup>22</sup>, which, on the return of the waves, left many of them drowned in hollows of the shore, and mingled with vast quantities of fishes which the sea had disgorged. Tryphon was in the number of those who escaped this memorable disaster, the scene of which was quickly revisited by Sarpedon. He received the fishes as a present from heaven, and performed grateful sacrifices to Neptune, who, by seasonably intercepting the enemy<sup>23</sup>, had averted the total destruction with which his discomfited army was threatened.

Simon independent prince of the Jews. Olymp. cliv. 2. B. C. 143.

Immediately on this event the Jews sent a crown of gold to Demetrius. He granted what he had no power to withhold, complete liberty to their nation, and contracted an alliance with Simon on terms of perfect equality. Shortly afterwards, the heathen fortress, overlooking the Jewish capital, surrendered; Simon, in a progress through the country, expelled many hellenising rebels from Gadara, strongly fortified Bethsura on the southern frontier, and constructed the harbour of Joppa, a place forty miles from Jerusalem, which has continued to the present times the principal sea-port in Palestine. As he maintained in all things the character of independent sovereignty, assumed in his recent treaty with Demetrius, the Jews ceased to date their transactions by the years of the Syrian kings, for which they substituted those of their high priest and prince Simon; a mode of computation thenceforward perpetuated under his successors.

Tryphon's golden victory accepted at Rome, but the giver received contemptuously.

At the æra of the Jewish emancipation from the yoke of Syria, the kingdom of the Greeks, which had once extended from the Ægean sea to the Indus, was reduced within very narrow limits. The imperial district of Syria Proper, and Antioch the seat of go-

<sup>22</sup> Strabo mentions the fact, l. xvi. p. 758. p. 333. The words however may be differently translated.

<sup>23</sup> Ἰπποδᾶμι τροπᾶιν. Athenæus, l. viii. <sup>25</sup> 1 Maccab. c. xiv.

vernment,

vernment, were disputed between Demetrius II. Nicator, and the usurper Tryphon. To sanction his usurpation, and counterbalance the weight of the Jews, just thrown into the scale of his adversary, Tryphon sent a submissive embassy to the senate, breathing professions of unalterable fidelity, and conveying the present of a golden victory, weighing 10,000 aurei<sup>26</sup>, yet more precious for the workmanship than the materials. The Romans did not reject a gift which came in so auspicious a form, but agreeably to the favour which they had shewn to Antiochus Epiphanes, they caused the name of his supposed descendant, the murdered Antiochus VI. to be engraved on the statue of the goddess<sup>27</sup>. In this manner they showed their equal contempt for Tryphon and Demetrius Nicator, in whose civil war they had determined not to take any part.

The Syrian competitors were thus obliged to look around them for allies towards the peninsula of Asia Minor on one side, and the countries of Upper Asia on the other. It becomes necessary, therefore, to review the state of the Asiatic powers that had been dismembered from the empire of the Seleucidæ, in whose revolutions the fate of that much reduced dynasty continued thenceforward to be involved. Towards the front of the peninsula Attalus II. still reigned in Pergamus, but the enterprising activity of his youth began to be followed by an indolent old age, and he totally resigned himself to the guidance of his favourite and minister Philopœmen<sup>28</sup>. Nicomedes II. of Bithynia had dethroned, as we have seen, his father Prusias the hunter, a tyrant equally contemptible and odious. But the condition of the Bithynians was little mended by the exchange. Through the severity of his government, Nicomedes rendered himself so unpopular among his subjects at home, that he was unable to appear with any dignity abroad. While these princes were prevented by indolence or inability from interfering in foreign affairs,

The Syrian rivals Tryphon and Demetrius look around for allies, — state of the powers of Asia.

Pergamus.

Bithynia.

Cappadocia praise-worthy pursuits of Ariarathes VI.

<sup>26</sup> About 8,000*l.* in value.

<sup>28</sup> See above, c. xxiv.

<sup>27</sup> Diodor. Excerpt. Legat. p. 629.

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Pontus,  
Mithridates,  
V. father to  
the brave  
antagonist  
of Rome

A greater  
Mithridates  
of Parthia.  
Clypeus  
ch. 2.  
B. C. 170.

This speed  
for the arts  
of peace.

very different causes confined Ariarathes VI. to his domestic concerns in Cappadocia. With unwearied diligence he improved the arts and industry of that wide inland country: the humanity and love of letters which he inspired into the upper classes of his people, did not disqualify them for war, but promoted among them dispositions and habits essential to the best enjoyment of peace, and highly favourable to the preservation of it with all their neighbours<sup>29</sup>. To the north of Cappadocia the yet obscure kingdom of Pontus had been fortified and extended by Mithridates V. a prince of merit and address, who appears to have held a peaceful dominion over many Greek cities on the Euxine; particularly Sinopè, the mother and queen of these cities, in which his far famed son Mithridates VI. Eupator was born and educated<sup>30</sup>.

But fifty years before this extraordinary prince began to reign towards the eastern shores of the Euxine, a king of the same name, and of a character not less enterprising, had assumed dominion over the eastern shores of the Caspian. This was Arsaces Mithridates I. son of Priapatius, and the fifth king of Parthia<sup>31</sup>, who mounted the throne shortly before the persecutions and rapacity of Antiochus Epiphanes had excited discontents or rebellions in most of the provinces of Upper Asia<sup>32</sup>. From this time forwards, the Parthian Mithridates, in a reign of thirty-seven years, contemporary with eight Syrian kings or usurpers, had extended his authority from the Euphrates to the Oxus. The vast central province of Media, between the Caspian and Persian gulph, formed a province of his empire<sup>33</sup>. His armies frequently encamped on the great Assyrian plain; but this respectable prince, who retained no mark of his Scythian ancestry but dauntless courage and rapidity of conquest, carefully restrained his fierce horsemen from entering the industrious and populous cities in Babylonia, particularly Seleucia, then containing

<sup>29</sup> Diodor. Eclog. iii. ex l. xxxi. p. 518.

c. 6.

<sup>30</sup> Strabo, l. xii. p. 545.

<sup>31</sup> Trogus in Prolog. xli. Orosius, v. 4.

<sup>32</sup> He was the fifth Arsaces. Justin, l. xl.

<sup>33</sup> Justin, ubi supra.

upwards of six hundred thousand inhabitants. The Parthians were compelled to pitch their tents on the opposite or eastern side of the Tigris, at a place afterwards called Ctesiphon, which thus from a camp gradually rose into a great city<sup>34</sup>.

Before the reign of Mithridates in Parthia, the Greek kingdom of Bactria had subsisted fourscore years under two princes of the name of Theodotus, under Euthedemus the Magnesian, and his son Menander, all of whom deserved renown in the arts of war and peace. But the stream of their conquests flowed either to the remote regions of India, or to the unknown deserts of Scythia. With India they also were connected by a profitable commercial intercourse, of which the cities built by Alexander in the region of Paropamisus and on the Indus subsisted<sup>35</sup> as convenient links. Mithridates of Parthia protected, encouraged, and extended arrangements, in consequence of which his own kingdom of Parthia or Khorosan traded on one hand with Bucharua, the Bactria and Sogdia of the ancients, and on the other with Lesser Asia and Syria. In the great fairs of Bactra and Maracanda, the merchants of northern India exchanged the spices and gems of Hindostan for the gold of Ethiopia and the silver of Spain. The Caspian gates, as we have above seen, formed the main link of communication between northern and southern Asia; and in the neighbourhood of these gates the cities of Heraclæa and Alexandropolis, founded by Alexander the Great, became important staples; while Hecatompylos, at no great distance<sup>36</sup>, in the Proper Parthia, rose to a great capital, the proud seat of the Arsacidæ, indebted for its embellishments to commerce not less than to conquest.

During the reign of Mithridates, the Parthians maintained a friendly connection with the Bactrians, until Eucratidas, the fifth king of Bactria, was treacherously slain by his son and successor of

His connection with Bactria — state of the kingdom.

Mithridates levies war on the parricidal son of the Bactrian king.

<sup>34</sup> Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743.

<sup>36</sup> According to Pliny, 133 Roman miles

<sup>35</sup> We shall see below, that these staples flourished to a much later period, from the gates. N. H. l. vi. c. 15. ..

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the same name. To avenge the blood of his ally, Mithridates levied war on the parricide, and having stripped him of some of his provinces, and reduced him to repentance and submission, accepted this humbled prince in the number of his tributaries, still leaving to him his royal title, since the Greek king of Bactria was dethroned and destroyed by an irruption of Scythians ten years after the death of the Parthian conqueror. To the praise of this conqueror it is recorded, that he was, also, an able legislator. He collected, examined, and compared the institutions of all the various countries which either ambition or curiosity had engaged him to visit. From the whole number he selected, and established among the Parthians whatever appeared most congenial to their character and most conducive to the public interest. His justice and clemency were not less celebrated than his military skill and valour<sup>37</sup>.

In his old age unable to restrain the fierce passions of his people—the composition of Parthian armies.

Yet this respectable prince, as he declined into old age, was unable to restrain the evils inherent in all great Asiatic monarchies. According to the principles uniformly adopted in that quarter of the world, the dominant nation, whether Assyrians, Scythians, Medes, Persians, or Parthians, always disdained to live on the foot of equality with the other subjects of the same common sovereign. They spurned the obligations of justice towards those whom they deemed naturally and essentially their inferiors. This tyranny of nations over nations, unceasingly prevalent in Asia, exerted itself with unusual violence in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Mithridates, who, as he had succeeded to the throne in advanced manhood, must have then been verging to the extremity of old age. But his Parthians were in the highest bloom of youthful prosperity. They had been formed, as we have seen, from a mixed assemblage of Scythian or Slavonian tribes; each tribe consisting of warriors and horsemen slaves to their chieftains, and of miserable peasants, who sometimes

<sup>37</sup> Diodorus Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vit. p. 597.



served on foot, but who were of no account in the state or army". With the growing prosperity of the empire, those military slaves continually augmented by purchase and propagation as well as by conquest, and were trained by their masters to war and horsemanship not less carefully than their own children: the chieftains or nobility vied with each other in bringing to the standard of their king well disciplined squadrons, at once their property and their pride; so that Parthian armies amounting to fifty thousand cavalry, sometimes did not contain four hundred freemen. Uncouth as such institutions may appear to the civilized nations of Europe, they long prevailed in modern times among the Mamelukes in Egypt<sup>39</sup>: and the founder of the Russian greatness, when he set himself to improve an empire comprehending the original seats of the Parthians, found an army of 300,000 men, composed of slaves of the nobility<sup>40</sup>. Although we have seen that agriculture and commerce were not neglected by the humbler subjects of Mithridates, yet the flower of his nation is described as constantly employed either in hunting parties or in military expeditions, and always on horseback, even in the streets of their cities. On horseback they visited, feasted, and celebrated all their public solemnities. Besides the equestrian archers who fought flying, and wearied out an enemy by often renewed assaults, they had heavy cataphracts or cuirassiers clad in the steel of Margiana, a province immediately eastward of Parthia, armed with long lances<sup>41</sup>, and bearing a wonderful resemblance in all points with the chivalrous warriors of the middle ages. In those ages, the insti-

<sup>39</sup> Posidonius vel Trogius Pompeius apud Justin, l. xli. c. 3: Conf. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. c. 6. The same manners prevailed in the middle age: the flower of the Slavonians fought on horseback. Léo. Imperat. Turcic. & Procop. de Bell. Gothic. l. ii. & l. iii. passim. Suidas in the word *Ευγε*, says, the Parthians collected the long reins of their bridles into a knot or heap, which they threw at their enemies, and rode off with them thus entangled. In imitation

of this, the Slavonian infantry made use of long ropes, with which they often caught their adversaries in a running noose. Procop. *itid.* Conf. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 17. & Mauricii *Strategicum*, l. xi. c. v. p. 273. et seq. edit. Sheffer, Upsal, 1664.

<sup>40</sup> Pocock Prolegom. ad Abulphar. p. 7.

<sup>41</sup> Schmidt's *Russische Geschichte*.

<sup>42</sup> Dion Cassius, l. xl. p. 126. & seq. & Justin, l. xli. & xlii. passim.

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tutions of knighthood, in which combatants entered the lists on horseback with extraordinary splendour, displaying more extraordinary address and valour, is said by an eminent historian to have occasioned the predilection for cavalry so long prevalent in modern Europe<sup>42</sup>. But as this predilection appeared still more conspicuously, and continued still longer among the Parthians, it ought to be regarded, not as the consequence, but rather as the cause of knighthood, and other corresponding distinctions, since in Parthia those only could wear the ring, the cincture, and the clasp, to whom the king assigned such ornaments as rewards for equestrian dexterity<sup>43</sup>. Among this warlike people, collected from rude clans into a great nation, some honours also appear to have been hereditary. There was an officer who acted as a sort of deputy to the king in marshalling the cavalry, and who was entitled by his birth to crown every new sovereign. This officer was named the Surena<sup>44</sup>: his dignity devolved from father to son: when Parthia was governed by weak princes, the power of the Surena proportionally rose in the scale; and from his right of officiating at the ceremony of coronation, we shall find examples in which he presumed to dispose of the monarchy.

Their love  
of finery and  
ostentation.

In adorning themselves and their horses, the Parthians, as they advanced in opulence, shewed the utmost extravagance of Barbaric finery<sup>45</sup>. Their dress consisted in the tiara, the double tunick, and

<sup>42</sup> Robertson's Reign of Charles V. vol. i. p. 103. 8vo edit.

<sup>43</sup> Procopius de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 17. Conf. Aristot. Politic. l. vii. c. 2.

<sup>44</sup> Dion. Cassius. Plutarch in Crasso. Ammianus Marcellius, l. xxii. & l. xxx.

<sup>45</sup> Julian in Panegyri. Constant. He says they assumed all the magnificence of the Persians, wore the Median robe, were clothed in gold and purple; and assigns for the reason, το μη δοκιν αφισαι, Μακεδον, αναλαβειν δε εξ αρχης βασιλευσιν. "They wished to have

themselves considered not as Parthians, who had revolted from the Macedonian empire, but as Persians ancient lords of Asia." In that quarter of the world, indeed, the victors have generally conformed to the customs of the more civilised vanquished: the luxury of the Parthians was borrowed from the Persians, as that of the Persians from the Medes, and that of the Medes from the Assyrians. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. c. 1. Diodorus, l. v. c. 43.

the large pantaloons inclosing the legs and thighs<sup>46</sup>, and defended towards the extremities with buskins of red leather, often studded with pearls. On public occasions they assumed the *candys*, which the Medes had borrowed from the Assyrians; a floating, resplendent robe, whose lateral openings allowed free motion to the limbs, and displayed the richness of their inward attire embroidered with gold, and dyed of various colours<sup>47</sup>. Their cinctures, bespangled with gems, are compared by the poets to the flowery meadows of Sicily<sup>48</sup>. Bracelets, necklaces, and ear-rings, were ostentatiously worn by men<sup>49</sup>: whereas women could derive but little pride from female ornaments, being debarred from all public assemblies, and condemned to that humiliating servitude<sup>50</sup> which universally takes place wherever polygamy prevails. Yet the sternest dominion of husbands or masters, the kings of Parthia often exercised over the bravest warriors and proudest nobles. Whoever among them offended the king had his head and right hand severed from his body<sup>51</sup>. Terror was the principle of the government; ignorance, presumption, ferocity, and unbridled luxury were the national characteristics; and a people, who obeyed only through fear, could not fail to domineer without mercy, when, having become the great paramount power in Asia, they were entitled, according to received maxims in that quarter of the world, to spurn all nations as their vassals.

Parthian  
polygamy,  
despotism,  
and tyranny  
of nations  
over nations

The Greeks and Macedonians, from the contrast of persons and manners, were the most exposed to the vexations of those tyrants, and the least calculated patiently to endure them. They communi-

Demetrius  
Nicator's  
campaign  
and captivity  
among the

<sup>46</sup> The *anaxyris*. Vid. Hesych. ad voc. Sarabara, and the reverse of a gold medal of Augustus, with the legend "Signis receptis," apud Vaillant Histor. Arsacid. p. 176.

<sup>47</sup> Chares Mytlenens. apud Athen. l. iii. Justin, l. xl. c. 4. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxxiii. c. 6.

<sup>48</sup> Claudian de Raptu Proserpinæ, l. ii. v. 94.

<sup>49</sup> Chares & Marcellin. ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Justin, l. xli. c. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Strabo, l. xv. p. 734. Conf. Posidonius apud Athen. Deipn. p. 192. The philosophic historian Posidonius had treated copiously of Parthian customs and manners. From him and Apollodorus of Artemeta have been handed down many notices remaining on that subject. Conf. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 466. Strabo, l. xi p. 516. & Justin, l. xlii. c. 2.

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Pursuit and  
murder of  
Tryphon.  
Olymp.  
clx. 3.  
B. C. 138.

neighbours, had written to the principal kings in the East, to respect the independence of their friends and confederates". In the list of princes to whom these letters were addressed, we find Ptolemy VII. of Egypt, Attalus II. of Pergamus, Ariarathes VI. of Cappadocia, Mithridates V. of Pontus, Mithridates I. of Parthia, and Demetrius II. of Syria. The name of Demetrius could not fail to prove offensive to a brother who had usurped his throne. The assistance of the Jews was accordingly rejected by Antiochus, who, with his Greek forces alone, assaulted and took Dora. Tryphon escaped by sea to the neighbouring stronghold of Orthosias in Phœnicia; Antiochus invested and made himself master of that place: but his victim again eluded his grasp by scattering money, it is said, in the way of the horsemen who were sent in pursuit of him". He reached in safety Syrian Apamæa, near to which, in a castle called Secoana, he had been born and educated. On this his natal ground, he either laid violent hands on himself, (for his story is differently told), or was put to death by his pursuers". He had reigned two years in the name of a boy, Antiochus VI., and four years in his own. The few places which held out for him, speedily opened their gates to Antiochus VII. now husband of Cleopatra, and undisturbed master of the kingdom.

Antiochus  
VII. pre-  
pares for an  
eastern expe-  
dition.

It was natural for a young prince, whose designs had advanced during two years on a flowing tide of prosperity, to think no undertaking too great for his abilities and good fortune. Mithridates I. king of Parthia, had died full of years and honour. His son Phra-hates II. succeeded to the throne. He continued to treat Demetrius with the indulgence hitherto shewn to that captive prince: but the pride and presumption of the Parthians knew no abatement. Antiochus conceived hopes of levying war with more success than his brother, against that tyrannical nation. He had an army of Euro-

" 1 Maccab. c. xiv, xv.

" Frontin. Stratag. l. ii. c. 13.

" Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. 70. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 752. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7.

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pean Greeks at his disposal, of which his brother had been destitute; and the unceasing vexations of the enemy would procure for him formidable auxiliaries among the nations of Upper Asia. But before his preparations were in readiness for marching to the East, it was recommended to him to disarm the Jews, a stubborn domestic foe. This undertaking was committed to his general, Gendebæus, who commanded on the sea coast. Simon was prevented by old age from taking the field; but his sons, Judas and John, approved themselves able protectors of their nation<sup>60</sup>; and the freedom of Palæstine had less to fear from open enemies than from concealed traitors.

The leaven of hellenising brethren still subsisted in the country, and even in the family of the high-priest, whose son-in-law, Ptolemy, (for this apostate had assumed a Greek name), at an entertainment given in the castle of Jericho, where he commanded as governor, assassinated Simon, together with two of his sons, Judas and Mattathias. The emissaries of the murderer hastened to Gadara, to take off John, the only remaining son of Simon, after which Ptolemy hoped, in right of his wife, and by the good will of Antiochus, of whom he was ready to acknowledge himself the vassal, to appropriate all the opulence and honours belonging to the Asmonæan family. But the vigilance and dexterity of John defeated his machinations, and obtained for himself<sup>61</sup> the office of high-priest and general, which his father had filled, eight years, with unblemished integrity and conspicuous abilities.

Assassination  
of Simon and  
his two sons.  
Olymp.  
clxi. 2.  
B. C. 135.

Meanwhile, Antiochus, as if he had been privy to and approved the blow struck by the execrable Ptolemy, invaded Judæa, and besieged the capital. The king, however, who was rather prompted by these around him, than himself hearty in the war, and who burned with impatience for his Parthian expedition, listened to proposals of peace from the Jewish high-priest. A tribute was imposed on those

The third  
son John  
Hyrcanus  
tributary to  
Antiochus  
VII.

<sup>60</sup> Josephus Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. c. xv.

<sup>61</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. c. xvi.



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cities and districts which Simon had added to the proper territory of Judæa; and John, who in the course of the Parthian warfare, was shortly to be distinguished by the epithet of Hyrcanus, accompanied at the head of his countrymen the standard of Antiochus into Upper Asia<sup>62</sup>.

Antiochus' army, his march into Upper Asia and victories. Olymp. clxii. 2—3. B. C. 131—130.

Immense preparations had been made for this eastern warfare, and the army was the most numerous and the most splendidly equipped of any that had taken the field since the brilliant years of Antiochus III. surnamed the Great. The fighting men amounted to eighty thousand, and their followers of all descriptions exceeded three times that number. Historians expatiate particularly on the bulky retinue of vice and folly by which the camp was encumbered; musicians, dancers, stage players, buffoons, and all those beautiful outcasts or alluring warblers of the female sex, who subsisted by the prostitution of their talents and of their persons<sup>63</sup>. The gold and silver, the resplendent tissues and costly luxuries, many of them brought from the extremities of the east and south, which enriched the tents and tables of the Syrians<sup>64</sup>, afford a convincing proof that incessant but petty wars had not entirely suspended the extensive commerce carried on through central Asia. Notwithstanding partial examples to the contrary, industry and the arts were exempted from merciless depredation, and temples, the safeguards of peaceful intercourse, were in general respected by invading conquerors. In proceeding to Mesopotamia, Antiochus pursued the northern route, and being joined by many Babylonian malcontents, crossed the Tigris into Aturia, watered by two rivers, fancifully called, as we have seen, the Wolf and the Boar. On the former of these rivers, the Parthians had assembled in great force under Indates, the commander entrusted on that side with the defence of the empire. After two partial encounters, a general en-

<sup>62</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 2. 1 Maccab. c. 10. Valerius Maximus, l. ix. c. 1. c. xvi.

<sup>64</sup> Athen. Deipn. l. v. p. 210. & l. x.

<sup>63</sup> Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 10. Orosius, l. v. p. 439. & l. xii. p. 540.

gagement ensued; the Barbarians were put to the route; a Greek trophy adorned the banks of the Lycos<sup>65</sup>; where Antiochus halted the first two days of Pentecost, at the request of John, the Jewish priest and general; a condescension which indicates that the Jews, as on many former occasions, had conspicuously signalled their prowess in this decisive victory. On nearly the same ground Alexander had finally vanquished the Persians. Equally triumphant, Antiochus hastened into Media, and received its willing submission. As he approached the Caspian sea, Phraates and his Parthians fled before his victorious arms; and the general of the Jews being sent with his detachment into Hyrcania, immediately contiguous to that sea, made so rapid a conquest of the country, that the epithet Hyrcanus, is said thenceforward, by way of honour, to have adhered to his name of John<sup>66</sup>.

After these events, all is confusion or obscurity in the reign of Antiochus the Hunter. His forces, however, we may discern, were cantoned into numerous and small parties<sup>67</sup> over the vast countries which they had overrun. In their winter quarters, the commanders, and particularly a general of the Greek name Athenæus, indulged them in the utmost licence of rapacity and cruelty. They were attacked on all sides at once, with as seasonable co-operation, as if a conspiracy had been formed against them by the victims of their oppression. Phraates, with such troops as had accompanied his flight, returned to avail himself of the misfortunes of the enemy. He encountered Antiochus as that prince hastened to remedy the disorders produced by the misconduct of his generals; and the Syrian king was either slain in battle<sup>68</sup>, or put to death after defeat<sup>69</sup>. or died in despair by his own sword<sup>70</sup>, or threw himself headlong down a pre-

Cause of his  
reverse of  
fortune.

<sup>65</sup> Josephus, l. xiii. c. 8.

<sup>66</sup> He is called, however, Hyrcanus by way of anticipation before this expedition; the name, as we have seen, was before known among the Jews, and the origin of it is doubtful. Vid. Dodwell de Cyclis Dissert. ix.

<sup>67</sup> Diodor. Excerpt. de Virtut. & Vit. p. 603.

<sup>68</sup> Joseph. ubi supra.

<sup>69</sup> Euseb. Chronic. Conf. Athenæus, l. x. p. 439.

<sup>70</sup> Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

cipice.

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cipice". These, and a still greater variety of contradictory reports, mutually discredit each other; and the evidence of more authentic history concurring with that of Syrian coins, proves that Antiochus still lived and reigned the year following his defeat by Phrahates, and was slain two years afterwards in an attempt to rob the temple of Nanæa.

Slain in attempting to rob the temple of Nanæa on mount Zagros.

This obscure goddess should seem to have held her seat among the defiles of mount Zagros. Antiochus, on pretence that he came to betrothe her, entered the temple slightly accompanied, to receive her accumulated opulence by way of dower. But the priests of Nanæa having shut the outward gates of the sacred inclosure, opened the concealed doors on the roof of the temple, and overwhelmed the king and his attendants as with thunderbolts from on high; then casting their mutilated remains without the walls, thus awfully announced to the Syrians who waited his return, the disaster of their king, and the terrific majesty of the goddess".

Irruptions of Scythians. Olymp. clxii. 3—clxiv. 1. B. C. 130—124.

The circumstance that enabled Antiochus to rally, after he had been discomfited by Phrahates, was a sudden irruption of Scythian Nomades. A horde of those Scythians, we are told, had been invited into the service of Phrahates to counteract the Syrian invasion". They came, however, too late; and, on this account, their stipulated pay was denied them. But independently of this ground of quarrel, the shepherds in *Turan* always hung, as in ambush, over the husbandmen in *Iran*; and when an opportunity offered, were ready to pour down on them in merciless desolation. On the present occasion Phrahates II. and his follower Artabanus II. were in the course of four years their successive victims; and in the middle point between the destruction of these princes, the Greek kingdom of Bactria was, in the year 126 before the Christian æra, finally demolished and swept away by Scythians from beyond the Jaxartes, divided into various tribes, under various uncouth appella-

Extinction of the Greek kingdom of Bactria. Olymp. clxiii. 3. B. C. 126.

" *Ælian. Histor. Animal. l. x. c. 34.*

" *2 Maccab. c. i.*

" *Justin, l. xlii. c. 1.*

tions.

tions<sup>74</sup>. This desolating irruption is attested in the annals of China<sup>75</sup> as well as in those of Greece; a coincidence in remote sources of information the more satisfactory, because the learned author who first communicated the Chinese testimonies appears to have been wholly ignorant that they confirm notices in Strabo the Greek geographer<sup>76</sup>.

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The eastern dependencies of Bactria subsisted to a much later period under the government of Greeks. The district of Badakshan, two hundred miles east of Bactra or Balk, was governed by a family claiming descent from Alexander the Great even to modern times: and the hilly country of Bijore, the Bazira of Alexander, contained a tribe which, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, continued to boast the same origin<sup>77</sup>. How far the most civilized nations of Asia were indebted to those Greeks in matters of literature and science, it is not easy to determine. Some astronomical instruments, found anciently in China, and placed in the cities of Pekin and Nankeen, are said to have been of a construction unfit for use in those places, but to have been accurately formed for the 37th parallel, the latitude of Balk or Bactra<sup>78</sup>. As the ancient history of the Hindoos is wholly involved in fable, no satisfactory information can be obtained from that source. Yet whoever considers their abstract philosophy, so unlike to all other productions of their own genius, and so similar to metaphysical refinements, often growing out of the Greek tongue, will be inclined to suspect the originality of the Hindoos in these nice speculations, and to refer their high literary attainments to a later period than that usually assigned them<sup>79</sup>.

Far later  
subsistence of  
the eastern  
dependen-  
cies of Bac-  
tria.

<sup>74</sup> Tachan, Sackurauli, &c. Strabo, l. xi. p. 511.

<sup>75</sup> Monfr. de Guigne's Mem. sur la Bactriane in Mem. de l'Academ. des Inscrip. vol. xlii. 8vo edit.

<sup>76</sup> Strabo, *ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> See Rennell's Memoir, 3d edit. p. 161. 166, 201.

<sup>78</sup> Barrow's Travels in China, p. 290.

<sup>79</sup> Compare the speculative doctrine of the Hindoos as stated in the Ayeen Acbery, translated by Mr. Gladwin, with the account of Greek philosophy in History of Ancient Greece, vol. iii. c. 32. and in my New Analysis of Aristotle's speculative works; with supplement.

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XXV.

Mithridates  
II. of Par-  
thia, or Ar-  
faces IX.  
Olymp.  
clxiv. 1.—  
clxxiii. 1.  
B. C. 124—  
88.

In the invasion of Parthia, the Syrians had fought for conquest, and were defeated; but the Scythians, though victorious, aimed only at plunder. Having satiated their rapacity, they marched homeward; and when the passing hurricane had spent its force, Mithridates, a name propitious to Parthia, on succeeding to his father Artabanus, collected the strength of his nation, and again consolidated his kingdom. This second Mithridates rivalled the first in the length and splendour of his reign<sup>a</sup>. It lasted thirty-six years; in the course of which time he recovered the former possessions of the empire, and even extended them on the side of Armenia, and is therefore distinguished on his coins and in history by the title of Great; a title, thus bestowed on the restorer, which with more propriety might have been conferred on the founder of the Parthian greatness. A hundred years before the reign of Mithridates II. in Parthia, Antiochus III. of Syria assumed, for a similar reason, the same boastful appellation; but of all the kings who either in ancient or modern times have been denominated Great by their contemporaries, the title, when not melted into one word with the name, has uniformly adhered to the Great Alexander only: his matchless glory alone sustaining the weight of so lofty a distinction.

Demetrius  
II. remounts  
the throne  
of Syria.  
Olymp.  
clxii. 3.  
B. C. 130.

The invasion of Parthia by Antiochus VII. which ended in the death of that enterprising prince, was the last attempt made by any of the Seleucidæ for restoring the splendour of the Syrian monarchy. His brother Demetrius II. escaped from Parthia, amidst the convulsions of that kingdom, and recommenced a reign of four years, equally turbulent at home and inglorious abroad. John Hyrcanus returned also from the East. The interests of his country were ever uppermost in the mind of Hyrcanus; and from this period he continued to govern the Jews twenty-two years, with a policy not less glorious than his prowess in combating the Parthians<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Justin, l. xlii. c. 2. & Porphy. in " Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17, 18;  
Græc. Eusebian.



Shortly before Antiochus' expedition into Upper Asia, Attalus II. king of Pergamus, died of old age, Ariarathes VI. of Cappadocia, fell in the field of battle, and Hierax, the able minister of Egypt, perished by the cruel arts of his master<sup>22</sup>. From this time forward, in Syria, in Egypt, and in every other Greek kingdom, there was a rapid dégeneracy in character still more than in fortune; and the corruptions by which all of them were undermined before their final ruin, justifies the boldest but most disgusting of all metaphors by which royal vices have been branded<sup>23</sup>.

Attalus III. of Pergamus was either a madman at the time of his accession, or driven afterwards into madness by his execrable crimes. He was the son of Eumenes, elder brother to the late king, and in gratitude to that prince, named as heir by Attalus II. in preference to his own children<sup>24</sup>. But he had no sooner mounted the throne, than he stained his palace with the blood of his nearest relations and the best friends of his family<sup>25</sup>. He then secluded himself from public view, totally neglected the care of his person, and assuming a sordid habit, spent his time in cultivating a garden stored with poisonous plants, which he sent as presents to those who had the misfortune to be numbered among his friends<sup>26</sup>. From such a prince, no attention could be expected to affairs foreign or domestic. His mercenaries, and those who commanded them, were masters of the kingdom. When Attalus grew tired of gardening, he betook himself to the occupation of a founder. His last production in that line was a brazen monument to his mother Stratonice, for he affected the title of Philometor, and perpetrated some of his worst cruelties on pretence of revenging the murder of that princess, who had died through the infirmities incident to old age. In casting the monu-

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Contemporary and subsequent Greek kings — their universal infamy.

Frantic reign of Attalus III. of Pergamus. Olymp. clx 3 — clxi: 4. B. C. 138 — 133.

<sup>22</sup> Athenæus, l. vii. p. 254. erroneously ascribes the murder of Hierax to Ptolemy Philometor, who never put to death any, even of his worst enemies. Polyb. l. xi. c. 12.

<sup>23</sup> The last of the Ptolemies and Seleucids were worms and venomous reptiles growing

out of the carcase of Alexander's once flourishing empire." Plutarch in Alexand.

<sup>24</sup> Plutarch. de Fratern. Amor.

<sup>25</sup> Diodor. Excerpt. de Virtut. & Vit. p. 601.

<sup>26</sup> Justin, l. xxxvi. c. 4.

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The Perga-  
menian  
usurper  
Aristonicus  
—he defeats  
Licinius  
Crassus  
Olymp.  
clxii 3.  
B. C 130.

ment of Stratonice, the heat of the weather conspiring with that of the work, is said to have thrown him into a fever, which destroyed him in seven days, after he had named the Romans for his heirs<sup>87</sup>.

Of this strange destination the sedition of the Gracchi, which then raged at Rome, prevented the senate from adopting proper measures immediately to avail itself. Aristonicus, whom his partisans called the son of Eumenes, profited by the delay. This pretender, born from the daughter of an Ephesian musician, had never been acknowledged either by his supposed father Eumenes, or by his uncle Attalus Philadelphus, or by his brother Attalus Philometor. Yet hatred to the Romans, and aversion to a foreign yoke, made many among the Pergamenians desire him for their king<sup>88</sup>. His cause was warmly espoused by the Phocæans; he seized the stronghold of Leucæ, in the neighbourhood of Smyrna; success multiplied his adherents; the Thracians, greedy of plunder, flocked to his standard; he acquired a fleet and army; and, though opposed at sea by the Ephesians, and at land by forces from Pontus, Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries in alliance with Rome, he in little more than a twelvemonth made himself master of all the principal cities in the kingdom. At length the Romans, who had hitherto counteracted him only by embassies to their allies, sent into Asia Licinius Crassus with an army. This consul, odious by his severity and rapacity, was surprised, defeated, and made prisoner in the neighbourhood of Elæa, the principal sea-port of Pergamus. His presence of mind, however, saved him from the disgrace of falling into the cruel hands of the victor. By piercing the eye of a Thracian, who conducted him to Aristonicus, he provoked the barbarian to dispatch him with his dagger<sup>89</sup>.

Perperna, successor to Crassus, did not allow the enemy long to enjoy his triumph. He attacked him unexpectedly in the dis-

Is defeated  
and sent to  
Rome by

<sup>87</sup> Justin, *ibid.* Conf. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 646.  
& Plutarch in Tiber. Graccho.

<sup>88</sup> Justin, l. xxxvi. c. 4.

<sup>89</sup> Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lix.

<sup>90</sup> Frontin. Stratagem. l. 4. c. 5. Florus,  
l. ii. c. 20. Valer. Maxim. l. iii. c. 2.

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Olymp.  
clxii. 3.  
B. C. 130.

trict of Stratoniceæ, besieged him in that city, into which he had thrown himself after the rout of his army, compelled him to surrender at discretion, and sent him in chains to Rome<sup>91</sup>. The Phocæans, his abettors, narrowly escaped a fate not less dreadful. They had strenuously assisted Antiochus the Great; they had supported the claims of the impostor Aristonicus. The senate, exasperated by these provocations from so small a state, had determined totally to extirpate their name and nation. But the warm interposition of Massilia in Gaul, a colony of Phocæa, and which had hitherto subsisted on the most friendly footing with Rome, had the glory of saving the former republick from destruction, and of rescuing the latter from the disgrace of committing a most execrable enormity<sup>92</sup>. The Romans, indeed, at this time, must have been familiar with crimes, since the war being again kindled after the departure of Perperna, Aquillius, who succeeded to him as consul, submitted to the infamy of reducing several Pergamenian cities, by poisoning<sup>93</sup> the fountains which sent them their only supplies of fresh water. Besides Nicodemus II. of Bithynia, whose assistance seems to have been of little importance, both Mithridates V. of Pontus, and Ariarathes VI. of Cappadocia, contributed their best services towards annexing Pergamus to Rome. They were both of them respectable princes, and wanted not penetration to discern the ambition of the great Western republick, but discerned also their inability to resist it. The king of Cappadocia perished in the defeat of Crassus; the king of Pontus shared the victory of Perperna, and was rewarded by the senate with the gift of some districts in Phrygia<sup>94</sup>, the resumption of which by the Romans afforded, as we shall see hereafter, matter of bitter complaint to Mithridates VI. Eupator, his immediate successor.

<sup>91</sup> Conf. Florus, l. ii. c. 20. Plutarch in Tiber. Graccho. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 38. Valer. Maximus, l. iii. c. 4.

<sup>92</sup> Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 1.

<sup>93</sup> Florus, l. ii. c. 20.

<sup>94</sup> Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 1.

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XXV.

Parricidal  
murders of  
Laodice  
queen regent  
of Cappado-  
cia.  
Olymp.  
clxii. 4.  
B. C. 129.

The rewards due to Ariarathes, consisting in some contiguous portions of Lycaonia and Cilicia, were bestowed on his family; a flourishing family of six sons, under the guardianship of their mother Laodice, who, by the will of her husband, was left regent of the kingdom. But this flagitious woman, with a view to retain power, poisoned five of her sons before they attained the age of majority. The sixth was saved by the interposition of his relatives, and the loyal solicitude of the Cappadocians<sup>95</sup>. Upon the conviction and punishment of his unnatural mother, Ariarathes VII. assumed the government<sup>96</sup>, and shortly afterwards married the daughter of Mithridates V. of Pontus<sup>97</sup>, named also Laodice, a name, as we shall see hereafter, ever inauspicious to the fortunes of Cappadocia.

Brutality of  
Ptolemy  
Physcon.  
Olymp.  
clxi. 4.  
B. C. 133.

During these transactions in Lesser Asia, Ptolemy Physcon pursued his mad career in Egypt with such intolerable cruelty, that his subjects were at length driven into rebellion. We have seen his bloody marriage with his brother's widow Cleopatra. This princess was repudiated to make room for the daughter of her first marriage named also Cleopatra, whose chastity Physcon first corrupted before he thought fit to raise the harlot to his bed<sup>98</sup>. With scenes, however abominable, confined within the walls of the palace, his subjects cared not to interfere; even his open violations of those laws which protect personal security, had been endured without resistance by the multitude, while the higher ranks in Alexandria, among whom the philosophers and men of letters are particularly specified, betook themselves to a voluntary banishment into those countries of Asia and Europe, where the Greek being the prevailing language, their talents and industry might procure them a livelihood. Yet Ptolemy's profligacy and brutality had not obliterated the remembrance that the patronage of letters formed the hereditary distinction

<sup>95</sup> Justin, *ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> Strabo, l. xii. p. 540.

<sup>97</sup> Justin, *ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. 1. Justin, l. xxviii. c. 8.

of his family. He had studied under the critic Aristarchus<sup>99</sup>, he admired the philosopher Eudoxus, his liberality had been unbounded towards the sophist Epæretus. He himself affected the praise of literary accomplishments; and could find amusement in acquiring them, amidst pursuits of the most contrary nature<sup>100</sup>. Accordingly he is said to have regretted the irksome solitude to which his tyranny had reduced him, and to have spared no pains either to bring back the fugitives, or to attract to Alexandria new inhabitants of a description not less respectable<sup>101</sup>.

While he was thus employed in repeopling his capital, commissioners came to him from Rome, sent, according to the policy of that state, to inspect at proper intervals the affairs of allied kingdoms. The commissioners consisted of the younger Scipio, of Mummius and Metellus, all three persons of the highest dignity, and Scipio, in public estimation, the first man in his country. In their reception, and the entertainments which accompanied it, the king displayed all his magnificence, and made professions of unbounded respect<sup>102</sup>. Notwithstanding his unwieldy corpulency, he accompanied the commissioners on foot, that they might view the ornaments of the city; on which occasion Scipio whispered into the ear of the philosopher Panætius, the only friend who attended him in this voyage, "the Egyptians have to thank us for giving their king the exercise of walking<sup>103</sup>". The person of Ptolemy is represented as a fit receptacle for the monstrous mind that inhabited it<sup>104</sup>. He was of a short stature, a deformed countenance, and in the enormous trail of his belly resembled rather a hog than a man; his body was of immeasurable compass, and he covered it with garments so thin and transparent, that they seemed only calculated to display his disgusting nakedness<sup>105</sup>. Such a king even the Egyptians failed not to contrast with the mo-

The younger Scipio in Alexandria - his striking contrast with the king. Olymp. clxi. 4. B. C. 133.

<sup>99</sup> Athenæus, l. ii. p. 71.

<sup>100</sup> Id. l. xiv. p. 654.

<sup>101</sup> Id. *ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> Diodorus Excerpt. p. 629.

<sup>103</sup> Plutarch Apophth.

<sup>104</sup> Athenæus, l. xii. p. 549.

<sup>105</sup> Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 8.



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The Alexandrians in arms against Ptolemy, who flies to Cyprus.  
Olymp. clxii. 3.  
B. C. 130.

deity and dignity of Scipio; and the remonstrances of the illustrious Roman seem to have procured for the people, his admirers, a considerable mitigation in their sufferings. But shortly after the strangers had left him, Ptolemy renewed his barbarities. The Alexandrians murmured and began even to threaten resistance. To disarm their vengeance, he caused a sudden massacre of their young men, in the place of public exercise. This enormity inspired the citizens with fury. They flew to arms, attacked and overpowered his mercenaries, and were in hopes of destroying him in the conflagration of his palace, when they learned that, in company with his queen the younger Cleopatra, and his son Memphites by the elder, he had embarked for Cyprus, the most considerable of his dependancies<sup>106</sup>.

His repudiated wife Cleopatra mounts the throne.

By the voice of the Alexandrians, which was not opposed in any part of the kingdom, the elder Cleopatra was set on the throne of her abdicated husband. This was an event which Ptolemy had not foreseen. He doubted not but one of his sons by that princess would have been named for his successor. Memphites the younger he had therefore carried with him to Cyprus. The elder, whose name is unknown, was his viceroy in Cyrenè. This unfortunate viceroy was sent for, and landed in Cyprus only to meet the hand of an assassin<sup>107</sup>. Upon intelligence of his murder, the Alexandrians testified their rage against the tyrant by destroying his statues; an act which he ascribed to the resentment of the queen regent, for the loss of her son. As in this point of maternal affection she had shewn herself vulnerable, the monstrous father cut off the head of her younger son Memphites, a boy in his fourteenth year, and inclosed it in a casket, that it might be delivered to the mother on the anniversary of her birth-day<sup>108</sup>.

He procures the assassination of his elder son, and beheads the younger.

Ptolemy recovers Egypt notwithstanding.

The horrid present changed a day of rejoicing into melancholy lamentations, which, beginning from the palace, filled the city of

<sup>106</sup> Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lix. Orosius, l. v. c. 10.

<sup>108</sup> Diodorus Excerpt. p. 602. Valer. Maxim. & Tit. Liv. *ibid*.

<sup>107</sup> Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 8.

Alexandria<sup>100</sup>. The inhabitants resumed arms under Marfyas, whom the queen had constituted her general, determining with one accord to resist the invasion of Physcon, who, they were informed, had reinforced his armament in Cyprus, and collected a large body of mercenaries in order to recover his capital. These forces landed in Egypt, under Hegelochus, who, having provoked Marfyas to battle, put his army of Alexandrians to the rout, and made captive their commander. In this extremity, however, the queen regent, now shut up in Alexandria, applied to Demetrius II. king of Syria, who had married, as we have seen, her eldest daughter, informing him of the murder of her two sons, and assuring him that if he could bring any considerable body of men into Egypt, he might make himself master of the kingdom. Demetrius complied very unseasonably with this proposal; for his bad government had rendered him odious to the Syrians, and his marriage with Rhodoguna in Parthia had mortally offended his queen. Confident, however, in the strength of his mercenaries, and especially of some bodies of Greeks recently returned from their Parthian warfare, he neglected the rising sedition at home, marched towards the Egyptian frontier, and laid siege to Pelusium<sup>101</sup>. But before he had gained possession of that key to the country, the citizens of Antioch and Apamea, still infected with the leaven of Tryphon's party<sup>102</sup>, broke out into open rebellion. Lest their example might be followed throughout the kingdom, Demetrius raised the siege of Pelusium, and hastened back into his own dominions; upon intelligence of which movement, the queen regent of Egypt embarked with all her treasures, and sailed<sup>103</sup> to Ptolemais in Syria, where her daughter, wife to Demetrius, had long held her residence. By the flight of his rival from Alexandria, Physcon recovered possession of that

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standing the  
opposition of  
Demetrius  
Nicator.  
Olymp.  
clxiii. r.  
B. C. 128.

<sup>100</sup> Diodor. *ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* l. xiii. c. 9.

<sup>102</sup> This can be the only meaning of Justin, l. xxix. c. 1. Antiochenſes primi, duce

Tryphone, &c. Tryphon was slain twelve years before.

<sup>103</sup> Joseph. *ibid.*

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Physcon  
abets against  
Demetrius  
the impostor  
Alexander  
Zebina.  
Olymp.  
clxiii. 1.  
B. C. 128.

Demetrius  
defeated in  
battle and  
slain in Tyre  
at the insti-  
gation of his  
wife—her  
views.  
Olymp.  
clxiii. 3.  
B. C. 126.

capital; the most determined of his opposers had all perished in the field; and, as if he had wished to obliterate the memory of his past cruelties by an act of singular clemency, he pardoned the captive Marfyas, a general taken in arms at the head of his enemies<sup>13</sup>.

Meanwhile, the rebellion, begun in Syria, continued to make progress; although the insurgents most disgusted with the pride and cruelty of Demetrius, had not agreed among themselves whom to substitute in his stead. Amidst their indecision or contrariety, Physcon sent, at the head of a part of the same victorious troops who had recently triumphed in Egypt, a youth, named Alexander Zebina<sup>14</sup>, in reality son to a broker of Alexandria, but who was instructed to give himself out for the son of Alexander Balas, and therefore grandson to Antiochus Epiphanes, to which branch of the Seleucidæ many Syrians still adhered with the warmth of compassion, or the obstinacy of prejudice. Reinforced by men of this description, and other Syrian malcontents, Zebina met Demetrius in the field. A decisive battle was fought near Damascus. The mercenaries of the king were put to the rout, and, when he himself escaped to Ptolemais, he found the gates of that city shut against him by the two Cleopatras, his wife and mother-in-law. The former was actuated on this occasion by a motive less excusable, as her subsequent behaviour too clearly indicates, than the resentment of offended love. She had born two sons to Demetrius, just growing into manhood, under whose name, upon the destruction of her husband, she hoped to be called by a party to assume the reins of government. When Demetrius therefore fled from Ptolemais to Tyre, and was still received by the citizens of that place as their sovereign, Cleopatra spared no pains to exasperate the Tyrians against him. Her machinations proved successful. Even respect for Tyrian Hercules, in whose temple he took

<sup>13</sup> Diodorus Excerpt. p. 603.

<sup>14</sup> Joseph. *ibid.* Justin, l. xxxix. c. 1.  
Athenæus, l. v. p. 211. Zebina is a Syrian

nickname, denoting a bought slave. Por-  
phyr. Fragment. Eusebian.

refuge,



refuge<sup>115</sup>, was unable to save his life, justly forfeited indeed to his injured subjects, but most wickedly destroyed by his wife's profligate ambition<sup>116</sup>.

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The local circumstances of Syria highly favoured Cleopatra's purposes. A country of mountains, and valleys, and innumerable strongholds, was not to be conquered by the issue of a battle. Though Zebina, who assumed the title of king Alexander II. was master of the field, and had entered into strict alliance<sup>117</sup> with Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, yet many fortified cities, now that the odious Demetrius was no more, declared for the legitimate succession of his elder son Seleucus, and spurned the impostor whom Ptolemy Physcon endeavoured to set over them. In this manner the kingdom of Syria came to be divided into two hostile states, which, during five years, balanced each other; one admitting the pretensions of Alexander II. and the other asserting the rights of the sons of Demetrius. The elder of these sons, Seleucus V. had scarcely borne his title a single year, when he was assassinated by the hand of his mother<sup>118</sup>, to whom too much independence of spirit had rendered him obnoxious. He was succeeded by his brother Antiochus VIII. who assumed the epithets of Philometor and Epiphanes<sup>119</sup>, but who is known in history by his nickname of Grypus, or hook-nose<sup>120</sup>. During the first three years of his reign, Grypus maintained the shew of unbounded deference for the will of his mother, and co-operated with her, by intrigues rather than arms, against Alexander II. their common enemy. By bribes and promises, Alexander's garrisons were corrupted: his officers deserted; several cities rebelled, particularly the important stronghold Laodicea, at the foot of mount Libanus.

Civil war of  
five years in  
Syria.  
Olymp.  
cixiii. 3—  
cixiv. 3.  
B. C. 126—  
122.

Seleucus V.  
assassinated  
by his mo-  
ther.  
Olymp.  
cixiii. 4.  
B. C. 125.

<sup>115</sup> Justin, l. xxxix. c. 1.

<sup>116</sup> Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

<sup>117</sup> Josephus, l. xiii. c. 9.

<sup>118</sup> Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxix. Appian. de  
Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

<sup>119</sup> The former epithet appears in Por-  
phyry and Josephus above cited: the latter  
on coins.

<sup>120</sup> Justin, l. xxxix. c. 1. & Joseph. l. xiii.  
c. 9.

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Clemency of  
Alexander  
II. Zebina.

Alexander shewed considerable ability in counteracting the machinations of his adversaries; but still more signalized his clemency in pardoning such traitors as the chance of arms, at any time, put into his hands. On regaining Laodicea, he spared even Antipater, Clonius, and Æropus, three of his confidential friends who had confederated to betray him. This forgiving disposition proved highly conducive to his affairs. Through love for his mildness and benignity, many, who well knew him for an impostor, were yet zealous to abet his usurpation<sup>120</sup>.

War suddenly  
levied on  
him by Pto-  
lemy Phys-  
con—his  
death.  
Olymp.  
clxiv. 3.  
B. C. 122.

The misfortunes of Alexander proceeded from a quarter the least suspected, the same hand which had raised him being suddenly exerted to pull him down. Ptolemy Physcon, with the caprice natural to his character, entered into an alliance with Grypus<sup>121</sup>, and gave him in marriage Tryphæna, one of three daughters born to him by his niece Cleopatra. The nuptials were celebrated with due pomp. Tryphæna brought for her dower a reinforcement of her father's mercenaries. Alexander was driven to the necessity of fighting a battle, in which he was entirely forsaken by his good fortune. He fled with a slender train from one city to another, and endeavoured hastily to collect such supplies of money as would procure for him a comfortable retreat in Greece, in which country, then enjoying undisturbed quiet under the government of Rome, he had purposed to lead a life of philosophy and happiness, bidding for ever adieu to the empty pursuits of ambition. But, with a view to this design, he was tempted to lay hold of rich treasures in one of the temples at Antioch. The priests raised the cry of sacrilege. A tumult ensued; Alexander fled precipitately, and, to escape his pursuers, betook himself to unfrequented paths, among which, being encountered by a band of robbers, who recognized him, he ended his life by poison<sup>122</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> Athenæus, l. v. p. 211. Conf. Diodor. Excerpt. p. 603.

<sup>121</sup> Physcon found Zebina less subservient to him than he expected; history assigns not any particular ground of offence.

<sup>122</sup> He feared, the banditti, to make their own peace, would surrender him to Antiochus. Diodorus Excerpt. p. 604. Justin, l. xxxix. c. 2.



Thus died Zebina, the son of a broker of Alexandria, who, for nearly six years, had filled the throne of the Seleucidæ.

The destruction of this rival infused new boldness into Grypus, and determined him to rebel against the haughty dictates of his mother. To cure this wound to her ambition, Cleopatra had recourse to the most nefarious practices. Besides her son by Alexander Balas, slain in childhood by Tryphon, and her two sons by Demetrius II. Nicator, the elder of whom she had murdered, and by the younger of whom she now thought herself slighted, she had a fourth son still remaining, the fruit of her marriage with Antiochus VII., Sidetes; and who, being sent by her for education and security to the republick of Cyzicus in the Propontis, is, from this circumstance, distinguished in history by the epithet Cyzicenus, joined to the hereditary name of Antiochus<sup>13</sup>. As Cyzicenus was several years younger than his brother Grypus, Cleopatra doubted not to find in him more unbounded compliance with her will; she determined therefore to cut off the one, to make room for the succession of the other. With this execrable purpose, she offered a poisoned cup to Grypus, as he returned warm from exercise. But apprized of the treachery, her son begged leave to pledge her; and when she refused to drink, produced the evidences of her guilt, and forced her to swallow the mortal draught<sup>14</sup>. Thus perished Cleopatra, wife to three kings; the mother also of three, who reigned in her lifetime; and of Cyzicenus, a fourth, who mounted the throne of Antioch eight years after her death.

During this period of eight years, Syria enjoyed profound peace at home and abroad. The limits of the kingdom were indeed greatly contracted, but Antiochus VIII. Grypus, reigned without a rival; and, in this cessation of foreign wars and domestic sedition, distinguished himself only by the luxury of his entertainments and the splendour of his festivals. The games which he celebrated at Dapimè,

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Intrigues of  
Cleopatra -  
her tragical  
death.

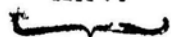
Antiochus  
VIII. Gry-  
pus reigns  
quietly eight  
years in  
Syria.  
Olymp.  
clxiv. 4—  
clxvi. 3.  
B. C. 129—  
114.

<sup>13</sup> Josephus, l. xiii. c. 10.

<sup>14</sup> Justin, l. xxxix. c. 2. Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

C H A P.

XXV.



Death of  
Ptolemy  
Physcon—  
Intrigues of  
his widow  
and niece.  
Olymp.  
cxcv. 4.  
B. C. 117.

the Olympia of Syria, rivalled those exhibited half a century before his time, by Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. Grypus had also assumed this boastful title: and, like the first who wore it, is portrayed on his coins under the figure of Jupiter stretching forth garlands of victory. History has handed down the name of Apollonius among the lying flatterers whom he pampered, and that of Diogenes, a philosopher of Babylon, among the unfortunate victims of truth spoken with uncourtly freedom<sup>125</sup>.

Meanwhile, Cyzicenus, the half-brother of Grypus, as he advanced into manhood, became the object of jealousy and persecution. The dangers which he apprehended to his person, seemed to leave him no alternative between a crown and a grave<sup>126</sup>. We know not what resources he might derive from the private inheritance of his father Antiochus Sidetes; but that unfortunate prince, the last of the Seleucidæ who shewed any love for glory, had left many partizans in Syria; and the circumstances of a neighbouring kingdom tended at this juncture to reinforce their numbers. Ptolemy Physcon had reigned twenty-nine years in Egypt, without exhausting the patience of his subjects by his bloody tyranny, aggravated by beastly profligacy. He died unmolested in his bed, bequeathing the kingdom of Cyrenè to a natural son, Ptolemy *Apion*<sup>127</sup>, that is, the slender, a nickname directly opposite to that imposed on the *swollen* father. To his queen Cleopatra, Physcon left his kingdom of Egypt, ordering her to associate in the government whichever of her two sons, Lathyrus or Alexander, she thought fit to prefer<sup>128</sup>. The queen had as little maternal feeling as her ruthless sister, whose monstrous cruelties have recently deformed the annals of Syria. But ambition made her prefer the younger of her sons for a partner in power; and to prevent opposition on the side of his brother Lathyrus, she had contrived to

<sup>125</sup> Athenæus.

<sup>126</sup> Justin, l. xxxix. c. 2.

<sup>127</sup> Id. l. xxxix. c. 5. Appian. de Bell.

Mithridat. c. 121.

<sup>128</sup> Pausanias, Attic.

send this prince, before his father's death, as viceroy into Cyprus, an employment considered by him only as an honourable banishment. The Egyptians, and particularly the citizens of Alexandria, espoused the interest of Lathyrus, and loudly demanded that notwithstanding the capricious destination of Physcon, and the unjust option of Cleopatra, the legitimate heir to their monarchy should be called to govern them. Cleopatra yielded reluctantly to the torrent, and, before consenting to the coronation of Lathyrus, at Memphis, required him to repudiate his present wife, and marry her younger sister<sup>129</sup>. Of these successive wives of Lathyrus, both daughters to Cleopatra, the elder is only known by that appellative common to so many Egyptian females of the royal blood; the other was named Selenè, and being a woman, as will appear from her subsequent history, of singular address and spirit, was probably on that account selected by the queen-mother, to whom she was totally devoted, as the fittest instrument for governing the mind of Lathyrus.

With this queen-mother, the Jews established in Egypt had long been peculiar favourites. Two individuals of that nation, Chelcias and Ananias<sup>130</sup>, sons to the high-priest of Heliopolis, were her counsellors and generals, and the prime directors in all her affairs. They represented to her that their countrymen in Palestine, so often insulted by the Syrian kings, were in danger of a new invasion on the part of Antiochus Grypus. To avert this evil, it was necessary to abet the cause of Cyzicenus. The divorced Cleopatra, now useful to the views of her mother, was therefore sent into Syria, to become the bride of that prince, with a body of troops from Cyprus for her dower<sup>131</sup>.

Among the first incidents in the warfare which followed, and which is very imperfectly related, Cyzicenus gained possession of Antioch; and, after defeat in an engagement, made good his retreat to that city, in which, as a place of safety, he left his newly married

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XXV.

Ptolemy  
Lathyrus.Cyzicenus  
takes the  
field against  
his brother  
Grypus.  
Olymp.  
clxiv. 4.  
B. C. 113.Horrid ex-  
ecutions of  
Cleopatra  
and Triphae-  
na respec-  
tively wives<sup>129</sup> Justin, l. xxxix. c. 3.<sup>130</sup> Josephus, l. xiii. c. 10.<sup>131</sup> Justin, l. xxxix. c. 3.

wife.

C H A P.

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to the rival  
brothers.  
Olymp.  
clxv. 1.  
B. C. 112.

wife. But while he rallied his broken forces, Grypus assaulted and recovered Antioch. Triphæna attended Grypus in this expedition. The eldest daughter of Physcon, Triphæna, had now at her mercy an aspiring sister, who in marrying a pretender to her husband's throne, had presumed to become her rival. In the rage of wounded pride, she thirsted for Cleopatra's blood; and when Grypus warmly opposed this fell purpose, she thought his expressions keener and stronger than any that *his* cold compassion was likely to dictate. She imperiously demanded that her rival in love as well as in power should be subjected to her vengeance. Her impious orders were more impiously executed; since Cleopatra, being pursued into the most venerated sanctuary of Antioch, her arms, while they clasped the divinity of the place, were hacked in pieces by the ministers of her ruthless sister<sup>122</sup>. The mangled princess expired in imprecations for vengeance against profaned religion and parricidal murder. Her prayer was heard; for shortly afterwards Cyzicenus, having reassembled his forces, gained a decisive victory. Tryphæna was taken in the rout, and sacrificed to the offended manes of Cleopatra<sup>123</sup>: Grypus retreated to Aspendus in Pamphylia; while his victorious antagonist, under the title of Antiochus IX. Philopator, established his authority over the greater part of Syria<sup>124</sup>.

Cyzicenus —  
his vile  
amusements

His ascendancy in power only displayed the worthlessness of his character. Equally careless of the affairs of war and government, the new king of Syria indulged in the lowest pleasures, and delighted in the basest society. The intervals of gross bodily gratifications were filled up by listening to the jests of buffoons and beholding the tricks of jugglers. Puppets and automata<sup>125</sup> formed a favourite amusement. His most royal sport was hunting, but even this was

<sup>122</sup> Justin, l. xxxix. c. 3.

<sup>123</sup> Id. *ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 69. Conf. Joseph. l. xiii. c. 10.

<sup>125</sup> Diodorus Excerpt. p. 606. Hero, the

scholar of Ctesibius who lived down to the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, composed two books on the subject of Automata. — The skill of philosophers was thus made subservient to the childish amusements of tyrants.

pursued

purfued capricioufly and vilely. He would often rife in the night, and fall into the field with a few of the meaneft attendants. He thus narrowly miffed, on repeated occafions, paying the forfeit of his folly to boars or panthers <sup>136</sup>.

While Cyzicenus was thus idly employed in Syria, Grypus, in lefs than twelve months after his retreat, returned from Pamphylia with an army which the proper application of the treasures transported with him rendered numerous and formidable. Such at leaft it appeared to his brother, who abandoned to him the principal divifion of the kingdom, and retreated into Cœlefyria. Grypus, fenfible of the difficulty of penetrating into this intricate territory, liftened to a compromise founded on a treaty of partition. According to this treaty <sup>137</sup>, the Greater or Upper Syria, with its capital Antioch, was refigned to Grypus. Cyzicenus was thenceforth to reign at Damafcus in Cœlefyria, two hundred miles diftant from the refidence of his brother.

The vaft dominions of the Seleucidæ had been gradually reduced, as we have feen, to a fingle kingdom. That kingdom was now divided between two hostile brothers, and even their refpective fhares had fuffered great defalcations. In the northern part of the country a diftinct ftate had fprung up in Commagene <sup>138</sup>, the diftrict contiguous to the Euphrates. On the fea coaft, the cities of Tyre and Sidon had refumed their ancient independence <sup>139</sup>; and, in the South, the Jews, under the bold and able Hyrcanus, were formidable enemies to the new kingdom of Damafcus, on the territories of which they had already made deep encroachments. To extend their fuccefs to the original limits of the Holy Land, Hyrcanus, in the twenty-fixth year of his adminiftration, fent his two fons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, to lay fiege to Samaria <sup>140</sup>. This place, long rival to Jerufalem, was now chiefly inhabited by Syrian Greeks, and

C H A P.  
XXV.

Treaty of  
partition be-  
tween hun  
and Grypus.  
Olymp.  
clxv. 2.  
B. C. 111.

The territo-  
ries of the  
brothers cur-  
tailed by  
their neigh-  
bours.

<sup>136</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 607.

<sup>137</sup> Joſephus, l. xxx. c. 10. & Porphyry.  
Fragment. Eufebian.

<sup>138</sup> Appian de Bell. Mithridat.

<sup>139</sup> The *αυτονομία* attested on medals.

<sup>140</sup> Joſephus, l. xiii. c. 10.



C H A P.  
XXV.

Siege and  
capture of  
Samaria  
Olymp.  
clxvii. 4.  
B. C. 109.

Aristobulus  
king of the  
Jews.  
Olymp.  
clxviii. 2.  
B. C. 107.

Ptolemy  
VIII. La-  
thyus de-  
throned by  
the cruel ar-  
tifices of his  
mother.  
Olymp.  
clxviii. 3.  
B. C. 106.

seemed to Antiochus Cyzicenus the firmest bulwark of the possessions still remaining to his family in Palestine. He therefore hastened to the defence of Samaria, but being defeated in battle, he implored the aid of his neighbour Ptolemy Lathyrus, then reigning in Egypt conjointly with his mother. Lathyrus, without consulting that princess, sent to him a reinforcement of six thousand men. But this succour not answering his expectation, he retired impatiently to Tripoli, leaving his forces under the command of Callimander and Epicrates, of whom the former was slain, and the latter corrupted. Through the treachery of Epicrates, Scythopolis and other strongholds fell into the hands of the Jews. Samaria surrendered after standing a year's siege<sup>141</sup>. Its inhabitants were enslaved; the city was desolated and demolished; and the Jews thus obtaining secure possession of the neighbouring territory, Aristobulus, who in little more than twelve months succeeded to his father Hyrcanus as high priest, assumed the royal diadem, and was the first king that reigned in Palestine in the course of nearly five centuries after the sad æra of Babylonish captivity<sup>142</sup>. His dominions did not entirely comprehend the three districts of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, since several cities on the sea coast which, amidst the distractions of Syria, had thrown off the yoke of that kingdom, either erected themselves into republics, or submitted to domestic tyrants. In the number of the former Ptolemais deserves particular mention, on account of transactions which will presently be related.

The assistance which Lathyrus had afforded against the Jews, provoked much resentment in his mother. She determined to precipitate him from the throne, and to advance in his stead her younger son Alexander, then governing in Cyprus. For accomplishing this design, she had recourse to a stratagem equally cruel and perfidious. Her eunuchs sallied from the palace of Alexandria streaming with blood, and imploring the aid of the citizens against Lathyrus, "whom,

<sup>141</sup> Josephus, l. xiii. c. 10.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid, c. 13.

at the price of their wounds, they had hardly been able to restrain from the crime of parricide." An insurrection followed; the palace was assaulted; Lathyrus, informed of his danger from the enraged multitude, secretly escaped by sea, while his brother, as had previously been concerted, arrived from Cyprus, and took on him the government<sup>142</sup>.

The revolution in his favour had been effected, however, merely through the deluded passions of the capital, and was not generally abetted either by the state or army. Lathyrus having failed to Cyprus, was acknowledged in that island; and the forces sent to reduce him, immediately came over to his party. Master of Cyprus, and of an army thirty thousand strong, he watched an opportunity of returning by force into Egypt. Under these circumstances Aristobulus, king of the Jews, after a reign of two years, was succeeded by his brother Alexander Jannæus, who determined to reduce the independent cities on his sea coast. He began by besieging Ptolemais. The citizens of that place, while they availed themselves of the strength of their walls, looked around for foreign assistance. The Syrian brothers Grypus and Cyzicenus had renewed hostilities with each other, and neither of them could be expected to befriend Ptolemais, which had revolted from their family. In Egypt Cleopatra, who allowed to her son Alexander only the name of king, considered the interests of the Jews as her own. Some feeble aid might be afforded to Ptolemais from Sidon and Gaza, cities which had formed themselves into republics, and from Dora and Cæsarea, then called the tower of Straton; which two places, under a chief named Zoilus, had asserted independance, and were resolved to maintain it against both Jews and Syrians. But the chief hopes of the besieged city rested in Ptolemy Lathyrus, who, upon the first invitation, sailed with a powerful armament to its relief. The magnitude, however, of this armament, rendered its assistance suspi-

Ptolemy IX.  
Alexander.  
Lathyrus  
still master of  
a great  
army.  
Olymp.  
clxviii. 3.  
B. C. 106.

He is invited  
into Syria to  
oppose the  
army of the  
Jews.  
Olymp.  
clxviii. 4.  
B. C. 105.

<sup>142</sup> Pausanias, Attic. c. 9.

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cious ; and Demænetus, a favourite demagogue, assured his fellow citizens, that, on pretence of defending Ptolemais against the king of the Jews, Lathyrus had come with no other view than that of conquering it for himself. Upon his arrival on the coast, the Jewish army had raised the siege ; but the gates of the city were kept shut against its deliverer. Stung with this affront, Lathyrus embraced the hostile resolution that had been unwarrantably ascribed to him. One part of his army he left to besiege Ptolemais, while the other, which he commanded in person, marched against the king of the Jews<sup>144</sup>.

Battle of  
Afochis—  
horrid mis-  
factions suc-  
ceeding it.  
Olymp.  
clix. 1.  
B C. 104.

To this latter measure he was instigated by Zoilus, styled tyrant of Dora, and by the citizens of Gaza ; and further stimulated by the treachery of the Jewish king, who, while he implored peace from Lathyrus, secretly negotiated a war against him with Cleopatra, his mother and most relentless enemy. But this perfidy recoiled on the traitor. Lathyrus pursued him into Galilee, ravaged that district, took and plundered Afochis, and totally defeated the collected forces of the Jews in a great battle on the banks of the Jordan. The conqueror urged his advantage with blood-thirsty vengeance against a people peculiarly obnoxious to him. Thirty thousand, another report says fifty thousand Jews, perished in the rout ; and the blunted weapons of the pursuers dropped from their wearied hands before they hearkened to the cries for quarter. Even the harmless villages on the Jordan, teeming with women and children, escaped not the merciless havock. Lathyrus ordered them to be desolated with shocking, and almost incredible, circumstances of cruelty<sup>145</sup>.

Ptolemais  
successively  
besieged by  
three mutu-  
ally hostile  
armies.

Meanwhile, Cleopatra had assembled a great army under the Jews Chelcias and Ananias, her favourites and generals, that they might march to the assistance of their countrymen. She herself failed to Ptolemais, still besieged by part of the forces of Lathyrus. Her arrival caused the siege to be raised ; but the Ptolemæans, as sus-

<sup>144</sup> Josephus, l. xiii. c. 12.

<sup>145</sup> Id. *ibid.*

picious of Cleopatra as under like circumstances they had formerly been of her son, refused to open their gates to this new deliverer. Cleopatra, with the assistance of Ananias, determined to vanquish their obstinacy. Ptolemais was blocked up by sea, and invested by land<sup>146</sup>; so that in the course of three years the same city was assailed by three mutually hostile armies.

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Another division of the queen's forces marched under Chelcias to the encounter of Lathyrus. But the Jewish general dying in this expedition, Lathyrus availed himself of the confusion or despondency thereby produced in the enemy, to advance hastily towards Egypt, hoping to find its frontier garrisons so much drained by the forces sent into Palestine, that they would be unable to resist him. Being disappointed, however, in this expectation, he thought proper, before his mother's forces could resume a position for intercepting him, to return towards Gaza, and to throw his army for the winter into that friendly stronghold. Meanwhile Ptolemais surrendered to Cleopatra. Her hostile son had not ventured to keep the field. She was absolute mistress in Palestine. Alexander Jannæus came to her with his presents, thanking her for the deliverance which she had wrought for him, and craving the continuance of her protection. On this occasion, Cleopatra's Greek courtiers exhorted her to seize the person of the Jewish king, and to take possession of his country. But the influence of Ananias<sup>147</sup> prevented her from listening to advice, with which, odious and infamous as it was, Cleopatra might easily have complied without disgracing her character. Having concluded a treaty with Alexander, she continued in Palestine to watch the motions of her son, nor thought of re-entering Egypt until that prince had sailed for Cyprus.

Surrenders  
to Cleopatra.  
Olymp.  
clxix. 3.  
B. C. 102.

Upon her return to Alexandria, Cleopatra treated her younger son Alexander with such indignity, that he fled secretly from her presence, determining thenceforward rather to lead a private life in

Ptolemy IX.  
Alexander  
abdicates.  
Olymp.  
clxix. 4.  
B. C. 101.

<sup>146</sup> Id. *ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.

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XXV.

The designs  
of Lathyrus  
and Cyzice-  
nus defeated  
by female  
manage-  
ment.

Ptolemy IX  
reinstated by  
his mother,  
Olymp.  
clix 4.  
B. C. 101.

Ptolemy  
Apion be-  
queathes  
Cyrenè to  
the Romans.  
Olymp.  
clxx 4.  
B. C. 97.

exile, than to bear the empty name of king in his native country<sup>14</sup>. About the same time she learned that a common enmity to the Jews had occasioned a close friendship between Lathyrus and Antiochus Cyzicenus. A treaty was in fact concluded between these princes at Damascus, by which the former was to be assisted by the whole disposable force of the latter, in a new attempt to re-enter the kingdom from which he had been expelled by the cruel artifices of his mother. To ward off this blow, Cleopatra sent into Syria her daughter Selenè, the wife whom she had first forced on Lathyrus, and of whom she had afterwards as forcibly deprived him. This princess, a dexterous and ready instrument of Cleopatra's ambition, was to marry Grypus, the perpetual rival of Cyzicenus, and by exciting a new war between the brothers, to create such troublesome employment for the younger in Syria, as should prevent him from assisting Lathyrus in his projected invasion of Egypt<sup>15</sup>. The intrigue succeeded to Cleopatra's wish, and Lathyrus' enterprize was again disconcerted. But his mother, as she saw the Alexandrians, the most unruly portion of her subjects, unwilling to obey her government, unless supported by one or other of her sons, was reduced to the necessity of recalling the younger from his voluntary abdication<sup>16</sup>. He yielded with reluctance to the conditions with which she flattered him; foreseeing that he should be again mortified by affronts or encompassed by dangers.

Amidst increasing disorders in Egypt and Syria, Ptolemy Apion died childless at Cyrenè. He was on the father's side brother to Lathyrus and Alexander; but the animosities between these princes, their odious or contemptible characters, and the profligate ambition of their mother Cleopatra, who tyrannised over the one after persecuting and expelling the other, made Apion overlook the claims of both, in the destination of his kingdom. By a formal testament,

<sup>14</sup> Justin, l. xxxix. c. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxxviii.

<sup>16</sup> Justin, *ibid.*



he declared the Romans his heirs, as the ancient or most respectable allies of Egypt, of which Cyrenè, since its conquest by the first Ptolemy, had been regarded as a dependancy. The Romans, still stunned by the invasions of the Teutones and Cimbri, and soon afterwards called to engage in the Marfic and Mithridatic wars, did not think proper for twenty years to avail themselves of this bequest in their favour, otherwise than by declaring the Cyrenæans a free people, exempt from every foreign jurisdiction, and subject only to such regulations as might best suit and please them<sup>131</sup>. In consequence of this measure, dissensions arose between the capital Cyrenè and the four other communities originally forming the Pentapolis, at the same time that each city and district in the country became a prey to domestic factions. To remove these evils, the Romans, as we shall see, at a time more convenient, reduced Cyrenaica into a province.

Antiochus Grypus had not been long united to Selenè, when he reaped the bitter fruits of that marriage in renewed hostilities with his brother. He was assassinated soon after by Heracleon, a vain courtier, who, intoxicated with the honours heaped on him, aspired to supplant his master<sup>132</sup>. But Cyzicenus hastened to Antioch, and, for a moment, joined that kingdom to his own of Damascus. His pretensions were speedily disputed by his nephews, the five sons of Grypus, the eldest of whom, under the name of Seleucus VI. Nicator, challenged him to battle, and obtained a decisive victory. Cyzicenus either perished in the combat<sup>133</sup>, or was slain after it by orders of the conqueror<sup>134</sup>; or, according to another report, died by his own hands<sup>135</sup>, unable to brook his disgraceful defeat by so young a prince, against whose father he had sustained an equal warfare for the space of eighteen years.

Murder of  
Grypus.  
Olymp.  
clxx. 4.  
B. C. 97.

Death of  
Cyzicenus.  
Olymp.  
clxxi. 2.  
B. C. 95.

<sup>131</sup> Conf. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxx. & Plutarch in Lucull. c. 13.

<sup>132</sup> Porphyr. Fragment. Trogi. Pomp. Prolog. l. xl. Conf. Josephus Antiq. l. xiii.

<sup>133</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.

<sup>135</sup> Porphyr. Fragment.

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The war  
continued  
between  
their respec-  
tive sons.

Antiochus Cyzicenus left only one son, who, from his zeal and success in avenging his father's death, is entitled Antiochus X. Eusebes<sup>156</sup>. Through the boldness of a courtesan, enamoured of his beauty, he escaped the dangers to which the victory of Seleucus exposed him. The partizans of his family, and the money which, according to the Syrian custom, had been placed in deposit for his use, made him master of Apamæa, and drew to him an army with which, in his first battle, he had the good fortune completely to vanquish his adversary, and to drive him into ignominious flight towards the mountains of Cilicia. In an unseasonable attempt to extort money from Mopsuesta, a Cilician city, which still acknowledged a loose dependence on the Syrian monarchy, the fugitive Seleucus provoked a conspiracy of the citizens, and, either perished by his own hand<sup>157</sup>, or was burned to death with his attendants in a gymnasium or palace, which, upon his first coming to Mopsuesta, had been generously assigned for his dwelling<sup>158</sup>.

Seleucus VI.  
burned to  
death.

Olymp.  
clxxi. 4.  
B. C. 93.

Antiochus  
XI. drowned  
in the Oron-  
tes.

Olymp.  
clxxi. 4.  
B. C. 93.

When Seleucus thus perished, two of his brothers, Antiochus and Philip, twins, were on the northern frontiers of Syria; and two younger brothers remained, according to the usage of their country, in safe custody at Cnidus, that they might escape the dangers of the times. The twins, to their respective names of Antiochus XI. and Philip I., added the common epithets of Epiphanes and Philadelphus, and thus united in titles of honour as they had been in their birth, prepared to assert a joint sovereignty over their paternal dominions. Their first care was to avenge the cruel death of their brother on the incendiaries of Mopsuesta. With forces hastily collected from the remains of his scattered army, they marched into Cilicia, surprised Mopsuesta, massacred the inhabitants, and, to satiate their undistinguishing rage, spent much precious time in razing the obnoxious city<sup>159</sup>. After this fruitless exploit, they joined their par-

<sup>156</sup> The pious, viz. towards his father.

Syr. c. 69.

<sup>157</sup> Porphy. Fragment. Eusebian.

<sup>159</sup> Conf. Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 69.

<sup>158</sup> Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13. Appian de Reb. 70. Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.

tizans in Syria, and, soon coming to a battle with\* their adversary, Antiochus X. Eusebes, were defeated on the banks of the Orontes. In passing that river on horseback, Antiochus XI., one of the twins, was drowned<sup>160</sup>; the fourth king of Syria that had suffered violent or accidental death, in the course of less than five years.

His brother Philip made a skilful retreat, and was enabled by the following occurrence again to take the field. Antiochus Eusebes\* ad taken to his bed Selenè, formerly wife to Ptolemy Lathyrus, who considered the new espousals of this princess as an affront to himself. To revenge it, he drew from his retreat in Cnidus, Demetrius, the fourth of the brothers, and enabled him to take possession of Damascus, where he assumed the diadem under the title of Demetrius III. Eucærus<sup>161</sup>, an epithet denoting the seasonableness of his appearance in arms. The alliance of the two brothers rendered them more than a match for Antiochus Eusebes, their common enemy. He was compelled to cross the Euphrates, and to crave protection from the Parthians, who, under the great Mithridates II. had extended their conquests to the eastern bank of that river. Through their powerful interposition, Antiochus Eusebes triumphed in his turn over the brothers now unhappily disunited, and Demetrius III. being made prisoner by a Parthian general, was carried into the upper provinces of that empire, where he died in captivity<sup>162</sup>.

The commotions in Syria however were not yet at an end; for the last of the five Syrian brothers, afterwards stiled in history Antiochus XII. Dionysus, upon learning Demetrius' detention in the East, asserted his right of succession to the vacant throne of Damascus. The favour of the citizens and other inhabitants of Cœle-Syria, enabled him to maintain this pretension for two years against his cousin german Antiochus Eusebes, against his brother Philip, and against the rapacious Arabs in his neighbourhood, who had been long lying in

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Philip I. and  
Demetrius  
III. Lucæ-  
mus.  
Olymp.  
cxxxii. 1.  
B. C. 92.

Demetrius  
III. carried  
into Parthia.  
Olymp.  
cxxxiii. 1.  
B. C. 92.

Antiochus  
XII. Dionysus.  
B. C. 90.

<sup>160</sup> Porphy. Fragment.

<sup>161</sup> Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.

<sup>162</sup> Conf. Joseph. ibid. & Excerpt. ex Hist.  
tor. Niccol. Damasc.

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Killed in  
battle with  
the Arabs.  
Olymp.  
clxxiii. 4.  
B. C. 85.

wait to grasp the spoils of an oppressed and distracted kingdom<sup>163</sup>. At the end of this period, Antiochus XII. Dionysus, having forced his way through Palestine in spite of the opposition of Alexander Janæus king of the Jews, fell in a desperate battle with the Arabs: most of his followers were cut in pieces<sup>164</sup>: and the natives of Coele-Syria despairing of protection from Antiochus Eusebes, or from Philip, still engaged in relentless hostilities with each other, called to the throne of Damascus, Aretas<sup>165</sup>, an Arab chief, who had benefited by his long residence in the neighbourhood of Syria, to make acquirements in arts and letters, extremely rare among his Nabathæan countrymen<sup>166</sup>.

Annexation  
of Syria to  
Armenia.  
Olymp.  
clxxiv.  
B. C. 84.

Moved by this example, the inhabitants of Antioch and other Syrian cities, long weary of the crimes and calamities of the Seleucidæ, began to look around for some foreign dynasty, more able to defend, and more worthy to govern them. An attentive review, as will be shewn presently, of the state of neighbouring powers, made them choose for their protector and sovereign, Tigranes king of Armenia<sup>167</sup>. Amidst the disorders immediately preceding this election, Philip I. should seem to have perished, since his name thenceforth disappears from history. Antiochus Eusebes saved himself by flight, and continued to lurk in an obscure corner of Cilicia<sup>168</sup>. His queen Selenè, of a bolder spirit, occupied some strongholds in Commagene. The troops and treasures with which she was accompanied, enabled her to defend her possessions for a dozen years, and to educate in splendour two sons, whose history will afterwards be related<sup>169</sup>.

Ptolemy IX.  
Alexander  
murders his  
mother.  
Olymp.  
clxxii. 4.  
B. C. 89.

Shortly before Syria thus passed from the dominion of the Seleucidæ, a new tragedy in Egypt reinstated Ptolemy Lathyrus in the throne. His brother Alexander grew weary of holding the bare name of king, while Cleopatra usurped the sovereignty.

<sup>163</sup> Id. *ibid.*

<sup>164</sup> Josephus, l. xiii. c. 14.

<sup>165</sup> Id. c. 15. Conf. Strab. l. xvi. p. 751.

<sup>166</sup> Id. *ibid.* Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 581.

<sup>167</sup> Justin, l. xl. c. 1. Conf. Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. 48.

<sup>168</sup> Id. *ibid.* c. 2.

<sup>169</sup> Strabo, l. xvi. p. 749.

That princess perceived his impatience of submission, and, in order to punish it, determined to have recourse to measures familiar to her age and family. But while she hesitated between the bowl and the dagger, Alexander anticipated, by the latter, her fell purpose<sup>170</sup>. Her murder was no sooner known, than the Alexandrians flew to arms. Cleopatra was deserving of many deaths, but she ought not to have fallen by the hand of her son. That son too, it was said, as he resembled in person the abominable Phiscon, had shewn that, if successor to his power, he would rival his monstrous tyranny. Apprised of the vengeance which threatened him, Alexander fled beyond seas; and Lathyrus was recalled from Cyprus, to take on him the government. He had hardly resumed it, when his expelled brother having possessed himself of much treasure, which their common mother and grandmother had deposited against future emergencies in the secure island of Côs, collected a mercenary armament, and made successive and equally fruitless attempts for re-entering Egypt and Cyprus. Alexander was pursued by Lathyrus' fleets under Tyrrhus and Chæreas, and finally captured and slain by the latter of these commanders<sup>171</sup>.

Is slain in a war with his brother Ptolemy VIII. Lathyrus. Olymp. clxxiii. 2. B. C. 87.

From this time forward Lathyrus reigned five years undisturbed by foreign or domestic enemies, until the last scene in his administration was deformed by a rebellion of the antient capital Thebes, and of the once imperial nome or district surrounding it. By the removal of the seat of government, first to Memphis, three hundred and fifty miles north of Thebes, and afterwards to Alexandria on the sea-coast, the great primeval metropolis of Egypt had been gradually falling to decay. What the hand of time carried on slowly and insensibly, the havoc of war now suddenly completed. After enduring a desperate siege for three years, Thebes was taken by the enraged conqueror, and by him stripped of every removeable monument of its antient

His subsequent reign. Olymp. clxxiii. 2—clxxiv. 3. B. C. 87—82.

<sup>170</sup> Pausanias, Attic. c. 9. Athenæus, l. xii. p. 550. Justin, l. xxxix. c. 4.

<sup>171</sup> Porphyry, Fragment. Græc. Eusebian.



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His daughter Berenice married to Alexander II. Olymp. clxxiv. 4. B. C. 81.

grandeur<sup>172</sup>. This is the last recorded event in the reign of Ptolemy VIII. Sotër, nicknamed Lathyrus<sup>173</sup>, it is thought, from a mole resembling the lathyrus or vetch, on his face. He died, bequeathing the isle of Cyprus to a natural son, known only by the common appellation of Ptolemy, and leaving Berenicè, his sole legitimate offspring, to inherit his kingdom of Egypt. The reign of Berenicè had scarcely lasted six months, when Sylla, the Roman dictator, gave<sup>174</sup> her a husband and a murderer in Alexander II. her cousin german, the son of that Alexander who had been the supplanter, the antagonist, and finally the victim of her father Lathyrus. Three years before Sylla set this vassal on the throne of Egypt, the Syrians, as we have seen, had submitted to Tigranes king of Armenia. Thenceforward the pure Greek kingdoms, and even the Greek commonwealths of the East, in respect of any real independence, might be regarded as extinct: but a memorable war of twenty-seven years<sup>175</sup> had begun in the peninsula of Asia, which was to decide whether the Romans, or a new power, half Grecian and half barbarous, that had hastily sprung up on the Euxine, should be master of Syria, Egypt, Macedon, Achaia; in a word, of all the dominions of the great Alexander on this side the Euphrates.

State of arts and letters.

The period of fifty years preceding this obstinate conflict, was an age of weakness and disgrace, rather than of positive or general misery. The rancorous animosities among the Greek kings proved ruinous to themselves, and those partisans who abetted them from personal interest, unmixed with the smallest infusion of public principle. Their hostilities, whether foreign or domestic, were carried on by small bodies of men raised among their immediate dependants. Cities were defended against them by their walls, and temples protected by their sanctity. Their petty wars suspended not the labours of agriculture, nor interrupted the operations of com-

<sup>172</sup> Pausanias, Attic. c. 9.

<sup>173</sup> Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795: Plin. N. H. l. ii. c. 67.

<sup>174</sup> Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. i. c. 102.

<sup>175</sup> Plin. N. H. l. vii. c. 26. He says thirty years, in round numbers.

merce :

merce: the native productions of the soil every where abounded, and far fetched objects of luxury were diffused through the most remote parts of the empire: so that the last unworthy races of Alexander's successors, while they lost much territory and many subjects, should seem to have been incapacitated, by their unworthiness itself, from inflicting deep wounds on the countries still acknowledging their authority. The inhabitants of these countries still prosecuted arts, sciences, and letters; and their Greek kings, contemptible in other respects, still encouraged them in this favourite career, congenial to their name and nation. Physcon, the worst of all the Ptolemies, studied so assiduously<sup>176</sup> under the grammarian Aristarchus, that he himself deserved the name of Philologer<sup>177</sup>. He wrote twenty-four books of historical commentaries. His name is numbered among the critics who laboured on the text of Homer<sup>178</sup>; and he spared no pains to enrich the Alexandrian library with the most authentic and correct manuscripts that could possibly be procured. This laudable undertaking, however, was disgraced by the capricious tyranny natural to his character. All ships arriving in his dominions were searched; the books found in them were seized<sup>179</sup>: copies were made by the king's transcribers, and given in return for the detained originals, which were carefully deposited in the Serapeon, a library which Physcon is thought to have founded<sup>180</sup> in the noble temple of Serapis<sup>181</sup>. From the Athenians, Physcon obtained the works of their three great tragic poets, upon depositing a pledge of fifteen talents, that the same manuscripts should be restored to them: he disgracefully forfeited his pledge<sup>182</sup>, about three thousand pounds in value. This zeal for augmenting his library was heightened by rival-

<sup>176</sup> Athenæus, l. xxiv. p. 654.

<sup>177</sup> Epiphani. de Ponder. & Mensur. p. 182.

<sup>178</sup> Athenæus, l. xii. p. 549. & l. xiii. p. 576.

<sup>179</sup> These books he distinguished by the inscription, *ex navibus*, "from ships." Galen. Comment. ad Epidem. Hippocrat. l. ii.

c. 23.

<sup>180</sup> It was long posterior to the library of Bruchion, and called fantastically its daughter. See above, vol. i. p. 486.

<sup>181</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 498.

<sup>182</sup> Galen. & Epiphani. ubi supra.

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ship with Eumenes II. of Pergamus<sup>183</sup>. To prevent that prince from multiplying his volumes, Ptolemy forbade the exportation of papyrus from Egypt: the invention of parchment in Pergamus was the fruit of this invidious prohibition<sup>184</sup>.

Historians.

Under princes so careful about the works of the ancients, contemporary authors abounded, whose names are incidentally mentioned by Strabo, chiefly, and Athenæus, but of whose merit there is no longer an opportunity to judge. The class of travellers<sup>185</sup> and geographers<sup>186</sup> was particularly numerous: there were also historians of their own times, whose loss is deeply to be regretted. Chance has preserved, from the reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus, three books of the mythological library of Apollodorus of Athens; but his contemporary, Apollodorus of Artemita, had treated of the Parthians and Bactrians<sup>187</sup>; Artemidorus of Ephesus, and Menecrates of Nyssa, had illustrated the history of Bithynia<sup>188</sup>: the same subjects were discussed more elaborately by the great Posidonius of Rhodes<sup>189</sup>: All these works have perished; and with them much interesting information concerning nations and countries of great relative importance in the age in which those historians flourished.

Poets.

For reasons formerly assigned, eloquence, truly Attic<sup>190</sup>, was little cultivated or known: but good taste in poetry was not yet extinct, as appears from the idyls or little poems of Moschus and Bion, breathing love and pleasure, beautiful throughout, and adorned with many touches of exquisite delicacy. Moschus, as well as Ptolemy Phiscion, was a disciple of Aristarchus<sup>191</sup>: his young friend Bion died before

<sup>183</sup> Reges Attalici cum egregiam bibliothecam ad communem delectationem institissent, tunc item Ptolemæas infinito zelo, &c. Vitruvius de Architect. l. vii. in Præfat. Conf. Plin. l. xiii. c. 11. Mox æmulatione circa bibliothecas regum Ptolemæi & Eumenes, &c.

<sup>184</sup> Plin. l. xiii. c. 11.

<sup>185</sup> By sea as well as land: witness the innumerable περιπλοί. See above, vol. i. p. 628.

<sup>186</sup> Mnaseas of Patrae, Demetrius & Metrodorus of Scepsis, &c. Strabo, Plin. Stephan. de Urb. & Athenæus passim.

<sup>187</sup> Strabo, l. xi. p. 516.

<sup>188</sup> Plutarch in Thesæo. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi.

<sup>189</sup> Athenæus passim.

<sup>190</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 629.

<sup>191</sup> Suidas & Euseb. in Chronic.

Him, and Moschus laments his premature loss in strains equally pathetic and poetical. In the succeeding reign, Sositheus<sup>192</sup> carried off the palm of tragedy: Anaxipolis<sup>193</sup> was admired in comedy: other Greek poets perpetuated their delightful art in much perfection down to the Augustan age; witness Parthenius of Nicæa, the master of Virgil<sup>194</sup>, and whose lost work, under the same Greek title, is said to have given birth to the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid<sup>195</sup>.

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The cultivators of arts and sciences were scattered over innumerable cities in the three divisions of the world. But Athens, Rhodes, and Alexandria maintained a decided pre-eminence. The literary glory of Athens resulted chiefly from the still subsisting schools of Plato and Aristotle<sup>196</sup>. Rhodes was renowned for the stoic Panætius, the companion, as we have seen, of Scipio Æmilianus, in his embassy to Egypt, and whose lost work on "Offices" Cicero professes to imitate<sup>197</sup>. Apollonius, also of Rhodes, was the most distinguished scholar of Panætius<sup>198</sup>; and Posidonius, a native of the same city, in which he continued to reside, was the greatest ornament of the following age, as a stoic philosopher, an historian, and a geometer<sup>199</sup>.

Philosophers.

Geometry, and the branches of knowledge depending on it, are those stubborn sciences which cannot easily recede; they greatly flourished in Rhodes and in Alexandria. Nor was Athens unwilling to exchange the fame of eloquence for that of geometry, even before she had been confounded and degraded, with other Greek cities, into the form of a Roman province. Archimedes' two noblest treatises<sup>200</sup>

Mathematicians.

<sup>192</sup> Suidas ad Voc.

<sup>193</sup> Plin. l. xiv. c. 14.

<sup>194</sup> Macrobius, Saturn. l. v. c. 17. Conf. Aulus Gellius, l. xiii. c. 26.

<sup>195</sup> The ἀλλοιωσις of Antigonus should seem to have been a work of the same nature.

<sup>196</sup> By means of these schools, propriety of sentiment and good taste in writing was better upheld in Athens than in any other Greek city. Cicero de Fin. l. v. c. 3. & seq.

<sup>197</sup> Cicero de Offic. passim.

<sup>198</sup> Strabo, l. xiv. p. 65.

<sup>199</sup> Suidas ad Voc. Conf. Cicero de Natur. Deorum, l. ii. c. 34, 35. & Lucian. in Macrob.

<sup>200</sup> "On the sphere and cylinder, and "on spiral lines." These admirable treatises inscribed to one friend, contain investigations left imperfect by the premature death of another. This was Conon of Samos, whom Archimedes again praises in his *Quadrature of the Parabola*, and of whom we have above spoken, p. 4.



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are dedicated to Dositheus, a young mathematician of Athens. This Dositheus forms the link between Eudoxus and Hipparchus, of whom we shall speak presently, as an improver of astronomy; while his contemporary, Apollonius of Perga<sup>201</sup>, acquired the title of the great geometer<sup>202</sup>, a title which the ingenuity and subtlety displayed in his conic sections will be found amply to justify. Hipparchus, who closely followed Dositheus and Apollonius, made observations in his native city Nicæa in Bithynia; at Rhodes<sup>203</sup>, capital of that island; and especially at Alexandria; during the reigns of the Ptolemean brothers Philometor and Physcon, from the 154th to the 163d Olympiad<sup>204</sup>. In Hipparchus, indeed, the Alexandrian school may be said to have reached its highest glory. He greatly improved the system of excentric spheres first proposed by Eudoxus; and Pliny says, though probably with much exaggeration<sup>205</sup>, that he predicted the courses and aspects of the sun and moon for 600 years. For determining precisely the length of the solar year, he chose one of his own observations of the summer solstice, compared with a similar observation of Aristarchus of Samos made 145 years before. He found that the solstice came round twelve hours sooner than it ought to have done, on the received supposition that the year contained 365 days and 6 hours. This palpable precession of the equinox in point of time, he divided among the sun's 145 annual revolutions, and thereby reduced the duration of the solar year by the space of five minutes<sup>206</sup>; an ingenious method still of universal use in astronomy. This precession of the equinox in time, or *retrocession*<sup>207</sup> of the equinoctial points in space, he ascribed to a con-

<sup>201</sup> Pappus, *Mathemat. Collect.* i. vii. p. 251.

<sup>202</sup> Proclus & Pappus, *l. vi. & Phot. Biblioth. p. 190.*

<sup>203</sup> Suidas and Strabo.

<sup>204</sup> Ptolem. *Syntax. Magn. l. iii. c. 2.*

<sup>205</sup> N. H. l. ii. c. 26. His whole encomium is hyperbolical and gigantic. "Hipparchus performed a task that would have been daring in a god: he bequeathed to his

successors an inheritance in the heavens: none has so well proved the congeniality of man with the sublimest objects in nature, and that the human mind is an emanation of the divine."

<sup>206</sup> Ptolem. *Syntax. Magn. ubi supra.*

<sup>207</sup> So called the motion being from east to west, that is, contrary to the order of the signs of the Zodiac.



trary motion of the firmament from west to east, and treated of this phenomenon in his famous work; now lost, on the falling back<sup>208</sup> of the equinoctial and solstitial points. To these important discoveries he is said to have been led by the appearance, in his time, of a new star. This suggested to him the inquiry, whether the firmament underwent variations in its fabric; towards the solution of which question, he determined to ascertain the number and position of the stars, and to leave a complete picture of the heavens for the contemplation of posterity. This picture was delineated by him on a solid sphere, which should seem to have been left by Hipparchus in the Museum of Alexandria<sup>209</sup>, with a projection of it on a plain surface, as more convenient than a large globe for examination and conveyance<sup>210</sup>. His success in numbering the stars is mentioned with raptures, by a writer zealous for the fame, but too inattentive to the labours of this great astronomer<sup>211</sup>. In making his catalogue of the stars, Hipparchus described their relative position in the heavens according to their distances in degrees from two great circles of the sphere. This happy contrivance he transferred from astronomy to geography<sup>212</sup>, and first described the habitable earth by the degrees of longitude and latitude, according to the method now universally adopted. He was the inventor also of trigonometry<sup>213</sup>; but indefatigable in labour, and passionately fond of truth<sup>214</sup>, he was not over-hasty in digesting his numerous works; so that the glory both of his astronomy and geography was reaped at the distance of three

<sup>208</sup> Περὶ τῆς μετακινήσεως τῶν τροπικῶν καὶ ὀμβρῶν σφαιρῶν. Syntax. Magn. l. ii. c. 2. By comparing Hipparchus' observations with his own, Ptolemy found the precession of the equinoxes in the space of 265 years. He therefore concluded their movement to be 1° in 100 years; but the doctrines of Ptolemy are well known, and fall not within the limits of the present work.

<sup>209</sup> Ptolem. Syntax. Magn. l. vii. c. 1.

<sup>210</sup> Synesius de Don. Astrolog. inter Oper.

Synthetic.

<sup>211</sup> Plin. l. ii. c. 12. & 26.

<sup>212</sup> Strabo, l. i. p. 7. Conf. l. ii. p. 131. Neither Strabo, nor Pliny, who speaks so highly of Hipparchus, adopted his clear and concise mode of geographical description.

<sup>213</sup> Theon. Comment. at Synt. Magn. l. i. c. 9.

<sup>214</sup> Syntax. Magn. passim. & l. iii. c. 2.

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centuries, by his great follower Ptolemy, in the mathematical school of Alexandria<sup>215</sup>. Of the intermediate mathematicians<sup>216</sup> between these luminaries of science, we have very imperfect accounts; for the Greek, and still more the Roman writers, from whom such biography might have been expected, were exclusively attentive to ethics and politics, to arms and eloquence<sup>217</sup>.

<sup>215</sup> Agathem. Epitom. Geograph. l. i. c. 6. & Proclus Hypotyp. Astron. posit. The only work of Hipparchus, now remaining, is his commentary in three books on the Phenomena of Aratus. It is entitled, "On the Phenomena of Eudoxus and Aratus," the reason for which see above, vol. i. p. 615.

<sup>216</sup> The name even of Hipparchus does not occur either in Seneca or in Plutarch, though the former might have been expected to speak of him in his "Natural Questions," and the latter in his "Sentiments of Philosophers concerning Nature." Cicero names Hipparchus but once, and that casually as an opposer of Eratosthenes's Geography. Epist. ad Attic. l. ii. c. 6. Conf. Strabo,

l. i. p. 7. The Romans, as Cicero says, Tusculan. l. i. c. 1. confined their study in mathematicks to such operations of measuring and numbering as were indispensable in the affairs of ordinary life.

<sup>217</sup> The age of Geminus, author of the Element Astronom., is uncertain: Sosigenes, as we shall see, enabled Julius Cæsar to reform the Roman Kalendar; Theodosius, noticed by Strabo, l. xii. p. 566. & Vitruv. l. ix. c. 9. has left Mathematical Elements of Spherical Astronomy; still the classic book on the subject. Two less important treatises ascribed to him, *Περὶ οὐρανόφωτων* and *Περὶ ἀστρονομίας*, contain geometrical demonstrations of the different phenomena resulting from differences of local habitation.



## CHAPTER XXVI.

*Political State of Asia. — Four Powers interposed between the Romans and Parthians. — Mithridates Eupator. — First Stages of his Reign. — Sylla's Embassy. — Nicomedes III. of Bithynia. — He plunders the Greek Cities on the Euxine. — Forbearance of Mithridates. — His Treaty with Tigranes of Armenia. — Success in all Parts of the Peninsula. — Massacre of the Romans there. — Sylla takes Athens. — Defeats the Pontic Generals in Greece. — Concludes Peace with Mithridates. — Triumphs over his domestic Enemies.*

**A** CENTURY before the Christian æra, the political state of Asia, and still more the characters of those who bore sway in that continent, announced a long and fierce conflict, likely to be maintained by no less obstinacy of emulation than vigour of military resources. In the vast tract of territory between the Euphrates and the Indus, Mithridates II. of Parthia having restored and consolidated a powerful empire, reposed on his laurels at Hecatompylos in an honourable old age, and with the title of Great, which foreigners as well as natives bestowed on him<sup>1</sup>. At the western extremity of Asia Minor, the Romans had for thirty years been masters of the kingdom of Pergamus, but had been prevented from greatly extending their dominion eastward, by the seditions of the Gracchi<sup>2</sup>, a war of five years with Jugurtha<sup>3</sup>, the invasions of the Teutones and Cimbri<sup>4</sup>, not to mention the necessity of perpetual operations on the side of Macedon against the untamed Thracians and Illyrians, and perpetual warfare in Spain against the spirit of stubborn inde-

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Political state of Asia, and characters of its sovereigns. Olymp. clxx. 1. B. C. 100. The Parthians. The Romans.

<sup>1</sup> Justin, l. xlii. c. 2.<sup>2</sup> Plutarch in Vit. Gracchor.<sup>3</sup> Salust. de Bell. Jugurth.<sup>4</sup> Plutarch in Mario.

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pendence or indignant rebellion. Having surmounted all these obstacles, Rome was ready to direct the strength of the West against the riches of the East; and though in consequence of the change of manners formerly explained, her senators were no longer characterized by proud simplicity and incorrupt dignity, and her citizens had sadly degenerated from their ancient frugality and honesty; yet the pursuit of vast public interests was calculated to conceal the personal ambition and insatiable avarice of the great, and perpetual exercise in arms, encouraged by rewards and promises, and flattery, served in some measure to supply in the multitude the want of those nobler principles of patriotism and true honour, and that sounder military discipline, which had long made the legions invincible.

Four powers  
interposed  
between  
them.

Mithridates  
VI. Eupator  
his pursuits  
in youth.

Between the dominions of the Romans and Parthians, four independent kingdoms intervened; on the side of the former, Bithynia and Cappadocia; and on the side of Parthia, the far greater powers of Pontus and Armenia. Mithridates V. of Pontus, six years after he had assisted the Romans in the conquest of Pergamus, was slain by domestic treachery in the Greek city Sinopè, his favourite residence. He left behind him a son in his thirteenth year, Mithridates VI. Eupator, memorable for a reign of sixty years, of which the former half, obscure as it is in history, appears to have been a fit preparation for the splendour that followed it. Even in the earliest youth, being of a character that scorned submission, and that was prompt to rebel against the most legitimate authority, he rendered himself so obnoxious to his mother and tutors, that they determined on his destruction. But the various snares which they

<sup>1</sup> Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxii. c. 21. & l. xxviii. c. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, in his oration for Flaccus, speaks of the honesty of the Romans even forty years after this period, and contrasts it with the dishonesty of the Greeks; but this is the language of the bar, studious not of what is true, but of what is useful to the cause in hand.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, l. x. p. 477.

<sup>4</sup> Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 1. & seq. His careless abridgement ill supplies the place of Trogius Pompeius; and the latter, did his work remain, could not compensate for the lost history of the great Posidonius, who must have treated fully of the reign of Mithridates. Athenaus, l. v. p. 211. 214. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 753. & Lucian in Macrob.



laid for him, all redounded, it is said, to his advantage or glory. When encouraged to mount too mettlesome horses, he learned to tame their fiery spirit; when assailed more secretly by poison, he took precautions for rendering it harmless, and at length invented the famous Mithridate: in danger of assassination in his apartment, he lived seven years without knowing the confinement of walls, spending his whole day in the chase, and sleeping in the open air in the midst of companions attached to his fortunes, and rivals of his manhood. By this mode of life he hardened his body, which nature had cast in the finest mould of heroic beauty<sup>o</sup>, into a fit companion for a mind enterprising and fervid, filled with lofty hopes, and bent on noble purposes, in the prosecution of which he was alike indefatigable and fearless. In a sudden return to Sinopè, from the banks of the Thermodon, he cut off the enemies by whom his youth had been endangered, not sparing his mother<sup>o</sup>, the accused murderer of his father, and who had long thirsted for the blood of her only son. To compensate by respect for one parent his stern punishment of the other, he assumed the title of Eupator, as if his highest boast consisted in the fame of his father's virtues. Of his two sisters, the elder Laodicè had been given in marriage to Ariarathes VII. of Cappadocia; he himself, according to the fashion of eastern kings, espoused the younger, who bore the same common name; an appellation as frequent in Pontus as Cleopatra in Egypt; while the historians of both countries often conceal from us the proper names by which even royal personages were distinguished.

Shortly after this marriage, Mithridates having reason to suspect the fidelity of his wife, undertook, with a few chosen friends, a long journey through the various regions of Asia. Being at peace with his neighbours, he had an opportunity of examining at leisure the strength and the weakness of all the different states in that continent;

His travels, and reflections made thereon.

Plin. N. H. l. xxv. c. 21. & c. 6.

Appian. *ibid.* Conf. Memnon. apud

Appian de Bell. Mithridat. c. 112.

Photus. xxxii. p. 727.



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the strength likely to resist his arms, the weakness that tempted his ambition. On the side of the East and of Parthia, he saw but a doubtful conflict; the North and the West offered to him more tempting prospects. The Scythians beyond the Euxine were not at that time united under any one warlike khan or chieftain; and the states of western Asia, though nominally allies to Rome, were most of them jealous of that power, and all of them mutually hostile to each other. The kingdom of Pergamus, and the annexed districts in Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Phrygia, with which, and many others, the Romans ceased not to enlarge it, felt all the oppression of provincial government, which continually grew more intolerable with the encreasing vices of Rome; the rapacity of generals, the extortion of publicans, the tyranny of the equestrian order, which, by a strange solecism in polity, united the financial administration in the provinces with the supreme judiciary power both at home and abroad. The great designs, with which his travels are said to have inspired Mithridates, were in danger of being blasted on his return to Pontus by female perfidy. Laodice had brought forth a son, of whom it was impossible that he should be the father. To escape the punishment of her adultery, she tendered to her husband a poisoned cup<sup>12</sup>; but Mithridates, apprised both of her perpetrated and intended crime, crushed the viper in his bosom, and turned to pursuits that easily obliterated in his ambitious mind this scene of domestic horror.

This Greek  
subjects on  
the Euxine  
- then ser-  
vices.

From the fruitful dales, watered by the Iris and Thermodon, the dominion of Pontus had been extended, in the last reign, to Heraclæa and Trapezus, two Greek cities on the Euxine, about five hundred miles asunder, by means of which, and the many intermediate places of the same description, Mithridates was furnished with instruments well qualified to second his views, either in <sup>arms</sup> <sup>and</sup> arts of arms. Throughout his whole reign the Greeks were his ministers

<sup>12</sup> Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 3.

and generals, as well as his engineers and architects; the companions of his activity and the amusers of his idleness<sup>12</sup>. Their services were peculiarly useful in disciplining his Paphlagonians and Cappadocians, many tribes of whom were called Leuco-Syrians, because, being a mixed race of Syrians and Thracians, they differed conspicuously in their complexions from the southern and darker Syrians on both sides the Euphrates.

With an army which added the tactics of Greek infantry to the rapid evolutions of Paphlagonian<sup>13</sup> cavalry, and which he had taught to keep the field in all seasons, Mithridates, in successive expeditions, reduced the neighbouring nations on the Euxine, particularly the industrious Colchians, so renowned in the traditions of antiquity, and then advanced northward to the small but respectable kingdom in the Tauric Chersonesus. In this remote peninsula, he received the submission of a successor, and probably a descendant of that Leucon who, in the age of Demosthenes, annually supplied the Athenians with 400,000 bushels of corn<sup>14</sup>. From the Greek colonies which adorned the northern banks of the Euxine, and which extended themselves three hundred miles inland from the mouths of the Borysthenes and the Tanais<sup>15</sup>, the invader encountered not any memorable resistance. The fiercer Scythian tribes at first unsuccessfully opposed, and afterwards reinforced his arms. How far he carried his conquests on this side, history does not record; but it is mentioned to his praise that, as Alexander discovered the East, and the Romans the West, so the North was first explored and made known by the victories of Mithridates<sup>16</sup>. His dominions, when he first interfered with the Roman allies in Lesser Asia, stretched 2,000 miles in length<sup>17</sup>. They consisted of twenty-four nations, speaking

His extensive  
northern  
conquests.

<sup>12</sup> Strabo, l. x. p. 557. & l. xiii. p. 609. <sup>13</sup> Demosthen. in Leptin.  
<sup>14</sup> & passim.

<sup>15</sup> The whole of Paphlagonia had been added to Pontus by Mithridates V. Vid. Plin. Dionys. Perieget.

Oration. Mithridat. ad exercitum, apud Justin, l. xxviii. c. 4. & seq.

<sup>16</sup> Herodot. l. iv. c. 104. Conf. Strabo,

Plin. Dionys. Perieget.

<sup>17</sup> Strabo, l. i. p. 14.

<sup>18</sup> Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 15.

Conf. Strabo, l. xi. p. 498.

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Variety of  
languages in  
Caucasus—  
its cause.

as many different languages, of all which the tenacious memory of Mithridates made him a complete master<sup>19</sup>. This latter circumstance is the only thing extraordinary in the report. For the district of Caucasus alone, the towering isthmus between the Euxine and Caspian, has been noted both in ancient and modern times for a still greater variety of dialects. This tract of country, which Mithridates often pervaded as a conqueror, connecting geographically Sarmatia and Scythia with Assyria and Persia, is the high road of communication through which the exuberant populousness of the North has continually flowed, to repair the wasteful luxury and corroding effeminacy of the South. At Dioscurias, the general emporium of Caucasus, Strabo speaks of seventy, some writers said a more incredible number of nations and tongues; so that this isthmus or passage between the two great divisions of the eastern continent, should seem to have retained specimens, as it were, of the various passing tribes in their successive migrations<sup>20</sup>.

The Pontic  
ambassadors  
treated with  
contumely at  
Rome.  
Olymp.  
clix. 4.  
B. C. 101.

Mithridates, having in some measure consolidated his obscure, barbarous empire, long pondered his own strength before he ventured upon a more splendid theatre of action. His natural wish was to extend his empire to the Grecian sea; but, in this design, he must encounter the Romans, and before them their allies in Cappadocia and Bithynia. That he might interpose in the affairs of these kingdoms, without creating jealousy, or at least without rousing immediate opposition, he sent ambassadors loaded with gold to Rome, where the events of the Jugurthine war (for we shall see that such transactions escaped not his vigilance), were sufficient to assure him that all was venal. On one occasion the activity of faction disconcerted his intrigues. The people at large, who were apprised of many acts of delinquency in their superiors, began to view all their proceedings suspiciously, nay malignantly; and the party-spirit or

<sup>19</sup> Plin. l. vii. c. 24. l. xiv. c. 2. Aulus  
Gellius, l. xvii. c. 17.

<sup>20</sup> Rennell's Geography of Asia, vol. i.  
p. 278.

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envy of Saturninus; afterwards a fit accomplice of the bold and bloody Marius, hurried him into undistinguishing resentment against the ambassadors of Pontus, whom, as bearers of the king's bribes, he treated with the utmost contumely. It belonged to the senate to take cognizance of such outrages against the law of nations. Upon complaint of the ambassadors, Saturninus was therefore tried by the senate; but such was the concourse of persons who espoused his cause, that his judges durst not condemn him. The favour of the multitude raised him soon afterwards to the tribunate<sup>22</sup>.

This unseasonable occurrence did not divert Mithridates from his purpose. His sister Laodice, wife to Ariarathes VII. of Cappadocia, had borne to that prince two sons, then in early youth. Should their father die, the king of Pontus, as guardian to his nephews, would become master of Cappadocia. Ariarathes was removed through the agency, it was believed, of a certain Gordius, instigated, according to report, by Mithridates to the treacherous murder of his sovereign<sup>23</sup>. But in his design of taking on him the government of Cappadocia, the author of the crime found himself thwarted by the bold spirit of his sister Laodice, who asserted her right of administration during the minority of her son; and to obtain a powerful abettor of this pretension, gave herself in second marriage to the aged Nicomedes II. who, for nearly half a century, had filled the neighbouring throne of Bithynia. This transaction, intercepting the fruits of his iniquity, enraged Mithridates against Nicomedes, and still more against Laodice and her sons.

Mithridates' machinations against Cappadocia thwarted by his sister Laodice.

He immediately took the field with a great army; for Nicomedes could muster 50,000 foot, and 6,000 horse. Mithridates, however, overcame all difficulties, except the unalterable loyalty of the Cappadocians to their hereditary kings, descendants of the satrap Anaphas, who had assisted Darius Hystaspis in overturning the usurpation of the magi; and whose high-born line had been wonderfully<sup>24</sup> preserved

He allows his nephew to reign there on condition that Gordius should be re-instated in power.

<sup>22</sup> Appian. Dion. & Tit. Liv. Epitom.

<sup>23</sup> Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 1.

l. lxxii.

<sup>24</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 234.

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from destruction under the bloody grasp of Perdiccas, the immediate successor of Alexander the Great. Wishing to associate and subdue the Cappadocians, not to extirpate them, the conqueror allowed them to place the elder of his nephews on their vacant throne, requiring, as the only condition on their part, the recal and reinstatement of Gordius, who had been banished, as he gave out, on groundless suspicions<sup>23</sup>.

Mithridates  
invades Cap-  
padocia,  
murders his  
nephew  
Ariarathes  
VIII. in a  
parley.

But Ariarathes VIII. made no haste to bring back a man stained with the foul imputation of treasonable murder; and when urged on this subject by his uncle, put his kingdom in a posture of defence, and trusted to the affectionate zeal of his people. To answer this defiance, Mithridates entered his frontier at the head of 80,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, together with an alarming train of 600 armed chariots, winged with scythes, to sweep the Cappadocian plains. Notwithstanding this formidable force, his adversaries did not decline an engagement. Both armies were arrayed for battle, when Mithridates, sensible of the havock that must be made among a people whom he already grasped as his property, summoned his nephew to a parley. As a preparation for this conference, persons were sent, according to the usual practice in such cases, to make sure that neither of the opposite chiefs carried with him any concealed weapon. Mithridates had a dagger artfully hid in his girdle, which, being handled with little ceremony by those sent to search him, he desired them to take care lest they should discover an instrument, not of death but of life; and having inspired confidence by this coarse jest, avoided the detection of the flagitious villainy which he meditated, and which in the moment after he inhumanly perpetrated<sup>24</sup>. The assassination of their youthful and beloved king, in the presence of both armies, instead of rousing the Cappadocians to revenge, filled them with consternation. They threw down their arms in dismay, and submitted to the victor.

<sup>23</sup> Justin, *ibid*.

<sup>24</sup> *Id. ibid*:



But from this effect of sudden terror they as suddenly recovered, when Mithridates, having quitted their country, left them in the hands of his lieutenants. The younger brother of Ariarathes VIII. to elude the dangers of the times, had, according to a custom which we have often noticed, been deposited in safe custody in one of the islands or walled cities of Lesser Asia. A revolt of the Cappadocians enabled him, under the name of Ariarathes IX. to mount the throne of his ancestors. But his reign lasted only a few months, for Mithridates, descending from the heights of Caucasus, whither his affairs had called him, defeated, and dispossessed this unfortunate young prince, who died of grief in exile"; and with him ended the long line of Anaphas, which, either as hereditary satraps or as kings, had governed Cappadocia 440 years.

During the transactions above recorded, Laodicè, through the protection of her husband, escaped her brother's vengeance. Exasperated now, in her turn, by the cruel destruction of her children, she concerted with Nicomedes a scheme for depriving Mithridates of the fruits of his multiplied crimes. A youth of obscure descent, but of a graceful figure and winning behaviour, was taught to personate a third son of Ariarathes VII. and Laodicè, and was conducted to Rome by his mother, under an escort of Bithynians, to claim assistance from the senate against the murderer of his father and brothers, and the usurper of his kingdom. To counteract this intrigue, Mithridates employed Gordius, whom he found equally well qualified to second either his craft or his cruelty, and sent him at the head of a splendid embassy, to convince the Romans that a child only eight years old, and really his own son, whom he affected to treat as king of Cappadocia, was the only surviving descendant of the illustrious Ariarathes VI. the civiliser of his country and the faithful ally of Rome, in the Pergamenian war. The senate, however, was not the dupe of such artifices. Since the time that Pergamus had been re-

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Despair of  
Ariarathes  
IX. and ex-  
tinction of  
the long line  
of Cappado-  
cian kings.  
Olymp.  
clxxi. 4.  
B. C. 93.

Laodicè the  
queen-mo-  
ther sends a  
suppositious  
son to Rome  
to claim his  
father's  
kingdom.

Mithridates  
counteracts  
her intrigues  
by falsehoods  
equally au-  
dacious.

Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 2.